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**CONTENTS**

Editorial .....	37
British Evangelicalism and Hungary, 1800-1852 by <i>John V. Eibner</i> .....	39
A Letter from China: May 1938 by <i>F.G. Healey, M.A.</i> .....	54
Review Article: Thomas Chalmers by <i>R. Buick Knox, M.A., Ph.D., D.D.</i> .....	58
Reviews by <i>R. Buick Knox, M. Greengrass, Geoffrey F. Nuttall, Peter Jupp, David M. Thompson, Kenneth Slack, Clyde Binfield</i> ...	63
Our Contemporaries .....	76

**EDITORIAL**

1983 marks the quincentenary of the birth of Martin Luther. Inevitably the outworking of what that great man set in motion stamps each issue of this journal. Thus the first article of this issue describes the interest taken by some nineteenth-century British Protestants in the heirs to the Hungarian Reformation, both Lutheran and Reformed; and evangelistic and evangelical themes inform the rest of our articles and reviews, although denominationally their tendency is Presbyterian and Baptist.

We welcome as a contributor John Eibner, who has taught European History at Barrington College, Rhode Island, and who is currently a post-graduate student at the University of London; and as a reviewer we welcome Mark Greengrass who lectures in History at the University of Sheffield.

We owe a particular debt to E. Alan Rose, editor of the *Proceedings* of the Wesley Historical Society, who has prepared the Index to Volume 2 of the *Journal*.

**NOTES**

Sheffield may not come immediately to mind as a centre of religious reform (other than Wesleyan Reform), nonetheless the presence for many years at its university of the late G.R. Potter, Zwingli's biographer, and of James Atkinson, Luther's biographer, explains the establishment this year, to coincide with the

Luther quincentenary, of a *Centre for Reformation Studies*, launched by the exhibition *Martin Luther 1483-1983* lent by the government of the German Democratic Republic. The centre is at St. George's Church Vestry Hall, Portobello Street, Sheffield 1, and enquiries are welcomed by its director, Professor J. Atkinson.

The *Resource Centre of the London Mennonite Fellowship* opened in May at 14 Shepherd's Hill, Highgate, London N6 5AQ, (Telephone: 01.340.8775) under the direction of Alan Kreider and his librarian, Marian Landis, and book service director, Walfred Fahrer. Its library is of particular interest for its German, Dutch and English sources on Anabaptist and Mennonite history and theology, and on Christian discipleship and ethics.

The fate of our *buildings* is increasingly a matter for national publicity (both Union Chapel Islington and Clifton Down United Reformed Church Bristol have been handsomely featured in the court page of *The Times*). The fate of our *archives* remains a matter for more private concern: thus, it appears to have been only through the chance vigilance of a local councillor that the archives of Milton Church, Huddersfield, which was closed some years ago, have found their way to Huddersfield Central Library. The closure of a church is always sad and sometimes bitter, but for the local civic or county archivist nothing is wasted or irrelevant: elders and church secretaries, and ministers too, please note.

## BRITISH EVANGELICALISM AND HUNGARY, 1800 – 1852

The most tenacious links between Hungary and Britain since the Reformation have been those forged by Protestants. From the first half of the seventeenth century until the Second World War Protestant contacts had an influence on the spiritual, cultural and political life of Hungary. For example, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries British theological thought – most notably Puritan thought – was transmitted to Hungary by Hungarian scholars who had studied in Britain; Charles II, Queen Anne's envoy to Vienna, George Stepney, and George II used their influence to support Hungarian Protestantism; and substantial sums were raised to assist the Reformed Colleges at Nagyened (Aiud) and Debrecen.<sup>1</sup> Yet it would be misleading to assume that British Protestants at this stage exhibited more than occasional interest in Hungary prompted by momentary considerations of foreign policy or by fleeting sympathy with their foreign brethren at times of trial.

British interest did, however, become markedly more dynamic and cohesive during the first half of the nineteenth century as a result of the increasing importance attached to continental missions by evangelicals. Hungary, with its large Protestant minority and its share in historic Protestant struggles, assumed a significant place in the designs of several large and vigorous evangelical bodies especially the British and Foreign Bible Society, The Religious Tract Society and the Free Church of Scotland. These came to perceive Hungary as a strategic battlefield on which the forces of both Catholic "despotism" and "the spirit of the modern age" were to be engaged by the evangelical gospel. Accordingly, the support of evangelical work in Hungary became a matter of high priority.

