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THE BAPTIST QUARTERLY

incorporating the Transactions of the BAPTIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Baptist Quarterly 19.4 (October 1961)

EDITORIAL

WHEN one thinks of the flourishing Society for Old Testament Study (founded in 1917) and its sister society dealing with the New Testament, it is somewhat surprising that there has not been until now a similar body for the furtherance of work on Church History. This gap has now been made good, thanks to the initiative of the Rev. Prof. C. W. Dugmore, of the University of London, and certain of his colleagues on the British International Sous-Commission of the Commission Internationale d'Histoire Ecclésiastique Comparée. The decision to form the new society was taken at a meeting held in the Great Hall, King's College, London, on 6th July, 1961. A committee of six, representing the main periods of Church History was appointed with Dr. Dugmore as its chairman. One of its first tasks will be to draft details of the constitution. At the outset this comittee will serve for two years, the members thereafter retiring by rotation. The Rev. Prof. M. D. Knowles, F.B.A., was elected as first president of the Society and Mr. W. H. C. Frend, of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, as honorary secretary. Two Baptists, Dr. G. J. M. Pearce, of Regent's Park College, and Rev. G. W. Rusling, of Spurgeon's College, were present among the founding members of the Society.

. . . . . .

The year 1962 will bring with it two significant acts of Commemoration. The remembrance of the Great Ejectment of 1662

will have a place particularly in the life of the Presbyterians, the Congregationalists and the Baptists. We shall have cause to refer to this in greater detail in a later Editorial, but readers might like to know that on the evening of August 24th there is to be a service of commemoration at the City Temple in London and on the evening of October 23rd there will be a great rally in the Royal Albert Hall. In addition, very many local Fraternals and Free Church Councils are arranging commemorative meetings in their localities. Although the pattern of meetings will vary, it is to be hoped that the basic fact of what the commemoration is all about will no where be taken for granted. There is some evidence that many Baptists, at any rate, are not at all clear as to why 1662 should be remembered. No doubt many in the other denominations are likewise uncertain and therefore factual statements of the historical events need to be laid as foundations to all the commemorative occasions.

But if Baptists are somewhat vague about 1662, they should not have any uncertainty about the second act of commemoration, namely that of 1612. It was in that year, of course, that Thomas Helwys and his group returned from Holland to found the first Baptist church in this country. Certainly there may be Baptist churches which claim a foundation date prior to 1612, but it is unlikely in the extreme that such foundations were originally Baptist churches. This, however, is not the occasion to argue that particular point. The return of Helwys is an event to be remembered. On Saturday, April 7th, there will be a special service in the Bilborough Baptist Church in Nottingham, when a commemorative plaque will be unveiled by the President of the Baptist Union. The plaque is to be placed in the Bilborough Church as being the church nearest to Helwys's family home at Broxstowe Hall. Members of the Historical Society are asked to note this date. The service will be in the afternoon. In addition, it is suggested that we might like to make a contribution towards the cost of the plaque. As members will know, it is not possible to do this out of our normal funds, and therefore we invite you to make a special contribution to the Treasurer for the Helwys plaque. It should surely be possible for all of us who recognise just what Helwys did and stood for to meet the cost of the Helwys plaque. Our Annual Meeting on April 30th will be addressed by the Rev. Dr. B. R. White of Andover, who has recently completed a thesis on John Smyth. Dr. White will speak about Smyth and Helwys. Early next year a Ter-Jubilee booklet on Thomas Helwys will be available. It is hoped that, in these ways, 1612 will be recognised generally as worthy of commemoration by Baptists.

The Journals of David Brainerd and of William Carey

In the judgment of many, the journals of David Brainerd and William Carey are not in the same literary class, but they may be usefully studied alongside each other. The early letters and the *Enquiry* of William Carey reveal that he followed Brainerd's lead in several ways. The journals also contain many similarities. It is likely that Carey would have kept no journal but for Brainerd's example. His may be regarded as a sequel to the earlier one. Not only so, but a number of successive Baptist missionaries, notably William Ward, would not have handed down their valuable records had the lead not been given by Brainerd. This would appear to apply also to other denominations and their representatives on the field. In the writer's judgment it is time that we gave full credit to Brainerd as an originator, in this respect, of the most instructive means to a living understanding of the Christian missionary and his work. The journal of the running battle throws a light which little else can. Even the daily trivialities and the repetition of them yield a perspective not gleaned elsewhere. In the case of Brainerd and Carey the double emphasis on some aspects of their experience may both help to understand origins and pass a needed message from two of the greatest pioneers.

David Brainerd recorded his experience amongst North American Indians in journal form covering the period April 1st, 1742, towards the time of his death October 9th, 1747. The journal was kept by order of the Society (in Scotland) for Propagating Christian Knowledge. He also kept a private diary, some of which he ordered to be destroyed a few days before his death. Only the journal is under consideration here although, as usually published, the diary and journal appear to merge a little towards the close. The fact that the two records were originally kept separately carried the great advantage of making the journal ready for publication when written. The falling of this seed could not have been more timely. The soil had been hostile. A few were questioning the use of the theological top-dressing that God would convert the heathen in His own time. What Brainerd sowed through his journal was so utterly innocent and *of the Lord* that it could not be refused. Subsequent keepers of journals would have done better to have

kept the private diary apart. Quotations here are from the 1798 edition edited by Jonathan Edwards and, where so stated, from the 1826 edition. In this study the comparisons made touching the authors are sought to be other than of literary merit. Brainerd's journal, although a beginning, approaches completeness while Carey's is a slender beginning with remarkable possibilities in embryo.

"A journal kept by Mr. Carey from June, 1793, to June, 1795" is the description inscribed in the fly-leaf of Carey's journal by Andrew Fuller. It records his leaving England on June 13th and the arrival in India with Dr. John Thomas and their families till June 14th, 1795. It contains the same and supplementary material as that found in the early letters of the two missionaries. As the journal was not received in England till the latter end of 1795, and long after many letters had been widely circulated, it did not come as news. For this and other reasons noted later, only parts of it were printed. None but the inner circle ever had the benefit derived from the continuity of the complete story. So it has lain since. The public have not had the opportunity of appreciating it as a whole. A journal kept abreast of the time enables one to share the successive problems as they first appear, in fact to live with the man. It carries an insight not found in the beautiful letter written at convenience nor in the history well told. To pass on this insight would be the present writer's ambition could it be done! One can only touch on a few outstanding features of the two journals.

The subject of Brainerd's journal is well known. That of Carey's corresponds largely with the letters mentioned. If the letters stole the real thunder it is a tribute to the weightiness of the matter common to both. For example, the first letter from Carey and Thomas after their arrival in Bengal was read by John Ryland to Rev. David Bogue (Independent minister of Gosport) and Mr. Jas. Steven (of the Scotch Church, Covent Garden.[1] They were greatly exercised by it and its effect, among other things, led on to the founding of the society later known as the London Missionary Society. (See J. C. Marsham's *Life and Times of Carey, Marshman and Ward,* (1859) Vol. 1, p. 71.)

Quotations here are from the manuscript original of Carey's journal in the possession of the Baptist Missionary Society. It consists of 152 large quarto pages, closely written, with contemporary additions at the end. The handwriting is beautiful, the lines usually close. A small portion is affected by damp which has weakened or spread the ink, but ninety per cent is clear still. There are almost no alterations made by Carey. Quite a few lines were struck out, mostly by Andrew Fuller, but never so as to completely obliterate

[1] This incident took place in Bristol about August, 1794.

the original. An important addition is a contemporary copy of an eleven-page letter from "Brother Carey to Reverend S. Pearce, Birmingham, October 2, 1795." The tone suggests the bracing effect of conversing with another powerful mind. In this letter he told Pearce that the latter was needed more at home. Carey never persuaded individuals to go abroad.

It appears that, subsequent to the printing of extracts in the early *Periodical Accounts* of the Baptist Missionary Society, as great a portion of Carey's journal as can be studied in any one volume is in the *Memoirs of William Carey* by Eustace Carey 1836. (Eustace, missionary in India from 1814 to 1824, was the son of Thomas, William Carey's younger brother.) Eustace quotes as do most successive biographers, beyond the dates of the journal, from letters as if from the journal. An example of this is on p. 254 (January 11th, 1796). Otherwise the quotations are extensive and good. A biographer who quotes accurately is George Smith in his *Life of William Carey*. All, of course, carry forward the alterations made in Andrew Fuller's handwriting. Most of these are justified, but not all. Carey's journal as printed in the *Periodical Accounts* runs, Mudnabatty, July 7th, 1794, "all the natives here . . . speaking a dialect which differs as much from the true Bengalee as Lancashire does from true English so that I have hard work to understand them and to make them understand me." Examining the journal closely we find Carey had not written "Lancashire." It is in Fuller's writing; struck out with five lines is Carey's "Yorkshire." Carey must not be allowed to speak for himself on so ticklish a matter! To suggest that Yorkshire is not English! Incidentally the pronunciation of the largest county was a favourite crack of our greatest linguist. In the most beautiful Carey manuscript at the B.M.S., the *Grammar of the Bengalee,* he finds no better description of the letter "t" "than the provincial pronunciation of Butter in Yorkshire." This throws up a point. A close study of the journal reveals a constant pursuit of exactness in such details as pronunciation. It was but part and parcel of the plan ever uppermost in his mind of making the Word of God "understanded of the people." All the while, of course, he was developing a multitude of activities. Yet we find him baffled, often beyond words, as to why he so easily felt exhausted!

A word should be said as to how far the admirable biography by S. Pearce Carey tallies with the journal. Perhaps two per cent is quoted by Pearce Carey. He generally gives the sense correctly but does not always hold with the "sacredness of inverted commas." His first four quotations bear this out. A quotation from June 13th, 1793, gives the sense with words changed. For August 23rd, 1793, Pearce Carey quotes, "I am very desirous that my sons may pursue the same work and intend to bring up one in the

study of Sanskrit and another of Persian." But he precedes this quotation by saying "Carey was dangerously ill yet planned for the far future" (p. 137, 1923 Edition). According to the journal Carey was not ill then. On November 9th, 1793, he wrote "I hope I have learned the necessity of beating up in the things of God, against Wind and Tide . . . " Pearce Carey changes the word into "bearing up." He obviously did not know that "beating up" is a nautical term meaning to make way against wind or tide. This exactly fits the context which has to do with the boat's progress. Carey was learning something of the seaman's art and, by a metaphor, applying this term to his own spiritual life. Pearce Carey quotes January 17th, 1794. "Towards evening felt the all sufficiency of God, and the stability of his promises, which much relieved my mind. As I walked home in the night, was enabled to roll all my cares on Him." The journal actually reads "towards evening had a pleasant view of the all sufficiency of God, and the stability of his promises which much relieved my mind and as I walked home in the night, was enabled to roll my Soul, and all my Cares in some measure on God." The words "All . . . in some measure" are typical of the man as often seen through the journal.

The foregoing may have enabled the reader to gauge a little the manner in which the journal of Carey has been conveyed to the public, and to note that among the hero worshippers there has been a slight tendency not to let him speak for himself. Slight as this tendency has been it has been sufficient to prevent the full journal from being published.

One outstanding feature in the unedited journal of both Brainerd and Carey is a sense of spiritual weakness and positive failure. On April 9th, 1794, Carey wrote "no woods to retire to like Brainerd for fear of tygers . . . was much humbled today by reading Brainerd—O what a disparity between me and him; he always constant, I inconstant as the wind." What encouragement Carey might have had if he had known that Brainerd often passed through the same waters! A first reading of Brainerd's journal may not give this impression but observe, for example, the editor's comments for April 22nd, 1743. ("The two following days his melancholy again prevailed—he cried out of his ignorance, stupidity and senselessness and yet he seems to have spent the time with the utmost diligence in study in prayer and in instructing the Indians. On Monday he sank into the deepest melancholy, so that he supposed he never spent a day in such distress in his life; not in fears of hell, but a distressing sense of his own vileness . . . ") So it was from time to time with Brainerd till the turn of the tide and success to his labours was evident. Even so "lamentation for unprofitableness" (January 15th, 1746) continued a habit of life. To carry such an investigation further in the case of Brainerd would

be brutal. September 6th, 1746, we read from his diary "Spent the day in a very weak state: coughing and spitting blood . . . " He was dying of consumption. Even Jonathan Edwards and subsequent publishers (to the best knowledge of the writer) have not thought fit to include too much of this "lamentation for unprofitableness" in print. It would not sell.

