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A HISTORY OF BRITISH BAPTISTS

BY
W. T. WHITLEY, M.A., LL.D., F.R.Hist.S.,
MEMBER OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION,
HONORARY SECRETARY OF THE BAPTIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

It is the duty of every disciple to bear personal
witness to the Gospel of Jesus Christ and to
take part in the evangelization of the world.

—*Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland.*



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FOREWORD.

THE Angus Lectureship originated in a Fund raised as a testimonial to the Rev. Joseph Angus, M.A., D.D., as an expression of regard for his work as Principal of the Baptist Theological College, formerly situated at Stepney and now at Regent's Park, London. At the wish of Dr. Angus, a permanent Lectureship was established in connection with the College, under which part of the contents of this volume formed the ninth series, the previous lecturers and their subjects having been as follows:—

- 1895. Joseph Angus, D.D. : "Regeneration."
- 1898. S. G. Green, D.D. : "The Christian Creed and the Creeds of Christendom."
- 1900. W. Medley, M.A. : "Christ the Truth."
- 1903. T. V. Tymms, D.D. : "The Christian Idea of Atonement."
- 1906. J. Clifford, D.D. : "The Ultimate Problems of Christianity."
- 1908. J. Rendel Harris, D.Litt. : "Side-lights on New Testament Research."
- 1910. Geo. Howells, B.D., Ph.D. : "The Soul of India."
- 1912. T. R. Glover, M.A., LL.D. : "The Christian Tradition and its Verification."

No subject would have appealed more strongly to Dr. Angus himself than that which Dr. Whitley has taken; the unique "Angus Library" of Baptist authors at Regent's Park College is the memorial of his deep interest in, and acquaintance with, Baptist history. It may also be said with confidence that no man is more competent to deal with this subject than Dr. Whitley, whose scholarship, long-continued research into Baptist origins, and wide experience of Baptist Church life in different parts of the Empire, have given him an incomparable knowledge of detail. The Trustees are assured that this book will take

a place of its own as the standard authority on the subject for at least a generation, and that it will prove a mine of wealth to all students of Baptist history. In view of this confidence, they have not hesitated to publish the whole work, and not simply that part of it which was given as lectures, and to issue it at a price which does not profess to be remunerative. In regard to actual publication, they have been glad to avail themselves of the help given by Mr. Francis J. Blight, managing director of Messrs. C. Griffin & Co., Ltd., who, as a Baptist himself, has taken a keen personal interest in the production.

As a student of Baptist history, often under heavy obligation to Dr. Whitley's knowledge, I should like to express my own satisfaction that this has now been made accessible to a larger public. It often happens that large accumulations of knowledge, acquired through many years of patient toil, are lost to the community through the deferment of literary production, or through the impracticability of publication. Dr. Whitley is to be congratulated on having secured a permanent place amongst the historians of the Baptists, and the Angus Trustees on having acted so wisely in the spirit of the Trust committed to their charge.

H. WHEELER ROBINSON.

REGENT'S PARK COLLEGE,
LONDON, N.W. 8.

PREFACE.

BRITISH Baptists may well be proud of their history, whether considered as world-wide or as limited to the confines of the British Empire. Through many years there has been growing a demand for some authoritative statement of facts in historical sequence, not of the nature of "Stories told to the Children," but such as necessitated studious application and concentrated thought. Young and old alike should appreciate the importance of the movement through history of this large branch of the Christian Church. Even in recent years standard books of reference have dealt with Baptists in such a way as to show the need for a book of this description.* The Baptists of America will value a history of Baptists within the British Empire both for its own sake and because their own roots are planted in the soil of England and Wales. Whilst the emphasis here is British, yet the great international brotherhood is considered in a final section. For over twenty years the author has closely investigated this subject; his long residence in the Commonwealth of Australia, and his concern with the administration of missions, illuminated by a winter in India, together with repeated visits to Canada and the United States of America, have taught him to consider the proportions due within the Empire.

This History of British Baptists covers more than three hundred years (since the foundation of the first Baptist

* The editors of the *Protestant Dictionary* in 1904 thought Baptists were "Independents or Congregationalists"; the editor of the *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* met the criticism that he had omitted Baptists, by the remark that he thought them adequately covered by the articles on "Congregationalism" and "Baptism."

Church in 1609), tracing their movement through failure and success, through fidelity to principle and its reverse, frankly recounting facts in which no pride can be felt, occasionally criticizing Baptists quite plainly, and therefore not shrinking at times from the criticism of other members of the Universal Church.

A history must rest upon facts: the work of the Baptist Union of Gt. Britain and Ireland in promoting a *Baptist Bibliography*, and of the Baptist Historical Society in fostering research, have made it possible to discover and explore many original sources. The older historians, Crosby, Ivimey, Taylor, Wood, had not noticed three groups of facts, namely: (1) the influence of Baptists in and through the "New Model Army," (2) their introduction to England of the singing of hymns by a congregation, (3) their priority in organized Sunday School work: to these points, therefore, special attention has been given. Moreover in the last hundred years, not only have Baptists spread over a wide area, but missions and education have assumed a new importance.

Facts may be placed in many perspectives. Some ecclesiastical historians have been deeply impressed with the relation of Church and State; while this is not ignored, it is here treated as a mere background. Ivimey proposed to tell the story of every single congregation; but though the present author has the materials for the great majority of English churches, he does not choose this task. Nor is he writing a history of the larger units, the Associations, though he does call attention to the importance of these bodies, and the desirability that an adequate account of each should be produced. Crosby tried to incorporate the numerous biographical notices bequeathed by his brother-in-law; but while the careers of thousands of Baptists are tabulated in the present author's indexes, those persons only are here named who occupy a distinctive or characteristic position. Moreover, it must be remembered that even in ecclesiastical history, ministers are not the only

men who count; Baptists beyond others are especially pledged to recognize and to utilize the priesthood of all believers. Again, the impersonal statement of principles, even as illustrated in concrete lives, is not the writer's purpose here; he has sought to exhibit these in a separate work. It is, of course, important to discern the characteristic Baptist principle, and the more so as even intelligent observers can be misled by a name into thinking that this is exhausted, or even largely concerned, with baptism. The first chapter of this book will tell a different story, emphasizing as it does the Missionary Purpose of the Church.

In conclusion it is with pleasure that the author acknowledges and thanks Principal H. Wheeler Robinson of Regent's Park College for his constant interest and his unsparing criticism, such as may be hoped for from a faithful friend.

W. T. W.

DROITWICH, *July*, 1923.

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INTRODUCTION.

Laymen are as able without vows to strive after perfection as are monks.

COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE.

Whenever Christianity becomes an established religion and a man must belong to it as a matter of course, you eliminate the necessity for personal choice and adopt the method which is exactly opposite to the method of Jesus.

BISHOP GORE, 25/9/21.

THE UNIFYING PRINCIPLE OF BAPTISTS : DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH : MISSIONARY PURPOSE, VOLUNTARY MEMBERSHIP.

THIS SOON IMPERILLED : DILUTION BY HEREDITARY MEMBERS : INFANT BAPTISM.

DEFECTIVE OFFICIAL TITLE : "ONE, HOLY, CATHOLIC, APOSTOLIC."

RIVAL ORGANIZATIONS : NO BETTER IN THEORY OR IN PRACTICE : NO SUCCESSION.

MISSIONARY INSTINCT NEVER ABSENT : VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS.

NEW VERSIONS OF SCRIPTURE : THE IDEAL DISCERNED, RE-STATE, RE-EMBODIED.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

The Ideal of Church Life.

As it is an ordinance of Christ, so it is the duty of His Church in His authority to send forth such brethren as are fitly gifted and qualified through the spirit of Christ, to preach the gospel to the world.

WESTERN ASSOCIATION, 1656.

WHY should there be a separate history of Baptists ?

Because the followers of Christ have for many centuries, if not from the beginning, fallen into differing groups, separated, not only by the accidents of race, colour, language, methods of worship, but by diverging conceptions of truth and duty.

Baptists are one of the great communions which began to emerge in Western Europe during the sixteenth century. They can trace an unbroken history for more than three hundred years. While Englishmen here led the way in the seventeenth century, Germans independently found their way to the same position in the eighteenth, and Russians in the nineteenth. To-day the Baptist communion is not only one of the oldest of the Protestant bodies, it is the largest ; and it is the most Catholic in that it is represented on every continent. To read the story, even of one portion of the communion, may show that there has been a fresh embodiment of eternal ideals, too long obscured.

What then is the unifying principle that holds Baptists together ? Charles Booth,* the social observer, estimating actual results in a great city, regarded the essential characteristic to be the strong effort made to maintain unity

* *Life and Labour of the People in London*, vol. vii, p. 121.

of doctrine, and he asserted that throughout the whole body the teaching was very definite. While every tree must be judged by its fruits, it is also well to compare the judgment of a trained scholar, accustomed to seek the root idea. Mandell Creighton * found this in the aim, "to create a visible church of perfect purity," and he traced every outward peculiarity to this conception of duty.

Baptists therefore are recognized by careful enquirers as a body with clear doctrines, which are earnestly propagated. Their distinctive feature is the doctrine of the Church: that it must consist wholly of people who have pledged themselves to Christ Jesus, to live the life He desires, to win and train more disciples for His service. Discussions about the Church have too often ignored the vital question, What is its purpose? and have distracted attention to subordinate matters; but there can be no fruitful discussion of the Notes of the Church, until the Object of the Church is clearly discerned. It is pleasant to see that other communions are now being taught officially † that "the Church is the Society or Brotherhood founded by Christ Himself, for the embodiment, the preservation, and the propagation of His religion, and the carrying on and carrying out, in His bodily absence, of His own mission to mankind." The clear and fixed terms of admission into the Church are plainly stated as "Repentance, Faith in the ever-blessed Trinity, Confession of Christ, and Baptism." These are the doctrines that Baptists have steadily taught, and reduced to practice; and because of their fundamental importance it is well to indicate more fully the New Testament teaching on the matter.

The Church may be viewed from the side of God, from within, or as an agency in the world. It is the Church of God, who gathered it from all sources for His glory. God bestowed upon it Christ Jesus as ever present with it, its

* *Historical Lectures and Addresses*, p. 64.

† Benjamin Gregory: *Handbook of Scriptural Church Principles*, pp. 2, 5.

Head. Christ is the builder, that God may dwell in it through the Spirit. Christ is the vine, Church members are the branches, the Father is the husbandman. Christ is the high priest, the Church is the ordinary priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God.

The Church is a brotherhood, bound together by peculiarly close ties ; friendship, forbearance, mutual support, fidelity in rebuke, intercession, effort to reclaim, are various aspects of the all-embracing love of the brethren which is the distinctive new command of Christ. The obverse of this is that when a member has despised his privilege as son of God, and has fallen into sin, and will not be convinced so as to repent and confess, then he is to be expelled from the brotherhood by direct divine authority ; a healthy body must purge itself of disease. The positive side is emphasized chiefly ; each member must contribute something to the welfare of the whole.

The Church is God's agent in the world during this age. It was instituted to win disciples for Him, and therefore the apostles denied the right of any earthly authority to forbid such work. Actuated by the Spirit, cleansed by the Father, it glorifies the Son by contrasting the sin of man with the righteousness of Christ, by persuading men to cast in their lot with the Saviour. Thus it paves the way for the new age in which Christ shall reign.

The Church, then, is the representative of God upon earth, filled with His life and power, to win the world to Him ; this is its prophetic side. It is the representative of men towards God to glorify Him ; this is its priestly side. It is destined when united with Christ its head to administer, to judge, to reign ; this is its kingly future. Such was the conception of the Church as it was first presented by its Founder and expounded by its earliest leaders.

How the ideal fared in contact with actual life, can be readily traced in history, of which the opening pages are within the New Testament. The Church nascent, enthusiastic with new life, came into contact with the guardians

of law and order. The Sanhedrin at Jerusalem, praetors at Philippi, rulers at Thessalonica, found that their authority was confronted with that of "another king, Jesus"; till at length a formal charge was laid before a Roman governor, that Christian preaching stirred insurrection among all Jews in the empire. Danger to the Imperial system was soon recognized, and organized force set itself to extinguish the new life. In *I. Peter* and *Revelation* we see the Apostolic Church facing the situation created by the determined opposition of the state.

Within three centuries the Church had secured its footing; but it was welded into the state. And at Constantinople a Church Council had evolved a formula as to its constitution: it was declared to be One, Holy, Catholic, Apostolic. Whatever we may think of these positive definitions, we observe that already one Note of the Church was lost. The Greek Fathers had forgotten that it ought to be Missionary. Their theory corresponded only too well with their want of practice; propaganda by their race is thenceforth negligible.

Though the Greek formula was widely adopted, yet the members of the Church were not always misled on this cardinal point of missions. No century passed without some new realization of duty, and some successful attempt to fulfil it. Scots from Ireland evangelized Picts, English, Swiss, and Lombards. Winfrid laboured among the Germans, Alcuin organized their schools. Within the first millennium the good news was taken to Scandinavians and to newcomers into the Balkans. Warlike missionaries wrestled with paganism in the Baltic and with Islam in the Mediterranean. Within a deadened Christendom, the friars arose to revive a vital religion, then they streamed forth into a New World to win new nations. Yet the theory of the Church was never adjusted to cover these facts.

An early change in its constitution had made such adjustment almost impossible. The Church was no longer

a body of people selected by their own personal profession, it was diluted with people admitted in infancy. But the Church was instituted for definite purposes, and to carry out any purpose the members of a society must be thoroughly in earnest about it. To carry out the purposes of God, the members must subordinate everything else to them, as Jesus Christ more than once warned would-be disciples. Therefore, a Church into which entrance was made easy, and still more a Church in which every child found himself a member without any choice of his own, was very different in the fundamental point of its membership from the Church of Christ's intention. We are not enamoured of the hereditary principle even for legislators; we should regard it as absurd for a sports club, a political league, an antiquarian society; yet the Church of the West had drifted into being such an hereditary corporation.

The reason for this revolutionary change deserves study. It began with natural affection, when parents desired to bring their little ones into the fold; and the age rapidly became earlier and earlier. The ordinary form of baptism provided for a personal oral pledge to Christ by the neophyte; this was now supplied by a proxy, who responded for the child, becoming known as the Sponsor. Theologians discussed the new situation, and supplied a justification for it in two doctrines. First, that the whole race was involved in the sin of Adam in such a way that there was a triple result for each person; all parts of his nature were affected for the worse, he deserved ill on account of Adam's sin, certain social effects were produced on him. This doctrine was wrought out specially in Africa, where the teaching of Tertullian and Cyprian was systematized by Augustine. The doctrine was deliberately applied to the case of infants, and notwithstanding Paul's statement that the children of even one Christian parent were not unclean but holy, it was taught that the children of Christian parents were guilty of the sin which they willingly committed when incorporate with Adam. The remedy for this

was baptism, which had independently come to be regarded as effecting a new birth and as blotting out sin. A dispute between Stephen of Rome and Cyprian of Carthage brought out plainly that both agreed in regarding baptism as essential to salvation and really doing something ; power resided in the invocation of the name of Jesus. Chrysostom had said with express reference to the baptism of infants, that thereby they secured holiness, righteousness, adoption, inheritance, a brotherhood with Christ, and membership in Him. Now, Augustine contradicted his view that infants were not defiled with sin, and taught that their "original sin" was forgiven in baptism : here was the second new doctrine. The Easterns indeed never accepted this view, but it spread throughout the West. Thus the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration, coupled with the doctrine of Original Guilt, supplied a most logical basis for the growing custom of infant baptism, to which indeed Augustine appealed in support of his doctrine of Original Sin.

During the fifth century, infant baptism became so common that the baptism of believers was exceptional among the older nations, and was hardly to be seen apart from missionary operations among the barbarians. And in these cases we meet a new phenomenon, that of mass movements. Instead of the fisher angling, and rejoicing in each trophy of his rod, he found huge shoals overwhelming the resources of his nets and his boats. When one prominent man was won, his family, his tribe, his nation, hastened to follow his lead. Thus Clovis, the Frankish king, was followed into the font on one day by 3,000 warriors : when Paulinus won Edwin of York he was occupied for five weeks from morning to evening in teaching the people who thronged to him, then baptizing them in the River Glen.

The Church was thus doubly transformed. Instead of being a select body, each member self-dedicated to definite ends, it came to be almost another aspect of a

nation—namely, the people regarded as religious. It included every adult who valued social prestige, and every such adult brought his whole family, down to the youngest infant. Baptism was no longer the expression of a convert's allegiance to Christ, but a means of salvation from eternal punishment, and an automatic birth to new life.

Much had been sacrificed to the ideal of Unity, but even this had not been attained, whether in geography or in doctrine. The communities which read the Scriptures in Latin, in Greek, in Gothic, in Syriac, in Armenian, in Coptic, were not on such friendly terms that they had any organic unity, even when they all lay within the Roman Empire. The so-called Œcumenical Councils, which claimed to represent the whole Christian world, consisted only of a few hundred Greeks, with a rare sprinkling of others. Within the first thousand years of the Christian era, never did four hundred assemble at once, though the little province of Africa could show two simultaneous synods of more Latin pastors.

For in Africa, in Egypt, in Syria, there were rival organizations; in each district one group was recognized by the state, the other was still persecuted, or at best ignored. These Dissenting Churches were at least as important as the Established, and their detestation of the Imperial yoke goes far to explain the ready acquiescence in the rule of Islam, whose yoke was lighter. Unity of the Church simply did not exist in the sixth century; and it would be hard to point to any period when it did.

Yet, if attention be turned to any of the early dissenting Churches, it is not clear that they were any the more true to apostolic ideals. The Montanists were the first to emphasize asceticism, to classify sins and declare that many could not be forgiven in this life: while they so relied on the inspiration of their prophets that they risked depreciation of the New Testament, largely written by prophets and evangelists who added to inspiration a closer knowledge of the Lord in the days of His flesh. The Novatians

endorsed the Montanist view of sin, and refused to restore penitents to church fellowship; their doctrine that re-baptism was necessary to forgiveness scandalized even the Established Church. To these views the Donatists added that the administrator of baptism must himself have a blameless ecclesiastical pedigree. There has been no succession of bodies preserving uncontaminated apostolic doctrine. One after another, these dissenting Churches round the Mediterranean faded away; and too often their departures from evangelical practice tainted the Catholic Church from which they had parted, while their more evangelical peculiarities died out. Especially did they lack missionary zeal, the Montanists did not take the gospel across the Black Sea to Russia, the Novatians and the Donatists did not penetrate the Sahara.

Now within the great federation that styled itself the One Holy Catholic Apostolic Church, there were never lacking some who set themselves, not only to be the salt of the earth, but also to be a light to lighten the world. As the barbarians flooded over the Empire, they were approached on behalf of Christ. Missionaries went beyond its confines to Ireland, Germany, East Central Europe, Scandinavia. Though the Church at Rome or at Constantinople had many unpleasing features, churchmen on or beyond the frontiers were still inspired by apostolic ideals. And so long as the Scriptures lay open, there was always the possibility of men finding there the original instructions; they might turn away from the ecclesiastical machine of the hierarchy with its formularies and its sacraments, to emphasize anew the spiritual worth of the believer, his duty to his God, the Church, the world.

In the Middle Ages, there were frequent spontaneous reforms in Western Europe, some of which were recognized, and spoiled, by the ecclesiastical authorities. Christian instinct was sounder than the formulas of its rulers. When practically all the people within an area were regarded as Christian, then the people really in earnest separated them-

selves from the mass, and linked together in an inner society. Some of these fellowships were frowned upon by the authorities, and were persecuted out of existence, as with the followers of Henry of Bruys. Others were dealt with by the subtler policy of recognition, control, and subduing to hierarchical methods. This occurred first with the monks, then with the friars, and partly with the crusading orders. To join these societies, a recruit had to ask admission, his entrance was marked by some ceremony, he was then put through a course of discipline in its methods. Thus was unconsciously illustrated the eternal validity of our Lord's orders, to win disciples, to baptize them, to train them in His teachings. For be it marked that all extension of the geographic area of Christendom was due to these select orders, not to the ordinary clergy. Indeed, these orders were at first entirely of laymen; when Gregory became a priest, he quitted his monastery; Francis of Assisi never became a priest; among the Templars, chaplains were a small minority. Thus Christian practice and theory were discordant for many centuries. The official definitions of the Church failed to correspond whether with the intentions of its Founder, or with the unceasing practice of many of its lay members.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Western Europe saw four changes which unitedly altered the situation. The great international state, the Holy Roman Empire, lost all importance; the rivalry of the rulers of new nations suggested new ecclesiastical bodies dependent on princes. The invention of printing placed cheap books in the hands of the people, and made them less at the mercy of an educated caste of ecclesiastics. The revival of Hebrew and Greek studies led scholars to a closer acquaintance with the Bible, which they translated afresh; and the new versions were absorbed with avidity by many nations. Finally, the discovery of new half-empty lands afforded a refuge from intolerant rulers, where principles newly discerned could be tested in practice. It was under such

circumstances that renewed attention was paid to the New Testament, and its teaching as to the Church.

Once again there arose within Christendom a band of brethren who united practice with theory. It devoted itself to propaganda, it pledged its adherents, it impressed on them the duty of winning disciples for Christ. And whereas vows and pledges had long been regarded as arbitrary human devices, it discovered that baptism had been adopted by the Lord as the proper form of pledge. It, therefore, re-instated the baptism of believers, and discarded the baptism of infants. Because of the outward ceremony, which always impresses the popular imagination, this brotherhood became known as Anabaptist, or as Baptist. But the contribution it offers to the Christian world is not so much the practice, or a theory about a rite ; it is the recognition that there are two other notes of the Church :—It must be Voluntary, and Missionary.

These things had been discerned by Columba the Scot, by Anskar the Frank, by Cyril the Thessalonian, by Francis the Italian, by Dominic the Spaniard ; they were now to be proclaimed by Englishmen. These notes are so obvious in the New Testament that so soon as the question is stated, the answer is sure ; the mere circulation of the Bible, without comment, without oral teaching, supplies all that is needful. Thus in every land where the scriptures are available to the people, there has been spontaneous generation of Baptists. Some brief notice shall be taken of all in a closing chapter, but the present work studies only one geographic section. It seeks to show the development of those communities within the British Empire which are composed wholly of men pledging themselves directly to Christ, and appreciating, however faintly, His orders to win others to His allegiance.

General Literature for the Whole Period.

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GENERAL BAPTIST CHURCHES TILL 1640.

Gratiam dei per Christi redemptionem impetratam omnibus sine discrimine paratam et oblatam fore, idque non ficte sed bona fide.

JOHN SMYTH, 1610.

The Kinges maiesties auctoritie graunted to Bishops for ye punishment of offenders is meerey unlawfull by ye word of God.

WILLIAM SAYER, 1612.

ORIGIN INDEPENDENT OF THE ANABAPTISTS.

JOHN SMYTH AND AMSTERDAM.

VAIN APPEALS FOR FREEDOM.

LITERARY PROPAGANDA IN ENGLAND.

SIX BAPTIST CHURCHES IN CONFLICT WITH LAUD AND WITH THE ANABAPTISTS.

LEADING DATES.

- 1604. Organization of the Church of England completed, uniformity enforced.
- 1609. First Baptist Church formed, by John Smyth, in Amsterdam.
- 1611. This divides : part stays, and within fifty years merges into the Mennonites ; part settles in Spitalfields with Helwys.
- 1624. An offshoot from this worships in Southwark with Tookey.
Six churches repudiate the characteristic Mennonite views as to oaths, magistracy, fighting.

CHAPTER II.

GENERAL BAPTIST CHURCHES, TILL 1640.**I. Origin Independent of the Anabaptists.**

You suffer many amongst you that maintain a false faith concerning where Christ had his flesh.

THOMAS HELWYS, 1611.

BAPTISTS are to be sharply distinguished from the Anabaptists of the Continent, some of whom took refuge in England as early as 1530, but had won only two known English adherents in forty years. Lindsay traces these Anabaptists back to the Brethren of the fourteenth century, pious Biblical anti-clericals. In 1526 they organized at Augsburg, and adopted the baptism of believers, disusing the baptism of infants. They naturally would have nothing to do with any state-church. In every other respect, "the whole Anabaptist movement was mediæval to the core; and, like most of the mediæval religious awakenings, produced an infinite variety of opinions and practices." Thus, most held by passive resistance, many were apocalyptic and pre-millennial; many were mystics; some were pantheists; some were anti-trinitarian; some were communists. The Tudor Articles of Religion repudiate some of these views, and attribute some explicitly to the Anabaptists, but none of these are distinctively Baptist. Of the two English Anabaptists whose writings are known, the one was concerned wholly with opposing the novel views of Calvin as to predestination, which he regarded as imputing immoral conduct to God; the other was concerned only with non-resistance and with taking of oaths. These topics have never been characteristic of Baptists;

indeed most have been Calvinists, have been willing to fight and take oaths: Baptists moved in quite a different circle of thought, centring in The Church. The difference was quite obvious then; Baptists of Tiverton wrote in 1631 to Anabaptists of Amsterdam:—"You will not allow us to have any communion with you," precisely because of difference on the questions of oaths and fighting. It is inexcusable to-day to confound the continental Anabaptists of the sixteenth century with the English Baptists of the seventeenth. When Bullinger of Zürich set forth Anabaptist views in 25 propositions, he said that, despite minor differences, all protested against the doctrine of Justification by faith alone, all believed that the soul fell asleep at death, all objected to hold civil office, to appeal to law-courts, to take oaths or bear arms; these points are by no means Baptist. The Anabaptists of the Continent still exist, under the name Mennonites, in Switzerland, Germany, France, Russia, Holland, Canada, and America; they still maintain many of the peculiarities cited; "they have remained where their forefathers stood three centuries ago," says their own spokesman in 1915.* They hold no communion with Baptists living in the same countries, who have originated independently.

For the sources of Baptist life we need to look to the Scriptures in the vernacular, and to the consequent emergence of questions about the Church. English Bibles were licensed for public reading by Henry VIII., and at the death of Matthew Parker they became really available for private reading. The government of the Church was keenly debated between Cartwright, a Presbyterian, and Whitgift, an Episcopalian. Attention was then drawn on to the membership, and it was discerned by a few laymen that this must be "a company of faithful people, separated from the unbelievers and heathen of the land."† Such a

* W. J. Kühler, *Encyc. Religion and Ethics*, vol. viii, p. 552.

† Barrow's Letter to Cartwright and Travers, cited in Powicke, *Henry Barrow*, p. 93.

company did separate in London, and was so persecuted that most of its members took refuge in Amsterdam. Within its fellowship the question of the standing of children arose, and became acute with the birth of infants ; one or two isolated Baptists can be dimly seen as separating from it at the end of Elizabeth's reign.

Appeal was made to James for some changes ; while Puritans asked for definite reforms, and obtained some, yet they and James were at one on the great principle of a State Church with uniformity of doctrine and worship. They discussed at Hampton Court only worship, ministry, endowments, discipline—the Membership of the Church was never mentioned. Nor was there any appeal for a general liberty of conscience ; all that was done was to ask timidly that a few ministers need not conform to the new rules, and this was peremptorily denied. The discussion hardly interested any but clergy, and raised nothing fundamental. In one respect the Puritans were further from Baptist ideals than James ; they denied the place of the laity to govern in the Church, while he upheld not only his power as supreme governor, but the function of skilled lawyers to administer the ecclesiastical law.

The whole system of government for the Church was now speedily completed, and the ninth canon as enacted by both convocations, and still remaining law, declares :—
“ Whoever shall hereafter separate themselves from the communion of saints, as it is approved by the apostles' rules, in the Church of England, and combine themselves together in a new brotherhood . . . let them be excommunicated.”

This was the last touch needed. In a few years there was an organized Baptist church in London, a dozen books were in print expounding Baptist beliefs, while many opponents had been roused to controvert them. And before James died, churches had arisen in six counties, with the habit of united action. To details of this development we now proceed.

2. John Smyth and Amsterdam.

Weigh what is the true constitution of the Church, and what is the subject of true Christian baptism.

JOHN SMYTH, 1609.

The connected story begins with a Cambridge graduate who left the university at the end of the century, and after an experience of two years as City Preacher at Lincoln, saw the vanity of the Puritan hopes excited by the accession of James I. The old Puritan leaders were intimidated into acquiescence, and the prospect of a national reform seemed to recede indefinitely. John Smyth sought to revive the courage of some, and when he failed, returned to his native district and ministered to a little congregation at Gainsborough on the Trent. One of them afterwards described its basis: "As the Lord's free people, they joined themselves by a covenant of the Lord into a church estate, in the fellowship of the gospel, to walk in all His ways, made known or to be made known unto them." There was a fine touch of modesty and expectancy here; they did not think they had reached finality, but they were ready to live up to all the light to be vouchsafed.

Smyth soon had the support of a neighbour, a younger Cambridge man, John Robinson, who had done kindred work at Norwich. Within two years it was impossible to exist longer in England, and in the midsummer of 1608 there was a wholesale emigration to Amsterdam. Even that great city could not readily absorb all, and another church was organized with Robinson at its head, largely out of the people to whom he had ministered at Norwich; this church went with him to Leyden. Smyth stayed with most of the immigrants from Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, and Nottingham, including some from Scrooby, and, in particular, Thomas Helwys of Basford.*

In Amsterdam Smyth found another Separatist church headed by Johnson, his old tutor at Cambridge. Sisterly

* See Note A in Appendix.

intercourse between the churches was natural, but intercourse according to Johnson's theory and practice meant mutual criticism; and within a few months the question emerged, Who are the rightful members of a church? To the eventful discussions which followed, we owe the first theory and practice of modern Baptist doctrine.

Smyth was asked to state his views, and he put them in two sentences: Infants are not to be baptized; "Anti-christians converted" (the phrase current in those circles for recruits from the Established Church) are to be admitted into the true church by baptism. These theorems were discussed at great length according to all the rules of debate, and the resulting book by Smyth obtained a circulation in those parts of England whence emigrants had come to Amsterdam. Meantime, Smyth did not delay, but in 1609 dissolved the covenanted church of which he had been head, baptized himself, then baptized all the others.* So arose the first English Baptist church whose history can be traced, one branch of which worshipped in London till the last decade of the nineteenth century. The attention excited was great, and unfriendly observers told Johnson and other Separatists that Smyth was right, that their position was illogical, and either they must return to the Church of England, or must go on to his position.

Another observer asked why he had not joined the Dutch Anabaptists, and the enquiry was so reasonable that he began to look into their tenets. After the collapse of the Anabaptist kingdom of Münster, Menno Simons had become leader in Holland and North Germany. When he died in 1559, there were organized congregations from Holland to Danzig, from Wisby in Gothland to Cologne. The prevalence of Hoffmann's views as to the person of

* There can be no doubt that Smyth really baptized himself; the contemporary evidence is very full, and may be seen in Dexter, *The England and Holland of the Pilgrims*, pages 456-458. Nor can there be any doubt that the act was the application of water to the head; Smyth, *Works*, pages xciv, xc v.

Christ caused them to be generally regarded as Unitarian. Menno's influence was so great that the name Mennonite became almost interchangeable with Anabaptist. But his discipline was so rigorous that after many protests one group seceded from the connexion, and was known as Waterlander, while other divisions occurred which are not germane to this story. The Waterlander Mennonites in Amsterdam had united with the High German Mennonites under Lubbert Gerrits as pastor, and they were in very close touch with a congregation at Alkmaar under Hans de Ries. Smyth's church was lodging and worshipping in a great block of buildings belonging to one of the Mennonites, so that it was very easy to open negotiations. Smyth asked their views, offering on the other hand his own for comparison. The more he enquired, the more feasible appeared the idea of union, for the confession that Ries and a friend drew up for him was very explicit in its recognition of Jesus as the Son of the Living God, while it barely mentioned the really characteristic points. Other Mennonite churches, however, of other towns felt the differences, and were by no means willing, so that Ries evaded any reply. Meantime some of Smyth's church had sensed the differences, and were becoming uneasy, so much so that they broke off and organized separately under Helwys. Abundant correspondence took place, till Smyth realized that he had been drawn into too much controversy, and refused to continue. After his death in 1612, most of his followers renewed their application to the Dutch, and were recognized as a separate church in communion with the Mennonites: a generation later this united with two other congregations in Amsterdam to form one strong church, which still continues. The English story will follow the fortunes of Thomas Helwys, but the writings of Smyth afford ample material for studying the position of these early English Baptists.

It is most significant that Smyth's first publication after disclaiming his Anglican orders was a series of prin-

ciples and inferences concerning the visible church. It was due to enquiries from Suffolk to which he had replied :—
“The churches of the apostolique constitution consisted of saints only. . . . The true ministerie of the apostolique institution was by election, approbation and ordination of that particular holy people whereto they did administer. . . . The true worship of the apostolique institution proceeded meerly from the Spirit, having no outward help of devised forms of prayers, exhortations, psalms, and ceremonies. . . . The government of the primitive apostolique institution was by a colledge of pastors, or presbytery.” In each respect his correspondents were told that the practice of the Church of England was so far opposite to that of the apostles, that it did not become any good Christian to remain in it or communicate with it. This point was elaborated to another enquirer, A.S. : If people are content to mingle with unbelievers and open sinners, being confounded with them both in submitting to the false government of the prelates, in partaking with them the seals of the covenant, in prayer, in the communion of holy things—then any such mingled people cannot be a true church.

In developing his replies, Smyth incidentally made two remarks, based on Ephesians 4. “The visible church hath also one baptisme whereby men are admitted into this faith, submitted unto this Lord, baptized into this Spirit, incorporated into this bodie. It is not the work of the Officers of the Church to convert soules, but to fede and edifie them being converted.” Defending these views against Richard Bernard, vicar of Worksop, who had shared many of his opinions, but had shrunk back, he defined a visible church as consisting wholly of saynts, who are described by four properties, Forsaking all knowne sin, Doing all the will of God knowne, Growing in grace, Continuing to the end. Such a church he held had power to elect, approve and ordain her own Elders and Deacons. He was challenged by Bernard as to baptism, whether it

pledged to Christ only, or to the faith of the Established Church: his first reply was, "We will subscribe neither to the Bishops' Faith, nor the Puritan's Faith, but to the Faith of Christ indefinitely comprehended in the holy scriptures. . . . We approve unto you our Faith, church, and baptisme to be true, and therefore your Faith, Church, and baptisme is false."

This correspondence of 1606 remained in manuscript for two years, but it had in germ all Smith's distinctive principles, though these were eventually clarified and expanded, and though new details came up for consideration. But whereas the three letters had been sent to special correspondents, he published his more mature judgment in 1607, to this effect:—

A visible communion of saints is of two, three or more saints joined together by covenant with God and themselves, freely to use all the holy things of God, according to the Word, for their mutual edification, and God's glory. . . . It is God's ordinance and a means to worship God in. . . . The vow, promise, oath or covenant betwixt God and the saints pledges them to obey all the commandments of God. . . . The way of receiving in of members is faith testified by obedience.*

A year later he supplemented this view, having compared his practice with that of the Ancient Church from London; the only point of importance related to government, where he challenged a new pattern set forth as immutable. We hold that the Presbytery of the Church is uniform, and that the triformed Presbytery consisting of three kinds of Elders—viz., Pastors, Teachers, Rulers—is none of God's ordinance but man's device.†

In the Ancient Church, the position of infants had already been canvassed; the question soon emerged in Smyth's circle, and he was drawn into lengthy debate with his old friend, Richard Clifton. To him it seemed

* *Works*, pp. 252, 254, 255.

† *Works*, p. 273.

obvious that every person must make his own confession, and that by baptism. A special exception had been made in Article 27 of the Church of England, and the Separatists adopted this exception; Smyth challenged it, and asked why the children of believers should be baptized any more than the children of unbelievers, which seemed manifestly absurd.* They cannot appreciate the teaching of the church, cannot be taught, cannot repent, cannot believe; they are innocent and free from sin, not hardened by evil conscience; they cannot prepare the way of the Lord.

Smyth had thus been led to single out and expound at very great length the doctrine of the Church, as fundamental to his position. These works of his contain, in somewhat repellent form to a modern reader, nearly every argument imaginable on the matter. But he was well aware of the danger that thus he might give his views in wrong perspective. Not only did he guard himself by a declaration to this effect, he also stated his views as a balanced whole, that it might be seen how largely he accorded with most Christians. To the Mennonites he presented twenty Latin articles as the confession of his church; and these he expanded into a hundred propositions and conclusions, covering the whole field of doctrine.†

Smyth was conscious that he had given offence not only to the lovers of episcopacy, to the Calvinistic Puritans, but to the brethren of the elder separation, and he was at pains in his last work to emphasize the points of agreement.‡ The articles of religion which were the ground of his salvation, wherein he differed from no good Christian, were these: That Jesus Christ the Son of God and the son of Mary, is the anointed king, priest, and prophet of the Church, the only mediator of the New Testament; That

* This alternative is frankly accepted by Roman Catholics, one of many signs that within the sphere of what may be called orthodox Christianity, they and Baptists are at opposite poles.

† *Works*, pp. 682, 733.

‡ *Works*, pp. 752-5.

through true repentance and faith in him who alone is our Saviour, we receive remission of sins, and the Holy Ghost in this life; And therewith all the redemption of our bodies, and everlasting life in the resurrection of the body. And he expressly added that though men might differ from him in other particulars, he acknowledged all who walked according to this rule as his brothers. He retracted such hard words as Antichristian, such hard thoughts as that those who held communion with the wicked at the Lord's Supper were thereby under judgment, that all who accepted episcopal rule were submitting to the beast and receiving his mark. And he repeated emphatically that difference in judgment for matter of circumstance as are all things of the outward church, should not cause him to refuse the brotherhood of any penitent and faithful Christian whatsoever.

This wide charity was then rare, and Smyth must be credited with being an apostle of Religious Liberty. Whether in England or in Amsterdam, most men were then bitterly intolerant. The official Church of England would tolerate no departure from uniformity; the Separatists spent their church meetings enquiring into one another's faults of conduct and errors of belief; Menno Simons had equally severe church discipline which had rent his communion into four sections. Until Smyth, no Englishman seems to have discerned more than that the Church of Christ must be free from any constraint by the State. The Ancient Church in 1596 had spoken as to the confusion of ecclesiastical and civil government, but had declared that princes ought to root out all counterfeit worship, to appropriate all revenues and property associated therewith to civil uses, to establish and maintain God's true religion.* This was repeated in a petition of 1603 to James. And Robinson with his Leyden church sent to James in 1617 seven articles which are almost abject in their submission:—The king's majesty we acknowledge for supreme governor in his

* *Confession*, Secs. 30, 39.

dominion in all causes and over all persons ; none may decline or appeal from his authority or judgment in any cause whatsoever. We judge it lawful for his majesty to appoint bishops, civil overseers, or officers in authority under him . . . unto whom (churches) are in all things to give an account and by them to be ordered according to godliness. The oath of supremacy we shall willingly take if it be required of us. (And this ran, The Queen's Highness is the only supreme governor of this realm and of all other her highness' dominions and countries, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes as temporal.) Yet Robinson, when he wrote that, had already scrutinized and criticized Smyth's long confession, whose Article 84 ran * :—" The magistrate is not by vertue of his office to meddle with religion, or matters of conscience, to force and compell men to this or that form of religion, or doctrine : but to leave Christian religion free, to every man's conscience, and to handle onely civil transgressions . . . for Christ onelie is the King, and lawgiver of the church and conscience." This was the first clear proclamation of such doctrine for centuries, and Baptists at once took it up as a cardinal point, to be repeated again and again, and to be practised by them as subjects, as equal citizens, as rulers.

There is one other point in which Smyth departed widely from the current beliefs, *i.e.*, as to hereditary guilt. Its bearing on the destiny of infants and the advisability of baptizing them had evidently been discerned, and he reasoned quickly and trenchantly.† " Original Sin," said he, is an idle term, because God threatened death only to Adam and not to his posterity ; if original sin might have passed from Adam to his posterity, Christ's death stopped the issue and passage thereof ; infants are conceived and borne in innocency without sin, and so dying are undoubtedly saved ; Adam being fallen, God did not hate him, but loved him still and sought his good.

* *Works*, p. 748.

† *Works*, p. 735.

In this point, Smyth was not original. He was apparently not versed in the arguments of Augustine, nor does he show that he had read the plain words of Robert Cooche in 1551 when criticizing the new views of Calvin.* Cooche had vindicated the character of God, who could not have created the most part of the world to everlasting damnation ; it were worse than devilish to compel men to fall by his immutable decree. But he had merely glanced at the question of heredity, and when calling attention to the discrepancy between Turner and the Genevans, he was content to abide by what the apostle witnessed plainly, " We all by Adam do die." Cooche laid all his stress on the reality of free will, against the revived but novel teaching that man was bound by necessity : Smyth agreed with him, and applied the doctrine to infants. Both alike appealed to experience, which was rare in those days, and indeed is brought to the front only by another Baptist of the twentieth century.

In the sixty years between Cooche and Smyth, Calvinism had become the orthodox faith of England, as Articles 9, 10, 17 declare most explicitly even at the present day. Smyth, however, had heard lectures against some of these distinctive tenets at Cambridge, and in Holland the protest was being renewed by Arminius. Therefore, in this matter he was not original, though he was in a very small minority. And the great majority of Baptists sided rather with Calvin than with Smyth till the end of the eighteenth century.

3. Appeals for Freedom.

Let it please your majesty and parliament to . . . repeal those . . . laws that force all in our land . . . to receive that religion . . . which is established by the law of man.

LEONARD BUSER, 1614.

Bancroft was the moving spirit in the government and settlement of the Established Church ; when he passed away in 1610, George Abbot succeeded him as archbishop,

* *Transactions, Baptist Historical Society*, vol. iv, pp. 88, 92, 114.

and the rigorous enforcements of uniformity came to an end. There were indeed a few cases of extraordinary beliefs punished; Thomas Legat was imprisoned in Newgate for the heresy of Arius, and died there about 1607; his brother Bartholomew was tried at the consistory of London for various heresies, including Arianism, and was burned in Smithfield on 18th March, 1611/2. The parallel case of Edward Wightman is fully reported.* He was a draper at Burton-on-Trent, accused in February, 1610/1 by the curate and guardians of that town. He had become convinced that he was the Holy Spirit, the Comforter, the Elijah to come before the Lord; he had written a letter to the King, as it was his duty to deliver the world by his admonition from the heresies of the Nicolaitans—namely, the Three Creeds. He was tried in April, September, October, November, and December, 1611, the closing scenes being before the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield in the cathedral of the latter city. He was tied to the stake on 9th March, but when the fire kindled he offered to recant. Next month his courage prevailed, and he died in the flames. These two cases struck horror to the people; it is not clear whether any one had been burned for heresy since the Dutch Anabaptists of 1575. John Jegon, Bishop of Norwich, wished to burn William Sayer, and wrote to Abbot in November, enclosing a list of his opinions.† Abbot replied that they were simply the doctrines of the Barrowists and Separatists, with some points of the Anabaptists, “but it will never be assented to, that hee should burne as an Hereticque, vnlesse hee denie something expressly conteyned in the Three Creeds or in the foure first Generall-Counsellis.”

Such was the general temper when the English Baptists from Amsterdam were thrown into Newgate. They had heralded their return to England quite boldly, publishing four little books, for which funds were evidently found

* Oxford Ashmolean MS., 1521, vii.

† Cambridge Addl. MS., Mm. 6, 58, folio 181 *recto*.

by Thomas Helwys. The career of this leader has been closely investigated by Walter H. Burgess.* He was descended from a family recognizable since 1243 in the borders of Lincoln and Nottingham. In Elizabeth's reign it was spread over both shires, and allied with many other good county families, including the Hamertons. Thomas lived at Broxtowe near Basford; like most of the gentry of that day, he had studied in London, not at a University. He came under Smyth's influence early in the next reign, financed the general emigration of 1608, and was distinctly a leader. Differing from Smyth on the policy of uniting with the Mennonites, he quitted Smyth's church, along with three men and four or five women, and persuaded himself that this little group was the church, excommunicating the much larger section from which they broke off. He went further, and entered into correspondence with the Mennonites, urging them not to unite with Smyth's group. To get a hearing, he furnished them with nineteen Latin articles, revised from the twenty supplied them by Smyth; and this synopsis was presently translated, expanded and recast into twenty-seven articles, printed 1611, as a Declaration of Faith of English people remaining at Amsterdam in Holland.† This is not the first Baptist confession, being only a re-cast of Smyth's twenty articles; and it deserves no particular attention.

Baptists have steadily declined to erect confessions into touch-stones. They are willing at suitable opportunities to say what they do believe at the time, and they are willing to state afresh their current beliefs in unambiguous current phraseology. But though frequent attempts have been made to convert such confessions into standard creeds, by which "orthodoxy" is to be tested, such attempts have invariably been opposed. They are counter to the spirit of Smyth, who from the first recognized that God's ways might constantly be made known anew. And since

* *Smith the Se-Baptist*, 1911. *Baptist Historical Society Transactions*, 1912.

† M'Glothlin: *Baptist Confessions of Faith*, xiv, 86.

scores of Baptist confessions, drawn up within three centuries, have been allowed to drop into oblivion as no longer adequate to express the real beliefs of the present, it will readily be understood that confessions of the second and fourth centuries are even less likely to excite enthusiasm, though their value as historical documents may be fully recognized.

The other books issued by Helwys were to define the position against three important bodies—namely, Calvinists, Mennonites, and the Established Church of England. “The first was a short and plaine prooffe, by the word and workes of God, that God’s decree is not the cause of any man’s sinne or condemnation ; and that all men are redeemed by Christ ; as also that no infants are condemned.” Helwys dedicated it on 2nd June, 1611, to the Lady Bowes, in whose house at Coventry he heard Smyth argue with Hildersham, Dod and other Puritans on their duty to separate. Her after life shows that she was not persuaded on either point ; she continued to patronize the Calvinists in the Established Church. Indeed, it is rather surprising that Helwys felt competent to grapple with such questions, which are not usually studied at Gray’s Inn. We may be thankful he did not cast his thoughts into the atomistic form of syllogism, but wrote like Robert Cooche in plain lay fashion. “The doctrine of particular election,” said he, “makes others desperately careless, holding that if God have decreed they shall be saved, then they shall be saved, and if God have decreed they shall be damned, they shall be damned, and in a desperate carelessness run headlong to destruction.” Helwys may have come across Cooche’s arguments, for his ignorance of foreign languages would prevent him following readily the opposition when the followers of Arminius were upholding their Remonstrance against Calvinism in 1610, and all Holland was discussing the differences.

Now, the Mennonites had long opposed the novel doctrines of Calvin, and Helwys did not wish to be engulfed

in their Charybdis, having fended off the Calvinistic Scylla. He, therefore, drew up an admonition to them, under the title of "New Fryelers," a remarkable spelling for Free-Willers. His position was that free-will was Adam's unique possession, that for a man now to have absolute free-will were to have no need of Christ, therefore he desired to be exonerated from the charge of holding that most damnable heresy. He wished to enlighten the Mennonites on four points: that Christ took his flesh of Mary, that a Sabbath is to be kept holy every first day of the week, "that there is no succession nor privilege to persons in holy things," that magistracie, being an holy ordinance of God, debarred not any from being of the Church of Christ. The doctrine of Succession was that which troubled him most, because it was the chief thing that divided him from his old leader. He pointed out that it required all people to learn Dutch and to apply to the Mennonites, who thus glorified their church and set her up as a queen—a fearful mystery of iniquity.

The phrase shows that Helwys was caught in the stream of apocalyptic thought, and his fourth book evidences this in its very title, *A Short Declaration of the Mystery of Iniquity*. He came to the conclusion that the whole Christian world was out of joint, and that it was his appointed task to set it right. Thus the book, as a whole, is a series of attacks on all classes. The first beast of the Revelation is, of course, Rome, the second is the Anglican Hierarchy. Then he exposes the devices of the Puritan preachers, who strove to avoid the rigours of uniformity by seeking all manner of non-parochial posts, such as those of preachers to a city, ministers in privileged chapels, private chaplaincies; his chief complaint is that they take no pains to secure a good life, but admit all comers to the communion. Even the Separatists, whom he marvellously estimates at thousands, are blamed for neglecting baptism and adhering to a covenant of their own choosing.*

* *Op. cit.*, pp. 98, 125-6.

If the tone of the book be as acid as its form is incoherent, yet it deserves attention for two things: it expanded Smyth's plea for liberty of conscience, and it insisted on the correlative duty of propagation. And whereas Smyth had simply published to the world at large, Helwys remembered that it was apostolic to bear witness to kings for Christ's sake. He was not sanguine enough to hope that James would enter his church by baptism, and his plea, therefore, took the shape of a claim for liberty of worship.* "Let the King judge, is it not most equal that men should choose their religion themselves, seeing they only must stand themselves before the judgment seat of God to answer for themselves, when it shall be no excuse for them to say, We were commanded or compelled to be of this religion by the king or by them that had authority from him. . . . Christ will have no man's life touched for his cause. . . . If any refuse to receive his disciples, he only bids them shake off the dust of their feet for a witness against them. . . . Then let not our lord the king suffer his sword . . . to be used to rule and keep in obedience the people of God and the king to the laws, statutes and ordinances of Christ . . . the sword of whose kingdom is spiritual. . . . (We) profess and teach that in all earthly things the king's power is to be submitted unto; and in heavenly or spiritual things, if the king or any in authority under him shall exercise their power against any they are not to resist by any way or means, although it were in their power, but rather to submit their lives as Christ and his disciples did, and yet keep their consciences to God."

Here we have the first claim for freedom in worship published in English. Smyth had enunciated the doctrine plainly in his 84th proposition, but this was not yet issued in print. The experiences in Amsterdam had doubtless stimulated thought on the subject, for the town authorities permitted all to live there quietly, adopting the plan of

* Burgess: *op. cit.*, p. 294.

Rhegius that if Anabaptists would keep their errors to themselves they should be left alone. The Waterlanders had been faced with the problem for two generations, and had come to the reasoned conclusion that they would be good subjects of Christ, and for His sake good citizens of the commonwealth, obedient to all its laws which were consonant with His. But while such doctrines had been published in German and Dutch, Smyth was the first to state them in English, and Helwys first to publish an exposition of them.

And further, he seems to deserve the sole credit for discerning and practising that a Christian church must bear witness to the truth, nay, that this is its primary duty, for the sake of which it is created. It is the one point wherein he advanced upon Smyth and completed the Baptist position. The book has much to say about the mixture of civil and ecclesiastical affairs. It attacks John Robinson for being content with the baptism received at the hands of the Church of England, though discontented with the ordination received at her hands. It is even more pungent about his remaining in Leyden, instead of seeking to win converts in England. The little volume closes with an invitation to "come and lay down their lives in their own country, for Christ and His truth."

Helwys himself went straight to London, as the greatest missionary field. His uncle, Geoffrey, a merchant tailor and alderman, was living in Walbrook; his cousin, Gervase, had been knighted, and was soon to be Lieutenant of the Tower. Thomas settled outside the walls, in Spitalfields, where probably his little church would worship every first day of the week. In a copy of his last book, he wrote neatly an inscription for the king, in which he did not mince his words, but stated plainly: "The King is a mortall man and not God, therefore hath no power over y immortall soules of his subjects to make lawes and ordinances for them and to set spirituall Lords over them." Whether he obtained an audience and handed it in person, or whether

the good offices of Gervase's patroness the Countess of Essex, were invoked, we do not know. But the response of James was quick, and Helwys was promptly lodged in Newgate prison.

From this moment we know nothing more of him. His uncle, Geoffrey, in April, 1616, bequeathed £10 to his widow, Joan. The leadership of the little group passed even in 1613 to John Murton, who shared his imprisonment in Newgate, and who for more than ten years guided it through the perils of life in London, where, in Scriptural language, Satan's throne was. Smyth was a university graduate, Helwys a county gentleman bred at an Inn of Court, Murton was a furrier wedded to a farmer's daughter; so varied were the social conditions of this Nottinghamshire group.

In April, 1645, John Grant, in his *Truth's Victory against Heresie*, arguing against a Baptist, mentioned "some thirty years ago, Mr. Murton, a teacher of the Anabaptists in Newgate." Twice, by reputable scholars, this has been interpreted as meaning that the church met in Newgate; and in a purple patch of rhetoric we have been told that the doctrine of religious liberty flashed out from "a dingy meeting-house in Newgate." The coiner of that phrase failed to remember that there were not, and could not have been, any meeting-houses while the Conventicle Act was enforced, as it was, down to 1640; and he was evidently unaware that Helwys and his friends met at Spital-fields, as the autograph in the Bodleian copy plainly declares. Yet only one word needs changing; it was from the dingy prison in Newgate that a whole series of new truths shone forth upon England.

Murton opened up communication with a church of Separatists at Colchester. This town had been good soil in which Lollard seed sprang up, as Foxe has recorded. It was then one of the ports through which Tyndal's New Testament was smuggled in, and in 1527 many there were arrested for heresy. Many more suffered there under Mary,

and within five weeks of her death, Elizabeth set free from Colchester Castle ten prisoners, who were detained only for religion. Many people took refuge thence in Holland, as the marriage registers of Leyden attest. But not all fled; from some papers of Henry Jessey we know that in 1620 there was still in Colchester an old church of the Separation, besides another group who then united with a new church at London.*

Murton, therefore, had ample reason to hope that from such material he could win adherents, and he sent a letter to John Wilkinson. Wilkinson was then in prison there, and had plenty of leisure to ponder; he did not agree, so wrote a reply, which circulated in manuscript. It was not printed till 1646, when there seemed great reason for Pedobaptist Separatists to defend their position against Baptists. From the reply we gather that the point which most impressed Wilkinson was the doctrine that infants had not sinned, and, therefore, needed no baptism for the remission of sins.

Though Wilkinson himself was not persuaded, it would seem that others at Colchester were. For about 1633 Thomas Lamb was ministering there to a conventicle, and ten years later there were two different groups of Baptists in the town, one practising aspersion, the other immersion. But though their origin was probably due to the efforts of Murton, no account of their doings survives; in those days it was much merely to exist. The country had two clergymen of a new type, who were determined to prevent even the existence of any nonconformity, and who at every stage of their careers were vigorous in repressing it; William Laud was rector of West Tilbury; Samuel Harsnet of Colchester had lately resigned the archdeaconry of Essex and was Bishop of Chichester in Sussex.

These two men were not yet in power as archbishops, but there was ample machinery for coercion, which they were destined to work most vigorously. As this has mostly

* *Bapt. Hist. Soc. Trans.*, vol. i, p. 219.

been destroyed, and what remains is rusted, it is well to know what it was, for it played a great part in the outward moulding of Baptist life. There were two independent series of officers to enforce the laws, the civil and the ecclesiastical. On the civil side there were sheriffs and magistrates with their constables, while for more serious cases there were the judges of assize with the Council or Star-Chamber as the final reserves. To the activity of county justices we have little modern parallel; Prothero* takes nearly two pages to sum up the chief duties that devolved on them, and mentions that they tried offences against the act of uniformity and similar acts, administered the oath of allegiance, broke up conventicles, and searched the houses of recusants for arms and superstitious relics. The official papers of Sir Nathaniel Bacon of Stiffkey in Norfolk afford abundant illustrations, though the editor has chosen only one which bears on Protestant Separatists.†

On the ecclesiastical side there were the archdeacons, with bishops, archbishops, and High Commission in the rear. The statute laws that bore on all separatists began with 1593, which contemplated permanent banishment; an act of 1606 passed against Popish Recusants had been four years later extended to all subjects. Any person of eighteen and upwards could be compelled to take an extremely elaborate oath of allegiance, with express disavowal of all papal rights of deposition or deprivation.‡ Minister, petty constable and churchwardens could compel two justices to tender this oath, and refusal of it entailed a *premunire*—that is, being put out of the King's protection. This new act was promptly put in force against the Baptists in London, but they had no difficulty in taking the oath before the justices, and when they fell into the hands of the civil power, there was but brief interruption of their daily work. They quite appreciated Tertullian's comment

* *Statutes and Constitutional Documents*, pages cxiv-cxv.

† *Camden Society*, vol. xxvi, page 186.

‡ Prothero: *op. cit.*, p. 259.

on the classic direction :—“ Give to Cæsar what is Cæsar’s, his image on the coin ; give to God what is God’s, his image in man, yourself.”* Unfortunately, there was an alternative, against which the House of Commons had recently complained to the King † : Excommunication was inflicted upon an incredible number of the common people by the subordinate officers of the jurisdiction ecclesiastical, most commonly for very small causes, grounded upon the sole information of a base apparitor. And unless a man took steps to have himself restored to communion, after forty days Chancery would authorise his imprisonment until he submitted. Moreover, the bishops held that the Act of 1606 was directed against papists, and that no Separatist could claim liberation on taking the oath prescribed.

As soon, therefore, as James summoned his second Parliament, ‡ and made the astonishing statement that he had never judged violence a way of planting the truth, because experience showed that no religion or heresy was ever extirpated by the sword, he was taken at his word by “ his maiesties faithfull subiectes most falsely called Anabaptists,” who put in a petition to the Commons asking that it be plainly enacted that the taking of this oath might free any person from prison. The supplication was considered by a committee, and was rejected.

There is one statement in the petition that is arresting : “ kept have wee bene by them many yeres in lingering imprisonmentes, devided from wives, children, servantes and callinges, not for any other cause but onely for conscience towards God.” The petition can be dated to April or May in 1614 ; no one could reasonably say that Murton and his colleagues, who returned in 1612, or 1611 at earliest, had been in prison for many years ; it follows that the Baptist church had been recruited by others, who had

* *Of Idolatry*, p. 15 ; quoted by Glover, *Conflict of Religions*, p. 347.

† Prothero : *op. cit.*, p. 301.

‡ *Burrage*, vol. ii, p. 215.

begun as Separatists. There is nothing to limit the petitioners to London, and it may well cover other localities, such as four other towns which definitely emerge within a few years, Tiverton as early as 1617, or the lower Trent, where Murton and his friends had originally lived.

A fourth Baptist now stepped forward, Leonard Busher. This man had recently been living in Amsterdam, but was not a member of Smyth's group, nor apparently of the Mennonites. And though he was probably of Dutch descent, and in old age is found again at Delft, yet he was deeply concerned in the English situation, and became a citizen of London. He approached Parliament with a plea for liberty of conscience, entitled *Religion's Peace*. The gist of this is in one sentence:—"May it please your majesty and parliament to understand that, by fire and sword, to constrain princes and peoples to receive that one true religion of the gospel, is wholly against the mind and merciful law of Christ, dangerous both to king and state, a means to decrease the kingdom of Christ, and a means to increase the kingdom of antichrist."

Busher was evidently occupied some time with this book; he wrote in the text that a letter of his had been in Robinson's hands for six months; but before the book appeared he added a note to say it was now twelve months. This may explain why some expressions point to the Netherlands, and others to England. Thus he speaks of papists and reformists dissembling in England, but showing themselves in their true colours "when they come hither or to some other free city or country." Yet elsewhere he bewails that he and his friends are, not only poor, but are under persecution, implying that this was due to the bishops. It would appear that the book was really complete as an argument, drawn up at leisure in Amsterdam, and that then the summons of parliament prompted him to write a long dedication and address to King and Parliament, to postpone other publication and strain his finances to print this. If the actual press-work was Dutch, yet the

language was English, and the purpose was purely English, so that he may well have carried over the edition in person for sale. In any case, it produced no immediate effect.

4. Literary Propaganda in England.

No person or persons whatsoever presume to print any book or pamphlet concerning matter of religion . . . which shall not first be perused, corrected and allowed. . . .

PROCLAMATION, 1624.

Helwys had written to the King direct, Murton and his friends had petitioned the Commons in writing, Busher had published a plea to both; now it was clear that no relief was to be had from any quarter. Baptists, therefore, entered on a literary campaign to educate the public, to make it clear that they were not of the type brought into odium by the name Anabaptist, to bring about a more tolerant feeling. It may be said at once that they failed completely, for a generation later they were still regarded as one with the slandered victims at Münster, and another Parliament doomed them to lifelong imprisonment. But their books drew attention, and elicited replies, so that the cause grew.

The first book came out in 1615, without any indication where it was printed.* An introductory epistle reproduces the language of the petition, about lying "many years in filthy prisons." It makes two appeals, one to the justices who think they please the lord bishops, and the other to the lord bishops themselves, with ingenious quotations from James: and it contains a straightforward profession of loyalty. "We do unfeignedly acknowledge the authority of earthly magistrates, God's blessed ordinance, and that all earthly authority and command appertains unto them; let them command what they will, we must obey, either to do or suffer upon pain of God's displeasure, besides their punishment: but all men must let God alone with his

* *Objections Answered*, Hanserd Knollys Society's edition, *Tracts on Liberty of Conscience*, p. 85.

right, which is to be lord and lawgiver to the soul, and not command obedience for God where he commandeth none." The book itself consists of Objections by a Conformist, answered by a Baptist, with fresh light thrown by an Indifferent man.

First, the limits of civil authority are traced, and the futility of compulsion is exposed. Old Testament precedents are considered, and Murton laid it down plainly that Christ was "the fulfiller and ender of the law," a position which would seem an inevitable corollary of His own words, but which is seldom discerned, and seldom stated as bluntly. The second point is purely of English statute law, and develops the plea that on taking the oath of allegiance they were entitled to go free. This leads on to a comparison of the Anglican system of courts with the Roman, and both with the Beasts of the *Revelation*. The conclusion is drawn that a man convinced of the Separatist's plea can never again go to the parish church without sin. Positively, none may be admitted to the church to partake in the ordinances, except they be baptized; and baptism may be given by any disciple who comes to the Lord's way. Infants, predestination, free-will, are discussed on Smyth's lines. Then comes a lament that religion in the land is overthrown because the best able and greater part had gone. The general temper of the book is good, and there is a remarkable absence of personalities. The Familists are distinctly disclaimed, but the only person named is Robinson, in a note that every important point in his recent book has been considered.

The epistle is signed "By Christ's unworthy Witnesses, His Majesty's faithful subjects: Commonly (but most falsely) called ANABAPTISTS." The text is at pains to justify this disclaimer, and to lament the strange opinions held by the Continental Anabaptists, especially the view that Christ did not take His flesh of the Virgin Mary. During the next two or three years there was a revival of interest in these Anabaptists. For seventy years the story given by the

apostate Kerksenbroick had held the field, but it was now challenged by Arnold Meschovius of Cologne. For French readers a vernacular account was put out by C. Clouzier at Paris. Against these may be set the apologia from within, compiled by Hans de Ries from the passions of the martyrs since 1524; it was issued in Dutch only, though it dealt with all parts of the Empire; it passed through two editions, yet did not appear in German for over a century, or in English till 1837; its influence on English thought must, therefore, have been very small. Nor was more information really to be obtained from Thomas Harrab's sketch in English, which seems to have had a very limited circulation.

Quite a different style of book came from Francis Johnson, Smyth's old tutor, now pastor of the Ancient Church at Amsterdam. Though he entitled it *Touching the Anabaptists*, he was writing, not of the Münster people, nor the Mennonites, but of the English followers of Smyth and Murton. The book circulated, not only among Separatists, but in Puritan circles generally. As Separatists were the best recruiting ground for Baptists, John Murton sent to Colchester thirteen chapters, chiefly dealing with Christ's dying for all to save all, and the free will of man; the treatise was called *Truth's Champion*. Though the book is not extant, despite two reprints, the titles of the chapters show that Murton concentrated in this treatise against the narrow views of election which had so long been taught, and were hardening more than ever. While he had been in Holland, a Remonstrance against this doctrine had been presented by forty-six Dutch ministers to the States-General, and this had provoked an angry controversy soon to issue in the synod of Dort. Murton fully sympathized with the duty of the church to proclaim salvation as possible for all, intended for all, and to be embraced by all.

In 1618 appeared a translation from a Dutch work, "prooving that the invention of infants baptisme was brought in and decreed by divers emperors, popes, and

counsels." As Murton in his next work referred to it, his circle may provisionally have its credit. When Dr. Wall was dealing next century with the history of infant baptism, he noticed briefly this little predecessor of his; but at this time it attracted no attention, though a reprint made about 1645 received a reply from New England.

It was otherwise with Murton's last work, *A Description of what God hath predestinated, etc.* In 1619 the Synod of Dort had been held, and James had sent certain English dignitaries. The synod had adopted very high views on predestination, just a shade too high for the British delegates, and the whole subject was now receiving close attention in England. "The servants of Christ falsely called Ana Baptists," therefore, felt sure of a hearing on this point. It was natural and useful to add a section on baptism. This was prompted by a little pamphlet from Robinson, who concentrated his criticism on the administrator of baptism, claiming that he must be duly authorised by the church, and should normally be the pastor. To Murton this was absurd as involving the theory of succession, but Robinson was still in the atmosphere which had prevailed at Hampton Court when James and his bishops discussed whether laymen and midwives might baptize. Murton and his friends required only a personal gift of teaching proved by actual winning an adherent; this was put into practice, Murton alone baptizing a convert alone. The theory of succession had been repudiated by Robinson when it applied to his ordination as a clergyman, and Murton pressed him with Smyth's argument that the case of baptism was parallel; if Anglican orders could be repudiated, and a due ordination be obtained in a Separatist circle, why should not Anglican baptism be repudiated in like fashion?

The main purpose of Murton's book was to oppose the distinctive views of Calvin, as reiterated at Dort. Though Robert Cooche in 1557 could feel that he had both common sense and tradition on his side against that

French innovator, yet in the two generations since, Calvinism had become the standard. Only in 1595 was it challenged, by a Cambridge professor, and from a new standpoint; the incident led to the nine Lambeth Articles which asserted Calvinism most strongly. The Irish convocation of 1615 had adopted one hundred and four articles of the same type, drawn up by Professor Ussher, and the Synod of Dort showed that, while the really important Protestants were all Calvinist, the high Calvinists were in a great majority. If there were faint indications of another party within the Church of England, it seemed opportune to echo Smyth and Helwys, and to show that the Baptists were opposed to the almost antinomian views of the Calvinists abroad and at home.

At this stage Murton's funds ran out, and nothing more appeared in print. There is evidence of the quiet way in which his friends were working, by private letters. One was sent by H. H. from London to several correspondents, with half a dozen books. One of these people was won, to judge by later memoranda, but the letter was handed to I. P., possibly John Paget of Amsterdam. He published it with a reasoned reply, and gave it a title that manifestly retorts at Helwys, *Anabaptismes Myserie of Iniquity Vnmasked*.*

This book is a sign that Baptists had now commanded attention enough to demand formal refutation from Puritans. The Separatists were still awake to the need of defending themselves against Murton, both Ainsworth and Robinson being about to publish; but Paget flattered himself that he belonged to the Church of England, though his congregation was officially part of the Dutch Reformed Church.

While these three books testified to the influence exerted in Holland, others appeared in England. One was by Edmond Jessop, of a family that had suffered with Helwys, had emigrated, had returned; being reclaimed by "the rod of correction," he now issued a *Discovery of*

* See Note B in Appendix.

the Errors of the English Anabaptists. Another was much more significant, for it came from two Puritans who still retained an unsteady footing within the Established Church. The venerable John Dod, one of their leaders, collaborated with Robert Cleaver to defend infant baptism as the patrimony of God's children. Dod had met Smyth in an all-night discussion at Coventry, when the question was whether they should boldly defy the new enforcement of uniformity. Smyth had not been able to convince him then, and he had been living in alternate mutiny and suspension ever since. He was, of course, far more horrified at the subsequent developments of Smyth, and thus felt bound to join in vindicating the traditional custom, and seeking to restore any who might be infected by the Baptists. There was the more need for this, as he was now rector of Fawsley, only twenty miles from Coventry, which was now another Baptist centre.

From the State also, opposition revived. Under the lenient rule of Archbishop Abbot, persecution had died down, but he now retired from public affairs, and Laud became real governor. Though he detested Calvinism, he did not tolerate Baptists simply because they too opposed it; his governing principle was uniformity within one official Church. Though the brunt of his action was taken by the Puritans, Baptists had for eighteen years to confine themselves to peaceful penetration, in which they were very successful.

5. Six Baptist Churches, and their difference from Anabaptists.

Your Majesty's Subjects, not for fear only, but for conscience sake, Unjustly called Ana-baptists.

AN HUMBLE SUPPLICATION, 1620.

There has been preserved at Amsterdam a valuable correspondence between the Waterlander Church in that city and six Baptist churches in England, between 1624

and 1630. Part of it was translated for and published by Benjamin Evans of Scarborough in 1864; but the selection was bad, and the dating mistaken, so that the incidents could not be followed. Within the present century it has been studied in the Amsterdam Library and published in Dutch and in Latin, with some English versions.*

Early in 1623/4, internal trouble arose in the London church, and messengers were sent over to Amsterdam to confer with the "Dutch and English churches of Jesus Christ in that place." The Waterlander Mennonites in Amsterdam were still led by Hans de Ries, while the church formed by Smyth, now headed by Thomas Piggott, though worshipping at the Bake-house in English, was yet in loose connection with the Waterlanders. The messengers brought back a letter which did not convince a certain Elias Tookey, who continued to uphold and publish his views, so that Murton's church excluded him and some adherents, in order to preserve internal peace. Therefore, on 20th March, old style, sixteen of them wrote to Amsterdam to obtain recognition as a second London church. They professed themselves tolerant, yet blamed Murton, also the church of Ainsworth in Amsterdam, "because they did not join a real communion but formed a new sect according to their arbitrary opinion and irregularly, also because they misused the discipline of Christ, etc." But they avowed that they were exercising the liberty of breaking bread together, though they did not insist on this being done every first day; and "we do not compel everybody to believe of Christ what we do, but bear with each other."

To this the Dutch and English churches replied in May, very guardedly, and asking several questions; these were soon answered in a letter dated June 3. The letter shows that the Londoners did not agree with the two Amsterdam churches on any of the points raised, except that they

* Burrage: *Early English Dissenters*, vol. ii, p. 122; *Bapt. Hist. Soc. Trans.*, vol. iv, p. 229.

would not take any magistracy nor assume the profession of arms; as they were not likely to be entrusted with either, this unanimity was hardly important.