Hungary first came to the attention of British evangelical societies as a potential field of endeavour in 1803-4. The recently established Religious Tract and British and Foreign Bible Societies then received reports of the dearth of and demand for Christian literature, especially the Scriptures, in Austria and Hungary from Johann Tobias Kiesling,<sup>2</sup> a travelling merchant of Nürnberg, who traded at the markets and fairs of the Habsburg Empire. Both societies responded positively by offering Kiesling grants for the purchase of Christian literature, which he distributed among poor peasants, pastors and schoolmasters.

Regular and direct links between a British society and Hungary were not forged until the winter of 1810-1811. Fredrick Leo, a Paris based colporteur armed with Tract Society publications and Scriptures bought on account of the

1. For relations between British Protestants and Hungary before the nineteenth century see: Craig, tr., (J.G. Bauhofer, anonymous author), *History of the Protestant Church in Hungary*, London, 1854; Fest, S., "Political and Spiritual Links between England and Hungary", *The Hungarian Quarterly*, Spring and Autumn 1936; Antal, Géza, "A magyar protestáns egyház külföldi érintkezései", *Protestáns Szemle*, 1908; Kvacala, János, "Az angol-magyar érintkezések történéhez", *Századok*, 1892.
2. Mecenseffy, G., "Der Nürnberger Kaufmann Johann Tobias Kiessling und die österreich. Toleranzgermeinden", *Jahrbuch des Gesellschaft für d. Prot. in Österreich*, Vienna, 74, 1958, p. 29-70. Schubert, G.H., *The Life of John Tobias Kiesling*, London, 1837.

Bible Society, journeyed to Pressburg (Bratislava, Pozsony). There this seasoned Bible seller met with an enthusiastic reception. "I was never in all my life," he later wrote to the Bible Society,

received with such real delight, as when I made my appearance at Pressburg, with the Bible in my hand. The Bibles and Testaments which I could spare for them at that time were all sold the next day, with the exception of a few which were furnished to the very poorest gratuitously.<sup>3</sup>

In the five professors of the town's Lutheran Lyceum – Daniel Stanislaides, Páulus Bilnitz, George Palkowitch (Palkovič), Stephanus Fabri and Johann Grosz – he encountered a group of intelligent, energetic men who were filled with enthusiasm for disseminating the Scriptures in the vernacular languages of the country. These Lutheran academics had two prime motives. On the one hand, they had a natural interest in shoring up the defences of the Protestant Churches, which, while having received legal recognition and extensive rights for free religious practice by virtue of the Toleration Patent of 1781 and Article 26 of 1791, were again facing mounting restrictions, reminiscent of the Counter-Reformation, as a result of the anti-Protestant character of the reaction to the French Revolution in the Habsburg lands. On the other, at a time of awakening cultural consciousness among the various nationalities of Central Europe, the Pressburg professors wanted to promote the reading of good literature in the vernacular languages of the country.

On behalf of his colleagues, Stanislaides applied to the Bible Society for assistance in the establishment of a Bible Society in Pressburg.<sup>4</sup> Moved by his account of the severe shortage of Hungarian and Slavonic Scriptures, the decline of Christian piety, and the financial problems of the Protestant Churches, the Bible Society pledged a grant of £500 on condition that a formal committee be formed in Pressburg in accordance with the regulations of the Society in London.<sup>5</sup> The five professors duly formed a committee with Baron Johann Jeszenak as President, thus giving birth to the Pressburg Bible Institute.

The professors and the Bible Society wished to commence their joint work with the purchase and distribution of Palkowitch's 1808 edition of the Kralitz Czech Bible, of which 1,800 copies remained unsold in his possession. But this edition, which was produced under the influence of contemporary rationalist theology and linguistic theory, could not find general acceptance and therefore had to be abandoned.<sup>6</sup> However, between 1812 and 1816, notwithstanding the disruptions caused by the Napoleonic wars, additional Bible Society grants, amounting to over £1,000, allowed the Institute to print 3,000 Czech and 2,000 Wendish New Testaments, and to obtain 500 Czech, 2,670 Hungarian and

3. *Eighth Report of the BFBS*, 1812, p. 236.

4. A translation of Stanislaides's letter of application appears in *ibid.* pp. 237-8.

5. *ibid.*, p. 203; Owen, John. *History of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, vol. 2, London, 1816, p. 94.

6. BFBS, A., Foreign Inward Correspondence, 1815 38b, 40e; 1816 32d. BFBS, A., Committee Minute Book, no. 8, p. 152. (BFBS, A. = Bible Society Archive)

a small number of German Scriptures from abroad.<sup>7</sup> Every effort was made to gain a wide circulation by giving copies away without charge, or by selling them for a nominal sum. The Institute also issued an appeal in 1815 for patrons and distributors to prove to the Bible Society "that neither our Hungarian nor Transylvanian Churches are destitute of men of weight and influence, who are animated with a praiseworthy zeal for religion."<sup>8</sup> In the light of post-war currency devaluations coupled with the characteristic lack of public spirit among the Hungarian nobility, it is doubtful whether this appeal yielded significant results. Nevertheless, the Pressburg Bible Institute made plans to print a new edition of Luther's Bible and a Czech New Testament to be ready for the celebrations of the 300th anniversary of the Reformation.

