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Lambeth and Mürren.

TWO important conferences were held last August. The earlier corresponds to our Baptist World Alliance, in so far that it was of members in one communion from all over the world; but it is narrower in that it consists entirely of bishops; laymen and women not being members. When however 307 men from every part of the English-speaking world, besides Japan, China and parts of Africa, come together, their deliberations deserve respectful attention, even by those of another fellowship. The later conference was smaller in numbers, there being only fifty-four, with nine substitutes, and thirteen young people specially invited, chiefly to learn, and to prepare themselves for future gatherings. But this Continuation Committee of the Lausanne Conference on Faith and Order was far more world-wide, and represented all the chief fellowships of Christendom, except the Roman communion. It seems that some note is due of the proceedings of each of these gatherings.

I.

First, as to the Lambeth Conference of bishops in communion with the Church of England. An Encyclical letter has been issued, with seventy-five resolutions adopted by the whole conference; appended to these are interesting reports from six committees, which carry the weight of those committees only. We have no space to dwell at length on these valuable papers, nor would it be seemly to go into details on what are sometimes quite domestic affairs. Yet there are a few points that merit attention.

A report on the Christian Doctrine of God deserves close study, and pastors may well find rich suggestion for their public teaching. For instance, we do not recollect any previous exposition about the Old Testament which clearly states "that Christ gave His perfect revelation, not indeed by destroying, but by fulfilling *and in so far superseding*, all past teachings about God." There is warning also against two tendencies in worship; attention to the human Christ obscuring His relation to the Father, especially in many popular hymns; limitation of the presence of Christ to the Eucharist, or even to the consecrated elements: the former overlooks the coming of the Spirit, the latter neglects the participation of the Spirit-filled society.

A report on the Unity of the Church recognises "that

during the period of division each of the bodies thus separated has under the guidance of the Holy Spirit developed spiritual resources and enjoyed spiritual treasures which must be conserved in the re-united Church, for they are the gift of Christ given to each in its own measure." It is a matter of regret that no general resolution of the whole Conference makes any allusion to this statement; nor are we satisfied with the oral explanation that Resolutions dealt with practical issues rather than with theoretical statements.

The Baptist Union officially replied to official overtures, that it requested attention to the basis of church-membership, and the place of faith: it further asked that the method of federation be explored. Neither question has been touched.

The same report declines to consider "any scheme of federation, involving interchangeability of ministers, while differences on points of order that we think essential still remain." And it proceeds to explain what is thought essential, defining the Historic Episcopate. We have long desired to see some definition, and it is now made clear. "As an institution it was, and is, characterised by succession in two forms: the succession in office and the succession of consecration. And it had generally recognised functions: the general superintendence of the Church and more especially of the Clergy; the maintenance of unity in the one Eucharist; the ordination of men to the ministry; the safeguarding of the faith; and the administration of the discipline of the Church." Such a definition enables us to see clearly the terms on which the Church of England will unite with others. We observe valuable elements here. We, too, value succession in office, dislike long intervals between pastorates, disapprove of churches which habitually have no pastor at all—"Gower Street Memorial" almost prides itself that it has never had any pastor since 1843! We, too, value the recognition of a new minister by those who are trusted ministers of Christ; but we do not stipulate for their recognition as absolutely necessary. We do believe that a pastor has the general superintendence of his church; that he is the centre at the Lord's Supper, the visible token of unity; that it is his appropriate business to guard the faith and to administer discipline. In all these respects what the Anglicans say of their bishops we echo of our pastors, who match the original bishops. But we cannot see apostolic precedent for general superintendence of the clergy; the Presbyterians manage that admirably without bishops, and we hold that the whole congregation, its membership of men and women alike, has a voice in this matter. Nor do we agree that the ordination of men to the ministry is limited to an order of bishops, nor even to an order of pastors.

We may illustrate our position in this matter of ordination, which to the Anglicans appears so extremely important. We have churches with a continuous history of three hundred years, as at Lincoln and Tiverton; and doubtless if they took more pride in their record, they could post in their porches a list of their pastors. Suppose one of these churches calls to its pastorate a man fresh from college. It desires to mark his entrance on his life-work, publicly to recognise that he has been called of God to the ministry, to instal him as pastor of this particular part of the Church Universal. It holds that the promise, often quoted in relation to worship, was originally made exactly for purposes of discipline and administration, namely, that where two or three are met in Christ's name, He is in the midst. That local historical church considers itself competent, under such Headship, to ordain. It may well fortify itself, and call others to rejoice with it; but they come as sympathisers and spectators. The church appoints its own spokesman and leader; he may be the treasurer of the church who has guided it wisely during the interregnum; he may be the venerable pastor of a neighbouring church, loved for his wisdom and piety, though he be a grocer on weekdays; he may be an ex-president of the Union, accustomed to preside over the meetings of all the General Superintendents of the country. But whomsoever the church chooses, member, or minister, or layman, that man acts as commissioned by that church, and on its behalf. The precise ritual employed is immaterial to us; there will probably be something symbolic as well as something spoken; the spokesman may extend to the new minister the right hand of fellowship on behalf of the church, he may invite him to sign in a Pastor's Bible, he may in the name of the church and its Head place hands on the minister's head, he may instal him in the chief seat, ask him to dispense the Lord's Supper—we are indifferent to form, provided only everything be done decently and in order, that the church simply recognise the call from the divine Head, ratify it by acknowledging him as its own pastor. A wider recognition may come from a county Association, from a national Union; it may be convenient to have representatives officially present from these organisations; but to quote the Anglican catchwords, these extras are of the *bene esse*, not the *esse*.

Contrast with our conceptions the extremely careful statement made by the Anglican bishops to the Orthodox bishops when exploring one another's views:—"In the Anglican Communion, Ordination is not merely the appointment of a man into a particular post, but in Ordination a special *charisma* is given to the person Ordained, proper to the Order, and the nature of the

special gift is indicated in the words of Ordination, and in this sense Ordination is a *mysterion* or sacrament." This view is from a different plane. The corporate union of ourselves with the Church of England seems impossible, though Federation may come about.

In another report, there is a regretful statement that the supply of men seeking ordination is steadily diminishing. At the outbreak of war there were over 20,000 clergymen at work in England, to-day only 15,070. Last year 505 died or resigned, 439 were ordained. The reasons are discussed, such as a low ideal of the ministry, intellectual misgivings, finance; but the fact is unmistakable, with its crippling of work at home and abroad. It is some compensation that Anglicans in their time of trial are drawing on classes who for many centuries have not found their way into the Anglican ministry.

Two sentences in a report on Youth and its Vocation is peculiarly interesting to Baptists, and we wish that bishops and others would follow up the implications:—"We find a number of young people placing themselves at a most impressionable age in the hands of their parish priest for a long period of definite and consecutive Church teaching, generally in classes, but with constant opportunities for personal interviews and guidance. It is impossible to exaggerate the value of such systematic preparation when it is made clear that the renewal of Baptismal vows means a deliberate offering of the young life to the service of Christ, Who is the Way, the Truth, and the Life—in other words, a real, though not necessarily sensational, 'Conversion'." These words enable us to see how, despite the inherited handicap of infant-baptism, with no succession from the apostles, yet the bishops have a firm hold on the necessity for a personal choice, to be publicly expressed, and noted by the Church. That their ceremony is Confirmation rather than the apostolic Baptism, is a small thing in comparison with the inward identity.

II.

Mürren was considerably influenced by the fact that several Anglican bishops were there, brimful of their recent proceedings; also several dignitaries of the Orthodox Churches. These have been so long isolated that it is a joy to find them seriously considering mutual recognition of others. It may well prove that within the next few years, many Episcopal Churches will be on interchangeable terms; Anglicans, Greeks, Russians, Old Catholics, Swedes, Moravians. Yet we are constantly surprised at the discrepancy between the historic continuity and the numerical importance. A few years ago we pointed out how

few people are under the care of the ancient Patriarchs; recent political changes have left to His All-Holiness and Beatitude the Pope and Patriarch of Alexandria, with his brethren at Antioch, Jerusalem and Constantinople, about 130,000 followers only. If the "Bridge Church," as the Anglican communion often is styled, succeeds in mooring one end of its pontoons to this historic bank, it surely connects with a very trifling island. And so far, the other end of the bridge is adrift. Nor is any serious attempt being made at any connection.

The Lambeth Report had nothing to say about union with the Free Churches: Mürren offered an opportunity. Most unhappily there had been an under-estimate of time, and a wise plan has had to be postponed for a year. It had been seen at Maloja last year that the obvious differences between the churches were but the superficial results of underlying thought; and that certain great doctrines needed to be re-examined. A Theological Committee was set up, under the guidance of Dr. Headlam. He chose for its first duty the study of the doctrine of Grace, and commissioned sixteen divines to prepare memoranda on various aspects. Even with such division between a Scot, a Bulgarian, two Oxonians, a Norseman, two New Yorkers, two Swiss, two Germans, a Russian, a Greek, an American Methodist, an English Congregationalist, and a Frenchman, yet it was impossible in the time to discuss and present a report. Hence the Continuation Committee had a menu from which the chief dish had dropped out. The richness of the feast in preparation may be judged from the fact that its ingredients are in English, French, German, Italian, Spanish, Latin and Greek. It will be next August before this important volume can go to press, and before the Continuation Committee can sit at Cambridge to consider the practical bearings of this re-valuation of the doctrine of Grace.

Unexpected support was given to the Baptist reply to the Lausanne overtures. We had said that into a unitary church, governed by bishops, we were not prepared to consider entering, but that we would explore the possibilities of Federation. This was echoed in a weighty speech by Adolf Deissmann, who emphasised that the valuable peculiarities of every communion must be preserved; and also by Dr. Luke Wiseman, while Dr. Parkes Cadman voiced the feelings of Congregationalists. Apparently the next session should concentrate on this, as a really practical step. Hitherto the term "Federation" has been used vaguely, and we think it deserves careful definition.

Of minor matters; sympathy was expressed with the suffering Christians in Russia; reports were given as to conferences in Atlantic City between Episcopalians (both

Methodist and Protestant) and Presbyterians; as to the United Church of Canada; as to the proposed South Indian Church. The appearance of the younger generation was amply justified in a speech on their behalf by a Chinaman; he pleaded for more thought on fundamental questions before hastily varnishing over the surface, for actual facts to be fully weighed and not only past history, for organisation to be related to life, for "faith" to be regarded as dynamic and not merely static, and for a greater readiness of all the churches to make sacrifices.

It was with joy he was listened to, since he was the only man not of white descent. Neither Lambeth nor Mürren abounded in Asiatics, Africans, South-sea islanders, and South Americans. There was some happiness in knowing that while we were talking—and perhaps even thinking—a Canadian President and a British Secretary of the Baptist World Alliance were visiting their brethren in Rumania, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Germany, the Baltic states and Scandinavia. Some church-fellowship there is already.

W. T. WHITLEY.

THE LINCOLNSHIRE CONFERENCE of the New Connection kept a minute-book from 1791 to 1803, from which Mr. Hooper furnished us some extracts in 1924. The book has many items of interest, showing how Peterborough was rescued and set on its feet. It shows that soon after Abraham Booth of Sutton-in-Ashfield quitted the General Baptists for the Particular, Charles Briggs of the same town reversed the operation, and settled first at Gosberton, then at Southboro or Laighboro, then at Gosberton again. It shows that Anderson was minister at Gosberton 1799-1802. It shows T. Fant minister at Coningsby 1792, Upwell 1795, Wisbech 1796-1801. And it shows Richard Wright as minister at Wisbech 1798 and 1799, alongside Fant and alongside Samuel Wright at Peterborough. These forgotten facts suggest a good deal as to the fluctuation of opinion then in that district. Once again, the book shows John Deacon of Leicester in 1793 receiving threatening letters owing to political troubles, and his house being set on fire; with one result that internal dissension arose in his church.