The draft of the reply to this is at Amsterdam. A third London letter, now missing, called forth a very long letter from Ries on 3rd December, 1625. It regrets the dissensions even in the Tookey secession, and declines fellowship until there be satisfaction on the deity of Christ, on the impropriety of taking oaths, on the refusal to fight. Tookey and seventeen others replied on 17th March, 1625, old style (27th March, 1626, new style), and they distinctly failed to satisfy the Amsterdam churches. The correspondence closed, and Amsterdam came into touch again with the Murton church.

The Tookey group thus disclosed, was alluded to on 10/20th January, 1644/5, by Daniel Featley, of Southwark, as having existed "neer the place of my Residence, for more than twenty years." It may still be found, housed on Church Street, Deptford, where a building was erected in the seventeenth century. Its friends have often been puzzled by its ambiguities on the question of the deity of Christ, and about 1916 it ended the indecision of nearly three centuries by deciding to rank itself with Unitarians. For the greater part of this time its internal and external history is well known, and it has naturally played a leading part in the doings of the General Baptists. Few dissenting churches in England, if any, can prove such a long and unbroken descent. Though Tookey in its earliest years was very emphatic in disclaiming any interest in succession, yet on two or three occasions this church showed itself anxious to record the lists of its elders, and of its successive homes. The continuity is more important financially than theologically.

The negotiations of Tookey naturally stirred the original London church. And whereas Tookey was isolated, Murton had come into touch with four other churches scattered about. The first of these was in Lincoln, where John

Smyth had been city preacher ; this shows how hasty was the conclusion that the emigration of 1608 had emptied the district of all sympathisers. It is quite possible that the existing churches of Crowle, Epworth, and Butterwick, in the Isle of Axholme, are derived from the labours of Smyth around Gainsborough ; though it is to be regretted that some one who saw this possibility proceeded to forge documents to support his theory. The genuine church-book of Epworth has lost its early pages, and only begins with 1676 ; but the followers of Smyth in Lincoln included Thomas Pigott from Axholme, who succeeded him as leader at the Bake-house ; we may be sure that he had friends left behind in the island, and we may well think that some of them became bold enough to start a Baptist church there. The solid facts are that such a church existed in 1626, that its letters of 1630 are at Amsterdam, that in 1634 the vicar-general of Laud certified to him that the members were numerous, and were led by Johnson, a baker. This church also has been a rallying centre ever since, and the General Baptists of the county long kept on its premises the book recording the minutes of their annual Association Meetings. In the nineteenth century a new building was erected to commemorate a member from Gainsborough, Thomas Cooper, the chartist and apologist.

The second of the country churches was at Sarum. The marriage records at Amsterdam show people there between 1598 and 1617 who hailed from Southampton, Hurst Castle, Salisbury, Newbury, Warminster, Frome Selwood, Westbury, Beckington, Hilperton, Bradford-on-Avon, Chippenham, Wroughton, Wells, Bruton, Taunton, Weymouth. These entries confirm the allusions to a west country church which had come to Amsterdam. Its minister had deserted it, and some of the members had joined the Ancient Church of 1596. This was exactly the sort of raw material likely to be worked up by Smyth's followers, and it must have been through some of these emigrants that his books found their way back to the west country. The Baptist Church

at Salisbury was a kind of first-fruits, and later on we shall find a strong group in the Frome district. Wilts and East Somerset have always been in the van of Baptist movements, as the names of Collier and Marshman may testify, a fact at which we need no longer wonder, since the leaven worked here so early and strongly. In 1630, when systematic enquiry was made in the city for recusants, Richard Slowe's wife, Joan, Abraham Cade and his wife, and James Oakford were "presented" as Baptists. They were probably fined a shilling for each Sunday they stayed away from the parish church, but that did not reclaim them, for two years later they were joined by Isaac Sloe and his wife.

The third provincial church was at Coventry. Here we know well the direct influence of both Smyth and Helwys, and can readily understand that their books would find early readers, with the natural result that a church was formed. Its history down to 1763 is fairly well known; after that it seems to have melted into one of the New Connexion churches that sprang up all around, perhaps into Longford; the early books of Gosford Street were unfortunately destroyed in the nineteenth century.

A fourth country group was at Tiverton. The first sign of dissent here is in 1617, when six shillings was levied from people who absented themselves from church on "Sabaoth dayes." In 1628 several are named, and named as "the Anabaptists." They include John Skibbowe, Israel Cockram, John Tucker and wife, Richard Berry and his wife Charity, James Toppe and his wife Israel, relict of William Cockram. The industry of Mr. Burgess has shown that Skibbowe was probably a wealthy fuller, and Toppe a schoolmaster. The movement away from the Established Church may have been spontaneous, but its crystallization into a Baptist church was probably due to the importation of Smyth's books, quite possibly through the agency of the Sarum group.

If there were any other Baptist church in England at this time, it was not in touch with these five. And at

present there is no evidence that any other existed. The claims put forth on behalf of a few have been investigated, with the result that the church at Amersham can be shown to have begun half a century later, the church at Hill Cliff about 1649, the church at Eythorn about 1653, the earliest dates possible. There is no reason to think that any other claim is better founded. The one possibility that remains open is that there may have been people so far dissatisfied with the Established Church that they absented themselves on Sundays from their parish churches, and met informally at home for religious edification ; out of such neighbourly gatherings Baptist churches may well have arisen at a later period. But the formation of a Baptist church is a definite thing, a condition precedent to which is the baptism of people on profession of their own faith, and a usual consequence of which is the choice and recognition of officers. We have already seen instances of religious gatherings leading up to baptism and organization ; the next set of letters emphasizes amongst other things the importance of a regular ministry.

The five churches consulted together during 1626, and decided to communicate with the Mennonite churches under Ries and Wybrantsz, with which the London church of Murton had already had so much to do, and with which the church of Smyth had now allied. They chose two men who had suffered much, and had long been in prison, and sent them over with a letter. In conversation they said that they represented quite a hundred and fifty people, all of the type of Murton and Helwys, and not of the Tookey type.

Ries was now at Alkmaar, but Wybrantsz arranged for one of the English members at Amsterdam to translate the letter into Latin, which was done on 12th November, 1626. Next day the delegates presented it to the church and asked for sisterly recognition. The letter said that the Five Churches had read the old confession of Ries and approved it generally, but they wished explanations on

five points. One of their number was not clear whether Christ—who undoubtedly was at once God and man—had taken His substance from Mary or not; he did not urge his doubts; was it wise to keep him in fellowship? Did the Waterlanders call on God to witness their truth when answering a magistrate? Though, of course, other oaths were forbidden in Scripture. The English declined to tie themselves to observe the Lord's Supper every Lord's Day, when there were serious difficulties, though they did really observe it every Sabbath. They granted that the ministering of the sacraments was inseparably joined to the ministry of the word; but they held that though a man were not admitted to the "episcopal" by imposition of hands, yet as a servant of the church he might preach, convert, baptize, edify a church, and perform other public functions by the authority of the church when the bishops were absent. Finally, as the Waterlanders did bow to the authority of the magistrate in matters of property, though not as to bloodshed, war, arms, the English asked if the differences on this head were not slight, and tolerable? The letter goes on to reason with the Dutch and to urge them to fall in with the English views.

Wybrantsz forwarded the Latin version to Ries at Alkmaar, where it was translated further into Dutch on 18th November. He drew up a dozen questions in writing, to which the delegates answered that there was not a full minister of each of the five churches, and that made it impossible to observe the Lord's Supper at each on each Lord's Day; that they were not sure whether such observance were obligatory if it were possible, but they see no objection to it. Some questions are not answered, but Ries had laid his finger on two weak points when he asked whether the party of Murton was willing to commune with the party of Smyth, from whom they had broken off angrily, and whether they deemed it a sin to flee from persecution and said that all the English ought to return to England. It proved that the embers of division still smouldered,

and that the question of flight was not viewed alike by all. This latter point proved very interesting. Meantime, four Dutch ministers signed a letter on 15/25th November, regretting that the differences revealed were serious enough to render any formal union undesirable, but rejoicing in the brotherly feeling. A copy of the letter to Tookey a year earlier was handed to the delegates for elucidation of the Mennonite views. With this courteous refusal of the overture, the correspondence ceased for awhile.

It is interesting to see that the Episcopate is mentioned. The Mennonites had retained from the medieval system a Diocesan Episcopate, Menno himself being Bishop of Groningen, Dirk Philip of Appingadam. The letter is ambiguous as to whether the English meant a head of one congregation, or an officer with wider jurisdiction. We shall find that the General Baptists a generation later clearly had an order of officers who were not local, but were to evangelise at large, and to superintend a whole group of churches, The five churches already had brethren who were busied, with the authority of the church, in many matters. They were, however, accustomed to wait for the arrival of an Episcopus, without whom they did not celebrate the Lord's Supper. Their own name for such an officer in the next generation was appropriately borrowed from the epistles of Paul, namely, Messenger, and it is in use to-day in the shrunken General Baptist Assembly for the officers who have the superintendence of Connexional affairs as distinct from congregational.

The Five Churches were clearly anxious for mutual relations, both amongst themselves, and with sister churches in Holland. The earliest churches of the Separation at Norwich, Yarmouth, Middleburg, London, Amsterdam, Leyden, seldom thought of any problems as to their relationship, and made no persevering attempts to get into touch with one another. They did not deliberately isolate themselves, but they did remain isolated, and the term Independent, whatever it was intended to mean, did actually

describe them very fully. From the beginning Baptists were not "Independents"; they always sought for fellowship between the different churches, and they were very successful in arranging for permanent organization. We shall presently see that as soon as the slackening of persecution permitted, not only freedom of action, but also the keeping of records, the churches grouped themselves and arranged for regular meetings. This has always been a Baptist characteristic which long distinguished them from the Independents, though these have now copied many features of Baptist organization.

The Mennonites distinctly refused to join in any formal union with the English, but they were ready to maintain friendly relations. Of this an example was given in the next few years, which led to further correspondence from Lincoln and Tiverton, preserved at Amsterdam. The Dutch-English church there sent John Drew (originally a Lincoln man), bearing a letter to the Five Churches, which desired them not to be hasty in disciplining any member, and speedily to restore those suspended. Possibly this means that Tookey and his friends had made fresh efforts at reunion, and had invoked the friendly offices of the Amsterdam church. For whereas Menno Simons himself had been extremely harsh in discipline, the connexion would not endorse his rigidity, and a split had taken place; the Waterlander church was precisely the party that was lenient, and so this letter of theirs is in harmony with their traditions. The Lincoln church responded that the matter was more important than Amsterdam seemed to think: this was a case where admonition and rebuke had been unheeded, and there seemed no alternative but exclusion from the Lord's Supper. The Lincoln Church implies that the case was not local, "not one of us is ever excommunicated"; but it stands by the action of its sisters.

A similar letter was returned from Tiverton, to which a prompt reply was despatched on 3/13th September, 1630. These are not extant, but a further response from

Tiverton was sent, which also Gryndall translated for filing on 5th June, 1631. This shows that the point at issue was, whether a member of a Baptist church might also frequent the parish church and hear a sermon there. Tiverton said emphatically No, and defended its action from Scripture, saying that after three admonitions he would be excluded. Tiverton therefore charged Amsterdam with conniving at evil, and declared that if such laxity had been known, then so far from asking for union, the first duty would have been to try and reform the Menonites. This shows how thoroughly Smyth's doctrine was appropriated, that the Established Church was anti-christ exactly because it was established, a compound of civil and ecclesiastical. That once granted, it was of course a sin to be taught by an antichristian teacher. There was no question of a parish here and there, where an inadequate or bad clergyman needed to be supplemented by private meetings; the whole system was fundamentally bad, and nothing but disestablishment could remove the first stumbling-block. This was nearly the position of all the reformers as against Rome; it was exactly the position of Barrowe as against the Anglican establishment.

Tiverton further endorsed Lincoln on the points of magistracy and warfare. As no further letters survive for sixty years, it is probable that all attempts at union now ceased, each party esteeming the other firmly set in an unscriptural position. Nevertheless, intercourse did not cease; on 26th September, 1630, Jane Murton, widow of the London minister, was admitted to the Amsterdam church; it is not said that she brought any letter of transfer or commendation, her membership is based on her baptism by Smyth. On 12th December, 1638, Michael Wallis was admitted "because he was baptized an adult in England." Such acceptance of single members, ignoring the fact that they were members of English churches, suggests that the difference of opinion continued, and was regarded on both sides as a bar to full inter-communion. With the fall of

Laud from power, the English Baptists found early opportunity to carry out their principles into practice, to bear arms, use them, call magistrates to account, and accept magistracies. Thus no record of further correspondence is preserved until the accession of William of Orange drew England closer to Holland.

The continental Anabaptists and the English Baptists never came nearer to each other than is revealed by these documents of 1609-1630. Smyth's Church, when it had lost its leader by death, and when eight or nine others had left it deliberately because they disagreed with the Mennonites, did accept the Mennonite doctrines, did receive recognition, and did ultimately melt into the united Mennonite church. For when Piggott died in 1639, he was succeeded as minister at the Bake-house by Joseph Drew, and when he died in 1642, a fourth Englishman was not available, though Samuel Pigott had been received into fellowship on 16th December, 1635. The Fleming, or strict, church, lost its minister, Abram Dirks, in 1645. Therefore an absolute fusion of the three churches was arranged, and on new premises "by den Toren" all united; from 1661 to 1666 Johannes Grindal was deacon, and at a later period Andries Busscher. Other English, too, had come and joined, as persecution in England waxed hotter. But by degrees these adopted the speech of their home, and we hear no more of English services; their children were absorbed into the general community.

Now between this church in Amsterdam and the Five Churches in England there were real differences of opinion and practice. The Dutch had never adopted the communism of the Moravian Anabaptists, but they were firmly set against taking oaths, against accepting magisterial office, against fighting. And the English were prepared to do any of these things. Hence the two sets of people, who at this time were divided by no other matter of principle, have always remained separate. While the official Assembly to-day is of one type, yet from it there have been such

frequent secessions, that the Assembly consists of only a score of churches, with barely a thousand members. Of the four churches which survive of the first six, three hold the ordinary Christological view, and are in connection with the Baptist Union, while the fourth does not seem to have six members, and except for sentimental and financial reasons might have melted long ago into an ordinary Unitarian church with which it has been in close alliance.

The Mennonites quite refuse to-day, as they did in the seventeenth century, to recognize the English Baptists as belonging to the same communion. When Baptist churches arose in Holland last century, there was no fraternal intercourse; and when a Baptist World Congress was called in 1905, no invitation was issued to Mennonites. Although Rippon in 1790 did catalogue them as Baptists, that was a blunder. Continental Anabaptists and English Baptists faced one another for twenty years, saw important differences, and decided against intercommunion.

Meanwhile, Baptists in England had an evil time. When Charles came to the throne in 1625, he took as a leading adviser William Laud, now no longer an Essex rector, but a bishop in Wales. By 1628 he was a privy councillor and Bishop of London, in 1633 he became Archbishop of Canterbury. As member of the Star Chamber, as member of the High Commission for the southern province, as Metropolitan of that province, he exercised great authority, which he exerted to the utmost.

The records of Star Chamber and High Commission seem to have been deliberately destroyed by the Long Parliament, and only a few scattered books remain. Yet even in these we find notices of Baptists. Francis Jones of Ratcliffe was sent to Newgate in 1636 because he had been re-baptized. An officer was thereupon commissioned to search for conventicles of "Anabaptists" and others. It is doubtful whether he would find more than the 1612 church north of the river, and the 1624 church south.

But we are sure these persisted, for William Britten in 1654 said, "In the yeare 1635, when Prelacy had so great power that it overtopt the tender plants, yet then I found one Baptist, who declared so much unto me, that I perceived in those tyrannical times there was a Church of Christ under his Ordinances," etc.

Colchester also had proved a good seed-plot. Quite apart from some Calvinists who must be studied separately, there was a group akin to the Five Churches. The most remarkable man was Thomas Lamb, who did fall into the hands of Star Chamber and was brought to London. He seems to have been treated leniently, for he was released more than once. In the intervals he devoted himself not to his "separate congregation" at Colchester, but to work in London. At Tiverton James Toppe continued his work despite persecution, being subject not only to local shilling fines, but also to summonses by the High Commission as late as 1640. In London another leader arose in the person of Edward Barber, a merchant tailor. In fact, all the forces at Laud's disposal could do no more than prevent a public propaganda. When he was imprisoned, and Long Parliament abolished the courts he had misused, Lamb could settle down in London as his centre. He organized and conducted missionary tours over all the south, from the Wash to the Solent and the Severn.

We have thus traced four stages in these thirty years. The first shows the establishment of a single church, whose doctrines were derived by a Cambridge man from the Bible, after due consideration of the views taken by the Puritans and by the Mennonites. The second shows this church transferred to London, conducting a vigorous campaign by print and by letter. The third reveals the result in the rise of churches widely separated, yet acting together. The fourth shows that despite severe repression, they maintained their ideals, and were ready to resume active propaganda.

This earliest group of Baptist churches was not Calvinist, like the Puritans, nor medieval like the Mennonites. It was evangelical, it was also evangelistic. At a time when the great majority of men in the Established Church really believed that God had decreed "to deliver from curse and damnation those whom He had chosen in Christ out of mankind,"* a doctrine which by its silence does not encourage preaching for conversion, the Baptists published a confession which carefully and explicitly denied the characteristic points of Calvin, and declared that as God created all men according to His image, so had He redeemed all that fall by actual sin, to the same end, and that a man had power to receive or to reject the grace of God.† No definition of doctrine stultified the missionary spirit which really actuated the members.

* Article 17.

† Smyth: *Works*, pp. 736, 743.

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PARTICULAR BAPTISTS AND FREE GROWTH FOR TWENTY YEARS.

Matters of religion and the ways of God's worship are not at all entrusted by us to any human power, because therein we cannot remit or exceed a tittle of what our consciences dictate to be the will of God, without wilful sin.

AGREEMENT OF THE PEOPLE, 1647.

NEW ENGLAND, A MINIATURE.

SPREAD OF BAPTIST PRINCIPLES.

LAY EVANGELISTS.

THE NEW MODEL ARMY.

PARLIAMENTARY COMMISSIONS.

FRIENDS, AND THE FIFTH MONARCHY.

ORGANIZATION.

JOINT ACTION.

ASSOCIATIONS.

CONFESSIONS.

DEFECTS AND ACHIEVEMENT.

LEADING DATES.

1640. Long Parliament.
1641. Milton on reformation.
Spencer on lay-preaching.
1642. Barber on dipping.
Kilcop and Ritor on infant baptism.
Several Particular Baptist churches.
Civil war breaks out.
1643. Assembly of Divines.
1644. Roger Williams on persecution.
Baptists maintained in the army.
London Baptist Confession.
Milton's *Areopagitica*.
1645. New-Model Army.
Tombs on infant baptism.
Directory of Worship enjoined.
1646. Last royal army defeated.
Presbyterian system created.
Milton opposes it.
London Baptist Confession revised.
1647. Westminster Confession.
Heads of Proposals.
Army occupies London.
Agreement of the People.
1648. Second Civil War.
Westminster Catechisms.
Long Parliament purged.
1649. Charles tried and executed.
Mutiny of the Levellers ;
Denne.
War in Ireland.
Collier's General Epistles.
1650. Commissions to Propagate Gospel.
John Jones prominent Ireland.
Jessey on Jews and missions.
1651. Civil War ended at Worcester.
Richard Lawrence in Ireland.
G.B. Confession from Midlands.
1652. Lillburn commander in Scotland.
Baptists on commissions to visit all British Universities.
Baptist Associations.
1653. Ejection of the Rump.
Nominated Parliament.
Aspinwall on Fifth Monarchy.
Census of Baptists desired.
Instrument of Government.
Deane and Evans die.
Protectorate.
Henry Lawrence President.
1654. Fifth-Monarchy Convention.
Tryers for the ministry.
G.B. Assembly begins.
1656. Somerset Confession.
Pendarves dies.
Steele Chancellor Ireland.
1657. Seventh-day pamphlets.
Desborow, Fiennes, Jones, in house of "Lords."
1658. Savoy Confession.
Fifth-Monarchy plot.
Fall of the Cromwells.
Harrison and Powell baptized.
1659. Restoration of the Rump.
Dunster of Harvard dies.
Lawson chief of navy.
1660. Long Parliament restored.
Westminster Confession approved.
Long Parliament dissolved.
Declaration of Breda.
Convention Parliament.
Harrison and Jones executed.
General Baptist Confession.
No ecclesiastical settlement by Parliament.

CHAPTER III.

**PARTICULAR BAPTISTS AND
FREE GROWTH FOR TWENTY YEARS.**

BAPTISTS had existed for a generation, after publishing their programme. They now had an opportunity to grow freely, and to show which of their principles had any vitality. Their central discovery was that the soul was competent before God ; able to respond to Him, to accept Him, to learn of Him, to labour for Him, without the intervention of any other man. In the next score of years, we can see this worked out in New England. In the mother country we can observe how these principles spread rapidly in England, Wales, and Ireland, carried by ardent lay evangelists, by soldiers in the army, and under the authority of Parliamentary commissions ; we can also observe the distractions due to two other types of teaching. Then we can note that organization of churches was regarded as desirable, marking a difference of Baptists from Independents ; we can trace the particular pattern adopted from the army, the " Association," destined to spread over the two successive empires of which England has been the nucleus ; we can see how when Associations explained themselves in Confessions, they were true to the central principle in declining to bind themselves or their successors by these, but declared in word and in practice that they would accept further leading to truth.

Baptist life was far more free in this period than previously, for Stuart government was in abeyance from the fall of Wentworth and Laud for twenty years. Yet there were in this time six variations in the control of ecclesiastical life : for eight years the Long Parliament was supreme,

for four the Rump of the Commons administered the state, for six months in 1653 a Nominated Parliament ruled, then the Cromwells governed as Protectors, for one year there was mere chaos, lastly for eight months in 1660 the Convention Parliament with Charles II. settled some political affairs, but left most ecclesiastical matters unsettled.

Baptist fortunes were influenced by the varying attitudes of the people who actually enjoyed power in these periods. The Long Parliament aimed at reformation of the Church of England, and by covenant with the Scots agreed that this should be systematically planned; an important Committee of Lords and Commons was appointed, with several clergy added, and commissioners from the Church of Scotland; this "Assembly of Divines" worked out a new ecclesiastical constitution; in 1646 the Long Parliament enacted this and attempted to enforce uniformity. This provoked remonstrance from the army, and led directly to the purging of the Long Parliament, so that the period of the Rump was one of ecclesiastical liberty. The Little Parliament of 1653 was absolutely nominated by the Free Churches and their friends, so that from July to December there was an unprecedented opportunity of showing what the Free Churches could do constructively. Oliver Cromwell as Protector sought to govern, and was led on to show great hostility to the ideas of freedom entertained by the Baptists. From his death till the end of 1659 Baptists had another season of opportunity. For the last twelve months they receded rapidly in importance, until even existence seemed called in question.

The flowering period coincided with the existence of the New Model Army, 1645-1660. This was organized deliberately to be an efficient instrument of war, and a test case decided that a good lieutenant-colonel was not ineligible because he was a Baptist. The strength of Baptists in this army, and the consequent rise of Baptist churches wherever it went in England, Ireland, and Scotland, have

never yet been appreciated, and must receive special attention.

While the General Baptists continued their good work, yet in this period they were overtaken by a newer group, which agreed with all other Puritans in accepting the teachings of Calvin; the Particular Baptists were the more important by 1660. It is possible to study the inter-relations of Baptists and Puritans, of General Baptists and Particular Baptists, in the limited territory of New England, and the occurrences there are typical of what took place on the wider field of the Commonwealth at home.

I. New England.

We bear with the several judgments and consciences of each other in all the towns of our colony, the which our neighbour colonies do not; which is the only cause of their great offence against us.

RHODE ISLAND, 1659.

The Old Colony founded by the Pilgrim Fathers contained three or four little settlements, but was surpassed by the immigration to Massachusetts Bay, which lay to their north. This consisted of Puritans who desired to have an established church, modelled on lines very different to those in England. Such intolerance developed among them that secessions took place, and a third colony was founded westward, known to us as Connecticut. Between this and the Old Colony was unoccupied land, and in a gulf lay the island of Aquidneck, renamed Rhode Island.

To Rhode Island there came in 1638 a company of colonists headed by John Clarke, an educated man. He conducted worship for them, and they organized a church which asserted its independence of the Boston church to which some of its members had belonged. Within three years Baptist principles were adopted by some, and by 1644 at latest the church was Baptist, after some obscure changes and reorganization.

On the mainland there was another group which had been expelled successively from Massachusetts and from the Old Colony, and had settled at Providence. In March, 1639, we hear that Roger Williams, a lawyer from London, had been baptized by Ezekiel Holliman, and that he had then baptized Holliman and some ten more.

Baptist principles were canvassed in both the older settlements, and Charles Chauncy, minister at Scituate in the Old Colony, was much attracted by them. He had independently insisted on the necessity of immersion for baptism; and was now led on to doubt whether infants ought to be baptized. But, like Henry Jessey, his successor in the church at London whence his Scituate church had come, he hesitated to put his convictions into practice. Laymen were not so tempted, and at some of the Massachusetts towns they took a decided stand. One man was sentenced by the General Court to be whipped because he refused to have his infant baptized, and because he stigmatized such baptism as anti-Christian. The Court proceeded to enact that such conduct and opinions were to be punished with banishment, and the governor commented that this was because "Anabaptistry had increased and spread in the country."

This intolerance was quite typical of the Puritan, whether in New England or in Old England, and as Roger Williams was in London during 1644, he published his *Bloudy Tenent of Persecution, for Causes of Conscience, Discussed*, and presented it to Parliament, which was just considering the question. He was answered by Cotton of Boston, to whom he replied, and the discussion is classic. But neither in Massachusetts nor in England did Williams get persecution abolished.

The Providence church was now led by Chad Brown, first of a family which has been prominent ever since at that town. The Newport church was the more active in propagating, being reinforced by Mark Lucar from London and other immigrants. In the Old Colony they

won several adherents at Seekonk, including Obadiah Holmes from Didsbury, an Oxford man; complaint was made by Massachusetts to the Old Colony, which prosecuted them, and they crossed the border for the sake of peace. A motion had been made at Plymouth "to allow and maintain full and free tolerance of religion to all men that would preserve the civil peace and submit unto government." Governor Bradford refused to put the motion, and Winslow reported the incident with approval; so far had two great Pilgrim Fathers abjured their principles.

An aged blind man named William Witter, living two miles outside Lynn in the Massachusetts, had joined the Newport church, which therefore sent Clarke, Holmes, and another to visit him. While they were worshipping together in his home on Sunday morning, they were arrested, forced to service at the church of the Standing Order, carried off to Boston, examined and sentenced. Fines were paid by friends on behalf of two. Holmes was whipped. Williams made another appeal for toleration, vainly; Clarke sent home an account which was printed, and thus exposed the bigotry of the "New England Way."

The scandal led to further heart-searching, and Henry Dunster, President of Harvard College, became Baptist. Of course he had to resign, and when the post was offered to Charles Chauncy, the latter finally abandoned Baptist principles.

This settled that Baptist churches could exist in New England only at Providence Plantations and on Rhode Island. But now there emerged doctrinal differences at both these places. On the surface, it was a ceremony that attracted attention, the Laying Hands on all baptized believers, mentioned in *Hebrews* as one of Six Principles which some regarded as fundamental. But this was in reality only the flag over those who held to the scheme of General Redemption. Smyth had taught, and many agreed with him, that the work of Christ sufficed to redeem

all men, and that the invitation of Christ was genuinely for all, who could accept if they would. But in England and Holland the teaching of Calvin was preferred, that the work of Christ was intended for particular persons, and that they alone could be and were actually redeemed. General redemption, particular redemption, are the technical watchwords; and these two opinions were and are held by Pedobaptists as well as by Baptists. The phrases have no relation to the question of Communion, whether that shall be for a close body alone, or open to a wider circle.

The earliest Baptists held the belief that Christ really died for all, that redemption was available for men in general. The Puritans were all Calvinists at that stage, and when in England some Puritans came to the position that every man must make his own decision for Christ, and register that in baptism, then there came to be Calvinistic or Particular Baptists. One of the earliest and most earnest, John Spilsberie, thus stated his belief:—Christ hath not presented to His Father's justice a satisfaction for the sinnes of all men; but onely for the sinnes of those that doe, or shall believe in Him; which are His Elect onely. Some of Spilsbury's friends had come over to New England, and hitherto had worshipped with Baptists of the other type: the experiment was a failure.

After discussion for two years at Providence, it was found wiser to end disputation by separating into two churches; and after Newport had tried two years longer to preserve unity, the same solution was adopted there also. Thus the period closed with Baptists excluded from the older colonies, with General Baptists and Particular Baptists organized separately. What they held in common is well set forth in the code of laws whose wording seems due to John Clarke:—"Otherwise than thus what is herein forbidden, all men may walk as their consciences persuade them, every one in the name of his God. And let the saints of the Most High walk in this colony without molestation

in the name of Jehovah their God, for ever and ever." Nor was this mere verbiage, for while Massachusetts was hanging Quakers, Rhode Island was sheltering Jews. In subjection, in exile, in power, Baptists preached and practised religious liberty; and from little Rhode Island, the principle has been adopted as fundamental in the whole United States of America.

These incidents show on a small stage much that was going on in Old England. There was the same intolerance by the Puritans, shown in both Parliament and Assembly; there was the same steady propaganda by Baptists; the same aloofness between two classes of Baptists, so that Generals and Particulars always organized separately. But in the larger theatre the action was complicated and intensified by war; the army proved to be a most efficient evangelist, and also supplied a fine model of organization, which became standard among Baptists, and has always been distinctive, first in England and then in America. The two great subjects for our study in this period are Evangelization and Organization, the two things to which Paul and Barnabas attended successively as they went eastward in Galatia, and as they returned.

II. The Spread of Baptist Principles.

All Baptist evangelists were voluntary workers, earning their living, often by their own manual labour, but sometimes sent at the expense of their churches, and sometimes paid as soldiers, officers, or lecturers. It is convenient to consider separately the work of civilians, of military men, of those employed by official commissions; they emerged in this order, but men of all types were working simultaneously for a few years, though not often in the same districts at one time. And it will be advisable to notice two other forms of propaganda which to some extent conflicted with Baptist work—the First Publishers of Truth, or Quakers, and the Fifth Monarchists.

I. LAY EVANGELISTS.

Agreed that there be all possible care in propagating the Gospel by Employing the Messengers in the work of the Lord Jesus sending with each of them one young disciple . . . also that their families be well provided for in their absence.

KENTISH ASSOCIATION, 1657.

With the national uprising against the tyranny of Laud, all restraint on ecclesiastical affairs ended, and for a few years men could and did worship in any fashion they chose, where they chose, led by any one they chose or who felt called to preach. Naturally, the old-established General Baptists rose to their opportunity at once. Thomas Lamb of Colchester, now earning his living as a soap-boiler in London, was asked down to Gloucestershire, and soon vicar after vicar was complaining of his work and of his dipping his converts in the Severn. Hugh Evans, of Worcester, a member of the Coventry G.B. church, evangelized in Radnor, and built up several churches. Edward Barber, a London upholsterer, proved not only a good pastor but an able writer; Edmund Chillenden could discuss both in print and in speaking.

Here were two novelties in which Baptists were most prominent, public debates, lay-preaching. For a year or two pamphleteers were shocked, but both had come to stay. From the old ecclesiastical standpoint, all Baptist preachers were laymen, having received no ordination from bishops; even from the Puritan standpoint it was the same, for they received no ordination from presbyters. From the Baptist standpoint they were exemplifying the priesthood of all believers, that it is the duty of every man in or out of office to win converts to Jesus Christ, a doctrine being emphasized to-day with the new title of Personal Evangelism. In many cases men were specially appointed for the purpose, and the case of Henry Denne illustrates the procedure of one General Baptist church, at Fenstanton in Huntingdon. He had been a clergyman in episcopal orders, then a cornet of horse, but in 1653 he

was chosen and ordained by the laying on of hands, a messenger to divulge the gospel of Jesus Christ. He went at once on tour, with another brother, and preached in house after house, also in a parish church at Cambridge. Apparently he had been previously ordained by the Bell Alley church for a similar tour in Kent, when he had preached in Rochester Cathedral; he was asked by the Baptist church at Canterbury to return, and to this second visit may probably be traced the origin of the church at Eythorn, as to which nothing is known before 1653.*

Denne had been trained at Cambridge to debate, and at least thrice he was drawn into formal disputation. The first was when he was imprisoned in London and found in the same prison that Doctor Featley, who had been so proud of his debate against William Kiffin that he published it again and again; this time he was so dissatisfied with his own showing that he broke off on the plea it was dangerous to dispute without a licence. In the same year Denne had a public debate in the parish church of Warboys with the clergyman. The most famous of his tourneys was at the invitation of a lady who was uncertain as to believers' baptism, and obtained the use of Clement Danes, where the pedobaptist champion was Peter Gunning, late tutor of Clare, now boldly conducting worship according to the Prayer-book at Exeter chapel. The result was that within a week the lady was baptized.

There was nothing of clerical caste-feeling in Denne, though he did take the opportunities open to him of occupying parish churches and cathedrals. At the close of a service in a barn a humble lay-preacher was challenged by the Cambridge Professor of Arabic to say what authority he had for preaching; the reply was, that of his church at Bedford; to which the professor rejoined that laymen could not give such authority. As the professor thought the point important, he published a pamphlet, to prove it a dangerous sin for the tinker to preach and the people

* *Transactions Baptist Historical Society*, iii, 41.

to hear. Denne issued an answer plainly upholding the preacher and the right of his church to commission him. This interesting episode involving Bunyan goes to the very heart of the Baptist contention that what constitutes a preacher is the inward call, recognized and reiterated by fellow-believers.

About a score of episcopal clergy in England were like Denne, becoming Baptists and ardent propagandists. The most singular is John Tombes, whose career exemplifies the strength and the weakness of this little band; but to tell it at length would mislead as to the importance of the clerical converts. It must suffice to say that he was a skilled debater, and that wherever any one opposed him, whether in speech or in print, there a Baptist church sprang up at once. He saw the need of an educated ministry, and himself trained three men who did good service. As he could not earn his living by manual work, he, therefore, showed some skill in finding positions where he could serve a chapelry or a hospital or an inn of court, without being called upon to baptize infants, and yet could earn public maintenance. He linked together six or seven churches, due to his own efforts in the shires of Monmouth, Hereford, and Gloucester, and taught them how to co-operate. But he had decided caste-feeling, never co-operated with other Baptists, and was content, once he had secured his financial position by marriage, to describe himself as Presbyterian; while the church at Salisbury, where he ended his days, has no tradition that he ever worshipped with them.

From such an exceptional man, it is well to turn to typical figures of the lay world. Edward Cresset was a Londoner who joined one of the seven churches that issued a confession in 1644. By 1650 it was taking the lead, and he was leading it. Many of its members had gone to Ireland, others to Wales, doubtless in the army; and they wrote back to their church, now meeting at the Glass-House in Broad Street, later to become Pinners' Hall, urging that Baptists should organize. While Cresset took

his share in this, he was also made one of the Central Board of Tryers for the ministry. Such were his gifts of administration that he was made first Registrar, then Master of Charterhouse; the Pedobaptist governors esteeming him so highly that they waived the previous rules as to eligible candidates. Not only did he manage its affairs well for ten years, but he was employed by the State in the sale of forests, to manage the mint, to investigate discoveries, to look after fraudulent debtors: but the Restoration of course ended such activities.

While he did his work intensively, Thomas Collier is remarkable for the wide extent of his evangelization. His opponents call him "a base mechanical fellow, a husbandman;" and thus we are assured that he was one of the great band of lay-preachers which was typical of Baptist energy and practice. His area was substantially Wessex. He was reported from Guildford, Poole, Lymington, Southampton, Taunton, Luppit; he was expelled from Guernsey and was imprisoned at Portsmouth, as we learn from T. Edwards, minister at Hertford. In 1645 he began using the press to supplement his itineration, and put out certain queries, answered by Scripture; this was the harbinger of many, for in 46 years he published nearly as many little works. To Edwards he retorted with one on the Corruption of the Ministry, and as late as 1651 he had to put to rout the author of a Pulpit-Guard. For three years he was drawn into the orbit of politics, preaching at head-quarters on the New Creation, expounding the Seals, Trumpets and Vials, backing-up the army Remonstrance, promoting a petition for the trial of Charles, lobbying in the General Council of the army. It is no wonder that he issued a series of General Epistles to the saints, or that he collected his fugitive pieces and published his Works in successive volumes, for evidently his influence in the west was enormous. He held debates at Axbridge and Wiveliscombe, he pleaded for the admission of Jews, he was deeply concerned at the inroads of the Friends, and of James Nayler

in particular. In 1655 he was appointed to be "General Superintendent and Messenger to all the Associated Churches" of Wessex; next year he presided over a conference of sixteen of these, which put out a confession of faith designed to distinguish Baptists from the fanatic sects, and to show that this group was in line with the London churches as to Calvinism, not holding free-will. This might seem the more needful, as Collier had been openly accused of being Arian, Arminian, Socinian. He seems to have steadied the churches against the Fifth-Monarchy influences of Jessey and Pendarvis, who both toured the district, and he published on the provinces of Christ and the civil magistrate. At the Restoration he naturally did not court prominence, but work went forward, and new churches were constantly appearing. In 1672 he took out a licence for North Bradley, near Trowbridge, and shortly afterwards he caused a great disturbance by issuing a *Body of Divinity*, in which not his enemies alone but many Baptists found anti-Calvinistic teaching. This led, indeed, to a visit of five London Elders, headed by Nehemiah Cox and William Kiffin, and though they do not seem to have shaken his local influence, it set them on revising the Westminster Confession in a Baptist direction; this they published in 1677. Collier by no means remained quiet, and in 1678 responded with a West-country confession. When in 1689 the Londoners convened a General Assembly of Particular Baptists, and got them to endorse the second edition of the 1677 confession, Collier took advantage of a similar meeting at Bristol, and the Western churches put out their own confession in 1691. If in this survey of his activity we pass the present period ending with 1660, it is to indicate that the lay evangelist could play many parts; when the law and increasing age suggested a fixed station rather than a life of travel, then it was as with the apostle Paul, the churches founded by the evangelist looked to him for pastoral care.

One other illustration may be given of the great activity

of these evangelists. Samuel Oates was a weaver, originally from Rutland, but sent out to preach by the church of Bell Alley in London. He began in Sussex and Surrey, then went to Essex where he sprang into notoriety by being arrested for murder, because a woman whom he had baptized, died within a fortnight. He published a pamphlet on a New Baptism and Ministry, and continued his work. He had to defend baptism against George Fox at Barrow-on-Soar, and to defend "the right of private persons to take upon themselves public preaching" at Henley-in-Arden against the redoubtable Thomas Hall of King's Norton. But at Leicester Castle, the justices appointed him a formal disputation on baptism with William Sheffield, and on his acknowledging he could not meet one point, forbade him to evangelize any more in the county. He next became chaplain in the regiment of Colonel Pride, and going with it to Scotland, did some fruitless work. Returning to London he took charge of a congregation at the Chequer without Aldgate, and so closed his itinerant work.

2. BAPTISTS IN THE NEW MODEL ARMY.

To all the Saints and Churches of God, who walk according to the commands of Jesus Christ, in England, Wales, Army, or elsewhere.

FAITH AND PRACTICE OF THIRTY CONGREGATIONS, 1651.

One obvious sign of the difference between the Continental Anabaptists and the English Baptists was and is that they objected on principle to war and magistracy, while the English deliberately disagreed with them, as we have seen. The opportunity came with the civil war to show whether they felt their principles worth fighting for, and some did enlist from the beginning, both in city trainbands and in other local levies. As early as 1644 William Paoker was lieutenant-colonel, and so efficient that he was expressly reinstated when dismissed by a Scot on the

ground that he was Baptist. That showed that where Cromwell had a voice, ecclesiastical bigotry should not spoil a regiment. So when a Regular Army was re-organized on a new model, under his inspiration, a very large proportion of Baptists were found in its ranks. Before long this splendid force developed a determination to win the war outright, and then to secure thorough liberty, both civil and ecclesiastical.

The most popular drill-books for both cavalry and infantry were by Baptists. Many a garrison town had preaching by Baptist officers, to the scandal of the clergy and even of their own commanders: Hobson at Newport Pagnell won over the incumbent, Turner founded a church at Newcastle, while Rushall, Stafford and many another fortified place was thus familiarized with Baptist views. The army was mobile, and it is quite instructive to study the rise of Baptist churches where regiments were quartered, or even where they conducted a lengthy siege. The ability of Baptists for warfare was considerable; and many won their way to high rank. The Guards were commanded by Colonel Wigan, to whom is due the planting of Lancashire and Cheshire with Baptist churches. Every commander in Scotland, and the Commander-in-Chief, was a Baptist at one time, and the importance in Ireland will deserve longer attention presently. Richard Deane was comptroller of the ordnance, then general at sea; William Allen was adjutant-general, Richard Lawrence marshal-general, John Desborough major-general, Henry Jones scout-master, Edward Roberts auditor-general, Philip Carteret advocate-general. Robert Overton and Robert Lilburne held high office, Thomas Harrison organized and commanded the militia which herded Charles II. and his Scots down to Worcester. A similar list might be compiled of officers at sea, but while they leavened the 'tween-decks with Baptist views, they could not spread these over the country-side as the army did. To speak of the army as Independent is to reproduce the nomenclature of the time, which is

misleading as to the exact ecclesiastical shade: no Congregationalist has yet troubled to identify any number of officers who held his views or belonged to an Independent church; twenty-five regimental officers under Edmund Ludlow were members of Baptist churches.

Now, there were chaplains attached to the regiments, and Baxter often complained that clergy would not quit their parishes for such posts, so that they were filled by unordained men; many of these were Baptists, and many privates and officers were just as ready to propagate. At Cupar the chaplain to Fairfax disputed with James Wood, the parish minister; Edward Hickhorngill was offered a chaplaincy at Dalkeith, but declined on the ground that such an office would hinder his winning any of the Scots; at Leith, Edinburgh, and Stirling George Fox encountered men eagerly spreading and defending their views. At Cork Dr. Harding held a formal debate with two leading episcopalians. Many an English clergyman told with horror of a red-coat occupying his pulpit, while the work in inns and quarters and on bivouacs seems to have been as effective though as unadvertized as that of the early Christians.

These military Baptists had no idea of keeping their religion and their politics in water-tight compartments. They had enlisted to obtain civil and ecclesiastical liberty, and for these they both fought and planned. In this matter they, and the army as a whole, came into collision with the Long Parliament. This body had inherited from Tudors and Stuarts the ideal of uniformity; under the skilful management of Scotch commissioners the Westminster Assembly had drafted a new series of service books, confession, catechisms, hymn-books, etc., most of which the Parliament approved. Negotiations were opened with the captive Charles to legalize these; in which case the religious liberty which was enjoyed in practice would be destroyed again. The army refused to be disbanded without security for the future, and took the king as a hostage from Holdenby.

The soldiers then proceeded to organize a council to which each regiment elected representatives termed "agitators" or agents; this was to consult, not simply on arrears of pay, but on the interests of the nation and of the Good Old Cause for which they had fought.

This Council became permanent, but as its minutes are not extant, the fact has escaped notice that it was quite as influential as Parliament. Its letters and manifestoes have never been collected and published, though many can be gleaned. Now on this Council many from the first were Baptist, and their signatures may be recognized repeatedly. William Allen was a mere trooper when his comrades chose him to the Council; within four years he was adjutant-general. In July, 1647, the Council impeached eleven Presbyterian members for plotting a foreign invasion, wrote to the troops in Wales to urge united action, and called a meeting at Reading to draft proposals for a general settlement. Fairfax and the Council first issued a request for the discharge of all such persons as were imprisoned under pretence of conventicles, then on 1st August issued the Heads of their Proposals. Meanwhile in London an eccentric Baptist civilian, Richard Overton, who was like his old friend Helwys in "the infamous Goale of Newgate for the Liberties of England," had published an *Appeal from the degenerate representative body, the Commons of England assembled at Westminster, to the body represented, the free people . . . and in especiall to Thomas Fairfax*. When mob violence in London drove away the two Speakers and the Independent members, they cast themselves on the army, where their explanation was printed by a Baptist, Henry Hills, whose press accompanied the headquarters.

In a few days the army had occupied London and the Tower, and restored the Speakers; then formally invited attention to the Heads of their Proposals, which included repeal of the Uniformity and Conventicle Acts and all other statutes, bye-laws, or customs which might molest

religious and peaceable people merely for nonconformity in religion. While Samuel Richardson published from a civilian's standpoint a reasoned plea for toleration, Thomas Collier preached at headquarters in Putney to stiffen the Council. But the utmost Parliament would do was to ask Charles to establish the new Presbyterian system, with liberty for dissenters to meet in any fit and convenient place for worship; all people were to attend worship of some sort on the Lord's Day. With men having such ideas on religious liberty little could be achieved; the agents of the five regiments of horse brought to Fairfax more drastic propositions for the Council, and on 3rd November the *Agreement of the People* came out with the approbation of the army.

It was a conception new to England, that the Constitution shall be in black and white, and not a vague understanding. The Council asked for certain things to be beyond the reach of Parliament, to be dealt with only by the people direct. This was a revival of primitive English methods, and is still to be seen at work in Switzerland. The colonies in America worked under somewhat similar restrictions, and a century later their proceedings popularized the idea, so that Lafayette took it back to France. Under the name of plebiscite or referendum it is now practised by various nations, while written constitutions defining the limitations of Parliament and executive are not strange; even in England the Parliament Act has abridged the rights of the House of Lords. These innovations are all traceable directly to the action of a handful of Baptists and their friends on the Council of the Army. Yet it is only students of constitutional history who seem aware of the fountain-head.

Now, there were two articles in this Agreement which need our attention. The one was that no Parliament should be able to deal with "religion and the ways of God's worship." This was a Baptist axiom applied to English conditions. Though at the direct instance of Baptists

in America, it is now enshrined in the Federal Constitution ; how much remains to be done is evident in that not even in England is this the case yet, while constitution-makers in Rumania and other eastern states seem unable to take the idea seriously.

The second point is of less permanent importance, but produced a greater shock at the time. It called for a new Parliament in April, able to call to account magistrates and officers of all degrees. Nine regiments of horse and seven of foot endorsed the body of proposals, and an explanatory pamphlet was dispersed in every county. Charles suddenly realized his personal danger, so that he fled to the Isle of Wight. Here he began intriguing with the Scots, and in December sealed an agreement that if they would send an army to preserve and establish religion, he would suppress all heresy, blasphemy, and schism. He felt strong enough to refuse the bills offered by Parliament, with a very limited toleration. Everybody knows that Parliament thereupon forbade anybody to hold further intercourse with him ; few have attended to the more important fact that in January, 1648, an army prayer-meeting was held at Windsor Castle, after which a very clear and joint resolution was arrived at, to call to an account that man of blood, Charles Stuart.

The proceedings of that year show that both in peace and in war the soldiers were active evangelists. Chillenden, Freeman, Knowles, and Hobson preached, debated, published. When the sword was mightier than the pen, Colonels Rede and Deane traversed South Wales to stamp out a rising in Pembroke, and Baptist churches sprang up along their route. A Lancashire rising in May was quelled by Robert Lilburne, and within a month John Wigan had planted a Baptist church in Manchester. When the Scotch army evaded Harrison and came to grief at Preston, Brigadier-General Deane did fine service, while Rede helped capture the last infantry at Warrington ; here again a Baptist church appears within three years. In November

the cavalry besieged Pontefract, and soon after its fall a Baptist church was found there.

As the flames of this war died down, the Council of the Army met at St. Alban's and requested Parliament to bring Charles up for trial. Again the majority quarrelled with the Speakers and presumed to sit in their absence; as they had expelled on that very ground their members who went to Charles at Oxford, the same treatment was applied again by the cavalry of Rich and the infantry of Pride. Next day Deane took possession of the treasuries.

This action was too strong for John Vernon, who resigned his commission and published a remonstrance against the sword's abuse. But Thomas Collier, the evangelist of the West, justified it, and petitions soon came in for a public trial of Charles. He was brought up from Hampshire by Thomas Harrison, convicted and executed in January.

It is of interest to note how far Baptists acted in the great crisis for which so many had called. The only Member of Parliament who was Baptist was John Fiennes, as inconspicuous as a man could be. On the commission to try Charles were Harrison, not yet a Baptist, Gough, Hutchinson, and Deane. Lawrence was marshal-general, and appointed Axtell to guard the hall. Besides these men of action, Robert Overton sent to Fairfax a declaration of the garrison officers, Henry Hills printed some *Plain English to the Parliament and the Army*, Samuel Richardson replied to the London ministers who dissociated themselves from the High Court of Justice. A much more important pamphlet of this type appeared in February, arguing that any one who had the power to call to account a tyrant or wicked king, might lawfully after due conviction depose him and put him to death. The initials J. M. were well known to signify John Milton, who at this crisis felt it patriotic to turn from poetry to the service of his country, and was soon employed writing State Papers as Latin Secretary to the Council of State. He of course was in no way connected with the army, and the question

in what sense he is to be called a Baptist deserves separate attention.* The suppression of his doctrinal writings deprived him of the honour of being a Baptist propagandist.

A large part of the army was now needed in Scotland, and another in Ireland. Though there was reluctance to quit England before the positive establishment of the Good Old Cause, which was not favoured even by the Rump Parliament, a reluctance which was voiced by Cornet or Parson Denne and others at Burford, yet the necessity of bringing order into the chaos across the channel led to the appearance there of two-score regiments with a strong staff of Baptist officers. Within three years their work was so complete that Parliament prepared to disband them and settle them down as new colonists, all Irish being sent west of the Shannon or transported to Spain. This was done under authority of nearly the last Act of Parliament to which Charles had assented, but he would have been very surprised to find that the result was the plantation of Baptist churches in three provinces of Ireland. The regiments were paid off in land, and on the whole they settled down like the military colonies of Antiochus or the Romans, company by company in contiguous districts. They did much in reclamation, in starting new industries, but these need not be dilated upon. They often got their chaplains to settle down as pastors of churches, or they brought over men like Blackwood and Coxe, or they chose men from among themselves, or they relied on mutual care and exhortation. In the fourteen precincts that formed the new divisions, nine of the governors were Baptists, and thus the churches that settled down were of a picked class, containing a proportion of able men to be found nowhere else. As civilian settlers came over, they found these nuclei around which to crystallise, and we hear of long preaching tours undertaken by both officers, ministers, and private members. Of course all this work was among English planters; if any "paddies or gossoons

* See Note C in Appendix.

or tories" were left east of the Shannon, they were not likely to be attracted; yet it is to be observed that Dublin at least embraced in its fellowship, not only a Lynch from the older English families, but a Murphy.

Things took a different turn in Scotland; though the commission for its settlement and the command of its garrisons fell to Deane, absolutely no impression was made on the Scots. He resumed his post as commissioner of the Admiralty, and Baptist influence was soon evident, not only in the ships, but also in the dock-yards, with very singular results within twenty years.

3. PARLIAMENTARY COMMISSIONS.

A Preacher of the Gospell ought not to accept of the place of Minister to a Parish, or Lecturer, or Chaplain, nor to take a sett Maintenance of the world for preaching the Word.

WESTERN ASSOCIATION, 1656.

In Wales and the North of England there had long been special Presidents and Councils who exercised the regal power; Milton wrote his *Comus* to be performed before the President of Wales at his castle of Ludlow. Parliament found it advisable to continue the system, with the special and temporary addition that the commissions appointed were to overhaul the ecclesiastical establishment, eject incompetent men, and instal others. In each case their work led to the plantation of Baptist churches. Thus they found that the Mercers' Company in London maintained a lectureship at Hexham Abbey, and obtained the appointment of Thomas Tillam, from the Continent, who was apparently born a Jew and trained a Roman Catholic, so that he certainly should be a good controversialist. But while Tillam gave his lectures in the abbey, he taught Baptist doctrine, being a member of the London church under Hanserd Knollys; and in a few months he gathered a regular Baptist church. Its records show evangelistic tours undertaken in two or three directions, winning the parish minister at Stokesley and founding another church

there. And though at the Restoration the places of worship were shifted to remote farms or hamlets, this church under the names of Hamsterley or Muggleswick did a little work for nearly two hundred years in evangelizing the North. Other work initiated by the commission for the North proved less enduring, largely owing to the rise of the Quakers, which will be considered presently.

In Wales there was a strong commission, which sat at Wrexham. They found the principality had been shamefully neglected. More than four hundred parishes had no resident minister, owing partly to the pluralism that disgraced the time. Other ministers were miserably paid, as the proper revenues were absorbed by bishops and cathedral staffs and laymen. Parliament had done something to remedy this, with the distinct ideal of a preaching ministry, using the Welsh language. They had tested and approved at least 132 ministers, but found that special attention was needed. Therefore, 71 laymen were commissioned to complete the work, both for parish ministers and for schoolmasters; among them were Colonels Harrison and Packer, Esquires Edward Prichard and Hugh Courtney, already or soon to be Baptists. They found it necessary to displace 278 men, and the problem was how to fill their places as well as the parishes previously empty. It was decided to adopt a policy of itinerancy, such as George Fox was already initiating, and John Wesley was to imitate; and also to settle men in the more populous centres. Men were to be selected by a separate set of 25 "Approvers," chiefly ministers; then appointed by the Commission. Two of these Approvers were Baptist, Oxford men, Jenkin Jones and John Miles; but most of them were earnest Puritans. In three years they could not find or train enough competent men, but they did lay very good foundations. Especially is to be noted the systematic study of the Bible, Sunday schools, sixty free day-schools, some with co-education, preaching schoolmasters, open-air preaching. Both Jones and Miles not only

approved others, but set an example themselves, itinerating and then settling down in Swansea and Llanthetty; and just as Tillam did in the north, they formed Baptist churches in addition to preaching to all comers.

This work was official, but there were others who were distrustful of State enterprise, preferring to work quite independently; Hugh Evans, an evangelist from the General Baptist church at Coventry, did good work, inspired Jeremy Ives, who brought Thomas Lamb from London. Two churches in Monmouth and Glamorgan also sent out many preachers. Such work was opposed by Vavasor Powell, an Approver, but by degrees he was attracted to their doctrine, and was baptized in 1655, after which time his energy was thrown into purely Baptist propaganda, though his churches were Calvinist and had an additional flavour of their own, to be noted presently.

When the Commission expired, it was evident that some kind of superintendence was still needed, and Cromwell varied the method slightly. He appointed instead of "Approvers," "Tryers" to do exactly the same work; but he declined to leave the trying to ministers, and put ten laymen at the head; these included Colonels Goffe and Packer, with Edward Cresset, master of Charterhouse, three Baptists; three more Baptists were among the thirty-three ministers nominated, some of whom declined to act. The actual appointment was left to the ordinary patrons, though in case these failed to appoint a man approved by the Tryers, the Protector and Council stepped in. The Tryers sat in London, but soon found that local boards were needed, especially for Wales; and by degrees more and more Baptists were thus approved, started itinerating, or settled in parishes.

This official regulation was distasteful to many. While there was no silencing of voluntary preachers, it was obvious that a man who took public money for his work of examination or his itinerancy or his stationed pastoral work, might easily find the grip of the state tighten and control

his freedom. And it was also clear that a man who while doing this public work was also forming an inner circle of Baptists, and organizing them into a church to which he devoted special attention, was treading a very slippery path. Two very different propaganda arose, quite dissociated from the state; and each of them had a great influence on Baptists. We must notice the Quaker and the Fifth-Monarchy movements.

4. FRIENDS, AND THE FIFTH MONARCHY.

A multitude was soon come together of Baptists and the world; a precious meeting we had, when we published truth to them clearly.

THOMAS CURTIS, 1658.

Christ is the only right Heir of the Crown of England . . . and he is now come to take possession of his Kingdom, making England first in that blessed work of setting up the Kingdom of the Lord Jesus.

JOHN ELIOT, of Roxbury, 1652.

George Fox found the Inward Light in 1647 after four years of spiritual conflict, and Baptists at Mansfield were the first to share his experience and become "Children of the Light." Four years later he came upon other Baptists in Westmoreland and Cumberland, and won over many including three ministers. These became ardent propagandists, and within three years the light was shining in the great centres of Bristol, London, and Norwich, all over England, and into both Ireland and Scotland. The clergy of the north declared all was suddenly afire, many unsettled, foundations shaken. Whole Baptist churches changed their views, others were terribly rent, especially in the General wing. In nearly all minute books dating from this period are signs of the trouble caused in every part of the country. Fox was an eager disputant, at Carlisle, Leicester, Horsham, Bristol, Leith, Edinburgh, Stirling, Leominster, Warwickshire, Dorset and elsewhere; he even tried to convert Colonel Packer in a talk at his palace of Theobalds. James Parnell, a lad of nineteen, sent 43 queries to the church at Fenstanton, which led to a discussion

in a private house, several acrimonious letters, and much sorrow to the Baptist leaders. Young Bunyan was involved in frequent wrangles. Samuel Fisher, ex-clergyman, and a mainstay of the General Baptists in Kent, was won over, and did splendid service for his new cause. It may be said that the strength of the General Baptists was drained away by this modification of their principles, which laid such stress on the immanence of God, that outward ordinances were discarded, and a specialized ministry was distrusted. Feeling ran high for years, and it was not till the Hanoverian period that Quakers and General Baptists could be induced to stop open opposition.

The Fifth-Monarchy movement was of a very different type, based upon literalistic interpretation of Scripture, and intense addiction to its apocalyptic parts. In every age, a great political or military catastrophe has excited some minds to anticipate the imminent return of Christ, to take His power and reign. Chiliasm, the Millennium, the Second Advent, the Fifth Monarchy of Daniel, have at times attracted men from all classes and denominational relations. For a few years such themes so engrossed a few hundred men in England, that churches were formed on the bond of this one expectation. Whole Baptist churches were transformed, many were leavened. It was the conviction that Christ was due to come as King, which led many to wish the political situation simplified by the death of Charles. For the same reason, many opposed the assumption of the title of king by Cromwell—a significant instance of the spell exercised by mere words, for Cromwell had the substance of power already. At an earlier stage others discerned this, and blamed him openly as an apostate when despite his speech in July, 1653, shot through and through with chiliastic expectation, he accepted power in December. They proceeded to calculate the 1,260 days from that era, and planned an insurrection to dethrone the beast then. The politics of seven years from 1653 were influenced gravely by this party; among its leaders were

both Pedobaptists and Baptists, of the latter may be mentioned Jessey, Knowles, Simpson. When by mere efflux of time the fundamental error became manifest, the millennarian tinge faded out; but the literalist temper remained, and attention being attracted to the fourth commandment, the Fifth-Monarchists transformed into Seventh-day Baptists. The beginning of this change can be discerned when Cromwell did not die forty-two months after December, 1653. The process of thought may be traced in the writings of Simpson, Jessey, Maton, Powell, Aspinwall, Spittlehouse. The general result was that when the seven years expired, and Venner's rising failed, there was a rapid evolution of the passive Fifth-Monarchists into Seventh-day Baptists. A severe blow was given by one man who pushed his literalism so far that he revived much more Jewish legalism; but a protest was issued, and most stopped at the Sabbath. One group centred at Ingham in Norfolk, another at Colchester, there were three churches in London, another group at Wallingford, and a fifth round Usk. After a generation they all ceased to receive attention, though the generosity of an adherent provided an endowment which for two centuries has persuaded a handful of people that Saturday and not Sunday is the proper day for Christian worship.

III. Baptist Organization.

I. JOINT ACTION.

We intreat your care and pains in visiting the several weak and scattered brethren in your parts, that . . . we may receive information from you (and our brethren in Ireland, according to their desire, from us) what churches and societies we may groundedly communicate with, according to the rule of Christ.

CIRCULAR TO THE CHURCHES IN ENGLAND, SCOTLAND,
AND WALES, 1653.

Baptists from the beginning sought to maintain sisterly intercourse between local churches; they never thought that one church was independent of others. We have already noticed the joint action taken in 1624 by five

General Baptist churches ; in this period we can trace the deliberate building up of a systematic organization, which continues to the present day. By way of contrast it would be possible to note how timidly the Independents ventured to copy for one moment in 1658, how easily they relapsed into isolation.

Scarcely ever did General Baptists try to enter into outward organization with Particulars ; rarely indeed was there any intercourse, even unofficial ; but there was no quarrel, except at a later period when one man who had changed his views was very eager to swing whole churches over to his new position. General Baptists worked out on scriptural lines a simple pattern, which was also adopted by Particular Baptists in most respects, while they contributed the nomenclature which is characteristic—Association. The Generals laid the greater emphasis on uniting all churches into one annual assembly, the Particulars on more frequent meeting of churches in a practicable area, and on correspondence ; but the plans were substantially the same.

Baptists recognized the care given in apostolic days to outward organization, both of a local church, and of collections of churches. They saw that at town after town the disciples were invited to choose officers who were installed by the apostles or the missionaries ; that the tendency was to have one man heading these officers ; and from the multitude of names given at different times and places they chose "Elder" and "Deacons," though the term "Pastor" was often used instead of Elder. So far they were on common ground with the Separatists of an earlier generation.

The first distinctive feature was the recognition of the duty of evangelization, and telling off special men for itinerant work. Seeing that the early churches commissioned men for special journeys, as with Judas, Silas, Barnabas, Tychicus, they formally commissioned men, and gave them the same title, Messengers. At first there

was a separate commission for each journey; soon they selected men who had peculiar aptitude for evangelization, told them off for it as their main work, and undertook to support them and their families. Thus the title Messenger came to have a technical meaning, and since the cost of support was often more than a single church could sustain constantly, each Messenger was linked with a group of churches. While evangelization was the main purpose, there followed from it the duty of organizing new communities, and counselling them in their early days. Men who had the double gift, were of use also in the older churches which maintained and commissioned them, and thus came to be invoked whenever internal troubles arose. All these experiences, to be read in the pages of the New Testament, may be read also in any early minute-book such as that of Fenstanton. Thus the Messenger came to be a regular officer, not of one church, but of a group of churches; every such group came to realize its duty to support a missionary, every new church was trained to realize its duty in this respect.

This development went on in both groups of Baptists, and how scriptural they esteemed it is hinted in the very first group-document put forth, the Confession of Faith of the London Particular Baptists in 1644. "We doe . . . subscribe it, some of each body in the name, and by the appointment of seven Congregations, who though wee be distinct in respect of our particular bodies, for conveniency sake, being as many as can well meete together in one place, yet are all one in Communion, holding Jesus Christ to be our head and Lord." The number seven was insisted on, even in the second edition when it was accepted by more than seven; the allusion is apparently to the seven churches of Asia to whom John sent his apocalypse. There is an article in this confession averring that while each congregation is compact in itself, yet all ought to consult and help one another; this is indeed, like many other articles, reproduced word for word from

the London Separatist Confession of 1596, but the proof texts are different. Instead of quoting a Psalm and the Song of Solomon, reference is made to Paul and John and our Lord ; the body of Christ is by His power to be supplied and to increase, His authority bids making disciples who are to be baptized and trained. The emphasis is different, the practice was different. The men who drafted the confession of 1596 had hard work to exist, and little opportunity to propagate ; there were hardly any sister churches with which they could fraternize, and they actually did divide and die. The fifteen men who signed in 1644 had already linked their churches together ; every one who can be traced was an ardent evangelist, while the five which survive of the seven churches have fine long records of joint organized work.

In 1651 the General Baptist churches of the Midlands held a meeting, to which two representatives came from each of thirty churches. There is nothing to show whether this was the first such meeting, but we can see the area over which there was joint action, reaching 100 miles from North Willingham in Lincolnshire to Horley in Oxford, 24 miles from Normanton in Leicestershire to Tixover in Rutland. Work was well organized here, Messengers were appointed for both special and constant work ; one article in the confession states that the relief of the poor is a concern not of one church alone, but of the churches unitedly.

Thus by the middle of this period we find both Generals and Particulars deliberately linking their churches, both to steady one another in doctrine and explain themselves unitedly to the world, to aid one another in time of need, and especially to propagate their views. At this stage we find a name suggested for such groups of co-operating churches, which has become characteristically Baptist in both England and America.

2. "ASSOCIATIONS."

EASTERN ASSOCIATION, 11th Sept., 1643.—*My troops increase. I have a lovely company; you would respect them, did you know them. They are no "Anabaptists"; they are honest sober Christians:—they expect to be used as men.*

COLONEL OLIVER CROMWELL.

In the winter of 1642-3 there arose among various counties "Associations" for mutual defence against royalist plundering; five or six there were at first, but many dropped to pieces. Far the most important was that in which the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Cambridge, Herts, Huntingdon and Lincoln joined, the "Eastern Association." At first they simply subscribed money, then the House of Commons asked them to raise two thousand more troops, and placed the Earl of Manchester at the head of the Associated Counties Army. This army did such splendid work that Parliament re-modelled the whole military system on its lines. Then this New-Model army organized a council for political action, each regiment sending representatives. All this we have noted already. Now in 1653 that part of the army which was in Ireland was largely Baptist, and as it disbanded and settled on the land, Baptist churches were formed. These felt decidedly lonely in a country deliberately emptied of its inhabitants, and they took pains to keep in touch. There were frequent tours of leading men actually to visit the churches. Then they instinctively transferred to their ecclesiastical relations the method so successful in their military; they arranged for correspondence and for the meeting of delegates from each church. To this meeting the name Association was naturally transferred.

Then they wrote over to the similar meeting of Baptist churches in London, which had been organized in 1644, and urged systematic attempts to link up all the churches in England, Scotland, and Wales. Peter Scutt, of the Glass House church, sent out a circular on 24th July, 1653, which

crystallized the whole movement among the Particular Baptists. In many parts the churches had been communicating, even organizing for evangelistic purposes; this brought all into touch, and gave such information as to methods that before long the churches everywhere were fraternizing on similar lines, and adopting the term Association.

It is not to be supposed that 1653 is the earliest date. London churches had been in touch from 1642. Glass House church had been instrumental in winning and inspiring two Welshmen, who returned to Glamorgan and in November, 1650, called a joint meeting of three churches, which raised a joint fund and planned concerted action. A large number of western churches sent representatives to meet at Wells in November, 1653, and the record implies that they had been accustomed so to meet. The Berkshire churches did organize on 8th October, 1652, drawing up a formal constitution, as was now quite a fashion, thanks to the Baptists who had put out paper constitutions for the State. By 1655 we find that several other groups had thus formed, and that the title Association was well recognized. While mutual care was one great reason, joint support of propaganda was even more important. Thus in 1654 another meeting of the Western Association expostulated with the Irish Baptist churches for taking State pay; the letter was signed on behalf of all by Thomas Collier, who had for eight or ten years been planting churches from Guildford to the Bristol Channel. Two years later the Association formally ordained him as General Superintendent of all work in the district; and next year they issued a confession of faith on behalf of the whole, thus improving on the example set by the Midland churches at their organization on 3rd May, 1655.

To trace the history of these associations is not difficult, and for two hundred years they did form very effective units. In the days of persecution under Charles and James meetings had to be suspended again and again, but the

idea survived, was vigorously acted upon about 1677, and with 1689 regular meetings were resumed. Four or five associations have caused the history of their corporate life to be written and published, and preparations are being made by others.

The break-down of the official Presbyterian system ordered by Parliament set the parish ministers to evolve a voluntary system, for which also the term Associate was used. But this was later than the Baptist, was evanescent, and was widely different in its nature. For its object, as conceived by Baxter in Worcestershire, was to maintain discipline, so that the justices of the peace and the ministers were the chief members who met. In Cumberland and Westmoreland the object was to ordain ministers. And in practice all Associations of Pedobaptists were for these two purposes, and were composed chiefly of ministers. The mere coincidence of name must not distract us from the differences: Baptist churches associated chiefly for propagation and appointed executive officers for this purpose; their Association meetings were composed almost entirely of those whom Baxter would call laymen; the idea of having justices of the peace or any representative of the State would have been repudiated absolutely.

The Particular Baptists did not attempt in this period to carry organization further: fraternal intercourse was maintained, but not between the Associations as such; no general Association to link all together was projected, nor any central staff, nor any one unifying document. The General Baptists did these things, and the national organization they evolved is worthy of attention.

The gathering of 1651 was of midland churches only, but three years later a manifesto appeared on behalf "of many of the Messengers, Elders, and Brethren, belonging to severall of the Baptized Churches in this nation." They had met in London, "to consider how and which way the affairs of the Gospell of Christ, so farre as it concerns them, might be best promoted." The 25 signatures, which were

not of all attending, show delegates from Kent, Sussex, Northants, Bucks, Leicester and Lincoln, besides Londoners. The minutes of a meeting in 1656 show also men from Surrey and Dorset, and name ten Messengers or Home Missionaries. These men were apparently inclined to consult together and plan their work, much as General Superintendents do to-day, or somewhat as bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church do. Then in 1660, forty Elders, Deacons and Brethren met in London and published a Confession which was repeatedly referred to, and was accepted as a bond of union for more than forty years.

Thus we find a General Assembly crowning the system of Associations, although the evidence at this stage does not make it certain that the Assembly was related directly to the Associations as well as to the churches ; that step was certain in the next generation.

The General Baptists thus have the credit, within half a century from their appearance in England, of having worked out an articulated constitutional system, with officers told off for extension work, which was the very object of the organization.

3. CONFESSIONS.

Presented to the view of all that feare God, to examine by the touchstone of the Word of Truth.

LONDON CHURCHES, 1644.

Baptists have never been backward to explain what they believe ; they have always been reluctant to erect a confession into a standard, or test of doctrine. If a later generation finds that it does not agree with its predecessors, whether in content or in emphasis, it has openly revised and re-stated what it does believe, or it has discarded the old confession and framed another. Therefore Baptists are always restive when they are asked to signify their adherence to any confession as though it were standard, whether that confession were drawn in the days of Charles

I. or Elizabeth or in the fourth century or in the second. They are always ready to state in plain current English what they do hold; and many men can recall having helped frame three or four such statements, which served a purpose at the moment, then have been filed away and almost forgotten.