The successful progress of the Pressburg Bible Institute and the manifest demand for inexpensive Scriptures in Hungary contributed to the Bible Society's decision to expand its work in the Habsburg Empire. The first step was taken in 1816 by the society's Foreign Secretary, Dr. Carl Steinkopff, when he promoted the idea of Bible Societies during an audience with the Archdukes Johann and Ludwig, who were then on an official visit to England. Soon afterwards, the society's President, Lord Teignmouth, joined Steinkopff in another interview with the Archdukes, and presented them with the society's Reports which they promised to forward to the Emperor. These meetings in London were followed by a trip to Vienna in August 1816 by Robert Pinkerton, then a roving agent of the Bible Society with an intimate knowledge of central and eastern Europe. In the course of several cordial meetings with Prince Metternich Pinkerton presented detailed proposals for the establishment of a Vienna-based Bible Society which would have as its sole object the distribution at the lowest possible price of the Scriptures without note or comment. He also suggested that such a society might supply Scriptures in all the various languages of the Empire, while stressing the special needs of the Serbs, Croats, Albanians and Wallachs (Rumanians) who could not obtain Bibles in their own languages from the Pressburg Bible Institute. Appealing to Metternich's innate conservatism, Pinkerton alluded to the Czar of Russia's and the King of Prussia's patronage of Bible societies in their respective realms. Furthermore, he pointed to the benefits that the Habsburg Empire might reap by supporting a Bible Society:

In every country where Bible Societies have been founded . . . the churches have been better frequented, the ministers of religion more sought after and the desire of wickedness and immorality lessened among the people. The union of all confessions also, in the cause of the purest and noblest Christian beneficence has widely diffused charity among mankind and powerfully promoted the happiness of individuals, of families and of nations . . .<sup>9</sup>

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7. *Twelfth Report of the BFBS*, 1816, p. 149, 165-6. *Thirteenth Report of the BFBS*, 1817, p. xxxv. Craig, p. 417.

8. *Twelfth Report of the BFBS*, 1816, p. 166-7.

9. *Thirteenth Report of the BFBS*, 1817, p. 94-5.

Metternich appeared to be receptive to these proposals and promised that he would use his influence with the Emperor to get permission for the establishment of a pan-Habsburg Bible Society in Vienna. His receptiveness, however, was probably no more than a ploy for acquiring as much firsthand information as possible about a movement which was then making an impact on the religious life of northern Europe from Britain to Russia, and which was particularly strong in Germany. To Metternich any possible benefits of a pan-Habsburg Bible society were far outweighed by its potential contribution to social and political unrest. It would foster the growth of Protestantism, provide a platform for demagogic mystics, increase national consciousness among the masses, and serve as a cover organization for revolutionaries — all of which were viewed as serious threats to a Catholic, multi-national empire propped up by outdated institutions. Such considerations resulted not only in the failure of Pinkerton's proposal, but also in a royal rescript, dated December 23, 1816:

Considering that the London Bible Association had caused the establishment of several affiliated societies . . . His Sacred Majesty has been graciously pleased to ordain that care be taken that printed copies of the Bible be not circulated gratis, or at a low price by such foreign Associations . . . nor the establishment of a Bible Association be allowed.<sup>10</sup>

The Pressburg Bible Institute was forced to dissolve, its directors were interrogated, and hundreds of its Bibles were impounded. Neither a deputation from the Hungarian Protestant Churches led by the Reformed Count László Teleki and the Lutheran General Inspector Péter Balogh,<sup>11</sup> nor the Russian Czar's expression of regret concerning the rescript succeeded in achieving its repeal.<sup>12</sup> On the contrary it was reinforced by a second prohibitory order in 1882.