Turning to Carey, here is an entry typical of many. February 6th, 1795, "I sometimes walk in my garden and try to pray to God, and if I pray at all, it is in the solitude of a walk; I thought my soul a little drawn out today, but soon gross darkness returned; spoke a word or two to a mahomedan upon the things of God, but feel as bad as they. February 7th. O that this day could be assigned to oblivion, what a mixture of impatience, carelessness, forgetfulness of God, pride, and peevishness have I felt today—God forgive me." That Carey was not writing for effect is evident. He writes similarly to his sister, Ann Hobson, with whom he was in frequent touch on many subjects and with small commissions. He would not talk jargon with her. A letter to her dated March 11th, 1795,[2] and hitherto unpublished, reads, "I find the rebellion of my Heart against God to be so great as to neglect nay forget him and live in that neglect Day after Day without feeling my soul smitten with compunction, I trust that I'm not forgotten in the prayers of my friends and . . . [3] it is anxiety to their requests that the spark of God is not quite extinguished." He refers in the context to his enjoying good health. He continues nevertheless "I hope in time I may have to . . . [4] some converted to God . . . I remember you all in my poor addresses to God."

Ignore these things or attempt to account for them too much by sickness or hard circumstances (as do most biographers) and we miss something of value. Jonathan Edwards in his preface to Brainerd's journal wrote, "he excelled . . . especially in things appertaining to inward experimental religion, most accurately distinguishing between real solid piety and enthusiasm" and referring to "whimsical conceits and vehement emotions of the animal spirits . . . he was exceedingly sensible . . . of the pernicious consequences of them and the fearful mischief they had done in the Christian world. He was . . . abundant in bearing testimony against it living and dying." Similarly John Ryland in his diary July 8th, 1788, writes, "Asked Brother Carey to preach. Some of our people who are wise above what is written, would not hear him, called him an Arminian, and discovered a strange spirit. Lord pity us! I am almost worn out with grief at these foolish cavils

[2] It was found beneath floorboards in the old Mission House at Kettering in 1959.

[3] Undecipherable words here through effects of mould.

[4] Words here are indistinct.

against some of the best of my brethren, men of God, who are only hated because of their zeal for holiness." This gives a clue to Brainerd's and Carey's self-dissatisfaction—"zeal for holiness." Their devoted lives accompanied by heart confessions of weakness are the perfect reply to the accusations which, since the Reformation, have been levelled against men of their mettle. Men moved by the Spirit to new and special labour are ever accused of conceited and empty enthusiasm! The unedited journals reveal nothing of the kind. They never assume the wonderful nor presume to know all the answers. In reading their words we find ourselves in the company of those who know with the psalmist not merely dismay at hard circumstances but, spiritually, grief at "the bones which Thou has broken." Could the Christian world appreciate Brainerd and Carey here what a key we should have in our hands! Religious aristocracies could not survive.

A further feature of the journals is the world outlook of these men. Despite absorbing local difficulty the perspective of world evangelization is ever before them. Brainerd evidently knew he had an important message to give to the world through his journal in this respect. Carey's eyes had been increasingly on every quarter of the unfolding world since local people nicknamed him Columbus as a lad. A phrase in the entry for March 22nd, 1794, of Carey's journal illustrates. Referring to a case "something similar to the Scriptural Demoniac" and the performance, passing strange, employed to expel the demon by invoking "the Boot" or the spirit of a man departed, he writes "it is like the Indian Powowing a striking proof of the Power which the Devil exercises . . ." After seeking the meaning of "Indian Powowing" in the East this came to mind from Brainerd's journal, September 2nd, 1744. "I perceived that some of them were afraid to embrace Christianity lest they should be enchanted and poisoned by some of the Powows . . . I told my people I was a Christian and asked them why the Powows did not bewitch and poison me." Again September 21st, 1745, "the Indians gathered together all their powows (or conjurors) . . . to playing their juggling tricks, and acting their frantic distracted postures, in order to find out why they were so sickly upon the island, numbers of them at that time being disordered with a fever and bloody flux." A man chivied as Carey was in 1794 in local troubles, as all the biographers tell, at once links this peculiar human behaviour of "the Boot" in India with what happens in the other end of the earth among North American Indians. This would not have crossed his mind but for reading Brainerd. Nor would the journal from end to end have breathed a world outlook had he not carried the world commission of the Gospel with him. This commission was intensified by loneliness: April 7th, 1794, "I seem cast out of the Christian world . . . I

have not the blessing of a Christian friend . . . " Perhaps unknown to him he was viewing, in his loneliness, from a vantage point. A most wonderful feature of Carey's journal is the perfectly consistent perspective throughout. He sees self as nothing, the world commission of Christ everything. Alone, he views the reality of the non-Christian world he had theoretically surveyed so wonderfully six years previously in his *Enquiry*. The reality clinches his resolves. Indian self-torture was still common. " The swinging by hooks fixed into the back " was done under the impression that they who practice such things " will be abundantly recompensed after death " by " Seeb, one of their Deities," as they inform him. On April 11th, 1794, he wrote, " Who would grudge to spend his life and his all, to deliver an otherwise amiable people, from the misery and darkness of their present wretched state, and how should we prize that Gospel which has delivered us from hell, and our country from such dreadful marks of Satan's Cruel Dominion as these?"

As to hope for the success of the gospel, the hopes of Brainerd appear to rise and fall with his own success. August 2nd, 1745, " my rising hopes, respecting the conversion of the Indians, have been so often dashed, that my spirit is as it were broken . . . and I hardly dare hope." September 21st, 1745, " nothing struck and distressed me like the loss of my hope respecting their conversion." October 1st, 1745, in a different district, Grosweeksung, in New Jersey, he writes " O what a difference there is between these and the Indians I had lately treated with upon Susquehannah! . . . How great is the change lately made upon numbers of these Indians . . . There was scarce a dry eye to be seen among them and yet nothing boisterous or unseemly . . . " November 4th, 1745, " I have now baptized in all forty seven persons of the Indians, twenty three adults and twenty four children . . . " November 20th, 1745, " may the Lord of the harvest send forth other labourers into this part of his harvest that those who sit in darkness may see great light; and that the whole earth may be filled with the knowledge of himself!"

Throughout the period of the journal and for many years to come Carey's hopes were tested with little outward success—no conversions that could be counted by heads among natives. February 23rd, 1795, " I felt some encouragement . . . arising from the circumstance of the people coming yesterday for instruction, and was enabled to plead with God for them; I long for their deliverance from their miserable state on two accounts principally because I see God daily dishonoured, and then drowned in sensuality, ignorance and superstition and likewise because I think that news of the conversion of some of them would much encourage the Society, and excite them to double their efforts in other places

for the propagation of the glorious Gospel." No one knew better than he as to the value of concentration on selected places; witness the college plans formed with Thomas and discussed in the journal. Equally the desire to provoke action by Christians in "other places," carries through the journal and throughout his life.

The mastery of language so necessary to the spread of the Gospel is, of course, where Carey is unequalled. Brainerd in his journal is found preaching chiefly by interpreter or in English to Indians who understood some English. In reflections on his labours, bound with the journal (p. 510) we read, "I laboured under very great disadvantage, for want of an interpreter who had a good degree of doctrinal as well as experimental knowledge of divine things . . . It was sometimes extremely discouraging to me when he addressed the Indians in a lifeless indifferent manner . . . " This evidently refers to the earlier period. It raises the question as to how the Gospel took root at all or had he the beseeching nature of a Whitfield which the Indians felt despite the cold interpretation? A great change must have overtaken his interpreter. We read further (November 4th, 1745), "God was pleased to provide a remedy for my want of skill and freedom in the Indian language, by remarkably fitting my interpreter for and assisting him in the performance of his work. It might reasonably be supposed that I must labour under great disadvantage in addressing the Indians by an interpreter . . . yet now it was quite otherwise. . . . when I was enabled to speak with more than common fervency and power, under a lively and affecting sense of divine things, he was usually affected in the same manner almost instantly, and seemed at once quickened and enabled to speak in the same pathetic language, and under the same influence that I did. A surprising energy often accompanied the word at such seasons; the face of the whole assembly would be apparently changed almost in an instant, and tears and sobs became common among them." (p. 321, 1826 edition). What would Carey have given for such native support? His promising and intelligent *moonshi* let him down shortly after the period of the journal with usual besetting sin. But we should not regard Brainerd as lucky in this respect. He had it in him to fire others as indeed he has still to fire those who search his writings for the secrets. In the writer's judgment Carey was fired by him more than by any other.

Brainerd's difficulties in mastering and selecting appropriate dialects of language were akin to those of Carey and in some respects more difficult. He writes: November 20th, 1745, "I am at times almost discouraged from attempting to gain any acquaintance with the Indian languages they are so very numerous . . . and especially seeing my other labours . . . bear exceeding hard on my constitution. However, I have taken considerable pains to learn the

Delaware language and propose still to do so." (p. 326, 1826 edition.)

To return to the practical application of the world commission, the translation of the Scriptures, this might be considered the real theme of Carey's journal. For example, January 16th, 1795. "We formed a plan to introduce the study of the Holy Scriptures . . . we intend also to order Types from England at our expence and print the Bible and other useful things in the Bengal or Hindoostanee languauges . . . " When Professor John Foster of Glasgow can say at the annual meeting of the British and Foreign Bible Society (May 4th, 1960) that the achievements of Carey and his circle in the translation of the Bible into new languages was as great as had been the combined efforts of the whole church since apostolic days, it is a privilege to trace this purpose through the slender beginnings of this period. In the light of later achievements it is fabulous to read this from the man long since known as the "Father of Bengalee." April 4th, 1794, "I make so little progress in the Bengalee language . . . that it seems as if I should never be of any use at all!"

One of the values of Carey's journal is not its triumphant assertion but the slenderness of the stem from which grew so wonderful a flower. So low he felt, but his obedience to the greatest of heavenly visions was of a quality rarely witnessed!

For literary value Brainerd's journal, especially under the hand of Jonathan Edwards, would be regarded by most as in a different class from that of Carey. Nevertheless in seeking the roots of great movements literary finesse is not all-important. The fact that Carey evidently never intended to produce this kind carries the force of noted truth. One would like to have drawn analogies on other aspects such as the prayer life of Brainerd who has so much to teach us. But Carey in the journal is silent on anything which could reflect to his spiritual credit. The writer has not come across any serious criticism of Brainerd's journal. It appears that only one of a serious nature has been levelled against Carey's. C. B. Lewis in his life of John Thomas (1873) would place Carey in an invidious light for his statements as to Thomas and finance. (p. 256). But these statements had not been published until by C. B. Lewis himself. The *Periodical Accounts* omitted them on Carey's instructions. The extract below clears the matter and indicates a problem of how much should be excluded from an up-to-date publication of the journal. In the present writer's judgment less than one per cent should be omitted having regard to the lapse of time. August 13, 1795, Carey writes to the Society: "I send my journal by which you will see a little of the manner of my life. Some things in it as Mr. Thomas's engaging in business etc at Calcutta, I desire to have for ever suppressed and

buried in oblivion; as I am convinced it was only occasioned by temporary circumstances and from that time to this the utmost harmony and affection has prevailed between us." Having unravelled this somewhat, one can say that Carey evinces not a little of the forgiving spirit.

Stir the embers of the fire kindled through the journal of Brainerd—sparks will ever rise. As far as this may apply to Carey's journal it implies the need of a vigorous stirring—both of the subject matter and of the reader. As a work by itself it might in parts be interpreted variously. It will always be studied with reward in the light of Carey's whole life purpose.

A. DE M. CHESTERMAN

NOTE

In the account of "Carey and his Biographers" by Dr. Ernest Payne which appeared in the *Baptist Quarterly*, January, 1961, the statement "the only memorial sermon which found its way into print... was one delivered by Christopher Anderson" and further that it "must be regarded as the earliest printed biographical sketch of the great missionary" calls for comment. At the B.M.S. is a reprint with facsimile title page of the original, as follows: *The Efficiency of Divine Grace. A Funeral Sermon for the late Rev. William Carey, D.D. preached at the Danish Church, Serampore, Lords Day, June 15th,* 1834. The appendix indicates that the sermon was in the press in July, 1834. It was normal for the Serampore Press to print matters of importance as and when occasion arose.

Christopher Anderson's memorial sermon was preached in November following and probably printed in that month and not long after the news had reached Britain.