Church Union in South India.

IT is not many years ago since an Oxford don remarked "The mention of the word India is guaranteed to empty the smallest lecture hall in Oxford." India, it used to be said, attracted no more attention among ordinary people in Western lands than if it were part of a distant planet with which we have no vital concern. Not since the tragic days of the great mutiny of 1857 has India been so much in the forefront of the minds and hearts of the people of Great Britain, Europe and America as it is to-day, and everything points to an increase rather than a decrease of such living interest for many days to come. This interest is two-fold—ecclesiastical and political. Commercial and political circles in Great Britain are being moved to the depths by the great human drama now being enacted in India itself, as so many of India's intelligentsia, with a considerable body of popular support, especially in the industrial areas, are claiming for their country what they regard as her rightful place in the sun, and her inalienable right to self-government or political independence, as the case may be. Many groups of men in Great Britain with ecclesiastical interests, Anglicans and Nonconformists, Catholics and Protestants, are stirred as they have not been for many a long day by the problems arising out of plans for Church Union in South India. At bottom, the problem, whether ecclesiastical or political, is one—India's claim to self-determination. At present my concern is with the ecclesiastical problem, and though the bent of my mind is not ecclesiastical, I may be allowed from the less ambitious standpoint of my own experiences and outlook as a Christian missionary and educationist in India for the past thirty-five years, to attempt a review of the main problems arising out of plans for Church Union in South India. Frankly, my point of view throughout my missionary career has been more Indian than European, but Indian only in so far as in my judgement the Indian claim has been in accord with the Christian spirit and ideal.

In view of the fact that my sphere of missionary service has been in North-Eastern India, rather than in the far South, I cannot claim to be in a position to speak with any special authority, based on intimate personal touch, on the question of Church Union in South India. India, it is hardly necessary to repeat, is a land of great distances, and a journey from North India to the far South is much like a journey from London to Petrograd or Constantinople. Conditions in South India, too, are very different from what they are in the North. In the North both language and civilisation are Aryan in origin and general characteristics, though the Dravidian and aboriginal elements are strongly represented. In the South, on the other

hand, though the Brahmin and Brahmanical literature and religion are great powers in the land, it is the Dravidian strain that is predominant, whether in the realm of language or civilisation. Moreover in the North, Christians from the point of view of numbers are a negligible fraction of the general population. In the South, however, Christianity—Roman, Syrian, Anglican and Evangelical Protestant—counts as a factor of some real importance in the general population. The Syrian Christians of St. Thomas date back to the early centuries of our era, if not actually to the days of the apostles. The Roman Church in India dates from the sixteenth century and owes much to the burning zeal of Francis Xavier. Anglican and Evangelical Christians are products of the organised missions of the Churches of Europe and America during the past two centuries. Speaking quite roughly, the Christians of India number about five millions, some one and a half per cent. of the general population. The Syrians, under varying ecclesiastical names, number about one million of these, while Romans and non-Romans number about two millions each. The bodies participating in the now widely discussed Church Union schemes are limited to Anglican and Evangelical Christians in South India and Ceylon, but do not so far include the main body of Lutherans or the Baptists, the High Churchmen of Nonconformity; though it needs to be remembered that the Baptists in South India are almost wholly the product of American Baptist Missions, with their stricter view of Church Communion than most Baptists of the British type. It is of interest to note that in the less ambitious efforts that are now being made for the organisation of a United Evangelical Church in North India, Baptist Christians related to British Baptist Missions are definitely represented, and as the years pass by, the problem of union, in its larger and more debateable aspects, is bound to become a pressingly live issue with every evangelical Church and Mission working in India. For a quarter of a century Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and some minor bodies, have worked together in South India as an organised communion known as the South Indian United Church, and the success of that union led some to hope that union on a still wider basis might be practicable. The origin of the present movement dates back to May 1919, when thirty-three men, chiefly ministers of the Anglican and South Indian United Churches, met together in retreat at Tranquebar on the South-East coast of India. This was the home of Protestant Missions in South India in the eighteenth century under Danish and German direction with Anglican support, as Serampore became the home of Protestant Christianity in North India from the beginning of the nineteenth century under the direction of missionaries

from Great Britain. It is interesting to recall at this stage that without Tranquebar and the work of men like Ziegenbalg and Schwartz, there could have been no Serampore Mission, for that was made possible only by the changed official attitude expressed through Colonel Bie, who in the early years of his service at Tranquebar had been influenced by Schwartz, and as Governor of Serampore successfully intervened to save the infant Baptist Mission from extinction at the hands of the then hostile East India Company. There is surely something approaching personal inspiration in historic places like Tranquebar and Serampore, hallowed by the labours and memorials of men like Ziegenbalg and Schwartz, Carey and Henry Martyn. It was at Serampore on Christmas Day, 1905, that Indian Christians of various churches founded the National Missionary Society of India on an inter-denominational basis for the evangelising of India by Indian Christians. Still more historic will prove the Tranquebar Retreat of 1919, with its reverberations already extending through the whole of Christendom.

Three Indian Christians out of every eight of the whole body of Anglicans and Evangelical Protestants come into the proposed scheme. The Romans naturally hold aloof. While the evangelical section of Syrians known as the Mar Thoma Church are sympathetic, they are not as yet participating, and the Eastern Orthodox and Roman Syrians have shown no particular interest. It has been my privilege at Serampore to come into intimate touch with Syrians of varied theological and ecclesiastical outlook, and the impression I have formed is that they are much more interested in the possibility of union among themselves, and if or when that union does come, it will include Syrian Christians of varied type—Roman, Eastern Orthodox and Evangelical. It is a significant fact that such rapprochement on practical lines as is now being proposed between Anglicans and Evangelical Free Churchmen, comes not from Europe or America but through India. I venture to prophesy that the first rapprochement on practical lines between the Roman and Eastern types of Catholic Christianity, and the evangelical type characteristic of Protestantism, will come not through the Churches of Europe and America, but by the way of India, and through the union of the varied sections of Syrian Christianity, which even now has relationships of a very definite character with Rome on the one side and Anglican and Evangelical Christianity on the other. The bond of union of these sections is the historic episcopate in combination with a strong communal and national consciousness.

I will not attempt any review of the detailed and difficult negotiations that have been taking place during the past eleven

years between the various bodies who are parties to this proposed Church Union—Anglicans, Congregationalists, Presbyterians and Methodists, together with that important body of Evangelical Protestant Christians known as the South India United Church. When the negotiations began, only the hopeful few believed that agreement would be possible, and from time to time in the course of the negotiations difficulties emerged which appeared insuperable, but the urge of the Spirit made it out of the question for those in the movement to contemplate the possibility of going back.

I must now set forth a brief review of the basis of union, which includes:—

(1) A recognition of the Holy Scriptures as containing all things necessary to salvation, and as the ultimate standard of faith: the two Creeds—Apostles' and Nicene—are accepted as witnessing to and safeguarding the faith. The two sacraments—Baptism and the Supper of the Lord—are to be administered with unfailing use of Christ's words of institution, and of the elements ordained by Him.

(2) A recognition of the historic episcopate in a constitutional form, with Presbyterian and Congregational elements in Church Government. The first bishops of the United Church will be selected by a central body composed of representatives of the General Council of the Anglican Church in India, the General Assembly of the South India United Church, and the South India Provincial Synod of the Wesleyan Methodist Church. Those selected may be from any or all the uniting Churches, and without doubt each of the uniting bodies will have its own representatives on the episcopate. Such bishops will be consecrated by three bishops of the Anglican Church, and by Presbyterians of the South India United Church and the Wesleyan Church. It follows that henceforth every minister ordained in India for service in the United Church will be episcopally ordained, though no theory of the episcopate is laid down, and there is to be no re-ordination of any of the ministers now serving the uniting churches.

(3) For thirty years succeeding the inauguration of the Union, the ministers or missionaries of any church whose missions have formed the original part of the United Church will, on accepting the constitution of the United Church, be recognised as ministers of the United Church, though there shall be no over-riding of conscience in forcing an unacceptable ministry upon any church or individual. At the end of thirty years the United Church shall be free to consider the matter afresh, and decide the question of exceptions to the general principle of an episcopally ordained ministry. Fellowship is being relied on to

work its power in removing difficulties in matters of creed, organisation, and worship. The uniting churches are free to retain existing forms and customs, but in the course of the years, approximation is inevitable.

I think it will be recognised that here is something different from all other schemes of ecclesiastical union that have been the subject of serious and practical discussion in our generation, or indeed I think we may say since the Act of Uniformity of 1662. The union of varied bodies of Presbyterians with one another, or of various types of Methodists, or of different sections of Congregationalists or Baptists is something in the natural order of things. Such union (like that of the Particular and General Baptists forty years ago) may sometimes be regarded as simply the ending of what had become a common scandal, though it must be admitted that the antagonisms of close relatives may sometimes take a very acute form. The union of free evangelical churches—Congregationalist, Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist—with one another in a United Free Evangelical Church has for long been a dream of optimistic Free Churchmen in this country, but it is only in some of our colonies or dominions that the dream shows any signs of being translated into reality. Here in South India we have something of quite a different order. The parties concerned consist of men and bodies of very different ecclesiastical and religious outlook. For many years the rigid Puritan and evangelical Protestant, as you see him in some of our Nonconformist Churches, and in not a few of the very low churches among the Anglicans, the broad Churchman, whether Nonconformist or Anglican, of progressive outlook, who frankly accepts much of the modern interpretation of Christianity and who views with comparative indifference the things that divide Christian from Christian, and the High Churchman, strongly catholic in his outlook, whose view of religion is definitely sacramental, and who regards the present scheme as but a preliminary step to a larger union with fellow Catholics, whether of the Eastern or Roman type—all these, evangelical, modernist, and catholic, have been earnestly conferring together on the great things that concern the coming of the Kingdom in India. While differing seriously among themselves on many minor issues, they are all one in their common devotion and loyalty to Truth and Light, and to the Person of Christ as the supreme manifestation of God incarnate, and the Light of the World. In the presence of the clamant needs of Church and Kingdom in India, they have by a common inspiration come to see that the things that divide them are but as the dust in the balance in comparison with the great things on which they are agreed. It is my privilege to know personally several of the leaders in

this movement—Anglican and Free Church, European, American, and Indian—and I have confidence in them as men of Christian aims, sane outlook and lofty purpose. The scheme, too, is not the outcome of a wild dream of a night of excited religious emotion, but is the product of long years of prayerful conference and statesmanlike thought. Without a doubt the sponsors of this scheme mean business, and at this stage they are asking for the sympathy and blessing of the churches in the West, and I assume there will be no lack of sympathetic interest on the part of large bodies of Christian people in Europe and America who think about these things at all.

The following are some of the reasons that may be or are being urged in favour of the adoption of the plans proposed:—

(1) The ordinary Christian disciple with a New Testament mind, as distinct from the ecclesiastically-minded denominationalist, cannot be reconciled to the permanent continuance of the existing sectarian differences in the Christian Church. "As Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, I pray that these may be one in us." There is the ideal. Compare this with the reality in a typical small country town in our land, with its five or six different churches of varying ecclesiastical complexion and in more or less competitive separation. The cleavage between Romanist and Evangelical may go so deep as to be wholly beyond adjustment in our day and generation, but the differences separating the various evangelical bodies from one another are such that the plain man in the broadminded religious environment characteristic of our time cannot and will not appreciate. True, the difficulties of re-union are accentuated by the fact that our denominational differences are traceable to historical causes bound up with the social and religious history of Europe and America, since the Reformation, and patient spadework is necessary if we are to retrace our steps. But—so it is urged by many—for us to take these denominational differences to missionary lands, like India and China and Africa, and to insist and persist in labelling our Christian converts there with our denominational labels, and burdening them with our ecclesiastical shibboleths, is an outrage on the Christian rights of these peoples, for which we ought to pray that God in His mercy may forgive us. The South India scheme is in essence the first instalment of a demand that this outrage shall cease.