Though the rescript was never withdrawn, the Bible Society's connection with Hungary was only temporarily suspended. In 1825-6 communications were received from several quarters inside the country, and from John Mayers — soon to be a Protestant chaplain to the English in Trieste.<sup>13</sup> Each made known the unfulfilled desire of the poor in all parts of Hungary for the Scriptures. For instance, the society learned that in the Slovak Lutheran congregation in Pest only ten Bibles could be found among 800 people, and that in the countryside the shortage was generally much greater. Such representations prompted

10. Brown, George, *The History of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, vol. 1, London, 1859, p. 347.

11. Craig, p. 410.

12. Metternich, C., *Aus Metternichs Nachgelassene Papiere*, vol. 3, Vienna, 1881, p. 53-60.  
 13. The correspondents from Hungary were the Reformed Bishop Gábor Báthori, the Slovak poet and Lutheran pastor at Pest Ján Kollár, the Lutheran pastor at Schemnitz (Banska Stiavnica, Selmecbánya) and later Bishop J. Seberini (Szeberényi), and a Transylvanian bookseller named Thiery. Translations of their letters appear in: BFBS. A., Platt (unpublished manuscript), vol. 7, BFBS. A., Committee Minutes, June 5, 1826. Mayers' correspondence may be found in: BFBS. A., Domestic Inward Correspondence, Mayers, August 18, 1826, BFBS. A., Foreign Inward Correspondence, 1827 (4) 145, 1827 92-125, 1828 (1) 187.

the Bible Society to explore means of circumventing the orders of 1816 and 1822. However, nothing could be achieved because of postal censorship, and Mayers's plan to smuggle Bibles into Hungary through the port of Fiume (Rijeka) collapsed when he was banished from his base in Trieste.

In 1828 the Bible Society finally found an agent capable of bringing about the secret resumption of its Hungarian work. This was the Rev. J.M. Müller of Württemberg, who was introduced to the society by its daughter organization in Württemberg, because, as a native of Carinthia, he had many contacts among Austrian Protestants, and had already been responsible for smuggling hundreds of Bibles into the land of his birth. Impressed by his credentials, the society resolved to send Müller on a covert tour of the Habsburg Empire, taking him in the summer of 1828 to Bohemia, Moravia, Austria, Styria, Carinthia and Hungary. On the Hungarian leg of his journey Müller made calls at Pressburg and several surrounding communities: Buda-Pest, Alouth (Alcsut), Stuhlweissenburg (Székesfehérvár), and Raab (Győr). At Alouth Müller met the Archduchess Maria Dorothea, a Lutheran of the German pietist tradition. As she was the wife of the Palatine Joseph, Müller hoped that she might be in a position to protect and promote the Bible Society's work in Hungary.<sup>14</sup> But despite her expressions of sympathy the Archduchess maintained that out of respect for the royal family it would be impossible for her to become involved in the society's schemes. At Pressburg and Buda-Pest, however, Müller formed more fruitful contacts. Professor Bilnitsa, formerly a director of the Pressburg Bible Institute, and Johann Blasko (Blaskowitch), a notable scholar and teacher, were willing to participate in Bible distribution in the Pressburg area. Through Blasko's efforts, Müller was introduced in Buda-Pest to the town's Lutheran pastor Joseph Kalckbrenner and the Lutheran Bishop of the Tisza District, Paul Jozeffy, who were likewise willing to engage in distribution in their respective parts of the country. On discovering such allies, Müller lost no time in disseminating the Scriptures. He purchased 612 New Testaments for immediate distribution, and issued a total of 1234 florins in convertible money for the purchase of German, Czech and Hungarian Scriptures. Müller's successful tour in Hungary indicated that Bible distribution on a small scale was still possible, notwithstanding the legal constraints. The Bible Society therefore decided to resume its work in Hungary with Müller acting as a middleman.<sup>15</sup>

There were three ways in which Müller and his contacts operated: by purchasing the existing stocks of the several government authorized booksellers in Buda-Pest and Pressburg, by purchasing from these same Hungarian dealers

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14. The Palatine, the Archduke Joseph, was the uncle of the Austrian Emperor Ferdinand I, and acted as the resident royal representative in Hungary. Because secrecy was vital to the success of Müller's mission no accounts of the tour were published in the Society's reports. Müller's report of the tour may be found in: BFBS. A., Foreign Inward Correspondence, 1829 (1) 8, 9.
  15. Müller's letters to the BFBS during the remainder of his service may be found in: BFBS. A., Foreign Inward Correspondence, 1829 (2) 134, 1830 (1) 49, 1830 (3) 35, 1830 (3) 45, 1830 (4) 92, 1830 (4) 96, 1830 (4) 97, 1831 (2) 70, 1831 (2) 104, 1831 (3) 80, 1832 (4) 110, 1834 (2) 102.