The biographical portion of Marshman's sermon may be regarded as the earliest known sketch of Carey's life in print. Brief tributes to Carey were made by other communions in India even earlier. Marshman's account is not so full as that of Anderson but it is the first to summarise Carey's life and labour. The two, in part, draw upon different information.

Marshman's memorial has not been used as it might by biographers. It briefly traces Carey's life from "Pauler's Perry" (mentioning his conversion through his fellow apprentice John Ward, erroneously printed for Warr) down the years to his passing. It contains delightful sidelights. Appropriate to the article above on the Journals Joshua Marshman writes: "One course he often told me he constantly adopted, after his removal to Leicester... was that of carefully reading one chapter of the Sacred Scriptures every morning in English, and in all the languages with which he was acquainted. It was in these last four years of pastoral labour that he gave proof of his power of acquiring a language, which filled Fuller, Sutcliff & Ryland with surprise." From the appendix to Marshman's sermon we catch a glimpse of the contented state of our hero at the end of his life. A few days before his decease, he said to his companion in labour for thirty-four years: "I have no fears; I have no doubts; I have not a wish left unsatisfied!"

A. DE M. CHESTERMAN.

Reflections on a Victorian Boyhood

I was born in the year 1873, Queen Victoria's reign had yet another 27 years to run. People talk of those spacious days of peace. War was the business of the professional soldier. It did not touch the civilian population, in the terrible way it did in the last two wars, and yet in its own fashion such a war as the Crimean, with its shortages, its high prices and its heavy taxation meant great suffering for the poor. I have heard my father tell how fortunate it was for him that at that time he had his knees under a rich man's table.

My birth took place in a tiny cottage. There were four rooms. There was no talk of a dining-room, a parlour or drawing-room, we spoke of a front room and a back room, downstairs and upstairs, the door of the front room opened out to the road and that of the back room to a communal yard.

Lest dirty boots should leave their mark in the front room, we must always enter by the back door; that meant if we were coming down the street we passed our own cottage and six others, then went through an alley, past those six houses again, and so made our entry by the back door. The front room, was kept sacred for Sundays or High Days; that room, after dark, would be crawling with black beetles, which hid themselves in a cupboard while it was light. An appetising mixture, placed in a specially prepared basin, lured scores of beetles to their death. The back room was our living room. It had a brick floor, the ceiling was so low that in my early youth I could reach up and touch it with my fingers. Once in preaching I made reference to the smallness of the room, and said, "there was not space to swing a cat round, though why anyone should want to swing a cat round was beyond my understanding." A kind friend told me after the service, that the origin of that saying had nothing to do with a cat, but to the difficulty, when flogging a man, in getting a good swing to the cat-o'-nine-tails in a confined space.

There were eight of us in family and at mealtimes the two youngest stood, because there was not room enough for each to have a chair. On wet days clothes would be hung on lines in that back room to dry. We rented the cottage next-door, retaining two

rooms and sub-letting the other two. The first tenant of those two rooms that I remember was a Mrs. Kennings, she used to give me three halfpence to buy for her a quarter of an ounce of plain muff. This cost a 1¼d. the other farthing was my reward for running the errand.

The back room of the second cottage contained a large copper. This was used for washing clothes. Each Christmas nine plum puddings were boiled in it. Also my step-mother, who was an adept at making wine, would use it in preparing elderberry, rhubarb, dandelion, cowslip, parsnip and other kinds of wine. These wines if kept for a year or two would have a powerful "kick" in them. On one occasion I had gone with an older friend to the village of Wigginton, to assist him in conducting the service in the village chapel. At the close we went into the house of a widow who gave us each a large glass of wine. It was very old and very strong and when I stepped out into the open, to my alarm, I found I could not walk straight, and my alarm was increased by the fact that I had a two mile walk before me and would most certainly meet some very devout friends on the way home!

My father was poor but the extent of it was our own secret. Every Sunday would find him preaching, chiefly in near-by villages but sometimes far enough away to require departure on the Saturday and return on the Monday mornings. The villagers treated him as though he were their bishop and he carried himself like one. He always wore, when dressed to go preaching, and indeed whenever he walked into the town, a broad cloth frock coat and a soft wide-awake felt hat—a semi-clerical mode of dress.

Preaching, he felt to be the business of his life, but there was no money in that and there was a family of eight to be fed and clothed, so forsooth the notice must go up over our front door: "W. Humphreys, Boot and Shoe Maker and Repairer."

His small work-shop was the further side of the yard. Over the seat where he sat there was reference to the fact that he mended soles on weekdays and sought to save souls on Sundays.

But how came it about that we were so poor, for poor we were without a doubt? So poor that I remember a time when I was allowed at mealtime two slices and a half of bread—no more, though I could easily have eaten six or eight. The trouble for us arose from the failure of the hand-made straw plait industry, which was the town's main source of a livelihood. My father allowed customers to pay off the cost of new boots or shoes at the rate of 1/- or 6d. a week. And now there was no money to pay off debts and my father would never dream of trying any sort of compulsion. He would say "What is use of pressure? They have no money and you cannot get blood out of a stone."

I am laying bare the social conditions as they were eighty years

ago. The rent for our cottage was 2/- a week. There was no gas or water laid on. For light a paraffin lamp was used which was never lit so long as work could be carried on without its aid. Often I would lie flat on the floor and hold my book so as to catch what light I could from the fire and so go on with my reading. For water we were dependent upon a well and a tank. The tank was for rain water that was called soft water and was much better than the well water for washing purposes, but it must be well water for drinking purposes. Buckets containing water were placed just outside the back door, and close at hand there was a wooden stand with a bowl and it was there we washed ourselves, all weathers, winter and summer.

In my eleventh year I went to work in a weaving factory as a half-timer— one day at school and the next to work—about a year later having reached the seventh standard I became a whole-timer The wages for a half-timer were 1/6d a week, for a whole-timer three shillings, but when you became a skein winder it was piece work—1d. for every eleven skeins—but we must not earn more than 4/-. If the skeins were not good for winding we earned less. Winding skeins that had been soaked in size, a sort of gluey substance, caused the fingers to become chapped, covered with open wounds, and the cold and draughty shop meant chilblains in the winter. I wore corduroy trousers which often became so stiffened by the gluey stuff falling upon them while winding skeins that when I took them off at night they could be almost stood upright. I wore no pants and no vest beneath my cotton shirt. No fuss must be made over minor ailments. I used to go faint in winter weather. Pains in my thighs made it difficult to obey orders at school to step over the form—shy reference to this at home was met with, " Just growing pains, do not fuss." I remember how when the first time toothache became unbearable, I set off to the doctor's surgery. There was no dentist in the town and when I told the doctor my trouble he pointed to a chair. " Sit down and hold to the bottom!" And more by muscular strength than by skill the tooth was extracted. There were no trained nurses in the town. One or two untrained women were depended upon to help in child birth, or lay out and wash the dead. The nearest hospital was seven miles away.

I was speaking not long ago to a very up-to-date doctor about the amazing advances of medical science in recent years and spoke of conditions as they were in my childhood and he remarked " there was no medical science in those days, the doctors depended upon the power of their own personality." I thought that he overstated the contrast. Yet there was truth in what he said. I myself have suffered from two ailments and my wife was afflicted by another, for which in my childhood there was no known remedy. I refer to diphtheria, pernicious anæmia and diabetes.

Now as a rest from a story at least not pleasant I must tell of something that still pictures how life was lived by the poor in those days but has the virtue of being amusing.

In the living room of our cottage there was a small fire grate raised a few feet from the floor. By its side was a tiny oven. Pies or a rice pudding large enough for a family of eight must be taken round to the bakehouse where they were cooked in the large baker's oven at the cost of 1d. each. There came a Saturday when I was told to go and fetch three pies from the bakehouse. Three journeys that would require three-quarters of an hour and I was expected to be at the recreation ground a mile away to captain a boys' cricket team in less than that time—those pies and that cricket match!! "Necessity is the mother of invention." Three journeys would be impossible but there was our wheelbarrow. One pie could be placed in the bottom and two must be at a slant, with the assured result of spilling some of the juice. The barrow was used, the journey was taken and I arrived back again with the barrow in the yard next to our own. But the greatest difficulty in getting those pies past our cottage window. They were to be placed in the second cottage. I should most surely be seen passing by my step-mother. To be seen once was in order, but to pass with the second and third in quick succession would create questioning. So with the second and third pie I passed the window with my body bent double. My plot worked. I turned the barrow upside down to drain off the spilt juice and arrived in time for my cricket match.

In those days employment for girls of the poor class was almost entirely limited to going out to service. For such service, especially in middle-class homes, the wages were small, the food poor and the attic or a sub-basement room good enough for the maid's bedroom. Conditions were different in the homes of the wealthy. I served a Church in the West of London in my early ministry. We were in the midst of large mansions and in these sometimes as many as twenty servants would be employed. There would be every grade of maidservant, kitchen maid, parlour maid, ladies' maid, cook and so forth, and at the head of all, responsible for ordering the tasks and for the dismissal or engagements of servants, would be the housekeeper. Though unmarried, in that household she would always be referred to as "Mrs."

All that tells of a day that is past. Instead of going out to service being a girl's one and only chance of earning a living, it is the one kind of employment that she now seeks to avoid. Stand to-day at any great London terminus and watch the girls pouring out of the trains. Think of the variety of tasks before them, of doors of opportunity open. I have watched these doors opening through the years and to-day the exception is to find any door closed. Women have an entry into the professions, legal, medical indeed

all of them, and also an entry into all our governing bodies whether they be urban, or county councils or both Houses of Parliament.

One of the mightiest revolutions, the later stages of which were seen in my boyhood, was that of the status of nurses. Their status, as revealed by Dickens, found them near the bottom of the social scale, but Florence Nightingale, first by her amazing skill, devotion and courage in the treatment of the wounded in the Crimean war and afterwards by the exercise of almost super-human ability and determination in the face of what seemed to be invincible opposition and insurmountable difficulties, she raised the standard of the nursing profession to such a high level that we may well regard it today as affording one of the noblest and most rewarding vocations to which any woman can devote her life.

As to modes of dress in my boyhood—how unthinkable today is the style of clothing that was common then. When I was about seventeen years old I conducted my first wedding service. I can see myself now as I set off from my home to the village of Aston Clinton. I was tall for my age and very slim, so imagine what I must have looked like with my long frocked coat and with a high hat, the weight of which I could not endure, save by tilting it toward the back of my head. With young women it was a day of high collars, stiffened with whale bones, projecting at the back of the ears, long dresses that must cover the ankles and, because the custom of the day required it, waists as small as possible. To keep them so tightly laced stays were worn, often so tight as to be prejudicial to health. These also were the days of crinolines and huge bustles.

A picture has held a place in my mind for over 70 years. I can see the Sunday School scholars, of whom I was one, assembled in the large front gallery of our Chapel, where we always assembled for the opening service preceding going to our classes. The boys are seated to the right and the girls to the left. All are assembled with the exception of one girl who came in late—it may be she did so for stage effect. She was always over-dressed and her bustle was very large indeed. To get to her seat, she must press her way past about eight girls. The space open for her passage was very limited and I recall with what eagerness I watched her progress and then manœuvring of herself and her bustle into her seat.

In those days, at the seaside, bathing huts were invariably used by those wishing to bathe. These huts were on huge wheels so as to be easily moved to the water's edge. There was, of course, no mixed bathing. The huts for men and those for women were at a respectable distance from each other. The bathing costume worn by women was the very last thing in ugliness and the idea that seemed to control action was that even when bathing the least possible part of the naked body should be visible.

As to the literature of that Victorian period I should very much like to hear an informed discussion as to how the literature of our own times compares with that popular seventy years. ago.

Some of the books of that day were of a sort over which a sentimental reader could have a good cry—just sob stuff. Others were escapist, they had no value beyond helping the reader to forget himself and his problems for a time. These were books that had an enormous circulation for a brief space and then were forgotten; but in that Victorian period there were authors and books that were to have a reputation that would abide through many generations.