(2) Moreover, from the standpoint of Indian Christianity in its non-Christian environment there are strong grounds favouring organic union on the lines proposed. The terrible loneliness of many Christian converts and communities, who in obedience to a divine urge from within have separated themselves from great non-Christian organisations of immemorial antiquity

is something difficult for us Westerners to realise. Our denominational differences have further made many of them feel keenly that they are but scattered fragments in their relations with one another and the whole body of Christ throughout the world. India does not want for the development of her church life elaborate tyrannical organisation any more than anarchical independence. She needs all the wealth of spiritual power that organised Church life can give, whether it is Episcopal, Presbyterian or Congregational, but she wants these forms of Church government not in competitive separation but in constructive combination as one organic whole. Undiluted Episcopacy, Presbyterianism, Congregationalism, all of these working independently of each other are productive of destructive exaggerations and abuses. The Church in India has made it clear that she wants them all, wants the real thing in all of them, but in constructive combination, built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief corner stone.

(3) Moreover, the Indian Church has its own grave dangers to guard against, and not a few fear that our own sectarian divisions, if perpetuated, may lead with disastrous results to the formation of caste churches, with our denominational divisions as a basis. Indian Christianity is confronted with the supreme task of evangelisation side by side with the development of its own theology and special spiritual genius, and the presentation to the Indian peoples of a Gospel and Church that unifies rather than perpetuates divisions so disastrous to India's best life through the centuries. If our own vision in the matter of spiritual unity has been blurred as a result of age-long sectarian strife, God forbid that we should be guilty of darkening the eyes of our Indian Christian brethren, in the name of denominational loyalty, exalted above the higher loyalty we owe to Christ Himself as the supreme Head of His body, the one Universal Church.

(4) Another and final argument in favour of the proposed union is that already the Churches in India have travelled so far towards one another that the present step appears to many of us natural and inevitable. The following remark on the subject by the Rev. George Parker, a Congregationalist Missionary of South India, accords with my own observation and experience. "Missionaries have not been greatly occupied in teaching denominationalism. They have had a bigger job to do than that. Face to face with heathenism, they have been driven to a common message, to very similar methods, and the church organisations which have been worked out separately for Indian conditions show remarkable approximation." Even in Baptist Church Government on the mission field there are

strong Presbyterian and Episcopal elements which experience has shown to be indispensable if things are to be done decently and in order. Denominationalism in India is largely geographical, apart from the big cities, for generally speaking the laws of mission comity have in recent years been well observed, and in the main if you know the district from which a Christian comes, you can be fairly sure of his denominational affiliations. Yet so long as the divisions continue, the seeds of possible sectarian strife remain, and as Mr. Parker points out, "There are areas where the Indian Christians of one church are forbidden to join with Indian Christians of another at the Lord's Table." As a matter of fact, Church discipline is under present conditions often exceedingly difficult and ineffective. Comity and federation of a general character have proved quite inadequate in dealing with many of the grave problems affecting caste and idolatry in certain church areas. A real unity of organisation will alone meet the requirement. Under this head I may in conclusion quote the views of Anglican Bishops of the Church in India, well known to me personally and for whose devotion, vision and statesmanship I entertain the highest regard. Says Dr. Azariah of Dornakal, "Unity may theoretically be a desirable ideal in Europe and America, but it is vital to the life of the Church in the mission field. The divisions of Christendom may be a source of weakness in Christian countries, but in non-Christian lands they are a sin and a scandal." Says Dr. Tubbs, of Rangoon, "We on the field are drawing nearer to the realisation of a great united church, but we are hampered by the doubts and difficulties of our leaders at home. We earnestly ask the home churches not to strain the loyalty of the Mission Churches and of native Christians. If to move forward is dangerous, it is more dangerous to sit still. The Church of Jerusalem took a vast risk when it allied itself with Gentile Christianity. Cannot we also take risks?" Says Dr. Palmer, late of Bombay, "We believe that in spite of our differences and waywardness and sins God sees what we do not see, one Church on earth at this present moment. We have to clear away all those things, both in our souls and in our organisations, in opinion and in practice, which hide from us and from all men the unity of the Church which the all-seeing eye of God alone can perceive. Thus we are not trying to invent yet another Church, we are trying to see the Church that God sees and to make it visible."

Such are some of the chief things being said in support of this great adventure of faith under the leadership of a living and present Lord, but objections of a varied character are being urged, and of these I shall attempt a review:—

(1) Why, asks Lord Hugh Cecil, should the Indian Bishops

send irritating controversies to Lambeth any more than they would send coals to Newcastle? He considers it would be wise to follow the counsel of Gamaliel and not depart from the possibly fragile but still unbroken basis of reunion in the English Church. I am sure that most will feel that this attitude of Lord Hugh Cecil is inspired by a narrow nationalistic outlook not worthy of a Christianity that aims to be truly catholic. It is difficult to conceive of a Roman Catholic or a Mohammedan speaking in such terms in connection with any serious problem affecting any section of his own ecclesiastical organisation, whatever be the national boundaries. I am a Christian and not a Moslem, a Protestant and not a Roman Catholic, and yet I have a feeling, based on long observation, that in some important respects both Romanism and Islam have grasped the significance of the world-wide spiritual brotherhood outlined in the New Testament in a far larger measure than anything we see in our average Protestantism, characterised as it is with much of the exclusiveness we associate with social clubs of a certain type. I consider it a healthy sign of the times that this question of the union of Churches in South India is exciting interest far beyond ordinary missionary circles. Moreover, problems such as our fellow-Christians are now facing in South India are bound to arise sooner or later, and possibly sooner rather than later in an acute form in regard to our own ecclesiastical organisation at home. Yet, so far as I can see, the average church member at home (and would I be far wrong if I said the average minister?) is not really interested in church union, any more than as a student of the New Testament he thinks it necessary to render lip-service to what in his heart he knows to be a great New Testament ideal, but which from the point of view of practical politics he regards as a mere chimera. Men like Dr. Shakespeare and other pioneer advocates of Christian union were born perhaps generations before their time. The true greatness of their vision and endeavour may be recognised a century hence. In any case, I trust that we shall be able at this time to read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest the significance of this South Indian movement not only for India but for the churches at home.

(2) Another objection one hears against this movement is that it is wholly unnecessary, whether from the standpoint of the non-Christians of India, or of the native Christian Churches concerned. The non-Christians, it is urged, are in no way scandalised by our Christian divisions, which appear to them perfectly natural in view of similar sectarian divisions in their own organisations. So far as Indian Christians are concerned, it is urged that the rank and file are really indifferent to the

ornate architecture, elaborate organisation, all these were anathema, seductive temptations that could have no other end but popery and the Babylonian woe. I still remain a Puritan at heart, but intimate experience of other aspects of religious thought and life different from my own has taught me much. I have come to see that essential popery and rigidity of authority are not limited to Rome, but that Independency may breed little popes by the score. I have come to recognise that vital religion may sometimes run to a very low ebb in a Nonconformist chapel where there is no suspicion of any departure from the old Puritan outlook, while on the other hand the Christianity of a community essentially Catholic in its organisation and general bent may have about it all the vitality and thrill that we associate with the Christianity of the New Testament. I have as a result of a long experience come to the conclusion that our independency may sometimes be accompanied by a radical lack of the Christian spirit that recognises it as incumbent upon us all, whether as individuals or church communities, to bear one another's burdens in obedience to the law of Christ, while on the other hand I have seen in church organisations more elaborate than my own—whether Presbyterian, Methodist or Episcopal—an ability and a readiness to co-operate in a spirit of Christ-like helpfulness with weaker brethren and more needy communities of Christians, that have made me feel ashamed of our own separatist methods and tendencies in the government of the Church. I have met ministers and missionaries wholly innocent of any of the paraphernalia of clerical attire and unbendingly Puritan and Biblical in their creed and worship, yet at heart Papal dictators and persecutors, and bearing in their inner soul all the essential marks of the beast of Revelation. On the other hand, I have met men devoted to an elaborate Catholic ritual and possessed of pontifical ecclesiastical authority, yet at heart humble saints of God, who in the spirit of Christ would not break a bruised reed, or quench the smoking flax. I am reminded of a story told of a former verger of a University Church who remarked, "I have in my long life listened patiently to a legion of theological lecturers, but thank God I am a Christian still." I too can say, "I have seen in Puritanism and Dissent many things that I have felt to be revolting, and have made me ashamed, but thank God I am a Puritan and a Baptist still." I frankly admit that the form of Christianity I adhere to is one-sided and fractional as an expression of the Mind of Christ, but I have the same feeling in regard to practically all the forms of Christianity with which I have come into intimate contact. Most of them are almost as fractional as my own, some of them perhaps more so, and yet in all of them the essence of

the Christian spirit may find beautiful and adequate expression. The Spirit of Christ, in all the fulness of His working, refuses to be confined within the rigid enclosures of our narrow sectarian watchwords. Our ecclesiastical and religious outlook may think of things largely or mainly from the standpoint of the past, or it may be confined to the needs of the present, or it may rush forward in headlong speed in anticipation of the needs of the future; or it may embrace in one comprehensive vision all three standpoints—past, present, and future. But whether the vision, individual or ecclesiastical, be comprehensive or limited, the Spirit of Christ works without restraint. I think the future of our faith is in the hands of such as can assimilate all that reason and modern thought supplies, and combine it with all the heritage of a catholic past. I want for the Church as a whole something on the lines of what we have tried to incorporate in our Serampore ideal during the past quarter of a century. There we have organised theological studies for the whole of Protestant and Anglican Christianity throughout India, and we have worked together with the utmost cordiality and goodwill during all these years, whether at Serampore on interdenominational lines, or through our affiliation system with colleges in various parts of India. Our ecclesiastical differences have created no difficulty worthy of mention. Many good Nonconformists look with grave suspicion on High Anglicans. All I can say is that we have found them capital fellows to work with. I cannot reasonably object to their holding on to doctrines like Apostolic Succession, to them important but not particularly so to me, any more than they can object to my entertaining the suspicion that infant Baptism is a concession to a type of religion more characteristic of the Old Testament than the New. I am sure that I have far more in common with a High Anglican of modern evangelical outlook than I have with some members of my own denomination with an outlook, theological and ecclesiastical, radically different from my own. It is my profound hope and conviction that the genius of the Indian soul, the spirit of Indian Christianity, will find worthy expression not in a pale copy of the denominational differences that mean so much to us, rooted as they are in our religious history, but in a framework of religious organisation and faith that will give ample scope to the men of God and disciples of Christ in India to shape our faith in a way that will do justice to the Indian outlook, and ultimately lead to the enrichment of our common Catholic Christianity.