Scriptures that were specially ordered from publishers in Germany, and by commissioning Hungarian publishers to print Scriptures inside the country. Because of the strict enforcement of the prohibitory orders of 1816 and 1822, all correspondence between London and Hungary had to pass through a third party, and all financial transactions had to be made with laundered funds. By these means several thousand German, Czech and Hungarian Scriptures, in addition to several hundred Greek and Hebrew Scriptures, were obtained and circulated during Müller's eight year tenure as the Society's Hungarian agent – but not without great difficulties. Upon his return to Württemberg, the operation was hampered by difficulties in establishing reliable channels of communication with his contacts. Letters frequently did not arrive, and when they did, they had sometimes been delayed for as long as one year. Trouble too was experienced with Hungarian booksellers, who were often unable to provide Müller's contacts with Scriptures that met the Bible Society's regulations forbidding the circulation of annotated Bibles and those containing the Apocrypha. Furthermore, the shipping of Scriptures from Germany to authorized bookshops in Hungary was unsatisfactory because of the expense incurred by high customs levies, carriage costs, and the risk of confiscation by over-zealous censors and customs agents. Finding Hungarian publishers who would undertake the printing of Scriptures in accordance with the Bible Society's regulations was also fraught with problems.

The Bible Society was particularly anxious to have Hungarian Scriptures published, because, unlike German and Czech Bibles, they were not readily obtainable either inside or outside the country, for few editions had been published since the end of the eighteenth century. But in early 1831 the society was informed that Professor János Samossy of the Reformed College at Sárospatak was preparing an edition of the Károlyi version of the Hungarian Scriptures for use in Protestant schools. After a lengthy correspondence conducted through Müller, the Bible Society and Samossy came to an agreement that made economic sense: the Society would purchase the first 2,000 copies of an edition of 4,000 New Testaments, and 2,000 copies of a subsequent edition of complete Bibles. The Sárospatak New Testaments and Bibles eventually left the presses in 1832 and 1835 respectively, and were the crowning achievements of Müller's Hungarian enterprise. But some months before the publication of the 1835 Sárospatak Bible, the Habsburg authorities, fearing the effects of unauthorized communication between foreign associations and student centres, had discovered Müller's connection with Sárospatak, and began to intercept all his Hungarian correspondence.

The exposure of Müller made it necessary for the Bible Society to find a new agent for Hungary. Their choice fell upon the Rev. Gottlieb Wimmer of Oberschützen (Felsőlovó).<sup>16</sup> He was described by Robert Pinkerton, who since

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16. Three biographies and a number of articles have been published about this remarkable pastor, politician, social reformer, soldier and geographer: Kurz, Samuel, *Gottlieb August Wimmer*, Budapest, 1895. Magyar Győző, *Wimmer Gottlieb Agóst, Felsőlovó*

1830 had been responsible for the general oversight of the society's Central European affairs, as:

... a man of enterprising spirit — 47 years of age — sharp intelligence and very zealous for the service of evangelical truth; [he] has a parish of 4,000 souls — has been twice denounced to the Imperial Government by his Neologian Brethren as a *Mystic*; but tho' his case has each time reached the Cabinet of the Emperor, he has been acquitted.<sup>17</sup>

Despite occasional difficulties with the authorities, Wimmer was on good terms with such influential people as the Archduchess Maria Dorothea and Count Gustav Batthyány. Moreover, he possessed an abundance of ideas for the promotion of evangelical religion. But Wimmer lacked capital in a poor country. Consequently, he looked westward for assistance, and eventually came to the attention of the Bible Society and the Religious Tract Society.

Wimmer's connection with the Tract Society began in 1835 with a £25 grant for the purchase of Scriptures and tracts,<sup>18</sup> while his links with the Bible Society were formed following a request in 1837 for 200 German New Testaments and 100 copies of the Hungarian Bible recently published at Sárospatak,<sup>19</sup> As a result of the collapse of Müller's distribution network, Wimmer and the British societies had to devise a new system for operating in Hungary. Wimmer, like his predecessor, had to resort to cumbersome channels for the transfer of funds and for the exchange of letters with his contacts. He also encountered other obstacles than those imposed by the authorities: the indolence, even the outright opposition, of a significant portion of the Protestant clergy; the backward state of Hungary's system of transportation; the indifference of the upper classes to spiritual matters; and the failure of the greedy and poverty stricken to pay for books bought on credit. But Wimmer had the great advantage of being based only a few miles from a state authorized publisher, the Reichardt Press of Güns (Köszég). All books sent to Hungary from the Bible and Tract Societies were addressed to Güns, where they could be easily collected by Wimmer. Furthermore, the Reichardt Press was capable of printing large numbers of Christian books under the close supervision of Wimmer, thus eliminating import duties, carriage costs and the risk of confiscation by customs agents and censors.