I began my reading with books such as *Christy's Old Organ, Jessica's First Prayer, Ministering Children,* then on to books eagerly read by most of us such as *Swiss Family Robinson, Robinson Crusoe, Uncle Tom's Cabin,* books by Captain Marryat and Mayne Reid. E. P. Roe's writings such as *From Jest to Earnest, Barriers Burned Away, The Opening of a Chesnut Burr,* had hosts of enthusiastic readers. *John Halifax, Gentleman* was a great favourite and there came a day when George Macdonald's books, *David Elginbrod, Sir Gibbie, Robert Falconer Malcom* and the *Marquis of Lossie* held me spell-bound. Mrs. Henry Wood's *East Lynne* and Wilkie Collins *The White Lady* and *The Moonstone* excited me to an almost frightening degree. One book, not of the fiction class, held me in its thrall and I kept reading it again and again. Its influence went to the depths of my being. Dr. Smiles in his *Self Help* gathered together the stories of persons who by sheer hard work, and I suppose some genius, had risen from humble beginnings and ascended the heights. He told of inventors like Bernard Palissy and of scientists such as Sir Humphry Davy and Michael Faraday. All his heroes had overcome what seemed to be insurmountable obstacles. I think I read the life story of most of the American Presidents but there were two that did much to mould my character. Lincoln was one and Garfield was the other.

There are two very special reasons for my remembering Garfield. At a time when I had read and re-read his story as told in *From Log Cabin to White House,* I went one evening into a youth meeting and, as I entered, the Chairman called out, "Oh, here is Jabez, he will be our speaker." The speaker booked for the occasion had failed. I had never spoken in public before and I was still in my early teens but when anything greatly interested me I had a great urge to give expression to what I felt, and I was full of Garfield's story. So I started off with that and the time went with quite a lot of the story untold so I was asked to come the next week and finish it.

The second incident was when it fell to my lot to introduce during War time the Chief Free Church Chaplain of the American

forces to the Baptists of London. I referred to the boundless hospitality that had been shown by the Americans towards friends of mine when they visited the United States, and hoped that Americans arriving in England would recieve the same generous hospitality. But my chief point had to do with Garfield. I admitted that *Log Cabin* did not hold a high place either for literary quality or accuracy but one thing that had stuck in my mind was his reputed refusal to say "I cannot," which same spirit of determination to succeed I said was an outstanding American characteristic.

But to turn to the question "how does the literature of to-day appear when compared with that of the Victorian period?" It stands to reason that literature of a scientific, philosophic, or historical nature is in advance of such like literature of Victorian days, but when it comes to general literature we have our problem novel, psychological novel, our period novel, thriller, and detective novels. Many of these are written with great ability, but have we produced any of the Immortals, men and women whose names remain known through successive generations? In those far off days there were writers of deathless fame. A *Daily Telegraph* dated July 7 1900 has a column headed "Daily Telegraph's 100 best novels in the world," —such names appear as Harrison Ainsworth, J. M. Barrie, Conan Doyle, Hall Caine, Mrs. Gaskell, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Oliver Wendel Holmes, Charles Read, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Mrs. Humphrey Ward, Sir Walter Scott, Charles Kingsley, Thackeray, Dickens, Charlotte, Emily and Anne Bronte, Anthony Trollope, Jane Austen and others.

Could we produce a list of authors of comparable value who have written in the last 60 years.

Some would take up the challenge and write down such names as Rudyard Kipling, John Buchan, Hardy, George Eliot, Hugh Walpole, Galsworthy and so on.

I should like to hear the subject discussed.

In one acquirement the Victorians were certainly superior to the present generation. In handicraft work they could accomplish tasks the skill for which today is lost. The handicrafts in metal and wood seem to have died out but I think especially of what I was constantly seeing as I sat in my father's shop. A man would come in and say he wanted a new pair of boots. He would take off his boot and, with a long stick measure, my father would measure the length of his foot, then with a tape measure would take the measure of the instep and of the foot at the base of the toes. Later he would go to the cutting-out board and cut out the uppers, and next the pieces would be put in clamps and sewn together. Next he would take a wooden last, and if the boots were for a regular customer a last set apart for him would be produced. If he had bunions or corns that last would have appropriate lumps fixed on it. Then came the

nailing of the upper to the last and father would proceed to fix up the soles, and after a day's work the boots would be finished and guaranteed to be built up so as to safeguard the swellings on the foot. How often I have seen my father take up a finished boot and hold it up looking at it from every angle with a pride that no one can have when about six persons are engaged in making a boot and all is done by machine and with such rapidity that a pair of boots can be made in less than five minutes. No single individual can say of those boots—this is my work.

Some people speak of the "good old days" but no one that was poor and lived in that period would use the expression. The wage of a farm labourer was 11/- a week and in harvest, working overtime, he might receive 16/-. In the weaving factory in which I worked, a young weaver paid by the piece might earn 16/- but the older and slower workmen rarely went beyond 12/-. To be in a trade and earn from 30/- to £2 a week sounded to some of us like fabulous wealth.

Against lowness of wages must also be set lowness of prices. Lard 6d. a pound, dripping 9d., butter 1/3d. and meat about the same for a pound, unless we had the scrag end of—I do not know quite what—which was much cheaper. A man could get a pair of boots hand-sewn for about 15/-, sometimes less, trousers also would cost from 10/- to 15/-, and a good quality cloth suit would be priced at about £2.

My step-mother's father was a farm labourer with 11/- for his weekly wage. He paid 2/- a week for his cottage. At the rear of the cottage was a long garden which would produce sufficient vegetables to meet the family needs. At the end of the garden was a pig-sty. He kept one pig which was fed very largely from hog-wash which neighbours put in tubs made up of the wastage from cooking. When the pig was killed pork became the chief element in the family diet.

There were no doles, no old age pensions. For many the only prospect in old age was the workhouse. A Bristol magistrate has spoken recently of the appalling conditions of the workhouse in the Victorian period and appalling was the right word. The Darbys and Joans were separated; food, clothing and all the conditions were coarse and repulsive. Some who were not ready for the workhouse would be allowed parish relief. They would receive so many loaves a week. I remember how I felt when one day a neighbour came to our back door and pulled a parish loaf into two pieces and the inside of the loaf was all stringy and sticky. Such a loaf seemed to me to be quite uneatable.

Those were the days in which Dancing Bears, Organ Grinders, and German Brass Bands appeared outside our houses, or perhaps it was someone with a cracked voice singing, "I need thee every

hour," hoping, often in vain, for a copper to be thrown out of some door or window. Tramps were constantly met on the roads, beggars would come knocking at the back door, or it might be an Irish Cheap Jack. As soon as the door was opened he would drop down his pack. He might be told that nothing was wanted, nothing would be bought, but with a smile that nothing could wipe off and with a clever sort of blarney that nothing could stop, would often prevail upon the cottager to buy something that was not wanted or which, when purchased, proved to be a length of shoddy material not worth making into a dress.

Conditions of education were deplorably less advantageous than they are to-day. There were two schools in my town of 4,000 inhabitants, a National School under the supervision of the Church of England and a private boarding school that took in day boys. I went to the National School where tradesmens' sons paid 2d. a week and the rest 1d. The Head Master was paid a price for each pupil that passed the annual examination. It was a rotten arrangement and meant that in the weeks previous to the examination, we were kept in school extra hours, the cane was in frequent use and every means was taken to cram our brains with knowledge in readiness for the examination.

The supreme thing for acquiring knowledge is the presence of interest in the subject and it is the greatest proof of possessing the essential quality for teaching when the teacher has a capacity for arousing and developing that initial interest.

I could always acquire knowledge swiftly and retain tenaciously what I had learned when this interest in the subject was present, otherwise learning was a painful business. Here is a story as evidence of the truth of this. As soon as I knew how to read, my father required that I should read to him political speeches made from either side of the House of Commons. Soon I became so passionate a politician and so well informed as to set people talking. They nicknamed me Gladstone because of my passionate hero worship.

One day at school we were asked to write a paper on the method by which our country was governed. There was no need for a puckered brow or to wish for time to gather knowledge. My one need was for time enough to write down what I knew. I explained that ours was a Constitutional Monarchy; that ruling power was centred in the House of Lords and the House of Commons. These made up our Parliament and the chief executive body was called "The Cabinet." I wrote down the name of Cabinet Offices and of those who occupied them, and when our time was up I was fit to go on for quite a long time. This paper was shown to prominent townsfolk and at a time when Sir C. Russell was advertised to speak in the Victoria Hall, a few days before the meeting there

was a rap at our front door. My father opened it and there stood the Secretary of our local Liberal association. He said, "I hear you have a son very interested in politics." "Yes, that's our Jabe," replied my father. "Well," he said, "I have brought him a ticket for the meeting."

The point I want to make is that whenever I was full of knowledge and could retain and express what I knew, the cause of this was not conscious effort but a deep interest in the subject.

Social distinctions in the Victorian days were much more sharply drawn than they are today. There was a succession of layers from the lowest level upwards. The man who had learned a trade was a notch above the casual labourer. The foreman was a remove higher than the ordinary workman and the employer far above both. The professional class, doctors, lawyers, architects and the like were of a status higher than the artisan. The country gentry were inclined to be contemptuous of the person in a trade. In our town the highest circle was comprised of Lord Rothschild, who was the lord of the manor, the "Williams" of Pendley and the "Butchers" of Frogmore. It was my good fortune as a boy to attract the attention of the oldest of Frederick Butcher's daughters. I attended a Bible Class she conducted for boys.

When in after years I was engaged to preach anniversary sermons in a town seven miles distance from my home, Miss Mary Anne Butcher and her two sisters motored over to attend the services. After the service was over she grasped my hand and talked to me just as she used to do when I was a boy. Through the whole of my ministry at Kings Cross she was a regular correspondent and a most generous subscriber to our funds.

The sharpness of social distictions came out very vividly in my attitude to a girl who was to me very special. I almost worshipped the ground on which she trod; the sound of her voice was as sweetest music and a smile from her was seventh heaven of delight, but she was just one notch higher than I in the social scale so I never revealed my feelings, or at least thought I did not. In the long years afterwards when I went to preach at my home church I was her guest. She said to me on one of these occasions, "You know, Jabez, you were such a shy boy." I wonder if she had guessed my secret. The fact was God had in reserve for me one of the noblest of women whose faith, courage and selflessness was to be to me a constant incentive to daring enterprise and the very strength of my life.

The mention of this girl calls to mind an enterprise in which we were both to take part. In those days, with the exception perhaps of a "Pepper's Ghost Show" once a year, no provision was made for entertaining young people. A body of young hopefuls made an appeal to our church leaders to do something, without success.

So we took the matter into our own hands. We formed an organization which we named "The Star of Hope." The use of a room once a week was secured in the Infant School. There we assembled with a programme of lectures, debates, music and question box. An orchestra was formed and once a year an entertainment, always well attended, was given in the town's largest hall. It was at the Star of Hope I gained my earliest training in public speaking. A little way on in my teens I gave three talks on the History of Jerusalem. One of the debates aroused great interest. The subject was "Is it a greater advantage to be born rich than poor?" I argued in favour of the advantage of being poor and quoted a verse. I do not know how I came by it, I do not remember memorizing it, and through seventy years or more I have never forgotten it. The verse was:

"The reward is in the race we run—
Not in the prize;
And they, the few, that have it
Ere they earn it,
Know not or ever can
The generous pride which glows in him
Who on himself relies,
Entering the lists of life."

Family life in my boyhood meant an experience of strictest discipline. It would have been less so if my mother, a greatly beloved woman, had lived. She died when I was five years old There appeared to be no thought of training a child The one requisite was obedience with no questions as to why. My father would say "I have spoken once, remember I do not speak twice." The silliest rules were drilled into us, such as, "A little boy should be seen and not heard;" "A little boy should speak only when he is spoken to." I was taught that when taking a meal out, if asked whether I would like a second helping to say "No," which reply would be a lie for I would have been glad to get a good big second helping.

I think that I must have inherited my father's strong will. Unfortunately, as I grew up into my teens there were serious and painful clashes between us. He was keen to see me successful in business. I had little ambition that way but I was consumably eager to become a scholar. On two occasions wonderful offers were made to me whereby I could devote my life wholly to study. My father's foot went down sharp and final and though every bit of my nature was hurt and fiercely rebellious, I was still in my teens and had no choice but to accept disappointment.

The second clash was concerning my entering the ministry and

in this matter no other will than God's could take command. My father's will for me was that I should establish myself in business, preach, yes, as he had done, without fee or reward and free from the controls of Officialdom. Somehow he had a grieveance against Church Officials and urged upon me never to allow myself to come under their control so that they at will could kick me, as he put it, from pillar to post. The result was that when I passed my 20th year, I packed up my small portmanteau and went away to London. I arrived with about 5/- in my pocket but kept expenses down by sleeping in my brother's kitchen. He had preceded me in going to live in London.