(4) Finally there are certain extremist views, Protestant and Anglo-Catholic, that may yet give real trouble before the scheme of union is consummated, and that require a little more

detailed reference. On the Anglo-Catholic side, men like Bishop Gore and Dr. Sparrow Simpson have been expressing their grave fears that the acceptance of the scheme in its present form may lead to disruption and the break up of the Anglican Communion. The latter for instance in his recent book *South India Schemes* writes, "The fact that various theories about the ministry are held by individuals within the comprehensiveness of the self-same English Church has led some controversialists to contend that the South Indian Scheme only proposes to carry into practice what already exists in the Church of England. But this contention is obviously inexact. For whatever differences of theory individuals are permitted to hold within the English Church, all its clergy, without a solitary exception, are in the historic succession, and all its people receive the sacrament from priests, and from none but priests. Neither in its official declarations, nor in its practice of ordaining does the Church of England ever allow anything else than priestly ministries. The consequence of this Anglican comprehensiveness is that both Evangelicals and Anglo-Catholics have been able to abide within the Church of England. But the South India Scheme proposes to allow men who are not priests to consecrate the Eucharist in the same church with those who are priests. To do that is deliberately to make a minister equivalent to a priest in the ecclesiastical rite, and if the Church of England were to insist on committing itself to this Protestant conception, it would render dangerously insecure the loyalty of a very large section of its own members, and incur the risk of a very serious secession. The allegiance of a Catholic is primarily to the Universal Church, and to the local as a faithful representation of the Universal. The individual cannot accept the judgment of the local church if he is conscientiously convinced that that judgment is contrary to the mind of the Universal Church." While I am poles asunder from Dr. Simpson in his view of the ministry, I cannot but think that there is a good deal of sturdy Protestantism and sound Christianity in the way in which he strongly maintains the supremacy of the individual conscience. Indeed, a moderate Anglican paper like the *Guardian* writes, "Those who threaten to sever their connection with the Church of England, if the South India Scheme is accepted, claim to be Catholics, but the full meaning of a catholic is that he accepts the judgment of his church as opposed to his own individual judgment. For one to set his own judgment or that of any unconstitutional committee or clique against his church is just simply Protestantism, and it is the method that has always led to schism." It seems to me that the position advocated by the *Guardian* would have made

impossible Christianity itself, which ultimately broke with Judaism on a great principle. It would make impossible such great movements as are associated with the names of such men as Wycliffe, Luther and Wesley. It is not for me to suggest to the Anglo-Catholic what his duty is at this juncture, but I confess to some real sympathy with him in the difficulty he is up against. The fact that the irregularity of contrasted ministries under the scheme would only exist for thirty years, and would afterwards be cancelled by the unity which is to be ultimately attained, does not weigh with a thorough-going Anglo-Catholic like Dr. Simpson, who maintains that it is "not a question of duration but of intrinsic rightfulness." Yet the feeling remains that a sense of Christian duty sometimes demands a compromise and temporary accommodation in the interests of the larger whole.

On the other hand, a certain section of extremist Protestants regard any recognition of the historic episcopate as nothing else than ecclesiastical bondage and sacerdotal superstition, and maintain that any participation in the scheme implies the abandonment of a sacred trust which we have inherited from our Puritan ancestors.

With regard to the position of episcopacy in the new scheme, it may be well to recall the basic terms of the agreement.

(1) That believing that the historic episcopate in a constitutional form is the method of Church Government which is more likely than any other to promote and preserve the organic unity of the Church, we accept it as a basis of union without raising other questions about episcopacy.

(2) That by a historic and constitutional episcopacy we mean—

(a) That the bishops shall be elected. In this election both the diocese and the province shall have an effective voice.

(b) That the bishops shall perform their duties constitutionally in accordance with such customs of the Church as shall be defined in a written constitution, and

(c) That continuity with the historic episcopate be effectively maintained, it being understood that no particular interpretation of the fact of the historic episcopate be demanded.

As to the episcopate, I accept the view of Dr. Garvie, who writes, "It must be admitted that the early origin, the long continuity, the wide diffusion of the episcopate in the Christian Church, makes it an appropriate, nay, the most appropriate, organ for making manifest this universal character of the Christian ministry. The congregational type of church polity asserts the liberty in Christ of the Christian people, the

whole problem, and are prepared to go on just as they have been for the last century or more. The whole movement, it is maintained, has been cleverly engineered by a few enthusiastic leaders—European, American and Indian—and if it is firmly turned down at the present stage by the home authorities whose financial and moral interests may be involved, there may be visible no ripple of disappointed emotion except among the interested few. So far as non-Christians are concerned, I must admit that they in general show no particular signs of shock when confronted with our own ecclesiastical differences and antagonisms. From their standpoint all religions are equally good or equally bad, as the case may be, and when they witness our defects, they recognise them as being quite in the order of nature, and are confirmed in their view of all religions as being pretty much alike both as regards their virtues and their vices. Unless we can bring to the people of India in our Christian propaganda and life something that has in it the stamp and image of the supernatural rather than the natural, Christianity will continue to be regarded by non-Christians as a religion rather than *the* religion, and hopes of world conquest under such conditions must be futile. When the non-Christian world, looking at us individually or in our ecclesiastical relationships is able, indeed is compelled, in all sincerity to exclaim "See how these Christians love one another!" there will be some hope of a revolutionary advance, compared with the admittedly somewhat slow pace of growth now visible. Yet I am convinced there is movement in the right direction, sure and steady. When I first went out to India in 1895, the relations for instance between Baptists and Anglicans were greatly strained. Sheep-stealing was rampant, and the possibility of any comity between these two extremes of the Protestant Church was scouted as a wild dream. To-day Baptists and Anglicans co-operate in the most cordial way; Bishop's College, with an Anglican Bishop as Principal, and Serampore College with its Baptist traditions from the days of Carey, co-operate, under the Serampore Charter, in a common theological senate, and in some cases common theological teaching in association with representatives of practically all other churches in India, including the Syrian Orthodox, the Romans only excepted. I mention that as only one achievement in the direction of union during the generation it has been my privilege to serve the cause of Christ in India. Frankly, I think with but rare exceptions, the relations of Christian bodies in India with one another have ceased to be scandalous, and it is this that makes one hope for the success of the great experiment now being proposed.

In regard to the suggestion that the great mass of Indian

Christians are not themselves interested in this advance, but are content to be led by the few; well, is not this the case more or less, practically all over the world in the great things that count? It is the very few who lead the many. Ministers and prominent church workers at home know what this means. And how true it is of politics, trade unionism, Bolshevism, and what not. But even in regard to the great mass, when the intelligence and conscience of Indian Christians is definitely appealed to on this issue, the response is all in the direction of movement on the lines so earnestly advocated by the leaders among their own Christian fellow-countrymen. If we are to wait for everything until there is an impulse of overwhelming strength visible from below, we shall wait a long time indeed. It is an Athanasius that converts to his view a whole world against him, it is a Luther that rouses the forces of Protestant conviction, it is a Wesley that awakens England to a new evangel, it is a Carey that rouses the missionary conscience of a torpid church, it is a Wilberforce that awakens a nation's conscience in the matter of slavery and the slave trade. Christian leaders in South India must be given credit rather than otherwise for all the pioneer work they have done in rousing the conscience of the Church on this issue in their own areas, and in Christian circles far and wide throughout the world.

(3) Another objection sometimes urged against the scheme is that it conceives of unity more from the standpoint of organisation than community of spirit, that too much importance is attached to standard creeds like the Nicene in the place of reliance on the simplicity of the Gospel of the New Testament, that the recognition of the historic episcopate is but the thin end of the wedge for introducing the doctrine of apostolic succession and a whole array of other mediæval dogmas, calculated to prove fatal to any living evangelical Puritanism, sure in the long run to prove destructive of the present freedom enjoyed by individual congregations, and bound to lead to artificiality and mental reservations incompatible with the essential liberty of the Gospel of the Spirit as taught by our Lord. In short, the adoption of the scheme means that we shall begin the descent of the slippery slope to Rome. It is difficult to argue with anyone obsessed by a mentality that sees Rome in every approach to organisation in the government of the Church, formulation of belief, and order or ornateness in worship. Yet I can remember the time quite vividly fifty years ago when as a boy in a village congregation in Wales that was my own mentality, and to all intents and purposes the mentality of the religious circle in which I lived and moved and had my being. Clerical dress, credal confessions, liturgical prayers, the chanting of psalms,

presbyteral type the equality of all the ministers of Christ, the episcopal the authority of the Church as a whole over the parts." It is wholly beside the mark to think of the modern constitutional episcopate in terms of the old prelacy. The World Conference of Faith and Order at Lausanne, in giving their approval to the South India Scheme, expressed a point of view regarding the problem of organisation which ought to remove many difficulties, unless we are more concerned to score against one another than to sink minor differences in the interests of a great spiritual ideal. "In view of (1) the place which the episcopate, the council of presbyters, and the congregation of the faithful respectively had in the constitution of the early Church, and (2) the fact that episcopal, presbyteral and congregational systems of government are each to-day, and have been for centuries, accepted by great communions in Christendom, and (3) the fact that episcopal, presbyteral and congregational systems are each believed by many to be essential to the good order of the Church, we therefore recognise that these several elements must all, under conditions which require further study, have an appropriate place in the order of life of a re-united church, and that each separate communion, recalling the abundant blessing of God vouchsafed to its ministry in the past, should gladly bring to the common life of the United Church its own spiritual treasures." Let us in this connection not forget that Anglicans, Presbyterians, Congregationalists and Methodists, European, American and Indian, men of very different traditions and religious temperaments and habits have, after eleven long years of careful thought and abundant prayer for the guidance of the Holy Spirit, come to unanimous convictions on the great issues involved. While it is obvious that the scheme as it stands may be capable of improvement under the guidance of the Spirit of God, it is clear that any radical change in the fundamental principles of the scheme would wreck the whole movement, and this would be a very serious responsibility to take from the standpoint of our relations with our Indian Christian brethren, who are apt to be, in the words of Bishop Palmer, "indignant when they reflect that the divisions in which they find themselves imprisoned had their origin in the controversies of foreigners in distant lands, in which they had no part and have no interest. The more thoughtful know that division has for centuries been the ruin of their own country. Young Indians will join any society that promises to unite Indians, but none that will divide them." I must also draw your attention to the resolution passed by the All India Conference of Indian Christians held in Lahore in December last, and I attach great importance to it as an

expression of the Indian Christian standpoint throughout India. "This Conference is convinced that organic unity of all Christian denominations in India is essential for the full witness of the Church to its Lord and Master. This Conference therefore rejoices that powerful consideration is being given to the schemes of union in various parts of India. It earnestly hopes that the union scheme in South India will be brought to consummation in the near future, and will pave the way for the formation of the united visible Church of Christ in India as an integral part of the Church Universal, and in communion with the churches of other lands."

Dr. Vernon Bartlet is of the opinion that never in the history of the Church has such liberty of conscience been permitted to individuals in the matter of belief and practice as is proposed in the present scheme. In this connection Bishop Palmer points out that "to some the theory of the Apostolic Succession is of great importance as true and as symbolising spiritual truths. To others it is an erroneous bit of history which has led to superstitions and abuses. A member of the church will not be bound to either opinion; a minister will not be condemned for teaching either." The group of Anglican evangelicals invited to attend the Archbishops' Committee on Faith and Order in November last point out that "the sacraments and ministry of the Presbyterian Churches were recognised as truly apostolic in their own branches of the Church by practically all the Anglican bishops of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The phrase 'apostolic succession' is not found in our formularies. We admit and value the historical fact of the succession of our ministry and ordination from the times of the Apostles, a succession shared by the Presbyterian churches. We do not believe that any validity of Sacraments or ministerial grace attaches to episcopal ordination which is not shared by them. We regard the Grace of God as His direct gift, and not as mechanically transmitted or transmissible."

I fail to see where ecclesiastical bondage comes in, where full liberty of conscience is allowed on issues of this kind. If many of our Christian brethren draw comfort from the doctrine of apostolic succession as a bulwark of the Catholic past, or find satisfaction in the doctrine of Infant Baptism as witnessing to the solidarity of the Christian family in relation to the Church, is that an insuperable barrier to union, provided our convictions or idiosyncrasies are similarly recognised and respected? The real schismatic is the man who will not work side by side with a Christian brother differing in important respects from himself, but one in common loyalty to Christ and the Church.

GEORGE HOWELLS.

that was done on his lines was to establish two territorial Bishops, instead of one. Moreover, from their jurisdiction were expressly excepted all the mission-centres already existing, and apparently any others their heads might choose to establish. Our man number Three did not become a territorial Bishop, but continued as a missionary-bishop. And it would seem that he continued on his own lines, planting new Christian centres; while it is regrettable to add that by the territorial Bishops nothing seems to have been done. "Walker of Tinnevely" was never a bishop, but he is better known than those who were, in his area.