The original General Baptist church at Amsterdam framed two or three confessions, and scrutinized a confession written by Hans de Ries to see whether fellowship with such a church was feasible; it divided on this very issue. But none of those confessions received any attention from Baptists a generation later.

The seven Particular Baptist churches of London, having drawn many adherents from the old Separatist circle, took the 1596 confession of that circle and revised it to state their own views; when this had received criticism, they revised again slightly and re-published in 1646, dedicating it to the lords, knights, citizens and burgesses in parliament assembled. They say fully and repeatedly why they thus publish: "to speak the truth for us, and so to make our innocency to appeare; desiring that the same light may guide others also to the same way of truth." Not only had they twice revised, but they were willing to learn better, and to revise again: "Also we confesse that we know but in part, and that we are ignorant of many things which we desire and seek to know; and if any shall doe us that friendly part to show us from the word of God that we see not, we shall have cause to be thankfull to God and them." Thus the Particular Baptists were at one with the Generals in keeping an open mind and expecting to be led by the Spirit to further truth. The editions of 1651 and 1652 show that they had slightly modified their views again and again; while an introductory note denies that they had been misled by the Quakers, an appendix is a strong plea for adhering to the Bible. An edition was put out by Londoners in the army at Leith, to explain Baptists to Scotland, and especially

to dissociate from the Quakers. After that, the confession dropped out of sight.

Thomas Collier drew up another which was approved by the Western Association in 1656, and they published it to show their standpoint. They referred to, and agreed generally with, the London confession; but they did not exalt it into a touchstone. This is the characteristic Baptist position, widely removed from that which was familiar in ecclesiastical circles. From the days of Constantine onwards, it had been the habit to insist on subscription to a confession as a condition of fellowship or of office; some had indeed been allowed to slip into oblivion, but three had become tests in the Anglican church, while the Westminster Assembly had just drawn up another, avowedly to settle the degree of ignorance which should justify exclusion from the Lord's Supper. Though the English parliament never authorised it till March, 1660, when such authorisation was worthless, yet the Church of Scotland still requires acceptance by every office-bearer, and subscription with a somewhat ambiguous formula. Other great Presbyterian Churches still adhere to it, with Declaratory Acts saying how they understand it.

Baptists have preferred frankly to revise a confession, and even to drop it altogether, re-stating their views. The confessions of 1612, 1644, 1656, are interesting landmarks; they have never been tests, whether for office-bearers or for members.

As the period of free opportunity ended, it is possible to see what had been achieved in the twenty years.

In two directions, little or nothing had been won; culture and leadership. The "common man" had been helped to realize his responsibility, but he had not yet been taught to desire better equipment wherewith to discharge it; and his great preponderance in Baptist churches deprived them of attractiveness to a lord, a knight, a squire. The universities were open to the sons of traders

and yeomen, without religious test; but the Baptist fathers who sent their lads can be counted on the fingers of one hand. Nothing in the way of literature came from a Baptist pen, nor in the home is there any reason to think that literature was appreciated. Even on the theological or devotional book-shelf the choice was meagre; the preference was given to Sam How the cobbler over John Howe the chaplain; nothing was produced like Baxter's *Everlasting Rest* or his *Reformed Pastor*, nothing that interested another generation or another denomination.

There was no outstanding leader, in action any more than in thought. In an age that saw a Cromwell serve the state on the field and in the palace, Baptists found only a few generals of division, a chancellor and a lord president of council: in an age that saw George Fox serve the kingdom of God by unceasing evangelization, Baptists had no one more eminent than Collier or Powell.

Largely as a consequence of these defects, Baptists failed to impress on the nation their doctrine of soul-liberty. It was proclaimed clearly and often, it was set forth in immortal words by Milton, it was illustrated in Rhode Island; but by Puritan and by Episcopalian it was contemptuously rejected.

Baptists need not be blamed that they failed in these things; twenty years is not long in which to recognize and to realize every ideal. Where they succeeded was in recognizing an ideal of the Church, and in striving hard to embody it practically. The distinctive Baptist note comes out in the Western Association declaring three things: Receive none but such as do make evident demonstration of the new birth, and the work of faith with power; Choose from among yourselves such members as are fitly gifted and qualified by Christ; Send forth such brethren to preach the gospel to the world. The two latter points deserve more emphasis.

Sacerdotalism dies hard, caste-feeling is strong. Baptists put in practice the priest-hood of all believers, and had no

paid ministry released from the discipline of ordinary life. In the country, the typical minister was a thatcher, a farmer, a maltster, a cheese-factor; in the town, the preacher had been during the week making shoes, pins, buttons, collars, hats, clothes, had been dyeing or upholstering or selling such wares; here and there might be found a scrivener, a writing-master, an apothecary, even a doctor. As the ministers rode to their Association meetings, like Canterbury pilgrims, the butcher and the baker were joined at least by a candle-maker and an ironmonger; they would change horses at a post kept by a Baptist post-master minister, and would be entertained by a brother shipwright or carpenter. The score of ex-clergy were lost in the multitude of common men who ministered to their fellows, speaking out of an experience they shared with those they addressed. The priest-hood of all believers was illustrated on a new scale.

And they had a passion for souls. Roger Williams was the first to care for the natives of America, though others entered into his labours. In the home land, where every new generation needs to be won for Christ, we find pathetic stories of Baptist homes, where father and mother led their children to the Good Shepherd. Churches organized themselves for mutual care, they associated with one another for the great purpose of sending out evangelists. Even the villager or the burgess rose to his opportunity, spoke to his neighbours, or laid down his tools and travelled over a county. It was the apostolic age again, without a Paul.

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ACTIVE PERSECUTION, 1659-1686.

*Now Faithful, play the man, speak for thy God,
Fear not the wicked's malice nor their rod ;
Speak boldly, man ; the truth is on thy side ;
Die for it, and to life in triumph ride.*

BUNYAN, 1678.

STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE.

OLD LAWS ENFORCED.

NEW LAWS MADE.

EMIGRATION.

RESPITE.

PERMANENT CONVENTICLE ACT.

A BREATHING-SPACE.

COLONEL BLOOD'S PLOT.

THE INDULGENCE AND THE PARDON.

THE QUAKER FEUD.

NEW CONFESSIONS.

POSSIBLE CAREERS.

AUTHORS.

JOHN BUNYAN.

TWELVE YEARS IN PRISON.

OPEN MEMBERSHIP.

PILGRIM'S PROGRESS.

RIVALEY WITH KEACH.

NO GAIN TO BAPTISTS.

DANGER FROM ROMAN CATHOLICS.

PERSECUTION IN FRANCE.

TITUS OATES.

SMITH AND HARRIS.

THE EXCLUSION BILL.

THE REVENGE OF CHARLES AND JAMES.

IMPRISONMENT.

RYE HOUSE PLOT.

MONMOUTH'S REBELLION.

THE LAST INDULGENCE.

ACROSS THE ATLANTIC.

NEW ENGLAND INTOLERANCE.

FRESH COLONIES OPENED.

GROWTH TO THIRTEEN CHURCHES.

LEADING DATES.

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| 1660. | G. B. Confession. | 1673. | G. B. discussions on Christology. Death of Lamb. |
| 1661. | Fifth-Monarchy rising. Cavalier Parliament. Corporation Act. Execution of John James. | 1674. | Collier's <i>Divinity</i> . |
| 1662. | Licensing Act controls printing till 1679. | 1675. | Death of Ives. |
| 1663. | Rhode Island chartered. Farnley Wood plot. Deaths of Jessey, Simpson. Sutton's <i>Hymns</i> . Keach's <i>Child's Instructor</i> . | 1676. | Deaths of Clark, Norcott, Tombes. Bampfied begins eccentric career. |
| 1664. | Conventicle Act, till 1668. Seventh-day controversy. | 1677. | Death of Archbishop Sheldon. Baptist revision of <i>Westminster Confession</i> . |
| 1665. | Deaths of Wigan, Lawson, Lilburne. Boston Baptist Church. | 1678. | Collier's <i>Confession</i> . <i>Pilgrim's Progress</i> . <i>Christianismus Primitivus</i> , by Grantham. Death of Gosnold. Harris and Smith on the Popish Plot. |
| 1666. | Bunyan's <i>Grace Abounding</i> . Deaths of Glass, Strange, Oates, Patient. | 1679. | Cavalier Parliament dissolved. Printing freed. Monk's G. B. <i>Confession</i> . |
| 1667. | Fall of Clarendon. Milton's <i>Paradise Lost</i> . Death of Vernon. | 1682. | Bunyan's <i>Holy War</i> . |
| 1668. | Death of Cheare. Keach ordained. | 1683. | Persecution renewed. Rye House Plot. Charlestown Church in Carolina. Death of Myles and Chamberlain. |
| 1669. | Census of dissent. | 1684. | Death of Bampfied. |
| 1670. | Conventicle Act, till 1813. Deaths of Blackwood, Powell. Haines on Social Reforms. | 1685. | Monmouth's rebellion. Deaths of Delaune and Terrill. |
| 1671. | Powell's <i>Concordance</i> . | 1686. | Death of Danvers. |
| 1672. | Declaration of Indulgence. "Quaker Pardon." Bunyan on open-fellowship. Baptist-Quaker disputes. | 1687. | Declaration of Indulgence. Grantham on the <i>Six Principles</i> . |
| 1673. | Test Act, till 1828. | 1688. | Deaths of Bunyan and Dike. |

CHAPTER IV.

ACTIVE PERSECUTION, 1659-1686.

With the third of September, 1658, there passed away the last chance of a stable government that would tolerate Baptists. That same month there met a semi-official Congregational Synod, but a rapid succession of parliaments brought again into power the Presbyterians. They at once re-published their Confession of Faith, ordered the Solemn League and Covenant to be read in every church, and prepared for an absolute uniformity in worship. For a generation to come there was no more free play of Baptist life, the one problem was, to exist. And this was equally hard, whether the ruler were Presbyterian, Anglican, Romanist.

Yet Baptists simply desired the rights of free men, to live on equal terms, enjoying ordinary civic liberties. With an Established Church they could have no communion; but they were not generally reluctant to pay the accustomed tithe towards its support, that was a mere exaction by Cæsar. They were resolved to render what was due to God, so claimed freedom to worship in their own way at their own expense, and to spread their views in speech and in print. Their view was that all loyal followers of Christ should declare themselves, band together, try to discern His will, and follow it in every department of life, whether personal, social, ecclesiastical, or national.

Of Baptists there were four types now, each destined to be permanent. The old General Baptists sincerely believed that all men could be saved, and were earnest in really preaching to all, having an order of travelling evangelists appointed for the purpose; their organization was

as complete as it ever became: Wright of Maidstone, Stanley of East Haddon, Monck of Aylesbury, were typical peasant leaders. The Particular Baptists were as Calvinist as the great mass of religious Englishmen, and so were manifestly destined to be the party of the future; Gifford of Bristol, Cheare of Plymouth, Wigan of Manchester, Blackett of Witton, illustrate varieties of this class. A third group was that which was willing to compromise in many ways, fraternising especially with Independent Pedobaptists: Tombes and Jessey are the outstanding examples, and this suggests that there was a clinging to higher social life, an attempt to hold fast every element of culture, and prove that devotion to the will of God was compatible with doing that will in the world; such an aim will explain the dominance of the Hollis family in fifty years. The last group was far smaller numerically, but at least had one principle that could hardly be compromised—the observance of the Seventh-Day as the Sabbath; yet this caused a cross-division, and we find this practice observed by General Baptists like Dr. Chamberlain, Particulars like Belcher the bricklayer, Open-communion men like Jessey, Fifth-Monarchists like Parnham; all together they were of importance only a few years longer, and were it not for the development in America they might be summed up at once and dismissed.

Indeed from the national standpoint that would be true of all Baptists; as a political party they were eclipsed at the Restoration. They escaped utter extinction, humanly speaking, only by the policy which forced Presbyterians into dissent, and so gave to the Government a far more serious task than hunting down obscurer and smaller sects. But whereas "Presbyterian" became almost the generic word for dissenters on the lips of the governing classes, the actual Presbyterians seem soon to have lost all clear religious programme. Their gradual decline, in face of the comparative stability and progress of the Baptists, shows what importance is to be attached to a firm grasp of prin-

ciple. The one conviction that held together these four Baptist groups so that outsiders classed them all as one, was the belief that the ordinances of Christ were to be taken seriously by all His followers: Did He enjoin disciples to be baptized? Then let them confess Him openly for themselves; Did He invite them to commemorate His atoning death? Then let the Communion Service be for those alone who experienced His forgiveness and His help; Did He bid them go and make more disciples? Then the church as a whole and in all its parts must be zealous in evangelizing and in teaching, for these were the chief objects of the church.

In this period, six things claim attention. There was a long struggle for existence against a revengeful cleric; a breathing-space afforded opportunity to re-adjust and to recognize new conditions; John Bunyan vindicated on a splendid scale the value of the lay preacher; danger from Catholicism caused Baptists to forget the duty of claiming religious freedom for all; Charles and James retaliated with another persecution; James issued a last declaration of indulgence.

1. Twelve Years of Struggle for Existence.

That no Anabaptists nor Quakers may be admitted to places of trust, either civil or military.

TOWNSMEN OF NEWCASTLE TO GENERAL MONK, Jan. 1660.

Negotiations with Charles led to his famous Declaration at Breda that he would assent to any measure for settling religion offered him by Parliament. This was an enormous advance on his father, who had repeatedly declined, and had plunged the nation into two wars in consequence. A man chiefly yearning for peace, with a love of constitutional order, might well feel that Charles promised all he needed. And the nation leaped at the chance. The Long Parliament dissolved itself, and a new Convention Parliament came together to help wind up the immediate past.

Royalists rejoiced in seeing fanatique secteries declared ineligible for this, but believed that the sectaries, like mad dogs, would die biting. No one observed the limits of the Declaration; that it was not for unlimited freedom of conscience, but for such a settlement as Parliament should draft.

The Oath of Allegiance was the first thing to stir Baptist attention. The point was not that which is accurately exposed in *Hudibras* :—

“ Was there an oath the godly took,
But in due time and place they broke ? ”

The point was deeper, that this very sequence of perjuries revealed how necessary it was for a Christian to take literally the Lord's prohibition of all oaths. Doubtless there were some who were reluctant to promise obedience to Charles, because he was a Covenanted Presbyterian, because he had invaded England and had been defeated at Worcester, because his career on the Continent inspired no confidence. But many Baptists felt a far more serious objection and had he met their hopes in every way, they would equally have felt scruples about pledging themselves to him by an oath. And so a vigorous discussion arose on this point, which by no means interested the Friends alone. Tombes, Denne, Ives, Hodgkin wrote to show that oaths of this kind, demanded by governors, fell into the class of things within the ruler's prerogative as a servant of God, and were justified by the conduct of Christ at the bar: but it is clear that they felt they were arguing an uphill case. At Bristol, Baptists were quite defiant, and the authorities were at first at a loss. For years it was a favourite device of persecution to tender the oath of Allegiance, and it was often found that Baptists refused to take any oath whatsoever.

Another application of old principles was as to traitors. There could be no doubt that every one who had appeared in arms against either Charles was liable to death. It was

obviously absurd to think of acting against all; it was politic to destroy the leaders and prevent the possibility of a recurrence. The line was drawn leniently, to enforce the laws only against those who were most closely concerned in the death of Charles I., and a very few others; to the general astonishment, Milton was not one of the exceptions. There were a few Baptists who were thus in danger. Gough went to New England and lived in retirement for the rest of his life, no longer in touch even with his fellow-believers, and only signaling himself once more at a crisis in an Indian war. Hutchinson made a rather abject submission and was only imprisoned for life. Axtell sent a parting message to the churches in Gloucestershire, bidding them "whatever they do, love the image of Christ wherever they see it, in Presbyterian, Independent, Baptized, or other." Harrison, who had refused to save himself by flight, acknowledged and justified all that he had done; as he was dragged on the sledge to the place of execution, being asked in derision, Where is your Good Old Cause? he with a cheerful smile clapped his hand on his breast and said, "Here it is, and I am going to seal it with my blood."

Such courage was needed to enhearten men in the days to come, for though there was indemnity for the past to all others, they must now obey all the old laws, and any new laws parliament might enact. Men like Generals Allen and Lilburne, Colonel Rede, and even prominent captains like Gladman and Merriman, would need to walk warily.

Indeed, even on 28th April, 1660, while yet Charles was in the Netherlands, Vavasor Powell was arrested in his house and committed to Shrewsbury jail, where he lay nine weeks till Charles freed him and many others. It does not appear that there was any shadow of legality about this arrest. Sir Matthew Price, sheriff of Montgomery, was peculiarly bitter against him, and in July committed him again, no reason being assigned. At Quarter Sessions he declined to take the Oaths of Allegiance and

Supremacy, and thus brought himself within the law. He was taken to London and committed to the Fleet prison, whence he was transferred to Southsea two years later.

Nor was his an isolated case. On 26th July two petitions were presented to Charles. One from Lincolnshire complained that even family worship was hindered by windows being broken and worshippers being dragged to prison, that the justices threatened them with regular fines of £20 a month for not attending the parish churches. Another from London recited many passages from confessions to show that Baptists were no anarchists. Soon afterwards a petition from Maidstone jail was put in, when several Baptists complained that their houses had been broken open at night, their goods and cattle had been carried off, they themselves were imprisoned, without reason assigned.

It was, however, the ecclesiastical laws that hit Baptists as Baptists. And two of these stood out pre-eminent: the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity, which to this day is printed before the Prayer-Book; the Elizabethan Conventicle Act. The former enjoined that all public worship was to be on certain lines; the latter forbade absenting yourself from public worship or conducting any private worship in semi-rivalry. The former affected the clergy, and there were not twenty clergy who had become Baptist; none of them seem to have considered for a moment that they would resume their legal position in a parish and use the Elizabethan book as amended by James; Jessey, Knollys, etc., were quite content to continue as Baptist pastors. But the Conventicle Act touched every man: if he declined to conform to the lawful worship at the parish church, he could be sent to prison till he gave a written promise to conform; and in case he were obstinate, he could have a second hearing in court, which would lead to banishment or death. Much the best-known case under this law is that of John Bunyan, who was put in prison before 1660 ran out, and was only pardoned in 1672. His auto-

biography and his subsequent fame have made his case notorious, but what was done to him was done to hundreds of others, and might have been done to thousands.

Some people were awake to this possibility, even before Charles returned. In March, 1659/60, the General Baptists were holding their annual Assembly in London, and felt it necessary to issue a manifesto "to inform all men (in these days of scandal and reproach) of our innocent belief and justice; for which we are not only resolved to suffer persecution, to the loss of our goods, but also life itself, rather than to decline the same." They were as yet under the rule only of the Presbyterians, but this was tyrannous enough on the point of uniformity; and the twenty-fourth article of the Brief Confession stated boldly that it was God's will for all men to have the free liberty of their own *Consciences* in matters of religion or worship. The claim was contemptuously ignored; worship, religion, speech and printing were all quickly regulated on the old lines. The old slanders against Baptists were furbished up again; old books like Featley were re-issued, new were penned, Baptist printers were in practice thrown out of work.

In the last week of 1659, a colonel wrote with joy to General Monk, "The Anabaptists are all as tame as asses and as mute as fishes." Within five months they found what the new order meant, for a mob demolished a Baptist meeting-house on St. Dunstan's Hill in London, and it was vain to think of protection or compensation.

The political and social revolution was severe; men like Lawrence and Abbot, who had sunk large sums in a pacified Ireland, now felt utterly insecure. Baptists streamed back across St. George's Channel, were paid off from the army, were turned out of the civil service, special attention being paid to the postal system. And thus the whole denomination lay defenceless.

For months there were some men who either did not realise the magnitude of the change, or could not subdue their recent freedom of speech. Powell issued an attack

on the prayer-book, not on any detail, but on the whole principle of having an authorised type of common prayer ; and he was bold enough to put out two enlarged editions. Jessey wrote a strange tract, gathering up all the extraordinary stories he heard, and inferring that a religious crisis was approaching. Simpson still held to his parish pulpit in London, and preached on lines that were fanatic, if not treasonable. They did not grasp that with the dissolution of the Convention Parliament at the end of 1660, they had lost the only faint chance of any toleration.

On the second of January, 1660/1, the justices of Lancashire issued orders in the name of Charles that to preserve peace and prevent plots, no people out of their own families should assemble on pretence of preaching, teaching, praying, or hearing the same, in any place whatsoever but in public parish churches and chapels appointed. Such orders were to be published on the next Lord's Day in every church and chapel by the minister. This brought to the boil the seething spirits of the Fifth-Monarchists, who had simmered for twice forty-two months, their plot of 1657 having been the most conspicuous incident. From a London Pedobaptist meeting-house they sallied forth in arms, and were only mastered after four days. Their exploit gave a fair pretext for summary measures against conventicles ; mobs were allowed to wreck many, the militia turned out at Oxford and Abingdon, and there was open resistance at Bristol. Prominent men like Cheare of Plymouth, Fecknam and Pardoe of Worcester, were flung into prison ; and the legal situation was made clear by proclamations prohibiting first all unlawful and seditious meetings and conventicles, then all meetings whatever of Quakers and Baptists.

This stage of the changing situation is reflected in *A Lecture for all sects and schismatics to read.*

What ayles the Anabaptists
 So much to be perplext,
 The Quakers they are troubled too
 With many severall sects,

The Brownists and the Adamites,
 With fift monarchies too,
 In this their mad and frantic fits
 Seek Protestants t' o'erthrow :

With hey ho base Quakers,
 Your wicked deeds all rue ;
 You must to Church or Tiburn
 With Anabaptists too.

* * * * *

The Cobblers and the Tinkers
 Must now forbear to Preach,
 Taylors, Joyners and Tanners,
 Must no false doctrine teach ;

* * * * *

You Quakers and you Dippers,
 Your wicked deeds all rue ;
 With speed return and go to Church,
 And leave that factious crew.

The wrong done to the Quakers was inexplicable and inexcusable. But quite obviously many Baptists were Fifth-Monarchists, and there was some reason in the hasty arrest of more than four hundred Londoners, who were committed to Newgate when they refused to take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy ; Hanserd Knollys thus paid the penalty of his apocalyptic speculations and his scruples against swearing. Loyal addresses poured in from Baptists, thirty Lincoln prisoners were to the fore, and took care to print and publish their *Second Humble Address*. So serious was the situation that five Particular churches in London united with two General, an approximation hitherto unknown, to make a public protest against Venner's insurrection, and a defence of their peaceableness. The great mother-church of the General Baptists under Jennings and Loveday put out a broadsheet to the same effect. Such magnates as Daniel Dike and John Spencer, who had gathered near Cheshunt to the regal estate of Theobalds bought by Colonel Packer, sent in a written petition which shows that they felt how the incident had imperilled the cause of quiet worship. But all such pleas

were vain ; public opinion ran strongly against Quakers and Baptists ; the doings of Münster were again brought to the fore, and the Lincolnshire men in a third address felt it politic to offer security by the heads of all their congregations, not only to keep the peace, but to support and protect his Majesty's person and government.

As the alarm died down, Charles felt able to issue a general pardon ; but for ex-officers in the army the condition was annexed that they should depart the kingdom. Holland, the Palatinate, Switzerland, became the refuge of some ; others crossed to Rhode Island, others were sent as criminals to the Barbadoes. When the elections for the Cavalier Parliament showed that the Royalists were an overwhelming majority, the strenuous exile under administrative order gave way to a calmer and deliberate system. An example was made of John James, a Seventh-Day Baptist, whose preaching was certainly on the borderline of sedition ; he was tried, condemned, executed, his quartered body was exposed on the gates, his head opposite his meeting-house. The lesson struck home, and men saw that they had to choose between submission, exile, passive resistance, rebellion ; for the parliament would do nothing to help them.

All four alternatives were taken by Baptists. Men who had fought in the armies naturally thought of armed resistance. Ireland was a capital place for planning, because the disturbed state of affairs there necessitated more military measures ; and many of the old Army were still proprietors in the central belt, yet were uncertain of their tenure. Men like Sankey, Lawrence, Barrowe, planned a renewed trial of strength before their right hands lost their cunning. One of the leaders in this was Thomas Blood, who, however much he associated with Baptists, in after days declared himself Presbyterian. The group nearly succeeded in capturing Dublin Castle, but a traitor caused them to fail, and such measures were taken that they transferred their energies to Durham, York, and

London. The failure of this movement strengthened the movement to emigrate, and in many church books may be read how in the next few years members took letters of dismission and went to Rhode Island.

Others preferred to stay in England, and continue their worship despite the proclamation. And whereas the Quakers so far obeyed as to hold Silent Meetings, which they conceived fell within the law, some Baptists were amazingly tenacious and obstinate. At Dover for months they met regularly despite repeated raids and imprisonment. Some Londoners were bold enough to publish an appeal showing the illegality of much that was done against them, but also showing clearly that they were quite defiant of the law and the proclamation, meeting again and again in the same places, such as Beech Lane, Brick Lane, Petty France. The General Baptist Assembly managed to meet somewhere, and was bold enough to pass and present a petition claiming that the Declaration of Breda be fulfilled. Their blindness to the fact that the Declaration was fulfilled, that the Convention Parliament had asked for no toleration, and so there was not going to be any, must not distract us from their heroism in sending in the futile claim, still to be seen in the public records.

But the mass of Baptists acquiesced reluctantly in the new order of things. Men like Steele the lawyer and Kiffin the merchant were prone neither to fight nor to flee. And so most settled down, by no means anticipating the long agony of the next thirty years, else perhaps the Farnley Wood meeting had been larger and more successful.

Meantime, the ecclesiastical situation had changed greatly. In the elections for the Cavalier Parliament during March 1660/1, all but fifty-six seats had fallen to thorough-going supporters of King and bishops; the few exceptions were mostly from corporate towns, London returning four who were (erroneously) thought by Pepys to be Anabaptists. The first year was spent in altering this; all members were to take the Sacrament of the

Lord's Supper according to the prayer-book of Elizabeth, bishops were restored to the upper house, corporation officers were to take the Sacrament, or swear that it was unlawful to arm against the King. John Bunyan gives a vivid picture of how this worked out locally; the town of Mansoul had the old mayor and the old recorder ejected, with new officers installed. At not many places were Baptists directly affected, though we know that Coventry was specially reported as having a Baptist butcher, Thomas Hobson, who must be displaced from the mayoralty. The records of that city disclose amusing proceedings with relation to him. The rack was only being set up, not worked as yet. Thus, at Liverpool seven aldermen who had passed the chair, seven councillors, and the town-clerk, could not swear the oaths, and so retired. Steps were also taken to manage the municipal elections, by local agents if possible, but with the threat that at worst the King would disallow the elections. And thus a large part of the nation, including many of "sobriety, gravity, a decent way of life, the sense of religious obligation," were excluded from all influence in national and municipal life, were deprived of all public higher education, and were permitted to serve the State only in the ranks or between decks. The nation was being rapidly separated into two dis-united parties.

A bill for re-modelling the Church took many months to pass. Charles was not certain of the present strength of the great Puritan party which had opposed his father. He offered bishoprics to some of its leaders, but they mistook their opportunity and refused. Consequently, nearly all the high posts fell to their opponents, and with the death of Juxon, the archbishopric of Canterbury was conferred on Sheldon. He had successfully thwarted every attempt at agreement in a conference at the Savoy, while his fellow-minister, Clarendon, was pressing a fourth Act of Uniformity through Parliament. The Act applied to all ministers and schoolmasters, who were to abjure the Solemn League and

Covenant, to take the oath of non-resistance, and to declare their unfeigned assent and consent to everything in the Book of Common Prayer. This book was revised by the convocations of the Church of England, which made some six hundred changes; but they were not conciliatory. The Litany for the first time prayed against rebellion and schism; especial services were appointed for the anniversaries of the death of Charles I. and the recognition of Charles II. The Act then with ingenious malice adopted the Presbyterian date of Bartholomew's Day as the time for conforming or going, and withheld any fifth share of the tithes such as had been allowed to ejected royalists. More than thirteen hundred ministers at once obeyed, received ordination from bishops, used the prayer-book. Many more evaded compliance for years, and the diaries of some show most unedifying breaches of solemn promises. But more than eighteen hundred at once declined, quitting church and parsonage.

The Act was only to be expected; it was the fourth of a series of Acts of Uniformity, it was only the reverse of what the Presbyterians had done within twenty years. But it proved that there were far more ministers who did not conform than before; and of these very few could be induced to change their mind. Elizabeth had not ejected as many Roman Catholic priests in one day under her Act, James had found a few hundred Puritans melt away to a few score when once pinched by poverty. The novelty was to have so many all silenced at once. A natural result was that many of them found sympathizers who encouraged them to continue their ministry. In other words, Presbyterians began to keep conventicles, and at once broke the old Conventicle Act on a scale hitherto unexampled. In this way they rendered a great service to the Baptists, who might otherwise have been crushed easily. From this moment the storm of persecution was directed to the new, wealthy, influential class which for more than a century had been at home in the Church of England as by law

established, but which was deliberately made uncomfortable by the new law.

So serious did the situation appear to Charles, so grave the risk of insurrection, that although the Commons had expressly refused to incorporate in the Act a power to him to dispense with it, yet on 26th December he made a Declaration of Indulgence, promising to move parliament again on the same point. Sheldon at once organized opposition, carried a majority of the Council, had the pleasure of seeing the Commons decline; Charles was obliged in March, 1662/3 to own that he could go no further.

This threw him on to the other horn of his dilemma. To have a grant of money he acquiesced in the intolerance of the Commons. He was at once confronted with the danger of an armed rising, and in this no small share was taken by Baptists. Blackett and Joplin of Durham, with Gower and Hobson of Newcastle were concerned in the Bishopric; Jeremy Marsden rode about the West Riding, Atkinson of Mallerstang planned to surprise Appleby Castle, while there was a London group known to be in touch with the more militant exiles. The aim was not revolutionary, but to secure the carrying out of the King's declaration from Breda, granting liberty of conscience to all Protestants, restoration of a gospel magistracy and ministry, and abolition of the new excise taxes. At the last moment there were suspicions of a traitor in the midst, and the hearts of many failed, so that the rising was still-born. In 1663/4 a score were executed and many more were imprisoned. The worst feature was that some colour was given to the charge that conventicles were hotbeds of treason.

Hitherto no case under the Elizabethan Conventicle Act had been pushed to the limit. Bunyan is the best illustration of a man imprisoned under it till his promise to conform. But any justice could bring up such a man to quarter sessions and compel him to promise or to go into exile, with the third alternative of death. This was now

done to a group of village General Baptists in Buckinghamshire, twelve of whom were duly sentenced to death. Word was promptly taken to London, and Kiffin brought the case to the attention of Charles, who was surprised to find that the sentence was legal: he at once issued a pardon.

Parliament retaliated with a new Conventicle Act, which in its first sentence declared the Elizabethan Act to be in force, and that it ought to be put in due execution. But in practice it prescribed a quite different procedure, avowedly because conventicles were used to contrive insurrections. All meetings for worship where the family was joined by more than four people, were pronounced illegal. A first offence entailed three months or £5; a second, six months or £10; any future offence, transportation for seven years or £100.

This act, called forth by a genuine fear of another armed rebellion, was to hold for three years only. It was enforced very differently in different places. London saw only nine hundred convictions in seventeen months, and as two hundred and sixty were of women, it is clear that the fear of a rising was not the real motive. On the other hand, in the North where men had really appeared in arms, a Wigan magistrate gloated over the thought that he had already put some Baptists in jail for the second time, and would soon be able to order their transportation. It may fairly be pleaded in extenuation of him that he had been heavily fined for his royalism, and that some of these people had been soldiers enforcing the fines. If magistrates were at all lenient, informers were eager to get a share of the fines, and goaded them to action; pamphlets and letters abound as to the horror excited by this new trade, and the accidents that befel the informers were naturally interpreted as divine judgments. The records of quarter sessions and of episcopal visitations furnish many presentments, whereby we can trace the social standing of the people. Informers would naturally fly as high as possible; to get a day-labourer convicted might gratify a private

spite, but could not fill the pocket; while a farmer or a merchant, much more a gentleman or baronet, could afford to pay the hundred pounds many a time. Yet we rarely find, as at Liverpool, that Baptists included a gentleman and thirty or forty rich people. In most places we do not in practice find the gentry mulcted, whether they did not go to conventicles, or they were too dangerous to attack, or they were shielded by their own class. But we have perpetually stories of farmers whose barns and byres were emptied, shop-keepers deprived of their stock.

Meanwhile, another measure was passed which hit specially at the ejected clergy. They were obliged to swear not only to non-resistance, but to acquiescence in the present settlement of Church and State; with the alternative of removing five miles from every corporate town or any town where they had preached since the Act of Oblivion; and of not taking in boarders to teach. While this was passing, Sheldon made careful enquiries as to all ministers, schoolmasters, doctors. These measures touched no Baptists, but they showed the continued temper of the archbishop and of the Commons.

The London fire destroyed so many parish churches that violent hands were laid on some of the meeting-houses erected by Baptists, and they were appropriated for parish use. Apparently the Petty France house, and certainly the Bishopsgate house in Devonshire Square, were thus stolen from their owners for a few years. It shows the increasing confidence of the churches that Kiffin's people opened a new book for their records, which henceforth remained in regular use. But the Dutch war, partly prompted by the existence of New Amsterdam hemming in the New England colonies, brought to light that the seamen could hardly be trusted to fight while their homes were being raided under the Conventicle Act. When therefore, as a consequence of the Dutch sailing up the Thames and the Medway, Clarendon fell from power in 1667, the persecution died a natural death. Power in the

Council now was divided between several ministers. The chief was Villiers, second Duke of Buckingham, the richest man in the kingdom, who had taken a leading part in displacing Clarendon, and was a consistent supporter of toleration, being a man of no principle. He was backed by Chief-Justice Bridgeman, though son of the late Bishop of Chester. They promptly released many prisoners, especially old officers such as Major Wildman. The Earl of Lauderdale was devoting himself mainly to Scotch affairs, but though backing the episcopal policy there, was quite indifferent to the bishops in England. Baron Robartes the privy seal, and the Duke of Albemarle, the Admiral, were avowed Presbyterians, while Ashley was very friendly with them. Clifford was an open Catholic, Arlington and the Duke of York leaned that way. Manifestly there was no disposition at court to drive dissenters to despair. Charles was now pledged to Louis to do all in his power to restore Catholicism, and knew that the first step must be a general toleration which should include Catholics.

So towards the end of 1666 jailers were required to send up returns as to their prisoners, apparently that the Council might consider who might be released. The enquiry is not extant, but the replies refer chiefly to ex-officers, and suggest that Albemarle may have had compunctions as to the men he had commanded when plain George Monk. And a pamphlet appeared to test the public feeling as to toleration, *A proposition made to the King and Parliament for the safety and happiness of the King and Kingdom*. This was presently followed by another anonymous plea, really made by John Owen. But if Clarendon's influence was over, it was impossible to dismiss Sheldon from the archbishopric of Canterbury; he set his chaplain to answer these pleas, and he wrote to his bishops and clergy to see that the laws should be enforced, however reluctant the magistrates.

The relaxation was evident in various ways. A few religious books by Baptists were published, including

even an exposition of apocalyptic mysteries by Knollys. John Milton ventured again into print, fulfilling at last his early decision to write on *Paradise Lost*. Printers began to work irrespective of the licensers, ministers and others to preach as if the Conventicle Acts were both dead letters. Sir Matthew Hale drafted a bill for comprehension and toleration, on lines agreed with leading Presbyterians, and Charles opened the new session in February, 1668/9, with a speech urging a settlement of religion. His sincerity in this is evinced by his simultaneous Act of Indulgence in Scotland, where Parliament was complaisant. But the English Commons were as determined as seven years earlier, and before they would grant supply they compelled Charles to proclaim that all penal laws were to be enforced. They also considered the prolongation of the expiring Conventicle Act; but here they failed. The Council knew, if the Commons did not, how vital was the navy in view of another Dutch war; a Baptist captain, now in office at the Chatham dock-yard, and apparently quite indispensable, for he openly preached in a meeting-house set apart for the purpose, sent formal notice to the Admiralty he would do no more work if the Act were prolonged.* Similar letters came in from other quarters. Charles contrived to delay matters, saw the two Houses quarrel, seized the opportunity to adjourn them, and the Act expired.

On every side conventicles were opened, and prisoners for conscience sent up petitions for a general relief. Powell sued out a writ of Habeas Corpus, convinced the judges that his imprisonment was illegal, and was set free; perhaps less famous men took heart and obtained their liberty in like fashion. Powell soon came up to London and preached openly; but when he went down to Wales came within the grasp of local enemies who found other laws under which to convict him. Ashley prepared a memorial to Charles on the economic state of the kingdom, urging

* State Papers, Domestic, vol. 239, paper 243, I.

that the constant emigration could only be checked by a toleration.

But Sheldon was amassing facts as to the conventicles, by an enquiry in every parish. The bishops were required to tabulate results and forward a copy. Here and there the bishops were tolerant enough to content themselves with a general statement that there were scarcely any in their diocese; but most sent up detailed replies, from which it is easy to construct a map of English dissent as known to the clergy in 1669. When therefore Parliament did re-assemble in February, 1669/70, Sheldon wrote to three hundred members, and was even accused of bribery; whatever his methods, he did secure a new Conventicle Act, to be permanent.

Yet it is generally overlooked that it was less severe than its predecessors. Not only did the title announce that it was against Seditious Conventicles, so that lawyers promptly took the point it was not against all, but the penalties were appreciably lighter. No imprisonment was possible under it, much less transportation; the only punishment was fine. While the householder might have to pay twenty pounds, and the preacher forty pounds, the hearer was only liable to ten shillings: A conviction exempted the offender from any other punishment under any other law, and the prosecution must be within three months of the offence. This comparative leniency was probably an acknowledgment that public opinion would no longer tolerate the death-sentence of Elizabeth or even the transportation of six years earlier. And it was a master stroke that allotted the fines partly to the parish, partly to the informer, and only one-third to the King, while inflicting heavy fines on all magistrates or constables who would not act at the behest of an informer. Sheldon hit the mean of real severity so happily that his law was not repealed till 1812, though there were previous mitigations possible, on strict conditions. Bunyan was one of many who knew informers that made a regular living, putting the con-

stables to do all the work, and thriving on their third-share of the fines. The sessions accounts in every county show what sums were now exacted. If only thirty people were caught, the total fine would be seventy-five pounds, and this could be levied on any eight of them. On his twenty-five pounds the informer could fare sumptuously for a week or two till he could lay the constables on the track of another meeting. And since the Act was, as Andrew Marvell frankly wrote, "the price of money," Charles dared not take any steps to restrain the persecution till Parliament rose in April, 1671. Indeed, he even had to publish an order that many places hitherto used by dissenters were to be appropriated to the Established Church. This followed on litigation as to the status of certain private or semi-public Chapels which Presbyterian families had treated as their own: but however reasonable in such cases, bishops were likely to extend to cases where quite new buildings had been erected, or private dwellings had been converted. In the vivid account by Terrill of the persecution at Bristol, he tells how after four onslaughts, the Mayor nailed up the meeting-house, and called out the trained bands every Saturday night to prevent any meetings. But when Parliament had risen, the church was bold to meet at its former pastor's house in the Castle. And about the same time the Baptists at Dover broke their way into their own meeting-house, which had been dismantled and locked by the mayor, they refitted it and used it regularly. Spies and magistrates alike reported that the Act could be executed only with increasing difficulty.

2. A Breathing Space.

The Church is set up as a top on the toe, it will not spin or stand longer than it is whipped by penal laws; I would have it stand on the broad basis, and then it will stand without whipping.

BISHOP WILKINS, died 1672.

Meantime, Charles had ceased to be utterly dependent on his Parliament. In 1669 both he and his brother had

become Roman Catholics, to the knowledge of a few statesmen. At the end of the next year he was again impecunious, and found that while the City would not lend more than twenty thousand pounds, the "fanatics under persecution" lent twice as much. Even while Parliament was sitting, he had signed a secret treaty at Dover, whereby in return for cash and six thousand infantry paid by France, he would join Louis in war with Holland, and would at the opportune moment announce his conversion. The war was presently fixed to begin by surprise in the spring of 1672.

But Charles was destined to learn again that war was impossible with a large section of his people driven to desperation by the Conventicle Act. Thomas Blood was of a Presbyterian family settled in County Meath as iron-workers, married to a Presbyterian from Culcheth in Lancashire. After the civil war, in which he attained the rank of colonel, he became J.P. under Henry Cromwell, and seems to have come into touch with the Baptists who settled in Ireland. In 1663 he certainly had gathered some of them into his plan to surprise Dublin Castle. Being naturally outlawed for treason, he went to Holland, and continued as a militant centre, corresponding with Hobson, Marsden, Rowe, and other Baptists concerned in the "Farnley Wood" rising. Some malcontents hoped that "our King (Jesus) would overcome with (Colonel) Blood"; and one who was captured later declared that he had arranged to take a few houses near the Tower and Whitehall, simultaneously killing Charles, James and Clarendon. He did rescue conventiclors, ride about Ulster, revisit Dublin, attend a meeting at Coventry to arrange another rising, appeal to Charles to keep his word as to toleration, and actually secure in 1665 the release of Jonathan Jennings the Baptist minister who had been in prison more than three years. There his influence stopped for a time, whereupon he went to Liverpool to promote another rising, crossed to Dublin, up to Carrickfergus, and did rise with the Covenanters in 1666, just after his

friend Jennings was re-arrested at Aylesbury. Warrants were issued to take him, but whether in Ireland or Warrington or Westmoreland he could not be found, only it was known he was in touch with Danvers and Marsden again. The spy and traitor did capture one of his friends, whereupon Blood attacked the party in Yorkshire, rescued the prisoner and struck terror into the spies. It was in vain to set a high price on his head ; after a year or two in quiet, he suddenly sprang into light by kidnapping the Duke of Ormond in London and taking him to Tyburn to hang him on the gallows in revenge for his conduct as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. Ormond was rescued at the last minute, but as Buckingham was his deadly enemy, Blood thus won a friend at court. For five months he eluded all search, and was only arrested when in company with two Baptist relations he was marching out of the Tower of London with the crown and the sceptre. A week later, he was examined by the King in Council, then had a perfectly private hearing by Charles. We may reasonably conclude that the King at last grasped the fact that neither his crown nor his life was safe while he continued to enforce the persecuting laws. Who was in view as an alternative King is suggested by the fact that a warrant was issued to arrest Richard Cromwell at the house of a Southwark Independent. What the world actually saw with amazement was that Ormond could not secure the infliction of any punishment, that Blood and his partners had free pardons, that Blood was in close consultation with a secretary of State. That secretary kept a few notes and made his memoranda how that Captain Gladman was seeing the King privately, that Blood was very intimate with Lauderdale and Arlington, that he was elaborating his scheme, to declare the King supreme in ecclesiastical matters. For even the recent Act had a proviso that it did not invalidate his Majesty's supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs, that from time to time and at all times the King might exercise all such powers and authorities as fully and amply as any of

his predecessors. Thus by the end of 1671 Blood had Jennings out of prison again, despite the opposition of the Lord Lieutenant of Bucks, and got his wife's relation appointed sheriff of Lancashire, besides having some mysterious naval project afoot. Throughout the next year, he was closely concerned at court in many things; but especially with two great measures of relief: the Declaration and the Pardon.

On 6th March the Council discussed a proposal to grant indulgence to "tender consciences"; on the fourteenth it was drafted and passed in committee, next day it was passed in a council at which seventeen members were present, was sealed after some trouble with the Lord Keeper, printed and published. On that same day the Navy made a treacherous attack on a Dutch fleet, and war was declared on the 17th.

The Declaration of Indulgence ordered that the execution of all penal laws in matters ecclesiastical should cease: it offered to Catholics the right to worship in their private houses, a sop to Louis to show that the Treaty of Dover was not forgotten: it offered to Protestant dissenters the right to worship in approved places, and to hear approved teachers. Sheldon at once ordered the clergy to preach against popery and to exalt parliament; Charles ordered him to stop this, and after consulting a meeting of clergy, he obeyed. And so for all but twelve months, licences were issued to nearly every applicant. The entry books and the applications that survive, give another picture of dissent in England that was willing to trust Charles. Combining with the parochial reports of 1669, we can obtain a composite portrait which shows fairly the state of things half-way through the persecution.

A detailed study of the Baptists thus disclosed may be seen in the *Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society*, vol. i., p. 148. There were about 420 Baptist preachers, working chiefly in the open country. Besides London, which always needs separate study, cities like Bristol,

Lincoln, Worcester, Coventry, Lichfield, ports like Plymouth, Dover, Deal, Chester, Liverpool, did have Baptist churches; yet on the whole they were rural. The farm-houses or the barns served for worship; the cases in which we hear of meeting-houses built for the purpose, as at Chatham and in East Smithfield, are most exceptional.

The Indulgence was intended to deal with the present and the future, but there were also hundreds of prisoners in jail under the penal laws now suspended. It was obvious that the policy of Charles covered their release, and the impulse was given by a Quaker fisherman who had carried him ashore after his defeat at Worcester. The immense majority of the four hundred and ninety-one pardoned on 13th September, 1672, were Quakers, but from Durham, Oxford, Bedford, King's Bench and other prisons, a few Baptists also were set at liberty, thus able to profit by the Indulgence, obtain licences and resume preaching. It should not be supposed that all were thus freed; John Kelsey of Kirton sent a letter to his wife as early as 1660, with implication of an earlier date:

" I send unto thee once again
From prison where I still remain."

This was written from Lincoln; then, three years later, from another jail:

" They double my imprisonment,
Whate'er they mean thereby,
They blame my going up and down,
And send me further still;
To speak the truth at Nottingham,
And thus they got their will."

No relief seems to have come to him in 1672; he was only set free by James II.

No one was averse to profit by the clemency of Charles; but two questions arose. Was he empowered, as he claimed, to suspend the execution of laws in this wholesale fashion? Was he to be acknowledged in ecclesiastical affairs to the

extent of taking his licence for a preacher and a place for preaching? A great many Baptists seem to have answered No to each question. If he could suspend four recent laws passed by large majorities of the existing Parliament, he could suspend any, and the work of the armies against his father was vain; consequently we find very few ex-soldiers and officers asking for licences. A King as king had no authority whatever in the Kingdom of Christ; the affairs of Cæsar and the affairs of God did not overlap in this respect. If Christ ordered to preach, no Parliament had any authority to forbid, and a king who relaxed the prohibition but assumed authority to license or to withhold a licence, was encroaching on the prerogatives of the Lord. And so, while Charles was expecting addresses of thanks and loyalty from all the relieved Dissenters, he had none from Baptists. John Tombes signed one, and was content to describe himself as a Presbyterian: he was, in fact, living in Salisbury where were two Baptist churches, neither of which had any tradition of any fellowship he ever claimed, while he did openly conform to the Church of England as a private worshipper, needing no more post or emolument since he had married a rich widow. For the rest, Baptists seem to have felt that when rogues fall out, honest men come by their own; they accepted pardon, many accepted licences, many preached openly without any licence.

Charles secured only part of what he desired, the cessation of discontent among the dissenters; but he excited the gravest fears as to his intention of promoting Catholicism. So directly Parliament assembled, while no complaint was made as to his suspending the Navigation Act, bitter complaint was made as to the suspension of the penal laws. It became clear that no Act of Indulgence would be passed, and soon he had to break with his own hand the great seal off from his Declaration. An intrigue among the ministers led to the Test Act, whereby every officer of the Crown, from Chancellor and Treasurer down to

postmaster and tide-waiter, had to renounce the doctrine of Transubstantiation, and receive the Lord's Supper at his parish church. Only when Charles had agreed to this did the Commons vote money to continue the war. He himself did not have to pass the Test, but his brother was honest enough to refuse it, avowing himself a Catholic. With many resignations of this kind, the nation grew alarmed as to the possibility of Catholicism becoming again a power, and when James married an Italian, Parliament grew very restive. Charles dismissed Ashley, now Earl of Shaftesbury, from the Chancellorship; as Bridgman and Buckingham were gone, and Lauderdale was now immersed in Scotch affairs, no minister remained who was friendly to dissent. Charles still wavered, and offered to his nephew William of Orange the hand of his niece Mary, elder daughter of James, as a token of his friendliness to the Dutch. And with these confused currents flowing, there was a respite for dissent. If some magistrates were inclined to say that with the Declaration of Indulgence cancelled, the licences issued under it were void, the Council bade them do nothing and on the whole they obeyed. Yet on the other hand, the Test Act now excluded every Protestant dissenter, as well as every Roman Catholic, from the public service; and this remained the law until 1828, despite evasions and mitigations.

But in February, 1674/5, Charles made up his mind to get on good terms again with Parliament, and he gave all his confidence to the Earl of Danby, who continued the policy of Clarendon. Notice was given that the licences were useless, and all restraint was withdrawn from the enforcement of the penal laws. For the third time Sheldon sent out enquiries, contenting himself this time with an estimate of numbers, and being careful to separate the Papal recusants from the Protestant dissenters. The general conclusion was that in the Province of Canterbury there were 2,123,362 Conformists, 93,151 Non-conformists, 11,878 Papists; in the Province of York, 353,892 Con-

formists, 15,325 Non-conformists, 1,978 Papists, of an age over sixteen. The detailed returns show enormous gaps, but the proportions are not likely to be seriously affected. Thus Sheldon was led to believe that to one thousand Anglicans there were forty-five Dissenters and six Catholics. The thousand, of course, included all who cared nothing, and we can in place after place produce rolls showing that the number of Baptists was grievously under-estimated. But the political result was to make Sheldon think that there was no real danger from dissent, and that more attention must be paid to Catholicism.

Thus from 1672 for six or seven years there was in practice room to live and act. The old soldiers had their ranks seriously thinned, while their occupation was gone; we shall, however, see that a few veterans remained, ready to act in time of need. Powell died in prison, and his manuscripts were chiefly hymns and other experiential writings; Danvers published, like Augustine, on the City of God as opposed to the city of the nations. Francis Smith resumed his book trade, not only theology but poetry and the drama; he was acute enough to see which way the wind was rising, and arranged to issue a book by a clergyman against the doctrine of the Council of Trent.

A remarkable sign of liberty was that the feud between Baptists and Quakers now blazed forth. Many Baptist churches had been shattered by the new doctrines, and not a few ministers had passed over, especially from the General Baptists. The fact that in the "Quaker pardon" as it was generally called, a few Baptists had been included, obliged them in all decency to refrain from this quarrel. But at village after village there were wranglings, in some places there were more formal discussions, and Thomas Hicks in London put out a book with the complimentary title, *A Dialogue between a Christian and a Quaker*. This inaugurated a vigorous controversy in London which lasted orally and in print for the whole seven years until persecution was resumed. The internecine strife raged all

over the country, in Kent, Lincoln, Northampton, Herts, Durham, Surrey, Lancashire, Bristol, and even as far as the prison colony of Barbadoes.

Francis Smith was politic enough to attack the Catholics, but however sympathetic his readers might be, scarcely any Baptists were competent to write on the topic. For this there were two reasons; very few had received any university or higher education, and there was scarcely any common ground from which to start. An Anglican has much in common, with his appeal to history, his sense of continuity, the admitted fact that the Church in England was in communion with Rome for nearly a thousand years. A Baptist took his stand on the Bible, cared little for and knew less of history, boldly dated his church from the current century, and was prone to think that Antichrist had ruled before that period. Argument was barely possible here, and so in the dispute against Rome appeared only one scion of a Baptist stock, whose dastard weapons must be noted presently. But Baptists could and did point out the inconsistency of the Anglican.

Apart from such polemics, there was much evangelism and consolidation. Danvers undertook preaching tours in the summer, puzzling the military who could not think that he was intent on such harmless work. Churches revived and reorganised, new books were opened, new rolls of members were prepared, Associations and Assemblies began again to meet. Their minutes rarely survive, but we find that two important measures were considered.

First, it was seen to be desirable to show the great extent of agreement between all dissenters. Again and again "Presbyterians and Anabaptists" had been found worshipping together. Baptists were willing now to look more favourably on the masterpieces of Presbyterian erudition, the Confession and the Shorter Catechism of Westminster a generation earlier. It was found that except for the sections on the Church, the Ministry, the Sacraments, these did well express the belief of the Particular Baptists :

it was found that on the doctrines of the Church and Ministry, the Independents at the Savoy had already expressed themselves well. So a revision of the Westminster documents with the help of the Savoy Declaration was undertaken, and was published by the London Baptist Association in 1677. Two purely Baptist elements appear; the insistence on the duty of every member to preach, if gifted and called by the church; and the necessity for sisterly intercourse between the churches. At the time this confession received very little attention, but it wakened the General Baptists to re-state their opinions, for the Confession of 1651 seemed to look out on a different world, and that of 1660 had been hastily put together in view of the Restoration. The danger now was from a new Christology, pushed by a most influential man of Sussex, who must receive separate attention. Against this the men of Kent, the Midlands and Lincoln united, with a highly metaphysical statement in the true vein of Chalcedonian orthodoxy, showing that they had some one who could split hairs with Cyril and Leo themselves. Then a practical man published it with a title suggesting that the point of the confession was Protestantism against Popery: this bit of sharp practice may have sold a few scores of copies then, but has obscured the real bearing of the document, which in the words of one of its authors, was against the cankered error of the new Eutychians. In the matter of organization, the Generals now laid stress on the necessity for a General Assembly to represent all the churches. It is somewhat remarkable that there was no drawing together of the two Baptist bodies, though Grantham of Lincolnshire did put out *A Sigh for Peace, the Causes of Division Discovered*. Thomas Collier published an independent Confession, which circulated chiefly in the west, where he was still the most influential leader; but his residence in a village made more for itineration and for safety, and he did not see the importance of occupying such a centre as Bristol or Exeter or Salisbury. Despite

the continued practice of evangelization, this was no longer kept to the fore in any confession; the natural result was that the practice was hardly retained in later generations.

Other ecclesiastical books were put out: Danvers showed his versatility by compiling a treatise on baptism, which, however, was so severely criticised that he soon had to revise and re-issue, with a supplement opposing the Laying-on of Hands. This practice was quietly dropped in a few quarters, but remained among all the Generals, in Wales, and in many other Particulars. Several expositions of Scripture appeared, for edification rather than for polemics.

These publications were the easier owing to the relaxation of the press laws, so that not only did Smith and Hills begin printing again, but Benjamin Harris and Thomas Delaune ventured into the trade. With the naval, military, civil, municipal services all closed to Baptists, they were driven perforce to farming and commerce. Some of them started Coffee-houses in London, which proved successful rivals to the old Taverns and became in many cases the meeting-places of informal clubs. One kept by James Jones in Southwark more than once excited the fears of the authorities, who feared that sedition might be hatched there. Charles once issued a proclamation suppressing all, but the outcry was great, and no effort was made to enforce it. In practice there was not till the last of the Stuarts had gone even a ministers' Fraternal; but more than once the widow of some London minister was started as proprietor of a coffee-house, and we may expect that her customers would be chiefly of her persuasion.

On a larger scale of business we find a few merchants. William Kiffin is far the best known of these, and his affairs engrossed so much of his time that he was glad to have a succession of ministers associated with him in the pastoral care of the church at Devonshire Square. It is more singular to find that Hanserd Knollys, originally a clergyman, and

presently a schoolmaster, was tempted into the Dutch trade, and therefore was so often away from London that he, too, needed a co-pastor. A third man of this type was Richard Haines of Horsham, who devoted himself to rural problems, trying to raise the condition of the agricultural labourer, improving village industries, making proposals for the better care of the poor, and to ameliorate life in the workhouses. He even secured a patent for cleaning seed, but this was thought by his church to betoken a grasping spirit, he was adjured to place his process at the disposal of all, and on refusal was excommunicated. He vigorously defended himself and after four years' struggle with rules of order manipulated by his pastor, obtained a decisive victory, which shows incidentally that the General Baptists had a graduated series of appeals quite on Presbyterian lines, with the General Assembly able to over-rule and reverse decisions of lower courts.

One other career lay open, that of medicine. Peter Chamberlen, first physician to the King, was undoubtedly in the front rank of his profession, being heir to a family secret, for keeping which he was not excommunicated. Nathaniel Hodges proved his courage by staying at London during the plague, when many fled, and his medical book on it was reprinted and translated for half a century. A more curious example is Nehemiah Cox, son of Benjamin Cox the Devonshire clergyman who became a London Baptist minister, and had visited Bedford. Nehemiah started life in the latter county, earning his living as a shoe-maker at Cranfield, pious enough to be called to the ministry by the church at Bedford, and learned enough, when prosecuted for conventicling, to reply in Greek to his Latin indictment, and seeing the judge to be amused at the consternation of the officials, giving them a taste of Hebrew too. He was disciplined by his church, and after such an experience naturally preferred to move to London, where with the help of a periwig and a gold-topped cane he got together a capital practice as a doctor. Perhaps few of

his patients knew that he was also an acceptable Baptist minister, soon to be called to the joint-pastorate of the most important London church, that of Petty France.

How most Baptist pastors supported themselves we are not informed, but we may safely say that they earned their own living, and were not supported by the churches, for no accounts that survive show more than small sums paid, enough in the country to cover horse-hire, or in town to pay rent. The earlier career of Benjamin Keach is interesting as illustrating two or three phases of a minister's life.

He was at first a tailor in Buckinghamshire, and when about twenty-one was called to the ministry by the General Baptists of Winslow. He wrote a primer for children, a good instance of that thought for their needs which exercised also Cheare of Plymouth. In the primer he plainly taught Baptist doctrine and plainly traversed the official church catechism. For this he was indicted, convicted, and sentenced to stand in the pillory in two market towns. The incident proved his making, for Londoners had their eye on Bucks because of the death-sentence passed there on conventiclers. He soon was encouraged to migrate to town, and took charge of an off-shoot from the ancient church founded by Elias Tookey in Southwark. But coming into contact with Kiffin and Knollys, he considered the points of difference, and declared himself a Calvinist. This led of course, to his founding a new church, which in his later career erected a meeting-house on Goat Street, Horsleydown. His primer had been destroyed, but he re-wrote it, and found such a sale for it that it ran to many editions, and was re-printed in New England by Benjamin Harris. This tempted him into the field of authorship, and he broke new ground in 1673 with a couple of dialogues, whereof the former was allegorical, *War with the Devil*, *The Young Man's Conflict with the Powers of Darkness*. Keach has seldom been recognized as the father of this species of literature, which he cultivated assiduously,

though he was not quite original, for another Baptist, T. S., identified by some as Thomas Sherman, had already found a demand for three editions of his *Youth's Tragedy*, which he followed up with *Youth's Comedy*, besides the *Song of Solomon* in metre and a more directly religious work, *Divine Breathings*. This first dialogue of Keach ran to twenty-two editions within a century. When he found that a Bedfordshire brazier was ploughing with his heifer, he put forth *The Travels of True Godliness*, which was revised and reprinted for a hundred and fifty years; and he contrasted with it presently *The Progress of Sin, or the Travels of Ungodliness*, which had an equal vogue. Besides these novels, he ventured into verse with elegies and epics, which, however, did not appeal so successfully; also into polemics against Baxter as to baptism and against Danvers as to Laying-on of Hands. His earlier works closed with a massive *Tropologia, or Scheme to open Scripture Metaphors*, in which he collaborated with Delaune. Authorship and printing were closely associated, and it is possible that Keach's income was derived not only from the sale of his numerous books, but from a printing-shop which presently appears in the name of his son Elias.

A career of a very different kind was that of Francis Bampfield, a most impracticable son of a Devon county family. He had held the living of Sherborne, and in 1660 became able to resume his prebend. But refusing in 1662 to accept the new prayer-book, he resigned both. In 1663 he was convicted for taking part in an unlawful assembly at Shaftesbury, and for nearly nine years he made his home in Dorchester jail. Here he fell in with Baptists, and was led by them beyond their usual position, till in 1672 Dorchester was surprised by a sixpenny pamphlet containing an appeal by him to their minister to observe the Seventh day as Sabbath, the minister's refusal, and his vindication of the Christian Sabbath. Bampfield was released that year, and did win his lawyer brother Thomas, who in 1659 had been Speaker of a House of Commons, a

man even more eccentric than himself. The whole question of the Sabbath thus came up again, in new circles, legal and university. Francis baptized himself at mid-day in the Avon at Salisbury, and found his way to London. A Calvinistic Seventh-day Baptist church was already there, but its leading spirit was the bricklayer Belcher whom we met in Oxfordshire. Bampfield organized a second in his own house, which was destined to attract men of a superior social status, and to be ministered to by another family of doctors from Wallingford. The literalist temper which led him to the Seventh-day position was exemplified more remarkably in some books, with extraordinary titles, proclaiming that all knowledge, even of science and art, was to be found in the Bible. Though in the few years of life that remained he could not develop the theory, it was taken up by Thomas Burnet and Woodward, and in the hands of John Hutchinson it attracted great attention, and led Parkhurst to compile a Hebrew lexicon on new lines. But there were no Baptists capable of following his reasonings.

A concordance by Vavator Powell attested the devotion to the Scriptures which was fundamental, and two other important works appeared. One was by the indefatigable Collier, who issued a *Body of Divinity*, the first adventure by a Baptist in this direction; it does not seem to have attracted the attention that might have been expected. The other was by Thomas Grantham, of a good Lincolnshire family, who at the age of 22 had been Elder of a General Baptist church which he entertained at his own house in the South Marsh, and since 1666 had been Messenger. His evangelistic work is attested by the numerous churches around, and he protected himself in 1672 with a licence showing that he worked as far as Market Harborough. But he now gathered up several earlier writings, knit them together, and issued them as a small folio expounding the *Ancient Christian Religion*, a repertory of learning for his denomination. Its success encouraged him, and while

he was still vigorous enough to extend his travels into Norfolk, where he founded churches at Lynn, Norwich and Yarmouth, he devoted himself more to writing, and issued a new book almost every year till his death in 1692/3.

3. The Emergence of John Bunyan.

In France and Flanders where men kill each other

My Pilgrim is esteemed a Friend, a Brother.

In Holland, too, 'tis said, as I am told

My Pilgrim is with some, worth more than gold.

SECOND PART, 1684.

Until John Bunyan was forty-four years old in 1672, he was less important than most of the men mentioned, and had been severely handicapped by being in jail continuously for twelve of the best years of his life. As a preacher he had been known in a few villages near Elstow; he had had slight literary quarrels with Quakers, and had had a trick played on him by a printer who immediately after announcing the death of Oliver Cromwell, advertised his *Sighs from Hell, or the Groans of a Damned Soul*. Another book on *Law and Grace* showed that he had the power of appealing to the average man, and Francis Smith published his *Nine Profitable Meditations* in 1661; a discourse on Prayer followed in 1663, poems next year, on the Four Last Things, on Mount Ebal and Gerizim with some Prison Meditations, and a map showing the order and causes of salvation and damnation. The cloud overhanging his life was shown by a longer treatise on *Resurrection and Judgment* in 1665; but all these were ephemeral and had not run to a second edition. The first thing that seemed to have life in it was an exposition of *The Holy City* with other figures from the Revelation; this book of 1665 was reprinted in 1669. A spiritual autobiography appeared in 1666, *Grace Abounding*, and the fact that years passed before a second edition of such a book was needed, is eloquent as to the insignificance of the poor prisoner. The

increasing rigour of his jailors stilled him then for six years, and only in 1672 did he again address the world through Francis Smith with an attack on a clergyman who had ventured to say that Christ came into the world not only to declare men righteous, but to endue them with inward real righteousness. The clergyman promptly retorted with *A manifest discovery of the gross ignorance, erroneousness and most unchristian and wicked spirit of one John Bunyan, lay-preacher in Bedford.*

In the county jail Bunyan had exercised a remarkable ministry, and as soon as it was seen that indulgence was coming, he was chosen and installed pastor of the Bedford church. He obtained a licence to preach in any licensed place, and when freed by the pardon, made across country to the one town where he had fought, and proved an apostle of peace at Leicester. For the remaining sixteen years of his life, he was an ardent evangelist, increasingly welcome in the home counties.

His introduction to London was strange, and may possibly have been connected with Nehemiah Cox, his former colleague at Bedford. He was bound by all decency to hold aloof from more quarrels with the Quakers, but he had found by experience that really he had much in common with men of other denominational types. And his church had been solemnly adjured by its first pastor to welcome all true believers, especially not being divided on the question of baptism. In a confession of faith which he had put forth, he was at pains to justify this position. No Independent seems to have objected to it, but Thomas Paul of London and his own neighbour John Denne both challenged it in print, and he found it wise to explain his position more fully; he was willing to communicate with saints as saints, irrespective of their views and their practice as to baptism. Danvers entered the lists against him, and in 1674 he put forth a second defence. He was glad to quote the precedent of Henry Jessey, and also of John Tombes; but it does not seem that the latter took any

share in the debate. It had, however, the advantage of introducing Bunyan to a new circle, for ecclesiastical quarrels always attract more attention than spiritual edification. But like Tombes, he thus isolated himself from every group of any permanence within reach. At Broadmead in Bristol there was a church of the same type as at Bedford, whose Presbyterian clergyman was breaking new literary ground with a *Christian Geography and Arithmetic*; in London was another important church which sought to tread the *arête* between Baptists and Congregationalists, that which soon met at Pinners' Hall. But as yet Bunyan was only an obscure country mechanic, not to be thought of in dignified assemblies with university ministers. He had found or he created a new reading public, for in 1675 he put out four or five small books of popular theology, and next year was challenged to a discussion by a London Baptist minister.

Bunyan was in no condition for public debate. With the formal notice that the licences of 1672 were worthless, he lay open to his enemies. In March, 1675, a warrant was issued to arrest him under the Conventicle Act; but as that only provided fines, another plan was hit upon, and he was sent to Bedford town jail, apparently in consequence of being excommunicated. It was this imprisonment that gave him the leisure to write, and while he was composing *The Strait Gate*, he suddenly fell into an allegory about the journey of saints, and with a fine sense of the unities, he jotted down separately the score or two of points that rapidly occurred to him, while he finished his book. Then to gratify himself in vacant seasons, he wove them together into a religious romance much as Keach had done two years earlier. When he had written enough for one hundred and sixty-one small octavo pages, he "awoke from his dream" by being released. Some of his friends shook their heads at his book of adventure, but he knew there was a public with a taste for stories about Guy of Warwick, Bevis of Southampton, and he thought

he saw his way to catch their attention and lead them on to better things. So after adding nearly half as much again, he decided to print. He did not put it into the hands of Smith, who handled his other books that year, and was equally ready to tell about strange monsters driven ashore; Smith had published Denne's book against him. Nathaniel Ponder had been concerned in getting a licence in 1672 for his friend George Cokayne of Cotton End, he was a member of the Stationers' Company while Smith was not, and he was one of the brotherhood of prisoners. It was, however, 22nd December, 1677, before Ponder paid his sixpence to register the copyright, and February, 1678, before *The Pilgrim's Progress* was advertised for sale at 1s. 6d. The other books published that Hilary Term show what London was then reading. The increasing influence of Catholicism is evinced by the advertisement immediately preceding Ponder's. A book by A. Varet on the *Christian Education of Children according to the instructions of the Fathers of the Church*, was translated from the French; Cardinal Bone's *Direction to Follow the Narrow Way to Bliss* came from the Latin, a remarkable counterpart to Bunyan; while Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* provided the counterblast. Of other allegories, there was the fifth edition of Keach's *War with the Devil*, with a new second part; also Balmford's *Navigation Spiritualized*, a poem directing every Christian how to steer the course of his life through all storms and tempests; this also was prefaced by Keach. The only other book by a Baptist was Richard Haines' *Proposals for building in every county, a working hospital to improve the trade in linen cloth*.

The book met a ready reception, and a second edition was called for the same year, which was enlarged and had its spelling revised. And Bunyan profited by the unexpected popularity, to entrust to a third publisher a new book, *Come and Welcome to Jesus Christ*. From this moment new editions and new books were rapidly absorbed; at one step the obscure mechanic had become a most popular

religious author, who rapidly vied with Keach in his appeal to the people. With the third edition, of 1679/80, he ceased to tinker with the original, and set himself to work the new vein in other directions. Not that he abandoned more direct appeals. In 1680 he put out a *Treatise of the Fear of God*, and also produced the *Life and Death of Mr. Badman*, which he seemed to have regarded as a deliberate contrast to the pilgrimage of Christian: but it is not allegorical; it is a pure romance, a perfectly credible biography of a bad Englishman; the sort of book Defoe turned out, crossed with the more pronounced religion of Keach in his *Dialogue between an Old Apostate*, 1676. Taking, therefore, another group of metaphors, Bunyan produced another magnificent allegory, *The Holy War, or the Losing and Taking again of the Town of Mansoul*. This came out in 1682, within fifteen years of *Paradise Lost*, and twelve years of *Paradise Regained*. There is a striking instance of the new standing Bunyan had attained; he was invited to preach at Pinners' Hall, the leading metropolitan meeting-place of the dissenters, to the Open-Membership church which had lately sent a pastor to Broadmead. The sermon was enlarged and issued by yet another publisher.

But his fame as a preacher was already overshadowed by his fame as an author. *The Pilgrim's Progress* was pirated in England and in New England, was translated into Dutch and French, and was read by Highlander and Irishman in their tongue. Because of its ambiguity and silence on certain topics dear to Baptists, T. S. undertook to complement it with a Second Part. And Keach did not fear to challenge direct comparison by his *Travels of True Godliness*, which indeed has run to nearly a score of editions. So while Bunyan continued putting out plain straightforward exhortations, cautions, resolutions of cases of conscience, he profited by the hint of T. S. and proceeded to sketch a more social type of religion in the pilgrimage of Christiana Mercy and the four boys, over the same ground as Christian, convoyed by Mr. Greatheart. It is

amusing to see that Keach followed on with *The Progress of Sin or the Travels of Ungodliness*, continuing that with *The Voyage of Ungodliness to Sea*; and delightful to notice that Bunyan replied by entering Keach's earlier preserve, with *A Book for Boys and Girls*. The mutual influence of these writers has escaped all recent notice, yet it can be shown that each took hints from the other, and each dealt with some of the same topics, as the Seventh-Day Sabbath. When Bunyan died in 1688, except that Keach had no version of his books into Dutch and Welsh, it might well be doubted which was the more popular author. But on the whole Keach dealt largely with the circumstances of their time; elegies on departed saints, poems on persecution and its cessation, the duty of paying ministers, proof that Rome was Mystery Babylon, were likely to sell then, but had little promise of permanence. Bunyan did put out some *Seasonable Council, Advice to Sufferers*, but rather dealt with permanent and fundamental problems.