The Denomination to which I belonged did not require that I should have been to college before being called to become the minister of a church. There were other testings and they were very severe, but, in face of what seemed to be the impossible, in a short time I received a call and on my ordination day my father came and publicly gave me his blessing.

This story of the clash of wills seems to have allured me away from the subject of family discipline and yet it most definitely grows out of the question of whether the sheer domination of will by the stronger will can in any sense be regarded as training a child. Modern psychology goes to an opposite extreme. For my own part I am an "Aristotelian." I believe in the doctrine of "the wisdom of the middle way." The prime requisite in the training of children is a great love and sanctified common sense. All young things, pups and colts and boys and girls need training—training is the word, not coercing.

I ought to say something of political conditions as I knew them when a boy. In these days when interest is dissipated and weakened by the great variety of attractions such as the cinema, the radio, television, complaints are made of the smallness of audiences at political meetings. In those Victorian days no such complaints could be made for the rule in the village, town and city was that of crowded meetings. At these meetings heckling was rampant. Some of it was amusing, a good deal of it well informed and to the point, and some of it was angry and led up to a free fight and smashed furniture. Our own cottage would at election time be plastered over with orange colours. It was an invitation, always accepted, to have windows broken, but the same sort of treatment was served out to the cottages on the same street that showed blue colours.

The excitement of election days made us boys limp. We would stand in groups outside a polling station and boo or cheer according to the colour they bore as waggonette loads of voters were brought to record their votes.

I was a Gladstone worshipper and would stand out from my wheel in the factory and harangue the men in favour of his

political creed. I remember the factory owner, more in amusement than anger, putting his head through the window and rebuking me with the remark "Gladstoning again"' In the midst of one of my outbursts one of the men, with a sort of prophetic instinct, shouted out "Build him a pulpit!"

One of the proudest moments of my life came when Gladstone was on a visit to Baron De Rothschild at the Waddesdon Manor. He was booked to end his train journey at Tring and go the rest of the journey by road, also to give an address in the large square facing the station. I was one of the huge crowd awaiting his arrival. I had one foot on the station steps and kept my balance by holding to the shoulder of a navvy. The train glided into the station and an immense hush fell upon the vast crowd. The Grand Old Man, as he was called, was seen coming out of the station by a private exit. He stepped into the carriage which was guarded by huge barriers but a sudden swaying of the crowd broke the barriers down and also swept me off my feet. When I recovered from the surge, I found myself at the foot of the carriage and, while he gave his speech, I stood awestruck looking up into that wonderful face and listening to the most marvellous of voices that at will could stir the hearts of the thousands of hearers.

My last point relates to religion. In those days, when the hour for Sunday morning worship arrived it would look as though the whole town was on the move. It was shocking to hear it said of a man that "that man never darkens the door of church or chapel." A shopkeeper knew that he would lose customers unless he went to a place of worship and no one of whom that was true could have the slightest hope of being elected to any public office. We compare the smallness of the congregations which is so often the rule in these day, but in doing so we need to remember that those who in these days assemble in church or chapel are not drawn by social habit nor desire for social prestige, nor material gain, rather they are there in resistance to a whole world of enticement to stay away. They attend the place of worship because it is their choice so to do, and so there is a value in their presence such as would not be if enticements other than worship had allured them to the house of God.

I suppose the kind of religious service usual at the chapel I attended would today be accounted as inexpressibly dull. The sermons were long and I do not remember anyone preaching as though he was aware of the fact that the gallery facing the pulpit was full of boys and girls. Three hymns were sung. The first verse would be read then sung and then the second verse and that sung, and so on through the hymn, which was a reminder that we were not far removed from the days when the majority of the congregation would be unable to read. There was no organ, a precenter

would use a pitch pipe to get the proper pitch of the tune and then start to lead the singing.

My Sunday began with Sunday School at 9 o'clock, then public worship at 10.30. Sunday School again at 4.30 and evening service at 6 o'clock. In addition to this I would often go to the Gospel Hall—the Brethren meeting place—in the afternoon and then, when our evening service was over, go to some evangelistic meeting or to the Salvation Army.

The explanation of all this was I was on a great quest. I could not be content with any advantage that had a time limit. What was the use of happiness upon which death would close the door? I wanted a life bigger than this brief spell of time—such a life that I could regard this life on earth as but the porch leading to the house, or as a preface introducing the book or as a preliminary canter to a race. I found what I sought and I know now in my 87th year that my life is not nearing an end, but reaching forward to a new beginning which will be endless and in which I shall be perfect as God is perfect.

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Bro. Etches

MANY years ago I read the strange biography of William Rolfe, *The Quest for Corvo,* and I have not yet lost the appetite that was then stimulated for unravelling human experience. When I became minister of Broadway Baptist church, Derby, an opportunity came for practising the art myself. Lying about in the archives I found a small, framed bust of a man who had lost an arm. His name, I learned, was John Etches, and the bust itself was executed in Derby china, which at one time was pure white without decoration. Further enquiry brought me a copy of some historical notes on the church as compiled by the late secretary, Samuel Taylor Hall; and from them I added to my knowledge of John that he was one of the original members of the fellowship which is now the Broadway church, but which, before 1938 was "St. Mary's Gate" and before that again, "Brook Street." Before the time of Brook Street the church was gathered by itinerant preaching, mainly by men from the neighbouring villages; but the church was actually formed in 1791 when nine persons were publicly baptized in the River Derwent on August 21st. Amongst these was John Etches, "a sailor, who lost his arm in the celebrated battle between Admiral Rodney and Count de Grasse in 1782."

It would be a long and tedious story to recount the steps by which I discovered the details of this man's life. I was amazed to find how many other people were pursuing similar lines of investigation, their motive being to find out the story of their ancestors. Amongst such there is a camaraderie and exchange of information. I was also to learn how such a quest grips one and how it leads into strange places where information may be lying. The thrill of lighting upon evidence, especially after a long check amongst useless material, belongs only to those who seek. Tempted then as I am to bore you with explanation of the machinery, I shall pass to the story as it has unfolded.

John was the seventh child of Richard and Hannah Etches, and was born in Derby on the 13th of November, 1754. All his brothers and sisters were born and Christened in Derby too, but there is no record of the marriage of the parents, so that they were presumably a young couple who came to Derby out of the country, probably from the Ashbourne district, a village which lies near Dovedale and the Peak district, and which is still famous for its annual "Shrovetide football" which seems to be played as much in the local stream as in the streets of the town.

Nobody now knows how John Etches spent the first twenty years of his life. When, many years later, he spoke of himself to his friend and pastor, John Gregory Pike, he described himself as of a wild disposition. He certainly played the Derby brand of Shrove-tide football which became so notorious that it was finally stopped in the 1840s. This game was quite unlike football as we know it today. It was partly the traditional "letting off steam" before Lent, but it also expressed rivalries between sections of the community. In Scotland, it is "Uppies" and "Doonies." In Derby, it was between the parish of All Saints and the parish of St. Peter which were then separated by a stream that flowed into the Derwent at a spot called Morledge. To-day that stream is in a culvert under a roadway, and the Morledge is a bus-station; then, it was an annual battle ground for lively spirits. On occasion players were drowned in the swollen waters, and always there was rowdiness and often trickery in pursuit of the goal.

Young Etches was apprenticed to a "whitesmith," but nobody seems to know what a whitesmith was or did. A firm calling itself by that title existed till recently in Derby, and it offered galvanized metalwork for sale. But the famous Derby wrought-iron workers, Bakewell and his successor Yates, also called themselves "whitesmith." They produced gates which remain as honoured craftsmanship in the district. The gates of the St Mary's Gate Church, from whence came the Broadway congregation were genuine Bakewell, and one naturally wonders whether John Etches swung a hammer in their construction. He would certainly have seen them often enough, for they were made for the house of Mr. Evans the banker near where John lived and probably worked. They now stand across the road outside Derby cathedral the Baptists not having been able to afford their transport and erection in Broadway.*

Some time in March 1776 he met the recruiting sergeant who changed his life. It was a Friday, and pay day. He went to the public house to await the foreman, and there he met an Irishman, Thomas Docks who was either already in the navy and on leave or else had succumbed to the sergeant recently. Anyhow, he talked John into joining up, promising good money, a chance of bounty and an easy way in as armourer's mate. Naval records confirm the dates of enlistment. John's story is that he tricked the sergeant into classifying him armourer by allowing Docks to pass the test in his name. The test was to dismantle a musket. By the Monday he

* By an irritating inaccuracy, John's excellent pastor speaks of a "Mark's Lane" as the place of John's early employment. But there is no such place, and even on town maps of the 1790s it does not appear. Perhaps he meant "St. Michael's" Lane. Pike mistook John's age, too, but fortunately there are other records available for his later life.

was repentant of his decision, and by the 30th of March—the date he officially joined the frigate "Richmond," he was thoroughly homesick. Docks was discharged sick in a few months: John was still on "Richmond" when she returned after a cruise in the Americas in 1779 to revictual at Chatham. There is a family story that John came home on leave and astonished eveyone by covering the kitchen floor with golden guineas.

John was probably happy enough in the service. He was popular both with officers and fellow ratings, joining in the usual fo'csle pastimes of gambling, drinking and horseplay. But he got his promotion, and sailed in July, 1779 as a warrant officer in "Alcide." We have to realise that the navy was a popular service then. It had been coming into its own throughout the 18th century, possibly because it was alone able to achieve independent British success against European rivals. Etches served under Rodney who, though vain, selfish and unscrupulous, could truthfully write in 1792 "within two little years I have taken two Spanish, one French, and one Dutch admiral." The Frenchman was Count de Grasse, and the victory was off Dominica. Lieutenant Nelson was present and it was regarded at home as "celebrated" until he eclipsed it with a greater.

The story of John's adventures were told (some of them anyway) to his friend Pike later on and published in the General Baptist Repository during 1839. There are some gruesome details, for John lost his hand in the battle, and by neglect, finally his whole arm. But in June 1782 he was transhipped to "Princess Charlotte" and finally discharged at Plymouth in the September. In the November he was granted relief by the Governors of the Chest at Chatham—£4 immediately and a pension of £8; so he returned to Derby.

He was still ready for anything, and played Shrove-tide football again, but he was soon to meet Rachel Johnson whom he married on December 5th, 1783. The certificate can be seen in the records of All Saints Church with their "mark" attested by the curate and witness. They took up house somewhere near the Morledge and John tried his hand at small-holding, or it may have been trade, for at various times he was a coal merchant, kept pigs, and finally (on his death certificate) was described as a gardener. Whether he was that Etches described in the rent rolls as a seedsman and gardener, or whether he was living in the cottage of the workhouse, or whether he was actually an inmate of the workhouse is obscure, but such is the information about his secular life for the remaining forty or fifty years.

The important part was his conversion and his reliability during the early years of the General Baptist establishment in Derby. There was already a Particular Baptist cause, perhaps then, as now, given to the particularism which so frustrated William Carey at this time

in Leicester. But the great Dan Taylor had been visiting Derby, and soon preachers of his following began to come over from Melbourne and Castle Donington. They preached in a hired room and sometimes in the open. They were known irreverently as the "Dippers," and John's relatives in Nottingham had been already influenced by them. John was taking long thoughts himself, and with Rachel sought evangelical preaching in the establishment and among the Methodists. He eventually found grace amongst the Baptists and was, with Rachel, amongst the nine who went out from his house to the Derwent on 21st August, 1791 to be publicly immersed in baptism. He was dressed in his sailor's shirt, and he found himself watched by as many eyes as had seen him perform in the football game. One of his cronies, perched up a tree, cried out, "Wheer's the ball now, Jack?" But he never played again. He had dedicated his reputation to Christ and His church.

The rest of his story is the story of the General Baptist cause in Derby and can be read in the brief minutes in the early records. He is referred to as "Bro. Etches" and throughout the years his name is associated with matters of delicacy. In those days church discipline was administered, and he more often than not was one to "visit." The minutes of these years are poor enough, and they eventually peter out altogether. When they resume, Bro. Etches is no longer mentioned. The church let one of her stalwarts pass unnoticed. He had been a deacon 46 years.

He was fortunate—or should I say, "We" are fortunate?—in his association with John Gregory Pike, his minister, and with his niece and nephew by his second mariage to Sarah Wilkins, for each of these wrote something about him. Rachel had died in 1819 and in 1820 John married Sarah who must have been about his own age, for she was baptized in 1798. There were no children of either marriage; but her brother, George, married to another of the "originals" Mary Porter, had a son William whose wife entered in her diary details of the deaths of John and Sarah in 1838. They had obviously maintained a good deal of contact with the old couple. Their grandson was the late Rev. Gordon Wilkins of the B.M.S. whose wife was a grand-daughter of Rev. J. G. Pike. So John was not without issue in the Lord.