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*nagy vaspia*, Budapest, 1919. Zimmermann, Bernhard Hans, *Gottlieb August Wimmer, 1791-1863* Vienna, 1965. Zimmermann, B.H., "Gottlieb August Wimmer: Ein Bahnbrecher der Bibelverbreitung in Südosteuropa", *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für die Geschichte des Protestantismus in ehemaliger und neuer Österreich*, Vienna, 55evf, 1937. Zimmermann, B.H., "G.A. Wimmers Reformtätigkeit in der Pfarre Oberschützen", *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft ...*, Bd 61, Wien, 1940. Zimmermann, B.H., "Gottlieb August Wimmers politische und diplomatische Wirksamkeit", *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung*, Bd. LIV, Vienna, 1942. Zimmermann, B.H., "Ludwig Kossuth und Gottlieb August Wimmer", *Südostdeutsch Forschungen*, Bd IV, Munich. Zimmermann, B.H., "G.A. Wimmer der Erwecker des Missionssinnes in Ungarn", *Neue Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift*, Gütersloh, 1939.

17. BFBS. A., Foreign Inward Correspondence, 1838 (3) 155.

18. RTS. A., Committee Minutes, no. 21, November 18, 1835. [RTS.A. = United Society for Christian Literature Archive]

19. BFBS. A., Foreign Inward Correspondence, 1837 (1) 86.

As a result of Wimmer's accounts of the severe shortage of inexpensive Christian literature, of the domination of the Protestant Churches by clergymen who were either advocates of rationalist theology or practitioners of a lifeless orthodoxy; of the poverty of the country, and of the eagerness of the common people to obtain Christian books, both the Bible Society and Tract Society began to pour increasing amounts of money and a growing list of publications into his hands. These resources, coupled with Wimmer's tremendous energy and organizational abilities, proved to be a dynamic combination yielding results which far outstripped those of the Pressburg Bible Institute or Pastor Müller. By the early 1840s Wimmer had established a network of over two hundred distributors in all quarters of the country. He had persuaded these men — mostly clergymen — to support the cause of circulating Christian literature during his frequent travels, sometimes in the back of a horse drawn cart, as far afield as the Bánát, Slovakia, Grosswardein (Oradea, Nagyvárad), and through an extensive correspondence. These distributors were not in most cases men of particularly evangelical inclination. To Wimmer's knowledge, there were only two clergymen of "decidedly evangelical principles" besides himself in all of Hungary.<sup>20</sup> Despite the scarcity of like minded evangelicals, Wimmer's success in establishing such a widespread network lay in the fact that many distributors saw that interests other than the evangelical cause were served through the circulation of Christian literature. For example, in the case of such prominent figures as the Slovak poet Ján Kollár, and the zealous Magyars Count Charles Zay and Ference Pulszky, nationalistic motives for circulating literature in the native tongue were undoubtedly key factors in their involvement with Wimmer.<sup>21</sup> Whatever the motives of his distributors, by 1842 Wimmer had been able to circulate 23,500 Hungarian, 20,000 Czech and 11,000 German Scriptures — nearly all of them printed at Güns — in addition to several hundred Wallachian (Rumanian), Serb and Hebrew Scriptures.<sup>22</sup> By the following year, Wimmer had also issued over 107,000 copies of religious books and tracts in the Hungarian, Czech and German languages — most of them also printed by the Reichardt Press — towards which the Tract Society contributed over £500.<sup>23</sup> The most widely circulated of these Tract Society sponsored books were Dr. C.G. Barth's *Church History* and *Bible Histories*, both of which were evangelically oriented school textbooks, and Neff's *Sin and Salvation*.

Financial resources and books were by no means all that Wimmer received from Britain. He also gained inspiration from the humanitarianism of evangelicals in Britain, which he admiringly viewed as "the country of associations,

20. BFBS. A., Foreign Inward Correspondence, 1838 (3) 155.

21. Kollár was in the forefront of the pan-Slav cultural movement in the Habsburg Empire, while both Zay and Pulszky were leading figures in efforts to strengthen the dominant position of the Magyars against the aspirations of the Slavs in both Church and State.

22. Canton, William, *History of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, vol. 2, London, 1904, p. 208. 38th Report of the BFBS, 1842, p. xxx-xxxi.

23. Jones, William, *The Jubilee Memorial of the Religious Tract Society, 1799-1849*, London, 1850, p. 338. RTS. A., Committee Minutes, 1835-1843.

where institutions of every kind are seen to prosper." Shortly after visiting England in 1840 Wimmer had an article about the British prison reformer Elizabeth Fry inserted into the Hungarian periodical *Hírnök*, and made the distribution of Christian literature to prisoners one of his primary concerns. Furthermore, Wimmer zealously promoted land reform, encouraged public health and hygiene, and established a teacher training college and a grammar school in his Oberschützen parish.