One advantage Keach had, he was a Baptist to the core, and there was already a denominational *esprit de corps* that ensured a welcome for his writings. Bunyan took up a position that has always been too lofty for average human nature, being ready to own any man as brother who showed evidence of God's work in his soul. Except for the little group of churches around Bedford deliberately founded on this principle, he had to look far for any others of the same kind. Three churches in London have claimed that Bunyan preached there; they were frankly Pedobaptist, such as Cockayne's meeting in Red Cross Street, Owen's in White's Alley, both Independent, or the Presbyterian meeting of Chester in Southwark, opened a few months before his death. No proof has been offered to support their claims. The only two of which we have contemporary evidence were just like Bunyan's own church, holding both Baptist and Pedobaptist members. One was under Stephen More, who in 1672 took out a licence to preach at the house of Barnabas Bloxom in Winchester Yard, Southwark; it

was probably here that Charles Doe heard him in 1685. The other was under John Gamman, and met in Boar's Head Yard off Petticoat Lane; here Bunyan preached his last sermon in July, 1688. The difficulty of the position maintained by Bunyan is seen in the future of the only four churches which we know received his ministrations: those at Winchester Yard and Pinners' Hall died, the one in 1709, the other in 1779; those at Bedford and Boar's Head Yard in practice became Pedobaptist.

This involves that there was no denomination proud of him and eager to spread his fame. It was all earned by the sheer merit of his work; and by the work of his last ten years. Indeed, the splendour of his two great allegories and the depth of experience in about three other works, has buoyed up much which can find a place in collected editions of all his writings, but hardly bears the test of reprinting separately or of translation. A further consequence of Bunyan's aloofness, was that his popularity did nothing to advance the Baptist cause. And the same has to be said of the other great author of this time, John Milton. Thus the two greatest authors of this period, though both of them holding Baptist views, chose to hold aloof from all Baptist life. We may be proud of them to-day, but they were not proud of Baptists then, and the main body of Baptists then held no intercourse with them, and gained nothing from their lustre.

4. The Danger from Roman Catholicism.

The increase of popery is at this day no small trouble and offence to greatest part of the nation.

MILTON, 1673.

It is verily believed by some, that this Beast will die of his wounds.

BUNYAN, 1684.

The period of John Bunyan's fame is exactly the period when England became thoroughly aroused to the menace to its liberties from Roman Catholicism. The awaking

began in 1678 when Louis XIV. made peace with Holland, and set himself to unify his realm, especially in religion. The influence of Madame de Maintenon, though her father had been Huguenot, was cast entirely on the side of conversion to Catholicism. And from that moment dreadful tales came across the Channel of ministers shifted about, of Protestant temples walled up, of troops quartered on civilians, of charters ignored, of lawless arrests, of property destroyed and confiscated. For six years there was a gradually increasing flow of immigrants to England, bringing with them abundant evidence of the real danger to freedom in politics and in religion from the intolerance of Catholics. Among the earlier arrivals was Charles Maria de Veil, originally a Jew of Metz, who became a Catholic and won renown as an expositor of scriptures both in writing and in preaching, so that he became a D.D. of Anjou; invited to take part in the controversy with the Huguenots, he became convinced of their better foundation in truth, so that he was obliged to take refuge in England. Like many other exiles, he was generously received and introduced into the best circles; compatriots were in charge of ducal and episcopal libraries, and while his needs were met by an appointment as chaplain and tutor to a nobleman, he was encouraged to continue his expository work, a chancellor and a secretary of state accepting dedications. In the bishop of London's library he found some Baptist works, and also a Baptist housemaid who introduced him to Hanserd Knollys and John Gosnold. Before long he avowed another development, and published an exposition of the *Acts* which from his remarkable career had some special features of interest. De Veil was but one of thousands who now came across to intensify the English suspicion of Catholicism, and just as earlier arrivals had provided Chamberlen and Naudin so now the Guills were destined to provide a commentator even more ponderous than De Veil.

Now Charles and Louis had really agreed at Dover that Charles should declare himself Catholic at an opportune

time, and should be backed by French money and French soldiers. And James's wife had as her secretary a Jesuit Father, Coleman, who had been corresponding quite recently with the Jesuit Father La Chaise on similarly treasonable lines. Vague suspicions had long possessed the public, and a London rector who had done much to alarm the nation, hit on the idea of introducing a spy among the Jesuits. He found the man he wanted in Titus Oates, son of Samuel Oates, the General Baptist evangelist of the Midlands. Samuel had accepted the living of Hastings from the duke of York, thereby wrecking his honoured career. Though he afterwards repented, resigned and closed his life as a member of White's Alley church in London, he had started Titus at Merchant Taylors' school, whence he worked his way through Cambridge, took orders and held a few posts in Kent and Sussex, losing character in each. Titus pretended conversion to Rome, and was admitted to the College at Valladolid; though soon expelled he got into St. Omer for a few months. With a fragment or two of fact, he kneaded up in the London rectory a mass of fiction. The story as complete provided for another fire in London, another insurrection in Ireland, the assassination of Charles, the enthronement of James, arrival of French troops, massacre of Protestants as on the French Bartholomew Day. The murder of the magistrate before whom Oates had sworn to this tale, and the discovery of Coleman's treason, concentrated the attention of London on the "Popish Plot," and when Parliament met on 21st October, 1678, nothing else was attended to. Men of the informer type saw where money and influence were to be had, and other witnesses arose to back up the arch-spy and liar.

The Baptist printers seized the opportunity of the Licensing Act expiring; they at once dissociated their cause from the Catholics, with whom their fortunes had been so unfortunately entangled. Hills published a book to show that the alleged plot was only consistent with the steady policy of the Papists; Smith printed a parallel

with the plans of Haman and Guy Fawkes; then a more sober book by Jeremiah Ives showing up another informer, Robert Everard, whose changes of profession rivalled those of Oates himself; Smith also put out several satirical comments on the trials which at this time disgraced English justice. If Hanserd Knollys dealt more sanely by his expositions of *Revelation*, yet the other extreme was reached by Benjamin Harris. No longer content with sound theology, shorthand, cookery, books, astrology, the life and death of Mother Shipton, he got hold of a professional witness, captain Bedloe, and joined in publishing his statements as to arson in London. With July, 1679, he began a series of *Domestick Intelligence*, which, by 15th April, 1681, had issued one hundred and fourteen times. Next came *The Protestant Tutor*, a school-book, which involved him in a trial for sedition, from which he appealed to public opinion: and this he did his best to influence by an account of the shameful trial of Lord Stafford. With 1680, the furore was dying; Harris and Smith were put on trial again, and the former was condemned to the pillory with five hundred pounds fine, from which he appealed to the House of Lords.

Other Baptists, however, had a quiet time while the popular rage was turned elsewhere. The parliament which had done them so much harm, excluded from both houses all Catholics except the duke of York, and was at last dissolved because Danby was impeached for treason. A new parliament met in March, 1679, in a Protestant fury; before Charles dissolved it in May rather than exclude his brother from the throne, it passed the Habeas Corpus Act which ended all evasions as to trying prisoners, so that henceforth there could be no confinement by mere administrative order, such as had been inflicted on so many in the last eighteen years. The Earl of Shaftesbury now produced the definite plan of putting forward the duke of Monmouth, one of Charles's eighteen sons, as next heir to the Crown; and the question of his legitimacy became of the first

importance ; but Halifax preferred a plan to let James succeed under an Act restricting his power, and then enthrone his daughter Mary with her husband William of Orange. All through 1680 the country and parliament were discussing the two plans, and whether if Charles refused both, civil war would follow. From this the nation shrank, and Charles, who already had an army, as his father had not, revived the French policy, accepted more of Louis' gold, and dissolved a fourth parliament within nine days of convening it at Oxford. Strange to say, with all the talk of Popish Plots, the real agreements of Charles and Louis never leaked out, or Shaftesbury might have taken up the gauntlet with success.

As it was, he had thoroughly roused Charles, who from this moment acted most vigorously. He was independent of Parliament financially, and might again have relaxed the penal laws with impunity ; but it was the last thing he intended to do, for he found that the Protestant dissenters resented being grouped with the Catholics, even for a toleration ; and he knew that they had done next to nothing to secure fair play for the Catholics in the recent travesties of justice, while some of them had more than looked on with complacency. From this time his favours were reserved for Catholics alone, while his enmity was roused against Shaftesbury and all that party he had organized, nicknamed after the " Whey-faced " Covenanters, Whigs. Of the two historic parties which henceforth dominate English politics, the Whigs were somewhat sympathetic to Baptist principles, while the Tories linking Church and State were blind to some teachings of the New Testament.

5. The Revenge of Charles and James.

I remain the Lord's prisoner, and am ready further to bear my testimony for him against antichrist, the Pope and see of Rome.

JOHN GRIFFITH, 1683.

The Tories now had the royal support, and wherever any man chose to prosecute under the Conventicle Act

or any other, he was henceforth safe from interference by the Council. Thus there set in a furious persecution; informers were countenanced, the methods of Oates were copied and witnesses were imported from Ireland, coffee-houses were infested with spies. The administration of the law courts was overhauled as part of a thorough remodelling which began with London. This was the Whig stronghold close to the king, and there Shaftesbury kept himself safe to head the opposition. A good instance of its security is seen in that the Baptists dared hold an ordination service of minister and deacons, and Dr. Coxe dared publish the sermon he preached. It is remarkable that the only earlier cases known in London during this reign were also Baptist, Keach in 1668 and Dike in 1669; no pedobaptist ordination seems to have taken place till 1694.

The justices of Middlesex were most active in their work; but the London officials were most reluctant. Charles therefore manœuvred till he secured the election of Tory sheriffs, who would pack the jury-box and give any party verdict. Shaftesbury fled before they came into office, and this so strikingly evinced the advantage of the step taken, that it was followed up. An enquiry was made as to whether the charter of the city had been followed; or whether some powers had not been assumed illegally; rather than risk utter forfeiture, the officers surrendered the charter and accepted a new one, which reserved to the king far larger powers, especially of appointment or veto on appointment of all officers. The policy was extended steadily, and thus the king obtained immense patronage in all boroughs. He exercised this, made fresh appointments also to the commissions of the peace and the militia, till England was incapable of any constitutional resistance to his will.

While therefore in the earlier part of the year all seemed hopeful and peaceful, so that an Irish printer in London was issuing jointly with Keach a huge *Key to Scripture*

Metaphors in parts, he soon turned his attention to the city and published a volume covering its government, rights and privileges, while Keach put out some doggerel, *Groans of the Protestant Church*. While two or three churches began keeping minutes in what seemed the fair weather of spring, many more had soon to devote all their energies to keeping their doors open.

Many law-books came out, both pro and con., telling informers the numerous statutes that could be put in force, and magistrates the penalties that could be inflicted, but also challenging some of these statutes as obsolete, and telling how to insist on proof, how to obtain release. A good example was afforded by James Jones of Southwark, who to the outside world was a tailor, a coffee-house keeper, a citizen of London; and who to an inner circle was pastor of the largest Baptist church, so popular that people living out at Watford were glad to become members. He was attacked through the ecclesiastical court, so that he had to expect not only excommunication, which in itself merely ratified what he had chosen, separation from the Church of England, but also lodgement in a civil prison till he conformed. Jones, however, was rich enough to get good legal advice; he then published a guide to this law, and explained that there were methods of eluding the grasp of the law, especially that the writ *De Excommunicato Liberando* could be sued out, this being probably the very way Bunyan had been freed in 1677. In a word, if there were many Shylocks, there were also a few Portias; but unhappily, there were few just judges. In one London jail there met Francis Bampfield, the clergyman who had become a Seventh-Day Baptist, John Griffith the learned General Baptist Elder of Dunning's Alley, Delaune the school-master printer, who had rashly accepted a challenge from Benjamin Calamy, Hercules Collins, a pastor of Wapping, and Jeremy Marsden, the northern plotter. The first and the last died from the rigour of their life, but their fellow-sufferers survived to publish long narratives which

circulated in repeated editions. Smith boldly declared that he would never leave printing and writing till the kingdom was brought to a free state;* and this was met by committing him to Newgate on the charge that his defiance was high treason. All over the land the season of outrage, fine, distraint, prison, had come round again, and it was seldom that the story found its way into print.

It was only to be expected that a few should give way; two obtained some notoriety. Henry Hills indeed saw well which was the sunny side of the hedge, and swung right over to Catholicism, a case all but unique. John Child became a clergyman, but could not escape the pangs of conscience, and gave great horror to London by committing suicide.

Others took up the ground that if some one was to die, it had better be Charles. Three old Baptist soldiers gave the lead, Richard Rumbold, Thomas Walcot and Abraham Holmes; they remembered the plot to attack Cromwell as he came from Hampton Court to Whitehall, dispersing his guards, of whom Rumbold had been one, and slaying him. They persuaded themselves that Charles had outlawed himself and might be treated thus along with James. They designed to execute the plan near Rumbold's Rye House, on the road from Newmarket to town. The plot miscarried, Walcot paying the penalty, and there followed an outburst of loyalty towards Charles and of renewed persecution. Ormonde declared† that most, if not all, the meaner sort that were in the conspiracy were observed to be Anabaptists or Independents. But if this damaged the denomination, yet the judicial murders of Algernon Sidney and Lord John Russell convinced others that Rumbold and Holmes were on the right lines, and the malcontents clustered around the duke of Monmouth.

Charles felt so strong that he made preparations to fulfil his bargain with Louis. James was less politic, and

* *Ormonde MSS.*, vi, 35.

† *Ormonde MSS.*, vii, 65.

more revengeful: he sued Titus Oates for one hundred thousand pounds, won his case, and had the bankrupt imprisoned. Not content with that, he afterwards had him indicted for perjury, and a subservient judge passed a terrible sentence intended to take his life, which it failed to do. Charles dying, James pushed on with the plan of bringing England over to Catholicism, without any of the tact that his brother had constantly displayed. This gave the signal for the duke of Monmouth's supporters to appeal to arms, and the expedition landed near Lyme, where at once the Baptist pastor and several of his people joined. Their action was typical; the feeling against James and his religion was universal in the churches, and many of them contributed to the invading force. When therefore, it was defeated, the losses first by the troopers then by the assizes, wrought grave havoc. It was not only leaders like Rumbold who was captured in the Scotch expedition of Argyll, and Holmes who was taken after Sedgemoor; it was also the rank and file of the churches in Dorset and Somerset. The *Western Martyrology* gives abundant details, and a few cases have been immortalised by Macaulay, like the two Hewlings, grandchildren of Kiffin. But in the details it is easy to lose the broad outline. Quite apart from the massacres by "Kirke's Lambs" from Tangier, Jeffreys hanged seventy-four at Dorchester, two hundred and thirty-three in Somerset, and sent eight hundred and forty convicts to Barbadoes. Many formerly flourishing churches like Taunton, Lyme, Honiton, Dalwood, suffered most severely, as is seen sometimes in their records, but more often by the disappearance of all records. The vindictive spirit of James was shown in exacting the last penalty from Elizabeth Gaunt, who had but sheltered a fleeing rebel; that he should suffer her to be burned alive shocked opinion generally.

For two years nothing could be done but barely exist. It says something for Keach that even from prison he could send out to the press *The Victorious Christian, or the Trial*

of Faith. And the tenacity shown under such conditions had its reward. James saw that he could not force Romanism on the nation single-handed, even with an augmented army, with Irish recruits and Catholic officers. Because his cousin Louis XIV. had formally revoked the edict of Nantes which had protected three generations of Protestants in France, England now had tens of thousands who told what Catholic predominance meant; and hatred of the measures of James spread through all classes.

6. The Last Declaration of Indulgence.

You and we are brethren; we have indeed been angry brethren, but we have seen our folly.

BISHOP LLOYD.

The king changed his policy; instead of Romanizing the Established Church, he fell back on the earlier policy of Charles, to secure indulgence for all dissenters from the Established Church, Catholic and Protestant alike. And whereas in 1673 Parliament had enforced its view that a king could not dispense with penal laws, he secured a verdict from a full bench that he could. On the strength of this, in April, 1687, he issued a Declaration of Indulgence, suspending all laws against all dissenters, giving leave to Catholics and Nonconformists to worship in public; and dispensing with tests for office. Thus the situation of 1672 was reproduced, and again there was a division of opinion. Agents of the Court did their best to secure thanks from dissenters, which could be magnified or distorted into demonstrations of a general support to James. Sixty in all were obtained and were published, but it is significant that the editor of the Gazette dared not print the names of those who signed. The most reputable Baptists who did present an address were William Collins and Nehemiah Coxe of Petty France, Plant of Barbican, and Dennis of Bow; by this act these men appear to have forfeited their popularity with Baptists. On the other

hand, the venerable Kiffin joined with Joseph Stennett advising the churches everywhere to fulfil their duty to God by re-opening their meetings, but to give no thanks to James, whose motives deserved none, and whose action was illegal. This advice was generally taken, and 1687 is the first year of liberty, precarious though it was. Churches like Tiverton, which had suffered so badly in the last two years that even the church-book had been destroyed, triumphantly began another record.

The Church of England magnates now saw the advisability of courting dissent; it would be too curious if the corporations were to be purged of all Anglicans, with men like Kiffin and Bunyan put in as aldermen, or if dissenting sheriffs should empty the Oxford colleges. Letters were published suggesting that liberty would be secured better by an Act of Parliament than by a mere royal declaration; James drafted one to legalise his proclamation, churchmen drafted another which would relieve Protestants only.

The persecution was ended. Whatever might happen henceforth at special times, in obscure places, in unusual circumstances, the days of prison and fine were over. Against the worst that Presbyterians, Anglicans, Romanists could do for a generation, Baptists had maintained a footing. They more than existed, they still had the old ideals unchanged. Despite a few defections and weaknesses, the great mass stood firm in their allegiance, to God as they understood Him, to king and kingdom in so far as these seemed to embody His purposes. There were still men like Abbot and Smith, who were willing to serve the State were they allowed; there were still soldiers like Denne ready to uphold liberty; there were still evangelists like Grantham prepared to quit home and break new ground; there were still clothiers like Eckels of Bromsgrove or farmers like Lowe of Warrington, exercising pastoral care over widespread groups; there were still educated men like Maisters of Theobalds and Gifford of Bristol, giving their

whole time to the ministry and compelling respect by their attainments; there were still printers like Harris ready to risk liberty and wealth in spreading truth. Of those who used the press, not only were there veterans from the past, but they had trained others to follow. Chamberlen was still pushing his medical views, and though Coxe was relying less on print, William Russell was beginning to be known among a wider circle than apothecaries. From another doctor's family, Joseph Stennett was trying his hand at literary translations and original poems. Keach and Reeve were writing hymns to enrich public worship. Of controversial theologians there was no lack; Thomas Bampfield, Savage and Marlowe were discussing the Sabbath; Paye and Hicks were keeping up the contest with the Quakers; the stalwarts for believers' baptism included not only ministers like Keach and Collier, but Hercules Collins the pastor, and Charles Doe the comb-maker; orthodoxy within the denomination was championed not only by Joseph Wright the aged Messenger at Maidstone, but by Isaac Marlowe the London button-maker; plain edification was aimed at by men of the rank and file like Collins and Gammon, while Bunyan lived into the year of freedom, and no longer slipping in by back-doors disguised as a carter, found that at a day's notice large London meeting-houses would fill to hear him, and three publishers were issuing his books to meet a growing demand from every pedlar.

It is well said that the character of a denomination is to be estimated by its laymen; they are not only the great majority, but they show the kind of men to whom the ministers appeal. It is difficult to apply this test to this generation of Baptists, for every Baptist was a "layman" in the sense of this maxim; it is not certain that a single one of the few ex-clergy was set apart from all secular employment and devoted himself entirely to pastoral work; it is certain that the great majority of Baptist ministers earned their own living. Of one hundred and forty General

Baptist Elders who flourished in this period, we can trace the callings of forty : one was a gentleman of good estate, twelve were yeomen, three husbandmen, two labourers, three maltsters, one a thatcher, two blacksmiths ; two woolcombers, one weaver, one a fuller, one a tailor, one a shoe-maker ; one a bricklayer, one a carpenter, one a shipwright, one an ironmonger ; a shop-keeper ; a printer, a grocer, a baker, a butcher, and a barber-surgeon complete the list. If these were the pastors, presumably as well educated and as high in social standing as their flock, we may picture the general character of this side of the denomination. Nor is there reason to think that a close scrutiny into the Particular Baptists would show any great contrast. The doctrine of the priesthood of all believers was held most thoroughly, the churches called to the ministry any of their own number who seemed gifted. Under such leadership the churches had weathered the storm, and were now to face the more insidious danger of the doldrums.

7. Across the Atlantic.

The Dissenters have always held it a persecution if they had not liberty to persecute others, even those that come nearest to their principles.

DUKE OF ORMONDE, 1683.

The situation in the colonies was considerably different from that at home ; New England continued a vigorous persecution, every other colony obtained charters assuring religious liberty, so that Baptists secured a foothold there. This difference may be partly explained by the determination of Massachusetts to regulate its own affairs, independent of England, and by the counter-policy of the Stuarts to foster other colonies which should be more loyal ; thus the conduct of both sides shows political considerations outweighing religious, with the curious effect that the Stuarts appear the protectors of freedom of con-

science, the Pilgrims and Puritans its opponents. The political changes must therefore be outlined.

Rhode Island was the first colony to proclaim Charles as king, the Old Colony taking a year before it submitted. When English commissioners defined the boundaries, there were two or three emigrations of settlers who preferred not to pass under the yoke of Massachusetts and Connecticut, where the franchise was limited to members of the Standing Order churches. One convenient refuge was the Dutch colony captured in 1665 and re-named New York after the duke; for in his first laws he enacted that no one professing Christianity should "be molested, fined, or imprisoned for differing in judgment in matters of religion." Part of the territory, occupied chiefly by Swedes, was erected into a second colony named New Jersey, and sold to two proprietors, who in the same way conceded that every one who became a subject of England and swore allegiance to the king and fidelity to them, might "freely and fully have and enjoy his and their judgments and consciences in matters of religion throughout the said province." On the other hand, royal commissions sent to Boston in 1665 failed to uphold the royal authority, and were openly defied. The next great stretch of coast was not yet opened for settlement; its history begins with William Penn. Maryland offered an asylum, but no Baptists cared to seek it. Virginia was loyal enough, but in 1662 passed a law fining every one who would not have his child baptized, 2,000 lbs. of tobacco; so there was no attraction to the Old Dominion. But further to the south some lords proprietors including Clarendon and Ashley, founded a new colony, the Carolinas, for which John Locke drafted the fundamental constitution, so that it offered full religious liberty.

Now the initiative for this came from Rhode Island. We have seen that from the first it was agreed by all the colonists there that freedom of conscience was absolute. In 1661 a general assembly commissioned John Clarke

the Baptist physician to procure a charter from Charles, representing to the king "that a most flourishing civil state may stand and best be maintained, and that among our English subjects, with a full liberty in religious concerns."* Charles assented, and gave a charter so liberal that the colony was content with it till 1813. The services of Clarke were recognized by the assembly putting him at the head of a committee to revise the laws in conformity to the charter, and to codify them.

During his long absence in England, the local leader had been William Wickenden, a cobbler. He had linked together all outlying Baptists, had evangelized on Long Island and in New Amsterdam, where the Dutch governor had opposed his work. Under the duke of York's charter he was not molested, and he continued to set forth Baptist principles in New York till his death in 1669. Sixteen Baptist families settled on Block Island, where worship was held in their homes for more than a century before a church was formally organized.

The persecution at home caused a renewal of emigration. John Miles of Swansea came out with a large part of his church, bringing even the minute-book. They settled in the Old Colony, going first to that Seekonk whence Winslow had asked Williams to go away, where Bradford had driven out another group of Baptists. The tradition was kept up; the town was indeed named Rehoboth, but there was no room for them, and in 1667 the governor and assistants, bearing such names as Alden, Winslow, Bradford, fined them and ordered them to desist from public meeting. Yet they were so far ashamed that they offered leave for worship if the Baptists would go away and make a new settlement. This they did, and named it Swanzey.

For this outbreak of intolerance, the example had been set in Massachusetts. Baptists from Stead's church at Dartmouth and Kiffin's church at London, encouraged

* Backus, *History of New England*, i, 348.

others whom they found in and near Boston, proclaimed their principles, baptized four more in 1665, and at once constituted a Baptist church. They were promptly called to account, and so they presented a confession to the court of Assistants; exception was taken only to one clause, that "those who gladly receive the word and are baptized, are saints by calling and fit matter for a visible church." Now without any Baptist prompting, there had been much heart-searching among the Puritans on the question of church-membership and baptism; an elaborate discussion had taken place between divines in 1657, when they found innumerable difficulties arise as to people baptized in infancy, who were hardly desirous of church-membership and did not seem fit for it; yet it seemed axiomatic with them that infant baptism was to be retained. The General Court was so perplexed with this, for the political franchise depended on church-membership, that the question was propounded officially to another assembly five years later, Who are the subjects of baptism? and not one replied, Believers. Therefore it took thousands of words to state and explain their answer, and as some dissented, they were reminded in 1664 that their principles gave "great advantages to the Antipedobaptists, which if we be silent, will tend much to their encouragement and encrease, to the hazard of our churches."* So Massachusetts adopted the Halfway Covenant, and as soon as the royal commissioners left, settled down to persecute all dissenters. The Baptists were fined and imprisoned, though a sentence of banishment was not enforced, perhaps owing to strong remonstrance from Independents in England. On release, they settled down on an island in Boston harbour, and resumed worship in a home there. For absence from public worship they were repeatedly fined, and in an Indian war one of them who raised a force was at first denied a commission because most of them were

* Walker, *Creeeds and Platforms of Congregationalism*, note on page 249. The discussion occupies pages 238 to 339.

Baptists: afterwards the need was so great that he was commissioned, came to be commander-in-chief, broke the rising and died in the victory. The church bought from two of its members a house erected on the mainland and prepared to use it for worship, but a new law was hastily enacted to forbid, Charles sent orders to allow liberty of conscience, ten years later, but when they opened the doors, the Court nailed them up. On reflection however, the nails were drawn ten days later, and John Russell the pastor had the pleasure at last of conducting worship openly. It is not to be wondered at that conduct of this sort contributed to the forfeiture of the Massachusetts charter four years later, and the appointment of a royal governor. But the atmosphere was so hostile that no second church arose on the Bay for a generation. Some emigrants from Somerton in Somersetshire organized a church in Maine, but were fined and imprisoned, so that they soon left the jurisdiction of Massachusetts.

They made their way to Carolina, where they joined another party direct from England, including the widowed lady Axtell and her daughter, both ardent Baptists. While many lived at a new Somerton, they arranged regular worship in Charlestown, where they were apparently the first to erect a meeting-house. They were reinforced by a third group from the north of England about 1686, and thus the church at Charlestown became strong. It was served till 1713 by William Screven, apparently son of the man who in 1656 had signed the Somerset confession drawn up by Collier.

When William Penn opened his new province for settlement, imitating the general example of offering freedom of conscience, several Baptists seized the opportunity. One group came from Ireland under Thomas Dungan, and planted a church at Cold Spring, a site deserted in later times; another settled at Lower Dublin, now within the limits of Philadelphia City. But this was at the close of

our period ; the great emigration from Ireland and Wales, and the guidance of Elias Keach came rather later.

Meantime the amorphous church in Rhode Island calling itself after Newport, with members dotted all over the neighbourhood, had divided in many ways. Geographically, North Kingston and Tiverton became new centres, but there were more serious divisions, referring to matters of practice rather than of doctrine. For example, some emigrants from Tewkesbury were attracted to the Seventh-day, and it was found to make for peace if they organized into a separate church in 1671, even although Newport thus had the spectacle of three different Baptist churches in the town. While in England there was no future for this type, it has been widely different in America. Then James Rogers of New London in Connecticut invited one of the Seventh-day preachers over, and his visit proved to be the beginning of a sub-sect, the Rogerenes, who had views akin to the Friends, with a distrust of all medicine, though they were glad to enlist the political help of Dr. Chamberlen when they were persecuted by the Connecticut authorities.

From this sight of division, it is pleasant to look at the work done among the natives. The precedent set by Roger Williams was faithfully followed, and even when one Baptist of Massachusetts was fighting in an Indian war, others of Rhode Island were doing missionary work. This resulted later on in a church at Chilmark on Nantucket Island, which outgrew the stage when Peter Folger was missionary, and had a succession of native pastors. But the race was doomed, and the Baptist church died out with it, next century.

On the islands not adjoining the mainland, Newfoundland, the Bermudas, the Bahamas, Barbados, Jamaica, there was no Baptist church. Only in Barbados were there even any Baptists, and as they had been brought prisoners, they had no opportunity for extension.

The proceedings in Massachusetts re-acted on England, and the correspondence gives a curious side-light on con-

ditions here in the midst of persecution. Robert Mascall, an Independent of Finsbury, wrote to New England about the Baptists:—"We here do love and honour them, hold familiarity with them, and take sweet counsel together; they lie in the bosom of Christ, and therefore ought to be laid in our bosoms. In a word, we freely admit them into churches; few of our churches, but many of our members, are Anabaptists." That statement can easily be illustrated in the next period by four or five churches, including that which met in Pinners' Hall, the property of its Baptist member, Thomas Hollis: and Mascall implies that it was rather common about 1670. He further suggested that Baptists might "be a means to preserve your churches from apostasy, and provoke them to their primitive purity." But this was by no means the New England view, and when the Indian war of 1676 drove the Massachusetts to self-examination, and the General Court "ordered" the churches to send to a synod, it was solemnly declared that "such Anabaptists as have risen up amongst us, in opposition to the churches of the Lord Jesus, receiving into their Society those that have been for scandal delivered unto Satan, . . . do no better than set up an altar against the Lord's altar." They considered Baptists as one of "the evils that have provoked the Lord to bring His judgments on New England."

This period thus closes with a dozen Baptist churches on all the Atlantic coast, with four types of doctrine, and no cohesion. To outward appearance there was less promise of any future than in the mother-country; but outside Virginia and New England there was freedom, in religion as in politics, in practice and not only in theory.

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NOTE.

BAPTISTS IN THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH.

In the years 1659-1662 there were two great changes in the staff of the Church of England ; first, any clergy who had been removed without authority from the king, returned to their posts, turning out any one they found there ; second, new and stringent conditions of continuing in such posts were enacted, and all who would not comply had to leave. It may be worth while indicating how, and to what extent, Baptists were affected.

In Ireland two clergy in episcopal orders, who had become Baptist, Blackwood and Benjamin Cox, occupied posts at Dublin cathedral, to the scandal of English Baptists. They had to retire at the Restoration. So too with Thomas Patient, but he is said only to have been a New England minister.

Wales had been largely served by itinerant ministers, several of whom had settled down to a fixed parish. In either capacity they had no standing under the legal system. The itinerants ended their public work in 1660 ; the stationed ministers, if they had not to give way to any predecessor, might hang on two years longer. Among the scores of men thus affected were some Baptists :—Evan Bowen, David Davies, John Edwards, Thomas Evans, Jenkin Jones, Morgan Jones, Thomas Joseph, John Miles, Walter Milman (schoolmaster only), Vavasor Powell, Walter Prosser, Thomas Proud, Howell Thomas, William Thomas. No one of these had received Episcopal ordination.

In England, four clergy who had become Baptist, were holding livings or lectureships ; Dike, Gibbs, Jessey, Tombes ; they retired in 1660. It is not quite clear whether the following men were in orders, and whether they were Baptist : John Donne, Benjamin Flower, Paul Frewen, George Martyn, John Skinner, Thomas Tregoss : they all retired in 1662. Three men retired in 1660 who certainly were not in orders, Paul Hobson from a fellowship at Eton, Isaac Lamb from a navy chaplaincy, his son from an army chaplaincy.

Thus all told there were not more than thirty Baptists who were drawing public money for religious work ; of these about a dozen may have been clergy. It will be seen that Bartholomew's Day had scarcely anything to do with Baptists.

It may be well to expose a common fallacy about the Five Mile Act, namely that it forbade meeting-houses to be built within five miles of a town. This is understood further to imply that they might be built further away ; whereas until 1689 the existence of a meeting-house anywhere was illegal. The Five Mile Act related to the residence of the ex-clergy who refused to take certain oaths. Tombes did take them, and lived for the rest of his life in a city : the act did not touch twelve Baptists.

TOLERATION AND INTERNAL PROBLEMS, 1687-1714.

Those persons shall be most esteemed by us, and reckoned most honourable amongst us, that lay out themselves most for Christ and the good of souls, and are most exemplary, for humility and piety, however otherwise inferior in natural and acquired parts.

LANCASHIRE AND YORKSHIRE ASSOCIATION,
1695.

THE ANGLICAN REBELLION AND THE TOLERATION ACT.
GENERAL BAPTIST DECAY AND DIVISION.
PARTICULAR BAPTIST RELUCTANCE TO ORGANIZE.
EDUCATION.
WORSHIP, CONGREGATIONAL SINGING OF HYMNS.
THE COLONIES ; PENNSYLVANIA AND NEW JERSEY.

LEADING DATES.

1689. G.B. Assemblies resumed.
P.B. Convention endorses confession of 1677.
1691. Death of Smith and Knollys.
First hymn book, Keach.
1692. Death of Collier and Grantham.
Joseph Davis' Trust.
Bunyan's *Works*.
1695. Western Association reorganized.
First meeting-house in Wales.
Lincoln G.B. Association.
1696. Yorks. and Lancs. Association.
Seventh-Day Association, R.I.
First G.B. disruption.
1699. Death of Elias Keach.
Portsmouth disputation.
Pierce Johns' Trust.
1700. Death of Abbot.
1701. Welsh Association separates from Western.
Welsh to Delaware.
Death of Kiffin and Russell.
1702. G.B. mission to Carolina.
1704. Death of Keach.
1705. Last Baptist newspaper dies.
G.B. second disruption.
Six-Principle Association, R.I.
Death of Mitchell at Bradford.
1707. Philadelphia Association.
1711. Great Valley Church, Pa.
Gale's *Reflections* on Wall.
1712. G.B. Church in New York.
1713. Death of Joseph Stennett I.
1714. Death of Caffin.

CHAPTER V.

TOLERATION AND INTERNAL PROBLEMS.

FOR the next generation, Baptist life was still strongly influenced by the general home politics; but Baptists were no longer an important factor, the leading part among dissenters being played by the Presbyterians, till, except in education, they sank nearly to the Baptist level of insignificance. There was a wave of tolerance under William III., a trough of intolerance under Anne, before the calm and almost death of the early Georges. But from the start it was clear that Baptists were now in a backwater, well off the main channel of national life. Whether in State Papers or in private correspondence, they simply disappear henceforward, or at most appear as obscure satellites, to be discerned occasionally, among the "Dissenters."

As to internal development. It was in this period that a tendency of the General Baptists to a weak Christology became very pronounced; that the Particular Baptists faced the question of organization, and evaded it; that education was considered, and neglected. The one bright spot is the growth of a new element in worship, the singing by the congregation of original hymns, which had hitherto not been done in England; Baptists led the way from versified psalms, to new compositions, partly experimental, chiefly doctrinal. In the matter of extension, there is more to record; evangelists ranged over the Pennines and gathered many communities who were all won to Baptist principles. Across in America, emigrants from Wales and from Ireland settled three new districts, and a strong Association was formed at Philadelphia on a Calvinistic basis.

i. The Anglican Rebellion and the Toleration Act.

*How safe is treason and how sacred ill
Where none can sin against the people's will.
Where crowds can wink, and no offence be known,
Since in another's guilt they find their own.*

DRYDEN.

In April, 1687, James issued his Declaration of Indulgence to all. It quickly became manifest that he was not content to secure liberty to Catholics, he was determined to withhold it from Anglicans. In this he did but follow the policy of the Jesuits, who then swayed both him and his cousin Louis, though the papal Curia was more diplomatic.

When a monk was forced upon the University of Cambridge, crypto-Catholics into one or two sees, when Magdalen College at Oxford was emptied of its fellows and converted into a Jesuit seminary, then the High Church men began to reconsider their doctrine of non-resistance. James foolishly provoked them by re-publishing his Declaration, and in May, 1688, ordered every clergyman to read it publicly in church for two Sundays. Disobedience was general, a trial of seven bishops for a protest resulted in their acquittal in a furore of approval from London and even from the army. The birth of a son to James, with the prospect of a line of Catholic sovereigns, led to seven great statesmen inviting William of Orange to come and maintain the liberties of England. The accidents of the wind brought him into the same West Country where Monmouth had been followed by the peasantry. He was joined by them again, and presently by the gentry and nobility; bishops spoke plain truths to the face of the king, the militia refused to fight, except against the garrisons of James, the regular army was deserted by many of its officers, the Court by the Princess Anne and her husband; bishops adhered to the Prince and countenanced the spontaneous rebellion in every part of the country, Oxford welcomed the invading army. James fled the

country ; another Convention Parliament offered the throne to William and Mary, and this rebellion was successful as the Glorious Revolution.

Baptists took no conspicuous part in this, which was the work of the whole nation. There certainly were a few old Commonwealth officers still able to turn out, but they were as the fine dust in the balance. Nor do we even hear of any Baptist address presented to William, though the Nonconformist ministers in and around London both presented and published theirs. This apathy is a somewhat significant indication how public spirit had already been suppressed among Baptists, how the policy of repression had already wrought, and attention was narrowed down to the material things of physical existence and the spiritual things of eternal life, excluding nearly all thought of the Kingdom of God on earth.

The parliamentary settlement decided that from all active participation in this last, they must remain excluded. The relief which was given was indeed of the slightest. Not a single penal act was repealed or even amended. But provided a man would publicly take certain oaths, he was exempted from all penalties for breach of the law, and from all prosecution in ecclesiastical courts ; preachers must sign most of the thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. Refusal to take the oaths when officially tendered, was itself made an offence with heavy penalties. But there was one remarkable extension, intended chiefly for Quakers, yet equally available for Baptists ; if a man scrupled the taking of any oath, he was required only to make one political declaration, to profess faith in the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, and to acknowledge the Scriptures as of divine inspiration. Public worship was authorised if the place was certified to the bishop or to quarter sessions, and if the doors were not fastened at any time during the worship.

Such was the meagre measure of toleration given by the Act. Every position of vantage was retained for the

Anglican ; Army, Navy, Church, Bar and the Universities were his preserves. The dissenter must be content with religious freedom being conceded on conditions, but with no scope in civil affairs beyond some "parochial or ward office." And the ecclesiastical courts were expressly allowed to enforce the payment of tithes and of other parochial dues, as of all duties to church and minister.

One point deserves notice, for it is frequently misstated to-day, as it was misunderstood at first. There was no licence needed for any preacher, nor for any place, as in the plan of Charles. A preacher was entitled to make certain declarations or take certain oaths, to have the fact recorded in court, and to claim a copy of the record. A single man was entitled to register any building that he controlled, as a place of worship for Protestant Dissenters, and to claim a copy of the official record that he had presented his certificate. No bench of magistrates had power to refuse hearing the oaths, receiving the certificate, or issuing a copy of the record. In a few cases where they did so refuse, a writ of *mandamus* brought them to their bearings.

It was under such conditions that Baptists had to live till 1812 ; although in practice a wider measure of liberty was often assumed and winked at, yet at any moment the letter of the law could be invoked. And in 1757 there was actually a new restriction, compelling all marriages to be celebrated at the parish church. Until then Baptists often married in their own homes or in the meeting-houses that presently came to be erected. Only in 1828 were civil offices opened to dissenters, though the universities were closed for another generation.

Thus the boundaries within which dissent had to remain were strait. On two or three occasions it will be needful to notice unsuccessful attempts to widen them. But their existence explains how Baptists with their friends had henceforth a history which rarely touches and scarcely ever influences the course of national history. The one

gain that was secured was almost accidental; the Act licensing the press expired and was not renewed. Henceforth a man was free to write and to print what he chose. But the days of Tract Societies were not yet.

2. General Baptist Decay and Division.

A Paper was delivered to this Assembly, Setting forth the great Decay Sinking and Languishing Condition all the Churches in Kent.

ASSEMBLY, 1704.

In the earlier and smaller body of Baptists, there were several stalwart leaders, who all did well in conserving their churches throughout the country. But no one had sufficient vision to see that new times demanded new methods; that evangelism must be continued in some shape, that existing churches must be provided with regular meeting-houses, that arrangements must be made for a permanent ministry.

Of the older generation, John Cox continued to work in Yorkshire and Nottingham; but nothing lasting resulted from his labours. Round Worcester, Leominster, Warwick, William Pardoe resumed itinerancy when freed from prison; but the population was so thin that his sheep seem to have joined Particular Baptist flocks when he ceased to shepherd them. In between, there arose at the brine-pits of Nantwich a strong leader in Samuel Acton, who built up a church to which Milton's widow returned and in communion with which she ended her days. Acton was rich enough from his salt-works to publish several sermons and acquire a London reputation; he also was a nucleus around which grew up other General Baptist churches in Cheshire and Staffordshire; but all these minor groups were content to worship in private dwellings, and have faded away leaving no trace. Acton himself seems to have encouraged young men to study, and to enlist them into the ministry: Isaac Kimber is the best example, and he was called to aid at the important London church in Paul's Alley, Barbican, between which

and Nantwich many members were transferred. Round Northamptonshire Francis Stanley took the lead, but here again we find groups of people content to meet in farmhouses for mutual edification, with the minimum of organization. Whenever we do come across a minute-book, we find no outlook for the future, nothing to enlist the energy of the young; the leaders ventured into print only with funeral sermons and controversial pamphlets on baptism.

Lincolnshire was another stronghold, and here two men stand out a little more clearly. Thomas Grantham did not rest on his laurels after publishing his great book on primitive Christianity, but in 1687 put out an appeal to rally the churches, with a brief catechism of the Six Principles, and a reply to a pedobaptist book. He laid his finger on the ultra-Calvinist weakness of condemning all unbaptized infants, and found himself drawn into a many-sided debate on kindred points. His closing years were spent in Norwich, where he took charge of the General Baptist church, and won the esteem of a clergyman who desired to be buried in his tomb. It would appear that with him passed away in 1693 one of the great unifying forces. In Lincolnshire his mantle fell on Joseph Hooke of Hackenby, who was soon appointed Messenger to superintend all local work, and whose influence steadily increased. But he kept the churches distinctly on the primitive lines of the seventeenth century, upholding the old doctrines, the old customs such as feet-washing, the old tabus such as abstinence from blood. The best thing was that the churches drew together in 1695 to found or re-found a Lincolnshire Association, which met annually in the city, and so preserved the little groups from utter quiescence. This encouraged occasional reprints, and supported rare manifestoes, but seems to have seen no need for any forward policy or anything but mere conservation of what existed.*

* All Baptist progress in Lincolnshire has been carefully investigated by A. S. Langley, F.R.Hist.S., whose results may be expected shortly.

Of the Essex and Cambridge groups there is nothing to record. Burnham had a couple of Elders who at the end of the century flit across the scene, Fenstanton and Warboys stagnated. In Herts and Bucks there was more life, but on the whole this was thrown into a successful struggle to prevent an insidious leaven corrupting the churches. We are fortunate in having a minute-book of the church at Cudington or Ford which gives a graphic picture of a vigorous church here. Regular meetings were held to plan the services and allot the preachers to the various villages; ministers were censured for taking the oaths instead of claiming the wider liberty available; funds were raised to support the travelling evangelist or Messenger; discipline was exercised with people who drank, exceeded their rights of wood-logging, absented themselves from meeting, refused to contribute to expenses, danced, attended town feasts. Three typical points emerge: endogamy was strongly advised, and any member who married out of communion was promptly suspended. This was general throughout the denomination, so that the Association and Assembly meetings became great opportunities for match-making, and sometimes a name current in one county becomes suddenly known in another. Secondly, as Baptist life was so compressed, and no public career was open, the range of church-life was very narrow, and again and again some one man would tyrannize over a church, or if he were of more than ordinary ability, over a countryside. Church-books reveal many a Diotrephes. Thirdly, churches which depended on voluntary loans of farm-houses for worship, were in a most precarious condition. In one case this led by a curious train of reasoning to a meeting-house. Since the Conventicle Act provided a large fine for the inhabitant who housed a conventicle, several farmers closed their doors after suffering heavily. At Amersham before 1677 they had bought ground for burial, and they now erected a house on it for meeting, in which nobody lived. They were aiming only at eluding

the fine on a resident, but by accident they ensured their permanence. A few other churches before 1715 for various motives did erect special houses, but they were decidedly the exception among the General Baptists.

In the west country there was a rather unusual development. Whereas in Bucks the influence of Benjamin Keach was constant towards Calvinism, so that more than one church was swung over, there was a contrary current in Gloucester and Wiltshire, to which Collier would seem to have contributed. A confession of 1691 was ambiguous, and soon afterwards there were churches at the hamlets of Downton, Wrington, etc., which entered into relations with the General Assembly. Benjamin Miller, a substantial farmer, was leader in this district. The London Particular Baptists were surprised, and sent deputations to stem the tide, but those did not succeed in reclaiming the few who had quitted the Calvinistic Western Association.

While Bristol was one focus of the denominational life, especially for the Particulars, London was, of course, the other; and here the General churches had drawn together in a very intimate union, so that at one time they almost anticipated the Wesleyan plan of circuit life with very little congregational home-rule. But this was effectually checked by doctrinal dissension which must be separately noticed. Not a single London church secured a freehold building, but there were seven or eight meeting-houses appropriated for public worship under leases. Five men may be named who illustrate the best that could arise under the conditions of this time.

William Russell was a doctor of medicine, having apparently earned his degree at Leyden. Just as Chamberlen disappeared from the stage, he came forward to uphold the medical tradition; and if Chamberlen had his family secret instrument, Russell also had his secret powder, which was vigorously advertised. He was originally a member of Glasshouse Yard, but soon after Jeremy Ives died, he was ministering to a church in Dean Street,

which he afterwards removed to High Hall near Smithfield. He was head and shoulders above his Baptist contemporaries for learning, so that when a dispute as to baptism arose in 1698 at Portsmouth between the Presbyterians and the General Baptists, Farmer Bowes invited Russell to champion the cause. The debate was formally licensed, and superintended by the Governor, each side publishing an account from the shorthand of the town clerk and a Southampton Baptist. This involved him in various controversies as to baptism, which occupied him the four remaining years of his life. He seems to have won to the Baptists another doctor, Joseph Jackson, but he was succeeded in the pastorate by quite another type of man, a ribbon-weaver, Joseph Jenkins.

This Elder was unable to maintain his footing at High Hall, so amalgamated the church with another which met at the Park in Southwark. This was one of the five churches enriched by Pierce Johns, a Cornish sea-captain, with an endowment, which for good and for evil has gravely affected the fortunes of the London churches for two hundred and twenty years, causing the artificial prolongation of moribund causes, the grafting of one church on to another, the tiding a congregation through hard times till it could be transplanted to bloom elsewhere. Jenkins was a fair specimen of the London General Baptist Elder, others being a butcher, two tailors, a shoe-maker.

A deacon of one of these churches, James Richardson, was a remarkable combination of the antiquary and the man of affairs. He gathered up many records of the past, made a fair copy, and presented the volume to the General Assembly, which thereupon made him Scribe or minute-secretary. He did the same work for the Kentish Association, which rewarded him by ordaining him Messenger to superintend progress in the county. On the strength of this he sought to join a Baptist Fraternal a few years later, but the ministers after consideration declined on the ground that he never was pastor of any one church. Here is a sign

of a growing caste feeling, strengthened by their contact with Presbyterians and Independents; also a sign that the Messenger was becoming more of a superintendent of existing churches than a founder of new.

The General Baptist Seventh-day church attracted one or two exceptional men. Not only did it gain Joseph Davis from the Oxford-Buckingham district, who ensured its permanence by building a meeting-house in Mill Yard and endowing it with the manor of Little Maplestead, once the property of the Templars, boasting a circular church, of which Baptists have been patrons till this century; it was the spiritual home of Nathan Bailey, who kept a boarding-school at Stepney, and was the first to publish a good series of English lexicons, with other learned books.

When we pass from London southwards, we find one man who, by the influence of a life abnormally prolonged, affected deeply and permanently the General Baptist churches in Kent and Sussex. Matthew Caffin was born in 1628 and was therefore able to be at Oxford in the early days of the civil war, though he was imprisoned and expelled about 1645, apparently for doctrinal views. He settled as tenant-farmer at Southwater near Horsham, where he joined a General Baptist church under Samuel Lover, to whom he was soon appointed coadjutor. His energy was great in evangelising, and many little churches arose, looking up to him. At the Assembly of churches of which he became storm-centre for sixty years, he appeared at the earliest meeting known, in 1654, and next year showed his quality by opposing the Quakers in speech and in print. In 1656 some one at the Assembly started the question, How is Jesus Christ David's root and offspring? And Caffin seems to have become fascinated by it till all his thinking was focussed upon it. In 1660 there are clear signs of a difference of opinion, and a compromise in the mere quotation of texts without any re-statement in current English, such as is abundant in nearly every other clause. And in Grantham's book of 1678, he says

that it was not above thirty years since dangerous opinions on this point were exposed; this appears to show that Caffin brought them down from Oxford, though it may be that Grantham was referring only to John Bidle and John Fry. Caffin seems not to have followed them in their Polish Socinianism, but to have got hold of Hoffmann's Anabaptist books; and to have adopted his opinion that the flesh of Jesus passed through Mary "as water through a pipe." Grantham found speculation on this point so rife in General Baptist circles that he devoted many pages to a statement of the usual views, with a catena of authorities. Outside Sussex and Kent, Caffin had no influence; the churches of Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, Buckingham and Oxford united in 1677 to publish a most elaborate confession, which tempted Caffin to the retort that it were wise not to go beyond what is written. And even in Kent Joseph Wright of Maidstone withstood him, so that local ruptures took place in 1677. The tension became great in the whole of the denomination, and the question arose whether unity or orthodoxy were to be preferred. It was again proposed to take refuge in mere words of Scripture, evading all reference to the point in dispute, and the Six Principles of *Hebrews 6* became favourites for this purpose. But in 1693 the northerners obtained a unanimous condemnation of Hoffmann's views, and a series of manœuvres comes to light to save Caffin from personal censure. In three years there was a disruption, when the majority spoke out plainly, and the minority decided to use none but Scripture terms. It is a curious anticipation of the better-known incident at Salters' Hall in 1719, concerning a wider circle.

In 1704 there was a reconciliation, and the united Assembly decided that no one should sit who would not sign the terms of agreement. This led to the friends of Caffin retiring by 1708, and to the Kent Association deciding to adhere to the Six Principles and the Declaration of 1660. Thus the question of Freedom of conscience became entangled with the question of Contending for the

truth; and there was much bewilderment for awhile. Nearly half the General Baptists refused to face the new question raised, and took their stand on the past. When the same question had emerged elsewhere, John Hursthouse of Boston wrote in 1719 on the lawfulness of making and imposing creeds. Citing his own action in the Assemblies of 1706 and 1712, he stated the position of the majority thus: It's lawful to Compose Creeds, or Confessions of Faith, in other than Scripture Words, while we retain the true Sence of those Oracles of God. But on the further question, while disclaiming any imposition on infidels, heretics, apostates, and weak believers, yet if a man "will oppose and contradict our Confessions of Faith, and maintain a contrary Faith, which we believe to be false, and dishonourable to God, and dangerous to the Souls of Men; this is not to be allowed, this must not be tolerated, etc." He carried the war into their camp, and charged them with being creed-makers: "If any shall . . . introduce a Negative Faith in opposition to ours; I hope they will not so far impose upon our Consciences, so as to constrain us to unite in Church-Fellowship with such Persons." And to his discussion he added a Reply to a Socinian Paper.

The division destroyed the chance of General Baptists exerting any influence, and when in 1731 the two rival Assemblies did unite, with grave misgivings on the part of the Midland and Lincolnshire men, their attention was drawn too much to the past, in which they forgot its finest ideals, while to the new needs of the new age they proved blind.

3. Particular Baptist Reluctance to Organize.

Messengers assembled are not intrusted with any church-power properly so-called; or with any jurisdiction over the churches, themselves, to exercise any censures either over any churches or persons; or to impose their determination on the churches or officers.

CONFESSION OF 1677.

The freedom of 1687, legally secured by the Revolution, came to a wearied generation, inclined to acquiesce in

nearly any settlement that would simply give peace. Fortunately there were a few heroes of the dying age, who saw the political mistake of 1660 in restoring Charles at any price, and decided that this opportunity of securing the gains of the past in church experience should not pass unnoticed. They recalled the plans laid in 1675, the revision of the Westminster Confession published in 1677, and decided to revive these. So a second edition of the Confession was published in 1688, and an invitation was issued to all churches who approved it to send pastor and representatives to a meeting in London next year. For ten days in September there sat delegates from ninety-four churches, who brought also letters from seven or eight more. It was, of course, not to be expected that distant parts would send many, but even so, two men from Northumberland, two from Durham, one from Lancashire, representing three churches all told, gave a wrong impression as to Baptist interest in the north; one man from Cornwall hardly did justice to that duchy; Wales had more churches than Swansea. The scant attendance from such parts is one of many signs that a general convention did not appeal very deeply, and that associations covering roughly a county sufficed for most. Devon, Dorset, Wilts, Somerset and Gloucester proved to be well studded with churches, and this fact was of great importance in the next few years. Welshmen were already taking possession of England, especially in the borders of Monmouth, Hereford and Gloucester. As the meeting was held in London, the Home Counties might have been well represented, yet Essex, Bedford, Bucks, Surrey sent from only two churches each. And in the metropolis itself, only eleven appeared. One great church which began in 1642 and had enjoyed the ministry of Daniel King and of James Jones, seems to have died, or perhaps to have been absorbed by Keach's newer church in Horsley Down. The important church which from the Glass House had sent out the call of 1655 to organize, signed by Peter Scutt, also seems to have

succumbed, after enjoying the ministry of Drapes, Vernon the cavalry-man, and Joseph Morton. The church at Paul's Alley desired to keep neutral as to final perseverance and election, and therefore sent neither to this convention nor to the established Assembly of the General Baptists. The Seventh-day Calvinist church long fostered by Belcher put in no appearance, nor the other founded by Bampffield, for the churches observing the Saturday were considering a separate organization ; this, however, came to nothing ; and by the end of the century there seem to have been only three left in the kingdom. Lawrence Wise's church had died with him ; de Veil's church seemed in the last throes. The open membership churches of Jessey, Wavel, Gammon were not represented. On the other hand, Richard Adams, a pupil of Tombes, who had been keeping school in Leicestershire, and then had shepherded a Fifth-Monarchy church in Southwark, had been called to help the General Baptist Church of Shad Thames, and he came with two other members to this Particular Baptist assembly : the incident was never repeated, for he soon crossed the river to help Kiffin, and the church reverted to its old friends.

After deciding that the question of strict or mixed communion should be left open for each church to decide, and that all resolutions should be backed with Scripture and then tendered only as advice, it was agreed to invite penny-a-week subscriptions towards a common fund. This was to supplement the stipends of ministers, for ministers were if possible to be set free from the necessity of other work ; to send ordained ministers to evangelise ; to encourage study in Latin, Greek and Hebrew. A number of questions were resolved, the most lengthy being a reasoned upholding of the Lord's Day as against the Seventh Day. The meeting then adjourned till June in 1690.

It deserves attention where the line of fellowship was drawn. Churches which ignored baptism or which administered both infant baptism and believers' baptism, were

not eligible; it was a gathering of "baptized churches." But it was expressly agreed that every church might have its own practice as to admittance at the Lord's Table. Thus, in modern phrase, the Assembly was Close-membership, Open-communion.

Again, the aim was to have not simply an ordained ministry, but a ministry that was educated and set apart for the purpose. This is remarkable in view of the fact that only the venerable Hanserd Knollys had been in the ministry of the Established Church. Four and twenty pastors signed the narrative on behalf of all, and we can identify some of them as merchants, doctors, meal-man. There was no caste feeling, rather a desire that their successors should be better qualified than they could be in the times of persecution. Meantime one of the treasurers of the Fund, Isaac Marlow, a merchant trading with Amsterdam, proved to be a leader in all ecclesiastical and theological affairs till he retired in 1700 to Leominster, where his family became a mainstay of the church and endowed it.

The dominant figure in London for this generation was Keach, and while he was an indefatigable author, he had very distinct limitations. He was constantly engaged in controversy as to baptism, even with an *Athenian Mercury*, a new magazine; and he had to meet a raid on his church by the Seventh-day people; otherwise he devoted himself almost entirely to Biblical exposition, publishing books both small and great, and to the improvement of public worship, which needs separate attention. Though his son was instrumental in the colonies, he hardly seems to have turned his own attention thither. Though public affairs were by no means vapid between 1687 and 1715, they passed him by unnoticed. The only exception is when, after the orderly ministry of the Huguenots had been wrecked and the Protestants in France had had to rely on enthusiastic prophets, similar ecstatic prophets in England took up the role of Arise Evans, John Reeve, Lodowick

Muggleton, and threatened to submerge sane preaching ; then he dealt faithfully with the movement. Keach is thus a fair type of what Baptists were to be for long ; earnest, self-educated, intensely evangelical and orthodox, the outlook narrowed to the denomination, and almost to the congregation. Within his limits he wielded great influence. His books ran to scores of editions and carried his fame afar. Benjamin Harris and others printed his school-books over at Boston and made his fame wider. One convert came down from Bridlington to be baptized, and returned to found a church which has since founded others in the East Riding. Keach, however, has received ample justice from his son-in-law Stinton, his deacon Crosby, his fellow-Londoner Ivimey. And none of them pointed out that he took very little interest in concerted work. It is the bane of strong men that they are intolerant of meeting others as equals ; if they cannot dominate an assembly they prefer to withdraw and rule their smaller coterie. We find that a London Baptist Association was called upon to censure Keach, for persistently interfering with General Baptist churches and trying to persuade them to follow his example. He could not stand censure, and held aloof from the other churches.

This Association had been revived with a flourish of trumpets in 1704, but others of the churches viewed it with misgivings. Its minute-book is not extant, and we cannot trace many signs of its activity. A similar apathy manifested itself towards the larger scheme of an annual assembly. This was so marked that Bristol was presently proposed as an alternative centre, and after a few disappointing meetings at London, these were given up. Bristol thus became the Baptist centre by 1696 ; and when the South Welsh established their own meetings at the end of the century, the meetings once intended for the whole country became in practice those of the south-west, and were regarded as continuing the old Western Association, although in 1691 there had been a rather different paper

scheme. Taunton soon claimed the honour of entertaining almost in alternate years; and then Exeter was seen to be a third convenient centre. It was thence in 1702 that Gifford of Bristol, Davison of Trowbridge, and Elliott of Bridgwater were commissioned to rouse London, a task which led Elliott to settle at Wapping two years later, and perhaps had something to do with the revival of the Berks Association in 1707.

There was, however, another movement than that of Wessex, which entirely escaped the notice of the London historians. Northumbria was evangelized by its own sons, who learned from Mercia how to round out their message, and thus a new community was shaped which to-day vies with Wilts and Somerset. Lancashire and Yorkshire were planted not from Manchester or Warrington or Liverpool, but from Heptonstall in the Pennines. William Mitchell began preaching about 1684, and after prison in both counties settled down in earnest under the Indulgence of 1687. He soon called to his help a cousin, David Crosley, and others whose work was more local. Within four years Mitchell had registered above a score of places for worship, from Leeds to Clitheroe, from Skipton to Huddersfield. Meantime, his cousin had been on tour, and had met Baptists at Lichfield, Worcester, Upton, Tewkesbury; on a second journey he was baptized in August, 1692, by John Eckels, the clothier-pastor of Bromsgrove, and next month was formally called by that church to the ministry. His letters drew the attention of the northerners to the question of baptism, and soon many began examining, so that the whole widespread community became Baptist within fifteen years. Special buildings were erected at Bacup, Cloughfold, Heptonstall, Barnoldswick, Gildersome. The nebulae coagulated into local Baptist churches, and by 1696 there was an Association which soon united Tottlebank in Furness, Bacup in Rossendale, Rawden and Sutton in Airedale, Barnoldswick, Heptonstall in Calderdale. This great group covered the ground between the Northern Association,

which ranged from Ulverston and Egremont to Pontefract and Bridlington, and the yet older group down the Mersey and Irwell, which after a few years cast in its lot with the Pennine churches to form the Lancashire and Yorkshire Association. All these were too remote from London and Bristol to join in the great Assemblies of the south ; no one arose to wear the mantle of Mitchell, nor had Manchester clearly emerged yet as a northern capital, so that here again organization was arrested, stereotyped much on the lines laid down by Mitchell in his *Jachin and Boaz* of 1707. This unfortunately was published after his death, and his cousin was too ignorant to recognize that many passages in it were borrowed from older books, and were absurdly inappropriate even to the present, much more to the future. All the leaders in this district who can be identified were farmers, masons, weavers ; not one had any tincture of higher education ; George Braithwaite of Hawkshead who did lift Bridlington, belonged to the Northern Association before he went to the leading London church. The sturdy independence of Yorkshire and Lancashire came out in an emphatic repudiation of the claims of Crosley to superintend, and notice to him that he must regard himself as a member of one church alone, and must act under the direction of that church.

In London there was one man who saw the need of a closer union, and set it before himself and his brethren as a worthy aim. Benjamin Stinton, son-in-law of Keach, whom he helped, and succeeded in 1704, was unwearied in his efforts to bring Christians together. Especially he sought to blend General Baptists with Particular, not in the way of Keach who aimed at conversion, but in the way of fellowship and co-operation. And being invited by his brethren to gather materials for Baptist history, he deliberately effaced all lines of distinction, hoping to excite in each body a pride in the doings of both. His manuscripts were printed in 1738 by his brother-in-law Thomas Crosby, who was a most uncritical editor, so that his history

needs to be read with much care. Stinton also sought to bring Baptists into closer touch with Independents and Presbyterians ; but unfortunately there was a great difference in the intellectual level, of which the Pedobaptists were very conscious. Even the political dangers from the Jacobites in the later years of Queen Anne, hardly sufficed to bring about any good feeling among the ministers ; Baptist laymen were on the whole manual workers, while the Pedobaptists included far more employers. Stinton therefore did not succeed in either of his aims, as was most apparent a few months after his death in 1718/9. Of ministers, only four besides Keach commanded any attention ; John Gale, the theologian who laboured at Barbican and Deptford ; Joseph Piggott who hired an old Catholic chapel on Little Wild Street and preached a sturdy Calvinism that often attracted Defoe ; Joseph Stennett who conducted worship each Saturday at Curriers' Hall ; and Nathaniel Hodges, a rich well-educated tanner, destined to receive a knighthood. All the churches of all types numbered only 26, and two or three died out in Anne's reign ; yet the population of London Southwark and Westminster exceeded half a million. It is hard to accept the opinion of Skeats that the public position of Baptists in the metropolis at this time was equal, if not superior, to that of the Congregationalists. For the country at large, Daniel Neal at the time discovered 903 Independent churches, 247 Baptist ; within a few years, the Particular Baptist Fund was aiding more than a hundred ministers whose incomes were less than £25 : General Baptist ministers must have been even poorer, though not so numerous.

Invitations to the convention of 1689 were issued to churches which sympathized with the confession of 1677, which was reprinted for the purpose ; and the convention " owned " it, commending it to outsiders as a fair expression of their views. But no one proposed to erect it into a standard. In 1691 another was issued by Collier for the Western Association, six years later Keach's church pub-

lished its own, and his son's church yet another, presently a church at Limehouse followed the examples, while the churches of Lancashire and Yorkshire were equally independent. The contrast with the General Baptists is rather marked; they showed a reluctance to face facts, a preference to repeat the 1660 confession with slight revision; till a series of evasions drove the evangelicals to require explicit signature to a statement on the deity of Christ. The Particular Baptists had as yet no dangers on this score, and were content that every church should say exactly what it believed, as often as it liked, in any words that it chose.

4. Education.

That there be a Schooll of universall Learning erected in or about this City in order to bring up persons (who by the grace of God shall be soberly inclined) to the work of the ministry.

GENERAL ASSOCIATION, 1702.

The question of intellectual culture needs to be frankly examined. The universities became the preserve of the Established Church, and never did they sink to such a low level as in the eighteenth century. The finest education in England was to be obtained then at the private schools of the Dissenters, to the alarm of the bishops, who in 1714 secured an Act of Parliament to suppress them, which was never enforced, owing to the change of dynasty. But of those schools, very few were frequented by Baptists, and still fewer were kept by them.

Of the exceptions, a charity school in Southwark and paying elementary schools at Bacup and Goodshaw were founded in this time, the first just in time for Bunyan to preach on its upper floor once or twice. But these were far out-numbered by the Friends; Baptists had not grasped that it was any part of their duty to teach, that one of the most effective ways of winning to Christ was to lead the children to Him. Where we do find schools, they were often

private speculations of pastors, whose churches steadily neglected constant adjurations to support their ministers. And where we can see the manuscripts of pastors at this period, we wonder what mental training they were capable of giving; character they might superintend, but other culture they sadly lacked.

In 1687 there were still a few dissenters left with university traditions, but the Baptists can be counted on the fingers of one hand. Delaune, the Irish Huguenot, sought to continue a grammar-school, but was thrown into prison. Hanserd Knollys had a capital school in the City of London and even published grammars of Hebrew, Greek and Latin for the use of apprentices; but his school died with him, and we cannot trace any of his pupils. In the country we just hear of Richard Adams, a scholar of Tombes, having a sporadic school in Leicestershire; and of Edward Terrill at Bristol who not only kept school, but left his fortune to provide for educated ministers. This ensured that the western capital should always have a man of culture at Broadmead; but while Gifford sent his son to study at Tewkesbury under Samuel Jones of Leyden, whose scholar Caleb Jope came to succeed him, it proved that that academy had a very low tone of morality, by which both these men suffered, and two scandals may well have intensified the general denominational distrust of higher education. We can only point to two other Baptists who had much tincture of education in this period; John Ward sent his son to study at Highgate under Dr. Ker of Leyden, and Edward Stennett of Wallingford transmitted his love of learning to his sons, of whom Joseph stood out first. But Joseph Stennett did not exert his full influence on Baptists, owing to his hereditary attachment to the Seventh-day Sabbath, and John Ward's school had very few Baptist boys, though he did teach three who entered the ministry, John Gale, Isaac Kimber, Samuel Wilson. All of these, however, entered after 1715. Before that date we know only the Dunsfords and Sampson at Tiverton, in addition to those

already named, although we can reckon between sixty and seventy schools under Pedobaptists.

We are not aware of any Baptist who sent his son to study at a Scotch or a Dutch university. The highest ambition seems to have been to fit for commercial life, on the lines indicated by Defoe, followed by Delaune and later by Crosby. When Mordecai Abbot died, the iron-master, surveyor-general of customs, no one emerged who ever attained any similar position. The denomination was uncultured, and had no aspiration after culture. The fallacy gained ground that God set a premium on ignorance, that piety and education were barely compatible.

5. Worship.

Nay, precious God, let Light extend
 To China and East India ;
 To Thee let all the people band,
 Who live in Wild America :
 O let Thy Blessed Gospel shine
 That the blind heathen may be Thine.

KEACH, *Hymn* 127.

In one great enrichment of public worship, Baptists were pioneers. They were the first to popularise the singing of English hymns by the congregation.

The old Catholic church had always welcomed hymns, but they were in Latin. When the church in England was reformed, though a few attempts were made to write English hymns, the influence of Calvin prevailed, and only the Psalms of the Bible were versified. Even so there was a struggle between officialdom and the people. The prayer-book provided for saying or singing the Psalms in prose, according to a fixed order, and also provided that in choirs and places where they sang, an anthem might follow. The people preferred rhymed versions, which were made by Sternhold, Hopkins and others. At last a compromise was arrived at, whereby the rhymed Psalms were

sung before and after the official service. And thenceforward the worship-book of a godly family bound up in one cover the prayer-book, the Psalms according to the Great Bible, the Genevan Bible, the Psalms according to Sternhold and Hopkins, with the melody on a five-line staff. This metrical psalter was terribly uncouth, and other versions were made, some on Massachusetts Bay, some by Francis Rous, M.P., some by William Barton, some in Scotland. But Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Independents, held to the Psalms, as if no further note of praise were needed. The wealth of western hymnody had been cast aside because it was used by the Catholics; the new riches of German hymns were equally neglected; church and dissent alike held to the Psalms alone. And even when under William III. two Irishmen gave themselves to the improvement of church worship, the only result was that London replaced Sternhold and Hopkins by Tate and Brady's version of the Psalms of David.

Baptists were not so narrow in their tastes, and led the way with new English hymns, to be used not only in the home to the lute, but in the church with conjoined voices. The church at Broadmead was indeed scandalised at its minister being devoted to music even at entertainments; its objection, however, was to music engrossing his time, and it proved that he chose to conform and become musician to King Charles rather than remain pastor of a dissenting church. Broadmead preferred to consecrate its musical gifts to the service of God, and in the persecution of 1674 developed the service of song greatly; but the members sang Psalms, not hymns, and were clever to point out that therein they did nothing contrary to the law or the custom of the Church of England. It was in London, not Bristol, that hymns came to the fore.