We should add to this list of his "family" the name of a John Etches who died "much and deservedly esteemed" in June, 1872. He was probably a nephew, that is a son of John's older brother Samuel, the bootmaker.

Rev. J. G. Pike, however, is the main quarry for information on John's later life. The "Memorials" show us many details of a consistent Christian life; John's hospitality for example, especially to visiting ministers who he could not bear to think of putting up in local public houses; John's anxiety lest he fall into temptation

(as in playing the game he loved on Shrove Tuesday); John's intense honesty, which made him stick to a contract even if circumstances changed and brought him loss instead of gain: John's generosity to the church.

At one time, the cause, which began in a hired room and under its first pastor built in the new housing area of Brook Street, was on the verge of extinction. John Etches as a layman and John Pike as a scholar and minister may be said to have revived it, and in his middle years, John was even on a committee, with Mr. Wilkins and Mr. Pike, to consider the resolution, "That the church attempt to build a new chapel." Nothing came of the matter and John was already dead several years before the congregation moved into the St. Mary's Gate premises.

The St. Mary's Gate building has also disappeared, and the third building in Broadway, is already 21 years old. In 1938 Rev. F. G. Hastings contributed an article about the previous hundred years, and now, once again, we look back upon our story that we may be encouraged to look forward with hope.

II

Bro. Etches was forty years a pillar of the first General Baptist Church, Derby. What, we may ask, was that church like? The Minute books answer that question, sometimes with a startling clarity.

But, first, what was Derby like? It was populous enough to make the Baptist strategians of the Midland Conference anxious both to make the little group a distinct body rather than a body dependent on other fellowships, and, in unhappy times, to maintain the cause, when it was shaken with dissension, by the call of a minister. It is strange to reflect that John was born within twenty-five years of Prince Charles Edward's armed visitation (the bridge over the Trent at Swarkstone is the same now as when the Scots crossed it). It is equally strange to observe in the records how John's elder brothers and sisters were registered in the Old Style dating. Like other ancient places, Derby was living through changing times. But it was not then to be engulfed by industry; and even now it preserves the flavour of agriculture and county importance. Yet it had much industrial enterprize. If wrought iron is akin to heavy engineering, then the tubing and boiler works of today had their ancestry. Pottery was tried out too but, in Etches day, turned over to the highly specialized craftsmanship of one firm, now known as Crown Derby. Spinning was a familiar trade, and Arkwright lived not far away at Cromford, but cotton did not become king in the town. Derby's mills turned to silk. And, as an odd echo of what had passed and of what was to come, a Derbyshire man who

learned roadmaking in Wade's army, applied his craft to his own county. Now we have railways and a jetcraft industry.

Industry attracts population and fosters unrest, and both factors appear in the history of the church, but Dan Taylor's interest in the church was justified. It was to become more influential than the village churches which supported its early growth.

The preamble to the minutes tells how this church meeting came into existence. There must already have been "interested persons" before Taylor came from London "into the country," for he "was solicited to preach." Etches' experience perhaps gives a clue. It was a time of serious religious thinking, and his relatives in Nottingham, who were barbers and small shop-keepers, had already told him about the "Dippers." These Nottingham Etches were connected with the Friar Lane church.

After Dan Taylor other preachers, from Castle Donington, Melbourne, Ilkeston, Kegworth and Kirkby Woodhouse carried on the work, the Connexion paying the rent of a meeting house. By Christmas 1790 the Conference had to note that no one had as yet "espoused the cause;" but in July, 1791 "an address was presented by a few friends at Derby," in which they desired to be "formed into a church state" and asked whether they should be associated with another church or launch out on their own.

So, on August 21st, 1791, after a morning sermon on baptism and another "on another subject" in the afternoon, the first nine were baptized in the Derwent and received the Lord's Supper in the evening.

I am restricting this paper to the first period of the history, viz. till 1800. In that year James Taylor, Dan's nephew, settled, apparently on the initiative of the Midland Conference who were anxious about the cause in Derby. The membership had risen in that period to 40 and then declined to 30. Can we trace this decline and recession?

The minutes, in various hands, record first the names of the members and the dates of the various "additions;" then a list of those out of membership by 1799 and a half page of transfers and dismissals from and to other churches. This revision was perhaps made in preparation for the settlement of Rev. James Taylor. In the record itself there is an intermediate revision done in 1794, recording "Members excluded dismissed and dead since the Association 1792." One death and four exclusions are recorded. On the same page a statistical account dated "since the Association at Hinckley 1793" gives 12 by baptism, 1 by recommendation, 1 withdrawn and 3 excluded."

It was clearly no easier then than now to make exact returns, and these figures are important only as they show us first the desire to take stock of the situation and secondly if they can be translated

into persons entering or withdrawing or being lost to the fellowship. The death can be identified—Anne Pipes was one of the originals. She died in September 1792. The one by recommendation was perhaps Elizabeth Wright who came from "a particular Baptist church," of whom more in a moment. No further account need be taken here of Jane Porter who married and went to Ilkeston, nor of those who came from other churches into the Derby fellowship.

Elizabeth Wright precipitated an issue. On June 24th "a Church Meeting agreed to call upon Elizabeth Right to attend the next Church Meeting to give her experience to the Church." She duly did so, but a "querey" was raised in August: "shall the candidates give their experience to the Church or to a few members selected and those give a relation of their experience to the Church." The former was agreed, and this presumably became standard practice. At the same time, three Brothers were appointed "to have discourse with the candidates before they gave their experience to the Church." This discourse may have come to assume almost the standing of recommendation, for a later minute refers to Bro. Dalleson as "giving his sentements on a candidate privately." The candidate was not received into membership. In 1794 the church appointed two elders and two "deakens." Dalleson headed the first list with 14 votes, and Whittingham (one of the above three) with 9. Etches was third with 3 and so did not qualify; but in the deacons' election Etches was second to his brother-in-law Johnson, and Francis Thorpe (the third of the interviewers) was out of it with only one vote.

By 1800 Dalleson, Whittingham and Thorpe were all out of the fellowship. Dalleson withdrew, Whittingham was excluded for Deism and Thorpe either withdrew or was excluded, but was re-admitted in January 1800. There was probably more involved than personalities, for a minute of February 1794 records "that Brother Dalleson is to go to Brother Pickering for instruction." Pickering was one of the preachers from Castle Donington. It looks as if Deism, whatever that falling-off implied, was gathering force. Between 1796 and 1798 several other members were excluded for the same deviation.

Besides these subtleties, other business at the church meetings may have seemed easier to consider. Some of it was charitable, some of it sordid. The very first minute, perhaps the very occasion of calling a church meeting, was to carry a "case . . . to conference praying the Churchs to contribute something towards the Great Loss Brother Saml Hill has sustained through his Wind Mill being blown down." It is regrettable to reflect that brother Hill withdrew from the fellowship in 1798. In November another two "cases" were under consideration. "The Church agree to allow him (one Charles Norton who was not, apparently, a member) 4 pence per

member and to pay it once a year as also do other Churches in the Baptist Connection." A case was also brought "to beg some assistance for Doctor Priestley who has suffered for the cause of Dissenting by the riot at Birmingham." Later in the year, Bro. Pickering was allowed "to collect for the Meeting House at Ashford the Week before Easter" and Br. Goddard to be invited to collect for his Meeting before Br. Wm. Pickering of Ashford." The minute of March 31st is odd. "A collection for Mr. Robertson of Burnley for is Law Charges concerning a young Woman in their Church. Collected 12-5¼." Not all of these pleas for help succeeded. It is doubtful if any help was in fact sent to Dr. Priestley, perhaps because of his "Deism;" and presumably also the plea for the "Calviness Meeting house at Kibworth" also failed. It is crossed out, anyway.

The vital question of "discipline" has ample illustration in these pages. Within a year of their baptism William and Ann Plant were up for "brauling and scaulding." William was excluded finally for "drunkenness and justifieing himself in the act," but he must have applied for reconsideration, for a minute requires "further proof of his sincerity." The final list is sobering. Apart from the group excluded for Deism, there were cases of drunkenness, defrauding, treachery, swearing, A man and woman were accused of fornication, and another woman was excluded for marrying a "carnel man." One can sympathize with Etches and his heavy heart. He considered leaving off from going to church, but his wife Rachel kept him there. One can understand too his generosity in having visiting preachers stay at his own house rather than at the local public house. It is easy to sneer at simple people tackling difficult human problems. This little church contained upright and faithful folk as well as moral failures.

Though small in numbers, the church meeting took its share in greater events. It shaped its own activities, for example. The "experience" meeting came to be of some importance, and gathered at 7 o'clock each Lord's day morning. The exhortation meeting varied between 10 and 2:30, and was directed towards special activities, such as the appointment of office bearers.

With the appointment of a minister the church began a new period in its history, not by any means without troubles, but with an acknowledged leader and with beginnings of a plan to settle in distinctive premises. House meetings and hired halls are not best for a permanent witness, and eventually the Association urged forward the church to buy land in the new part of the town and there to build a meeting house.

WILLIAM SPEIRS

In The Study

In a way it all started with the Tractarians. They acknowledged the convincing force of much "Catholic" belief, and they wanted to remain Anglicans with a clear conscience. If the inner conflict raged at many points, few were more decisive for them than the arena of eucharistic doctrine. Were their acknowledged Articles of Belief capable of satisfying re-interpretation? Could it be fairly argued that on a particular issues Cranmer's intention and outlook were quite other than had generally been assumed? Perhaps it could.

Thus was built up an imposing and liberating edifice of understanding. Late mediaeval Romanism was the villain of the piece. At one level was a pervasive and degenerate nominalism. At another was an indefensible "popular" eucharistic theology. The continental Reformers were tarred with the one brush, while striking at the other. In England, the new men shared the Lutheran misapprehensions—or perhaps they didn't. Or they were seeking the recovery of "classical" Romanist belief. Or Romans and Reformers alike had lost the true Biblical understanding of sacrifice. The variations were endless. But one way or another the impasse could be resolved and the chasm bridged. And the story passed on via the textbooks into the twentieth century gathering reputability as it went, and parts of the ecumenical movement accepted it gratefully at Anglo-Catholic hands, and it seemed that the new age of eucharistic harmony might soon be dawning. Only the sad thing is that it was just not true.

This is the theme of a monumental study[1] from the pen of the lecturer in dogmatic theology at Heythrop College. Much of this has been said before by his Romanist brethren, but the claims are now exhaustively buttressed and made available to the English reader; and surely the case may be taken to be broadly established. We are all debtors to Father Clark, not simply for the destruction of myth but also for that clearing of the theological ground that reveals the real issues and encourages us to grapple with them. It is no part of his task to offer a systematic presentation of the Roman doctrine of the eucharist, but much valuable

[1] *Eucharistic Sacrifice and the Reformation,* by Francis Clark. (Darton, Longman and Todd. 50s.). 1960.

light is shed upon this by the way. If his incidental and indirect expositions of Reformation belief (as opposed to Reformation reaction) smell faintly musty and sound just slightly off-key, there is really no cause for surprise. For has he not amply demonstrated how easily the language of one's opponents can be misunderstood? This is always the great barrier to ecumenical communication.

It is tempting to conclude that our great controversies have been "much ado about nothing," that to penetrate the verbiage of the past and cut away the inaccuracies of its polemic would be to reveal a broad, underlying, sufficient unity. But this book confirms us in the knowledge that the easy way out is not open to us. There are continuing problems, and they are major ones. Only they are not quite what we have generally supposed them to be. Now our paramount need is for the systematic study of the great traditions of belief, particularly in their classic periods, and their classic formulations. It means combined study across denominational frontiers. Its fruit would be rewritten text-books of Church History and Christian Doctrine that would make us rub our eyes and wonder. Its end might be a new engagement in truth, and a glimpse of the future that God intends.

It is scarcely rewriting that Dr. Paul has to offer to us in the historical and doctrinal fields.[2] His is the more humble aim of making that sketch review of the past that may illumine and assist communication of the Gospel to the contemporary world. Nevertheless, his pastoral concern and his ecumenical spirit combine to ensure flexibility of mind and relevance in application, whilst his historian's training keeps theological judgment rooted in understanding of the complexity of events.