The evangelical cause in Hungary was further advanced in the early 1840s with the establishment of the Church of Scotland's mission to the Jews in Buda-Pest.<sup>24</sup> The mission was founded as a result of the Church of Scotland's expedition of inquiry to the Jews of the Levant and Eastern Europe of 1839, during the course of which two members, Dr. Black and Dr. Keith, were forced by illness to spend several months in Hungary — a country not originally on their itinerary due to the known hostility of the Habsburg authorities to unauthorized Protestant activities. At Buda-Pest they became acquainted with Wimmer, several prominent Jews, and the Archduchess Maria Dorothea. The Archduchess in particular showed the Scots much personal attention, especially in the nursing of Dr. Keith, and urged them to establish a mission in the city. Upon the delegation's return to Edinburgh, the Church of Scotland elected to comply with the Archduchess's request, and sent to Hungary Dr. John Duncan and Robert Smith in 1841, and William Wingate in the following year. Their aim was to spread the Gospel to the 400,000 Jews of Hungary, to assist the Protestant Churches, and to promote the welfare of the poor.

Once settled in Buda-Pest, the Scottish missionaries lost no time in cultivating Maria Dorothea. Without her support it is inconceivable that they could have remained in the country. From their first days there she met them at least once a week at the Royal Palace. Through her influence the Palatine provided the missionaries with advice about the complexities of Hungarian law relating to religious activity. Acting upon this advice, the missionaries styled themselves as chaplains to the British workmen who were then constructing the chain bridge connecting Buda with Pest, and they made arrangements with the legally recognized Reformed Pastor Pál Török to act as his official substitute when performing baptisms, so as to remain within the bounds of the law. The Scottish mission-

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24. After the Disruption of 1843 the mission was sponsored by the Free Church of Scotland. Among the publications dealing with the mission are: Bonar, A., McCheyne, R.M., etc., *Narrative of a Mission of Enquiry to the Jews*, Edinburgh 1842. Keith, Alexander, "Origin of the Mission to the Jews at Pest", *Sunday at Home*, 1867. Wingate, William, "Reminiscences of Mission Work in Hungary", *The Messenger and Missionary Record*, 1878-1879. Carlyle, Gavin, *Life and Work of William Wingate*, London. Moody Stuart, A., *Recollections of the late John Duncan . . .*, Edinburgh, 1872. Smith, Robert, *Early Days of the Mission to the Jews at Pesth*, Edinburgh, 1893. Smith, R., "A Personal Narrative of a Ten Years' Mission in Hungary", *Sunday at Home*, 1866. *The Home and Foreign Missionary Record for the Church of Scotland*, 1839-1843. *The Home and Foreign Mission Record for the Free Church of Scotland*, 1843-1852. *Parliamentary Papers: Reports and Accounts*, "Correspondence respecting the Expulsion of Messrs. Edward, Wingate and Smith from the Austrian Domains", 1852, vol. LV.

aries, the Bible Society, and the Tract Society were also aided by the emerging strength and influence of the Magyar reform party, which sought to identify the Hungarian national interest with the defence of Protestantism against the Catholic interests of the government in Vienna, thereby providing the evangelical work with an extra degree of political protection.

Though the Scots found legal refuge under their designation as chaplains to the British community in Buda-Pest, much to their dismay and embarrassment they discovered little scope for evangelism among their compatriots, for these with few exceptions showed little interest in spiritual matters. However, among the Jews the missionaries met with significant successes. The Scots had observed that ancient Jewish traditions and patterns of thought were breaking down under the pressure of contemporary social, economic and intellectual influences, and that the urban Jewish mind was asserting its independence. This was found to be especially true among young Jews, many of whom had abandoned orthodox Judaism for the secular philosophies of the day. The missionaries therefore endeavoured to prevent the Jews from becoming, in the words of Robert Smith, "slaves to some new despotism — perhaps of that very spirit of the age which has helped to their emancipation."<sup>25</sup>

Dr. Duncan's exceptional knowledge of Hebrew and Jewish traditions enabled the missionaries to gain the respect of several influential Jews. Their most important Jewish contact and one of their earliest converts was Israel Saphir, a wealthy merchant and confidant of the chief Rabbi. Largely through Saphir's efforts a stream of well educated Jews — some out of spiritual curiosity, others "from a desire to perfect themselves in the English language" — attended the mission's German and English services and counselling sessions. Of these inquirers the missionaries were able to record over fifty conversions of a lasting nature.<sup>26</sup> The best known of the converts were Adolph Saphir<sup>27</sup> and Alfred Edersheim,<sup>28</sup> both of whom became prominent Presbyterian ministers in Britain, and the linguist and later professor of theology at Buda-Pest, Moritz Block (Ballagi Mór).<sup>29</sup> One of the most successful aspects of the mission's work was a primary school providing education with a strong evangelical emphasis. This school, which opened in 1846 with eight Protestant and forty-four Jewish children, was established by Philip Saphir, the Karlsruhe educated son of Israel Saphir, and funded by the Free Church of Scotland.