One of his former wards, a ranee, was struck with pity at the untouchables in the lagoons. They had indeed a minister of their own, but there was a fair-sized island with some 600 families. She crossed thither, and established a strong centre in their midst, to which they soon attached themselves, and before long we find the two races blending; Christian family names show descent from both stocks still.

Our man died after some thirty years' work; like Samson he did much by his death as well as by his life. A few more centres seem to have been named after him at once, like "Spurgeon Memorial" churches where Spurgeon never trod. Far away, a man who had never met him, on retiring from a large bishopric, built a church which he dedicated in his honour. It is a sign that there was no jealousy between the territorial Bishop and the missionary-bishop of another denomination.

He had two posthumous periods of fame. Another wave of pirate-settlers conquered the kingdom, and no records were made locally for a century. But when the veil was lifted, it proved that many Christians survived, and that they cherished a deep attachment to him. When old churches, destroyed by the newer race, were to be rebuilt, they contended for his body. The Maharajah went on Solomon's lines, but improved; the body was divided into three or four, and he took one part as his fee. The ranee's old island centre obtained one portion, the rajah's old centre took a second; a third was taken in procession to yet another island; while to a new capital went the remainder, and at every halting-place a church was named after him.

Yet another race conquered, which had splendid ideas of architecture. At a re-constituted centre, a diligent student became interested in origins, and produced a full-length biography—on whose credibility it is not wise to rely. The missionary's body was in demand again, almost like the Holy Cross. Fresh churches were named after him, in districts he never visited. One of these was afterwards rebuilt on such a magnificent scale that it gave its name to the town. And from that town emigrants went thousands of miles to a land he never dreamed of, founding

a new Boston which in the New World commemorates the faithful missionary Botolph.

South India to-day is facing the same problem that concerned the South Folk of East Anglia in the seventh century. The missionaries from Burgundy, Ireland, the Scots, Lindisfarne, did not quarrel; and when an organizer from Tarsus tried to impose Roman methods on the island, the native converts adopted just as many as they liked. May history repeat itself.

A CHAP BOOK. In the British Museum, at 1078. k. 17 (13), is "A New History Of All Religions . . . By A. Campbell, Falkirk, Stirling: Printed and Sold by C. Randall 1806." This queer little publication abounds in statements which will not be found elsewhere. Thus of the Quakers it is said (p. 15) that "their founder was one David George, a respectable Shoemaker in Oxford." The previous page (p. 14) is headed, "Of The Pedobaptists," and begins thus: "They baptize none till the person actually profess faith in Christ." After some further remarks, the page closes with this statement: "But are improperly called Anabaptists; for the Anabaptists are another Sect, who baptize all their members every year. The Latin word *Anno*, from which Anabaptist is derived, signifieth year; and therefore that denomination may more plainly (*sic*) be rendered Yearly-Bapstit (*sic*)." A further reference to Anabaptists occurs on p. 22, which is headed, "Of The Douglasites," and begins thus: "They hold the heresy of the Originists (*sic*), and some German Anabaptists, viz., that not only the wicked, but the devils themselves, after suffering the torments of hell for an appointed period, shall be received into the favour of God, and be made for ever blessed and happy." Why these persons were called Douglasite is not here stated; for the source of their views see the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* under Neil Douglas (1750-1823). Perhaps the above fancies of A. Campbell may be new to your readers.

A. GORDON.

SUTCLIFF'S ACADEMY AT OLNEY. The list of scholars educated by John Sutcliff, of Yorkshire and Bristol, chiefly for the B.M.S., which was annotated in our last volume at page 276, was furnished by the Rev. Maurice F. Hewett, pastor of the Sutcliff Baptist Church. It was compiled by Mr. Thomas Wright, who found the materials in various nonconformist magazines collected by Taylor of Northampton, which are now deposited in the Carnegie Library of that town. It is possible that Sutcliff had other pupils also. Any scraps of information are always welcome for publication.

Baptist Trust Deeds.

(Continued from page 110.)

IN 1837, the Southern Association requested the Baptist Union to appoint a committee "for the purpose of devising and carrying into effect a remedy for the evils of the Chapel Deed system," and at the Union's Annual Assembly in the following April, the committee was appointed. Twelve months later the committee reported and submitted draft of a proposed Baptist Union model trust deed. The 1839 Assembly referred the report and deed to the Union's general committee, which gave exhaustive consideration. Ultimately, on the 23rd April, 1840, a sub-committee reported "that as the matter of the trust deeds does not appear to be in sufficient forwardness for the adoption of any practical measure, it be recommended to the committee to print the entire documents as an appendix to the next Report of the Union." Unfortunately this suggestion was negatived and the first adventure of the Union into the realm of a denominational trust deed thus ended in failure.

A few weeks later the Dissenting Deputies forwarded to the Union "the heads of a Bill intended to be submitted to Parliament relative to the vesting of Dissenting Chapels and other property in Commissioners." The "heads" were of a far-reaching character, for the Deputies were men of vision; and it is not surprising that, after receiving the report of a sub-committee, the cautious Union considered it "inexpedient to apply to Parliament on the subject." The sub-committee's report, which indicates the general trend of the "heads," was as follows:

"It was thought that considerable trouble and expence would be incurred in seeking to obtain such an Act of Parliament.

That it is not probable that a remission of Stamp duties would be granted.

That it would be necessary to have a paid Clerk, even if Commissioners could be found to undertake gratuitously the responsibility which would be thrown upon them, and it would be necessary to have a building erected in which the enrolment of the deeds could be preserved.

That a considerable part of the object contemplated might be carried into effect, so far as the Baptist Denomination is concerned, by the preparation and publication of a model deed, and by the formation of a set of

Trustees to whom might be conveyed all the chapels, &c., of the Denomination, without an Act of Parliament, in which case one conveyance would be sufficient to transfer all the chapels, &c., vested in them on the filling up of any vacancy in the Trustees."

Trustees to whom might be conveyed all the chapels of the denomination! One Conveyance to transfer all the chapels when filling a vacancy! Such proposals, if made to-day, would cause some deacons to shiver with apprehension lest their local control and freedom would be lost. But these suggestions were made by leading Particular Baptists ninety years ago, long before the days of the Baptist Church House and denominational Property Boards. Were these men such rigid independents after all? Or, did they value fellowship and mutual confidence and business methods higher than independence?

Defective deeds long troubled the officers of the Baptist Building Fund, who required that the deeds of churches to which loans were made should secure: (1) that the meeting-house be for the use of a society of Particular or Calvinistic Baptists; (2) that the election of new trustees be vested in the church; (3) that proper provision be made for the future of the property in the event of the dissolution of the church. Many deeds submitted to the Fund did not fulfil these requirements, and, in May, 1850, in response to the increasing number of requests which reached them, the Fund's officers, fervently hoping they were not "trespassing beyond their duty, or infringing on the liberties of the churches," adopted a form of trust deed which they "believed would be found to include what was really necessary in as small a compass as possible." Two clauses of this deed interest us. The first, dealing with the user of the property, declared that the premises were held:

"Upon trust at all times hereafter to permit the said meeting-house and premises to be used as a place of public religious worship by the Society of Protestant Dissenters, called Particular or Calvinistic Baptists, now meeting for divine worship therein, and also by such other persons as shall hereafter be united to the said society, and for that purpose to permit to officiate in the said meeting-house, and to reside in any house which may be erected upon the same premises for that purpose, such person or persons of the denomination of Protestant Dissenters called Particular or Calvinistic Baptists, as the members of the said society present at any church meeting duly assembled for that purpose by public notice, to be given in the said meeting-house during public worship on the two Sundays immediately preceding such church meeting, or two third parts of them

in number, shall from time to time elect as their minister or pastor therein, during their will and pleasure only."

The second, dealing with the *cestui que* trust, declared that "in case the said society of Particular or Calvinistic Baptists shall be totally dissolved or dispersed, and the regular public worship at the said meeting-house be discontinued by them for the space of twelve calendar months together, then upon further trust to let, convey and release, or otherwise dispose of the said meeting-house, hereditaments and premises, with the appurtenances, to such person or persons, for such term in such manner, and for such purposes as the . . . Baptist Building Fund . . . shall from time to time direct or appoint of or concerning the same."

This deed is a landmark in the development of Baptist trust deeds. Not only was it the first deed officially prepared and adopted by a Baptist Society for the use of Baptist Churches, but also, in its elimination of itemised doctrines, it represented a definite step in the simplification of trust deeds. Naturally it did not meet with complete acceptance. Baptists have a flair for thinking that anything prepared by a central authority can be substantially improved locally, and from time to time individual churches felt it necessary to add various articles of faith in order to indicate more clearly what they understood by the term "Particular or Calvinistic." Nevertheless, the deed became, and for three or four decades remained, the standard form of the Particular Baptist section of the denomination.

Possibly inspired by the action of the Baptist Building Fund the General Baptists of the New Connexion at their 82nd Annual Association at Derby in the following year appointed a Committee "to prepare a form of Chapel Trust Deed which might serve as a Model Deed for the denomination." Three years later, in 1854, the Committee submitted a draft, and, after the Association had "considered the clauses seriatim and made various alterations," it was adopted, and printed in full in the Association's Minutes. The trusts were eight in number, and, as with the Baptist Building Fund deed, two clauses only concern us. These are the first and the seventh, which are as follows:—

- I. "Upon trust to permit a chapel schoolrooms and other suitable buildings to be erected upon the said piece of ground by the voluntary contributions of the General Baptists of the New Connexion and other persons favourable to the said object and after the completion thereof to permit the same to be used for Religious Worship and Educational purposes by the General Baptist Church of the New Connexion which shall be formed there holding and teaching the doctrines following viz.—1. The Divine inspiration of

the Holy Scriptures. II. That man is by nature a fallen and sinful being. III. That man is justified by Faith only in the Lord Jesus Christ. IV. The perpetual obligation of the Moral Law and the necessity of personal Holiness. V. The regeneration of the soul of man by the influence of the Holy Spirit. VI. The proper Godhead and Manhood of the Lord Jesus Christ and that he suffered death to make a full Atonement for the sins of all men and VII. The Baptism by immersion of Believers only—and for such other Religious or charitable purposes as shall from time to time be resolved upon by the said church in church meeting assembled.”

- VII. *And Upon further trust* that if at any time hereafter the said church shall be reduced or dispersed . . . then the said trustees shall offer the said hereditaments to any neighbouring church of the said General Baptist New Connexion which may be willing to undertake to resuscitate the said cause and shall convey the same to trustees appointed by such neighbouring church. . . . And if no such neighbouring church shall be willing to undertake it then *Upon trust* to offer the same to the Association of the said General Baptist New Connexion at their next annual meeting, and if the said Association should not at such meeting elect to take it and forthwith do so then “*Upon trust* to sell and dispose of the said hereditaments . . . *Upon trust* to apply the proceeds of the said sale first in payment of expenses and all debts then owing upon or in respect of the said trust premises and to pay the surplus if any to and for such Religious or charitable purposes as the said Association at their annual meeting should order or direct.”

Clause 7 reflects the warm regard which General Baptists had for their Association life and organisation. It is different from anything found in Particular Baptist deeds. The identification of the church as the *General Baptist Church of the New Connexion* was important. There was to be no risk of the buildings being used by a church of the old General Assembly of the General Baptists or by a General Baptist Church of evangelical sentiments which remained out of fellowship with the New Connexion. Noteworthy also is the relationship of the Association to the ultimate trusts.