The bulk of his work is concerned with the examination and assessment of expositions of the Atonement through the centuries, Irenaeus and Origen, Athanasius and Augustine, Anselm and Abelard, Luther and Calvin, Owen and Edwards, Campbell and Bushnell, Moberly and Rashdall, Dale and Denney, Westcott and Forsyth, Hicks and Aulen, Taylor and Quick, Brunner and Baillie—it is all familiar ground, and the harvest it yields is gathered with surer hand once the ancient and mediaeval periods are left behind. Here are all the great theories and emphases of tradition, from victory, ransom, and satisfaction to moral influence, penal substitution, and sacrifice. Here is revealed quite clearly how each era uses the images of contemporary society, and how the richness of the image is lost in the rigidity of the theory it creates.

But what justification is there for travelling once again the old path, even though it be in the company of one who brings an unusually fresh and discerning eye to the terrain and enhances our

[2] *The Atonement and the Sacraments*, by Robert S. Paul. (Hodder & Stoughton. 30s.). 1961.

appreciation by a constant stream of shrewd comment? It is a fair question, and receives a convincing answer. For Dr. Paul has a double preoccupation. He is concerned about the disunity of the churches, and especially the cleavage between Protestant and Catholic. He is concerned also about the man in the pew and his perplexity. And in the Atonement and in the Sacraments and in the indissoluble relationship between them he finds the key at one and the same time to unity and to understanding. To make the Atonement central to theology and to make the sacraments integral to worship is our common need. The Protestant sees one side of the coin, the Catholic the other. But the Atonement is communicated to us in sacramental living, whilst sacramentalism must ever be governed by the Atonement.

It is against this background that the writer proceeds to a brief discussion of baptism and a very inadequate treatment of eucharist that seek reconstruction and some advance beyond the ecumenical impasse. Seldom have I encountered among paedobaptists so clear an understanding of the real issues and so humble a readiness to follow the argument where it leads. He frankly asserts: "There is something like a conspiracy of blindness in the way in which theologians in all confessions who are the most anxious to understand and develop the meaning of the Sacraments will take the sacramental ideas of Paul (which implied conversion, the significant imagery of believers' baptism and faith-union with Christ) and apply them without any further comment to the practice of infant baptism where none of these most vitally important factors are in the least operative." This needs to be said. And we should all go on to join him in his recognition that within divided Christendom the incompleteness of our own sacramental experience precludes full understanding of the baptismal sacrament.

Dr. Paul would have us build upon the life of our Lord. Jesus underwent both circumcision and baptism. May it be that what is demanded of paedobaptists is a form of baptismal confirmation in years of understanding and commitment that retains the symbolism of immersion and all that it involves? There would be no question of anabaptism, but rather the adoption of a form of confirmation integral to baptism itself, a going down into the waters understood not as a second baptism but as a completion of the one unified sacramental action. It is a brave suggestion—though it might serve only to make confusion worse confounded. It should at least stir us to a like willingness to adventure. For my own part, I become increasingly convinced that a paramount cause of paedobaptist myopia is the sub-Biblical theory and practice of so many Baptist churches.

Meanwhile, strange things are happening on the New Testament front which would make our fathers wonder; and at no point

is the contemporary scene more fascinating than in the area of Gospel criticism and construction. Rarely if ever do the standard text-books reflect the sparkle and brilliance of the present situation, for either they are the work of the individualists who hold fast to their own line or else they betray the hand of the mediators who seek balance and neatness, reflect the consensus of opinion, and favour appropriately the sober hues. If we would catch for ourselves the exciting glimpse of tomorrow, it is to the brief article and the learned journal that we must turn—or listen in at a meeting such as the International Congress of the Four Gospels (1957). This is why we must be grateful for a production that puts between two covers a judicious selection of papers read at that same Congress.[3] Of the sixteen contributions offered, fourteen are in English and two in French.

What is here provided should be of wide appeal. From first to last we breathe the atmosphere of a living, relevant, and dynamic faith. There is no hint of the cloistered seclusion of the study. Theological understanding combines with pastoral concern to make scholarship meaningful to minister and teacher alike. Real and major issues are being wrestled with, and the outcome has significant implications for our understanding and use of the Gospels and thus for our presentation of New Testament faith. Clearly it would be impossible to examine seriatim the individual contributions. Nevertheless, there may be singled out for special mention the review of the present position of textual criticism in the New Testament given by Kurt Aland. With the possible exception of E. C. Colwell no one surely would have been in a better position to discharge the task. The summary assessment is all too brief. But it forcibly reminds us of the complexities of the problem, clearly establishes the present state of research, and incidentally provides illuminating background to the recently published section of the New English Bible.

What of the general trends that this collection exemplifies and reveals? There is a turning away from a scepticism which owed as much to concealed philosophical presuppositions as it did to sane and sober methods of scholarly investigation. The limitations of Form Criticism are more apparent and more widely recognised. A more patient reckoning with the Evangelists' own aims and understandings is apparent. It is not that the clock has been turned back or that we are asked to accept conservatism refurbished. But if the Gospels are not biographies neither are they community inventions, and if our understanding of history is more sophisticated than of old yet the search for the Jesus of history is not entirely vain. And this is why it is no accident that so much of the interest is centred on the Fourth Gospel, whether in itself

[3] *The Gospels Reconsidered*, by Basil Blackwell. 27s. 6d. 1960.

or in its relationship to the Synoptics. New light has been shed on old problems, not least by the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Old questions are now being asked in a new way, as we find that the relevant questions themselves are subtly different to what we had supposed. No fresh agreed positions are in sight. All is in ferment. The value of such a volume as this is that it will introduce the non-specialist into what might become for him a new world.

But the modern problem of Scripture is essentially that of comprehending Biblical revelation in an age which is heir to rapid and enormous advance and upheaval both in the scientific and in the historical field. It would be a bold man who would confidently claim that the difficulties of wielding the old weapon in a new world have been satisfactorily solved and clearly overcome; but it is reasonable to suppose that an understanding of the broad movement of the last three hundred years and a grasp of the fruitful lines of theological reaction and reappraisal will be the indispensable preliminary to fresh assurance. It is the value of a slim and readable contribution to the series of S.C.M. paperbacks[4] that it performs this service with accuracy, clarity, and comprehensiveness.

The seventeenth century was marked by the scientific revolution —that outstanding achievement of Christian civilisation, carried forward by pioneers many of whom were deeply Christian thinkers. But the inevitable disintegration of the mediaeval world-view was a prolonged process, and science succumbed more rapidly than history. In the latter field, eighteenth century man remained a Hellenist at heart. In science, he was a modernist; in history, a mediaevalist. Only in the nineteenth century was the revolution in historical thinking carried through, as cyclical and static categories gave way to concepts of change and progress. So historical method was applied to Christian origins and Christian Scriptures, and philosophical and theological systems were framed in evolutionary terms.

But at this point the theological revolution in Britain divides from that of the continent. On the one hand we find *Essays and Reviews, Lux Mundi,* Lightfoot, Westcott, and Hort, the speculative liberalism of the Broad Churchmen, but also the liberal orthodoxy of Gore and the Anglo-Catholic leaders, and the inductive, experiential, evolutionary approach to the Bible. On the other hand, there is Schleiermacher, with his complete acceptance of historical criticism, his necessary formulation of a new doctrine of revelation, his understanding of Christianity as a positive historical religion, his proclamation of a theology of the religious consciousness, and there is Karl Barth, with his unqualified rejection of

[4] *The Bible in the Age of Science,* by Alan Richardson. (S.C.M. Press Ltd. 5s.). 1961.

Schleiermacher's historical method, his substitution of church dogmatics for the study of Christian religion, and his interpretation of dogmatics in Christological terms. It is against the background of Barth's dissociation of critical method from liberal presuppositions that contemporary developments in Biblical studies are to be understood.

Four concluding chapters outline the recent trends. Bultmann and the existentialist theology are expounded and criticized; Dodd, Cullmann, Ernest Wright, and the *Heilsgeschichte* theology with its preoccupation with the Biblical proclamation of God's action in history, are sympathetically discussed and commended; Austin Farrer and the theology of images are presented in their seminal significance; typology with its understanding of historical foreshadowing and fulfilment is perceptively reviewed. This is the work of a master. It avoids quick solutions and unnecessary technicalities. It stimulates thought and challenges obscurity. It deserves a wide circulation. It is cheap at its price.

It may also help us to understand how inevitable it is that in every generation expositions of Scripture reflect the background of the times and the preoccupations of the age; and at least from the Reformation era onwards this fact has been particularly evident if we limit our concern to commentaries on so explosive a book as the Epistle to the Romans. Since the last quarter of a century has been marked by an unparalleled attack on crucial problems of ecclesiology and a massive awareness of the Church as belonging to the Gospel itself, a new commentary was fairly to be expected which would use the ecclesiological key to unlock the apostolic treasure. It has now been made available to us in an admirable English translation provided by Harold Knight.[5] If we are wise, we shall not attempt to drive an apportioning wedge between the influence of the *Zeitgeist* and that of the Holy Spirit. Indeed, to be alert to the one while remaining receptive to the other may lead to the conclusion that at this point they belong together more closely than might have been supposed.

The *Commentaire Du Nouveau Testament* series has elicited noteworthy contributions from the pens of Hering and Masson. This study from Leenhardt is of at least equal merit and importance. Needless to say, the critical issues are never shirked. But the aim is theological exposition, and the goal is triumphantly realized. Style is attractive, thought is clear, interpretation is sometimes fresh and always challenging. This is the work of a cautious exegete who is never content to drift with the popular currents, but will listen patiently and persistently to the text and weigh it soberly and sanely, even though the result dictated be less exciting. He will not throw

[5] *The Epistle to the Romans*, by Franz J. Leenhardt. (Lutterworth Press. 45s.). 1961.

out the plain assertion of natural moral understanding in Romans 2 just because it may become entangled with classical theories of natural law. He will not shut himself up to autobiographical interpretations of Romans 7 when the general tenor of the Epistle is against them. He will not equate the political authorities of Romans 13 with demonic powers. If he is to be challenged at any major point it must perhaps be in his exposition of sacrifice. That this has its representative aspect may not and will not be denied. But it must be asked whether there is not at the centre of the Biblical understanding a controlling element that must be described as substitutionary, and whether a failure to give adequate recognition to this pivotal reality does not subtly unbalance the argument at more than one point.

However that be, the significant feature of this study lies in its grasp of the essential unity of the Roman epistle. As Paul pauses before turning to the West he confronts the problem raised by the tremendous extension of the Church of Christ. Could the sense of unity and continuity still be preserved? And wherein did it really consist? Only a reasoned affirmation of what essentially constituted the inner being of the Church could provide the answer. But that answer must be given not in terms of timeless essence but of historical emergence and growth, of divine purpose and action. This is the theme of the epistle. Only when Romans 9-11 is seen not as an interruption but as the inevitable next link in a unified chain is "justification" rightly understood.

If the Church is seen as belonging in this way to the divine purpose and the total Gospel, the question of the Biblical attitude to Church Order cannot for long be evaded. The appropriate concern will be not preoccupation with the details of practical development but rather a keen attention to the shaping of the Body of Christ within the New Testament period in so far as this reflects the self-understanding of the apostolic Church. It is the supreme merit of a new contribution to the series of Studies in Biblical Theology[6] that it reviews the evidence from this perspective.

The common weakness in this field is to generalize from a predetermined position and press the facts into a tidy and coherent scheme. Dr. Schweizer wisely will have none of this. Patiently he explores the New Testament writings, and moves on to a brief and sketchy examination of the Apostolic Fathers. Only then will he attempt to unify and draw conclusions. He admits the presence of varying emphases, but would find in the Pauline thinking the most adequate approach to a full and balanced explication. The details of exegesis are inevitably open to attack at many points. But it is a refreshing experience to company with one who does not profess

[6] *Church Order in the New Testament,* by E. Schweizer. (S.C.M. Press, Ltd. 16s.). 1961.

to know the end from the beginning, and who seeks at every point to listen humbly and receptively to the text.

His conclusion is that the Church is built and ordered upon the basis of faith both in God's freedom and in his faithfulness. It lives by the past and present activity of God in Jesus Christ, and its ordering must always bear witness to this. In so far as it rests upon the historical redemption that culminates in the historical Jesus, it looks back to the cross and resurrection and forward to the parousia, and sees itself on pilgrimage in time. In so far as it is a new creation it looks upward to the risen Lord who is from everlasting to everlasting, and understands itself as caught up into the heavenly places. In the one case the emphasis in Church Order will be upon continuity and its historical head. In the other it will be upon newness and the Spirit. But either way, it is of God whose freedom and faithfulness must always be held together. This is true, important, and relevant—and its implications for contemporary thinking and reform are profound. I ask only whether the primacy of christology to pneumatology must not be continually asserted, and whether this does not mean that the argument must be taken one decisive step further.