The first impulse was from the Fifth-Monarchists, who grasped the psychological value of massed song; people will sing to familiar tunes almost anything that is written

to the metre, and if the words can be lodged in the memory, the doctrine conveyed by the words may be insensibly instilled. Arius knew this at Alexandria, Ambrose at Milan; Thomas Moore gave a new lease of life to Irish melodies, Parliamentary candidates often try to popularize their cause by new ballads to old tunes. It was the Fifth-Monarchists who tried this in 1650, Vavasor Powell being one of the first hymn-writers. From that time on, doctrinal and propaganda verses were continually being written to the old Psalm-tunes: they were dictated from the pulpit two lines at a time, and sung by the congregation. Seldom were they even used twice; they were the preacher's property, the appendix to or the summary of his sermon, designed to be used on that occasion only. Rarely did these earliest hymns find their way into print; a few stanzas were quoted with horror at their thoughts, then in retort Powell and Anna Trapnel printed in full. Their verses were sad doggerel, but were excellent propaganda; whereas some really beautiful hymns by Jeremy Taylor, Henry Vaughan, and others, were not in the familiar metres, and never were sung in public.

The first hymn-book published for congregational use was by Katherine Sutton, recommended by Hanserd Knollys in 1663. And next year Benjamin Keach, then a General Baptist tailor, incorporated some hymns in his *Children's Primer*. This was a new and happy idea, for children's memories are retentive, and what is learned in infancy may influence the whole life.

In 1673 both lines were pursued further. The collected hymns of Powell appeared for adults, the collected hymns of Abraham Cheare for children. From this time progress was rapid. New tunes were being published by Playford, precentor at the Temple Church, and there was a larger choice of metre; but on the whole the hymns were written in the common metre, four lines of fourteen syllables. Keach was now pastor of a leading London church in Horsleydown, and was able to promote steadily the in-

novation. He was careful to give Scriptural precedent for conjoint singing of hymns, and drew attention to the song after the Last Supper. But having introduced hymns there, he pushed their use further into other parts of the service.

Bunyan had written much verse, had spoken of Christian, Mercy and the shepherd boy beguiling their way with song; he took a leaf out of Cheare's book, and in 1686 published a *Book for boys and girls*, country rhymes for children. But he never induced his church to sing hymns at worship. It was London that pioneered here. Hercules Collins in 1680 published an *Orthodox Catechism*, in whose appendix he urged congregational singing as a public duty, and he gradually persuaded his Wapping church to enrich its worship. Keach took the same high ground in his *Tropologia*; Kiffin and his church re-opened Devonshire Square in 1687 with song.

The innovation excited attention in all Baptist circles, and in 1689 both the General Baptist and the Particular Baptist Assemblies discussed it. The General Baptists decided that to be tied to a book was rejecting the leading of the Spirit—quite in the vein of John Smyth. The president of that meeting was Thomas Grantham, who in 1678 had discussed the matter at length, ruling out the music of professional choirs, and any harmonised singing by church-members, but allowing solo singing; his arguments show that already the custom was spreading of singing not only David's psalms, but "their own compositions" "put into men's mouths by a reader" and then rendered "by many voices together." The decision of 1689 held for more than a century in General Baptist circles, which repudiated all congregational singing whatever, and did not in practice have solo singing. And with them sided the Quakers.

In Particular Baptist circles events took quite another turn. The Assembly decided that no principle was involved, and churches might please themselves. One after

another of the leaders fell in with the new praise, Knollys, Allen, Stead, Whinnel, Barret, Man, Maisters, William Collins, Joseph Stennett, Pigott, Thomas Harrison. Against these, no pastor proved conservative, but Isaac Marlow initiated a vigorous pamphlet controversy, and two great churches did divide, the singers and anti-singers parting. Otherwise the Calvinistic Baptists of London followed the new lead; Keach printed three hundred hymns for general use in 1691, his son put out several in 1696, Stennett published some for baptismal services, and another book for communion services, both of which ran to several editions. By 1700 Keach was able to say in another edition that the custom was now rooted in several congregations. It was only seven years later that Isaac Watts published his first book, and though he gauged well the public taste, the point is that Baptists led the way in restoring congregational singing of hymns as a part of divine worship. And whereas Watts drew much of his inspiration from the Psalms, Baptists ranged more widely, always holding firmly to the homiletic use, as was seen in the elaborate doctrinal indexes compiled for preachers, and the arrangement of hymns according to the subjective growth in grace. Ministers summed up their teaching in verse, and especially in the north manuscript copies of hymns and tunes were passed as rich treasures from church to church. Even the London church deliberately founded to reject singing, fell in with the current after forty years. The denomination persuaded England to throw off the trammels of French taste, and to vindicate Christian liberty.

It may be well to emphasize that these facts have often been misunderstood, and that Baptists have been represented as against singing. This is true of only a minority, soon utterly insignificant; it is far more true of the Established Church. Baptists as a whole declined to leave singing to professional choirs, but made it part of congregational worship: they added new hymns to Biblical psalms. In these respects they led the way.

6. The Colonies.

We are now nine churches, having for the better assisting one the other, four general meetings ; at Welsh Tract, Cohansey, Middleton, Philadelphia.

ABEL MORGAN, 1714.

All the Atlantic coast of America from Maine to Carolina passed under English rule in this period, and a few Baptist churches were planted. The conditions, however, varied greatly in the different colonies.

The Puritans in Massachusetts continued their steady policy of intolerance, even in their outlying possessions. A Baptist Church organized at Kittery in 1681 found it wise to migrate to Charleston in South Carolina three years later ; another at Piscataway left and transplanted the name to a settlement in New Jersey. Thither also went Obadiah Holmes of Manchester, who had suffered so severely at Boston, and at Middleton he fostered a strong church. But others disdained to flee, and boldly challenged the dominant caste. Such a one was Robert Calef, who in his Boston coffee-house sought to educate a public opinion against Increase Mather : to him tardy tribute has been paid by Whittier :

Cried the last, in bitter tone—
“ Poisoner of the wells of truth !
Satan's hireling, thou hast sown
With his tares the heart of youth ! ”
But the Lord hath blessed the seed
Which that tradesman scattered then,
And the preacher's spectral creed
Chills no more the blood of men.

In 1691 indeed there was an assertion of supremacy from home, and Massachusetts was united with the Old Colony of the pilgrims under a royal governor ; yet nine years later other Baptists found it more comfortable to move to Oyster Bay on Long Island, where a church was afterwards organized.

This island was part of New York State, but was one of the archipelago evangelized as early as 1656 from Rhode

Island. The tradition here was well maintained that welcomed all men, irrespective of their faith. It is in Newport that Hebrews found asylum first, and still their ancient cemetery makes a Massachusetts poet ask in wonder :

How came they here ? What burst of Christian hate,
 What persecution, merciless and blind,
 Drove o'er the sea, that desert desolate,
 These Ishmaels and Hagers of mankind ?

Longfellow was mistaken ; it was Baptist freedom that attracted them here. Connecticut had Valentine Wightman at Groton, whence he evangelized, and began work in New York City, where he was able to organize a church by 1714. It proved, however, that the Arminian theology of these new churches was not strong enough to ensure their permanence, though the Six-Principle Association founded in 1705 held together the Rhode Island churches.

Emigrants from Ireland and Wales, of another type, fleeing from the tyranny of James II. and of Anne, founded churches in New Jersey and Pennsylvania. The first Irish settlers went to the southern peninsula of New Jersey, and the curious origin of a church there, sought out with care by a recent pastor, may illustrate the romance of those days. Thomas Patient had been won to Baptist principles by a course of sermons in New England advocating infant baptism, after which he had preached among the Cohansey natives in South Jersey. Returning to the old land, he crossed to Ireland in the wake of the army, and in due course organized a church at Clough Keating in Tipperary. From this, three brothers Shepard went out in 1665 with a colony, and in 1691 organised the Cohansey church, the impulse being given by Thomas Killingworth from Norwich. The Cold Spring church founded seven years earlier, had the pleasure of welcoming Elias Keach, who had gone to America for England's good, had masqueraded as a clergyman, had been stricken with remorse when preaching, had sought out Baptists to whom to confess and with whom to

associate. From them he went to a third group of immigrants who had built Lower Dublin near Philadelphia, within whose modern limits it is now embraced. These immigrants had been gathered by Thomas Dungan, an Irish pastor who within ninety years had "a progeny of between six and seven hundred," which his spiritual children might well rival. Elias Keach organized these during 1688 into what is now the oldest Baptist church of Pennsylvania, as Cold Spring died out fourteen years later. He did splendid work before he returned to build up a new church in London which yet remains ; and from his colonial society arose the first in the City of Philadelphia itself. There, too, a visitor from Scotland, George Keith, of Quaker principles at first, struck out on other lines, and founded the Keithian Baptists, who after his return to England, where he conformed to the State church, melted by degrees into more ordinary types.

The Welsh migration of Myles from Swansea in 1661 had been imitated in 1683 by refugees from Llanddewi and Nantmel who united with the English from Ireland at Lower Dublin under Elias Keach. It was 1700 before a third colony went under Thomas Griffiths, bought much land, and formed the Welsh Tract church. Abel Morgan of Blaina Gwent followed in 1711 and his settlers organized the Great Valley church.

Four years earlier an important step had been taken, and informal meetings were replaced by a regularly organized Philadelphia Association. This was destined to let the saner spirits guide the whole, and curb the erratic developments which had been rather too marked. From 1707 onwards this Association met regularly, and gradually won all the churches to Calvinistic views, induced them to adopt the Westminster Confession as revised in 1677, with certain additions due to Keach father and Keach son ; it ultimately secured the founding of the first Baptist college in the world. Pennsylvania had principles as liberal as Rhode Island, was far larger, and had active

emigration agents, so that it gathered a much larger population. And to all of these Pennsylvania Pilgrims there was something imparted of the finest spirit of the Friends.

For there was freedom in that wakening time
Of tender souls; to differ was not crime;
The varying bells made up one perfect chime.

SOURCES OF THE PERIOD.

Minutes of early churches, often printed in modern memorials.

Minutes of the General Assembly of the General Baptist Churches, 1654-1813. 1909.

Minutes of the Particular Baptist Assemblies, reprinted by Rippon and Ivimey.

MODERN STUDIES.

Overend: *History of the Ebenezer Baptist Church, Bacup.* 1912.

I. Parker: *Dissenting Academies in England.* 1914.

Dissenters' Schools, 1660-1820. (B.H.S. Trans., vol. iv., p. 220.)

Contribution of Nonconformity to Education till the Victorian Era. (Educational Record, January, 1915.)

Baptists in Yorkshire and the North-West. 1913.

CONSOLIDATION AND REVIVAL.

One of the first among modern Baptists in our villages who aimed to bring them down from the heights of ultra-Calvinism to those views of religious truth which are sound, devotional, and practical.

Of ROBERT HALL, Senior, Arnsby,
1753-1791.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PERIOD.

FUNDS, FRATERNALS, AND ASSOCIATIONS.

EXPANSION IN NEW COLONIES.

A STERILE FIFTY YEARS AT HOME.

THE LEICESTERSHIRE MOVEMENT.

REVIVAL OF ASSOCIATION LIFE.

MODIFICATION OF DOCTRINE.

AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

REVIVAL OF EDUCATION.

LEADING DATES.

1715. Evans' Census of Dissent.
1717. Particular Baptist Fund.
1719. German Baptists to Pennsylvania.
1726. General Baptist Fund.
1727. The Three Denominations.
1731. G.B. Assemblies unite.
Death of Thomas Hollis.
Foster's *Usefulness of Revelation*.
1732. Dissenting Deputies.
Welsh educate ministers.
1737. Welsh Neck Church, S.C.
- 1738-40. Crosby's *History*.
1739. G.B. missionary to S.C.
1742. Philadelphia Association
endorses 1677 confession.
1743. Boston Second Church.
Barton evangelists.
1750. Wilson's *Scripture Manual*.
1751. Charleston Association.
J. C. Ryland takes Baptist
census.
1752. London B. Education Society.
Death of James Foster.
1753. No Seventh-Day minister left.
Allen Evans fights for liberty.
1757. Marriages at Established Church
only.
1758. Deaths of Stennett II. and Ward.
1763. Churches in Nova Scotia.
Dan Taylor baptized.
1764. Northants Association, Rhode
Island College.
1765. M'Lean baptized.
1768. Llewellyn's *History of Welsh
Bible*.
1769. Ash and Evans, *Hymns*.
Gill's *Body of Divinity*.
1770. Edwards' *History Pennsylvania*.
New Connexion.
Bristol Education Society.
- 1774-83. American War.
1776. Death of Governor Ward.
P.B. mission in North Wales.
1777. Backus, *History of New
England*.
1778. Death of Anne Steele.
Robinson's *Principles of
Nonconformity*.
1779. Subscription to Articles
abolished.
Thompson's Census of Dissent.
1780. Freewill Baptists in America.
1781. Caleb Evans succeeds Hugh.
Death of Gifford.
1785. Fuller's *Gospel Worthy*.
Sunday School Society.
1786. "Scotch Baptists" in Wales.
1787. Rippon's *Hymns*.
- 1790-1803. *Baptist Register*.
1791. Deaths of Evans and Hall,
senior.
1792. Death of Ryland, senior.
Edwards' *History of New
Jersey*.

CHAPTER VI.

CONSOLIDATION AND REVIVAL.

THE period 1715 to 1792 was marked for the nation by an awakening to the sense of empire, an extension of influence in America and the Indies. The conflict for liberty which had given Baptists their opportunity in England for a few years, was renewed on an ampler stage. The victory in America led the way for Baptists to expand there on a scale so colossal that for that reason alone, were there no other, its story cannot be told here: but the political separation left those in England still under the old disabilities, even if with a new vision of possibility. The English ideals of liberty were carried back from America by French armies to their mother-land, where within ten years such developments had taken place that the rulers of England would no longer look on passively. But if 1792 was the last year of international peace, it was for Baptists the last year of ecclesiastical stagnation; forces which had gathered for a score of years were focussed and liberated in the foundation of the Baptist Missionary Society.

I. Characteristics of the Eighteenth Century.

The revival on the side of the Established Church I apprehend does not yet balance the defection that has obtained amongst the Dissenters within the last fifty years.

JOHN NEWTON of Olney, 1772.

Under German kings, the Council which had always been so influential in England, attained supreme power; the places were shared among a few great families, which

adopted as their motto, *Quieta non movere*. The legal conditions of religious life altered hardly at all between 1715 and 1792. True that the Schism Act was repealed, but it had never been enforced; true that the Occasional Conformity Act was repealed with it, but only a single Baptist is known ever to have qualified in the parish church, and for his lack of principle his church at once dealt with him. The Corporation and Test Acts remained, despite a few attempts to repeal them, notably in 1735, 1739, 1787-9. In 1715 and in 1773 two elaborate enquiries were made as to the voting strength of dissent: and it is somewhat significant that the earlier was undertaken by a Presbyterian, Dr. John Evans, the later by a Baptist, Josiah Thompson. In 1715 the Presbyterians were a real factor in national life, predominant in dissent; by 1792 the balance of power had greatly altered.

Political action was hamstrung by Walpole's playing on the baser side of human nature. He found bribery so effective in other circles that he leaped at the request of an Independent minister for an annual grant from the King to relieve the widows of dissenting clergy. In 1723 the *Regium Donum* began, and soon nine Presbyterian and Independent ministers near London controlled more than a hundred pounds yearly apiece, available at their absolute discretion. Under these circumstances most ministers did not educate their people in the principles of religious liberty, and were habitually silent in presenting claims to political equality. The proceedings of the nine were shrouded in such mystery that it is not clear at what stage the Baptists were thought worth corrupting; but perhaps the changes of 1762 when for a short time the old distributors were excluded, and laymen were associated, led to their inclusion.

There can be no mistake that laymen were the more active, as also they were the more concerned. It was they who were shut out from corporations, they who had to take the test. Yet all that was secured was an annual Indemnity Act that if a man had come illegally into office,

he should not be punished ; at any time a candidate could be called upon to pass the test, and if he would not conform to the Established Church, his candidature was void. This humiliating state of things lasted more than a century from 1727. The Dissenting Deputies were called into existence to fight for more freedom ; it is not clear whether the laymen knew why the ministers were so apathetic, but the fact was clear, and it was decided in 1732 that every dissenting church in London should appoint two deputies on a committee to direct political action. Ten years later the city fathers retaliated with a bye-law that a man elected to an office who would not fill it, should be fined six hundred pounds. As many dissenters could not conscientiously pass the test, they paid, and the Mansion House was built with fifteen thousand pounds thus meanly exacted and thus meanly paid. It was 1754 before any one had the courage to refuse to pay ; the Dissenting Deputies instigated this, and fortunately the Common Council elected as Sheriff the leader, Allen Evans, a member of the Baptist church at Wild Street. From two city courts he and two fellow-victims appealed to the national, winning his case in 1762, and having it emphatically endorsed by the Lord Chancellor in 1767.

Almost at once there came an agitation for clerical relief from subscribing the thirty-nine Articles ; this was promoted by Unitarians within the Establishment, and failed. But it brought into prominence the fact that dissenting ministers had to sign most, and by 1779 this requirement was abolished.

Against such trivial gains is to be set an almost accidental loss. The principle that marriage was essentially an arrangement between the two parties most closely concerned, though no longer applied as in the Interregnum to establish a civil Registry, had held to the extent that any declaration before witnesses of a marriage existing, or of a marriage thereby intended and duly consummated, effected a marriage valid for many purposes. Thus many

Baptists had wedded one another in the presence of their fellow-church members, and records of such declarations are found in ancient church books. But the scandals of Anglican clergy in the Fleet prison marrying people without notice, brought about a reform as to public banns, which incidentally ended the old common-law marriage, and obliged all parties to go to the parish church. The Quakers were so well known as tenacious of their usages that they were specially excepted, and it is a sign of the very low influence of Baptists in 1757 that their precisely similar case was not dealt with in the same way.

In no other respect was the political status of Baptists altered from that which it had assumed in 1689. They were at liberty to live, be governed, pay taxes, think, print, preach, worship, on very simple conditions. But every avenue to civic and national life was blocked; some low post under the guardians, a halberd in the army, or warrant in the navy, was the limit of possibility. In an age when Anson sailed round the world, when Dettingen and Fontenoy showed the prowess of England, when a Jacobite rising was quelled because dissent was true to the dynasty, when Clive laid the foundations of rule in India at Plassey, when Canada was won on the Heights of Abraham, when Australia was settled—in these years of imperial expansion, Baptists and all other dissenters played no part except as hewers of wood and drawers of water.

Such being the external legal conditions, the world of thought remains to be appraised.

This was essentially the age of Reason. The human mind was esteemed capable of understanding everything, stating it completely and lucidly. There is no need to trace this in general philosophy, but in theology it became axiomatic that there was nothing so mysterious it could not be thoroughly explored and fully set forth. What could be expected when a bishop preaching before a king had declared that "faith, truth and grace are the three

great impostors of the world; reason is the empress of the soul, whose conduct through theology . . . I am now to show you"? Locke had been content to plead the reasonableness of Christianity, and Milton in his unpublished work on Christian doctrine had occupied largely the same ground. But Toland's presentation of the same argument caused much indignation and a prosecution for blasphemy. Such thoughts issued in Collins and Woolston with their examination of prophecy and miracles, and in Tindal with his thesis that Christianity was as old as the creation.

It is a pleasure to know that the leading champion against this Deistic school was a London Baptist minister. James Foster came from the West Country where he had had a first-class academic training, and at the age of twenty-seven was called to the pastorate of the great Barbican church. Here he won the praise of Pope as the best preacher of his age, and undoubtedly his sermons just reflect the current mode of thought. He dealt with the Deist on his own plane, met his every point in his own style, and vindicated Revelation as quite desirable, useful to accelerate man's approach to God. He well expounds Dryden's lines :

" Reason's glimmering ray
Was lent, not to assure our doubtful way,
But guide us upward to a better day."

Foster's works were extremely useful and dealt a death-blow to Deism; but they have no spark of enthusiasm, and very little of devotion. Moreover, like the later work of Butler, they left an alternative that as the religion of nature and the religion of revelation were essentially the same, the enquirer might surrender the former rather than advance to the latter. And David Hume is but an illustrious example of this logical result; it is to be feared that many atheists were less open and honest in proclaiming their attitude, but had abandoned all respect for religion, all belief in God. The state of society may be gauged by

the novels of Fielding and Smollett, the engravings of Hogarth.

There were two agencies that might counteract this decline; education and religion. Happily these did join forces; all teaching was given and supported by Christians as such. Yet there was far too little; a few charity schools, with children in livery, a few boarding-schools kept for the support of ministers whose people were too stingy to maintain them, could do little whether with the masses or with the lower middle-class; and the grammar-schools were fast sinking into decay. To the Academies we must devote special attention presently.

Two theological movements, almost entirely in pedobaptist circles, must be borne in mind as showing how more educated men were thinking. Arthur Bury, expelled from the headship of Exeter College at Oxford in 1689, published next year a tract called *The Naked Truth*, in which he concluded that the doctrine of the Trinity was foreign to our Lord's thought, needless, and harmful. This launched the Church of England on a ten-year conflict, with the result of making the doctrines of Socinus popular in many quarters. Thomas Emlyn of Dublin gave a new turn to the discussion, and then William Whiston, professor of mathematics at Cambridge, with Samuel Clarke of Westminster, came to the front. In 1715 Whiston formed "The Society for Promoting Catholic Christianity" of which the chairman was John Gale, a thoroughly exceptional Baptist. Trained in the school kept by John Ward, he had in 1699 taken his Ph.D. at Leyden at the age of nineteen, and in April, 1706, had been called to the ministry, not the pastorate, by the great church at Paul's Alley, Barbican, which was at that time in the Particular Baptist Association. Five years later he published criticisms on Wall's history of infant baptism, which received great attention, and a reply; even a century later, the three rounds of debate were published by the University of Oxford. No other Baptist minister of that time could

compare with him for learning, or for preaching power ; and as he took every morning service at his church, he must be held chiefly responsible for its decided transformation, so that at the foundation of the Particular Baptist fund in 1717 its co-operation was declined, and on his death the pastor replaced him by James Foster. There are hardly four other cases of a Particular Baptist church becoming Arian, but in Pedobaptist circles this was quite usual. It must be emphasised that the Barbican church was never associated with the General Baptists, that it was the most learned, the wealthiest, the most progressive of the London Particular Baptist Churches, with a fine library and the first baptistery north of the Thames. But under Gale and Foster and two more learned ministers it so declined that when the lease of its premises expired in 1768, it disbanded. Baptist churches may well have had grave suspicions of humane learning, when their one university man went with the great bulk of the Presbyterian university men away from the Calvinism of their fathers. It is hardly too much to say that average Baptists, and even the better London ministers, were hardly competent to take part in the great Arian controversy that agitated English theologians for two generations. But it were impossible to ignore the fact that most of the churches founded by the Presbyterian ministers ejected in 1662 became really Unitarian, and that within the Establishment the same views rooted themselves firmly.

Side by side with the Arian movement was an Antinomian. This arose from the singular views of Richard Davis, a pedobaptist minister at Rothwell, who esteemed people won from the Church of England a fit subject for anabaptism, who sent out preachers, and who above all taught hyper-Calvinistic doctrine. His neighbours complained of him to London, and he was publicly repudiated by the "United Brethren." Somewhat similar views by Tobias Crisp who died in 1643 were published by his son, and dissenting attention was drawn strongly to this theme

both in London and in the West. The result was to align most dissenting ministers on a new frontier. On the one side stood those who held the loftiest views of election, and with these usually held the ordinary doctrine of the Trinity ; to these the name Independent came to be assigned, so gaining quite a new content : on the other side were those who took " rational " views primarily of the Trinity, and then of conduct and election ; the name Presbyterian took on a new meaning to cover this group of thinkers.

The new crystallization of parties took place in 1719, and Baptists became involved in it. A dispute as to doctrine arose at Exeter among the Presbyterians, and led to advice being sought from the London ministers. There were three or four important meetings held, and to the great indignation of the ministers, Baptists appeared. As Gale was on excellent terms with the leading layman who unostentatiously had managed the preliminaries, we may conjecture that these two had something to do with their presence. There were various departures from the agenda, and various misunderstandings, but the result was clear enough at the end. There was a definite split, forty-nine London ministers sending one advice, twenty-five a different advice ; but the matter excited such interest that men came up from the country, assistants and men with no charge came and took sides, and finally the numbers stood at seventy-eight to seventy-three. The crucial point was that whereas all of them had, or ought to have had, signed the doctrinal articles professing a belief in the Trinity, the seventy-eight recited that they adhered to this view, the seventy-three declined to subscribe afresh. The latter included forty-nine of the seventy-eight Presbyterians, the former included twenty-eight of the thirty-six Independents, with six other Pedobaptists not otherwise defined.

Of the General Baptists, fourteen out of fifteen declined to subscribe ; of the Particulars, fourteen out of sixteen did. The gulf had always been wide ; henceforth it was

almost impassable. Of the General Baptist churches whose elders were present then, and which survive to-day, two took on a new lease of life by joining the New Connexion, three died, three are legally alive by virtue of endowments, with perhaps ten members between them. It will be seen that the historian need not spend much time in tracing their fortunes, and that attention is due in other directions. He is equally bound to say that the Particular Baptist Churches well deserved the name Antinomian bestowed on them by their opponents.

2. Funds, Fraternal, and Associations.

Our chief designs in this affair are the honour of God, the keeping up of his public worship in several parts of this kingdom, the edification of the churches, and the relief of many poor labourers in the Lord's vineyard.

PARTICULAR BAPTIST FUND.

England at this time had barely seven million inhabitants, and there were but two great cities, London and Bristol. We can trace organization of all kinds best at the capital, which not only was the political centre, but also the wealthiest.

It was as helping country churches that Londoners first drew together in a way that endured. An association had been formed more than once, but it died more than once. Whether it was the fear of rule over the separate churches, or of heresy, the fact is certain that the churches were at best suspicious of any such move; just as the Assembly dropped, so did the L.B.A. But the plans of 1677 and 1689 found other embodiment; and some churches established a capital fund, to which they added yearly contributions, whose managers helped especially in education for the ministry, and in the maintenance of the ministry at poorer churches.

Benjamin Stinton had done his best to draw together all London Baptists, and had organised a Ministerial Society which met for the first time on 14th September, 1714, at

the Hannover Coffee-house. He died just before the Salters' Hall meetings ended much fraternity among ministers. There was another Baptist of wide sympathies, Thomas Hollis, member of the open-membership church then under Hunt, presently to call Foster from Barbican. Not only did he and his family endow Harvard College in Massachusetts, but in London he constantly helped the ministers and promoted building schemes; in these benefactions he dealt alike with all Baptists. But the antipathy was by this time well established, the Particular Baptist churches declined to accept the help of Barbican on their Fund, and so a second was started by that church in 1726, for the same purposes without doctrinal discrimination. In practice it drew most of its support from the General Baptists, and was presently known as the General Baptist Fund, under which title it continues to this day, helping both Trinitarians and Unitarians.

The Calvinists drew off in another way, and established a rival Coffee House Society in January, 1723/4. Though at times it met most irregularly, and had barely six members, it outlived its elder sister, and adopted from similar fraternals of the Pedobaptists the stately title of Board, under which title it now discharges many useful functions. With the Presbyterian and Independent Boards, it obtained court recognition, and the London ministers of the Three Denominations have had joint meetings since 1727. In the middle of that century, there was a wealthy merchant who used to entertain all to dinner before they separated to their coffee-houses to smoke; but the minutes do not record this effective social tie.

The churches as distinct from the ministers were un-social; there are occasional traces of a Monthly Meeting, when two or three ministers seem to have gone on from their coffee-house to the church of a colleague, and to have conducted worship there; but the usual allusions either record an attempted revival of the custom, or bemoan its disuse.

Outside London the churches were not near enough to be able to meet often. The Western Association met steadily, in 1721 decided to have rules, and two years later decided on terms of membership that should exclude Arians, Arminians, and Antinomians. The general decline of the Presbyterians in the west proved, however, dangerous to the Baptists, and in 1732 Broadmead renewed its proposal to reaffirm the Confession of 1677. Next year the dissentients met at Moreton-Hampstead, but their organised life did not last long. They claimed the title Western Association, and entered into relations with the General Baptist Assembly, but were reported there in 1755 as dissolved. Moreton-Hampstead and Trowbridge, however, remain alive, friends with other Unitarians. Twenty-four Calvinist churches were represented at Broadmead in 1733, and the minutes thenceforward show a vigorous life of the main Western Association, which grew to such an extent that in the next period it had to divide into four.

The Midland Association had no such crisis; it had never had a Thomas Collier with ambiguous theology, and had no Taunton pedobaptist academy in its midst to leaven the district with Arianism. But it had also no Broadmead with any educational endowment, no one with any vision or leadership. Its pastors mostly earned their own living, often by keeping school, and they stayed at the same church for thirty years, twenty-seven, thirty, forty, twenty-five, fifty, thirty-six, thirty-five, thirty-eight, fifty, fifty-two. Such facts go far to explain why hardly any new work was undertaken for half-a-century; a few General Baptist people were won over at Sutton-in-the-elms, and the rising town of Birmingham was occupied, but hardly by any foresight or organized plan. And whereas we know of Particular Baptist churches at Derby and Lichfield before 1700, they disappeared without lament.

Lancashire and Yorkshire did maintain their Association, but there are gaps in its records. There was very little corporate work, the meetings being chiefly for con-

sultation, devotion and preaching. But there were one or two fervid evangelists who maintained the earlier traditions. Joseph Piccop, a day-labourer, did great work on the hills above the Mersey, and at Manchester. John Johnson of Liverpool sustained and multiplied the Cheshire churches, and having many shipowners in his church, did occasional work up to Whitehaven and across to Dublin. But his adoption of very singular views brought a decided check to advance about the middle of the century.

3. Expansion in new colonies.

All men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion according to the dictates of conscience.

CONSTITUTION OF VIRGINIA, 1776.

The early Baptist churches in America were chiefly Arminian, General Baptist; and this doubtless sharpened the animosity of the Established Churches of Massachusetts and Connecticut. But the immigration from Wales and Ireland introduced strong Calvinists, who were doubtless staunch for the Laying-on of Hands, but had decided views on predestination. From Welsh Tract in Pennsylvania, Paul Palmer went to North Carolina and founded Shiloh; another colony went to Pedee in South Carolina and established Welsh Neck church; Abel Morgan the younger occupied Middletown in New Jersey.

Then came the great evangelist George Whitefield, and from his landing in 1740 at Newport a great impetus was given to travelling evangelists, who were all Calvinists. He himself never abandoned pedobaptism, but his stress on the necessity for conversion and personal profession brought about the foundation of numerous Separate churches, and within a generation these had either become Baptist churches or had amalgamated with such. For thirty years the General Baptists were being overtaken by the Particular Baptists, and this is to be traced directly to the untiring energy of Whitefield.

One important landmark was the adoption in 1742 by the Philadelphia Association of the confession of 1677, slightly modified by incorporating additions from Elias and Benjamin Keach. This has made that confession far better known among American Baptists than among English. In the motherland only the unimportant Strict and Particular Baptists adhere to it, or are even aware of it; in America nearly all the South regards it as standard.

A second start was made at New York by immigrants from Block Island, and Isaac Backus by 1749 founded a mixed church at Middleboro in Massachusetts. The New Yorkers at first were on the roll of the Scotch Plains church, but organized in 1762 under John Gano. This Huguenot had been ordained at Hopewell and commissioned to evangelise the South, but after nine years settled down in the city. From the same district Oliver Hunt went to Charleston, established a Particular Baptist church and an Association; here he had the pleasure of baptising Whitefield's superintendent of the Savannah Orphan Home, and thus starting work in Georgia. That same year, 1756, Backus founded a new church at Middleboro, purely Baptist, while Isaac Eaton opened an academy at Hopewell. The Georgia Assembly might decide to establish the Church of England, but in North Carolina another Association was founded, named Sandy Creek.

Then came rapid expansion. Between 1761 and 1764 Morgan Edwards from Wales settled at Philadelphia; Samuel Jones at Lower Dublin where he opened another academy presently; Gano at New York, Hezekiah Smith from Charleston went to Haverhill in Massachusetts; Mason of Swansea migrated to Sackville in New Brunswick; Shubael Stearns occupied Virginia, Samuel Stillman settled in Boston.

These two men had to fight their respective Established Churches. Virginia had her Episcopal ministers entitled to public support, paid in tobacco; and persecution on their behalf was long and bitter. By 1775 the Baptists

were the most numerous, Quakers and Presbyterians following; in the political exigencies of next year they drew up a declaration of religious liberty which was adopted by the State Convention; and it was a direct sequel of this that in 1789 a similar article was added to the fundamental constitution of the United States.

Stillman's action in Massachusetts was on quite other lines. When an alteration of the laws in 1767 reimposed taxes on all citizens for the "Standing Order," or State Congregational churches, and no redress could be obtained locally, he communicated with Samuel Stennett in London, and Stennett was able to secure in 1771 that the law was disallowed by the king in council. The Congregationalists of New England were most tenacious of their claim to be supported by all, and the last remnant of their privileges was not abolished till 1833.

This group of strong Baptists felt that evangelization must be succeeded by education. Not content with private academies, they planned a college, and by 1764 secured a charter in Rhode Island. Warren was the first place where Manning opened work. He soon organized the Warren Association; and as there were many fears that Associations would assume synodical powers, it was soon defined that the object of this one was to resist the "Standing Order," and to train an educated ministry; but not to hear appeals from churches or individuals, only to advise in cases where all parties asked for advice.

Morgan Edwards went to England to obtain funds for the college, and was able to gather much: his compatriot William Richards of Lynn at last bequeathed his fine Welsh library, still an ornament of what has become Brown University. This is now located at Providence, whither Manning was invited as pastor. His influence turned the scale for Calvinism decisively in this General Baptist stronghold, and after 1770 Arminian views rapidly became negligible. Indeed they were chiefly kept alive by the organisation during 1780 of the Free-Will Baptists in New

Hampshire, after twenty years' evangelization; and only in the twentieth century, has union of these been achieved. The ancient Six-Principle Baptists survive as a microscopic curiosity, organized now as the "Old Baptist Union" near Rhode Island, while in the Carolinas there are still forty thousand of the original Free-Will Baptists.

In other quarters frontier evangelists laboured busily, riding and pioneering. Churches appeared in Tennessee in 1765, while on the east of the mountains the Kehukee and Ketokton Associations were formed. In the next decade Georgia was effectively influenced from South Carolina, and five more associations appeared. The last sign of General Baptist organization was when the Virginia General Association of 1775 appointed Messengers; but the churches took no notice of them, and next year the project was abandoned.

The Declaration of Independence and the Civil War greatly altered all work. Some churches were scattered; six leading men became chaplains to the armies. Only with 1782 did it become clear that the general trend of thought and action was on lines long familiar to Baptists. With the approach of peace many more Associations were formed, and the denomination began to increase rapidly in nearly all States.

Though Rhode Island was perhaps the first to abjure obedience to King George, there were a few American provinces which did not declare independence. Of these Nova Scotia was the chief, and here was a remarkable repetition of Whitefield's work. A New Light evangelist, Henry Alline, did fine work and founded several churches. The population increased largely by emigration from the independent States, and most of Alline's churches, after lingering in the half-way house of mixed communion, became Baptist. Upper Canada, the Ontario of to-day, which obtained its settlers in the same way, did not develop as fast.

There were two other movements always aloof from the

main Baptist stream. In 1671 the observers of the Seventh-day Sabbath had organised separately at Newport: by 1705 they planted a church at Piscataway, whence in 1737 arose Shiloh. New Jersey remains to this day one of their strongholds, though Plainfield is outstripped by the colony in Western New York around their university at Alfred.

The other was far more remarkable. In 1708 some Germans at Schwarzenau in Westphalia had been led by Bible study to the Baptist position. Their State Church made them so uncomfortable that they heard with joy Penn's offer of an asylum. They began to come over in 1719, and soon the whole community headed by Alexander Mack was in or near Germantown. Thence they have spread in Pennsylvania, and though to-day they worship in English, yet they do not amalgamate with Baptists of English origin, for they have kept many customs they brought over, which hold them aloof. They are nicknamed Tunkers or Dunkards, but they term themselves the German Baptist Brethren. They have the honour of starting Sunday Schools fifty years before Robert Raikes.

One remarkable off-shoot from them established itself at Ephrata. Here was an order of Baptist monks, another of Baptist nuns, and a secular congregation of married people. The binding link was the adoption of the Seventh-day. There were remarkable Communistic experiments, with great industrial developments, but a pietistic leader quashed them, and turned all energy of the two orders into devotion, and such industries as bore directly on it—music, illuminating MSS., etc. The orders gained few recruits and died out; the secular community still has a tiny remnant.

While the colonists in America thus thrived, it was far different with the colonists in Ireland. Sturdy and tenacious of their beliefs as they were, they were not numerous enough to maintain themselves except by inter-marriage with the Irish. The outbreak under James II. ruined

some promising enterprises ; we hear of an iron-master who with his partners had iron works in County Kerry which had cost them £30,000, utterly wrecked. He was compensated with high office in the English customs, but the Irish colony was weakened. And so there was a slow but steady drift to America, still further bleeding the churches. Only at Dublin, within easy reach of Chester, do we hear of visits from English preachers ; and as John Johnson of Liverpool held eccentric doctrines, he hardly strengthened the Irish church. There is nothing to record but a slow decay.

4. A Sterile Fifty Years at Home.

To-morrow, God willing, I set off for Gloucester, and from thence go to Wales.

WHITEFIELD TO CROSBY, 1744.

What saved religion in England during the eighteenth century, was the Religious Societies. In Germany, England, and the English part of Ireland there arose societies within the Established churches, where earnest Bible students met for devotion ; and whence they went forth to live up to their ideals, even to compel others to live up to the laws. These were composed almost entirely of laymen, so that the ministers looked decidedly askance at them ; it was another instance that when the clergy grew cold and official, God will raise others to rejuvenate the land. This had been the meaning of the monks in Egypt and the east, of Francis and his friars in Italy, of the Anabaptists and the Collegiants in Holland, of the Baptist movement in the seventeenth century. Now the Religious Societies, dating from 1699, kept the spark alive, till it burst into flame about 1738 with Whitefield and Wesley.

These had formed with other Oxford students one of the familiar societies, which like many others at a university broke up as the members went down ; but the nickname given to them because of their punctilious ritual, Methodists, proved lasting and has taken on quite a new meaning.

Nearly every one of the little band took orders in the Established church; most did good work in their parishes, but four were led into a new mode of life. Whitefield and Wesley went out to the new colony of Georgia, and the former used to the full the new opportunities that presented themselves. Colonial experience encouraged him to try open-air preaching in England, to the scandal of Wesley, who was with difficulty persuaded to imitate him. Then he saw nothing strange in travelling about England as in America, and again Wesley copied him. Others of the Methodist club followed suit, and by the middle of the century there was a new and vigorous movement, guided indeed by a few clergy, but essentially lay.

The Established Church was admittedly neglecting its work. Balleine says that in Essex with its three hundred and ten churches only one hundred and two professed to have two services on Sunday, some had service only once a month. Stackhouse, who became a vicar only in his fifty-sixth year, said of the days before Whitefield that the salaries of the curates were often less than the sexton's, and not so punctually paid; a rector gave a dinner and a shilling for a sermon, coffee and twopence for reading prayers.

The need then was great, the labourers unworthy, or lazy; yet a better way was shown. But unfortunately there was very little Baptist response to this. In London a distinctly clerical feeling was growing up among the ministers, they were tired of being twitted with their trades and scorned even by the Dissenting Pedobaptists; the diaries of Stinton and his suppressions of facts are most instructive as to this new temper. Whereas in the earliest years of the century there had been fulmination against wearing periwigs, the portraits of eminent Baptist ministers show more and more affectation of this, though indeed gown and bands were never assumed. Ministers restricted themselves increasingly to literature and teaching to earn their living, and came to look to the churches to contribute

substantially towards their support. The churches hardly approved this movement, and a study of accounts shows few cases where more than forty pounds yearly was paid : they were ready to call forth more "gifted brethren" to preach and lighten the work of the pastor, but they did not do it on a scale at all commensurate with the need, or with the Methodist response. There were a few cases showing that the example was heeded. A farm labourer wrought so well in the gospel that he was called to the ministry at Bacup, then to the pastorate, where he sustained the traditions of Mitchell. Several villages profited by Piccop's work, and he is known to have swung down the valleys twenty miles after a day's mowing, that he might preach at Manchester. Yet we feel that such things are mentioned just because they were exceptional. The only other case in two counties was John Johnson, the Liverpool minister, who did itinerate in Cheshire. Other parts of the country show little greater zeal, David Fernie did something further north ; but on the whole the pastors were now stationary, with neither leisure nor ambition to evangelize widely, while laymen had lost the tradition, and failed to revive it when challenged by Methodist fervour.

This failure was so marked, extending over all the Old Dissent and even over the Friends, and it was so contrary to the fundamental reason for the existence of Baptists—propagation, that we pause to ask what paralysis had overtaken dissent, while revival originated in an Anglican circle.

One great factor seems to have been the hypnotism of all by certain theological problems, notably Christological and ethical. Just as the human body can develop now the muscle, now the brain, now other organs, but not all markedly at once, so there seems to be a systole and diastole in the development of the Church. The fervour of the sub-apostolic missions waned as the age of speculation and dogma set in, and this was succeeded by the Roman age

of organization. English dissent had had its period of evangelization, its period of resistance to persecution, its period of organization. It was overtaken now by the spirit of speculation and dogma ; and it had not vitality enough to evangelize as well. Two such different men as Isaac Watts and Robert Robinson were fascinated by the intellectual problem of the person of Christ, and wrestled with that rather than with the practical problem of converting England. And it is melancholy to see that in each case, the longer they pondered and wrote or preached, the further they diverged from the path they saw clearly at first.

Another factor was the growth of a censorious spirit, like that which checked and stopped the usefulness of the mother church at Jerusalem. Arrogance and criticism are poor substitutes for evangelistic zeal, and unhappily Baptists developed self-appointed critics, so that reins became more popular than traces. Of this tendency Anne Dutton is a good example. After a maiden life at Northampton, she became a member at Curriers' Hall just at the beginning of this period, and after ten years went to Wellingborough with a second husband, who became pastor of Great Gransden in 1732. His ambitions were bounded by erecting a meeting-house ; she aspired to be the Countess of Huntingdon of the denomination. For thirty years she poured out a flood of pamphlets, mostly biographical and critical. On the former line she set a fashion that persists to the present day among those who hold by her theology ; a narrative of the internal spiritual experiences, couched in language which to us seems abject, though undoubtedly it was current then (a guilty, blind and helpless worm), and signed either by initials or some descriptive phrase such as, One who has tasted that the Lord is gracious. Despite the quaintness of the language, such autobiographies may well nourish the soul yet. But she felt it her mission also to criticise publicly the teachings of Whitefield, Wesley, Cudworth, and other evangelists. She took

up the role of Sanballat rather than of Nehemiah. In an age when others were up and doing, she saw nothing better than to single out points of difference and put stumbling-blocks in the way. She was aware that the writing of a woman was surprising and unpopular and needed to be defended; we may thank her for so far vindicating the priesthood of all believers; but it does not seem to have occurred to her to defy other prejudices, mount her horse, and tour the country with a gospel to sinners rather than to spend her fortune in endowing a village church and printing attacks on evangelists. Nor did she even, like the Countess, seek out and subsidise those who had a Gospel. And seeing how convinced Calvinists like Whitefield, Toplady and Fletcher could yet have and preach a message of salvation, we cannot cast all the blame on her doctrine. Her case is extreme, but her spirit was widely disseminated and this may account largely for the failure of the Particular Baptists to resume their role of evangelizing.

As the century wore on, it proved to be a time of consolidation and organization; but not of progress among the Particular Baptists. Building schemes were promoted, pastors went begging, especially in London, where both pastors and laymen grew so tired of appeals that they came to stand on the defensive, expose the costliness of these expeditions, decline to entertain requests except in certain form, institute a waiting list, etc. No one seems to have pointed out that as soon as a church had acquired a building of its own, the tendency was to disregard members who lived some distance away. Yet a study of the preaching plans that survive, reveals that in many cases, the erection of a meeting-house meant the shrinkage of the church. Before then, services were held at many farm-houses, and the church members belonged to many villages: once the building was up, the pastor came to live near it, gradually the out-services slackened, and "ministers" were not forthcoming. Case after case like this displays the weak side of the building policy which increased the

money value of denominational property, and decreased the membership.

The old General Baptists missed their opportunity even more thoroughly. They might have taken example from Wesley, whose theology had points of contact; but they raised up no evangelist, and they discouraged those who offered. They had their Messengers, originally chosen for this very work: but they had promoted Elders of churches to be Messengers, and had not insisted on their resigning the local office, to travel. Except that they sent Messengers to Virginia and Carolina, who really did travel and found churches, they were untrue to their principles and their history. They did indeed take up collections for the support of poor ministers and for the education of young men to the ministry, as early as 1738; but there is no longer any sign of paid evangelists.

Northamptonshire affords typical cases of their evolution. This was a county which had taken a strong stand for an orthodox Christology, and never wavered. It had also shown stalwart martyrs in the days of persecution, the Stangers and Staughtons especially. But there is little else to be said with pleasure. Some of the widespread communities erected buildings, and their nebulæ condensed into stars; but then the stars began to twinkle and go out. The ministers were chiefly farmers; less and less time was given, as diaries prove, and the churches shrank into tiny groups. Leicester had once had a fairly numerous community served by a scrivener; but it trained no one to succeed him, and by degrees the doors of its meeting remained closed, till at last there was only one service held when the Elder of a country church came in to draw the rents of some cottages left to the cause. The Stangers died slowly out, one of the last being called down to Kent to take charge of a church at Bessels Green which was still resisting the drift from orthodoxy. A widow did her best to keep open the old cause in Moulton, but there were no General Baptist preachers available. At last in despair

she placed the building at the disposal of the Particular Baptist Association, and before long William Carey had caught the aroma of the old days when messengers of the churches went forth to preach the gospel. So, too, with the Staughtons; they passed over and leavened the Particular Baptist Association, young William being an original subscriber to the B.M.S., then going to America where he was greatly instrumental in the growth of the denomination. But the old General Baptist churches as such had now no ideals, no energy and perhaps no will. Some died, some were kept artificially alive by endowments; here they passed over to and sweetened the Calvinist churches, there they deliquesced into Unitarianism, elsewhere they were rejuvenated by a new movement which does represent the spirit of Methodism at its best, because it is most scriptural.

5. The Leicestershire Movement.

*'Tis not for five to govern three,
We all are brothers here and free;
If by majority you go,
You must stand in the devil's row;
He's the majority and we
Are but a small minority.*

SAMUEL DEACON.

The Countess of Huntingdon was one of the leaders of the Methodist revival, and is well known as using her influence in the highest circles of society. From her manor at Donington Park, one of her servants about 1740 began preaching in the villages near. Within five years a church was formed and a building erected at Barton-in-the-Beans, where William Kendrick opened a boarding school. The preachers included a blacksmith, a carpenter, a farmer; new buildings arose at Melbourne and Disworth, while regular meetings were held in many villages. Suffering under mob violence, they obtained the protection of the Toleration Act, and taught two smart lessons to rioters, who had to pay heavy damages.

This was a time of ebullition, and the little band was influenced by Moravians, Cudworthians, Independents ; on the whole, they struck out their own line, and held together as one society managed by a group of elders and ministers. The work spread to other shires, a young stocking weaver at Kirkby Woodhouse was won, Abraham Booth, another house was built, and the town of Loughborough was entered.

Having been compelled by the uselessness of the clergy and the malice of the people, to declare themselves dissenters, they were led in 1755 by Bible study to adopt believers' baptism. Leake, Hinckley, Longford, were soon occupied. The society at this stage had some peculiar features borrowed from the Moravians, graduating its members into four classes, of whom the highest numbered one hundred and sixty. It was thus too unwieldy, and Booth drew attention to the New Testament plan of organizing local churches. This was done in 1760, and when they completed arrangements for fraternal intercourse, it was found they had about twenty stations, with ten pastors, and other officers. Building went on apace, conversions were frequent ; clergy, mobs and magistrates were compelled to observe the laws and give them fair play ; and by 1770 there were just upon a thousand members.

There were General Baptist churches near, and it was tragic that no intercourse took place. The new converts might have fired the churches at Earl Shilton, Leicester, Nottingham, with fresh zeal ; they might have been drawn into real connection with the ancient Assembly, have claimed for the second time that it meet in the Midlands, and have prevented it slipping down the hill to Arianism and sloth. But in this district there was no such fellowship, and the new churches worked out their own methods free from any traditions, appealing straight to the Bible.

Meantime, a similar revival had occurred in the huge parish of Halifax. Many evangelists were working in the district, Ingham especially, while the Moravians were not

far away, and there was one energetic clergyman at Haworth. At this time Wesley had not established an ascendancy, and four or five new converts quite disapproved of his methods, preferring to work by themselves at Wadsworth near Heptonstall. Here they took a house which they opened in the autumn of 1762 as a school kept by Dan Taylor, and they also registered it for Sunday worship. They, too, became convinced of believers' baptism, but the numerous Particular Baptist ministers in the district were unwilling to baptize them because of their views on the unlimited extent of the Atonement. All they would do was to say that there were Baptists at Boston who shared that view. Journeying thither, two of them found an old General Baptist church at Gamston, and after a few days' intercourse, the minister there baptized Taylor. He soon joined the Lincolnshire Association, and next autumn Gilbert Boyce the Messenger ordained him as Elder of a new church duly formed at Wadsworth, which in 1764 erected a meeting-house at Birchcliffe. To pay for this, Taylor went begging in the Midlands, and there came into contact with the Leicester men, who had not only built with their own hands, but had paid for all the materials from legacies and their weekly wages. He invited them to the Lincolnshire Association where, however, they were repelled by the quaint old customs which had no relation to present needs, and by the general chilly atmosphere. He was sent by the Association to London, as their delegate to Assembly, where he continued begging, but by no means appreciated the tone of the Kent and Sussex men who seemed to control its proceedings.

There were, however, some places which conserved better traditions. John Brittain, one of the vigorous orthodox midland group, who had proved himself by evangelizing round Battersea, revived the old church of Goodman's Fields, induced it to acquire a new site in Whitechapel and build, seek out young men and train them for the ministry; so that the church renewed its

youth and mustered some three hundred members. A second London church, worshipping at Duke Street in the Park of Southwark had also been fostered by men from Northampton, Warwick and Bucks; in 1767 Whitechapel was able to supply a pastor touched with something of the new spirit.

The Leicester leaders fell under the spell of Dan Taylor, who had great driving force. They consulted with old General Baptist churches in Lincolnshire, Essex and Kent, and planned a wider organization on decisively evangelical and evangelistic lines. In June, 1770, all met at Whitechapel, when those churches which had belonged to the General Baptist Assembly sent and took leave formally. Then the five Leicestershire churches and the Yorkshire united with the Boston church, three Essex, two London and three Kent, in an Assembly of Free-Grace General Baptists, soon known as the New Connexion. Plans were laid for two Associations, but as the Kent churches adopted Calvinism and the Essex churches dropped back, only the Northern Association survived. In the Midlands, churches were formed at Hinckley, Sutton Coldfield, Nottingham, Castle Donington, Ilkeston, Birmingham, Cauldwell. From Birchcliff Taylor founded Queen's Head, Halifax and Burnley. Then came curious negotiations with the evangelical churches among the old General Baptists. Some of them stood firm to their old customs, and because the New Connexion would not lay hands on all baptized believers, and would not abstain from eating blood and singing hymns, they remained aloof. But at Ashford in the Peak, Gamston, Kirton-in-Lindsay, Killingholme, Maltby, Gosberton, Wisbech, Long Sutton, Yarmouth, and Leicester, there was a rally to the old evangelical standard held in new hands. The climax of this movement was in 1785 when on the advice of the Association Dan Taylor moved to London to help John Brittain at Church Lane, and so reclaimed this church which had been inclined to remain outside all organization.

The face of England was changing now with the use

of machinery, needing water-power to drive it. The countryside remained stationary, or even thinned, while towns began to grow at an unprecedented rate. The New Connexion with no traditions and with plenty of zeal, instinctively met the new need. Though at first churches were rural, it entered the towns, and it appealed especially to the workers, whether of lace and stockings in the Midlands, or of woollens and cottons in the Pennine Hills.

A very brotherly feeling obtained among the workers. Not only was there the annual association, but both in Leicestershire and in Yorkshire there was a quarterly conference with preaching, mutual criticism, discussion of difficulties, and planning for extension. The missionary spirit was most fervid, and preachers were always experimenting in new places. There was also a most practical and homely tone; in 1788 the circular letter which went out from Birmingham in the name of the Association, warned the two thousand six hundred members against improper courtship.

Friendly relations were maintained with other sections of Baptists, but in each case there was a failure to realise fully all the possibilities. On the one hand Dan Taylor was sent to the Assembly of the old General Baptists in 1784 with a letter offering to affiliate on conditions. After negotiations a union was formed in 1786, with considerable suspicion on both sides. Had the New Connexion taken the relation seriously, and sent its quota of representatives, or have claimed that some meetings be held in Leicestershire, it could have exerted a very real influence. Its score of churches, growing every year, could have attracted all the evangelical elements of the old body, within the ancient organization, and as in 1704 could have forced a clear issue. But this course of action seems never to have suggested itself, and the New Connexion submitted to be described merely as the Leicester Association, represented usually by one or two representatives instead of fifty. This ambiguous relation lasted for some seventeen years.

On the other hand, when Andrew Fuller, of Kettering, so far broke with hyper-Calvinism as to publish a manifesto that the Gospel of Christ was worthy of all acceptance, it did seem that the way was opening for Baptists who had always believed in a General Redemption, to make some advance. Dan Taylor after some hesitation issued a pseudonymous pamphlet which led to some discussion. But the thought of any actual co-operation was hardly entertained.

Taylor had learned the need of education, perhaps from his neighbour John Fawcett, and he set himself at Wadsworth to conduct a school. From that he was soon led on to more far-reaching plans. When John Sutcliff went down to Bristol to take advantage of the Academy, which entered on a new phase in 1770, Taylor decided to start on the same lines. There was a generous rivalry between Taylor and Fawcett in this new departure, from whose private schools went out young men into the ministry, and in each case a public conscience was quickened that led at last to the foundation of new Education Societies. As early as 1779 Taylor laid proposals before the Conference at Coventry,* but at that stage nothing was done officially, though he said he had already been training on these lines.

Samuel Deacon of Barton-in-the-Beans joined with Taylor in compiling two hundred and ninety-three hymns for the use of the Connexion; published at Halifax in 1772 the book was soon used in all the churches.

6. The Revival of Association Life.

*Conven'd to fan the flame of zeal divine,
And the soft bands of sacred love intwine,
Long hast thou strove, nor hast thou strove in vain,
To strengthen Zion, and her peace maintain.*

FRANCIS, "The Association."

The vigorous associated life of the New Connexion was

*The choice of this town for meeting suggests that the old G. B. Church of 1624 had really merged into the New Connexion, though the destruction of documents does not enable us to trace details.

not exceptional. But till the middle of the century there was a failure to advance, or even to maintain earlier customs. From many manuscript letters and minutes we are able to see what was the usual plan then.

On a Monday in June the ministers of the associated churches, accompanied by a deacon or two, would ride to a town named a year before, and put up at an inn agreed upon. By six next morning all would gather in the meeting-house, and devotions began, with probably two sermons. In the afternoon were read letters from the churches, and then some one would be appointed to retire and draft a joint circular in reply. Occasionally a church would propound some question of doctrine or discipline for opinion; with the reservation that it would consider any advice, but act on it only if convinced that it was God's will. On the Wednesday would be more worship, more discussion, the reading of the draft letter, and if approved, its dictation by the writer, each minister taking a copy, signed by the moderator, usually the local pastor. Breviates of the minutes were often added, the minutes themselves being entered in the book of the local church and signed by all present. Next Sunday the letter and the breviate would be read in the different churches, then the Association was forgotten for fifty weeks. The thought of any aggressive work was hardly entertained; occasionally the question was raised where a man had better settle, and we have in 1724 the decision that as there was no possibility of John Sedgfield earning a living at Liverpool, he would be justified in acceding to the call of the church at Tottlebank, where a farm was at his disposal rent free.

With such a meagre programme, it can be understood that Association meetings rarely excited any enthusiasm. The letters are uniformly depressing, bewailing the low estate of religion, and rarely suggesting any means of reviving it, or detailing any possible steps being taken to that end. Similarly, the circular letter in reply; Joshua Thomas summarises one, and it might stand as the pattern

for seventy years : " This letter notes in the general the peace and prosperity of the churches ; and mingles various complaints of negligence and lukewarmness, with suitable exhortations and motive ; two queries were answered well ; days of thanksgiving to be continued." We may easily understand the want of vision and enterprise when we note that at one time, in one association, there were twelve pastors who between them remained in their twelve churches for four hundred and seventy-seven years. Any one young man would find himself over-borne by the conservative mass of seniors, less and less able to take in a new idea.

At the middle of the century this stagnation grievously oppressed one or two men in the Midlands. Benjamin Beddome during his fifty-two years at Bourton-on-the-Water trained six young men for the ministry. One of these, John Collett Ryland, at the age of twenty-three was invited to Warwick, and after they had tested his gifts for four years, they ordained him in 1750. Such deliberate action seems to have prompted him to look around and see the general state of his denomination. He made enquiries which seemed to show that the Particular Baptists in England numbered 5,410, with one hundred and four pastors. We know now that in reality there were one hundred and forty-six pastors, sixty-five General Baptist elders ; so that we may estimate some ten thousand members at most, besides the penumbra of hearers.

It is significant that an ardent young man like Ryland, chafing at the torpor, could not get in touch with forty of his brethren, and had to deplore the shrinkage of interest. This was the more regrettable since the nation was entering on a brilliant foreign period, and since the Evangelical Revival was now well advanced.

His enquiries seem to have stirred the Western Association where the Stennetts were worthily upholding a fine tradition. There had been a struggle against the Arian influence of the " Presbyterians " which had resulted in

a purging during 1732. Twenty years later at Bratton, the Association, having delegates and letters from nineteen churches, restored the long-disused plan of printing its circular letter and breviate. The example was followed by the Midland in 1759, and by the Welsh next year. Ryland had now moved to Northampton, and in 1764 half-a-dozen ministers of the East Midlands met and planned a new Association, destined to transform the whole denomination. From the second meeting in 1766, the letters were printed. Then came an important innovation. Hitherto the circular letters were dreary echoes of dreary letters from the churches. It was decided that the Association should take the initiative, and send out an original letter; also that this letter should be on a definite topic, pondered over by a man chosen a year in advance. The older associations gradually saw the advantage of this, and adopted the same plan, while new associations in East Anglia, on the Ouse and in Kent promptly began spreading definite doctrinal teaching in readable little pamphlets. The topics that were thus dealt with, reveal the current thought: The nature of the glorious gospel of the grace of God, The assistance of God to true Christians, Election, Original sin, Redemption, Union with Christ, Free justification, Evangelical obedience, Perseverance, The beauty of social religion, The Inward power of religion, The privileges of Christians, The work of the Son of God, The doctrine of repentance.

Ryland was a good pastor on the older lines, and tended the villages around. He understood the use of the press, which he used more freely than most predecessors. His work was not all ephemeral and occasional; he put forth a good apologetic under the somewhat misleading title of *Contemplations*. He realised that the level of education must be raised, and devoted himself strenuously to this. Most of his income arose from the boys' school he kept, and the school-books he published, and he inspired a lady of his congregation to establish a boarding-school for girls.

But most men have limitations, and lose the impetus of their youth; the spirit of Whitefield did not stir Ryland to the depths, and when after Fuller had humanised the older Calvinism, and prayer had long been offered for a revival, a young cobbler-pastor timidly proposed at a ministers' meeting that they discuss sending the gospel to the heathen, Ryland thundered out that if God wanted the heathen winning, He would do it without their aid. The ageing man was already relinquishing pastoral work to his son, and concentrating on his school.

There were other strong men taking over the torch, one of them having quickened this young insurgent. At the village of Arnesby, where a church had existed over a century, there came a man of the sturdy northern stock, Robert Hall. From 1768 onwards he was a pillar of his Association; his circular on the doctrine of the Trinity was widely circulated in many editions, and translated into Welsh; and his *Helps to Zion's Travellers* has proved of even more permanent use. From a church at Norwich under Methodist auspices, came Robert Robinson to Cambridge, where he raised an ancient obscure church into quite a new position, and linked many others in the neighbourhood. From Maes-y-berllan in 1753 Joshua Thomas came to Leominster where he had been baptized thirteen years earlier. The cause was a mere shadow of its former self, with only thirteen members. He opened a school to maintain himself, built up a strong cause, stimulated the generosity of a family from London, so that new premises were erected and endowed; and throughout a pastorate of forty-two years was an ardent supporter of associated work, both in his native Wales, and on the borders.

The Northern Association, whence Hall went to Arnesby, and his brother to London, was revived by a Scotchman, David Fernie, and shepherded for many years by Charles Whitfield, who at the hamlet of Hamsterley watched over the church gathered at Hexham in 1653. Evangelists went to cities like Carlisle, into the desolate mining hills,

to ports like Whitehaven; regular meetings ranged from the Cumberland and Lancashire fells to Tyneside, and divinity of no uncertain type was promulgated in the letters. This district indeed was deeply affected by hyper-Calvinism, of which more has to be said.

Lancashire and Yorkshire lagged in development. When a leading church like Barnoldswick was content to pay one pastor nothing, and to let his successor earn his living by weaving, malting, and teaching, it is no wonder there was little leisure to extend. Yet from another village, Rawden, there hived off swarms who formed churches at Gildersome, Bradford, Shipley, Farsley, Bramley, Leeds and Halifax. And from Heptonstall, the waters-head of all the district, there arose a group of churches round Salendine Nook. All this country was, however, transformed by the invention of spinning and weaving machinery, driven at first by the moorland streams, then by the steam engine in whose development a Baptist minister from Dartmouth, Thomas Newcomen, had taken an honourable share. This led to many new churches being formed, as population flocked in or multiplied. Men of fibre were grown, and while Tommas went to Bristol, the Butterworths settled in the Midlands. Yet it was a counter move that revived the Association in 1757, when the Oultons, father and son, from Leominster, settled at Liverpool and Rawden. The younger had been at Bristol, and presently one or two northerners went south to seek education. Another pastor at Liverpool, who had been a naval officer and a schoolmaster, found a congenial spirit at Wainsgate, where the church was starving its minister on £25 a year; Medley and Fawcett set themselves to breathe a new spirit into Association affairs. In 1786 they had the pleasure of sending out a call from Preston, where a church had arisen due to the new industry of calico-printing, inviting the two score churches to face the new situation. Fawcett struck a fresh note, and the first letter printed dwelt not only on the principles of the churches, but also on their duties.

Nearly all these associations found it wise to specify on what doctrinal basis they grounded themselves. The confession of 1677 was seldom reprinted, and rarely referred to. A list of ten or twelve doctrines was made, short enough to print in half-a-dozen lines, and this proved sufficient to win the adhesion of one association after another. There is no record who drew up this list, or how it was quickly adopted in many parts; and even professed studies of Confessions have taken no notice of it: yet it was the really vital exposition of what Particular Baptists did esteem important about 1770. It is rather remarkable that no cases are known of any church being called to account by an association on any point of faith or of order or of morality. The question of doctrine, however, deserves closer study.

While the country was thus rejuvenating, and renewing its old associations, London remained the great exception. Here the ministers met in their fraternal, styled the Baptist Board; and they held monthly meetings in rotation at their churches. Country churches often sent begging for help to build, and there was much informal meeting on legal and financial business. But churches as churches had no ties in the metropolis, whether for worship or for extension.

7. Modification of Doctrine.

We are jealous, brethren, lest any of you should make the fatal mistake of thinking that believing the truth of the gospel of grace is believing on Christ.

BLAINE for the Eastern Association, 1778.

It is well known that Calvinism lost its hold in England within the Established Church during the seventeenth century, and among the "Presbyterians" during the eighteenth. In Baptist circles there was greater tenacity—or inertia. Yet in three directions there were changes, which won adherents.

The Arian trend which was so marked in the "Presbyterians" and in the General Baptists of Kent and Sussex,

was faintly observable among a few Particular Baptists. In London two brothers named Rudd sounded uncertain notes, and they were called to account by their churches and their brother ministers, with the result that both ended their pastorates. Only two churches were affected, the exceptional church at Barbican, and the open-membership church at Pinners' Hall. Both these enjoyed the ministrations of James Foster, the eloquent convert from the west; and both dwindled till the expiration of their leases gave them the deathblow. Such cases show that there is some advantage in not endowing a church, whether with money or with land and house, but leaving each generation to maintain its own worship and express its own doctrine, free from the dead hand. A doctrine that has no vitality permits the natural death to be followed by a decent burial; an endowment has left many an ecclesiastical corpse uninterred, even attracting vultures to prey on it.

Another line was due to two seceders from Whitefield; Rely and Murray. The former, from near Narberth in Pembrokeshire, separated about 1750, and for a generation preached the doctrine of universal restoration on the basis of a special identification of Christ with believers. His influence on London Baptists was not marked, though he was buried at Maze Pond. But his disciple Murray after ten years in England crossed to America, and did thirty years' work in New England. There he won a Baptist minister, Elhanan Winchester, who after seven years at Philadelphia came to London, and by his eloquence produced a great effect both there and in the Fens. The spread in England was, however, more marked under his disciple and successor, William Vidler, in the next period. And at no time did it affect any large number of churches, though it did end the ambiguous relation of the New Connexion with the old Assembly.

The dominant doctrine was Antinomian. Yorkshire, Wales, London, and many another part less known by printed sermons, were fed on the strongest of meat, sauced

with most piquant hymns. There can be no mistake that this doctrine does not provoke a spirit of evangelization, and its general prevalence among the Particular Baptists not only accounts for too frequent scandals in conduct, but goes far to explain why the Methodist example was so little followed. The facts of stagnation and decrease were undoubted :

But a drought has since succeeded,
And a sad decline we see ;
Lord, thy help is greatly needed,
Help can only come from thee.

Only John Ryland hardly connected this with the doctrine his father lived and died in, for he went on to ask in sorrow :—

Where are those we counted Leaders,
Fill'd with Zeal and Love and Truth ?
Old Professors, tall as Cedars,
Bright examples to our Youth !

Joseph Stennett emphasized that

Love drew the Model of our Bliss
In the Decrees divine,
Conducts the Work, and will at length
Compleat the vast Design.

But this insistence on the certainty of the Divine Decrees had in it little impulse to action, and not always any incentive to a holy life ; though we must not forget Alverey Jackson :

Sinners are saved by Grace
And works excluded are ;
But where true saving grace doth work,
Good works the product are.
To glorify our God
Our good works needful are ;
To exercise and evidence
Our faith to be sincere.

John Fellows at Bromsgrove was keen enough on final perseverance, exalting it above baptism :

Yet whatsoe'er weak men maintain,
One baptism will still remain :
Which tho' Christ's wand'ring sheep may miss,
He will not lose one soul of His.

But he was equally careful to look at the ethical obligations of the individual :

With scrupulous care the hypocrite
Attends to each external rite ;
While Justice, Truth and Faith depart,
And all religion of the heart.

Yet only towards the close of this period did any singer get back to first principles and dwell on the practical social duty of trying to convert sinners. And to balance Anne Dutton, we may quote Maria de Fleury :

Go preach my Word around,
Let all the nations hear,
To earth's remotest bound,
The joyful tidings bear,
Of free salvation in my Blood,
Of pardon'd Sin, and Peace with God.

This new temper may be traced to the influence of one man, Andrew Fuller. He was not born in a Baptist circle, but came in at the age of sixteen, and after a brief pastorate at Soham, settled at Kettering for life. He became to Baptists what Baxter would fain have been for Presbyterians, so re-stating the thought of Calvin as to bring out the responsibility of man both for his own heeding the call of Christ, then for repeating that call far and near. His works comparing Calvinism and Socinianism, on the gospel worthy of all acceptance, were widely read, and educated an increasing section of the Particular Baptists towards practical ends. His influence was great in the Northamptonshire Association and the Midlands, and was destined to spread directly over all Britain, indirectly to India.

As a new type of doctrine appeared, less stringent than the hyper-Calvinism that had prevailed, men of other sections felt able to cast in their lot, finding teaching that did not outrage their moral sense, while yet it did justice to the greatness and foresight of God. Two illustrations of men who crossed the bridge may be given.

At Eythorn in Kent there had been a General Baptist church ever since Henry Denne made Canterbury the

centre of his evangelistic work. It had been ministered to by yeomen and blacksmiths, had branched out to Wingham and the Isle of Thanet, was supported by the squire, built a little meeting-house, took part in all county work. In 1770, Elder John Knott with young Stanger of Bessels Green, quitted the ancient Assembly and threw in their lot with the New Connexion; but as its southern Association waned and died, they found themselves isolated. Looking round for comradeship, Purdy was descried at Rye and Purchis at Margate, and these were invoked to ordain as Particular Baptist pastor at Eythorn one of their own old stock, Thomas Ranger; and when he was called to Bedford, they looked to the historic church at Carter Lane for his successor. Here is a case of a strong church feeling able to carry over its habits of evangelistic preaching into a communion that had hitherto been marked more for its high doctrine. And what we can trace here in detail, was the experience at many another old General Baptist church, as we have noted in the Midland home of the Stangers and Staughtons.

Not far from that home was the district where the New Connexion was strongest, and was extending most rapidly. One of its rising men was Abraham Booth, who had been scandalized at the hyper-Calvinism of the Particular Baptists, and had written against it. But the teaching of Fuller proved to meet his needs and supply a body of doctrine acceptable and necessary. He quitted his early friends at the age of thirty, and expounding his new beliefs in *The Reign of Grace*, was promptly called to take charge of the premier Particular Baptist church in the world, at Prescott Street. Fuller thus was able to unite the doctrinal strength that has ever characterized Calvinists, with the evangelistic fervour that had shone forth in Smyth and Lamb. He stands as a fine type of the Baptist for the nineteenth century and in this period as the ablest theologian yet produced, though Gill's *Body of Doctrinal Divinity* did find publishers till 1815.