A deed of much interest is the Model Trust Deed of the Yorkshire Association adopted in 1889. This ignores the doctrinal issues between Particular and General Baptists, and, after reciting that the building had “been used as a place of religious worship and teaching by a congregation of people called Baptists,” declares that it was held upon trust to be used,

occupied and enjoyed by such congregation "or by such other church or society as shall for the time being be authorised to use and occupy the same by the Committee for the time being of the Yorkshire Association of Baptist Churches." Later in the deed power is given to sell the trust premises: (a) If the members, in conditions which are set out, deem it advisable "and shall obtain the consent of such sale of the Committee for the time being of the Yorkshire Association"; (b) "If the Yorkshire Association . . . deem it advisable . . . and shall at an Annual Meeting of the Association pass a resolution to that effect of which resolution not less than three months' previous notice shall have been given at one of the Committee Meetings of the said Association." . . . A further provision provides that the proceeds of sale shall be used in the purchase or erection of a new chapel and premises to be held on the same trusts or applied by the Association "for such purposes as the said Association at its Annual Meeting shall from time to time direct." With the object of shortening and simplifying trust deeds, the general tenor of this Model Deed was, in 1907, incorporated in a Deed Poll enrolled in Chancery. A short form of Conveyance is therefore now used and, by reference, the Deed Poll is deemed incorporated. In giving such complete control of the property to the Association these model trusts mark another distinct stage in the development of our denominational trust deeds.

(To be concluded.)

SEYMOUR J. PRICE.

THE CAREER of De Veil, as set forth in our pages, has excited considerable interest in circles he once adorned. From the continent are coming appreciative welcomes, especially by Huguenots. We are much indebted to Mr. Wilfred S. Samuel, who offered us this sketch many years ago, and has now fulfilled his promise so amply. It is a pleasure to have a story so well searched out and documented, by a scholar and merchant of the Jewish faith.

Charles-Marie de Veil.

(Continued from page 129).

De Veil had now revised his previous work, and even commented further. His next publication was on *Ecclesiastes*, which he dedicated to Sancroft. It came out in 1681 with a flourish of trumpets, containing both the certificate of the six dignitaries, and a separate testimonial from Lloyd. Charles-Marie seems to have understood well the art of advertising. And yet it is curious that no publisher ever handled a second book; the market for Latin commentaries in England cannot have been large, though the language ensured a sale in Europe. Of making many books there was for a space a distinct end; and though de Veil was not chiefly a Preacher, he may have agreed that so far as promotion went, Vanity of vanities, all was Vanity. He was still "omnium egenus." Yet his fame had reached Rome, where Bartoloccio in preparing his *Bibliotheca Magna Rabbinica*, during 1683, was inserting notes about the work of himself and his brother: Part III. n. 847, folio 843.

Towards the end of the year, he had the opportunity of renewing his friendship with Henri Justel, who was appointed Librarian to Charles II. He also met again the Maimbourgs, and we may be sure that he was present when Théodore followed his example, and before the bishop of London abjured his faith and was admitted into the Church of England. When Simon at Belleville heard of this, he wrote to Justel that some one had told him de Veil's conversion to Protestantism was due to Madame Maimbourg.⁴⁹

De Veil was a habitué of Fulham, whence indeed he had dated his letter to Simon. The controversy on Tradition was seen to be important, and Compton urged him to keep au fait with all developments. And his commentaries caused both English clergy and reformed churches abroad to ask him to continue such work.⁵⁰ Now for both these tasks, he needed access to a library. And in those days London was far inferior to Oxford and Cambridge in this respect. The only old college was Gresham, and this was not rich in divinity. On London Wall, at a new Sion college, a library was accumulating round the nucleus of John Simson, with accommodation for students; but it was

⁴⁹ Letter of Richard Simon, 20 March 1682: edition Rotterdam 1702, I, 77-78.

⁵⁰ Crosby: IV, 256. But is this only a generalization from Claude?

intended for the incumbents of city parishes, and de Veil had no right to use it. In some of his works he apologises that he has no access to originals, and has to quote from translations only. It was therefore a great boon to have the run of the episcopal library at Fulham.

In 1682 there came out an English version of Simon's suppressed history, without leave of the author; and thus curiously England had the start of all countries in facing problems of the higher criticism. De Veil might naturally have followed it up, being well qualified and directly concerned; but except for an English version next year of his letter to Boyle, he kept to his chosen path of Biblical commenting. This controversy was taken up rather by Jean Leclerc, who this year was preaching at the Walloon church and the Savoy chapel.

Of scriptural exposition there was no glut. Beza's New Testament with notes was often reprinted; the *Revelation* had attracted three students lately, and *Daniel* had been expounded; Owen's *Hebrews* had just been finished, and *Esther* had found a commentator. Otherwise the field lay open. The question would arise, On what books could his Talmudic knowledge bear? What books raised points in issue between Papist and Protestant? What would sell readily? On the whole, the *Acts* seemed suitable. Nobody had paid special attention to it lately; there were just the relevant pages in Grotius, Diodati and Calvin from abroad, Trapp, the Assembly, the *Critici Sacri* and Poole's synopsis of the same. And not one of these knew Hebrew customs at first-hand. It would be a natural sequel to his commentary on *Matthew and Mark*. There were many places where points could be made against Rome. So to *Acts* he settled down, with the conviction that "there is scarce any book that treateth of the Christian religion, which so clearly explains the doctrine of truth by examples that cannot be spoke against, and truth of history attending it; and truly there is no other book, save the apostolic epistles, that intermingles these two."

In the Fulham Palace library there was abundance of books. But whereas Metz had given him Hebrew thought, and Angers had introduced him to all Western and some Eastern thinkers, London was strong on post-Reformation works. And browsing along the shelves, he might find a few English books with a fresh tinge. An ex-clergyman, Henry Jessey, had been deeply concerned with the re-admission of Jews to England. Thomas Delaune had lately collaborated in a huge folio on the metaphors of scripture. Another ex-clergyman, Francis Bampfield, was convinced like the Talmudists that all learning whatever was implicit in the Bible. Yet another ex-clergyman, John Tombes, had given attention to Romanism. And one more, Hanserd

Knollys, was an expositor, especially of *Revelation*, a Hebrew scholar, and much concerned with the second coming of Messiah. An ex-Huguenot, Peter Chamberlen, was interested in the Sons of the East. For one reason or another, every one of these authors might attract a passing glance; and it might dawn upon him that they all had one singular point in common—the very point to which Simon had called his attention—these men had quitted the Church of England, because they rejected infant baptism. If he caught sight of the *Conférence touchant le pédobaptisme, tenue à Paris entre le sieur Jean Mestrezat et Théodore Naudin*, he would hardly resist reading it, for Mestrezat was one of the Charenton pastors; he would be struck with the fact that it had occurred in the very year he had had the conference with Bossuet that had led to his first change of view. The works of Tombes would give him ample food for thought.

Then while Tombes had died lately, there were others of this band of scholars still living, Hanserd Knollys, Bampffield and Delaune. The two latter were thrown into Newgate in a spasm of persecution against dissenters, but Knollys seems to have been left at liberty, perhaps because he had business abroad and could travel at the worst time, perhaps because he had friends at court.

Then came in a touch of romance.⁵¹ There was a house-maid at Fulham, who may have waited on the ungainly foreign scholar, and may have seen him reading some of these books. She did learn something of his new line of thought, and let him know that she was a Baptist, acquainted with Hanserd Knollys, who frequently visited at the house of a nobleman near Fulham. An interview was arranged, and de Veil began to give serious thought to the topic of baptism, which cropped up so often in the *Acts*, and to which Simon had called his attention.

It has been said that he found yet another man, like himself a domestic chaplain to a peer, John Gosnold. He was a Cambridge graduate, and had once held some post in the Established Church; but had gathered a Baptist congregation which met at Moorfields. It has been said that de Veil was so taken with his learning and conversation that he soon became a member of Gosnold's congregation.⁵² But though Crosby printed this statement from the M.S. of his brother-in-law Stinton, the latter was mistaken. Gosnold died in 1678, the year that de Veil reached England, and before he heard of Baptists.⁵³

⁵¹ Crosby IV, 256. The 1702 editor of Simon's letters added a note that de Veil married the daughter of a Baptist; and it has been assumed that this was the housemaid.

⁵² Crosby: IV, 257.

⁵³ Crosby: III, 63, citing Calamy, who printed the inscription on Gosnold's tombstone in Bunhill Fields.

Whatever gave the final touch, it is certain that de Veil came to agree with Naudin, that the baptism of infants was a matter only of church tradition, and that scripture interpreted with unprejudiced scholarship, such as he had urged on Simon, pointed to the baptism of believers, as indeed Simon retorted on him. He was committed to a commentary on *Acts*, and this view could not possibly be dismissed as unimportant. How long the mental conflict lasted, we cannot tell. In March 1682 Simon knew him still as an Anglican; even in 1683 it would seem that the English version of the letter to Boyle was put out without any sentence alluding to this corollary. Certainly by Easter 1684 the die was cast. The advertisements that term told of three new books: a conference between Bossuet and Claude; a scientific treatise on human blood by Robert Boyle; an *Explicatio Actorum Apostolorum* by Charles-Marie de Veil. All three curiously were from the same publisher, a man of some sharp practice, for he advertised de Veil as S.T.D. and professor emeritus, being canny enough to lay a false scent describing him also as Metensis.

BAPTIST.

This last change shifted de Veil yet once again into a new environment, socially and mentally if not physically. He lost his position as domestic chaplain, he lost the friendship of all the Church dignitaries, he lost the patronage of the Secretary and the Lord Chancellor. Stinton indeed said that he did retain the friendship of Tillotson, but it was Louis-Compiègne who remained in favour, not Charles-Marie.⁵⁴

De Veil would now find himself singularly isolated. On the social side there was no one of the rank of gentleman; the best that could be produced were perhaps Mordecai Abbot, an iron-master operating in Ireland, and Thomas Hollis from Rotherham, in the same line of business at London; with Gale, rich enough to send his son to Leyden. Indeed the penal legislation debarred Baptists from all public employ, and almost limited them to commerce and medicine. Moreover de Veil would be bewildered by the absence of any such Order of ministers as he had been accustomed to. Rabbis, priors, priests, presbyters of the Anglican church, were set apart from other men; Baptists were rather emphatic on there being no distinction, and believing in the priesthood of all believers. They indeed had ministers of a sort, but outwardly they were not to be distinguished from ordinary tradesmen. Even as tradesmen only two were at all

⁵⁴ Birch's Life, edition 1753, page 75.

prominent; William Kiffin was a wealthy merchant, trading with Holland, and had led into the same business the ex-clergyman, Hanserd Knollys. Most of the others were too obscure for their occupations to be noticed; but besides a coat-seller in Leadenhall, a haberdasher in the Park, a rope-maker in Lambeth, Jennings was a cheese-monger, Barret a meal-man, Lamb a shoe-maker, Jones a tailor who kept a coffee-house, Keach a book-seller with a side-line in sugar-plumbs for worms, and a tincture for the bloody flux.⁵⁵

Medicine indeed was not a closed profession as yet, and there were plenty of quack medicines and family secrets. Peter Chamberlen had just died in retirement as squire of Woodham Mortimer, where he had literally buried his secret implement, the midwifery forceps. But William Russell had become Chymist in Ordinary to his majesty, and was about to put upon the market his Powder, whose recipe was to be divulged by a rival in 1693. And Edward Stennett down at Wallingford was so flourishing in his practice that he had taken a lease of an old royal palace, and was just sending to London his son Joseph, equipped with a good education, and destined to marry a Huguenot refugee, Susanne Guill. Another man, rather older, was William Collins, whose father had given him the Grand Tour, from which he returned with a theological education to become joint pastor at the Baptist church in Petty France. His colleague was Nehemiah Cox, who strutted the streets in his periwig, flaunting a gold-headed cane, as though in the front rank of doctors. He had picked up somewhere an M.D., and was an honorary Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians. With Cox, de Veil did strike up a friendship, and this may account for a brief excursion that he too made into the medical field, with whatever memory he had of his charitable uncle's practice. He once benefited greatly Mr. Sharp, then rector of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, and later on arch-bishop of York.⁵⁶

Yet Cox, however fashionable and decently educated, had begun life as a shoe-maker in Bedford, and as a minister had been of lower rank than the pastor there, a brazier or tinker. John Bunyan indeed had since won a crowd of readers for his religious novels, and occasionally visited London, preaching in a large hall leased by Hollis on Broad street; but however great his fame, de Veil could have next to nothing in common with him.