N. CLARK.

Reviews

BOOKS ABOUT BOOKS

Every minister is familiar with the problem of being asked to guide somebody's reading when he is not quite sure what he ought to recommend. Similarly, every scholar who engages in a piece of research faces the difficulty of knowing where to find his material; when he has found, he often faces the further difficulty of discovering whether what he has found has been exploded or substantiated in other places. During the last few months we have received a number of books which seek to meet these problems, and we propose to discuss them together.

First, from the Inter-Varsity Fellowship, comes *A Guide to Christian Reading,* edited by A. F. Wallis (price 6s. 6d.). It is a revision, one might almost say a re-writing, of a similar work published in 1952, and is intended to be an aid to finding a profitable path through the jungle of books, the production of which seems an endless process.

Some 1,500 titles, all of them in English, are listed, and often explanatory notes are appended. The list clearly stands in the evangelical Protestant tradition and is rooted in the Scriptures, though books of various theological outlooks are included, and apart from the frequently recurring comment that a book is not written from the conservative standpoint, the notes are balanced and helpful. Some are particularly succinct, as for instance the one on G. A. Smith's *The Book of the Twelve Prophets,* which reads: "Always lucid, sometimes rich, often wayward."

Because the book is directed at the general reader some scholarly works are quite rightly omitted, though in each section there is a fair proportion of books for the advanced reader as well as for the beginner.

One sympathizes with the editor in his problem of selection and realises that a halt had to be called somewhere. It is regrettable, nevertheless, that works like E. W. Heaton, *The Old Testament Prophets,* R. H. Strachan, *The Fourth Gospel,* C. H. Dodd, *Romans,* T. W. Manson, *The Teaching of Jesus,* are not mentioned; they might with profit have replaced titles like Matthew Henry's *Commentaries,* A. B. Davidson's *The Theology of the Old Testament,* and F. Delitzsch, *The Psalms.*

The difficulties of producing such a volume and having it up to date are considerable and here and there one or two cheap editions have recently been published and are not here noted,

though their more expensive counterparts are. Here and there, too, a book seems to have been inadvertently repeated. The Biblical section, as one might expect, is the most thorough; the section on the church and the sacraments, by comparison, is feeble, and the one on biography seems somewhat arbitrary; the one on the Last Days, on the other hand, gives one the impression it might almost go on until they arrive.

In spite of these imperfections, however, the work is of real value and the price incredibly low.

A similar work, though on a much larger and broader scale, is *A Theological Book List,* edited by Raymond P. Morris (price 45s.), and published in this country by Blackwell's. It contains over 5,000 titles and was prepared on behalf of the Theological Education Fund of the International Missionary Council to assist in its efforts to strengthen and improve the theological colleges and seminaries training students for the Ministry in Africa, Asia and Latin America. The editor states that he sought advice from some eighty scholars (including G. Henton-Davies and H. H. Rowley) so that the work reflects the judgments and critiques of many people from various view-points.

Most of the titles are in English and are of three kinds: First, those for the help of the teacher; second, specialist works and reference books; third, more popular books. They are divided into four classes: First, the Bible; second, church history; third, doctrine; fourth, practical theology. The work is, however, heavily weighted on the Biblical side and particularly on the New Testament.

Full names of authors are given and often a short note or comment is added to a title. Some books are listed in two places, with a suitable cross reference, and there is a good author's index, though it is strange to have two sections covering theology, sometimes repeating the subjects and even the books, without cross references.

It is impossible to comment in any detail on the selection. Suffice it to say that the section on Old Testament theology is particularly comprehensive, listing 23 titles; that it is hard to find a book of importance omitted in the section "The Prophets—General Studies"; that the books on the Dead Sea Scrolls are too few (15 titles), though well chosen; and that those on the Sermon on the Mount are, by comparison, too many (nine titles). The section on the ecumenical movement is brilliant, covering some 70 titles, but those on the ministry, worship and the sacraments are thin in the extreme.

Some provision, however, ought to be made for this book to be revised, say every five years, and in future it ought to be issued with a stronger binding.

To E. J. Brill, publishers in Leiden, we are indebted for the

first volume of a new series, *New Testament Tools and Studies,* edited by Bruce M. Metzger; it is entitled, *Index to Periodical Literature on the Apostle Paul* (price 14 gld.). This book is more specialised and learned, and therefore more for the library and the scholar than for the general reader.

Some twenty students of the editor went through about sixty periodicals for articles on Paul. The editor himself combed another fifty. This index lists about 3,000 articles in fourteen languages including Lithuanian, Russian and Serbian. Each periodical listed has been surveyed from the date of its inception until 1957, or until it ceased publication.

The sections cover bibliographical articles, historical studies on the life of Paul (15 sections), critical studies of Pauline literature (a separate section for each Pauline letter), Pauline apocrypha, theological studies (18 sections) and the history of the interpretation of Paul and his work.

All in all, this is a most useful guide to scholarship, and succeeding volumes will be eagerly anticipated by those who are engaged in research. The "cloth" binding is very good and the price excellent.

At the same level of scholarship, but on a still wider basis, we have received the sixth volume of *Internationale Zeitschriftenschau für Bibelwissenschaft und Grenzegebiete,* (Patmos-Verlag, Dusseldorf, price £4), a guide to current periodical literature which has now been running for nearly ten years and has well and truly established itself. This volume lists over 2,000 articles, accompanied in nearly every case by short notes in German, from some 400 periodicals published in 1958-59.

Articles cover mainly the Bible, the world of the Bible, and the early church. Whilst each issue of this work is a guide only as to what was written in any one or two years, a collection of all the volumes gives the research student the widest possible coverage. One could wish that each issue were a little more up-to-date, but in view of the vast field covered we must rather be thankful that it appears at all.

Two other works which cover these same fields similarly are worthy of mention. The quarterly publication, *Biblica* (price £2 7s. 6d. per annum), lists annually some 3,000-4,000 articles and books that have appeared on Biblical topics all over the world. Even book reviews are listed and the indexing is excellent. The Society for Old Testament Study also publishes annually a *Book List* of books relevant to the Old Testament, together with a brief review of each title by one of a most distinguished panel of Old Testament scholars. Professor H. H. Rowley edited this for eleven years and these issues have since been published in one volume. Since 1958 the list has been edited by G. W. Anderson. Copies

may be obtained from the Rev. G. Farr, tutor of Manchester Baptist College (price 6s.).

Such bibliographies make one acutely aware of the impossibility of reading all that one would like, but if the essence of wise reading is selection then it is this kind of book which helps us all and enables us to help others.

A. GILMORE

Joachim Jeremias: *Infant Baptism in the First Four Centuries.* Translated by David Cairns. (112 pp. 12s.6d. S.C.M.)

More than half of this book is devoted to the New Testament period. The treatment of the next three centuries, though illuminated by scholarly research and enriched by interesting information from tombstone inscriptions is more sketchy.

The purpose of the first two chapters is to show that infant baptism was practised by the church in the first century, both in respect of the children of parents joining the church and in respect of the children born to Christian parents. The weakness of the argument lies in the fact that the inferences made from the evidence are lacking in logical cogency.

First, in regard to the baptism of households in the New Testament, from the fact that "household" in the Old Testament often included children, it is inferred that in the New Testament references it must do so. This is clearly a *non-sequitur*. "Household" would of course include children if there were any, but this cannot be assumed, still less that they were infants. Second, from certain parallels between primitive Christian baptism and the Jewish proselyte baptism it is inferred that as the latter embraced the young children of converts, the former must have done so too. But this does not follow. To prove similarity in some respects is not to prove similarity in all respects.

Equally weak is it to infer the early practice of infant baptism from the mention of "children" in Acts 2, 39, or the description of Christian baptism as a circumcision in Col. 2, 11, where Paul is contrasting the inward significance of Christian baptism ("a circumcision not made with hands") with the merely outward rite of Jewish circumcision. Christian baptism did not replace circumcision: the children of Jewish Christians continued to be circumcised. In the German edition, on the basis of I Cor. 7, 14, Jeremias held that the children born of Christian parents were not baptised. In this edition, the view that "in the Christian Church baptism was the rite which replaced circumcision" (p. 47) has led Jeremias to change his mind, and infer that such children were baptised.

From the use of Kōlvō in a number of baptismal contexts inside and outside the New Testament it is inferred (following Cull-

mann) that its occurrence in Mark 10, 14 (and parallels) is a reminder of the practice of infant baptism. From some similarities in expression between John 3, 5, and Mark 10, 15 (and parallels) it is inferred that the fourth evangelist interpreted the synoptic incident of the blessing of the children in the light of infant baptism. Dependence upon arguments so lacking in logical cogency exposes the weakness of the thesis.

Supporting evidence is adduced from inscriptions and epitaphs; but these are not earlier than the third century, though curiously two of them are included in the section on New Testament times.

From the saying in the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* (A.D. 167-8), "For eighty-six years I have served Him" it is inferred that Polycarp was baptised as an infant." But this does not necessarily follow. If the son of Christian parents was not baptised till manhood he could regard himself as having served Christ before his baptism. Such were Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory Nyssen, Basil, Ephraim Syrus, Rufinus and others. Jeremias regards them as instances of a new and later development and of the superstitious tendency to delay baptism for unworthy reasons. Surely it is more likely that in such instances we have the survival of the baptism of adult believers which we hold was the primitive practice of New Testament times.

A. W. ARGYLE

Two Early Political Associations: The Quakers and the Dissenting Deputies in the Age of Sir Robert Walpole, by N. C. Hunt. (XVI + 231 pp., 30s., Clarendon Press, Oxford).

Historians and students of politics are showing interest in "pressure groups," that is, extra-Parliamentary and extra-Governmental groups which have specific ends to attain and are organised so as to enable them to exert pressure on the Government. The constitutional importance of the political associations formed in the late 18th and early 19th century has long been recognised. Dr. Norman C. Hunt, in this interesting and well-documented monograph, argues that the activities between 1730 and 1742 of the Quakers' Meeting for Sufferings and of the Dissenting Deputies made them the prototypes of the later political associations.

The Meeting for Sufferings was constituted in 1675. It was linked with the monthly and County Quarterly Meetings, which were a feature of Quaker organisation from the beginning, and was intended as the spearhead for securing the redress of grievances and changes in the law. The Toleration Act of 1689 gave legal recognition to Dissent, but was far from granting full civil rights to Dissenters. The Quakers, in particular, felt distressed that their conscientious objection to taking oaths was not ade-

quately recognised, and they set themselves at once to petition and agitate for an Affirmation Act. That which was passed 1696 gave relief for only seven years. The Quakers had to be alert to secure its renewal. In 1715 they were able to get it made perpetual and in 1722 a form of affirmation more acceptable to them was agreed. These victories, gained by constant and well-prepared lobbying, gave them the requisite experience for a successful campaign against tithes in the 1730's, in the course of which Walpole skilfully broke with Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London, sometimes described as his "pope."

Presbyterians, Independents and Baptists were somewhat slower than the Quakers in learning the art of the political pressure group. But the Toleration Act was for them far from satisfactory. It is true that Indemnity Acts were passed from 1714 onwards, relieving Dissenters of certain penalties in connection with failure to observe the sacramental qualification for office-holding, but these Acts were not passed every year, and there was a widespread and growing feeling that the Test and Corporation Acts ought to be repealed.

The work of Mr. Bernard Manning on *The Protestant Dissenting Deputies* (published in 1952 by Mr. Ormerod Greenwood) is well known. Mr. Hunt's detailed study of the work of the Committee under the chairmanship, first of Samuel Holden (whom Mr. Hunt defends against the charge of betraying the Dissenting Cause) and then Benjamin Avery shows that there remain in its minutes—as in those of the Quakers—considerable stores of important material.

Neither the Quakers nor the Dissenting Deputies secured much in the way of concessions from Walpole, but they could not hope for more help from the Parliamentary opposition. However, in the words of Mr. Hunt, through their activities "the techniques of peaceful political agitation focussed on Parliament were firmly established in English political life at a relatively early date" and this was of great value.

ERNEST A. PAYNE