8. American Independence.

The religious society of which you are members have been, throughout America, uniformly and almost unanimously the firm friends to civil liberty, and the persevering promoters of our glorious Revolution.

WASHINGTON, 1788.

Soon after the emergence of Fuller, there came a political strain between the king and the colonies. In this there was nothing surprising, for there was an equal strain between the king and all other lovers of liberty. He had been trained on the principles of the Tory Bolingbroke, and held high views on his own personal right to govern. Things were bad enough in England, where, however, the popular champion was a man of evil character, John Wilkes. But in the colonies George behaved with even greater self-assertion.

One instance is curious, for on the merits of the question we can agree with him. Massachusetts passed new laws to support its Established Church, and these were enforced with great rigour, taxes being collected from Baptists to build and maintain Pedobaptist churches. The Baptists laid the case before Samuel Stennett in London, he brought it to the attention of the king, and the king vetoed the laws. In England neither he nor his grandfather nor his great-grandfather had ever exercised the veto; and this shows how he felt as to his inherent right to override public opinion constitutionally expressed. It is a revival of the action of Charles II. as against his parliament.

It was he personally who urged his ministers to obtain from the British Parliament an Act laying taxes on the colonies, and at once the Baptist Governor of Rhode Island sent him an official letter of protest, while the leading pastor in Boston encouraged the local artillery company in its resistance to the British soldiery enforcing the taxes, even while the leading Massachusetts Baptist was appealing to the General Assembly there on the religious tax question. It was a curious triangular conflict in that colony, but Baptists sided universally against the arbitrary power

assumed by the king ; if civil liberty could be ensured, religious liberty they felt could not long be denied. Elsewhere there was not a shadow of hesitation ; only one minister, an immigrant from Wales, proved a Tory. As the political contest became more bitter, it was seen by Baptists on this side the water that the colonies were essentially right ; Hollis thought it opportune to edit the works of Algernon Sidney in 1772. For the spirit of repression was wide awake in England, and an attempt to secure the repeal of the penal laws was defeated. Thenceforward Baptist voices were constant in pleading for liberty : Webb in England challenged the bribery by George in person, Skillman as " a British Bostonian " orated in the second Baptist church of Boston on the essential rights of Americans. While Backus appealed from Middleborough to his fellow-citizens for religious liberty, Robinson and Wallin dealt with the franchise that excluded the commonalty from the vote, Robinson and Toulmin appealed to public opinion for religious liberty in England. And when John Wesley, with his autocratic spirit, urged the American colonies to submit, Caleb Evans not only replied direct, but preached on the need for constitutional liberty in England. By this time the colonists were attacked, and they resisted in arms, David Jones of Great Valley preaching to justify such action. In England there was no civil war, but nearly every Baptist saw that it was his cause at stake ; and while there was some caution to avoid trials for treason, the sympathy with the colonists was not always silent. It was not easy to fill the ranks of the British regiments, and we do not know of a single Baptist there : German mercenaries had to be sent over, not even the Hanoverian subjects of George. But in the colonies, while Governor Ward died just too soon to sign the Declaration of Independence, Baptists fought freely to uphold it, and Baptist ministers went as chaplains to the armies which at length overthrew the tyranny of the king. It was for America what 1640-1649 had been for

England, and Baptists seized their opportunity in each case.

In America the principles of civil and of religious liberty were seen to be intertwined, and in Virginia Baptists rapidly passed from being persecuted to being the leading denomination. The contest was longer in Massachusetts, but with a similar issue: nay, the Established Church there, as it withered into Unitarianism, betrayed its financial as its spiritual poverty, and one of the stateliest church-buildings in Boston to-day has been acquired by the Baptists from those who could not at their own expense maintain a preaching that failed to exalt Christ as Divine.

American Baptist history, however, henceforth lies apart, and the spread there has been too great to be treated here on an adequate scale. It is due to the vast expansion among both white and coloured that Baptists stand now as the largest Protestant communion in the world. And the very magnitude of that triumph obliges us to limit our views chiefly to the British Empire.

What happened at Yorktown in 1781 had a reflex action politically in France, and ecclesiastically in England. English Baptists lost full touch with their western brethren, and learned to look eastward to India instead. British servants of the crown, in their mortification at their defeat abroad, were inclined to be the more overbearing at home, and the hope of liberty, civil or religious, became fainter.

9. The Revival of Education.

*If he through education win
A number of his fellow men,
What a reward for him and you!
But if to save a little cost
Some of our neighbours' souls are lost,
How can we think of meeting Him
Who dy'd their spirits to redeem?*

SAMUEL DEACON.

Education has always been regarded as a duty of the Church, and from the earliest days of Christianity in Britain

we hear of schooling. The parish priests were often aided by chantry priests and even by definite school-masters, and this system was only broken up by the plunderers under Edward VI.

In the days of the Commonwealth, schools were kept by Baptist ministers, both of clerical origin like Knollys, and of private tuition like Richard Adams. In the next century others were opened, both for a means of livelihood, as at Moulton, by William Carey, and as charity schools, as when Broadmead maintained one at Bristol, whose last master in this period was Joshua Marshman.

In the American colonies there was no need for charity schools, but ministers here and there earned their living by their academies, as at Hopewell in New Jersey. It was, however, among the German Baptists at Ephrata that a remarkable new development took place, the Sunday School. There has always been a tendency to exploit child labour, whether in the English village, the industrial town, the frontier settlement. The German settlers in Pennsylvania were loath to see their children drawn into the maelstrom and growing up with fewer advantages than they had enjoyed in their home land. Therefore they did their best to utilise the day of rest, not only in adult worship, but also in teaching the young. It was in a way fortunate that they were in two groups, one observing Saturday and the other Sunday, for thus two days out of seven saw schools open. Reward cards were printed and painted, and some are still extant. The schools, however, had to be closed in 1777 owing to the tide of war coming so near that the buildings were required as hospitals. It is far too little known that the pioneers of modern Sunday-schools were these German Baptists of 1740 who avowedly established them "to give instruction to the poor children of the neighbourhood who were kept from the regular school by the employments which their necessities obliged them to be engaged in during the week, as well as to give religious instruction to those of better circumstances."

It will be observed that these Sunday schools fulfilled a double function. They gave instruction in singing, reading, writing and arithmetic to those who had no other opportunity of education : they also specialised in religious instruction for all. When in England the industrial revolution due to mechanical spinning and weaving robbed the children of their childhood, Sunday-schools were begun by many people independently, for just the same reasons. William King of Dursley did good work, but when he tried to enlist the sympathy of his neighbour Robert Raikes, the latter bluntly avowed that the movement could prosper only if patronized by the Church of England. This rivalry of Establishment and Dissent led to the foundation of the Sunday School Society by William Fox, a Baptist of Clapham.

Wales saw another development, and itinerant teachers were employed to conduct Circulating Day Schools. These were supplemented by Night Schools, and this touch was due to Morgan John Rhees of Pontypool, a Baptist, who further aided by writing school books in Welsh. The German settlers at Ephrata also wrote their own school books in their own language. It is the accident of language that has hidden from most Englishmen the share of Baptists in elementary education during the eighteenth century.

Not as much can be said in the field of higher education, because the laws excluded Baptists from most positions where this was of value. The social rank is indicated by the fact that when Thomas Crosby did open a school in Horsley Down, he specialized in surveying, gauging, trigonometry applied to navigation, charts, book-keeping ; and the same is true of one or two other schools. Commerce and seamanship were open to all, but very little else was open to Baptists.

Presbyterians were of a higher social caste, and they founded many schools which were most successful rivals to the old grammar schools and even to Oxford and Cambridge. These are mostly known as Academies, and the

fact that certain trustees sent lads to be trained at the denominational expense for the denominational ministry, has obscured the fact that they were just very good boarding-schools run at the risk, for the profit, and under the control of their owners. Of such institutions there were very few owned by Baptists. In London Joseph Stennett, John Ward and Nathan Bailey, had good schools, which they sold when other occupations offered. William Foot had an establishment at Bristol; and at Trowbridge, Davison handed on a school to his successor in the pastorate, with whom it died. Daniel Turner at Abingdon catered for the Thames Valley. Northampton saw John Collett Ryland bring his school from Warwick and take it on to Enfield, while Martha Trinder had a parallel Seminary for Young Ladies. Ash at Pershore and Gray at Chipping Norton had less famous establishments. Most of these men wrote school-books for themselves, being assured of a forced sale to their pupils. A few books did really establish themselves, notably dictionaries and grammars, and this shows that almost by accident Baptists stumbled on the principle of imparting education in the vernacular, and not in Latin as had been the case for centuries.

The lead to better things was given in the colonies, but by a London Baptist. Thomas Hollis, of a Rotherham family, belonging to the open-membership church in Pinners' Hall, was a great promoter of learning. He endowed two chairs for professors at Harvard, and founded exhibitions for undergraduates, with a preference for Baptists. In 1722 the Philadelphia Association caused enquiry to be made after "Young Persons hopfull for the Ministry, And Inclenable for Learning," whom Abel Morgan might recommend to Hollis. Correspondence was maintained, and Hollis sent out a large number of books for the use of the ministers, which remained in circulation for a century, and in 1889 were distributed as gifts to various churches. The churches did not lean wholly on England, but in 1756 "concluded to raise a sum of money for the encouragement

of a Latin Grammar School, Mr. Isaac Eaton to be master thereof." This academy at Hopewell elicited steady support and a large legacy in 1767 which was devoted to exhibitions for intending ministers. Moreover, Samuel Jones began a boarding school at Lower Dublin in 1765; and Burgiss Allison, one of his early pupils, opened another at Borden-town. With this raised standard, and with supplies of good students, the way seemed open for an advance yet further. The man who discerned the need was Morgan Edwards, who after brief experiences at Cork and at Rye emigrated and did his life work in America. He persuaded the Philadelphia Association to aim at a chartered college, and this was established in 1765 within Rhode Island; while the colonial legislature granted a lottery of £2,000 for the great hall, Edwards returned to England to obtain funds. The Hollis spirit was not extinct, and Edwards gathered some thousands of pounds, with which what has become Brown University was started on its career.

A movement was thereupon set afoot to do something of the same kind in the homeland. Edward Terrill of Bristol, a writing-master, had left funds to provide tuition for the ministry in connection with Broadmead. After fifty years' work on this plan, the Bristol Education Society was founded in 1770, and Andrew Gifford pleaded hard that a charter be sought for it. But the project was too bold for men accustomed to be treated as inferiors; public spirit was too low for Baptists to claim in England what they had obtained in Rhode Island, and the Academy remained a mere seminary for recruiting the ministry. Nor did any other part of the kingdom rise even to this level; that London was apathetic was only to be expected after a century's experience; but the Midlands did not soar above the idea of private schools, and though Lancashire in 1773 toyed with the idea of an Academy, only John Fawcett at Hebden Bridge carried into northern Baptist circles the Westmorland aspirations after learning. But he for years conducted a capital boarding-school, for

which he wrote many books, printed with his own hands on his private press. Not only did many of his pupils become pastors, but William Ward, who had edited newspapers at Derby, Stafford and Hull, and who came here to fit himself for a new career, opened out a new era altogether. Another illustrious pupil, John Sutcliff, whom he encouraged to go on to Bristol, settled for life at Olney in the Midlands, where he too took many pupils.

The general level of culture in the denomination was distinctly low during this period. Only three ministers had any conception of literature, and few to-day would care to read even the best works of Charles Bulkley and James Foster: moreover, it is to be noted that these both lay on or beyond the borders of orthodoxy. Andrew Gifford was indeed gifted enough to be appointed first assistant librarian at the new British Museum, and to write on the history of coins, the history of the English Bible; but he, too, was thrust outside the pale, owing to a sin of his youth made known and not forgiven in his manhood. So the ministers who really affected the denomination had scarcely any ambition beyond denominational pamphlets, dedications, and occasional poems. Of laymen only two seem to deserve mention: John Ward, professor of rhetoric at Gresham College, and Thomas Hollis, F.R.S. And here again it is to be regretted that these were out of touch with Baptists generally, for Ward belonged to Gifford's boycotted church, and Hollis to the open membership at Pinners' Hall. Yet the former was great-hearted enough to establish university scholarships to train Baptist ministers. Isaac Kimber of Barbican, who attended Ward's lectures at Gresham, wrote a life of Cromwell, a history of England, both called for repeatedly; also he published the works of a bishop, and for four years edited the *Morning Chronicle*.

John Ash of Pershore and Caleb Evans of Bristol issued in 1769 a collection of hymns by many authors, the first to displace Watts from his supremacy.

The three-quarters of a century now closing, had produced great changes in the denomination. The civil liberty which Queen Anne had abridged, had been won in America and in France, while Baptist ministers were its local champions or martyrs in England and Wales. The old General Baptists had lost all importance; a New Connexion with fine zeal had arisen; the Particular Baptists had been imbued with new ideals. Whereas London had taken the lead in 1717 with a Particular Baptist Fund merely to conserve what existed, the Midlands in 1792 were about to take the lead for extension into new races.

Baptist development in Scotland began within this period, but as it was self-contained, an account of it is postponed to a later chapter. On the other hand, as the United States pass out of our purview, it is well to note how rich was the promise already. Their census of 1790 showed nearly four million people, the Baptist Association returns showed nearly 61,000 members. At this stage there were 600,000 slaves, with just one Baptist church, in Georgia.

A dawning world-consciousness is seen in Rippon dedicating his *Baptist Register* to the whole brotherhood, as is illustrated overleaf. That he made overtures to the Menonites betokens his enlarging horizon; that they did not respond shows their sense of difference. His aspirations for a World Congress were fulfilled only in 1905.

SOURCES FOR THE PERIOD.

Minutes of Associations and Societies.

MODERN STUDIES.

Histories of Associations, such as, Western 1846, Midland 1905, Berkshire 1907, Yorkshire 1912, Lancashire and Cheshire 1913.

Colligan: *The Arian Movement in England*, Manchester, 1913.

Colligan: *Eighteenth Century Nonconformity*, London, 1915.

Sachse: *The German Sectarrians of Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia, 3 vols., 1900.

RIPPON'S DEDICATION OF THE *BAPTIST REGISTER*.

THIS INFANT PUBLICATION
 UNDER THE FOSTERING HAND
 OF ITS BENEVOLENT PATRONS
 IS MOST AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED
 TO ALL
 THE BAPTIZED MINISTERS AND PEOPLE
 IN AMERICA
 ENGLAND IRELAND
 SCOTLAND WALES
 THE UNITED NETHERLANDS
 FRANCE SWITZERLAND
 POLAND RUSSIA PRUSSIA
 AND ELSEWHERE
 ESPECIALLY TO THOSE
 WHOSE NAMES ADORN THE FOLLOWING SHEETS
 WITH A DESIRE OF PROMOTING
 AN UNIVERSAL INTERCHANGE
 OF KIND OFFICES AMONG THEM
 AND IN SERIOUS EXPECTATION
 THAT BEFORE MANY YEARS ELAPSE
 (IN IMITATION OF OTHER WISE MEN)
 A DEPUTATION FROM ALL THESE CLIMES
 WILL MEET PROBABLY IN LONDON
 TO CONSULT
 THE ECCLESIASTICAL GOOD OF THE WHOLE
 WHICH IS NOW FIRST OF ALL
 SUBMITTED TO THEIR SUPERIOR WISDOM

BY THE UNWORTHIEST
 OF ALL THEIR BRETHREN
 THE AUTHOR

THE LARGER HORIZON, 1792-1837.

The intention of the Saviour, in calling them out of darkness into marvellous light, was that they should labour to the uttermost in advancing His cause.

CAREY.

THE B.M.S. AND HOME ITINERATION.
THE EAST AND WEST INDIES.
SEMINARIES, UNIVERSITIES, AND SCHOOLS.
SOCIETIES, BENEVOLENT AND PROPAGANDIST.
PERIODICALS AND THE PRESS.

LEADING DATES.

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| <p>1792. Baptist Missionary Society. 1795. Death of Beddome, S. Stennett. Evan's <i>Sketch of Denominations</i>. 1797. <i>G.B. Magazine</i> till 1891. Home Missionary Society. 1798. Nova Scotia Association. (Protestant Union). 1799. (Religious Tract Society). Deaths, Francis, Medley, Pearce. 1800. <i>Periodical Accounts</i>, B.M.S. 1801. Serampore Bible Versions begin. 1802. G.B. Assembly loses all evangelicals. (Sunday School Union). 1804. (Bible Society). Northern Education Society. 1805. Foster's <i>Essays</i>. Death of Booth. 1807. Haldane baptized. Western Society. Welsh and English Ed. Soc. 1809. <i>Baptist Magazine</i> till 1891. 1810. London Baptist Ed. Soc. 1811. Fawcett's <i>Family Bible</i>. Ivimey's <i>History</i> (1814, 1823, 1830). 1812. Toleration Act amended. Work in Ceylon. Death of M'Lean. 1813. Indian charter amended. Benedict's <i>History</i>. Baptist Union. 1814. Irish Society. Itinerant Society. Northants' Provident Society. Death of Sutcliff. 1815. Death of Fuller. Ward's <i>Hindoos</i>. Hall's <i>Terms of Communion</i>. 1816. Bath Society. Scottish Home Mission.</p> | <p>1816. <i>Seren Gomer</i> begins. 1817. Death of Fawcett. Highlanders to Canada. 1818. Calabar College. First Indian periodicals. Taylor's <i>G.B. History</i>. 1820. B.M.S. London office. 1823. Death of Ward. Western Association divides. 1824. Building Fund. 1825. Death of Chevalier, Harris, Ryland, Saffery. Milton's <i>Christian Doctrine</i>. 1826. Serampore Charter. <i>Baptist Reporter</i> till 1865. 1827. (University College). Halifax Church, N.S. 1828. Test and Corporation Acts repealed. 1829. Horton Academy, N.S. <i>New Selection</i> of hymns. Toronto Church. 1830. Hinton's <i>History U.S.</i> 1831. Carson's <i>Baptism</i>. Cramp's <i>Poperly</i>. Death of Hall. 1832. <i>Works</i> of Fuller and of Hall. 1833. First South African convert. 1834. Death of Carey and Ivimey. Work at Belize. 1835. Baptist Association of Scotland, short-lived. 1836. Cox's <i>Baptists in America</i>. Death of Rippon. Colonial Society till 1843. Ottawa Association. Tasmanian and Australian churches. 1837. Canada B.M.S. Deaths of Marshman, Steadman 1838. Slavery ends in the Empire.</p> |
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CHAPTER VII.

THE LARGER HORIZON, 1792-1837.

THE next half-century saw a wonderful change come over the denomination. In the older group, the General Baptists, every evangelical church quitted the historic Assembly, which subsided into insignificance; most gathered around the nucleus of the New Connexion sprung from the Leicester and Yorkshire movements, and these pursued a vigorous policy of extension at home and abroad. The influence of Fuller told steadily on the larger body of Particular Baptists, and the foundation of the Baptist Missionary Society blazed the new path destined to be trodden by all who counted. Evangelization and education revived, each telling on the other, while again the pioneer movements were not in the island but overseas. At home new life was shown by the increased use of the press and the foundation of many societies for specific purposes. And at last even amorphous London showed signs of organization, by the deliberate invasion of men from the more advanced provinces.

1. The B. M. S. and Home Itineration.

Such societies have been formed at home, for village and itinerant preaching, as were never before heard of among the Baptists.

RIPPON, 1798.

The new era was inaugurated in the Northamptonshire Association, which at this time profited by an unusual number of outstanding ministers.

Robert Hall of Arnsby was the finest specimen of the old school, whose strength is attested by the popularity of his *Helps to Zion's Travellers*. His fourteenth child,

named, after him, Robert, had a brilliant career at Bristol and at King's College, Aberdeen, whence he passed to help his tutor at Bristol, and in 1791 to succeed Robert Robinson at Cambridge. Though it was fifteen years before he returned to the Midlands, his influence was strong in his father's district, even before he was known as the finest orator of his day.

A second leader was from Yorkshire: John Sutcliff had helped Dan Taylor in his school at Birchcliff, and had been baptized in 1769 by John Fawcett, by whom he was coached to enter Bristol Academy. In 1775 he settled over the church at Olney, and soon began to influence the Association. It was on his motion, nine years later, that concerted prayer was entered into for "the spread of the gospel to the most distant parts of the habitable globe." In 1789 he republished the work of Jonathan Edwards attempting to promote explicit agreement and visible union of God's people in extraordinary prayer for the revival of religion and the advancement of Christ's kingdom upon earth.

A third leader came from Plymouth, where Isaiah Birt, descended from John Birt of Warwick, had won Samuel Pearce. Trained at Bristol, this youth was recommended by the younger Hall to the pastorate of a church at Birmingham, lifted into prominence by James Turner of Bacup. There he was ordained in August, 1790, by Fuller, Hall senior charging the church. Ryland junior at the same time ordained five deacons, of whom Thomas Potts was destined to be the Mæcenas to an obscure village Horace.

Ryland senior had had the help of his son from 1781, and had removed five years later to Enfield. That removal left the younger man free to impress a new spirit on the association. In 1783 Ryland junior had baptized in the Nene a young cobbler, William Carey, who by the influence of Fuller had soon begun preaching at Earl's Barton, and by Sutcliff was encouraged to study Latin. To this he

added Greek, Dutch, and Hebrew, while still supporting himself by dealing in second-hand boots and shoes. Not only did he imbibe Fuller's principles, he pushed them on to a practical issue. If the gospel was worthy of all acceptance, why was it not presented to all? Such was the question that became ever more urgent to the cobbler-pastor of North Moulton. His workshop had brown paper maps of the world pinned around, he pondered at his bench over the missionary work of the Moravians and the Danes, he went to the Association meetings to propound his ideas, and declined to be put down by the autocratic seniors. At meeting after meeting he attacked their selfish apathy, his association sermon was not to re-state some high doctrine that no one disputed, but to urge a great duty and to claim a great promise. And at last his pertinacity was rewarded by definite attention to the problem, What ought to be done? He put into writing what he was discouraged from discussing:—*An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens*. Potts of Birmingham encouraged him to revise it, gave him £10 to publish it, and it appeared in 1792 at Leicester, where he was now pastor. The way was made plainer at the Easter meetings, when Sutcliff preached on Jealousy for the Lord of Hosts, Fuller on the sin of delay. At once Carey got his question discussed, whether it were not practicable, and our bounden duty to attempt somewhat toward spreading the gospel in the heathen world. As a result, he was given his chance at Nottingham, where he exhorted the association to Expect great things from God and to Attempt great things for God; after a desperate struggle, he secured a promise that a plan should be drafted for discussion.

At Fuller's town of Kettering there was established the Particular Baptist Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen. Thirteen men ventured to pledge themselves to this great work; two promised two guineas each, six a guinea each, five half-a-guinea. So poor were

they that they could not pay on the spot, and Carey dared not even promise anything definite, though he had already pledged the profits from his pamphlet. So insignificant were they that nine of them are rescued from obscurity only by this act of courage.

An attempt to enlist sympathy in London showed that among twenty-six Baptist ministers, only Timothy Thomas would support the work; even eight years later, only five others were subscribing; Rippon upheld in his *Register*, yet Booth was "indisposed" to attend a meeting; Martin, Upton, Stennett stood aloof. The interest of the west was obtained by Ryland junior being called to the headship of Bristol Academy; and of the north by Sutcliff and Fuller sending Carey to win Fawcett; Birmingham was secured by Pearce. But the society was predominantly Northampton; the committee used to meet at Arnsby, Long Buckby, Guilsborough; letters went to and from Clipstone, Olney, Oakham. From such Nazareths did the good news come out.

There were high hopes, and no flinching. Before the century ended, seven men had been sent to Bengal and two to Sierra Leone; the conscience of the denomination had been awakened to the heathen in England, and after the B.M.S. itself had sent Steadman and Saffery evangelizing in Cornwall, a Baptist Itinerant Society was founded for home mission work: better than ever, it was a sign of grace that London sponsored this effort.

The note sounded by those village pastors awakened echoes beyond the denomination. They themselves had some hope of this, and deliberately recorded that in the divided state of Christendom it would be wiser for each denomination to work separately. So when letters came from Carey and Thomas to Ryland, he used them to bring to the boiling-point the zeal which had been warmed in Warwick and elsewhere. Soon evangelicals of the Countess' Connexion, the Establishment, Presbyterians and Congregationalists united to found what they calmly named

“The” Missionary Society. If the example of Baptists was directly the cause of this, their wisdom was none the less manifest when within a score of years denominational societies were the rule.

The movement centred in the Midlands, and it was but natural that the New Connexion should be attracted by it. Pearce went to preach at Loughborough in 1795, and as this was one of their centres, they formally appointed a deputation to ask of him whether they might send one of their own ministers, contributing to the general fund. Evidently Pearce felt he could not carry his constituency to this point, and no reply was returned. The Connexion therefore examined the prospects of separate work, but though help was sent to negro evangelists in Jamaica, the association regretfully decided that the expense of sending Englishmen was too great in 1802. Thrice the matter was urged by various churches, and by 1816 a Foreign General Baptist Mission was set on foot. On the advice of the brethren in Bengal, Orissa was adopted as the chief field of labour, and was developed on the lines initiated at Serampore, which will be described separately.

The denominational revival was unlike the Methodist, but the progress was unmistakable. Round Northampton the elder Ryland introduced preaching to twenty-five villages in as many years, and his son doubled the number in eight more; even a village church like Bugbrooke started work at three hamlets; while whereas hardly a church had been founded since Stuart days, six were welcomed to the fellowship of the College Lane church in fifty years. It would appear that this was no local phenomenon; for every new church established between the English revolution and the French, three were established by the accession of Queen Victoria. In this advance there was nothing sensational, but it far outstripped the growth of population.

Other illustrations of progress are found in the records of the Midland Association, which had long been content to murmur annually that “the churches are in peace.”

First occasional preaching in neighbouring villages was recommended, then Sunday Schools were approved, "double lectures" in the summer were instituted, "infant interests" were fostered. Or the Yorkshire and Lancashire Association, which in 1716 was re-organized with seven churches, and in 1787 re-organized with seventeen, felt in 1837 that it was unwieldy with sixty-five. This progress was due directly to evangelization steadied by education, and these were incarnate in one man, William Steadman.

From the church at Leominster he had been commended in 1788 to Bristol Academy, and thence settled at Broughton, once the home of Anne Steele. At once he showed his energy by starting a Sunday School and a branch station, but found no sympathy in his people. For the B.M.S. he undertook two summers in Cornwall, preaching sixty times in July and August, in town halls, meeting-houses, streets, back yards and private houses. This led to a settlement at Devonport, and then to an invitation to make Bradford a new Bristol. At his instigation a Northern Itinerant Society was established, and the students he trained were not only occupied every Sunday in the villages around, but were sent out for the summer to break new ground. An early success was to revive a church at Preston which had closed its doors, and to evangelize the Fylde till a new church was founded at Inskip, where a school helped to maintain a pastor. And this was a fair specimen of the new spirit breathed into and by the Association.

Another typical exponent of the new spirit was Christopher Anderson of Edinburgh. Meeting at the university of that city some English Baptists, he was led to see that he must confess Christ in baptism, and being excommunicated by his church, must try to establish a Baptist church. The visits of Andrew Fuller on behalf of the B.M.S. made him offer for that work, but after brief preparation under Sutcliff he was obliged by his health to vary his plans and train for home evangelization. By 1806 he was at work in his own city, and soon was

planning an Itinerant Society for Scotland. The Gaelic of the West Highlands attracted him to Ireland, and tours there prompted various publications which led to the Irish Society, the Achill Mission, and in 1813 to the (Baptist) Society for Propagating the Gospel in Ireland.

Of this last, the first secretary was Joseph Ivimey, already for eight years pastor of Eagle Street, London. That church had been induced to launch out in many ways, and Ivimey, like Anderson, had entered on a career of authorship. While Anderson wrote the history of the native Irish and of the English Bible, Ivimey undertook the history of English Baptists, besides biographies of Baptist heroes, editions of Baptist classics, and constant magazine work. While in Ireland itinerant preachers and colporteurs were maintained, and schools established, London was catered for by a special society, merged later with the Home Missionary Society, then the Channel Islands were visited, and later on, Wales. And with all this wide work, he added to his own church in thirty years eight hundred members, and to his denomination twenty ministers.

2. The East and West.

*Now shall the Hindoo learn
The glories of our King ;
Nor to blind goroos turn,
Nor idol praises sing ;
Diffusing heavenly light around,
This book their shasters shall confound.*

MARSHMAN, on the finishing of the
Bengali Testament.

The wars of Clive and the explorations of Captain Cook had widened the horizon of Englishmen to the east and the south. Spain had explored westward in the sixteenth century, and Portugal eastward ; but whatever work they had done in preaching the Gospel was on the old Catholic lines. Protestants had been slow to imitate, but the Dutch sent out chaplains as they took over the Portu-

guese settlements. During the eighteenth century, European powers obtained footholds on the mainland of India, where the Danes had the honour of beginning mission work in 1706. By the end of that century they had sent out fifty workers from Denmark and Germany, never more than ten being on the fields at once, and the Bible had been rendered into Tamil for South India and Ceylon.

The East India Company had waxed in importance, passing from mere trade, to acquiring rights of taxation and of administration. Its factory at Calcutta had completely distanced the Portuguese at Bandell, the Dutch at Chinsurah, the French at Chandernagore, and the Danish at Serampore; although technically these were all under the dominion of a native ruler. In its service as surgeon on an Indiaman, was John Thomas, converted by Stennett, baptized by Booth. He decided to give himself to evangelizing, and in 1786 settled in Bengal, began learning the language and teaching. Convinced that the success of the Danes further south promised well for work in this denser population, he returned to England to win popular support, and to find a colleague. Appealing to Booth, he heard of the movement in Northamptonshire, and accepted an appointment as the first missionary of the B.M.S. Carey promptly volunteered as his companion, and after a few weeks touring the churches, they embarked in 1793. But instantly they found that the E.I.C. was unfriendly to their purpose, for the captain put them ashore; and they had to voyage in a Danish ship. After a short experiment in a deserted region, they took charge of two indigo factories up country, devoting their salaries to the expense of mission work, and combining preaching with their business tours, which took them even to the borders of Tibet. Both worked at translation; at which indeed they had been busy on the voyage.

In 1799 four more started, but had to travel in an American vessel, and to take refuge under the Danish flag at Serampore, already hallowed by years of Moravian

work. This led Thomas and Carey to join them and consolidate their efforts. Two soon died, the others proved to be a well-qualified band ; Thomas was a surgeon, Carey a linguist of exceptional powers, Ward an experienced printer, Marshman a schoolmaster. Within the century, a printed gospel was distributed widely, two English boarding schools were bringing in money, so that Bengali mission schools could be conducted, and the chair of Sanskrit-Bengal at the government college in Calcutta was filled by Carey himself, who thus had the opportunity of instilling a new spirit into the Indian Civil Service.

Yet the local British officials, the E.I. Directors in London, and the Government Board of Control, were most nervous as to the result of their work. More than once it was forbidden where British power held, and only the courage of the Danish governor enabled them to continue at Serampore. Their energies were thus intensified ; by 1812 they had published tracts in twenty languages and portions of the Bible in eighteen, had given Christian teaching to more than ten thousand children, had preached widely, had baptized more than seven hundred converts of whom a dozen had given themselves to the ministry. Other missionaries arrived, but were expelled, so that Robinson opened work in Java, Judson of America in Burmah, where Felix Carey had prepared the way. The scandal of these deportations was ended by an Act of Parliament which drew a new charter in 1813 expressly ordering facilities being given to missionaries.

This year was marked also by a blessing in disguise. A fire at Serampore wrought such havoc, that the news in Britain called out universal sympathy. In fifty days the whole sum needed was subscribed, and the response was so general that the society was shifted from a Northamptonshire basis to a British, and even London contributed four members to a committee of thirty-nine. On the field the opportunity was seized to improve everything, type, paper, translations.

The passing of Sutcliff and Fuller led to various changes. The new Committee had not the courage to follow the lead of the missionaries, although as early as 1795 Carey and Thomas had conceived plans involving colleges. The proposal to establish one at Serampore met little home support, even when they obtained a university charter from the King of Denmark, for the splendid college with its scores of students. As no further objection existed to missionaries settling under British rule, the reinforcements from home naturally occupied Calcutta and other large towns, and the capital became gradually equal in importance as a mission centre. Add to the narrow vision in England such bureaucratic changes as the engagement of a salaried secretary and the establishment of a London office, thus misunderstandings with the pioneers arose, so that for a time there were distinct societies; but the division ended before this period ran out, by the death of Carey, the cessation of all advance, the relapse of Serampore to a mere country station.

The Serampore brethren broke ground in many directions. They started female education, and had many girls' schools, for which they induced the British and Foreign School Society to send out a trained superintendent. They instituted a savings bank, and founded an agricultural society. But all this organized work was the outgrowth of steady village preaching, and itineration, for which they trained and sent out native evangelists.

Similar work was done at Calcutta and other towns, and a female asylum was superadded. Ceylon, Java, Sumatra and Padang were taken as wider fields, while Burmah was relinquished to the Americans. The New Connexion of General Baptists being refused opportunity to join the B.M.S., started independently. Their missionaries on the advice of the Serampore brethren initiated work among the Oriyas on the Bay of Bengal. Here they carried on every form of work, developing greatly asylums and printing. James Peggs, when obliged to return home, did much to awaken the Christian conscience on such

evils as state-support of idolatry, slavery, murders of widows and children.

While the peculiar relation of India to Britain drew the first missionaries there, it was felt that the call was to preach to all the world. After a false start on the west coast of Africa, attention was turned to Jamaica, a most flourishing colony, growing great quantities of tropical products, and the seat of commerce all round the Caribbean. The bulk of the population was negro, for the island had been the centre of operations of the Royal African Company since 1672. At the end of the Revolutionary war on the mainland, a free negro who had preached at Savannah in Georgia, came to Jamaica and founded a Baptist church at Kingston in 1784, which became the centre for evangelistic work and for free schooling. Within seven years an appeal to Rippon said that there were a quarter of a million negroes, among whom only a little work was being done by Methodists; and in the first year of the B.M.S. an independent observer wrote that "the Baptist church abundantly thrives among the negroes, more than any denomination in Jamaica." If Liele was the pioneer, his helper Swigle developed powers of organization, and even printed a *Pocket Companion* for the members, who were gathered in by several free brown and black evangelists, especially Moses Baker. The New Connexion had the honour of sending the first monetary help from England.

Dr. Ryland asked whether a white missionary would be welcome, and the suggestion was hailed with delight. But no one offered, and meantime local opposition caused the passing of a law in 1806 which stopped all progress and even hindered ministrations to regular churches. When an Englishman did arrive eight years later, the law was invoked against him; and death swept away three or four of the earliest workers. The first to make any impression were Coulthard, a Scotchman from Bristol college, and Godden, once a sailor in the royal navy, both at work by 1818. The work soon spread to the mainland at Honduras

and Belize, and calls for more workers brought out many, of whom Tinson was spared for twenty-eight years, Burchell for twenty-three, Philippo for fifty-six, Knibb for twenty-one. The New Connexion began work also, but decided to concentrate on India, so that its stations passed to the B.M.S. Such progress was made by 1831 there were nearly eleven thousand members enrolled in twenty-four churches with fourteen pastors.

Meantime the opposition of the planters was as keen as that of the Company in the East Indies, for it was seen that the progress of Christianity threatened slavery. Denmark had abolished the slave trade in the very year the B.M.S. was founded, England followed suit by 1811, and treaties had made it quite illegal for any white nation. Consequently the slaves in Jamaica were harder worked, and they began to die down under the brutal treatment. Parliament ordered slavery itself to cease in the Crown Colony of Trinidad, and recommended the legislatures of Jamaica and the other self-governing colonies to extinguish it gradually. The planters by no means agreed, and the result was an insurrection of the slaves at the end of 1831, despite the attempts of the missionaries to maintain order. They themselves were arrested and maltreated by the planters, while the mission property went up in flames. This led to Knibb returning to England and not only giving a plain account of the facts, but entering on a campaign for the entire and immediate abolition of slavery. The timid committee vainly tried to silence him, but he roused the country, and an Act was passed by the Parliament at Westminster, buying the slaves from the planters, and setting them free; the last stage in this process was reached in 1838 after much opposition from the local legislature, which valued material prosperity more than the lives of the negroes or than their moral and spiritual welfare.

Reorganisation proceeded apace, schools were built and staffed with trained teachers, a Jamaica Baptist Association was formed, and a newspaper was issued.

And while the main island thus prospered, similar work was opened on the Bahamas and other islands to the north. Nor was the African neglected in his native home, and something was attempted at Cape Colony.

In foreign work, Baptists were the pioneer English, and had the joy of seeing that the example was promptly followed by all denominations, so that to nearly every part of the pagan world some messenger of the gospel went.

Specially interesting is it to note that the American Baptists, despite their great task in evangelizing their own immigrant and migratory population, undertook work in Liberia, and in Burmah, which spread into Siam and Macao. Although there was grave tension between the Baptist Union and the Triennial Convention on the subject of slavery, this did not hinder the establishment of American Baptist Missions under the British flag in Assam and in Nellore, whose subsequent success has outstripped the British work.

The reflex influence on the life in England was enormous. Men could not read of what was done abroad, without a widened conception of their duty at home; organization became more common, evangelization was taken up again, education was recognized afresh as a Christian duty.

3. Seminaries, Universities, and Schools.

This evening at Calcutta I read part of a letter from Mr. King of Birmingham, relative to the success attending their schools. Brother Leonard remarked that we might have a free school at Calcutta for the multitude of poor country-born children.

WARD'S JOURNAL, September, 1799.

The denomination which was supposed to be keen on baptizing disciples, awakened to realise that after disciples had been won, they had to be taught. The apostle Paul had deliberately subordinated baptism to evangelizing,

and had followed this up by careful epistolary teaching and personal training. It was found now that these two great fundamental duties involved one another.

Undoubtedly Baptists had been very slow to realise the value of education, and in the dark ages of the eighteenth century there were not ten learned men by whose reputation the denomination might be redeemed. Ward of London founded a trust in 1754 for the better education of ministers in Scotland, Gifford encouraged the development at Bristol as soon as Rhode Island had shown the way, but the "London Baptist Education Society" of 1752 evoked no enthusiasm, and three successive tutors gave up the struggle within a generation. As for the numerous boarding-schools kept by ministers all over the country, these were not due to a love of education, but to the niggardliness of the churches.

Yorkshire however provided two real enthusiasts: Fawcett of Hebden Bridge and Taylor of Birchcliffe had sought to awaken their neighbours to found societies, and failing, had undertaken the work themselves. Taylor was the earlier in creating the corporate spirit, and that in an unexpected quarter. In 1790 he was chairman of the Assembly of the old General Baptists, when Saffron Walden urged a plan to train young ministers, and a friend of his and of the younger Ryland was invited to undertake it. Two years later he was again chairman, when Stephen Freeman of Ponder's End was appointed tutor, and a new Education Fund was created, by which students were educated, and dying churches were resuscitated.

More important, because more evangelical, was Taylor's own work in the New Connexion, which was stirred to emulation. With 1798 he started work at Mile End, four students being under his care that year. The subscribers decided that the work ought to be in their midst, and handed over the management to the Connexion; so in 1813 a new tutor was appointed at Loughborough. When the tutor subsequently moved to Wisbech, this led to a new

society supporting tuition at Loughborough, the centre of the movement. Evidently it was felt strongly that education and evangelization must go hand in hand, so that the college must not be far away from the supporters and the cradle of the Connexion.

John Fawcett was equally successful in the north, where he had the joy of training William Ward, one of the great trio at Serampore. As soon as the armistice of 1803 set men free for home duties, action was taken. After the Association meeting at Hebden Bridge, the Northern Education Society was founded, largely by the generosity of James Bury, a calico printer at Sabden, who acted as treasurer for a dozen years. In this period Steadman, its first president, was helped by a Ryland and two Fawcetts, Littlewood of Rochdale, and three other sturdy laymen, besides his earliest student, Isaac Mann from Bridlington. There was nothing local about this Academy, the three companions of Mann came from Devon, the Scottish Lowlands, the Highlands; they ended their careers in Wilts, London and Canada: other places soon indebted to Bradford were Ireland, New York, Jamaica, Honduras, India, South Africa and Australia. In Steadman's thirty years he had the joy of preparing one hundred and thirty-nine men for a cultured ministry which might give a new tone to the north, and spread the gospel round the world.

London stirred in its sleep during 1804, again at the prompting of Booth, the steady pioneer; but he dared not propose more than the old plan of boarding out a student or two for two years as apprentice to a pastor. It was one of his deacons who struck a bolder note, and another member whose enthusiasm caused it to be echoed. A president was found in William Newman, once an usher in Ryland's school at Enfield, now supporting himself by a boarding school of his own while shepherding a church at Bow. Somehow the Londoners did not even yet rise to the situation, and there were many difficulties to be surmounted; perhaps these account for the fact that

Stepney in its first generation produced barely a hundred ministers.

Wales hitherto had depended almost entirely on Bristol, which was often flooded with men who came largely to learn English, much to the annoyance of English students. That régime ended with the death of the second Evans, and the accession of the younger Ryland. One of his students was Micalh Thomas from Pontypool, who desired to cater directly for his kinsmen, and by 1807 was able to establish the Welsh and English Education Society, under whose auspices he undertook to establish a church and a college at Abergavenny. There he held the fort for thirty years, till the college work was transferred to Pontypool. And in 1839 a second college was opened at Haverfordwest, in the midst of the strong Pembroke group of churches.

All these advances were strictly professional, to train ministers. The idea did not soon take root that higher education was due to men for other purposes, and that it was the duty of the denomination to provide it. Nevertheless the example of Serampore College did react on England, and in 1825 there was a move to obtain a charter for a new unsectarian university in London. Prominent in this was F. A. Cox of Hackney, who became joint secretary, while Olinthus Gregory the mathematician at Woolwich, was also on the council. But success here was only purchased at the cost of ignoring theology and religion.

In a lower grade, Baptists were excluded from the endowed schools as from the universities. They therefore co-operated in establishing the Dissenters' Grammar School at Mill Hill in 1807, though on the staff nearly the only representative was Thomas Blundell, whose connection was unhappy.

But these were for the few, and Baptists are of the many. It was in elementary education that a new conscience was developed. This was largely due to William Fox, a Gloucestershire lad from Beddome's church at Bourton-on-the-water. In London he became a deacon

of Abraham Booth's church, and there conceived the ideas that every poor person in the kingdom be taught to read, and that a society for this sole purpose might accomplish it. These views he promulgated in 1785, calling a meeting for the purpose, presided over by a deacon of Maze Pond. On learning what Raikes had done in their native county, he set to work to nationalise the local movement, abandoning some of his previous plans and concentrating on Sunday. Within three months he had founded the Sunday School Society, with a committee of twelve episcopalians, and twelve dissenters; and the report of 1786 told of one hundred and forty-seven schools already established or helped, with more than seven thousand scholars. When Fox died in 1826, Manchester alone had nearly forty thousand, and it was rare to find a Baptist church which had not responded to the new opportunity.

There was at first fear among the employers and the Tories, that education would make youths unwilling to work with their hands, or to submit passively to the rule of a privileged class; and the attempt was made to forbid Sunday Schools to teach writing, though reading the Bible could scarcely be forbidden. But in the north short work was made of this restriction, and early Baptist Sunday-school accounts show provision for sand-trays, paper, pens. Then while Fox and his friends had propagated from above, William Brodie Gurney at the age of 25 began his long career of public service by founding the Sunday School Union in 1803; this united actual workers in attempts to improve their methods, and to bring about fraternal relations between schools attached to different churches, even of different denominations.

While thus ordinary elementary education was given at church expense on church premises on Sunday, it was clear that for some children not slaves to the new industrial system, schooling was needed on other days. The plan that found favour here was devised by a young Friend, and by 1808 the British and Foreign School Society was

working on undenominational lines. "British Schools" drew much of their support and many of their pupils from Baptist churches, and even to the present day the Society has some Baptist guidance. Nor did this suffice; some churches saw that it was not enough to resist the appeals of the Church of England for public money to educate with, they founded and maintained day-schools under distinctly Baptist auspices, and were urged so to act by their Associations.

As a result of this new energy, it was declared that during the wars with France, schools for the poor had increased a hundred-fold, and that in the century since the death of Queen Anne, those who could read and write had increased fifty-fold: but Cobbett added that the proportion of men hanged had increased in the same proportion, his point being that mere education, even in Bible-reading, could not ameliorate conditions. It was there that men of religion agreed; they put as their first aim the winning for Christ, education being a means to that end, not an end in itself. While the radical was intent only on political machinery to amend social wrongs, Baptists in a humbler way were going deeper. Anderson and others were pleading that the Irish be taught in their own vernacular, Hargreaves Stevenson and Pike were improving Sunday-school methods and books, Dore and Shoveller were pushing the private schools which they and many another minister kept, the G.B. Education Society was giving an account of its twenty years' work and was appealing for more funds, F. A. Cox was calling attention to what Christianity had done for women, Bicheno's lawyer son and Ovington were attacking the problems of the poor laws and the wages of labour; and in Bengal, schools of many types were being provided with new books, and a college was being founded.

Education was thus regarded as a Christian duty, and Baptists according to the measure of their ability both advocated the theory and exemplified the practice. In

the year that Fawcett died, it was estimated that six children in every score were now being taught, under Christian auspices. And this was done, not at the behest of the State, nor at public expense, but as a Christian duty. It was a triumph of the voluntary principle and was acclaimed as such; in later generations dissenters have been less loud in its praise, and have even allowed the Established Church to pose as its champion!

In the period when that Church was provided with new buildings by the taxpayer at the cost of a million, the "chapels" (as the meeting-houses of dissenters were beginning to be called after Methodist usage) were the training grounds of the working man. Here he studied the Bible and developed his imagination; here he learned to discuss with his fellows, to organize a society, to administer its affairs. If in the day he was ground down by greed and tyranny, yet in the evening he met with those who looked at the world with other eyes. They learned from the psalmists to trust and not despair, from the Lord and the apostles that there was a Father above who understood and sympathized, and would in His own time vindicate. While the Frenchman had discussed his grievances only in the halls of the Jacobins, the Englishman took refuge from trouble in Zoar, found room for growth in Rehoboth, and met with God at Bethel.

4. Societies, Benevolent and Propagandist.

We are anxious to see such a Union prevail in our Denomination as shall most effectually combine all our efforts in the cause of Truth and Righteousness at home, and give ten-fold vigour to our exertions on behalf of the heathen abroad.

BAPTIST MAGAZINE, 1811.

This was distinctly a period of Societies, formed for a definite purpose. Partnerships in commerce had grown into common-law companies with hundreds of members. In France the non-privileged classes had developed political clubs to aim at reform. These tendencies reinforced the

native conception of Religious Societies, and as those of the seventeenth century had produced the great revival, the revival now engendered numerous societies with one object apiece.

The B.M.S. was the earliest example of this, and within a few years the forces of the religious world were organized to many definite ends. Chap-books had long been hawked in the villages, and though the works of Bunyan had always been popular, most of the stock was less edifying. Writers like Hannah Neale of Luton did something to produce modern cheap literature, *Sacred history in familiar dialogues*, *Amusement hall*, etc. William Giles of Dartmouth issued a *Guide to Domestic Happiness* which passed through many editions, the versatile Fawcett wrote stories and biographies for Sunday school prizes. In 1799 some London clergy and ministers united "to form a society for the purpose of printing and distributing religious tracts." And the first secretary was a Baptist minister at Battersea, Joseph Hughes. From pamphlets, both old and new, the Religious Tract Society was led on to periodicals in 1824, to books of fiction and of Bible study. In authorship and management, Baptists have never ceased to take a fair share of this inter-denominational work, though the New Connexion in 1810 and the Strict Baptists later on founded separate societies to add tracts on denominational principles.

Within three years from the foundation of the Religious Tract Society, its committee was appealed to for help in providing Welsh Bibles. Interest in this had been awakened by Thomas Llewellyn, the first tutor of the London Baptist Education Society; his history of the Welsh Bible in 1768 had caused an edition of twenty thousand to be absorbed next year. Though Peter Williams, a famous Calvinistic Methodist, prepared a fine Family Bible, and David Jones a Pontypool Baptist co-operated with him in a pocket annotated edition in 1799, the perpetual copyright in the bare text was a hindrance, and constantly provoked eva-

sions, as by Titus Lewis of Carmarthen in this very year. Joseph Hughes, however, looked beyond Wales and widened the project universally, and by 1804 the time was ripe to found a British and Foreign Bible Society, to be managed by Episcopalians, Dissenters, and foreigners in London. Hughes became the first dissenting secretary of this also. Without this great ministry of munitions, the army of missionaries could have achieved little, and what Baptists did at the start was amply repaid in generous help to the brethren at Serampore. These societies were born in a time of literal war, when it always seems that life is lived faster, and greater steps are taken than in the stagnant years of peace.

These two great Societies were universal in area, inter-denominational in management. But within the denomination there was equal energy. New Associations arose for Norfolk and Suffolk, Essex, Bedford, Oxford, Salop, Berks and West London; co-operation was attempted with the Congregationalists in the Isle of Ely, Hertford and Bedford; old Associations were rejuvenated in the Northern Counties and in Ireland; new methods were adopted in most of the existing Associations, or else new societies were formed in loose connection with them. In the great Western Association, district itinerancies were established until it was found in 1823 needful to divide into four smaller areas; and for the same reason Yorkshire and Lancashire parted company in 1837 after one hundred and forty-two years of associated life. That last decade saw new organization in Suffolk and Norfolk (due to doctrinal differences), Essex, East Kent, Bucks, Worcester, Monmouth, parts of South Wales, Notts and Derby, Lincolnshire, the East and North Ridings, and Scotland.

Besides these local Associations of a type reaching back to 1644, there was a revival of the plan for a National Assembly, which had been tried only ten years later. The new General Union was mooted in 1811, and first met in 1813. But it suffered in two respects; it inherited only

the outworn methods of the eighteenth century and aimed at little more than one day's meetings for worship and conference ; it had no practical aim, no permanent officers, no inspiring leader. Not till 1831 did it attain any real importance, and though then it welcomed members from the New Connexion, it still undertook so little that it was content to have two pastors as joint-secretaries, with no office of their own, but enjoying the occasional hospitality of the B.M.S.

Real work was due to spontaneous brotherhoods, consisting of men in earnest, who saw an object and banded to pursue it. Itinerant societies, auxiliary missionary societies, sprang up everywhere, and their secretaries were really far more important than the secretaries of Associations, who hardly worked as such for one week in the year : only by degrees were the doings of these active bodies recorded in the Association minutes, which therefore give a defective account of the real progress.

The new departure in home work began in 1794, and sprung directly out of Northamptonshire energy, as already displayed in the village preaching of the Rylands, and out of their skill in parrying objections. "It has been objected to us," wrote the B.M.S. committee, "that while we are seeking the good of heathens abroad, we are not sufficiently attentive to a kind of characters at home, who, though they sustain the Christian name, yet are heathens in reality, nearly as much so as the inhabitants of India and Africa." They therefore formulated a proposal for extending the assistance of the society to the encouragement of village preaching in England, and recognizing that the Methodist plan of itinerant ministers was not congenial to Baptist methods, they suggested that regular pastors should be freed from their churches on Sunday evenings and on week days, so that they could go to new places ; also that other men be paid to go short rounds. The annual meeting at Birmingham approved, and in 1796 an experiment was tried of sending Bristol students for the

summer to Salisbury and Broughton, while the ministers thence should itinerate in Cornwall. The choice of this county was probably due to the younger Ryland, now head of the Bristol Academy: it was decidedly amusing, for the church at Chacewater and Truro had complacently informed the Western Association "of their being at peace among themselves, of meetings for prayer and conference increasingly attended, and of the pleasing prospect their pastor has of usefulness all around": what more could any one want? The Western Association was as satisfied as the church, and it must have been a rude shock when the men from Hants and Wilts covered nine hundred miles in eight weeks, preaching about 160 times in meeting-houses, town-halls, private houses, and finding especial joy in ascending a desk, a table, or a horse-block in the street or the field, on a fine summer evening, surrounded by hundreds of Cornish miners.

The success of the experiment was immediate. Within six weeks a new Association was formed in Essex, whose grand object was not to tabulate figures nor have a summer picnic in the intervals of sermons, but to spread the gospel in the different towns and villages of the county: this was to be done both by freeing settled ministers, and by appointing an itinerant preacher. In sharp contrast, the Suffolk and Norfolk Association three months earlier had consulted whether they should continue another year, and one church objected to their making an annual collection; mere meeting for two days to hear how badly the churches were faring, excited no enthusiasm. As the news of the Cornish tour spread, largely through Rippon's new *Baptist Register*, a new temper became evident. Rippon himself with Sharp of Bristol undertook a tour in Somerset and Devon, while the B.M.S. sent Steadman with Franklin to repeat the Cornish journey, and to foster village work in Warwickshire. It was then found that James Hinton had been doing the same thing in Oxfordshire, and that the Midland Association had started Double Lectures in

1793 in seven towns, so successfully that Pearce had persuaded the association as such to establish a fund for the support of village preaching, infant interests, and the double lectures. Franklin soon succeeded the aged John Butterworth at Coventry, and kept the new ideals alive.

All this new energy was traced by young Fountain of Eagle Street to the Monthly Prayer-meeting for the revival of religion adopted by the Northants Association in 1784, and recommended generally. One evidence is seen in that the Yorkshire and Lancashire Association, when holding its ninetieth anniversary at Preston in 1786, decided to enlarge its scope, and asked John Fawcett to write a letter on the privileges and Duties of churches. A mission in North Wales, projected by the Radnor men, had been financed by the Particular Baptist Fund since 1776, but otherwise London had been supine. William Fox now brought the evangelistic fervour of the Midlands to bear on the liberality of the metropolis, and induced the Monthly Association to found in 1797 the "Baptist Society in London for the Encouragement and Support of Itinerant Preaching." He was appointed treasurer, another layman secretary, and they guided its work for seventeen years; later secretaries were all ministers, among whom may be noted John Edwards, F. A. Cox, Stephen Davis, Samuel Green; among the treasurers John Broadley Wilson, Samuel Salter, George Lowe, and W. T. Beeby, whose name recalls the early link with the B.M.S., and the Northants village preaching promoted by Beeby Wallis. Colonel Griffin was the latest treasurer, surviving the formal amalgamation with the Baptist Union in 1882. Until recent years, the only two lay Presidents of that body were treasurers of the working body, the Home Mission Society, as it came to be called.

Reverting to the nascent period, Steadman was the great protagonist. From the old-world church of Broughton, he was invited to the great opportunity presented at Plymouth, and he only exchanged this to initiate a second

Academy at Bradford. With education here he joined itinerancy, or perhaps we should say that he regarded this practical work as part of the education. Every summer the Academy students and their president journeyed through the dense populations attracted by the industrial development, and also in some rural districts; church after church was founded, closed doors were re-opened, ministers were stirred to new work. For the education was extended to the Association; Steadman wrote a Circular Letter on the point, and from 1809 the ancient society has been active in extension.

These new enterprises indicate that the great revival led by Whitefield and Wesley since 1738 had after half a century reached the Baptists and had manifested itself in new fashions. It is pleasant to notice that the impulse was transformed and passed on to other quarters. The foundation of the B.M.S. led not only to the (London) Missionary Society, but soon to similar undertakings in Glasgow and Edinburgh, to the systematizing of Methodist effort abroad, to the Church Missionary Society. Again, from little Hamsterley in Durham seven obscure Baptist ministers invited pedobaptist neighbours to join them in preaching the gospel at home; and if the Congregationalists were not particularly eager to accept the invitation, yet by 1819 they did organize their own Home Missionary Society. But the third of the "Three Denominations" was gone too far down another road, Priestley the great thinker and experimenter being a leader; only when in 1835 a Unitarian crossed the Atlantic with a fine Boston tradition, did Domestic Missions obtain any support from the old Presbyterians. Such energy as Unitarians did display, came from distinctly Baptist sources. David Eaton of York and White's Alley convened a meeting in 1805 to establish a missionary fund, and it was attended entirely by Baptists of this type, Joshua Toulmin preaching the inaugural sermon. Richard Wright of Wisbech was engaged, and rivalled Steadman in his activity and in

his success; soon a Unitarian Academy was founded, where for five sessions Robert Aspland, an old Bristol student, trained "popular rather than learned ministers."

While such societies show the renewed attention paid to elementary duties, organizing ability appeared in other directions. In 1816 the West again took the lead by creating an Aged or Infirm Baptist Ministers' Society, which by the end of the century had disbursed nearly £34,000. Similar work was undertaken in other districts, though under modern conditions these have mostly merged in a Union Annuity Fund. Here again the way was shown by an inter-denominational society, the Protestant Union, founded in 1798, Rippon being one of the original members. The lay trustees published an appeal for help to the Christian laity in Britain, saying that ministers in general were very indifferent men of business. It proved that the laity declined to help, and the indifferent men of business have managed their own affairs so well that no insurance society appears able to offer such terms, or has such a large surplus per member.

Such instances show the wisdom of the policy which entrusts the prosecution of a single object to the enthusiasts for that object. The Northamptonshire Association as such did not found the B.M.S., but those who believed in the practicability of the work drew together without the distrustful delegates, and when freed from their lamentations did inaugurate the work. The Yorkshire and Lancashire Association as such did not found Horton Academy, which was due to men who believed in education and declined to be outvoted by mere passive resisters. The Home Missionary Society was not wet-blanketed by Londoners, for those who were apathetic were given no opportunity to stifle the zeal of those who were determined to preach. The Baptist Irish Society stepped in where the Irish Baptist Association had been dormant for years. Doubtless in many cases there were strained relations, but these usually ended in the party of progress capturing the old machinery,

though in a few cases there was disruption. One of the most instructive instances is the New Connexion Academy. This was at first conducted by an *ad hoc* society, which in 1813 felt itself obliged to supersede the aged principal, and next year persuaded the Connexion to take over the Academy. After twelve years' experience, a new society was formed, and from 1825 till 1837 there were two academies, one official and out of the way, the other maintained by the voluntary society in the centre of the district. The former languished till only a single student was left, and the illness of the official principal gave the opportunity for union. It is a sign of the strong corporate feeling of the New Connexion, that this took place by the voluntary society disbanding, and the Connexion adopting its principal, its location, its students. But the practical dissolution of the Connexion in 1891 took away the constituency, and a consequent reconstruction on the familiar local basis was an operation performed too late in life.

Similar wavering between action by an established Association and action by a Society for one definite purpose, occurred among the Particular Baptists also. Thus two different systems have developed and have endured. Only in the twentieth century have resolute attempts been made to co-ordinate the varying methods, and even to co-operate intelligently with the still older Particular Baptist Fund.

5. Periodicals and the Press.

Would it be advisable to publish a periodical pamphlet to serve as a Register, or Repository of the affairs of this connection of General Baptists?

DAN TAYLOR, 1802.

Such a publication would be both desirable and useful: and brother Adam Taylor is requested to publish a sixpenny number every six months.

THE ASSOCIATION REPLY.

In the wars of the eighteenth century, it was found that armies were helpless without magazines on which they could draw for stores of all kinds. The lesson was applied

in the field of literature, and the *Gentleman's Magazine* began its long course in 1731. The religious world slowly rose to the opportunity, and the *Monthly Review* was edited by Nonconformists from 1749 till 1825. Then came a remarkable piece of Baptist enterprise, for John Allen of Salisbury initiated the *Spiritual Magazine* in 1752, apparently the first arsenal of munitions for spiritual warfare. This sign that the evangelical revival was nothing shallow, that converts needed to be supplied with teaching, and that teachers were ready to supply, was the more welcome as it came from a high Calvinist quarter. Fourteen years later appeared the *Gospel Magazine*, the Methodists began in 1778, and the *New Spiritual Magazine* soon followed.

Two more Baptists set the pace in 1790, when Rhees of Penygarn began his quarterly *Welsh Treasury*, and though his emigration ended that venture, yet John Rippon from Devon took a hint from the political Annual Register, and began his *Baptist Register* which ran for thirteen years, though latterly it was by no means limited to denominational matters. He was an indefatigable antiquary, and gathered much material; unfortunately he did not publish much that he gathered, nor did he return it to its owners, and many early records have been lost ever since, though some manuscripts have found their way into safe keeping.

The *Evangelical Magazine* of 1793 was replenished by Baptist contributors for a score of years, and soon a *Protestant Dissenters' Magazine* made a short bid for favour. But there were frequent strained relations, and the behaviour of the editors when matters arose which were viewed differently by Pedobaptists and Baptists, seemed then and seems now unfair. The B.M.S. began with 1794 to issue *Periodical Accounts* of the foreign work, and three years later the New Connexion appointed Dan Taylor to conduct a *General Baptist Magazine*. This indeed did not outlive the century, but his brother Adam was asked to start again on a less ambitious scale in 1802; under one

name or another the *General Baptist Repository* held on till the merger of the New Connexion with the larger body. At Liverpool William Jones launched the *New Theological Repository*, which lasted nearly nine years, with contributions from Fuller and M'Lean. He was promptly followed by J. W. Morris of Clipstone, who secured Fuller's help in his *Theological and Biblical Magazine*. Then a frank bid was made for the rising generation by W. B. Gurney in his *Youth's Magazine*.

Such ventures encouraged Thomas Smith of Tiverton in 1811 to begin what he boldly entitled the *Baptist Magazine*. Its success was such that soon the jealous *Evangelical Magazine* lost its Baptist writers and readers, with the unfortunate result of the denominations drawing apart for awhile. Smith removed to London, and built up the magazine by skilful alliances, incorporating from time to time one after another of the new denominational ventures. In one series after another, absorbing one or two rivals, owned by a syndicate or by one man, granting from profits to denominational purposes, it remained for ninety-nine years as a strong semi-official bond. And what it did for England, *Seren Gomer* soon did and still does for Wales.

Much shorter were the runs of the *Monthly Repository*, more literary than spiritual, Unitarian than Baptist; or of Flower's *Political Review and Monthly Register*. After the upheaval of 1830 a multitude of new periodicals appeared, the old General Baptists issuing the *G. B. Advocate*, while other classes supported the *Christian Observer*, the *Revivalist*, the *Gospel Herald*, the *Family Magazine*, the *Gospel Standard*, the *Christian Review*, the *Messenger*. A converted Jew broke new ground for Baptists in 1837, while at Leicester J. Foulkes Winks started in 1829 what proved a most varied literary enterprise, rising from tracts to the dignity of another magazine, and breaking away from the old prejudice which concealed authorship behind initials and pseudonyms.

Another species of denominational publication was a

hymn-book. The collection of Evans and Ash served long for the Particular Baptists, and that of Deacon and Taylor for the New Connexion; but this period saw both superseded. In 1787 Rippon gathered five hundred and eighty-eight hymns to be used as supplementary to Watts, and followed with two hundred tunes four years later. All his life he kept on recasting, juggling with the copyright to protect what became a most valuable piece of private property. The New Connexion had not only its first collection, but a second made in 1784 by Samuel Deacon; it asked John Deacon in 1791 to make a third, and in 1830 a revision of this was acquired by the corporate body; the *Baptist Hymnal* is a later descendant, and was one of the parents of the present *Baptist Church Hymnal*. As hymns were always regarded by Baptists as vehicles of doctrine, it was only to be expected that many unofficial collections should be made, and when a man of any popularity undertook the work, his own hymn-book would sometimes spread to other churches and outlive him.

Association circular letters grew in number, and had not only the minutes of meetings appended, but often the reports of kindred societies. About the close of this period some of the larger pamphlets began to take on the dignity of coloured covers and to pose as little volumes. They are useful sources for the denominational history, but are in no sense literature.

If the question be asked, to what extent Baptists made any contribution to general culture, it must be owned that the range was narrow. This was inevitable, when the ordinary grammar-schools and universities were closed to all dissenters. Yet Thomas Chevalier did something for medicine, James Ebenezer Bicheno for law, and Olinthus Gregory for mathematics, even holding a post at Woolwich Military Academy. Several adventured into history, not only ecclesiastical, but local; Tiverton, Taunton, Bristol, Lynn, Bunhill Fields, were dealt with by Baptists. William

Winterbotham used the years of a political imprisonment to produce an account of China and another of the United States, but there was hardly any other work of this kind that would attract any reader by its own merits, till a generation later Hinton wrote again on America. As for poetry, a dozen at least produced verses, but none are worth mention except Cottle, related to and collaborating with Southey.

Two men struck out lines of their own. George Offor devoted himself to new editions of such classics as early versions of the Bible, and Bunyan, accompanying them with valuable introductions. W. H. Black was a skilled antiquary, and published many pieces that were of value in learned circles; but he decidedly kept his religious light under a bushel, and one of his associates in research work learned with unbounded surprise at the end of his life that he had been a Baptist minister all the while. Both of these men did their best work in the next generation.

The men who really could hold their own in the open field, were those who had received a liberal training in other denominations, and adopted Baptist views by conviction. The brothers Haldane and Alexander Carson did work that could hardly have been done by one of Baptist breeding; and as they came of a dogged Scottish stock, their influence was great, and paved the way for new developments both in North Britain and in Ulster, towards the close of this period. The Haldanes, moreover, had Swiss connections, and broke new ground on the Continent.

Only one woman of letters appeared, from Eythorn; she in her first marriage had associated with cultured Oxford circles. Esther Copley, formerly Hewlett, did great work with her pen, providing perhaps nothing for the literary world, but serving her own generation splendidly, and appealing chiefly to women and children. Five or six ministers also were better known as authors, some so prolific that they remind us of the literary hacks of Johnson's day. Bourne Hall Draper did for men what Mrs. Hewlett

did for women ; Joseph Belcher was slightly more religious in tone ; George Charles Smith specialised in the sea, especially round Cornwall, but also issued pamphlets on open-air work ; John Evans not only kept a boarding-school in Islington and preached to a tiny endowed church in Worship Street, but poured out books on all manner of subjects, training his son to collaborate in guides to holiday resorts ; and this kind of work was taken up also by Jabez Burns.

School-books abounded, for when a minister kept a school, he could command a certain, if limited, market. Quite a dozen such authors might be named, but only Ash's grammar was good enough to pass into wider circulation.

It might have been hoped that at least in theology some one would command attention, but Fuller found no successor except in the versatile Booth till John Howard Hinton, whose originality again raised a storm of opposition. For the rest, a few interpreters of prophecy like James Bicheno illustrated the dangers that await those who have no wide horizon.

In politics, the French Revolution called out many sympathizers, but the outbreak of war with France caused their repression ; Winterbotham was imprisoned, Morgan John Rhees had to emigrate. Few remember that William Ward began his career as an opponent of slavery and editor of a Derby paper, for he was led to transfer his energies to another continent. One or two men like Robinson and Hall came out at great crises with sermons or essays of the first importance, but these were rare exceptions.

John Foster represents this side of Baptist life at its best. Son of a small farmer, a weaver in youth, fellow-student with Ward under Fawcett, he was trained at Bristol and sought to serve five churches. In 1804 he found his vocation as an essayist, his first publication being the conversations with which he had done his courting. The success was as brilliant as Bunyan's, and he was

promptly asked to join the staff of the *Eclectic Review*. The scores of contributions till 1839 revealed a culture that hitherto had been all too rare in the denomination ; his very first publication pointed out the artificial style of conversation in evangelical circles, and pleaded for more reality and naturalness. He took his share in denominational affairs and in national politics, but the *Essays* have become a literary classic, one early edition having been issued at Glasgow by the publishers of this present work. Special attention is due to Foster's proposal in 1819 that elementary education should be provided for all children throughout the kingdom, by the government. Hitherto the voluntary societies inspired by Lancaster and Bell had held the field ; it is due to the Baptist essayist that the continental plan of public elementary schools for the whole nation was advocated. The seed did not fall on barren soil, for in the very next year Lord Brougham did introduce a bill looking in this direction, though fifty years had to elapse before the system was actually inaugurated.

Only towards 1830 was there a revival of Baptist interest in public life ; and this came about by the emergence of a moral question. Between 1788 and 1796 there had been some writing and preaching on the slave-trade. But life in Jamaica had convinced the missionaries that it was not enough to stop this ; the existing slaves must be considered. Innes wrote of the experiment at Liberia, then one after another dealt with the conditions in the West Indies, and contributed to raise and guide that public opinion which resulted in the nation buying every slave in the empire, and setting them all free.

To this there was one most unfortunate sequel. A letter was sent to the American Baptists urging them to consider similar action, and a deputation was sent from the Union to follow this up. But in the Triennial Convention the southern slave-holders were strongly represented, and the matter was ruled out of order. The kindly interest, however, was reciprocated, and the Americans soon called

British attention to the scandals connected with drink, and urged that they be lessened. In this particular matter it was still customary for associations to put up at taverns, and for ministers to consume plenty of beer at ordinations and other meetings. And however ready Englishmen have been to reprove others, accepting a reproof is quite another thing. The result was that while the Revolution of 1776-1783 had left no breach between Baptists on either side the Atlantic; there was now a great coolness, not dispelled till the Civil War between North and South in America showed that the lower and middle classes here, educated in Baptist principles, discovered their moral kinship with those who championed freedom across the Atlantic.

SOURCES FOR THE PERIOD.

Minutes of the Baptist Missionary Society, Education and other Societies.
Biographies, as of Carey, Fawcett, Foster, Fuller, Hall, Kinghorn, Medley,
Pearce, Ryland, Steadman, Taylor.
Magazines, especially the *G.B. Repository*, the *Baptist Magazine*, the
Missionary Herald.

MODERN STUDIES.

Centenary volumes, as of the B.M.S. and the Bible Society.
Swaine : *Faithful Men*, 1884.

THE VICTORIAN AGE.

Baptists contend for the spirituality of the church. Their history has been an unremitting struggle for liberty of conscience and an unfettered Bible.

BAPTIST UNION OF SCOTLAND.

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY AND ECCLESIASTICAL LEGISLATION.

SCOTLAND, IRELAND AND WALES.