And indeed Baptists were rather at a loss what to do with the unexpected recruit to their ranks. They had no sinecures, no chaplaincies, no colleges, no libraries, and they were not

⁵⁵ Crosby: III, 147.

⁵⁶ Crosby: III, 109, xxxix.

accustomed to pay their pastors. It is to their credit that they rose to the situation, and "on consideration of his abilities, on his dismissal from his place, raised him a salary, which he enjoyed till his death."⁵⁷ In return, he joined the fraternity of Keach, Russell and Cox.

Strictly speaking, a licence from a bishop was needful for practising physic. This would have been easy for Charles-Marie to obtain, as he was under the patronage of four bishops. The profession seemed immune from religious persecution; in the height of the 1683 troubles when Richard Baxter was literally being dragged from his bed to jail, he met Cox, who as a doctor went to a justice to certify that this endangered Baxter's life⁵⁸—yet Cox himself was guilty of Baxter's offence, preaching. On the other hand, Hanserd Knollys, with all his acquaintances in the West End, was thrown into Newgate in the spring of 1684.

It was in these troubles that Charles-Marie sent a copy of his *Acts* to William Bates, as before. Another went to Henri Claude, who acknowledged it handsomely on 15 April 1684, saying that the public would be much obliged if he would continue to make it such presents: the letter was very warm in its expressions of personal esteem and friendship. De Veil was encouraged to revise, while his publisher sought a translator so that an appeal might be made to the English public. For the best English that Charles-Marie could write is seen in the inscription "To the Reverend Doctor William Bates. The author humbly presents this such as it is his commentary as a small token of his respect and gratefulness." No time was lost, and by November Malthus advertised this version, to which he added a translation of an essay on "Baptism for the Dead," by Friedrich Spanheim junior, professor primarius at Leyden.

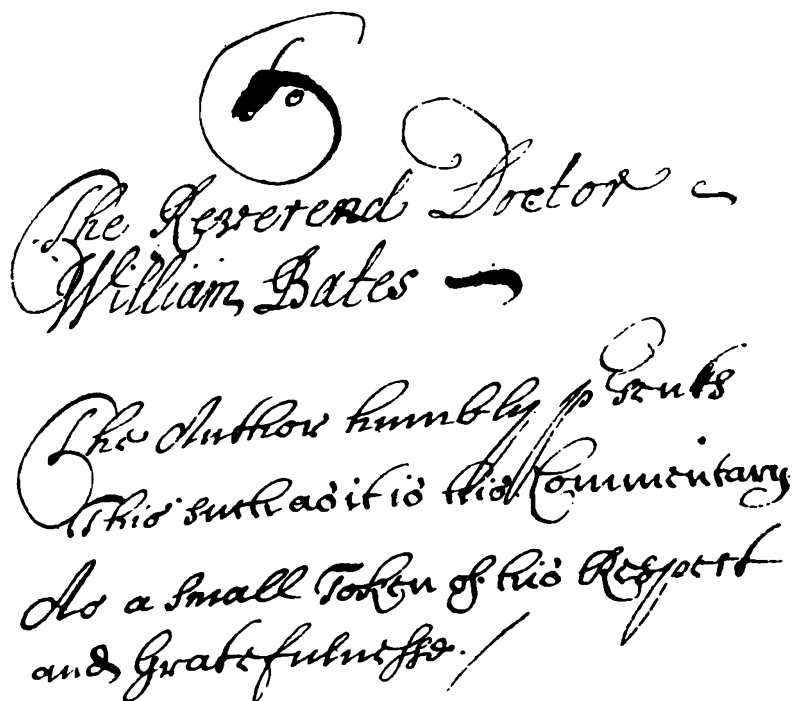
Meantime the Latin original had been seen by Simon, who seems to have been taken aback on discovering that his question about Tradition and Infant Baptism, which he regarded as a *reductio ad absurdum*, had sent de Veil further away from tradition to the scriptures alone. He said that his letter of 1678 had never been printed by him, but had been sent in manuscript to his Protestant correspondent. He was passing through the press at Rotterdam a reprint of his suppressed book, and to this he now appended a reprint of de Veil's letter, and his letter.⁵⁹ Strange to say, he did not comment on the fact that de Veil had become a Baptist.

⁵⁷ Crosby: IV, 259.

⁵⁸ Neal: *History of the Puritans* (Dublin 1755): IV 419.

⁵⁹ Bayle: *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, article XI, pages 517, 1029.

Now the Baptists had cause for abundant gratitude. Never had such a scholar been in their ranks; never had such a work appeared from a Baptist which so calmly presented their case as a part of a fine piece of scholarship. The commentary promptly took its place as standard; and as late as 1818, when Thomas Hartwell Horne in his massive *Introduction*, which ran to eight editions, was recommending the best books he listed no other commentary on *Acts* emanating from England. It is not surprising that the Hanserd Knollys Society reprinted it in 1851.



The Reverend Doctor
William Bates

The Author humbly presents
this such as it is his Commentary
As a small Token of his Respect
and Gratitude.

AUTOGRAPH OF DE VEIL.

Reproduced by the courtesy of Doctor Williams' Library.

Efforts were made to find or create a congenial post for de Veil; but here a grave difficulty presented itself. He was essentially a scholar, and Baptists thought in terms of preachers, or occasionally general superintendents; that he had been Prior of a house of preachers might even suggest that he was fit to

preach, in English. So strong as been the tradition of preaching as the only occupation of a minister, that even to-day if another man shares that duty he is styled a Lay Preacher, and on the other hand a minister who does not habitually preach is hardly regarded as in the Regular Ministry. The churches of Rome and of England have statesmen, governors, professors, lecturers and others who are all fulfilling their regular ministries, according to the variety that the apostle Paul commended. Baptists look almost exclusively for pastor-preachers. And de Veil did not know enough English even to translate his own book. How could he preach in English, or where could a French congregation be found?

In 1646 the second edition of the London Baptist Confession was subscribed on behalf of a French congregation by Denis le Barbier and Cristoph le Duret. How long that congregation held together is uncertain; it is improbable that it existed thirty years later. Dionysius le Barber, born in the parts beyond the seas, had been denizenated 27 July 1624; there is no evidence to connect him with Edward Barber the General Baptist. The Huguenot Society has no information as to these men.

Again, a minute-book starts in 1652, December 15, with the entry, Eliazer Bar Ishai baptized at Ould Ford.⁶⁰ Next day he married widow Rebecka Hounsell, and one witness was Théodore Naudin, who was corresponding with Jean Mestrezat, pastor at Charenton, on infant baptism. Another prominent member was Peter Chamberlen, who after much trouble with the baptized Jew, notified the church on 29 January 1653/4 that Eleazar Bar-Ishai alias Paul had been baptized only in order to get married, that he had deserted the church, that he had taken his infant to be christened; therefore the church duly delivered him to Satan. In 1683 the second minute-book shows that Chamberlen had dropped out of touch, and that the church had become Seventh-day Baptist. De Veil does not seem to have heard of it.

Charles II had offered letters of denization to Huguenots in 1681, so that Soho and Spitalfields began to fill with Frenchmen. Clearly there was here a great opportunity; private sympathizers were subscribing thousands of pounds to help the refugees. Baptists might have risen to the occasion by hiring a hall from

⁶⁰ Rawlinson D.28 at the Bodleian. Printed in the *Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society*, II, 132. Eliazer was an interesting chameleon, having already served in Prince Rupert's horse. Under the name of Paul Isaiah, he was employed to write on "The Messiah of the Christians and the Jews," in the introduction to which he takes credit for having had his infant son baptized at one of the City Churches. More serious scandals against him are alleged in W. Prynne's "A short Demurrer to the Jewes." (London 1656) pp. 72-3.

some livery company, and placing it at de Veil's disposal. There were however several drawbacks: Huguenots as such were welcomed with open arms, but Baptist worship was illegal; the law was no dead-letter, and two London ministers had died in Newgate during 1683; Baptists had no leader with any vision and courage.

De Veil therefore had to drop into the English rut. There was a little church which had been meeting in a private house on Gracechurch street, under John Child. He flinched in the persecution, and joined the Church of England, but soon became ashamed, and committed suicide. That did not help the abandoned church, and it did seem as if de Veil might be grafted on to this stock, and that his nationality and his medical pretensions and his eminence might possibly make him immune. Certainly he did settle here as pastor, and had a regular position understood among Baptists.

He might ponder over his new surroundings. The Old Jewry a quarter of a mile west, was indeed but a name, as was also the Elizabethan Jewry off the Minories. But in 1657 the Sephardi Jews had built a new synagogue at the corner of Creechurch Lane and Bury Street, opposite the great gateway into the erstwhile priory of the Augustinian Friars; and this synagogue had been enlarged in 1674. Over on the west of the city was the splendid church of St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, once occupied by the Augustinian Canons, to whom he had belonged. And halfway thither was the cathedral where Compton had his throne, and others of his Anglican patrons held office. Just outside Bishop's Gate, Huguenots were settling in thousands. Hard by, William Kiffin's meeting-house was still confiscated. Hanserd Knollys was languishing in Newgate, and no one knows how his church fared at the Broken Wharf on the Thames. It needed some courage in 1685 for anyone to re-start Baptist worship in the City.

Yet de Veil was an anomalous person, and might possibly be left unmolested, or even win sympathy as a Huguenot refugee. He took pains to accentuate this, and when at Rotterdam there appeared Simon's book, with his letter to Boyle, and de Lisle's reply, he printed a second letter to Boyle, in September. This does not seem available in any library now, though Bayle mentioned it at the time in his *Nouvelles*.

Attention however was diverted by the formal revocation, on 17 October, of the Edict of Nantes. The Temple at Metz was rased next day. Claude was instantly escorted across the frontier into Holland, his colleague de l'Aigle to England, and their great Temple at Charenton was broken up; an Englishman present saw a vast assembly at the closing scenes, and sent graphic descriptions

of the partings, the numbers "devoted to banishment, slavery, and the most barbarous deaths."⁶¹ Every minister was sent into exile, while no others were permitted to leave. But in fact, thousands evaded the cordons, of whom many came to England. The popular sympathy was great, and equally great the rage against Romanists. James had to stop executing the penal laws against Baptists, and in practice they could meet in peace. We should have expected de Veil to ride on the crest of the wave.

Yet he sank absolutely out of sight. In 1759 a well-informed biographical notice stated that on joining the Baptists, he *épousa la fille d'un homme de cette secte*, and *mourut dans le cours de la même année*.⁶² This would account for the silence. In 1685 the Monmouth rebellion distracted attention, so that scarcely any Baptist data survive which could be expected to note his death. In 1689 he did not attend the meeting of Particular Baptists. In 1691 Keach quoted his authority as of a classic, not as of a living man.⁶³ And when Keach's son-in-law, Benjamin Stinton, began compiling short biographies of Baptist worthies, since incorporated in Crosby's History, he obtained very meagre information. Evidently in Baptist circles he lived not long enough to make any mark.

It is tempting to speculate what he would have done. Would he have got in touch with the Chamberlens, and through them with Thomas Tillam? the latter, a Continental, had become Catholic, Baptist, Seventh-day Baptist, and almost Jew. Tillam had promoted a great emigration of Seventh-day Baptists through Holland up the Rhine to the Palatinate. If de Veil had thrown in his lot with these, and come back close to Lorraine and Metz, then Pierre Bayle might well have said that he completed the tour of the zodiac.