FOUR ENGLISH GROUPS.

INDIA, CHINA, AND THE NEGROES.

FORTY YEARS OF UNITED WORK.

LEADING DATES.

1838. New Connexion reorganization.
 1838-42. (Schools for missionaries' children).
 1840. Baptist Tract Society.
 Haverfordwest College.
 1842. Welsh New Testament.
 1843. Mission to Brittany.
 B. Union Scotland, to 1855.
 1844. Dissenting Chapels Act.
 1845. Scotch Academy, to 1855.
 1846. Hanserd Knollys Society, to 1854.
 1847. (Taunton School.)
 1851. New Connexion hymn-book.
 Official religious census.
 1852. *Regium Donum* ends.
 1854-6. Universities opened.
 1856. Pastors' College.
 1858. *Psalms and Hymns*.
 1860. Grammar schools opened.
 Scotch Association, to 1869.
 1861. Metropolitan Tabernacle.
 Baptist Handbook.
 1862. North Wales College.
 1863. Baptist Union reorganization
 (Tettenhall College).
 1865. London Baptist Association.
 1866. Bury College (Manchester).
 Baptist Union of Wales.
 1867. Zenana Mission.
 Stockwell Orphanage.
 1868. Church rates not compulsory.
 (Bishop's Stortford College).
 1869. Baptist Union of Scotland.
 (Mill Hill reorganized).
 1871. Metropolitan Strict Association.
 1874. Annuity Fund.
 1875-8. Missions in Italy, China, Congo.
 1879. *Baptist Hymnal*.
 1880. Parish churchyards opened.
 1881. Scottish Total Abstinence Society
 1890. Zambezi Industrial Mission.
 1891. New Connexion merger.
 1894. Scottish Theological College.
 Welsh New Testament.
 1900. *Baptist Church Hymnal*.
 1901. Welsh B. Historical Society.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE VICTORIAN AGE.

IN the two generations of Victoria's reign, the population more than doubled, while successive Reform Acts and Education Acts shifted the balance of political power towards, if not beyond, that class which has always been most accessible to Baptist views. The relations of different ecclesiastical bodies with the State altered greatly in this period, and must receive attention. Within the denomination, the first 25 years showed Scottish Baptists evincing their national aptitude to organize and rule wherever they went, Wales specialized in emotional revivals, England was deeply concerned with differences of doctrine and practice. Meanwhile Baptist principles were striking root in every other part of the new empire that was growing up, and in missionary fields under other flags. After the reorganization of the Baptist Union at its jubilee in 1863, scattered societies either widened their scope or amalgamated, a new educational policy began to take shape, and the denomination began once again to recognize its responsibilities as well as its opportunities in civic and national life.

I. Religious Liberty and Ecclesiastical Legislation.

We are called upon to save the nation's liberties, and while we seek first the rights of our Lord, He may again add unto us the rights of man. We must never forget the two fundamental principles—the exclusive supremacy of Christ in His Church, and the right, or rather the duty, of private judgment.

FRANCIS CLOWES, to the Yorkshire and Lancashire Associations, 1846.

With the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts,

Catholic emancipation, and the Reform Act, a new era seemed to open under William IV. A society was formed in 1829 to promote ecclesiastical knowledge, in which F. A. Cox of Hackney, Murch of Stepney College, and Price of Devonshire Square took prominent part; many pamphlets were published, and lectures were given for about fourteen years. Great changes took place in regard to the Establishment, in nearly every case made by Parliament without any effective expression of opinion from the clergy. Dioceses were re-arranged, pluralities were abolished, incumbents were ordered to reside in their parishes. Since 1753 there had been no method of being legally married except by the clergy, but in 1836 the Commonwealth plan of a civil registrar was revived, with the variation that he might silently witness a marriage between two persons before any person or persons they chose, including a dissenting minister, provided the place were registered for the purpose, and certain standard forms were used in the course of the proceedings.

On the financial side, the estates of all bishops were transferred to an Ecclesiastical Commission, whose functions were chiefly those of trustees, having no judicial or governing powers like the commissions of the Tudors and Stuarts. Bishops were paid fixed salaries, tithes were commuted for cash payments, and other measures were taken towards lessening the inequalities of salary.

With 1834 an agitation against church rates began, which lasted for a generation, and in the crucial Braintree case, Baptists bore a prominent part. The question was set at rest by forbidding any demand of rates, and abolishing the coercive methods of collecting.

The shame of having all such reforms forced on the Establishment from without, sank into the hearts of some Oxford Anglicans, who set themselves deliberately to revive Church feeling. So also in Scotland, where a conflict between the Church Assembly and the Law Courts on the

question of patronage, brought about a great secession in 1843, and the foundation of the Free Church. In England, however, the results were strikingly different. While there was a great revival of corporate spirit in Church circles, and a reliance on the inherent rights of the Church rather than on the arm and the purse of the State, the secessions were of a few leaders who joined the Roman Communion. This gravely checked the movement within Anglican circles, but though the pace was slackened, Catholic ideas steadily spread; they brought out more and more the illogicality of the Elizabethan compromise, the unsteady footing of the Evangelicals in the Establishment, and the scandal of religious corporations being controlled by a parliament. Two great landmarks were the revival of Convocations in 1852, and of episcopal courts in 1890.

The Tractarian movement was viewed with the gravest suspicion not only within the Church of England, but among all Nonconformists. One result was that the quiet propaganda of the society for promoting ecclesiastical knowledge were no longer deemed sufficient, and a British Anti-State-Church Association took shape in 1844, with decidedly militant leaders, who were obsessed by the idea of anti-, and put themselves on record also against education, because the government proposals in the Factory Acts proposed exceptional powers to the clergy.

Sanitary reasons led to the disuse of many burial-grounds, and with 1852 a Burials Act gave the right to any ten ratepayers in a parish to requisition a vestry-meeting which should decide as to providing a new ground. For the first time it was allowed that part of this ground need not be consecrated by the Bishop, and thus that interments might take place without the intervention of the clergy. Not till 1880 was it provided that dissenters might conduct funerals in their own way even in consecrated grounds, old or new.

The secessions of 1845 led soon to a revival of the Roman Catholics in England. Pope Pius IX., after his

tragic experiences in Rome, asserted his spiritual authority as a set-off to his waning political power. In 1850 he restored a Catholic hierarchy in England, with bishops taking territorial titles. From that day onwards, the Catholics have been a factor to be reckoned with in all political life. At that time there were fewer than five hundred priests; at the end of the Victorian age there were more than three thousand eight hundred, with a thousand religious houses. That they then claimed about six thousand conversions annually, and registered about ten thousand marriages, is less important than that the organisation had been perfected, the press had been silently trammelled or coloured, legislation had been so influenced and utilised as vastly to increase the political, educational and financial position of the communion.

At first blush, it would seem that on the principle of religious liberty, the emancipation of Catholics was just and therefore desirable, while their growth was a matter of no concern. This was actually the feeling of many Baptists; the Dissenting Deputies and the Protestant Society in 1829 and 1830 favoured the Act, and O'Connell came on the platform to give public thanks for the exertions made by Protestant Dissenters. It is therefore well to study the question, and it is significant that good material is largely furnished by Pius IX., who in 1852 began and in 1864 published a Syllabus of eighty important errors officially condemned. Four of these deal with indifferentism and false tolerance in religious matters, twenty with the Roman Catholic church and its rights, seventeen with the State and its relation to the Roman Catholic church, four with modern liberalism. Three errors thus anathematised are:—(24) That the Church does not possess the power of coercion nor any temporal power, direct or indirect. (77) That in our age it is no longer expedient that the Catholic religion should be regarded as *the one* form of religion, all other cults being excluded. (79) That it is false to maintain that the civil liberty of any religion and

the full power conceded to all of publicly expressing any opinion and thoughts, tends to the corrupting of the minds and morals of peoples, and the spreading of the plague of indifference. This speedily led to Manning's paraphrase of the papal assertions, "I claim to be the supreme judge, and arbiter of the consciences of men," and to the 1870 decree of the Vatican Council that when the Pope speaks in his capacity as pastor and teacher of all Christians and defines doctrine whether as touching faith or morals to be observed by the Church, he is infallible.

The whole history of Catholicism and of Islam shows the danger to any state from the pressure of international forces wielded in the last resort by foreigners. Politically, it is a constant experience that Catholics and Moslems are never content with mere equality, but on principle, always aim at superiority. And their widespread geographic adherents give them political means which they are seldom averse to use, to the detriment of both civil and religious liberty.

Some important changes took place as to the tenure of lands for meeting-houses. The system of trusts had been but imperfectly understood by earlier generations, and many cases occurred where the heirs of a trustee caused trouble before they would convey to the trustees desired by the congregation; while on the drawing of new deeds, the conditions of the original trust were often varied at the whim of the beneficiaries. For entirely different reasons, parliament was led to legislate on the subject. Several lawsuits were pending between Independents and Unitarians as to the possession of meeting-houses and charities, and the highest court decided that Unitarians as such were incapable of holding property. A curious result of the legal decision is that Baptists in the North of England now enjoy a share in the benefactions of Dame Sarah Hewley, a Presbyterian. To prevent further litigation, an act was passed in 1844 which settled that where there were no express provisions in the trust, undisturbed use

of the premises or enjoyment of the charity for twenty-five years should give good title.

The system of leases had long worked disastrously for dissenters. They had been so anxious to acquire any sort of site, that again and again they had been content to take leases and then to erect their own meeting-houses on the land, with no guarantee that the lease would be renewed. In the eighteenth century this led to the crippling of many a cause, and even the extinction of a few in London. The difficulty was illustrated afresh by the beneficence of Sir Morton Peto, who decided that it was time to have worthier buildings in London, he himself being a builder. His first great gift was of a chapel in Bloomsbury, which he placed between a French Church of England and a chapel on Oxford Street; his equipping it with two spires caused some comment. Then he bought the Diorama in Regent's Square, and converted it into a place of worship; but in this case there was only a lease for some seventy years. Bills to enable congregations to acquire the freehold compulsorily were not enacted into law until the twentieth century was well advanced.

Sir Morton, however, obtained an Act in 1850 which greatly facilitated the appointment of new trustees, and is still largely used where churches have not utilised later methods of a permanent corporation as trustee, on the lines which were once forbidden by the Mortmain Acts. Inspired by him, a Metropolitan Chapel Building Society was formed, and within eight years had erected eighteen houses of worship. From that time some idea of architecture has been generally present to new churches.

The general administration of charities had long been lax, and in every part of England there are cases where endowments have simply disappeared. Therefore in 1853 a Charity Commission was appointed, with powers of supervision and enquiry extended by subsequent legislation. Trustees have to file accounts with them annually; they send to enquire when any breach of trust is suspected,

and they have large powers to re-arrange where the original purposes of the charity can no longer be exactly fulfilled.

The *Regium Donum* ceased in 1851. Originally it was literally a royal gift made by George I. to soothe the refusal by Walpole of equal rights to dissenters. It became annual, and gradually increased to nearly £1,700, which was placed at the disposal of three London ministers for distribution at their pleasure among ministers of the Three Denominations, or their widows. The secrecy gave rise to many misgivings, the autocratic behaviour of some distributors gave frequent umbrage. But the situation was altered when a new settlement was made between crown and parliament, the crown relinquishing hereditary estates, accepting a salary instead—the plan of the Ecclesiastical Commission with the bishops and other dignitaries. For when the crown turned over the revenues, it turned over also many liabilities, including the *Regium Donum*. And thus it came about that every year a vote for dissenting ministers and their widows was made by parliament. It seemed at least questionable whether this were seemly, in view of the agitation to disestablish the Church of England, and dissenting bodies everywhere began to condemn it publicly. In 1845 a dissenting M.P. moved its discontinuance, no Baptist minister could presently be found to undertake the distribution, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer bowed to the general wish of the dissenters after six annual divisions in the House of Commons.

In 1851 the census showed the actual attendance of people at the most numerous religious services. It proved that only seven ecclesiastical bodies could count a hundred thousand; Anglicans, Wesleyans, Independents, Baptists, Roman Catholics, Calvinistic Methodists, Primitive Methodists. It also showed that for every eleven worshipping in the parish churches, there were ten in dissenting chapels, and fifteen who might have been at worship but were not.

In 1857 parliament radically altered the law as to

divorce, a matter which had hitherto been regulated on Christian principles. It had never been possible under ordinary conditions so to undo a marriage as to render either party capable of marrying again; the words of our Lord were esteemed final on that point. All that had been possible was to put away an adulterous spouse from table and bed, but not to dissolve the marriage itself. Or in other cases, notoriously that of Henry VIII., it might be held that what had been esteemed a valid marriage, never had been a marriage at all; in that case both parties were indeed free to marry for the first time. That whole system of law was ecclesiastical, and had been administered by ecclesiastical courts. But a non-Christian temper had grown, and the rich people freed from the company of an unwanted partner, had increasingly obtained private acts of parliament to dissolve their marriages and set them free for a second marriage. The scandal of having one possibility for the rich which was not open to the poor, led to a new law which enabled a secular court absolutely to dissolve any marriage on certain conditions, and to enable the divorced parties to contract new unions. This was a frank cleavage between the law of the land and Christian principles. It was vigorously opposed by Gladstone on the highest grounds, a good instance of that community of feeling between high church men and dissenters on the most fundamental issues, which is too often obscured by differences on mere ecclesiastical points. Dissenters then had practically no spokesmen in parliament, and they have never been unduly eager after divorce, so their voice was not uplifted then. But their names figure as rarely in the divorce court as in the criminal court, or in the admission books of work-houses. A church would certainly expel a member against whom a divorce verdict was given; a minister would probably refuse to countenance a re-marriage of any guilty party, member or otherwise.

[The whole problems of education changed greatly in the Victorian age. In 1837, the Sunday Schools were still

real and important factors, while the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society were accepting a little help from the State. But men were beginning to look abroad and note the progress of education in other lands; they observed that Prussia had gained no little from a system of compulsory universal education under the auspices of the State Church; that France had tried and discarded the monitorial system beloved of both Lancaster and Bell, and had unified her system by communal schools and the prohibition of all others; both agreed that the State must foster education. With 1839 a Committee of the Privy Council was formed for this end. It promptly came into conflict with the Established Church, and had to concede a veto on the choice of Inspectors. It took eight years for Nonconformists to realise the changing conditions, and to decide on any kind of policy; meantime, they adopted a mere conservative attitude, opposing every constructive policy out of fear, well-justified, that it was intended to benefit Anglicans. Thus in 1843, Brock of Norwich and Hinton, one of the secretaries of the Union, published against all state interference; and the *Baptist Magazine* summed up that while the union of Church and State continued, all conscientious dissenters must strenuously oppose enactments for national education. In 1847 Wesleyans, Catholics and Jews decided to found schools and accept Government help, which had hitherto been given only to the rival societies. Next year the Baptists established a Voluntary School Society, although with the combative instinct which ill replaced common sense it was at first named the Anti-State-Education Society. The same spirit was strong in nearly all quarters; Association after Association denounced the new system, and set itself like Mrs. Partington with her mop to sweep out the Atlantic. It was a typical instance of what was to become only too characteristic; to protest and protest, but never to produce any alternative policy for which any sacrifice was made, and after abundant words of defiance

to submit. Sunday schools remained, more and more confining themselves to Bible study, more and more overshadowed by the day schools, less and less useful whether for education or for conversion. Only here and there did any group of Baptists establish a day school, while the Voluntary School Association in 1850 dealt with only £1,400, and the British and Foreign School Society with only £14,000.

Meantime the State was coping with the problem which was so poorly appreciated by dissenters. Teachers were trained and certified, grammar schools were overhauled and opened to dissenters with a conscience clause, the minutes of the Education Committee were codified. After the Reform Act of 1867, all Endowed schools were freed from religious restrictions unless the foundation deed imposed them, and with 1870 school boards were set up to place schools where needed. At this time the expense was shared about equally by the Exchequer, voluntary subscribers, and parents. In the new board schools it was permitted to have Bible teaching with nothing distinctive of any one body; and in practice all but seven English School Boards did arrange for this. In framing a syllabus for London, Dr. Angus took an important part. The next step was in 1888 when County Councils were instituted to manage county affairs, and were entrusted with the charge of technical education, with liberal help from the Exchequer. By this time dissenting schools or voluntary subscriptions from dissent were quite negligible. When in 1899 there was appointed one Board of Education to unify the central direction of Elementary, Technical, Secondary schools, it was obvious that something of the same kind was due locally, and the county councils were in 1902 chosen for the purpose. The provision securing to the denominational schools, chiefly Roman and Anglican, a majority of managers and the public provision of all expenses (except for fabric) called forth bitter opposition which was quite fruitless, and a protest that dissenters would not submit,

which was backed by no action. To all but dissenters it was clear that they had long been supine, that protests had become almost second nature, would remain mere idle words, and that the acquiescence in Bible teaching at the public expense had cut loose from any intelligible principle. It was, and still is, perfectly possible, to build Baptist schools, govern them by a majority of Baptist managers, staff them with Baptist teachers, and give the most definite dogmatic instruction, yet put all the current cost on the public. But such a course was never publicly mooted.

In secondary education things were little better. Not a single public school was founded by Baptists, and the good private schools once kept habitually by ministers, such as Ash, Fawcett, faded away as the State took up the duty of education. All that can be said is that Baptists had a share in establishing the school at Walthamstow for the children of missionaries in 1838, and in three others open to all, Taunton in 1847, Tettenhall in 1863, Bishop's Stortford in 1868. The opening of all grammar schools with a conscience clause ended the extension of even this limited enterprise.

Actively then, Baptists became quite negligible in public education, with no longer any clear policy. Passively they benefited greatly in common with all other classes by the opening of schools and of new universities, as well as by the freeing old schools and old universities from sectarian restrictions. Yet even this advance raised new problems, for with a more highly educated constituency, there ought to be a more highly educated ministry and corps of Sunday School teachers. The Sunday Schools, however, by no means improved, barely held their own absolutely, and greatly retrograded relatively. It was quite rare to find any systematic training of teachers, whether in the art of teaching, or in religious knowledge: all that can be said is that a good newspaper was available, that many denominational newspapers had a teachers' column, and that American methods of organization were made known. The training of ministers was, however, improved: tutors

increased in number and were set free from other duties, the theological colleges affiliated with the newer universities. The establishment of new colleges did not keep pace with the increase of numbers, and indeed was due to internal changes which need closer attention.

In the wider national life, Baptists and other dissenters could take no share so long as they were shut out from parliament, municipal corporations, the bench, the bar, the university. They had indeed learned self-government and equality in the churches, and as soon as the Napoleonic wars were over, they led the radical movement for such things in the state. But when there was a great constitutional reform under William IV., the new parliament spent its energy on slavery, factory acts, government of towns and of the Established Church : it did nothing whatever to remove the disabilities of dissenters. Thus the finest thought and energy of a Baptist could find scope still only in the pulpit, the press, the counting-house, the laboratory. There was a social boycott which combined with an inward attraction to make dissenters very coherent and very vocal. The governing classes were glad enough to secure the Nonconformist Vote at elections, but were very reluctant to pay for it by such simple measures of justice as rendering the payment of church rates optional, or opening Oxford and Cambridge to all, such "concessions" came only within living memory. And meantime insult was added to injury when men who demanded these elementary rights of citizens were labelled "Political Dissenters."

On the other hand, when the barriers did come down between 1868 and 1880, so that Baptists found the way open for them in theory to a fellowship at college, a commission in army or navy, a silk gown and coif, then the solidarity of dissent became less remarkable ; it was regarded no longer as an *Imperium extra imperium*. It acted on the community no longer as a hammer from without, but as a leaven within. The Nonconformist Vote is heard of less ; the Nonconformist Conscience more.

Much as the nation may have gained, the denomination has lost: we cannot supply mayors to towns, orators to the university, magistrates and judges to the bench, ministers to the crown, and still keep up the high level of ministers to the churches. Once the highest post to which a Baptist could aspire was to be a director in the city, a doctor in Harley Street, a pastor in Bloomsbury; but now for half a century a young man has been able to weigh also the attractions of St. John's or Emmanuel, the headship of a great city Grammar School, the civil service in England, India and the colonies. The volume has not increased sufficiently to cut as deep, while it fertilizes more widely. National influence has been exercised from within, but there are fewer pulpit giants like Hall, Mursell, M'Laren, Spurgeon. This is a call to the youth of our most cultured families; the next generation must be even better taught if it is to supply good trained material, whether to the state or to the denomination.

This was foreseen to some extent by the Strict and Particular Baptists, as also by the "Plymouth" Brethren. They deliberately preferred to consecrate their best gifts to the service of God in ecclesiastical channels, and they frowned upon a general intermixture with the world. Knowing their citizenship to be in heaven, they aimed to live in this world as not of it, and thus their direct share in the national life has been but slight. But for the up-building of the inner life, men still turn to their devotional and expository books, or they enter the plain Ebenezer where the only musical instrument is the leader's pitch-pipe, but the doctrines of grace are proclaimed, albeit in the language of a bye-gone century.

2. Scotland, Ireland, and Wales.

*The simple worship, sternly pure,
The faith unquestioning and sure.*

LEWIS MORRIS.

Developments in Scotland were all but independent

of England, but have deeply influenced Baptist life in every part of the Empire. The Baptist churches in the English regiments under Lilburne, marched away under Monk and left no native trace after 1660. Sir William Sinclair in 1750 formed a Baptist church which met in his castle of Keiss in far-off Caithness ; but it led to nothing. Lasting work was due to M'Lean, Anderson and the Haldanes.

John Glas, deposed from the ministry of the Church of Scotland in 1728, founded a small sect which was continued by his son-in-law Robert Sandeman ; its governing principle was to reproduce early Christian practices. Study of the New Testament was bound to reveal a plurality of unpaid elders in every church (at one stage) and the baptism of believers. So in 1765 Robert Carmichael, one of their ministers, went to London to be baptized by Dr. Gill, and returned to found a Baptist church in Edinburgh, where three years later he associated with himself as co-elder, a printer named Archibald M'Lean, who soon became the most prominent member in the rapidly increasing "Scotch Baptists." Under his influence churches were formed not only in Scotland, but also in England and in North Wales, of a distinctive type. They were independent one of another, yet they held together by correspondence, a circular of 1822 showing churches at Aberdeen, Dundee, Edinburgh, Galashiels, Glasgow, Kirkcaldy, Largs, Musselburgh, Newburgh, Perth, Stirling, West Allerdale, besides Ford Forge and Wooler, Beverley, Nottingham, Lane End and London. Each church sought two or more Elders, and took decisions only by a unanimous vote of its members. Communion was every Sunday morning, among members only ; a love-feast generally took place in the afternoon ; washing the feet was observed at intervals, and also the kiss of charity. In domestic life, behaviour was very strict, and food with the blood was not used. From the first days of the Baptist Missionary Society, these churches supported the work.

From these customs there was decided revolt in some

quarters, and Christopher Anderson set another precedent. He met some English Baptists at Edinburgh University, and by them was persuaded. His health not allowing him to go to India, he began a church in his native city in 1806, which because of his Southron friends was called at first the "English Baptist" church. Besides his local work, and his abundant literary labours, within two years he began sending evangelists into Galloway, Argyll and the Islands, Perth. Within eight years David M'Laren also was working there, while Sinclair Thomson of Dunrossness began work in the Shetlands and the Orkneys. The need of such missions may be gauged by the fact that in 1811 a thickly populated parish in Ross contained nobody able to read the Scriptures, whether in English or in Gaelic. Their success may be seen in such a family as the Tullochs, hailing in the early days from Blair Atholl. It was hoped that students educated in England might carry on work of this kind, and when the Northern Education Society in that kingdom started at Bradford, half its students came from Scotland; before Anderson died, thirty-three such lads had been sent south for the purpose, including his son-Hugh. But it happened with them as with their kinsmen generally; they found that Scotland was a good country to come from, not to return to.

Meantime, there had been a third influence. Robert Haldane and his brother James Alexander were wealthy, and full of zeal for souls. As the Church of Scotland had no use for unauthorized preachers, they worked independently, training men, building and endowing tabernacles, founding a Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home. In ten years they trained many evangelists, and by one of them they were led to the Baptist position in 1808. Their work touched a class such as the Countess of Huntingdon had sought in England seventy years earlier, and Robert exercised also a great influence in French Switzerland. But they were also mindful of the remote districts, and from 1820 had students in training at Grantown on Spey.

Before they died, they could point to three hundred men sent out by them, while the Grants of Grantown inherited much of their influence and transplanted their traditions.

The three streams coalesced in 1827, when the Baptist Home Mission took shape. With the Scottish insistence on education, a Baptist Academical Society followed in ten years, but seems to have been established on faulty lines. Francis Johnstone of Edinburgh was pioneer of the new age. Sent to Bradford after his university course, he was one of the six who alone came back. Seeing that in thirty years only seven churches had been founded in tenth-rate places, besides one in Glasgow, he devoted himself to organize and to train. From 1840 till his removal in 1855 he united those who held the Three Universals, that God loves all, Christ died for all, the Spirit strives with all. There was opposition from two quarters. The Calvinists held aloof from the Baptist Union of Scotland that he inspired, and Ninian Lockhart at Kirkcaldy objected both to the training that Johnstone gave in the Baptist Theological Academy, and to the whole principle of paid pastors. Yet when the two institutions came to an end, double the progress had been made, both in numbers and in the importance of the churches planted.

James Paterson of Glasgow was the next leader. Again education was the great need, and the Baptist Association made this its sole concern in 1860. The progress encouraged a new Baptist Union in 1869, which linked the great majority of all the churches. From that time progress has been steady, a year rarely passing without new churches being founded. Revivals occurred in the islands, fostered by the hard and romantic toils of the evangelists, while the organizing ability of the Lowlands developed one institution after another. The training of ministers was handed over in 1894 to a separate college. A fund was founded to provide for old age. Plans were laid for building and church extension, and have been kept up to date. Sunday schools

and evangelization have been considered and dealt with more systematically than in England.

Yet the twenty-two thousand members gathered in one hundred and fifty churches within Scotland itself, poorly suggest the real scope of this work. M'Lean's work produced churches of his type in North England and North Wales, a few of which still retain his singularities, while others, often under the wise guidance of Anderson and his friends, have played their full part in general denominational life. Thus when brethren in America renewed in 1911 at Philadelphia their acquaintance with British work, they were astonished to find that the most scholarly address was by a busy Lancashire manufacturer in the front of public and philanthropic affairs, a missionary statesman: George Macalpine hailed from the "Scotch Baptists" of Paisley.

Nearly every county in England, down to Devon and Kent, is enriched by a minister from North Britain, while even Wales, that other Celtic stronghold, sees the advantage of a Highland pastor here and there, and Ireland profited a century ago by the evangelistic zeal of James M'Kaag from Lochgilphead. The Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland felt the new blood when it called to the chair Joseph Angus in 1865, and ten years later the son of the Perthshire pioneer, Alexander M'Laren, once a member of a Glasgow church. The patriotism of Johnstone was rewarded when in 1887 one of his students was elected to the same honour, James Culross. Such men are to be seen in churches of every leading English town, some as pastors, some as influential laymen.

Scotland and France have always had affinity, and Robert Haldane did good work, lecturing and publishing in French. Within the Empire, Scotland has not only fed the colonies with their best blood, she has provided rulers for them as for England. The first Baptist church in South Australia was due to David M'Laren of Perth; Melbourne was raised to be the largest church south of

the equator by James Taylor of Glasgow ; Serampore in its earlier days profited by one of Haldane's men, John Leechman from Grantown. Nova Scotia, of course, attracted Scotsmen, and of course is a Baptist stronghold. Montreal owes much to John Gilmour of the Scottish Highland mission, Highlanders came as Baptist churches to settle in Ontario, Toronto cherishes the memory of John Stuart M'Master. Winnipeg has profited by Alexander Grant ; William Fraser and Duncan Cameron also came from the Home Mission. Associations commemorate Elgin, Lindsay and Hamilton ; a church calls to mind M'Phail ; of nine educational institutions, three are headed by an Archibald, a M'Crimmon, a MacNeill ; of eight periodicals whose editors are named, five are edited by Highlanders, half the officers east of the Rockies bear Scotch names, and even British Columbia has its Andersons, Scotts, Stewarts, MacLeods. Not merely the numerical strength of Baptists in the Overseas Dominions, but the vigour and tenacity, shown also in their foreign missions, is largely due to the work of the Highland Mission in Scotland.

Far different has been progress in Ireland. The Commonwealth soldiers who were planted in the south and centre, grouped themselves in fewer than a dozen churches. Of these, six survive to-day, and three others have also been founded. Outside Dublin and Ulster, the membership is but one hundred and twenty all told. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, there were two movements. Alexander Carson, of the Scotch-Irish race planted in Ulster, who had graduated well at Glasgow, and was settled at the Presbyterian church in Tobermore, became Baptist, and devoted more than thirty years to building up a church and to championing the cause by his writings. To the dogged uncompromising nature of his race, was added great proficiency in Greek, logic and philosophy, exegesis ; so that the denomination attained a new standing. The Baptist Irish Society was the chief interest of Joseph

Ivimey, who enlisted sympathy and funds in Britain. Yet at Carson's death in 1844, there were only four new churches in Ulster, not one being in Belfast, and twenty years later only six had been added. It was only quite at the end of the Victorian age that fourteen or fifteen more were established, and though seven have been added this century, what are two thousand eight hundred members for the whole island ?

Very different has been the state of Wales, with which Monmouthshire groups. The development of the steam-engine caused an enormous demand for coal, which resulted in an enormous growth of population in Carmarthen, Glamorgan, and Monmouth, both to hew coal and to work iron, copper and other metal mines. The picture of Welsh Baptist life that Joshua Thomas gave in 1790 may still be fairly accurate in spirit for North and Mid Wales, but the south is transformed out of his knowledge. At his death, seven years later, Cardiff had about eighteen hundred people, and no Baptist church ; a century afterwards it had 164,000 people and over a score of Baptist churches. He lived to see the one Welsh Association divide into three ; to-day Glamorgan alone has four. Yet the mere increase in numbers is not the characteristic of Wales, which is marked by revivalism, to a less degree by doctrinal controversy, and also by literature. In all three directions, there have been men who have won unsparing eulogies from their friends in Wales, and a wealth of divinity degrees from America ; though their special merits are largely hidden from the Englishman who knows no Welsh.

John Jenkins is a good specimen of the South Wales men. Born of a labourer, a self-educated miner, he continued to support himself when pastor of Hengoed, which contributed only £16 a year. He wrote a *Body of Divinity*, and a commentary on the whole Bible in three volumes, printed on his own press. Many smaller works appeared, including an autobiography. He conducted a long controversy with J. P. Davies of Tredegar, upholding hyper-

calvinism. Yet his son John went as missionary to the Bretons, among whom he laboured till his death in 1872. Joseph Harris of Swansea, also a controversial theologian, left his mark by establishing the first successful Welsh periodical, *Seren Gomer*, which led to a revival of literature.

North Wales had a very different experience. John Richard Jones of Ramoth was enthralled by the teachings of Archibald M'Lean, and reformed the churches on his lines. As he was much in demand for wide-spread preaching, for a time he won nearly all the North Wales churches to "Scotch Baptist" views. But a reaction was headed by Christmas Evans, and in 1801 Jones renounced all fellowship with ordinary Baptists. Even to the present day there are a dozen churches of this type, though about 1895 there was a tendency to unite. Another offshoot was due to William Jones, when elder of the Scotch Baptist church in London. Under the literary influence of Alexander Campbell, who had improved on M'Lean's views in America, Jones started in 1835 the *Millennial Harbinger*. This was studied in Wales; and the church at Criccieth took its second step on the death of Richard Lloyd, adopting the views of Campbell. The modern prominence of Lloyd's grandson, David Lloyd George, has brought this little section into notice, though it has only four churches in the north and eight in the south.

Christmas Evans steadied the main body, and after a long life of itinerancy due to his marvellous preaching powers, he left in 1838 the churches of North Wales well grounded and hopeful. The last revival in which he had any share was that of 1828-1830, when the Baptist churches added more than six thousand members. Twenty years later, the mining districts experienced another wave; and ten years afterwards there was a third, when ten thousand new members were won.

The chapels have been the social centres; what the mining valleys would have been without them, it is hard

to guess. Lewis Morris has sung of this national characteristic :

Frequent in street and lane, many-windowed high-shouldered chapels
Whence all the still Sabbath ascend loud preaching and passionate
prayer.

Again and again the chapel has been the nucleus round which a new village has crystallised, with the curious result that Biblical names have been acclimatised and now figure as the official name of the hamlet. The patriarchs may be traced in Carmarthen's Hebron and Capel Isaac ; Denbigh claims the burial-place of Moses ; Carnarvon perpetuates the defeat and the victory of Ebenezer ; Flint and Anglesey commemorate Elijah at Carmel ; the Song of Solomon has appealed to Carmarthen and Denbigh with Saron, to Brecon with Libanus ; Brecon also recalls the return from captivity with Beulah, while Nazareth Bethesda and Bethania may all be found in Carnarvon, with the other Bethania in Cardigan.

The immense preponderance of the free churches in Wales gave constant experience in self-government and self-support, and promoted a growth of public spirit which was considerably in advance of England. Right through the Victorian age there was a steady erection of chapels, which reached its climax in the last twenty years of the century, which saw one hundred and seventy-four new Baptist churches. There was a great revival of the Welsh national spirit about 1870, shown in advanced educational measures, temperance legislation, and an increasing demand that Wales be again regarded as a separate whole, with language and literature of its own. This promoted the growth of the free churches, among which the Baptists were prominent. The colleges for training ministers were moved and brought into close relations with the new University Colleges ; but even so, Welsh students flocked to England, especially to Bristol from its proximity, and to Manchester, as sharing the Welsh views on close communion. Although the population of Wales is to that of England as

one to seventeen, the proportion of Baptists is as one to two, and the same is true for the number of churches and pastors. Glamorgan has more ministers than Greater London. On the other hand, the number of local preachers is abnormally low; apparently the Welsh preacher has preferred to rank as a minister, even though he cannot always give himself to the full-time ministry. The economic results are disastrous, and the situation is quite unlike the rest of the British Isles. One consequence is that Welsh ministers are constantly flooding England, with the incidental advantage of preventing a local type developing to the point of aloofness. But ever since 1866 there has been a Baptist Union of Wales, with a strong life independent of the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland. On the other hand, the English-speaking churches have felt it better to draw together and form separate associations, even allying with English associations and adopting English methods. The intense patriotism of the little nation has often caused incredible claims to be put forth as to the antiquity of Welsh Baptists, and even to some sort of continuity from apostolic days. A healthy reaction caused in 1901 the foundation of the Welsh Baptist Historical Society, which promotes scholarly investigation, publishing original documents and reasoned narratives.

3. Four English Groups.

We owe it to ourselves, to our Lord, and to the world, that we take a higher place, and do a greater work.

CHARLES WILLIAMS to the Lancashire and Cheshire Association, 1863.

England has fewer Baptists in proportion to the population than Wales, and has less leadership than Scotland, nevertheless the centre of gravity is in England. It was not, however, in London for twenty or thirty years of the Victorian era. Conservatism ruled in the denomination generally, but was unquestioned in the metropolis. The

old methods were continued by mere inertia. There was a want of solidarity: the assumption of the Congregationalists that they were The Dissenters, and their insistence on independency, hypnotized London Baptists into accepting their claim and neglecting corporate action.

In two respects Baptists even retrograded. They lost touch with the workers, they saw no problem in the rise of cities. In Lancashire and the West Riding it is true that the spinners and weavers were influenced, but elsewhere there seemed to be a loss of touch, so that men were allowed to drift away from religion. This was the more painful as public opinion sent all boys to Sunday-school; but the time of leaving school and starting the life-work too often suggested that the time was at hand to drop the Sunday-school and quit church-attendance. This was the case in every denomination, but inasmuch as Baptists had appealed peculiarly to the lower classes, the increasing failure was the more distressing. It is, of course, true that in every age from Salvian downwards, men have deplored the internal rottenness or the arrested progress of the church; yet the Victorian age revealed this in a new aspect, the loss of the working classes. From another angle, it may be called the failure to grapple with the growth of cities. The rise of steam power and factories altered the balance of rural and urban life, and multiplied excessively the town populations. The problem of providing ecclesiastical buildings was met by parliament with building grants for the Established Church; but Baptists could not draw on the national exchequer, and were not rich enough or methodical enough to cope with the new situation.

Northamptonshire has always been a Baptist county, but progress in its towns was poor. When Victoria came to the throne there were three churches in the county town; only six more were added by the end of the century, Kettering added one, Rushden none. Yet these have become the centres of the boot industry. In the Black Country,

Dudley and Netherton had three churches ; to-day there are four, with two hundred and fifty members all told. Watering-places have sprang up ; but Hastings and Eastbourne have one Baptist church apiece. The same failure to deal with an altering situation may be seen all over the country ; on the estuary of the Tamar where the Baptists had established themselves in Commonwealth days and had branched out towards the end of the eighteenth century, there was no further progress till 1852, and the next church only arose in 1864. This latter date in many ways marks the turning of the tide, for the Jubilee of the Baptist Union in 1863 caused a stock-taking and initiated some movements of importance. It will then be convenient to describe first the progress down to that time.

Association life became more vigorous and continuous in these years. All over the country subsidiary societies were formed, often by the younger men, which undertook aggressive work. The Association meetings proper, and their officers proper, came to be over-shadowed by these active auxiliaries. It is in this period that so many rills arose, which were destined to swell the Association brooks, and to be gathered later on into the river of the Union. Thus when in 1837 the ancient Yorkshire and Lancashire Association dating from 1695 felt it wise to divide into two, each county set to work to re-organize its work. The Academy at Bradford was soon balanced by one at Accrington, and though this closed, another presently opened at Bury and was then transferred to Manchester ; while under the guidance of Acworth the Yorkshire leader, Rawdon College replaced the old Bradford academy. Each county dealt with the need of more chapels ; this name was adopted from the Methodists, and the term "meeting-house" dropped out of use. At one time a church received the right to appeal for subscriptions for so many months ; then a capital fund was raised, and was lent free of interest to be repaid by instalments. The old Itinerant Society evolved into County Home Missions, these enlisted the help

both of students from the academies and of lay preachers, who were presently led to organize themselves distinct from the churches to which they belonged.

It was found increasingly difficult to conduct all this business in the spare time of a pastor. College tutors arose, told off from the pastorate. Associations and other societies began to pay small sums for the services of their officers, and experiments were made as to uniting all offices in one individual or spreading them over many. Attempts were made in some counties to aid weak churches, to provide retiring pensions, to help poor pastors educate their children. The sterile old independency was being supplanted by voluntary co-operation. And the Baptist Union, which had balanced its London secretaries by a succession of country chairmen, began to take on increased importance as it held meetings at Leeds, Birmingham, Norwich and Nottingham, and its officers came into contact with the vigorous life of the provinces. London seems too large to have any real corporate spirit, and London Baptists had not overcome the general defect of the metropolis. Comparatively few enterprises were initiated there, and none were very successful. There was talk of a central house in the forties, and arrangements were made with the B.M.S. : the publication of a Manual began with 1846, while books were gathered for a library. But there was no real interest shown, and it is not clear that any one had access to the books for twenty years. A Colonial Society was formed, but after an uneventful existence it amalgamated with the B.M.S. A Building Society was indeed founded, in imitation of the Yorkshire, but this was useful as averting the appeals that had always come from country churches, and providing a systematic way of dispensing London benevolence, which has always abounded.

The most important change in this period was doctrinal. Unitarian doctrine found no home at all; one man who was so intent on the old trusts that he had lost his bearings doctrinally, found his way into Unitarian company,

wherefore the Union expelled him and his church in 1851. Hardly any other contest ever took place; what was typical was the quiet crystallization of three different systems of Calvinism. There were those who held by the confession of 1677, which apart from the section on the ordinances and the church was essentially the Westminster Confession. The champion of this old guard was William Gadsby of Manchester, and his influence was great in the north. Not only did some churches withdraw from fellowship with others, but his followers founded new churches wherever they detected doctrinal declension and could muster a band of disciples. They were true to the standards of the seventeenth century, and seemed impervious to the consideration that God might have something new to teach. To them Fullerism was anathema, and they would travel miles to hear or to preach "doctrine." These followers of Gill and Brine were to be found in many parts, for undoubtedly they stood where all Particular Baptists had stood in 1689. But the independency they insisted on doomed them to unimportance in one way, their belief in absolute predestination emasculated all preaching for conversion, and the antinomianism of many caused frequent scandals. Some Associations were rent, notably in Suffolk and Norfolk, in Kent and Sussex; some remained true to the old standards, and being deserted by all progressive thinkers, died a lingering death, as in Bedford. By 1850 they had so secluded themselves that they ceased to be a drag on others, or to be of any general importance. Only here and there, in the Surrey Tabernacle or in Brighton, did any logical thinker and devout pastor catch the attention of any but his dwindling flock. They are not well organized, but they decline to join with any other Baptists, whom they call, with much correctness, "General Baptists."

There were others whose governing principle was that of strict communion. From the middle of the seventeenth century there had been two opinions as to this, and discussion had never utterly ceased. But a great debate

between Robert Hall of Cambridge and Joseph Kinghorn of Norwich brought the question much to the fore. Kinghorn claimed that all Christendom agreed in admitting only baptized people to communion, and that as all Baptists agreed to recognize only believers' baptism, therefore only Baptists could commune at Baptist churches. Hall declared that no one had any right to repel from the Lord's Table any one who came thither as trusting in Him. Of course, his opinions were dismissed at once by the friends of Gadsby; but the question was important how far the friends of Kinghorn would carry their exclusiveness. In their own churches the position was clear, but at other churches they might easily find themselves in awkward positions. Typical cases arose at Leeds and at Norwich. "Blenheim" was avowedly a Union church, to which all who professed allegiance to Jesus Christ, whether by baptism or orally, were welcome as members. The settlement of the Yorkshire Association was to admit it to membership, counting on the statistics only baptized members. "St. Mary's" case was less easily settled, and indeed had to be adjudicated upon in the law-courts, where it was established that from the first, open communion was practised in many Baptist churches, and that each church was free to vary its practice as it chose from time to time. So the church where Kinghorn had championed strict communion, under Gould adopted open. Now there were many who would not do this, but were anxious to remain in fellowship with churches of this type, repudiating the position of Gadsby and Norton, who could decline to admit even to transient communion any member of a mixed-communion church. A *modus vivendi* was found in the north, where the communion of the Lord's Supper is restricted entirely to the single church, not being practised at Association meetings.

The press was not neglected, and a Baptist Tract Society began to work with 1841 in the interests of strict communion. A leader of this middle party was William Stokes,

whose work lay first in the Midlands, then in Manchester. He had some organising ability, and formed a society to knit together those of this type. Its two chief enterprises were the establishment of the *Primitive Church Magazine*, and the training of ministers in these views. This training was at first on the old lines, boarding out students with pastors; but comparatively brief trial showed that it was wiser to centralize at an academy. This was ultimately placed at Manchester, where the trust deeds provided that its tutors must be rigidly tied on this point of strict communion, though many supporters would fain commend it as a county institution. It at least served to maintain this medium phase of opinion and practice till the end of the Victorian age.

The great number of Particular Baptist churches, however, adopted the views of Fuller and of Hall. The Confession of 1677 had dropped out of mind, the five points of Calvinism were even more obsolete, and men insensibly ceased to proclaim that the redemption through Christ was simply for a particular number of people. People no longer were content with the limitations of such hymns as Beddome :

He, for the sins of all the elect,
Hath a complete atonement made ;

and though Fowler at Gower Street deliberately reprinted hymns that he knew to be too strong for many :

We are a garden wall'd around,
Chosen and made peculiar ground,

yet the New Selection of 1828 introduced many hymns on universal adoration, some on missions, and altered Beddome who had exhorted "British Isles which had this word to praise" (but to do nothing else), so that more modern congregations were bidden :

Your efforts join with one accord
To send it forth to every shore.

Preaching both abroad and at home, came in practice to be addressed to all hearers, as if any one lay within the

scope of God's redemptive work. Hall was appealed to by a logical Presbyterian, himself hesitating, and he frankly avowed that he held General Redemption, declaring that this alone would justify the habit of appealing to all men.* His correspondence shows that he recognized how in theory he had drawn near to the General Baptists; but even when in Leicester he dwelt alongside Deacon, Stevenson, Goadby, we see no trace of intercourse; another half century was to pass before the actual shift of ground was generally recognized and acted upon.

The New Connexion had nothing to change in doctrine, and continued to progress in this period, finding however, about 1838 that methods could bear examination and improvement. Three new conferences were soon established, for Warwick, Derby, Cheshire and Lancashire. The educational work was unified; the decision was deliberately made, and reiterated in the face of opposition, that Leicestershire and not London must be its seat; further, that it must be the sole care of the tutor, who should be unhampered by a pastorate. The Taylor tradition was now obsolete, but other families came to the fore, who for two or three generations bore great influence, in nearly every department of the Connexional work; the name of Burns is associated with temperance, of Peggs with India, of Pike with missions, of Ingham with Baptist principles, of Winks with literature, of Stevenson, Goadby and Underwood with nearly everything. As the General Baptist Assembly sank into a little group of Unitarians chiefly belonging to Kent and Sussex, other ancient General Baptist churches cast in their lot from time to time with the New Connexion; while the Home Mission activities of the Association planted new churches in many parts. The foreign work was prosecuted with much vigour, ground being broken in South China; but it was found wiser to concentrate on Orissa, where work was undertaken in every form, evangelistic, educational, medical, literary. The ties

* *Works*, vi. 118.

between the workers, both men and women, and the home constituency were peculiarly close ; the committee at home always welcomed into their midst the missionaries home on furlough, workers went abroad from the family of the secretary ; then a veteran of twenty years' service was felt to be the obvious secretary at home. Great use was made of the printing press, both in India and in England. The Connexion officially sustained the *Repository*, the *Missionary Observer*, the hymn-book, a tract society. But there were also printers at Derby and Leicester with great private energy, and Joseph Foulkes Winks steadily developed a *Reporter* which sought to widen the sympathies of the Connexion and keep his readers informed of everything in the Baptist world, whether about the Particulars in England, or the Generals in America. Edwin Goadby did not confine himself to denominational journalism, but by constant contribution to magazines and newspapers, qualified to become editor of two great provincial dailies. From the printing trade Thomas Cook found his way into temperance work, and his enterprise in hiring a whole train for his association from Leicester to Loughborough led him into a new field as tourist agent. Despite his attachment to the Midlands, the exigencies of his business took him to London at the close of this period, and the change was made the more easily as the General Baptists had decided that a more vigorous occupation of the capital must be made. The lease of a tabernacle in Praed Street, Paddington, had been bought in 1841, and after the foundations of good work had been laid by W. Underwood, an earnest young weaver was sent from the Midlands in the person of John Clifford, who began his life-work in 1858.

The lethargy of the metropolis was rudely shaken about this time by other immigrants from the provinces, who soon transformed thinking and methods in Particular Baptist circles. An Essex lad of Quaker and Congregational extraction, led by the tact of friends into village preaching at the age of sixteen, and soon after into a village pastorate

where he met the evils of antinomianism in their crudest form, was invited in 1854 to take charge of the ancient church in Southwark which inherited the traditions of Keach, Gill, Rippon, and had fallen upon evil days. At the age of twenty, Charles Haddon Spurgeon broke into the complacency of London Baptist life.

There were other changes which betokened a new spirit. In the forties there had been a rush of publications, some of which soon stopped or amalgamated. The antiquarian volumes of the Hanserd Knollys Society were published for about eight years, but despite a long list of subscribers, the series ended leaving much work unfinished in the hands of scholars. Heaton, an enterprising printer at Leeds, began a monthly magazine, *The Church*, and this met such success that he next ventured on a weekly, *The Freeman*, undeterred by the high stamp duty. The success was so great that before long the publishing had to be transferred to London, and then the owners of the *Baptist Magazine* found it wise to begin a new series with a trio of editors, one of whom was the youthful Spurgeon. He had already begun the weekly publication of a sermon, in a series destined to run over half a century. Heaton then projected another series of books about Baptists, not limiting himself to old records, but reproducing American biography, doctrine, and exegesis, besides commissioning new English works and editions. Fourteen volumes appeared in this "Bunyan Library." In 1860 Heaton also approached the Baptist Union with an offer to publish a *Baptist Handbook*, incorporating all the official information that had hitherto appeared in the Annual Report or its successor, the Manual, but adding other denominational matter, much of which had been printed as a supplement to the *Baptist Magazine*. The offer was accepted, and henceforth there was a semi-official volume giving an annual conspectus of the state of all evangelical Baptists. It at once became evident that there were many unrelated societies working both locally and nationally, besides the

thirty-three geographical associations ; and thus from the statistical standpoint the case for a new departure became stronger. Another literary enterprise was a sign of new life. The *Selection of Hymns*, new in 1829, had followed the example of the New Connexion by being vested in trustees who devoted the profits, averaging £180 yearly, to denominational purposes such as relief to widows and orphans of Baptist ministers. But despite revision, it still was avowedly a supplement to Watts' hymns, and was even bound up with that volume. Another collection was therefore projected, and though the compilation was at first sharply attacked, it obtained the support of men of many schools, the first trustees showing such names as Bailhache, Bowen, Burchell, Chown, Evans, Hinton, Landels, Leechman, Martin, Stanford, Stokes, Vince, Wigner. *Psalms and Hymns* thus began a course which is by no means finished yet. Heaton was thus spurred to fresh adventure, and began a new series of *The Church*, in which the denomination might read M'Laren and Mursell of Manchester, Vince of Birmingham, Stalker of Cirencester, Stovel of London. And if a penny a month were too much, he offered two halfpenny magazines, the *Appeal* and the *Juvenile Missionary Herald*. He also issued the quarterly *Reporter* of the German Baptist Mission, and then took over from Winks of Leicester his penny *Children's Magazine*, his halfpenny *Picture Magazine*, and halfpenny *Christian Pioneer* with his threepenny *Baptist Reporter*. Such enterprise stimulated other Baptist publishers such as Elliot Stock, and editors of other schools such as Charles Waters Banks with his *Earthen Vessel*, first filled in 1846.

Another series of changes was significant, relating to the training of ministers. The older academies of Bradford and Stepney removed to Rawdon and Regent's Park ; this latter removal was a sign that Baptists were no longer mere east-enders, as had really been the case for two centuries, but were ready to give a message even to the highest ranks, and to take their place in the most fashionable districts.

New colleges were founded, in Scotland by the Association, in Llangollen for North Wales, and by Spurgeon in London.

The theological position of this last was rather remarkable, for in 1855 Spurgeon republished the 1677 Confession, commending it to earnest attention. It was easy for the Strict and Particular Baptists to point to striking inconsistencies, and he had to answer the charge. Fifty years later, the gulf would have been so deep that neither party would have minded what the other did; but at the time each seemed perplexed. The fact was that Spurgeon was possessed with a passion for souls, and this practical object far out-ranked with him the technicalities of theology. The college he founded was equally practical, and equally subordinated theoretical considerations. He was the first to instal a Pedobaptist tutor in a Baptist College.

It was high time that the evangelistic note should be sounded firmly. The older churches were feeling the strain. New Park Street itself was in a bad position, and despite a succession of three excellent pastors, was down-hearted. Prescott Street was now badly placed, and was meditating a move nearer the City to Commercial Street. The church of Hanserd Knollys died quietly about 1860, and Keach's old church from which New Park Street had sprung, had vanished rather earlier. Bampffield's Seventh-Day church flickered out in 1863, watched only by a zealous antiquarian. Great Alie Street still maintained a technical existence. Even the old Devonshire Square church felt the strain, and Hinton resigned in 1863, when he was laying down other burdens. After more than a quarter of a century he was for the second time president of the Union, and he took the opportunity of its jubilee to resign the work of the secretaryship.

The occasion was taken to consider the constitution and aims of this society. Its committee consisted of the secretaries of eight societies, with thirty-two elected members, of whom more than half lived in London. Country members claimed a larger representation and a more vigorous policy ;

it turned out that the library had been stacked away, and was available neither for reference nor for circulation. The income for all purposes was only £90, and there was no practical programme beyond the gathering statistics and holding one meeting a year. A committee was instructed to plan with more outlook, and report. Meantime, the Union registered 1,245 churches in Association, besides those which were isolated; 134,000 members, 158,000 pupils in Sunday-schools; ten new churches formed, thirty-one new chapels built, fifteen ministers settled from colleges, twenty-eight dead, 9,300 baptisms, showed the progress of one year.

At this time, many an Association was most active, both correlating the work of churches, and in concert with subsidiary or related local societies, undertaking new enterprises. The story of these was, however, local; it was rarely that the inhabitant of Wessex knew what his fellow-Baptists were doing in East Anglia; and affairs might flourish in one county while just across the border there were antiquated methods and stagnation. A glaring instance was on the south coast, where Hampshire had several strong churches, well knit in a vigorous association, with leaders like Gange and J. A. Spurgeon. Sussex was a museum of hyper-Calvinists and Unitarians, with ordinary Baptists just realising that Brighton and Hastings needed attention, but not yet awake to Eastbourne; indeed not six churches were associated. Contrasts like this made it obvious that the time was overdue for the Union to act as an integrating force so that inequalities might be redressed, and experience with resources might be brought to bear on weak or backward districts.

4. India, China, and the Negroes.

Judson deemed it the grand business of the church to give the gospel to the world. It was, in his judgment, the end of her being.

JOSEPH ANGUS, 1861.

The energies of the Baptist Missionary Society were

remarkable. The accession of the Queen synchronized with the death of the last great pioneer, Marshman, and the reunion of the Serampore work with that at Calcutta and elsewhere. Inasmuch as nearly every form of mission work in use even now had been initiated by Carey, Marshman and Ward, there was little to do except extend and maintain. Inevitably Calcutta became the centre in this new age, while more and more stations were opened in Bengal. A new version of the Bible by William Yates, which came out by instalments, and soon displaced the older version by Carey, raised objections by Pedobaptist missionaries, who found that the Greek word *baptizo* was regularly translated *immerse*. They were impervious to the consideration that immersion was the habitual method of ceremonial purifying in Bengal, and that the translation was accurate; because their own practice was discordant they objected. The controversy was carried back to England, and the Bible Society was appealed to. A vigorous discussion arose, and at last by a substantial majority the Society decided to render no further help to versions which departed from the practice of the Authorised Version as to transferring rather than translating certain words. Great indignation was aroused among Baptists, who promptly formed the Bible Translation Society to aid faithful and thorough translations. A precisely similar course was taken in America, where the Baptists pushed matters on to a logical issue, and prepared a new version into English, which after repeated revision is still in print. The encouragement given to translation was such that after several private or society versions, inter-denominational work produced the Anglo-American Revised Version of 1881-5, and the American Version of 1905; in both of these Baptists had a large share. Meantime, the merits of Yates' version were so undeniable, that the very missionaries who called up the storm and caused the withdrawal of help, were fain to ask leave to reprint it, edited to their ideas. And the Baptists heaped coals of fire by granting

this leave freely. With 1852 the work of revision, which was almost unceasing, passed into the hands of John Wenger. One happy result of the withdrawal of the Bible Society, was that the Bible Translation Society encouraged introductions and notes, such as can clear up many questions always raised by intelligent readers. The revision extended also to other great languages, and this generation saw Hindi, Urdu and Sanscrit similarly dealt with, besides Cingalese. There was one new form of work that was begun in 1856, that among the ladies of India. By Moslem custom, adopted by Hindus in self-defence, women of the upper classes live in seclusion, and in great families. The conservative force of the Zenana, or woman's quarter, is enormous, yet two generations had passed before Mrs. Sale found her way in, to talk with and to teach the ladies and their children. From that time onward, not only wives of missionaries, but specially trained English ladies and Bengali Bible-women, have devoted themselves to this branch of service.

The policy of the B.M.S., conscious or unconscious, was to occupy great cities, even as the apostle Paul had done, trusting that these would leaven all the country around. Thus the mission extended up the Ganges, which was almost the only line of travel, for roads, canals and railways were all but negligible under the Honourable East India Company. Monghyr and Delhi were occupied as strategic centres, at the cost of having isolated stations. This might not have been serious, if a strong staff had been maintained at each; but right through the society's history there has been complaint from the workers on the field that they are far too few to hold the many stations occupied, so that the breakdown or furlough of one or two has brought all work to a standstill in the city. And this was the more serious as other societies, even other Baptist societies, were content to occupy a smaller area and cultivate it intensively.

In the mutiny of the Bengal army during 1857, Delhi

was the storm-centre, and the mission was, of course, obliterated. But on the other hand, one great hero of the relieving army, General Havelock, was well known as a Baptist. And so when the storm had passed over, and reconstruction could begin, the Society had an enhanced prestige, as in the days of the Serampore fire.

India and China had always been connected, and Marshman at Serampore had printed the first Chinese Bible, so good that much of its language is still to be traced in modern versions. Unhappily, the H.E.I.C. fostered the growth of the poppy and the manufacture of opium, for export to China. This was objected to by the Chinese Emperor, and to the lasting disgrace of Britain, two wars were waged to force the demoralising drug on the yellow kingdom. One result was the opening of certain ports to European residents, and then in 1860 the opening of the whole land to missionaries. The Southern Baptists of America were first in the field, but a Dutchman in their service transferred his services to the Baptist Missionary Society, and reinforcements were sent direct from home. They were, however, badly guided to the native city of Chefu, and within a few years one disaster after another brought this first Chinese venture to a standstill.

Jamaica saw the complete emancipation of the slaves in 1838, and they embarked on a course of chapel-building which resulted before long in a pecuniary settlement which made the churches independent of the Baptist Missionary Society. Presently they formed a Missionary Society of their own, and undertook not only extension work in the island itself, but in Cuba, Hayti, Costa Rica, Honduras; although the churches were repeatedly crippled by cholera, drought, flood and cyclone. The Baptist Missionary Society continued its aid by establishing Calabar College to train ministers, and sent out a second deputation in 1860 just in time to see the beginning of a great revival. It also undertook work in other West Indian islands.

But the negroes of Jamaica called attention to their

African homes, and after careful exploration fixed on Fernando Po as a good centre. They came to England to interest the Baptist Missionary Society, and in 1844 Alfred Saker landed there, soon devoting himself to the Cameroons, to which, in fact, he was obliged to confine himself when the Spaniards claimed sovereignty in the island. By 1862 a Dualla N.T. was complete, and was issued by the Bible Translation Society.

The only other mission inaugurated in that generation was in Brittany, where the Glamorgan men were keen to deal with their kinsfolk.

At home there were changes in the administration. John Dyer, the second secretary, was succeeded in 1841 by his colleague Joseph Angus, who carried through the jubilee celebrations at Kettering. Edward Bean Underhill and Frederick Trestrail followed in 1849, the former establishing the tradition that secretaries ought to visit the fields of work. As the business of the society grew ever more complicated, Morton Peto found an able accountant in Alfred Henry Baynes, who introduced most business-like methods. It would seem, however, that the close fraternal feeling between staff and committee which characterized the Orissa mission of the New Connexion, did not obtain with the older society.

At one time there was a question of obtaining a charter for the society; but though this had been done by the Pilgrims and Puritans in 1649, it was felt not quite consistent with the independence of the State which was so strenuously maintained in home affairs.

5. Forty Years of United Work.

If this Union would more steadily pursue this second object for which it was formed, "To spread the gospel of Christ," the results that would follow would alone justify its existence.

COLONEL GRIFFIN, President, 1891.

With 1863 the Union began to be a real factor in denominational life. Its committee met quarterly, and began

to consider doing work instead of merely watching and passing resolutions. It held two meetings yearly, one in London and one in the provinces, arranged for leaders to give addresses on subjects previously chosen; and thus made greater claims on the denomination, so that more than one day was needed for a session. It hit off the situation aptly though unconsciously by appointing an "acting secretary." In all these respects it followed faithfully the precedents of the Associations, and thus prepared the way for a discussion how these time-honoured bodies ought to be related to the new, which was adopting their schemes and carrying them out on a national scale. Some of the chief turning-points may be noted in the choice of a secretary in the country, 1863, telling off his successor to the sole work of the Union with 1877 (which nearly coincided with the succession of A. H. Baynes to the secretariat of the Missionary Society), the withdrawal of Spurgeon ten years later, the full union of Particular and General Baptists 1891, the Twentieth Century Fund.

The first secretary of the Union who really made the office important, was James Millard, one of a family that had given sons to the ministry from the days of William III. For fourteen years he was not only secretary, but also pastor at Huntingdon, where he built up a strong church, and extended its work into eight villages. During this time actual extension was superintended by the Home Missionary Society, which in 1865 was formed by amalgamating the English and the Irish missions. The Union under his auspices undertook an Annuity Fund for aged ministers, on a model previously worked out in Scotland and in Wales, but now made national; C. M. Birrell of Liverpool did much to bring about its establishment. Charles Williams of Accrington complemented it by an Augmentation Fund to assist the weaker churches. And thus when Millard retired from the Union, in that same year of 1877, he was at once asked to take charge of the Home Missions. A natural result of the growing corporate

spirit was that this was promptly amalgamated with the Union, which also absorbed the Yorkshire and the Midland annuity funds. These are good instances how the work of the Union was not exactly inventive, but co-ordinating.

To deal with the rapid extension that now became evident, a Dictionary of Baptist Biography would be necessary. Every great town had a great man, and some men were great enough to dominate a town. Acworth who had transformed the position at Leeds, and from Bradford and Rawdon had influenced the county, was able to extend at Scarborough, even in the autumn of life. Chown took up the mantle for Bradford, till he was called to Bloomsbury. The greatest preachers in Manchester were Maclaren and Arthur Mursell, the one intensely Biblical, the other striking out new lines adopted since by the promoters of Pleasant Sunday Afternoons. Accrington took on a new importance with the advent of Charles Williams. Liverpool had men of diverse types, Stalker and Birrell rather of the old school, Hugh Stowell Brown not only gathering great congregations but exciting such interest in the city that his statue now graces the front of Myrtle Street, Lockhart showing that a keen man of business could also be a most evangelistic pastor. Northampton was long guided by John Turland Brown, Birmingham by John Jenkyn Brown, Leicester by James Philippo Mursell. Bristol had not only Gotch at the college, a man invited later to help revise the English Bible, but administrators and preachers like Richard Glover, and Culross who was at home both in the study and the pulpit. Lesser towns gave even more commanding positions to leaders, as John Aldis found at Reading and George Gould at Norwich.

London has always been the centre to which all are attracted, though a few have resisted the attraction. Of the old school, Charles Stovel did fine work in his native city at Commercial Street, while he also travelled over the country advocating the denominational work, and once

visited America, where he was welcomed by both white and coloured. Baptist Wriothsley Noel was of a different type; Stovel deliberately lived among the poor in the East End, Noel was of a noble family, a clergyman in the Established Church till he adopted Baptist principles. His work in Holborn attracted quite a different class of adherents. At Regent's Park church William Landels did the same kind of work with logic and eloquence. Angus at Regent's Park College exercised a deep and long influence over young students, in the missionary society and in the Union. Further west, John Clifford was winning at the London University honour after honour in science, philosophy and law as he prepared himself for his life-work: within eighteen years a fine new chapel was needed, and a church was built up of those who were eager to work not only on ecclesiastical but on civic and social problems.

But south of the Thames there was at least an equal display of energy, evangelization and organization. New Park Street was outgrown by Spurgeon at once; buildings like the music hall in the Surrey Gardens, Exeter Hall, the Agricultural Hall, were easily filled; and the choice of such places betokened a contempt for conventions. The Metropolitan Tabernacle arose to house the vast congregations that assembled; the antiquated hymn-books of Watts and Rippon were replaced by *Our Own* collection; a monthly magazine was needful to communicate with the widening circle of friends, and its name *The Sword and the Trowel* betokened that the author was as ready to fight as to build. Of this there was a striking illustration when the sacramental doctrines of the Tractarians were impeached in a sermon on Baptismal Regeneration. Within six months a hundred thousand copies were sold, and it is still in demand after two generations. Nearly one hundred and fifty replies were published, and the incident gave an immense advertisement of the Baptist position. It led promptly to founding a Colportage

Association, which by 1878 employed nearly a hundred men, who had paid nearly a million visits in the year. So famous had the young preacher become, that he was entrusted by a clergyman's widow with £20,000 to found an orphanage.

In 1865 another attempt was made to link the London churches, of which there were then about a hundred. Some of the more conservative stood aloof, but most associated, and in view of the singular problems arising from the variety of population, grouped themselves in local divisions. One great aim was to plant a new church every year, and so steadily was this policy pursued that the religious survey of 1902 showed Baptists the chief of the Free Churches there; to-day there are more than two hundred and fifty churches. So soon was the advantage of organization seen, that in 1871 a second association united those churches which stood in the old paths, and even they doubled their numbers in half a century.

It may fairly be said that from this time onward, great attention has been paid to organization, and the prevention of waste efforts. Societies have been linked, co-ordinated, merged, with the inevitable result that an ecclesiastical "machine" has loomed on the horizon, and a bureaucracy has begun to take shape. An association may have its annual president, but its secretary and its treasurer usually hold office as long as they wish. In civil affairs, a bench of magistrates is often guided largely by the clerk of the peace, a borough council by the town-clerk; and an experienced association secretary easily establishes a similar ascendancy. With the growth of denominational activities, it became necessary to recognize the claim on a pastor's time for these things, by offering an honorarium. And by the close of Victoria's reign there were even full-time secretaries able to survey the problems of two or three counties, to counsel the annually elected committees, and to know every one of the scores of ministers and churches within their borders.

It may be questioned whether the improvement of

method has reacted on the intensity of effort. In every English communion it became steadily evident that the outward observances of religion were losing hold; or to state it more correctly, that the rising generation was not being won for organized Christianity. To this general decline, Baptists were no exception, though it may be noted that the mass revivals were largely promoted by Americans who were essentially Baptist. Yet it cannot be said that baptisms, church-members, ministers, churches, increased in proportion to the population.

Much may be traced to new social habits. The railways which were new when Victoria came to the throne have not improved to any noticeable extent, but the custom that they should be used sparingly on Sunday is now vigorously impugned. The bicycle has brought new means of locomotion to the working man and to the girl, the motor-car to richer classes, and the char-à-banc to all. The artisan spends his evenings in scanning the betting news, his Saturday afternoon watching cricket or football, his Sunday eating and drinking. The chapel has many rivals which were not prominent in 1837. Within the home, where once a little group gathered with three or four violins or a harmonium, there is now a piano or a gramophone, whose music is not predominantly associated with worship. And soon the wireless set will undermine yet further the church as it will the concert hall. Men who found their musical recreation in the Fiske jubilee singers, see their daughters prefer a jazz band. The Bible and the Tract Societies have to compete with free and subscription libraries; Chambers is confronted with Pearson; the colporteur is outclassed by the railway bookstall; square yards of printed matter may be had seven days a week for a penny. Life is thus more varied; but it is hardly the richer.

In one respect, however, there has been advance, and this in a way typically Baptist, that of foreign missions. The three years 1875-1877 saw work begun among the

Roman Catholics of Italy, the Confucians of China, the Animists of Central Africa. Henceforth the Baptist Missionary Society could provide a varied choice for those who felt called to a wider field; the antique civilization of India was balanced with another even more ancient in the northern provinces of the Middle Kingdom; responsibility was acknowledged to the European population no longer governed by a Pope-King, but free to hear a purer gospel; while the backward peoples of the Congo received the attention no longer needed in Jamaica or in the Cameroons. Europe and Asia needed chiefly preaching and literature, Africa needed also civilization. And with the aid of women and of doctors, the news of Jesus as Saviour was spread vigorously. For such advance the English churches responded quickly to every call from the Mission House, till every thousand members had one of themselves on the field, and subscribed £350 to the expense.

Work among our kith and kin in the colonies also extended well. From 1863 onwards the complications of state-churches rapidly vanished; the familiar English methods were reproduced at the antipodes, and were as usual worked vigorously by Scotchmen. Yet Baptists do not take the place occupied by Romanists, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Methodists; and this fact may illustrate the real need of strong machinery for denominational extension. Only where the fetish of Independency has been dethroned, and a democratic organization has been adopted, has any progress been perceptible.

In England the educational problem passed into a new phase by 1871. Despite all the talk of the Free Churches as to the voluntary principle, there was little done. The Sunday School Society, the British and Foreign School Society, were the only organized efforts supported by Baptists, and their doings were quite out of proportion to the need. In the secondary field, there were only Mill Hill, Taunton, Tettenhall and Bishop's Stortford under dissenting influence, not one of these being purely Baptist.

But within three years the situation was transformed by the action of the State. The old endowed schools were re-organized, and opened to dissenters with some safeguard against proselytizing. While the earliest Baptist boys in 1869 may retain bitter memories of the petty persecutions they endured there, they found that the way was soon open for them to go on to the ancient universities on the same terms. The injustices of 1662 were removed technically, by degrees the clerical monopoly died out, and the question is now whether we have not to ally with all other Christians in order to retain a Christian atmosphere in the seats of learning.

This new problem is intensified by the rise of School Boards and the planting of Board Schools till every child is within reach of an elementary school. New secondary schools and new universities have been created. At every stage Free Church statemen have been more alert to oppose Anglican domination than to evolve a constructive policy, though men like Dr. Angus have taken an honourable part in framing a syllabus of Bible-teaching. The few Baptist schools have ceased to be Baptist, and great ground has been given for the accusation that either we do not know what we want, or we are unwilling to make any sacrifices for it.

On one field of education only have Baptists actually done anything in England, the training of ministers. Each theological college has strengthened its position by accumulating endowments, enlarging its list of subscribers, multiplying its tutors, linking with kindred institutions. About 1880 many such colleges of the Free Churches united in a system of examinations which prevented any one being ignorantly contented with an inadequate knowledge. This paved the way for co-operation in teaching, and then for affiliating with universities. And thus it became gradually no abnormal thing for a Baptist minister to have his attainments certified in arts and in theology, or rarely in law and in medicine. But the question began to be asked more and more urgently whether it was advisable to maintain

three colleges in Wales and six in England, training fewer students than were at a single seminary in the United States.