As it is, we remain ignorant of the circumstances of his death and burial, and may attempt to sum up his career. With so many changes, it is no wonder that admiration of his talents was qualified by remarks as to his instability. Yet no one charged him in later life with mercenary motives; indeed he twice forfeited good positions and good prospects, when he gave up his Priory and became Huguenot, when he lost his episcopal patrons and became Baptist. It would seem that he was an honest student, and as each new point was put before him, he decided, and acted. Such a conception of him shows his career perfectly consistent.

His actual contributions to scholarship won great fame, and

⁶¹ Walter Wilson: *History of Dissenting Churches*: IV, 381.

⁶² Louis Moreri: *Grand Dictionnaire Historique*: X, 507.

⁶³ He "understood, as I am informed, all the Oriental Tongues." *Answer to Mr. Marlow's Appendix*, page 20.

it deserves attention that the principles on which they were based were somewhat novel, and they still hold the field. Attention to grammar, to the historical surroundings, are accounted as fundamental. His clash with Father Richard Simon shows that he might have taken a leading place also as a writer of Biblical Introduction.

EPILOGUE.

Louis-Compiègne was licensed on 30 November 1685 to teach letters in and around the city;⁶⁴ on 9 April 1687 he was denizenated.⁶⁵ He won favour with Tillotson, in whose correspondence he and his wife often figure, and in whose biography he is mentioned. In the field of Hebrew lore he continued to win fame. But he did not become—as has so often been stated—the official Librarian of Lambeth Palace.

Thomas de Veil was born in St. Paul's Churchyard 1684, and was taught by his father till 1700. In a biography published 1748, the father's name is given as Doctor Hans, but the details point to Louis-Compiègne, "a thorough master of Hebrew and of all the rabbinical literature," though there is some confusion with Charles-Marie. Thomas fought in Portugal, obtained a colonelcy of dragoons by the help of Ruvigny, opened a petition-office in Scotland Yard when placed on half-pay, became Justice of the Peace, took the lead in cleaning up London, showed great bravery in riots 1744, and was knighted. Hogarth depicted him as the drunken man in his "Night." By the first of his four wives he had a son, Hans.

This Hans graduated at Cambridge from Emmanuel College, published at Northampton in 1725 an *Essay on the Horizontal Moon*, dedicated to the ladies of that town; they responded in verse to his inimitable fine dedication. He became usher and vicar at Felstead in Essex, where in 1736 he translated *Les Amusemens de Spa*.

His son John, educated at Felstead, became vicar of Aldenham 1794-1804, also chaplain to the Marquis of Abercorn, and J.P. for Middlesex. In 1798 he preached a patriotic sermon at Edgware. Ten years later he died.

WILFRED S. SAMUEL.

⁶⁴ F. de Schickler, *op. cit.*, page 335.

⁶⁵ State Papers Domestic, James II, Entry Book, 67.

Pedigree of Charles-Marie de Veil.

MOSES ASHER THE LEVITE

[Roll of 1628. Revue des Etudes Juives, Tome xiii. page 116.]

JEQUEL JACOB THE LEVITE

[Roll of 1595, R.E.J., Tome L, page 116.]

Memorbuch:—President here for many years, behaved well, did much charity and many good works; house always open, maintained and aided young people who wished to study the Law.

ASHER

JEQUITIEL DAVID, son of David the Levite
Memorbuch:—Went early and late to synagogue; his descendants gave charity on his behalf; died and was buried 5439 [i.e. A.D. 1679.]

RABBI ASHER LÆMMLEIN (Dr. Lambert) [Roll of 1637, wife and child. R.E.J. Tome L, page 126] Memorbuch:—Son of Jequitiel David the Levite, magnate, faithful doctor. He did loving-kindness to all with his healings, and also bled many poor people free, besides other drugs and ointments and bandages and physic which he gave the poor free to heal their ailments. They also gave charity on his behalf to the congregational fund. Died and was buried 3 Tammuz 5410 [i.e. A.D. 1650.]

RABBI DAVID

[Roll of 1621, wife and four children. Roll of 1637, four children. R.E.J. Tome L, page 121.] Memorbuch:—Son of Jequitiel David the Levite, righteous and liberal Magnate, honoured. He acted as Mohel and also blew the ram's horn at the New Year for a long period. He also occupied himself in charitable works, buried the dead, fixed times for the study of the Law. He went early and late to Synagogue. His heirs gave charity on his behalf to the Congregational Fund. Died in a good name on the sixth night and the next day, the first day of Hanukah 5405 [i.e. A.D. 1645.]

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Name? born 1630, christened at Metz 1654 CHARLES-MARIE DE VEIL baptized and married, London 1684 died, London 1685.

DANIEL, born 1637, christened at Compiègne, 1655 Louis-Compiègne de Veil, probably identical with Dr. Hans de Veil of St. Paul's Churchyard.

The Works of Charles-Marie de Veil.

- Tentative thesis [for S.T.B.?] not published as it stood.
- 1674 Thesis for S.T.D., not published as it stood.
- 1674 Commentarius in Evangelium secundum Mathæum et Marcum. Andegavi, In quarto. P.
- 1676 Commentarius in Joel prophetam. Parisiis. In duodecimo. AP.
- 1676 Commentarius in Canticum Canticorum. Parisiis. In duodecimo. P.
- 1678 Explicatio literalis Evangelii secundum Matthæum et Marcum. Londini. In octavo. CHOPSWY.
- 1678 Lettre à Mons. Boisle pour prouver contre l'auteur d'un livre intit. *Critique du Vieux Testament*, que la seule Ecriture est la règle de la foi. MO.
- 1679 Explicatio literalis Cantici Canticorum. Londini. CHOPSWY.
- 1680 Explicatio literalis duodecim prophetarum minorum. AcFHMPSW.
- 1681 Ecclesiastae explicatio literalis. . . . Hebraeorum ritibus. MOSY.
- 1683 Letter to Robert Boyle (translation). MO.
- 1684 Acta Sanctorum Apostolorum ad litteram explicata. AOPW.
- 1685 A literal explanation of the Acts of the Holy Apostles (translation) ABCFHMOW.

Libraries where the above may be consulted.

- A Angus Library, for the time at New College, Hampstead.
- B Baptist College, Bristol.
- c Baptist College, Cardiff.
- C Cambridge University Library.
- F Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, London.
- H Baptist Historical Library, Baptist College, Bristol.
- M British Museum.
- O Bodleian, Oxford.
- P Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
- S Sion College, London.
- W Dr. Williams' Library, London.
- Y York Minster.

The Great Awakening in Virginia, 1740-1790.

By WESLEY M. GEWEHR: 262 pages, portraits, bibliography,
index. 18/-. Camb. Univ. Press.

DUKE UNIVERSITY in North Carolina may well be proud of the publications it is putting forth, in many departments. Here we have a fine treatment of the first Revival, as it affected the most aristocratic of provinces, with an established church, the original Old Dominion. Hitherto we have heard more from the side of Jonathan Edwards; here we see, from original sources, how complete and far-reaching was the revolution in the home of Jefferson, Madison, and Washington, far away from New England. The start was due to George Whitefield, but the out-working was purely colonial, and non-Anglican.

Presbyterians began the native work, with their Log College on Neshaminy Creek: they were in the line of the Tryers in Cromwell's day, insisting first of all on "experience of a work of sanctifying grace," and then imparting the requisite training. Of course there were others who placed first value on learning, and at one time there was a split; but the evangelistic party had the future. Scotch-Irish and Germans had migrated into the west from Pennsylvania, and it was among these that the Presbyterians did best: then Samuel Davies tackled the older settlements in the tide-water. He had the legal fight as to toleration, and had to acquiesce in the local interpretation of the Toleration Act, that houses might be registered at the option of the owners, preachers licensed at the option of the magistrates. When he left for Princeton in 1759, the first phase was over, and the Presbyterians lost the lead. They had however won many gentry, and started work among slaves.

Baptists took up the running. Socially they were despicable, intellectually they were ignorant, numerically they were insignificant, but religiously they were zealots. The Regulars were immigrants from the north, and in twenty years they had only 624 members in ten churches. It was the Separates under Shubael Stearn on Sandy Creek who multiplied like bacteria. With them we hear of the jerks, barking, and other physical phenomena at their meetings. The leaders almost despised

human learning, and borrowed from Paul only his unceasing itinerancy and his enthusiasm. They scoffed at the idea of asking for licences, and sharply attacked the parsons as lazy and pleasure-loving. As a reward, they were mobbed, whipped, smoked out, treated to snakes and hornets, and almost lynched even in jail. But they were not thus to be checked, and the old aristocrats found them irrepressible. Leland was once interrupted in his preaching by a cavalier in the name of the law, but worsted him: the astonished magistrate told his mother, "Why, he stamped at me, and made no more of me than if I had been a dog; I'll have no more to do with them." Their first phase ended with the outbreak of civil war in 1776, when they had sixty churches in Associations.

Methodists began as a Society within the established church, being led by two rectors; by 1772 Wesley's lay preachers were itinerating in harmony with them. They therefore escaped the legal and social difficulties of the Baptists, and dealt with the same class. At the 1777 Conference, they reported 3,449 members, despite the suspicion of Toryism attaching to them. When the war was over, the 1784 Conference at Baltimore organized and appointed Bishops. The autocratic position of these officers, with the usual local organization, and the fervid song, assured Methodists a splendid future.

Next year, all three denominations entered on a new revival, and now, often in concert with one another. John Leland alone baptized 300 in 1788; Upper-King-and-Queen church had Theodore Noel as pastor, and in August 1788 he baptized 50, in September 60, nor were there ever fewer than ten a month for a year. When the revival period was over, Semple reckoned that Baptists were now the most numerous denomination in the state. John Rippon on this side of the Atlantic published several notes as to the progress.

So far, this is but raw material. Dr. Gewehr has done well in evaluating results. He recognizes, what many did even then, that some converts were unstable, others had been swept off their feet emotionally, a few were hypocrites; but when this is admitted, he traces fine results in three directions, politically, educationally, socially.

Politically, the common man came to his own. The old Anglican established church was wrecked, and in this process we ought to allow that there was some loss; though even here we should think of men rather than machinery, and we hear of men in powder and ladies in silks grovelling in the agony of conversion. A man who in a Baptist church took his full share in worship, finance, management, would not put up with being governed by a set of pig-tailed planters. The First Families of

Virginia had to share power, and find that no one would be insulted with "toleration." The story is often repeated how one of the magnates responsible for the new constitution learned his lesson in a Baptist church-meeting, and assured the footing of democracy for the United States.

Educationally, the gain was not so marked; there was still the temptation to regard zeal and learning as incompatible. Presbyterians did well, but Baptists were very slow, and only at the end of the century supported elementary education, and special training for ministers.

The Revival led directly to work among the slaves, and some Presbyterians presently attacked slavery: one Baptist freed all his slaves, and crossed to Kentucky to begin a new life; another actually persuaded the General Committee of 1789 to declare that "slavery is a violent deprivation of the rights of nature and inconsistent with a republican government." Methodists were as outspoken, and even passed Rules, which however had to be "suspended" in face of mob violence and indictments. Conscience did not win in this battle. In other respects we see that the Revival bore fruit. Baptist churches dealt with men who played the violin, associated with wicked men, were intemperate, did not attend worship, beat their wives, lied, fought, wore cocked hats, powdered their hair or tied it, wore a white stock and a black stock at once, wore gold; while women who tried high-crowned caps, rolls, necklaces, ruffles, stays and stomagers, found that they too were the objects of solicitude.

We are abundantly thankful for this readable and thoughtful picture, which abounds in suggestiveness for those who see the need of another revival.