The men who actually came forth from these institutions proved able to hold their own with other scholarly divines. When the convocation of Canterbury decided to undertake a revision of the 1611 English Bible, a task long since undertaken by an American Baptist Bible Society, the British revisers included Baptist scholars.

In other ways Baptists emerged more and more from the secluded denominational life and began to share more in wider interests. Social changes became apparent; the chapel was no longer the sole centre, or if it so remained, it became the home of new activities. Here and there a band of workers would be found, told off wholly to Christian service, and backed by a fluctuating force of volunteers, who kept every part of the chapel premises humming with varied work. Here and there experiments were tried to catch the rising generation; the Christian Endeavour Societies with their emphasis on every member taking a part in every meeting, seemed to have embodied one Baptist ideal, of direct personal effort. Here and there the experiments were widened so as to provide amusements on church premises on many evenings, hoping thus to prevent a drift to the theatre, the dance-hall, the billiard-room, the public-house. But these churches seemed to some onlookers to be not inoculating against these places, rather training for them; at last there came a trumpet-blast against the Devil's Mission of Amusement. While this did much to steady and rally, so that institutional churches rarely blunder to-day, a fresh turn was given by a series of articles which traced the harm back from outward amusement to doctrinal declension, and which presently threw out vague charges against denominational leaders. When these were not formulated, nor any definite men were named, the Council of the Union sought explanations unavailingly, and at last had to say mildly that a charge ought either to be substantiated or with-

drawn. The incident led to a painful severance of friendly relations, in some measure compensated by a happy emulation in various forms of Christian service.

The check was soon balanced by the eager union of the New Connexion with the main body of Baptists. For many years ministers had passed from one church to another, almost forgetful of any fence between. The people now insisted on the utter removal of the obsolete landmarks, and with 1891 the meetings inaugurated in 1770 came to an end, except for technical purposes. Associations were re-arranged, and some of the corporate spirit of the New Connexion came over to the Baptist Union.

Outside the borders there was evident the same tendency to remove barriers. With 1892 a Free Church Congress assembled, which presently took permanent shape. In every town the free churches began to associate for counsel, and federation grew up over larger areas. Theologians compared doctrines, and were presently able to issue a Free Church Catechism which showed how largely the great evangelical bodies agreed in their views of truth. And whereas annual works of reference had misled careless readers into thinking that there were two hundred sects in England, it was increasingly borne in on the public mind that there were just four great Free Church communions, Baptist, Congregationalist, Methodist, Presbyterian; and that while for administrative purposes each was organized separately, worshippers passed freely between their buildings.

Among the leaders of the Established Church there became evident a spirit of greater friendliness, as some of the old misconceptions were cleared away; but among the rank and file of the clergy there was no such great change. Thus, when the House of Lords in 1877 was considering the question of permitting the funerals of dissenters to be conducted in churchyards with any service desired, the Archbishop of Canterbury supported the proposal, but twelve thousand clergy protested at once

and vigorously. Three years later, convocation was equally strong in its opposition, whereupon Parliament simply ignored convocation and granted this measure of justice.

In 1886 there were two remarkable illustrations of increasing nearness. At Lambeth there gathered bishops of the Anglican Communion, which had now spread over the English-speaking world and into mission fields. They adopted proposals coming from Chicago, and expressed themselves ready to confer with representatives of other communions as to steps towards organic union; three stipulations as to doctrine raised no great difficulty, but a fourth asked for the acceptance of "the Historic Episcopate, locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the unity of His Church." In due time the Archbishop forwarded these resolutions to the Baptist Union, also to the Congregational Union, the Wesleyan Conference, and the Presbyterian Church of England. Now in that same year 1886, it chanced that the Baptist Union and the Congregational Union were holding their meetings simultaneously in London, and one great united session was arranged in the City Temple, when the great unity not only as to faith and order, but also as to temper, outlook and life, was abundantly manifest. It is the more striking that the overtures of the Archbishop attracted no attention; a formal reply there must have been, but the denominational magazines took no notice, and the official handbook of the Union quite ignored it. Whatever might be the exact meaning of the phrase "historic episcopate," Baptists were not ready to consider any union with any episcopate they knew. Instinctively they felt that organization was a less thing than life, and they were not inclined to exalt it into the first place.

SOURCES FOR THE PERIOD.

Baptist Manuals and Baptist Handbooks.

The Freeman.

Reports of the Council of the Baptist Union.

THE OVERSEAS DOMINIONS.

Our modes of worship and of witness, our free and scriptural church order and our manful challenge to individualism are eminently suited to colonial life.

ALFRED HALL, J.P., South Africa.

We women can vote, and we are helping a great deal in sending out the bad things that come into our island, such as drink and gambling.

Mrs. R. S. GRAY, New Zealand.

Foreign Missions have harmonized and multiplied the home churches and their work.

J. N. FARMER, Toronto, 1911.

THE MARITIME PROVINCES OF CANADA.
ONTARIO AND QUEBEC.
SOUTH AFRICA.
AUSTRALASIA.

LEADING DATES.

1780. Free-Will Baptists.
 1782. Immigration to Nova Scotia and Canada
 1800. Nova Scotia Association.
 1815. Home Mission Work in N.S.
 1816. Highlanders settle in Ontario.
 1820. Church in South Africa.
 1829. Horton Academy, N.S.
 1835. Church in Tasmania.
 1838. Canadians support Foreign Missions.
 1842. Canadians work among Red Indians.
 1846. Convention of the Maritime Provinces.
 1848. Grande Ligne in Quebec.
 1851. Acadia College chartered.
 Regular Baptist Missionary Society.
 1854. Clergy Reserves Act in Canada.
 1859. *The Canadian Baptist*.
 1860. Woodstock College.
 1862. Baptist Union of Victoria.
 1875. Church at Winnipeg.
 1879. Canadian Mission to Telugus.
 1880. American negro mission to South Africa.
 1882. Australasian missionaries to Bengal.
 1889. Convention of Ontario and Quebec.
 1891. South African Home Mission.
 1899. Brandon College, Manitoba.
 1906. All Maritime Province Baptists unite.
 1910. Baptist Colonial Society in London.
 1911. All Canadian Baptists federate.

CHAPTER IX.

THE OVERSEAS DOMINIONS.

PART of the story of British Baptists lies beyond England, and needs to be told by itself, irrespective of events in the homeland. When thirteen colonies in America severed the tie with England, there remained still three or four to the north under the British flag. The wars of the French Revolution brought Cape Colony into the Empire. Presently Van Diemen's Land with Australia began to receive settlers, then New Zealand. In all three directions English emigrated, and therefore in all the modern Commonwealths or Dominions there have grown up Baptist churches. Their development has been on different lines, and we need to consider them separately.

The Maritime Provinces of Canada.

Uneducated, in the common meaning of the word, they were well versed in Bible theology and they were powerful preachers ; they did not confine themselves to the neighbourhoods in which they lived, but itinerated throughout the province.

JOHN MOCKETT CRAMP, 1868.

The first Baptist known in Nova Scotia was a Dutchman at Lunenburg in 1752. Six years later, the first House of Assembly established the Church of England, giving it a monopoly of marriages, but assuring liberty of worship to all, without the taxation familiar in Old and New England. As population was sought from the south, two or three Baptist ministers and churches migrated, but they mostly returned. Henry Alline entered on a vigorous evangelistic campaign, carrying on the work of George Whitefield. He met the same success, and in much the

same way his labours resulted after a time in Baptist churches. The first was at Horton in 1778, and so scanty was the population that for many years Congregationalists were welcome to communion; indeed, fifteen years earlier there had been a mixed-membership church here. In 1782 there was an immigration due to the close of the revolutionary war, and a negro preacher from Georgia organized a second church at Shelburne, but ten years later he took it to Sierra Leone. Horton proved a great centre, and presently there were men like Theodore Seth Harding, pastor there for sixty years, T. H. Chipman, Joseph Crandall, Harris Harding, who devoted themselves earnestly to development, while revivals marked the last years of the century.

In 1800 six churches organized an association for mutual support in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Eleven years later a Scotch Baptist started in Prince Edward's Island, and founded a church at Montague. With 1815 it was decided to systematize the home mission work, and the results were so successful that six years later the Association needed to divide. Cape Breton and Prince Edward's Island were next taken up in earnest, and settlers were catered for everywhere.

A new impulse was given at Halifax, where a strong Baptist church arose in 1827 out of the preaching of an evangelical curate. A new type of member was thus introduced, and next year the Association decided to relinquish to the churches the appointment of pastors and evangelists, itself taking up educational work. The New Brunswick Association balanced this by founding a magazine, and thus the vigorous evangelization of the first period was crowned and conserved by an intenser culture. As in the motherland, the King's College was open only to Episcopalians, and the Baptists determined that they would not be condemned to ignorance. They began with a Collegiate Academy, which within ten years had attracted non-Episcopalians from all parts of the Province. But when

E. A. Crawley sought for a professorship at Dalhousie, chartered in 1816, he was denied because not belonging to the Church of Scotland. This caused at once the creation of a Baptist Acadia College; tutors and students were promptly forthcoming, materials for building were hauled, and a keen struggle for real equality was headed by J. W. Johnstone, with the result that a permanent charter was secured in 1851. Across the Bay of Fundy there was a provincial university at Fredericton, and it was only necessary to supplement this in 1826 with a seminary for theological training. Many changes have taken place in detail, but for twenty years from 1847 fine work was done by John Mockett Cramp, a man of Kent who had already been at Montreal. To-day all such work is concentrated at Wolfville—as Horton has long been named—in a Collegiate and Business Academy, a Ladies' Seminary, a University, attended altogether by more than a thousand students.

Another characteristic development began in 1838, when foreign missions attracted support. This was at first given through the American Triennial Convention, and within seven years a Nova Scotian joined the staff in Burmah. But after the political confederation of Canada, the Baptists of the Maritime Provinces united with those more westerly to send Canadian missionaries within the Empire. A district was taken up on the western coast of the Bay of Bengal, between the Orissa mission of the New Connexion and the Telugu mission of the Northern Americans. This separate Canadian work was prompted by Hannah Maria Norris organizing sixty-one Women's Missionary Societies, which sent her out as the pioneer to India. Work has developed on the lines laid down at Serampore; a medical centre is at Pithapuram; day, boarding and high schools lead up to a seminary at Cocanada; native workers are trained, and the native church is taught to feel that the responsibility of evangelism rests upon it rather than upon the Canadians, though these guide

and aid and provide all modern appliances, even up to motor-cars for rapid transit. A second field of work has been opened this century in Bolivia, where attention is being paid to medicine and education.

In 1846 there was a further advance in the Maritime Provinces themselves, when it was felt wise to provide some uniting bond. The influence of America was evident in that instead of following the English or the Scotch pattern of a Union, a Convention was organized, somewhat on the lines just adopted by the Southern States. For English readers the differences are worth studying. The members are delegates of associations, delegates of subscribing churches, subscribing members of such churches, and recognized ordained ministers; in practice the attendance is from two hundred to three hundred and fifty. The convention works through Boards, for home missions, foreign missions, religious education, ministerial education, ministerial annuities; these are like our town councils, a third quitting office each year. There are also standing committees, especially for finance. The more important boards have semi-permanent paid officials, whereas the officers of the convention itself are honorary and are elected annually; only five men, however, have been secretary since 1879. Meetings have been held at twenty-two towns, but it has recently been decided that Wolfville with its great blocks of denominational premises and its great traditions, is to be the permanent gathering-place.

While the population of the provinces is almost stationary, the progress of Baptists has been steady. Work was undertaken among the Micmac Indians in 1849, among whom Silas Tertius Rand laboured for forty years, providing them with a New Testament and Psalter. Then the earliest phase of Baptist life was recalled in the organization of an African Association, which to-day has more than seven hundred members. A Canadian Baptist Hymnal appeared in 1888.

Meanwhile, there was another organization of Baptists

covering the same ground. While the work of Whitefield and of Aline had been Calvinist, and the churches had adopted the 1677 Baptist version of the Westminster Confession, there was an American movement which in 1780 crystallized as the Free-Will Baptists. Originating with Benjamin Randall and one church at New Durham in New Hampshire, they spread southwards and absorbed some of the ancient General Baptists of Rhode Island, and northwards into New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.

The press was used freely, and when the *Morning Star* arose in 1826, consolidation took place rapidly. A General Conference was organized next year, which controlled the Quarterly Meetings, the Yearly Meetings, and the ministers, in a way England knows not. A Book Concern proved very successful and led to a printing establishment, issuing a Quarterly, and the *Choralist* in 1859. An Education Society founded schools and colleges, but it was found necessary again and again to meet suspicion by saying that ministers were qualified by grace and not by learning. A high standard of morals was upheld, slave-holders were dis-fellowshipped, temperance was enjoined on all church-members, and Conference once adopted a report which recommended the disuse of tea, coffee and tobacco, that the money might be devoted to foreign missions. It was a visit from Dr. Sutton that fired the foreign zeal in 1833, and thenceforward there were frequent interchanges with the New Connexion in England, while missionaries were sent to Orissa, an American as early as 1835. Liberia was added only at the close of the century.

Just as in England the New Connexion and the mass of the former Particular Baptists melted into one another with 1891, so the Free-Willers in these provinces joined the others in 1906 to form the United Baptist Convention. To this the older body contributed fifty-two thousand members and the younger ten thousand; and this represents the strength still. There are nearly six hundred churches, but only two hundred pastors; the grouping

of churches is therefore the actual rule, and not the exception as in England. As a pastor has to serve three to five churches it will be seen that Sunday-School work and Young Peoples' Societies, as of Christian Endeavour, assume an importance quite unlike English experience.

Ontario and Quebec.

Community life has been sweetened and lifted to higher levels, debased and sensual lives have been cleansed and spiritualized, our work amongst the many thousands of aliens coming to our country is really effective in Canadianizing these people by Christianizing them.

HOME MISSION BOARD, 1913.

Quebec was a colony captured from France, and populated almost entirely by Roman Catholics, who rapidly assimilated nearly all settlers introduced. Its Baptist history is late and exceptional. Ontario was hardly populated till the United Empire Loyalists came after 1783, and they contained scarcely any Baptists. There is, however, one church at Beamsville near Niagara which claims to date from 1776; it certainly flourished before the century was out, with reinforcements from England and from New Jersey. Across the Vermont border also came others, and Caldwell Manor in Quebec Province dates from 1794; Haldimand in the Peterborough Association looks back to 1798; near Brockville a fourth church arose in 1803, known to-day as Phillipville. These were the four centres from which work spread, soon fostered by settlers from Nova Scotia; they all carried on the traditions of America. Several churches were planted, and Associations were formed; but the pioneer spirit prevailed, and many pushed on westward, so that only four others survive from before 1820.

The new influences now came to bear. The Free Baptists settled in the Woodstock district, and planted nearly one church each year. They held together in their Quarterly and Yearly meetings, but were not in touch with their geographical neighbours or their doctrinal kindred. Then

came the Highlanders settling the Ottawa river from Montreal upwards : some who had been won by the Haldanes formed churches as early as 1816. Fraser was an untiring evangelist, Gilmour a cultured organiser into the bargain. When he established a church at Montreal in 1830, matching one at Toronto in 1828, Baptists were at last becoming well rooted, so that the next decade saw twenty-five churches arise, a Canada Baptist Missionary Society, a college at Montreal under Davies and Cramp from England, a magazine and a paper. English political traditions had been transplanted to "Upper Canada," there were certain lands reserved for the support of Protestant clergy, and there was a tendency to endow an Episcopal University. While some non-episcopalians were ready to share such funds, it devolved on Baptists to lead the fight for absolute equality and freedom, secularizing the clergy reserves and securing neutrality in education. The political contest was on very English lines, and the ends were gained.

For positive work, English traditions were insufficient, and it proved impossible to harness all in the English fashion. Everything in the shape of organized work collapsed by 1850, Davies returned to Regent's Park, Cramp went to succeed at Acadia in Nova Scotia. Next year crystallization began afresh, on American lines, as is shown by the very name of the Regular Baptist Missionary Society. Robert Fyfe, a born Canadian, trained in Massachusetts, with experience also in Wisconsin, pastor at Perth and at Toronto, proved the leader in the new era. He saw unerringly that a Christian education was needed, and that it was the duty of the churches to provide it. He was told off to superintend, and in 1860 he opened the Canadian Literary Institute at Woodstock. Among his supporters was William M'Master, an Ulsterman settled at Toronto. As his fortune increased and his political eminence, he used both alike in the service of God. The educational system has been enlarged with a woman's college at Moulton, and crowned with the M'Master University in Toronto ; more

than six hundred students are in the three institutions. Other societies were soon formed, to care for aged ministers, to aid American foreign missions, and to erect church buildings. Three special sides of home mission extension deserve notice. Indian immigrants from New York were taken care of near Brantford as early as 1842.

A little persecuted Swiss Protestant church migrated to Grande Ligne in Quebec, and there became Baptist about 1848. Perhaps because of the peculiar difficulties of propaganda in a province where the Roman Catholic church is established, the mission has excited interest in, and drawn support from, England, the Maritime Provinces and Ontario. As ever, great reliance is placed on education, and the Feller Institute offers to prepare for matriculation at a university. It rejoices in having trained seven thousand pupils, of whom four thousand have been won for Christ within its walls, and of whom seventy-five have gone to do mission work. A large German colony settled in Ontario, and in 1851 Baptist churches began to develop from a new Berlin.

After confederation and the opening of the Canadian Pacific Railway, Ontario found itself really responsible for the floods of immigrants settling in Western Canada. French and Germans were no longer the only settlers, but all north Europe poured in: the Bibles needed at Quebec, the great port of entrance for immigrants, must be stocked in thirty-five languages. Winnipeg is the chief distribution centre, and this town was therefore occupied with a Baptist church in 1875, a prairie school led up to Brandon College, and Alexander Grant was told off to superintend home missions. These have been the great problem for Ontario, though it takes an equal share with the Maritime Provinces in the missions to India and Bolivia.

With 1889 a Convention was organized on the lines already explained, superseding the independent societies. And in 1911 a further act of parliament was obtained to consolidate all the governing bodies of the foreign work,

even from British Columbia, at first evangelized and organized from the adjacent American State of Washington, but now with its own Okanagan College. The great task before the denomination is to deal with the new population sprinkled over twelve hundred thousand square miles west of Ontario, a population where four out of ten are of non-British descent. Every year the situation becomes more complex, for a population equal to that of Herefordshire pours into the land each year. In Alberta, within twenty miles there are distinct colonies of French-Canadians and Americans, Norwegians and Swedes, Galicians and Poles, English, Russians, Negroes; Baptist work is being undertaken among Germans, Russians, Ruthenians, Swedes, Norwegians and Italians, and a beginning has been made for Slavs, Magyars and Letts. Such mission work is bound to react on the home lands, and being international, is supported to some extent from the mother country, through the Colonial Society. So far, there are some fifteen thousand Baptists in these western provinces, and four times as many in Ontario.

South Africa.

English as well as German Baptist churches have worked thirty-three years in harmony and peace.

HUGO GUTSORE, 1911.

The Cape Colony received no Baptist attention for many years, partly because the London Missionary Society took charge of native work, partly because no organiser arose to hold together any immigrants. The one exception was Grahamstown; when four thousand picked emigrants went there in 1820, they naturally included some Baptists, and a church was formed at once. The tree is still shown where a carpenter conducted the first service. For a generation, ministers were found by the B.M.S., whose funds were supported regularly; but nothing was attempted for the natives around.

A new era opened after the Crimean war, when many

of the disbanded German Legion settled in Kaffraria. Within ten years they were led by one of Oncken's students, Hugo Gutsche, whose work was most successful, so that many German Baptist churches were planted. Presently the Dutch population was touched, and even Swedes were enrolled.

Ministers came from widely different sources. Many Wesleyan preachers transferred their energies; Grattan, Guinness and Spurgeon sent from London; a few came from America. It is deplored by men on the spot that even now, their own youth show no desire for this work, and no training has ever been offered. Young Baptists seem to prefer public life of other kinds, and have been influential in parliament, in the cabinet, on the press, or as founders of orphanages.

Duty to the natives was first recognized by the German Baptists, who in 1888 appointed Carl Pape to work among the Fingoes; within four years there was a native evangelist. After the centenary celebrations of the B.M.S., new interest was aroused in an unexpected quarter. In 1894 two girls and two men from Australasia appeared, with credentials and money. A local B.M.S. which had been too timid to do anything, now adopted these volunteers, helped them to train, and allotted them posts. Even to the present day this co-operation continues, linking together two great Commonwealths.

Another remarkable development was due to the feeling of educated American negroes that they had peculiar duties to Africa. They have not however risen to the pitch of allying with local white Baptists, or of training self-governing churches.

A third attempt at this vast problem is more recent. The Nyassa Industrial Mission had planted an out-station at Kafulafuta, in the extreme north of British South Africa; on the advice of J. J. Doke this was adopted. From the same British circle arose the Gold Fields Mission Society, which prompted in 1900 the Baptist Colonial Society.

While its energies at first were purely South African, it now helps also Saint Helena, Western Canada, Quebec, Queensland and Western Australia.

Another imperial problem emerges here, for many Telugus have found their way hither. These people have long been evangelized by Canadian and American Baptists, and they have sent a trained Telugu minister to watch over their compatriots in a strange land.

And so the official roll of the Union shows churches of many nations, ministers speaking many languages, supported from many sources. Only Scotland is unrepresented!

Australasia.

*Grant us, O God, the right divine
That steadfast steers its course by Thee,
So that our lives as lamps may shine,
To guide Australia's destiny.*

KENNETH MACKAY.

The great southern islands at the antipodes of Britain were the latest to be settled, if indeed they can be called settled even now, when an area larger than the United States has but the population of Scotland.

Free settlers were slow to find their way thither, and joint stock companies were formed which planted on the Swan River and on Gulf St. Vincent, while a few huts were built on the Yarra by men who crossed from Tasmania into Australia Felix. By 1840 there were little Baptist churches at Hobart, Launceston, Sydney, Adelaide, Melbourne. Hundreds of miles apart, thousands of miles from the nearest churches of their kindred, they barely existed, and had no ambition. The one fact of interest for this period is that at Adelaide the leader was a "Scotch Baptist," David MacLaren, whose son was destined to win fame in England.

The discovery of gold in 1851 attracted a rush of immigrants, the population of Victoria more than doubling

in a year. Fortunately there were already two churches in Melbourne, and two strong men came from home to guide them, training students, and planting new churches at the mining centres. Thus Victoria obtained a lead in Baptist affairs which was presently followed from the other centres.

South Australia had suffered by trying to amalgamate all manner of people into Baptist churches, and was unaware of the lessons to be derived from Nova Scotia and Ontario. It found its solution on different lines, laid down by Silas Mead from London, the most singular being that the churches stipulate for baptism only in the case of the pastor. Churches were linked, the press was utilised, and the platform also was employed to spread Baptist principles. The denomination came to be one of the most numerous in the Province, with some measure of political power; but the Province was and is not in the first rank.

Queensland, again, is but secondary, and though by the help of the Baptist Missionary Society, it had a good leader at the capital by 1858, yet the semi-tropical climate does not attract European settlers, and only a score of churches have much stability. Even yet they lean upon England to supply them with pastors and home missionaries. One of these reminded the first Australasian Baptist Congress of the toil-roughened hand beckoning from the shearing-shed, or from some lonely settler's bark humpy in the "Never-Never" country.

Tasmania was set on a new footing by a layman at Perth near Launceston. Inspired by the example of Spurgeon, he steadily imported men from the Pastors' College, and planted church after church. Here as in Canada the legislature was invoked to stereotype his methods, which include a control of the Union over all the ministers. So it may not be only the scant opportunities of the island which account for their steady drift northwards to the mainland.

New South Wales in its turn was aroused, and the churches were urged to unite. In this case there was a

result like that in London at the same time ; two rival associations were formed, one aggressive, one hyper-Calvinist. The latter is, of course, negligible for practical purposes.

New Zealand is as far off from Australia in practice, as New York is from Liverpool, so here again work was independent. It was, however, of the same type, and was attended by the same difficulties. The Churches of England and of Scotland had sent out picked colonists, and the whole social atmosphere was against Free Churches. Progress, however, was steady, though slow ; the Spurgeon fire provided earnest men to evangelize, and most of the coastal towns were occupied, till the membership is nearly one per cent. of the population. The religious life here is not self-contained, but applies itself to social problems. Such evils as gambling and drinking have been very systematically curbed by legislation, and this has been guided by the opinion of the Christian community. In moulding this opinion, and in making it operative, women take no small part ; if some of their novels suggest that their experiences of equality occasionally produce strange results in domestic relations, yet others reveal a steady reliance on the unseen, and the conviction that

With patience, here to lose, and here to win,
Even God must get His harvest in.

It needed a vision to draw together these very scattered elements ; and the vision was seen by Silas Mead on a visit to India. He laboured to enlist sympathy for the foreign work there, and this was strengthened by the arrival of a missionary who had been chaplain to Havelock's force in its relief of Lucknow. Colony after colony began to send support, and this was ear-marked to a district in East Bengal, whence one Englishman after another came to report progress. In 1882 some girls went from Australia to take their own share, and within ten years the Baptist Missionary Society had relinquished this

district entirely to workers from the South Seas. Before long they were reinforced by men, and to-day there are thirteen centres. They adopted the time-honoured methods and succeed in all, though they have to deal not only with the ordinary Hindu, but with fanatic Moslems at one side and with a simple Animist tribe on the other.

Success in such co-operation has reacted on the Unions in Australasia. To the ancient settlement on the Swan River went men determined to evangelize the crowds pouring in for a new gold-field, and able to organize. But here again the vast discrepancy between the area and the population compels appeals home, both for immigrants generally and for Baptist missionaries. The federated Commonwealth links its scattered settlements by railways, Baptists seek to link their churches by interchange of workers, by mutual visitation at annual gatherings, by one newspaper for all. But while the total population is ludicrously inadequate to a continent larger than Canada, the Baptist quota is not one-third of that to be found in the Maritime Provinces alone.

It is to be remembered, however, that federation was accomplished only this century, and if we note that the American colonies federated in 1789, and within forty years Baptist members were five per cent. of the population, the largest body in the States, then the future of Australia may be viewed with hope. There have been able and generous business men, and a succession of able ministers from England, though of late they have been more mobile within the empire, not settling here for their life-work. Nor has the Commonwealth yet produced any great leader from its own Baptist ranks, whether for law, medicine, politics or theology.

In these southern lands, Baptists occupy no important place, as they do in America. As an example may be given Victoria, one of the foremost, in which Baptists abound more than in the other States. Of a hundred people, thirty-seven call themselves Church of England,

twenty-two Roman Catholics, eighteen Presbyterians, fourteen Methodist. Baptists are simply the largest of the minor bodies, with fewer than two and a half per cent. ; nor is there any improvement manifest since 1881. Another feature of Australia is the concentration at the state capitals on the coast, and the reluctance of immigrants to settle up country ; this makes the distances to be traversed by the missionary very large. On one round, a missionary met a horseman who welcomed him with the news that for fifteen years he had lived forty-two miles up the road, and had never seen or heard of a preacher ; within fifteen miles he could gather five families with seventeen children, who would welcome a service. But at least there is a fine spirit of voluntary service in addition, so that public worship is held at every little chapel once a fortnight. Perhaps the free use of motor-vehicles, as in Canada and its Indian mission-fields, will rival the horse which at present enables the missionary to cope with his thousand square miles of territory. He has great variety in the people with whom he must deal. There still are rushes to new gold-fields, such as need a reserve of energetic and skilled missionaries ; but mines, whether of gold, silver, copper, zinc or coal, now attract settled populations calling for the resident pastor. There are still vast areas given over to stock, cattle, sheep, horses ; and Baptists have hardly attempted to solve their problems. Still less has a plan been devised to ride with the shearers who work across the continent from shed to shed every year. Strength is rather spent on those who till the soil, whether for wheat, fruit, vegetables or fodder for dairy cattle. It is interesting to read the account given by Cox and Hoby of their visit to America and Canada ninety years ago, and recognize that Australia is now in the stage they saw, with the same essential problems, the same prospects of development. The outstanding differences are that the Americans and Canadians saw floods of new settlers, whereas Australia has almost to

buy inhabitants; and that in the New World of that day there was a vigorous independent coping with the problem, whereas the attachment of Australia to the Empire has the one unfortunate corollary that it has not thoroughly developed its own religious life. This is true for all denominations; the "Church of England" will adhere to English ritual of 1662, the Westminster Standards are adopted in the Presbyterian church; but it remains true that schemes worked out in the northern hemisphere and in England particularly, have been transplanted without much adaptation to local conditions. Baptist life has not yet emerged from the Colonial stage and developed a Commonwealth variety. A new generation is, however, arising which expressly reserves the name "Home" for the southern land, and one of her sons speaks for many:—

A young man in a young land, he
Dreams noble dreams of youth,
And foremost in the van of years,
He sows the seeds of truth.

SOURCES FOR GREATER BRITAIN.

Year-books of the Colonial Unions and Conventions.

Periodicals.

A Century of Baptist Achievement, edited by A. H. Newman: Philadelphia, 1901.

The History of the Baptist Church in South Africa. H. J. Batts: Cape Town, 1923.

CONCLUSION.

A Christian denomination with a noble history, with great institutions, and with a large body of learned and forceful men devoted to its maintenance, is one of the most indestructible of social organisms.

ALBERT HENRY NEWMAN.

THE BAPTIST UNION OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

WORLD BASES FOR BAPTIST WORK.

BAPTISTS IN THE WORLD.

THE BAPTIST CONTRIBUTION TO LIFE.

LEADING DATES.

- 1904. Baptist Church House opened.
- 1905. Baptist World Alliance formed, in London
- 1908. European Baptist Congress, at Berlin.
Australasian Baptist Congress, at Sydney.
Baptist Historical Society formed.
- 1910. Baptist Colonial Society formed.
- 1911. Second Baptist World Congress, at Philadelphia.
- 1913. Second European Baptist Congress, at Stockholm.
- 1915. *History of the Baptist Churches in the U.S.*, by A. H. Newman ;
sixth edition.
- 1917. General Superintendents appointed.
- 1923. Third Baptist World Congress, at Stockholm.

CHAPTER X.

CONCLUSION.

WITH the passing of the Victorian Age, Baptist history entered on a new phase in England. Hope was excited by the results of an unofficial census of attendance on public worship in London. There were indeed sad contrasts in many respects with the figures half-a-century earlier, especially as to the general falling off in religious observance, for it proved that after allowing for the young, the old, the sick, the busy, only one out of three possible worshippers actually went to church. But so far as Baptists were concerned, there was an actual gain. Out of 2,500 people who in 1851 might have been at service, seventy-three did then attend Baptist chapels; whereas in 1902 were one hundred and seven. The denomination proved to be the most aggressive and successful of all the Free Churches. A careful observer summed up that Baptists appeared to be the one really growing religious body in the metropolis; a quiet and steady growth being observable even in the least promising districts. It was with such encouragement that the new century began.

I. The Baptist Union.

The Churches of our order and constitution have never been so numerous as to-day; they have an amount of moral energy never enjoyed before.

JUDGE WILLIS, 1905.

A new force came to the Baptist Union in the person of John Howard Shakespeare, a statesman with vision, who convinced the denomination that ideals could be realised. Raising a Twentieth Century Fund showed that there were material resources available, dispensing it showed that overdue arrears could be made up. A new

denominational centre was created where Andrew Gifford had once showed that culture was compatible with evangelism, where Joseph Ivimey had combined philanthropy, research and denominational extension. The Baptist Church House became a home to which increasingly every visitor turned for social purposes, in which schemes were thought out, problems were discussed, and a steadily increasing volume of work was done on all matters save foreign missions, which were still directed separately from Furnival Street. Rising towns were noted, and Baptists there were aided to provide places of worship. The ministry received special attention, since the life of the churches depends so greatly on the pastors. Scholarships were provided to ensure that men capable of leadership should have their opportunity of equipping themselves. Many steps were taken to heighten the conception of the pastoral office and to induce a greater feeling of responsibility towards those who were called to fill it. An official register came into being, not merely mentioning, as previously, where a Baptist minister might be found, but setting forth the record of every man whose career had actually won and did retain the confidence of his fellows. Encouragement was given to such, that they might provide for old age or sickness ; and self-help was again and again supplemented by denominational investment of an annuity fund. The many activities of associations were studied, and as the essential problems were the same all over the land, co-ordination proved a step to supplementing and then to amalgamation or absorption. Thus it became possible to deal with the support of the ministry on a national scale, and to ensure that the churches would not be behind the spirit of the times, but would guarantee a minimum stipend to all in the Master's service. This was skilfully linked with another problem, that of finding better opportunities for removal, so that the right place might easily find the right man at the appropriate time. The perennial question of the rising generation was referred to a special depart-

ment of the Union. The unceasing efforts of women were recognized, and a Women's League was called into existence. The work of local preachers again received attention. And for all these classes, constant thought was taken that their needs should be seen, even anticipated; schemes of study were planned, often in concert with the Baptist Missionary Society, and a host of helpers was enlisted to form study circles, both in the home and in summer schools. As soon as any new question came to the front, steps were taken to seek an answer. And so the ever-varying life of the denomination varies for itself its outward manifestation to respond to needs of changing times.

Problems of Christian union have come to the front with the new century. Whether it be closer fellowship with other communions here in the motherland, Baptists have taken their full share in creating a Federal Council of the Churches, and in conferences with an even wider scope. Whether it be tightening the bonds with Baptists in other lands, the first World Congress was held in London, 1905, leading on to others in Berlin, Philadelphia, Stockholm, and to more local meetings in Australasia. The claims of fellow-believers in districts worn by war or famine have been met by the appointment of a commissioner to visit Europe, and by relief-committees in China. A Baptist world-consciousness has arisen, in which there is not so much glorying over the fact that no other Protestant communion is as large, as there is conviction that the task of evangelizing the world and training disciples, is one for which no body of men is equal, without the guidance and sustaining power of the indwelling Christ.

2. World Bases for Baptist Work.

Godless civilization and godless education is always a failure, but Christlike love, Christlike patience, Christlike work, and Christlike sacrifice will gain all the races of the earth.

J. G. LEHMANN of Kassel, 1905.

While the story told here is that of British Baptists,

yet the spirit of nationalism has always to reckon with that of denominationalism. Roman Catholics feel one, while conscious of racial distinctions; Moslems in India feel concerned even about the political status of a Turkish Sultan. And in the twentieth century Baptists everywhere began to realise an essential unity of aim, and therefore to plan for meeting one another in the flesh.

Down to 1834 there were no Baptist churches outside Britain and America and their mission fields. But a movement beginning then at Hamburg proved to have great vitality. One of the founders looked northwards, and within fourteen years there were Baptist churches in Denmark, Norway and Sweden. The others looked east and south, and within a quarter of a century had planted churches as far as Warsaw, Lithuania, Lettland, Vienna, Zurich, Rumania. These were organized with German ability, until a seminary established at Hamburg ensured a supply of competent pastors to all these churches. Great sympathy was evoked both in Britain and America, where auxiliary societies were formed which rendered real help; but the strength of the movement is that it has been by natives of the countries concerned. So too in Russia, where the movement began independently at Tifis and other centres, partly out of the old Mennonites. In 1905 there was general surprise when the first Baptist World Congress revealed churches in every country of Europe except Portugal and Greece.

America, however, has been the great theatre of development. Soon after thirteen colonies established their independence, the political necessity of union among themselves reacted on the churches. The new Separate churches due to the revival headed by Whitefield, joined hands with the old Regulars; the former brought enthusiasm, the latter organization, and when a Swede took stock in 1790, he found 748 churches with 61,000 members. These were all on friendly terms, except for remnants of the old General Baptists or Free-willers, in Rhode Island and North

Carolina, with a recent outcrop of the same in New Hampshire, and except for the Seventh-Day group in New Jersey and New York. The habit of Association was well established, and as fast as new churches arose, they grouped on this line. But the great immigration, and the flow westward, compelled organization for Home Mission purposes as early as 1802. By 1821 the State boundaries began to be adopted, and Conventions of all Baptists within a State came to be normal. The rise of Foreign Missions in 1814 induced another organization, and the separation of north and south on the question of slavery brought about the formation in 1845 of the Southern Baptist Convention, which has grown into the largest Protestant organization in the world.

By that time, however, a few had dropped off for other reasons. Mere conservatism caused the formation of three or four groups from Kentucky to Georgia, which still own the name Baptist but are out of touch with most Baptists, and have no influence on the world. Since these "Primitive Baptists" appealed to the Confession of 1677 as justifying them, a New Hampshire Confession was drawn up in 1832 to which reference is still made in the North. Alexander Campbell and kindred spirits drew off others from 1827, and founded the Disciples of Christ. Peter Miller directly afterwards paid such attention to the Second Advent that the Adventists organized separately and are not reckoned Baptists. Besides these two substantial offshoots, there are microscopic bodies which deserve no attention in a hasty survey.

North and South in happy rivalry developed evangelization, education, publication. Already in 1854 the North had 175 missionaries following up the settlers everywhere; to-day the South has about 450, and plants 200 churches yearly. Academies grew to colleges and these to universities; if the name was occasionally rather ambitious for the actual institution, yet an impartial survey of 1920 acknowledges 75 institutions of high rank maintained by

Baptists, and places the Northern Baptists first of all for liberal endowment. The training of ministers is a special branch, and while in the East this is on the small scale familiar to Britain, yet in Illinois, Kentucky, Texas there are mammoth theological colleges with hundreds of students. Publication was organized as early as 1824; sixteen years later the system and the name of colportage was invented, and this pioneer spirit has been maintained by chapel cars on the railroads, and then by branch depots in many parts of America. The refusal of the American Bible Society to support versions translating the word *baptizo*, caused Baptists to organize new Bible Societies from 1827; to one of these is due the impulse that originated the Anglo-American revision of the English Bible in 1881-5. Midway between those dates, the American Baptists turned over their work to the American Baptist Publication Society.

Sunday Schools are fostered by graded series of magazines, while hundreds of Baptist authors are encouraged. These have a circulation beyond their own continent, while many other periodicals cater for local constituencies. Just as Rippon ceased to publish in 1803, Georgia and Massachusetts began magazines; two still running there trace back for a century, and in nearly every State there is competition.

The eleven million negroes of America are a class apart. Their first Baptist church dates from 1788, and Lott Carey within a generation established a mission to Liberia. When all slaves were freed, a more serious problem arose, as the negroes preferred to worship separately. The Northern Home Mission at once began to aid, especially in education, and there are universities for coloured men in many States. Their Foreign Mission and their Convention united in 1895, and Nashville in Tennessee has become the centre of their organized work. The progress of Baptist principles among them has been phenomenal, and there are now three million, with five thousand buildings, all the growth of half a century. Nor do they live to themselves.

In 1881 they organized for foreign work to their own kindred, and after thirty years were able to report that they had more than sixty churches and missions in Africa, eight in the West Indies, five in South America. Booker T. Washington offered in the name of a community where 58 per cent. can both read and write, to help send the gospel to Russia where 70 per cent. can neither read nor write.

With such strength in America, great as the problem is of evangelizing the constant immigrants, yet there is energy to spare for sending missionaries abroad. Not only the islands wrested from Spain, but all Spanish and Portuguese America has felt the influence from the north ; Baptists in every country of Europe find ready sympathy, advice and help ; while Africa, India, Siam, China and the Pacific Islands have workers from the United States building up new Baptist communities.

It has been claimed that American civilization is based on a great group of Baptist ideals, and that this was clearly anticipated when Roger Williams said of Rhode Island, " Out of this seed shall arise the most glorious Commonwealth known to human history." It was a Baptist, a missionary editor, who penned the lines that have been adopted as a true and worthy national anthem :—

My Country, 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty,
Of thee I sing.
Land where my fathers died
Land of the pilgrims' pride !
From every mountain side
Let freedom ring !

And when America celebrated the tercentenary of the Pilgrim Fathers, it was a Baptist president who looked backward and declared, " When we lift our eyes, we will recognize the divine guidance, the divine inspiration, which alone could have wrought these wonder ends." Then looking at the community of free people of our race, whether

in Europe or in America, whether in Africa or Australia, which has won recognition of its ideals throughout the world as the basis of social conduct and of community relations, he declared that "none question either its place or its right of leadership, few doubt its destiny to establish, under that Divine guidance which it has ever recognized, the splendid structure of human brotherhood in peace and understanding." It was a splendid response to the Australian appeal :

Men of our blood and speech! If ye did flee
 For God and freedom to an alien clime,
 Forget them not who, resolute, sublime,
 Grappling with kings at home, made England free.

3. Baptists in the World.

The people in the Congo are trying to work, and are trying very hard to have the gospel preached in all the villages.

NLEMVO, 1905.

Baptists were the first to send a missionary to Mexico.

J. G. CHASTAIN, 1911.

The countries in which Baptists are strong enough to cope with domestic problems, and also help abroad, are America, Canada, England, Sweden, Germany, Australasia. Most Baptists in other countries of Europe are allying with one or other organization in these mother-lands. A hasty survey may be taken of Baptists in Asia, Africa, Central and South America.*

In the Pacific Ocean, Americans foster work on the Philippines and Japan. Shantung, the home of Confucius, has now a strong native church gathered by English workers, co-operating with other Christians in a university. Americans from the Southern States work in another part of the Province. Further up the Yellow River, in Shansi and Shensi, the English are fostering other churches. The Provinces of Kiangsu and Che-kiang on the coast profit by American care. Further south, from Swatow and

* See Note E in Appendix.

Canton, the two American societies superintend work in Kwangtung, with educational and medical institutions. Swedes and Seventh-Day Baptists labour on a less ambitious scale. A Publication Society attests the interest of the Chinese Baptists.

Siam shows work done by Americans from the north. Burmah with its population of Burmese, Karens, has also yielded rich fruit to their labours in boarding schools, normal schools, colleges. India proper, however, is the first and the most fertile field. The Australasians deal with East Bengal, higher up the Brahmaputra the Americans work on the hills of Assam. Calcutta is the centre of the English work in Bengal, though it extends far to the north. Serampore itself now sees many churches co-operating in the Christian university founded by Marshman and chartered from Denmark. Up the Ganges Delhi is a second centre, whence work radiates in many directions. Down the Bay of Bengal the Oriyas have attention from the English at Cuttack, then Canadians are found further south, and Americans have the great Nellore mission where one of the early mass movements encouraged the workers. A few Strict Baptists of England in South India link up with the Baptist Missionary Society in Ceylon.

Thence the track lies across the ocean to British East Africa, where the Scotch teach industrial work at Nyassa. In South Africa the white churches do something for the natives, being aided from England: Swedes also maintain a mission, and the negroes of America recognize their duty to their kindred here. Up the West Coast work is done by the Germans, Swedes, British and Americans, under other flags. From Cameroons westward, the Free Baptists of America, the Southern Board, and the negro Board again have worked to such effect that a little home mission enterprise has been developed. So again by the negroes in Jamaica, on the Islands and coasts of Central America.

Porto Rico, Cuba, Mexico, Panama are favourite fields for Americans, both white and coloured. The latter also

attend to Guiana, while Brazil, Uruguay and the Argentine are evangelized by the Southern Board. On the west coast, Bolivia has churches gathered by Canadians, and work has begun in Chile.

4. Baptist Contribution to Life.

Witness to the reality and glory of the unseen, educate the conscience of the community, apply the principles of Christianity to present conditions, and consecrate our citizenship to the service of every movement that makes for reform.

F. W. BOREHAM, Hobart, 1908.

In the course of three centuries Baptists have had time to develop distinctive qualities, and an attempt may be made to appraise them. Clifford has stated the crucial question: What is your contribution to the actual needs of men, your ministry to the poor and weak, your impact and inspiration to unselfish service?

Public life closed in the reign of Charles II. after a brief ten years in which Baptists provided generals, admirals, chancellors, ambassador, civil servants, mayors and other men of leading. Thenceforward for a century and a half their position was as the Utlanders described themselves in 1899:—Acknowledged and admitted grievances are not redressed, still deprived of all political rights, denied any voice in the government of the country. These disabilities were removed nearly a century ago, but the social tradition remained most powerful. The Civil Service, whether at home or in India, has not enlisted many who have made a mark; the atmosphere of the army and the navy has not been congenial. Baptists have not been forward to seek the suffrages of their fellows, whether for municipal or parliamentary work. Though in 1851 it was shown that for every six people in the parish churches there was one in a Baptist chapel, there never has been any representation in council chamber or at Westminster in the least approaching this proportion. Only as Guardians of the poor, or members of School Boards for a generation, has

there been much aspiration to this voluntary service. Nor on county councils has the denomination even sought earnestly to fulfil the duty of every citizen to his home. In the long period of mere passive citizenship, the habit grew of hopeless protest or of silent endurance; seldom even did a Josiah Thompson bestir himself to discover how many voters there were who might be organized for action. In the ranks of political dissenters, but few Baptists are to be noted. And this temper has survived into a different age, producing complaint and protest, societies Anti- many things, but seldom initiating anything constructive.

The profession of the law was not absolutely banned, yet eminent barristers are far to seek, though Bicheno sprang from a Baptist manse; the bench has seen but one or two Baptists sitting on it, though County Courts have occasionally been presided over. It is possible that a profession which inevitably brings into contact with crime and sin to an abnormal extent, has repelled many who would touch these things only to heal.

Medicine used to be most attractive in the seventeenth century, but after that we look for any prominent Baptist, and until the present century we find only Chevalier. Probably social influence would account for the absence of practitioners, even as it does in America for the absence of negro doctors; but there is no sign of any quiet student. The growth of the power in the colleges of physicians and surgeons would lock the door already closed. A long roll of those who have contributed to knowledge and practice, discloses no Baptists until within living memory.

Science again has had few devotees, and with less excuse. What was open to Priestley and Faraday was equally open to any other dissenter. Nor could social influence utterly debar from creative work in music, painting, sculpture and other forms of art. We can but infer that these have not commended themselves to the denominational taste.

The world of letters has been open to all aspirants. Yet in philosophy, history, biography, travel, poetry and drama, nothing has been produced that attracted any attention; indeed hardly anything was written except lives of a few ministers abroad and at home. Even in periodical literature, the names of Ward, Foster, Hall, Winks, Dunckley, nearly exhaust the list in the front rank, after the days of Daniel Border.

In another direction there was free play—printing and publishing. The example set by Hills, Dover, Keach, Smith, and Benjamin Harris was never quite forgotten: in the next century the Wards put their imprint on many religious books, then Cottle at Bristol did something for literature generally. Hughes not only guided the Religious Tract Society but put his son into publishing, while Cramp in London and Waugh in Edinburgh sponsored many useful books. Outside the capitals, Heaton of Leeds, Wilkins of Derby, Winks of Leicester maintained a tradition, until the modern system of joint-stock companies conceals in many cases that the enterprise and character of a firm is due to a Baptist at its head.

Industry and commerce were always open to all classes, though farms were usually reserved for “Church and State” men. We look hopefully to manufacture and trade, remembering that under similar social and political disabilities in France, Huguenots had won eminence here. Yet we do not find successors to Kiffin; merchant princes were recruited from immigrant Huguenots, not from native Baptists. We look to the lists of the Dissenting Deputies, and see no one of more than average ability or standing. Great corporations like the Honourable East India Company and the Hudson Bay Company were not directed or staffed from the denomination. When new industries arose in the Midlands and the North, and manual or pedal power were replaced by water and then by steam, in which Newcomen, our minister at Dartmouth, had been pioneer, it was not often that Baptists took their opportunity;

though Preston and Sabden churches with Rawdon college do owe their origin to calico-printers, and the last half-century can tell a very different tale. When we consider the great alterations in transport caused by new roads, by canals, by railways, we recognize only two Baptists who took any prominent share here ; but Morton Peto earned a nation's gratitude by coming to the rescue in the Crimean war, and Thomas Cook has won world-wide reputation. Banking was peculiarly based on the possession of character inspiring trust, and the Friends excelled here ; yet it is not easy to add to the names of Foster and Tritton.

Baptist contributions have been to the national welfare rather than to its material wealth. For the individual, with which there is first concern, attention has been paid not to fortune, only partly to intellect, chiefly to character. Treasure has not been laid up on earth, but has been stored for heaven. It has been well said that Home is the creation of the Puritan. It is there that he was long confined by the refusal to let him participate in a wider life ; it is there that he and his helpmeet studied their Bible and lived its life, consciously and unconsciously raising, after the Pauline precept, a succession of those trained to godly living. Many Baptist writers catered for children, from the days of Cheare, Bunyan and Keach ; many biographies of children testify to the importance felt of leading them to Christ. This is a side of work to which Baptists are peculiarly committed. Those communities which adopt the baptism of infants usually trust, consciously or unconsciously, that this baptism has a salutary effect on the child. Baptists reject the practice, and while rejoicing that the children of even one Christian parent are holy, yet feel especially bound to give them real guidance and leading to Christ, whom they may confess for themselves in baptism, as the Saviour of all who believe.

The Bible has always been the warp of this training. Its history has been told by Llewellyn and Anderson ; it has been translated for Irish readers by M'Quige, for

English readers by Jessey and the American Bible Union, while Angus, Gotch, Davies, have shared in English revisions. After Serampore had put out thirty-six Eastern versions in twenty-seven years, inspiring others to the same enlightening work, the tradition has been well maintained, with constant revision in the great literary tongues. Translations made by fifty-three American Baptists are in use to-day, while Englishmen, New Zealanders and Canadians are providing the backward tribes of the Indian hills and the Congo River with the word of God in nine languages. Bretons, Italians and Spanish have had modern Testaments provided, the nations of Central and North America have found their needs considered.*

It has always been found that the free circulation of the Bible without note or comment will produce Baptists. But notes to explain hard passages, and devotional comment, are helpful; scholars like Gill, pastors like John Fawcett, David Jones, Titus Lewis, and John Jenkins have spent their strength on worthy editions. Expositions of whole books and themes have been put out by Bunyan, du Veil, Keach, Fuller, Cox, Spurgeon; Maclaren's life-work was arranged into a series of studies throughout the Bible. Helps to study, separate from the Bible itself, have been issued by Delaune, Keach, Martin, Angus and Green. The circulation of the volume has always found enthusiasts from the days of Vavasor Powell; Joseph Hughes was the first secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society, Joseph Harris did much for Wales, Spurgeon founded a Colportage Society, and the Bible Translation Society attends to foreign lands. Concordances were compiled by Powell and Butterworth.

If the Bible has been one means of grace always recognized, used, and brought to attention, the Lord's day has been another. The family pew has ever been filled, and evening gatherings round the piano have not died out even yet.

* See Note D in Appendix.

Family life thus nurtured has been pure and constant. At a time when there is clamour that facilities be brought to every county court for the dissolution of marriage, it is to be remembered that an official request for the Baptist Union to offer evidence on this matter brought to light that divorce was alien to denominational life. Old church books often have entries of discipline for uncleanness, but divorce was absolutely unknown. It is natural that one Baptist should be chairman of the National Council of Public Morals, and another the secretary.

For disciples are bidden to salt the earth, to let their light shine. It is not sufficient to preach a general gospel, and quietly to illustrate it by the life of the individual, the family. There are definite evils to be grappled with, social reforms to be achieved. Little has been attempted against gambling; but the cause of temperance has never lacked champions. Braithwaite was before his age in his outspoken work at Bridlington, but the modern Teetotal movement originated with Joseph Livesey, a Preston Baptist; a temperance Bible commentary was put out by Dawson Burns, who trod in the footsteps of his father Jabez, and founded the United Kingdom Alliance. Such societies as Bands of Hope, Good Templars, draw much of their strength from Baptist circles.

There are similar evils abroad, and the national honour has been gravely stained by forcing opium on an unwilling empire, by exporting spirits to ignorant peoples. Against such sins there has been constant strife, and societies to protect native races from the greed of rubber- and other potentates have found informants and agents from Baptist workers. More than once decorations have been returned, as dishonoured by the conduct of their donor.

Men who have little moral scruple have learned the strength of what they chafe at as the "Nonconformist conscience." It is the glory of Baptists that they desire to uphold a high standard of conduct, not only for their own private and family life, but for the life of the nation.

There are many who rely largely, almost exclusively, on legal enactments. But these are of little avail until there is a preponderating public opinion to support them, and the characteristic Baptist method is to educate this. Ninety years ago, when the Macaulays and Clarksons were working in parliament and the press against slavery, it was men like Burchell and Knibb who lived among the slaves, risked their lives for them, then came home to tell their story in city after city; it was men like Cox and Hoby who went to try and educate public opinion in America, though indeed they were a generation ahead of that people. So in temperance matters: if an archbishop could say he would rather see England free than sober, he was as bad a logician as the rector who bade girls be good, let who would be clever. Baptists aim at sobriety, freely chosen, and at the goodness even of clever people. They respect the dignity of the individual, the passion for liberty, along with cherishing a moral earnestness. They know that a man constrained against his will is of the same opinion still. They know that God does not compel the world to behave, but is trying to persuade it. And as His ambassadors, they apply His methods to particular problems. There is the good news for the victim of sin, that his habits are not of cast-iron, that still the bars of iron can be broken; to the gospel for the individual that Christ does save, succeeds the social education that no one should be led into temptation, that a man must consider his neighbours, that he must of his own free will abridge his "liberty" in the interests of weaker brethren. Baptists have ever stood against tyranny, whether of priest or king; they will oppose tyranny of a majority over the conscience, and will seek to train every conscience.

Borgeaud has pointed out that the study of the Bible which first produced the free churches of the sixteenth century, led to the movement for free states in the seventeenth, which after the check under the Stuarts and the Capets, issued in the Revolution of 1689, the Declaration

of Independence in 1776. Freedom came first in the domain of the soul, the claim that conscience must be respected. But freedom to worship cannot be isolated; freedom to preach in the pulpit can barely be separated from freedom to speak on the green, to print for a wider public. It is perfectly natural that the strength of the New-Model army was from the free churches, and that men who had secured what they claimed ecclesiastically, drafted free constitutions for the State, and fought for them. It was the tyranny of the four Stuarts that fostered the origin and the growth of Baptists in reaction. And when George III. sought to tyrannize over men in America, the whole of Baptist opinion was against him; just three ministers are known out of all in England and America, who did not stand for freedom. And when the governing caste of England, alarmed at the French Revolution, sought to repress all expression of opinion, they had to imprison one Baptist minister, while others spoke frankly or shook off the dust of Wales from their feet. Few have been the Baptists deterred by the taunt of "political dissenters" from boldly applying their principles to concrete national issues. They have laboured for freedom; freedom to exist, to think, to spread their views, to persuade, to translate their views into practice by constitutional means. And in moral matters, their views are derived from the Bible. They think that if bidden to pray, "Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven," then God's will on the great problems that arise is to be ascertained; men are to be taught what it is and won over to adopt it; it is to be carried out in practice. Such is the kind of contribution to national welfare that they will be thankful to make.

SOURCES.

Reports of the Congresses.

Rushbrooke: *The Baptist Movement in the Continent of Europe*: London, 1923.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A.

BAPTISTS AND THE PILGRIM FATHERS.

Most of the emigrants from the Scrooby district stayed at Amsterdam and became Baptist. Only two families joined the Pilgrim Fathers, who chiefly hailed from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, London, Kent. Were it not that Brewster so long guided the Plymouth church, and that Bradford wrote the story of the Old Colony, more attention would be paid to Canterbury, Sandwich, London, Ockendon, Chelmsford, Colchester, Rayleigh, Billericay, Gidea Hall, Prittlewell, Cambridge, Monk Soham, Chattisham, Leiston, Yarmouth, Norwich, and the seven Midland and Western towns whence Pilgrims went. Morton Dexter in his *England and Holland of the Pilgrims* published much of the evidence for their home towns; while ever since Benjamin Evans published the names of thirty-two men and women who proposed to join the Mennonites, and mentioned that six or seven broke off and returned to England, it has been evident that the people from the Scrooby district adhered almost entirely to Smyth and Helwys. It is much to be regretted that the tercentenary celebrations did not take notice of these facts, and that Norwich has not been more systematically studied.

NOTE B.

THE 1622 LETTER WRITTEN BY H. H.

MANY mistakes have been made in connection with this letter, both as to fact and as to inference. It is extant only as printed by I. P., who said that it was "indited by a Principle Elder in & of that Separation." No principal Elder of the Baptists bore those initials at that date, within our knowledge; nor can we tell who H.H. was, though other letters to and from him in 1625 are preserved in the library of the Society of Antiquaries. It was copied from I. P. about 1712 by Benjamin Stinton into his Repository, now at Regent's Park College in London. In another manuscript, also at Regent's Park, Stinton conjectured further that Thomas Helwys was the real author who prompted H. H. Both manuscripts came into the hands of Thomas Crosby, brother-in-law of Stinton, who saw that H. H. could not be the initials of Thomas Helwys, and queried whether they were the initials of Henry Haggar; this however was doubly improbable, for Haggar flourished a generation later, and was then Baptist, while the man H. H. had reverted to the Church of England, as I. P. tells in 1623. When Crosby published in 1738, he accepted the idea that Helwys inspired the letter though H. H. signed it; this also is impossible, for we know that Helwys was dead before 1616.

In 1912 Mr. Champlin Burrage put forward new suggestions, but they are vitiated by two bad readings: he interprets Crosby's denial of Stinton's conjecture, "No," into "Number," which is meaningless; he reads the initials H. H. as H. N. Only one copy of the book is extant to-day, in the British Museum; though the type is ambiguous, and one expert there agrees with him, another expressly disagrees. On this dubious foundation, he builds the statement that the author is "without doubt" Henry Nicolaes, father of the Family of Love. This is utterly

impossible, for Nicolaes died about 1570, as is plainly stated in a book to which Mr. Burrage refers, whereas this letter is dated 1622. Elsewhere he finds it highly probable that the writer is none other than Edmond Jessop; how this fits the initials H. N. or H. H. is incomprehensible. But we thank Mr. Burrage for the suggestion that I. P. is not John Preston, but John Paget of Amsterdam. This might explain why the letter is dated from London, why the reply was published only under initials, for Paget was in a very ambiguous position, and why none of the people named have been traced in London circles. Yet careful search in the records of his church shows that they were not members with him, nor have they been recognized in Amsterdam circles at all. And the book bears a London imprint. So on the whole the identity of I. P. is as uncertain as that of H. H.

NOTE C.

IN WHAT SENSE WAS MILTON A BAPTIST ?

THERE is no tradition that he habitually worshipped with a Baptist church, no roll shows his name, no minister claimed to have baptized him. This is equally true of hundreds of obscure men at that time, but with a prominent man like Milton some information would be expected as to outward fellowship.

“For my own part, I adhere to the Holy Scriptures alone—I follow no other heresy or sect.” So he said in his preface to *De Doctrina Christiana . . . Disquisitionum Libri Duo Posthumi*. This was indeed published posthumously, being seized by the government and only rediscovered in 1823, when the king caused the book to be edited and translated. There are chapters of the Outward

signs of the covenant of grace, of Particular churches, of Church discipline, which make his ecclesiastical position perfectly clear; not only does he state his views with his usual lucidity, but he defends them at length against actual and possible objections. These chapters would almost bear reprinting as modern Baptist tracts. Here are his summaries on some points of difference.

The universal visible church is the whole multitude of those who are called in every part of the world and who openly worship God the Father through Christ in any place whatever, either individually or in conjunction with others. . . . Any believer is competent to act as an ordinary minister, according as convenience may require, supposing him to be endowed with the necessary gifts; these gifts constituting his mission. . . . It is also competent to him to administer the rite of baptism. . . . A particular church is a society of persons professing the faith, united by a special bond of brotherhood, and so ordered as may best promote the ends of edification and mutual communion of the saints. . . . The right of succession is nugatory and of no force. . . . With regard to the people of the church, such only are to be accounted of that number as are well taught in Scripture doctrine, and capable of trying by the rule of Scripture and the spirit any teacher whatever. . . . Particular churches may communicate with each other in a spirit of brotherhood and agreement, and co-operate for purposes connected with the general welfare. II. Cor. viii. 18, "Who was also chosen of the churches to travel with us." . . . Church discipline consists in a mutual agreement among the members of the church to fashion their lives according to Christian doctrine. . . . This covenant ought properly to take place in baptism, as being the rite appointed for the admission of all persons (that is, of all adults) into the church. . . . [In baptism] the bodies of believers who engage themselves to purity of life, are immersed in running water, to signify their regeneration by the Holy Spirit, and their

union with Christ in His death, burial and resurrection. . . . Infants are not to be baptized, inasmuch as they are incompetent to receive instruction, or to believe, or to enter into a covenant, or to promise or answer for themselves, or even to hear the word. . . . Sacraments can neither impart salvation nor grace of themselves, but are given as a pledge or symbol to believers of the actual blessings.

All these positions are expounded at length with scriptural support, and they are thoroughly Baptist. His chapters on the divine decrees, predestination, redemption, show how closely he had attended to the points litigated between General and Particular Baptists. But there is a more fundamental point, and no Baptist can be satisfied with the chapter of the Son of God, and its elaborate exposition of such views as "The Son likewise teaches that the attributes of divinity belong to the Father alone, to the exclusion even of himself." This is enough to explain why Milton never sought membership in a Baptist church, perhaps why he would not publish in his life-time. It may reconcile us to the suppression of his views for 150 years, for if they had obtained that circulation on the continent, whither they were sent to be printed, which his previous Latin works had achieved, they would perhaps have won disciples, but these might well have become Unitarians, like the Mennonites before; whereas Germans who in his widow's life-time went to the same fountain-head of Scripture independently, formed the German Baptist Brethren, with the usual view as to the deity of our Lord.

It may be added that Milton's third wife, Elizabeth Minshull, whom he married in 1662, came from near Nantwich, where there was a Baptist church; that she returned there in her widowhood and joined that church, remaining in its communion till her death in 1727, when she appointed the minister her executor; a member of her family was in the local ministry last century. If therefore Milton abstained from publicly casting in his lot with a Baptist

church, at least his influence in the home corresponded with his convictions. These were of intense personal loyalty to Christ, of deep responsibility and ability when guided by Him, which involved absolute freedom in every other direction, whether from an obsolete Mosaic law or a modern state, so that a man was accountable to Christ alone for thought, speech, publication or worship. These are essentially Baptist doctrines.

NOTE D.

BAPTIST TRANSLATIONS OF THE BIBLE.

IN the latter half of the eighteenth century, Hartwell Horne has shown that nearly thirty versions had been made, but only four were intended for use outside Europe. George Smith has given a critical list showing thirty-six versions made and edited at Serampore within twenty-five years. The following list is compiled from Darlow and Moule's Historical Catalogue, and notices portions smaller than the New Testament only when the work is still in progress. Work by Americans is marked *.

- 1801. Bengali N.T.
- 1807. Marathi N.T.
- 1808. Sanskrit N.T.
- 1809. Oriya N.T., Bengali Bible (see 1834, 1853).
- 1811. High Hindi N.T.
- 1815. Panjabi N.T. Oriya Bible (see 1842, 1872, 1902).
- 1817. Irish Bible, edited by M'Quige.
- 1818. Bhatneri N.T., Kunkuna N.T., Hindi Bible, Sanskrit Bible.
- 1819. New Testaments in Asami, Kumaon, Lahnda, Magadhi, Pashtu, Telugu ; Marathi Bible.
- 1820. Bikanira N.T., Gujarati N.T.
- 1821. New Testaments in Bagheli, Haroti, Kanauji, Kashmiri, Marwari, Nipali, Ujjain.
- 1822. Chinese Bible.

1823. Kanarese New Testament.
1824. Braj Bhasha N.T.
1826. New Testaments in Bhatneri, Dogra, Magahi, Malvi; Bible all but complete in Panjabi.
1827. New Testaments in Garhwali, Khasi, Manipuri, Palpa.
1829. Javanese N.T. (Brückner).
1831. Burmese N.T. (Judson *).
1833. Asami Bible.
1834. Bengali New Testament (Yates).
1835. Burmese Bible (Judson *). Still reprinted after revisions.
1839. Urdu N.T. (Yates).
1840. Burmese Bible (Judson *).
1841. Sanskrit New Testament (Yates).
1842. Oriya Bible (Sutton), Welsh N.T. (Williams).
1843. Siamese New Testament (Jones *), Karen New Testament (Wade * and Mason *).
1847. Asami N.T. (Brown *).
1848. Hindi N.T. (Yates).
1853. Bengali Bible (Wenger), Chinese N.T. (Goddard *), Sgau Karen N.T. (Mason *).
1854. Italian N.T. (Achilli).
1858. Spanish N.T. (Norton).
1862. Sinhalese N.T. (Carter).
1866. English N.T. (American Bible Union. Second revision, after 600,000 portions had been circulated. This materially forced the Anglo-American revision which resulted in N.T. 1881, O.T. 1885. The third revision of this version was published 1885.)
1868. Chinese (Dean *), Hindi N.T. (Parsons and Christian), revised slightly 1881, 1890, reprinted 1904.
1870. Breton N.T. (Jenkins).
1872. Sanskrit Bible (Wenger).
1874. Micmac N.T. (Rand), Ningpo colloquial N.T. (Lord *).
1876. Sinhalese Bible (Carter). Revised 1905.
1879. Japanese N.T. (Brown *).
1881. Telugu N.T. (Jewett,* Downie,* Williams). Revised 1888, with commentary by M'Laurin, and others, 1901 (proceeding).
1882. Shan N.T. (Cushing *), revised 1892.
1883. Swatow colloquial N.T. (Ashmore,* etc.). Revised 1898. Pwo Karen Bible (Brayton *), revised 1895.
1893. Javanese Bible (Jansz, Mennonite), Kongo N.T. (Bentley).
1894. Garo N.T. (Mason *).
1897. Bengali Bible (Rouse). Portions in Banga, Bolengi,* Poto.
1900. Kongo Cataract N.T. (Richards).
1901. Ningpo colloquial Bible (Goddard *), Japanese N.T. (Harrington *).
1902. Oriya Bible (Pike).
1903. Asami O.T. (Gurney *).
1905. Karen Bible (Mason *).
- Translations proceeding into Bangala, Kala, Lushai, Ngombe.

NOTE E.

BAPTIST PROGRESS IN THE WORLD.

I. ON THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE.

- 1719. "German Baptist Brethren" emigrate to Pennsylvania.
- 1834. Oncken forms church at Hamburg.
- 1839. Kobner forms church at Copenhagen.
- 1842. First Norse church.
- 1843. Welsh evangelize Brittany.
- 1845. First Dutch church.
- 1846. Austrians open at Vienna, Magyars in Hungary.
- 1848. Gothenburg.
- 1849. Swiss organize, and Germans.
- 1856. Colporteurs start in Rumania.
- 1858. Germans begin in Poland.
- 1860. Churches in Latvia, and in South Russia from the Mennonites.
- 1866. Stockholm seminary.
- 1868. Work in Esthonia.
- 1880. Seminary in Hamburg-Horn. Work in Czecho-Slovakia.
- 1890. Germans take over English mission in Cameroons.
- 1895. Theological school in Denmark.
- 1899. Publication house at Kassel.
- 1901. Theological School at Rome.
- 1905. First Baptist World Congress, at London.
- 1908. European Baptist Congress at Berlin.
- 1910. Theological School at Christiania.
- 1913. Second European Baptist Congress at Stockholm.
- 1920. Theological School at Buda-Pest.
- 1922. Theological Schools at Barcelona, Kegel, Riga, and in Rumania.
- 1923. Third Baptist World Congress, at Stockholm.

2. IN ASIA.

- 1798. Carey and Thomas organize first Baptist church.
- 1803. Sunday Schools and Bible Society at Serampore, whence forty Asiatic versions are published by 1833.
- 1806. Chater begins at Rangoon, Judson taking over 1813.
- 1812. Chater begins at Colombo, Robinson in Java (end 1850).
- 1816. New Connexion begins in Orissa.
- 1818. Serampore College, chartered 1826.
- 1833. Americans in Siam.
- 1836. Americans in Assam, with a Canadian to the Telugus.
- 1842. Americans in Hongkong and Ningpo.
- 1845. Americans (South) at Canton.
- 1846. Canadians take over some Telugu work.
- 1847. Americans (South) at Shanghai.

- 1860. Americans (South) in Shantung, (North) at Swatow.
- 1861. English Strict at Madras.
- 1866. West Canadians take over more Telugu work.
- 1872. Americans (North) in Japan.
- 1877. Baptist Missionary Society in Shantung.
- 1871. Telugu work suddenly develops.
- 1882. Australasians take over East Bengal.
- 1889. Americans (North) at Hangchow and Suifu ; (South) in Japan.
- 1893. Americans (North) at Hanyang.
- 1894. Baptist Missionary Society in Shensi.
- 1899. Chinese Publication Society at Canton.
- 1900. Americans (North) in the Philippines.
- 1904. Americans (South) in Honan.
- 1908. German Baptist Brethren of America in China.

3. IN AFRICA.

- 1824. Lott Carey starts in Liberia.
- 1842. Seventh-Day Baptists on the Gold Coast ; Jamaicans in Fernando Po.
- 1848. Alfred Saker transfers this work to Cameroons.
- 1850. Americans (South) in Yoruba, Southern Nigeria.
- 1877. Baptist Missionary Society on Congo.
- 1880. Americans (Colored) in Cape Colony, Natal, East Africa.
- 1885. Americans (North) adopt more Congo work, and open in Angola.
- 1890. Germans take over Kamerun, relinquished by Baptist Missionary Society.
- 1892. South Africans in Kaffraria, etc.
- 1895. Scotch Industrial in Nyassa.

4. IN SPANISH AMERICA.

- 1834. Baptist Missionary Society in Belize.
- 1843. Baptist Missionary Society in Trinidad.
- 1845. Baptist Missionary Society in Hayti.
- 1880. Americans in Mexico.
- 1881. Americans (South) in Brazil.
- 1886. Americans in Cuba.
- 1897. Canadians in Bolivia.
- 1898. Germans in Brazil ; Americans (South) in Argentine and Brazil.
- 1899. Americans in Cuba and Porto Rico.
- 1908. Americans in Chile.
- 1911. Americans (South) in Uruguay.

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