Philip Saphir also took the lead in founding a young men's society, whose aim was to promote prayer and Bible reading, as well as to provide material

25. *The Home and Foreign Mission Record for the Free Church of Scotland*, vol. 2, January 1846, p. 280.

26. Carlyle, *Life and Work of William Wingate*, p. 124-126. The Missionaries refused to cooperate with the many Jews who sought conversion in order to improve their social and financial standing. Converts who did not live up to their standards of Christian living were expelled from the fellowship.

27. Carlyle, G., *Mighty in the Scriptures*, London, 1893.

28. *Dictionary of National Biography — Supplement*, vol. 22, London, 1909.

29. Zoványi, Jenő, *Magyarországi Protestáns Egyháztörténeti Lexikon*, Budapest, 1977, p. 40-41.

help to young men in need. The missionaries's endeavours among the Jews were not restricted to the bounds of Buda-Pest. They embarked on a programme, which was given the special protection of the Palatine, for the evangelization of Jews throughout the country. For this purpose, they provided courses in Theology, Church History and Messianic Prophecy for five Jewish converts, whom they sent to travel up and down Hungary as preaching evangelists. William Wingate recorded that by this means "there was not a synagogue of the half million Jews in Hungary which had not heard of the Christian missionaries."<sup>30</sup>

The Scots' impressions of the state of the Protestant Churches echoed the melancholy views expressed by Wimmer. "When we arrived in 1841," wrote Robert Smith, "we found them lying under the black pall of an almost universal torpor and death. Of the three thousand pastors only three were known of in whose hearts the Lord had kindled the lamp of life."<sup>31</sup> Similarly Dr. Duncan reported to the Church of Scotland: "The mass of Protestant clergy, if not neologians, are careless men, dumb dogs that cannot bark."<sup>32</sup> The missionaries perceived the root causes of the decadence of Hungarian Protestantism to be the preoccupation of Churchmen with political concerns and the predominance of rationalist theology. Hence, they sought influence with the Protestant pastors of Buda-Pest, none of whom were evangelically inclined when the Scots first arrived. Within a few years, however, the missionaries had succeeded in firing Török and his Lutheran colleague József Székács with evangelical enthusiasm. They also gained a third influential supporter in 1844 when Georg Bauhofer, a pastor of the pietist tradition, was called to Buda to establish a new Lutheran congregation and to act as personal chaplain to Maria Dorothea. As a result, three of the capital's six Protestant congregations, led by three of the nation's most influential clergymen, now had a strong evangelical bias. These three pastors formed the core of the weekly pastors' conferences that were instituted by the missionaries in 1844, at which they held devotions for two hours and then discussed the best means for promoting evangelical religion in the country. Through these contacts Hungary's first Sunday schools came into existence; the columns of the influential periodicals *Protestáns Egyházi és Iskolai Lap*, edited by Török and Székács, and *Der Evangelische Christ*, edited by Bauhofer, were opened to the missionaries, who provided news about British evangelicalism and views regarding church-state relations; and the Free Church of Scotland was persuaded to supply several hundred pounds for the building of a church in Buda for Bauhofer's congregation.

Another major preoccupation of the missionaries was the dissemination of Christian literature. One of their earliest undertakings was to make arrangements with Pastor Wimmer for the printing of 2,000 Hebrew Scriptures at Güns. The cost, which amounted to £1,366, was divided evenly between the Free Church

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30. Carlyle, G., *Life and Work of William Wingate*, p. 61.

31. Smith, R., *Sunday at Home*, November 24, 1866, p. 739.

32. *The Home and Foreign Missionary Record for the Church of Scotland*, 1842, p. 44.

of Scotland and the Bible Society.<sup>33</sup> The missionaries were also eager to assist Moritz Block in his unfulfilled ambition to produce a new translation of the Hungarian Bible. In conjunction with Maria Dorothea they successfully appealed to the Edinburgh Bible Society for financial assistance for Block's project.<sup>34</sup> However, it was in the distribution and publication of inspirational books and tracts that the Scots worked most zealously. They received a grant of £400 in the mid-1840s from the Tract Society for the publication of books such as Bogue's *Essay on the Divine Authority of the New Testament*, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, and Edwards's *History of Redemption*, along with such popular tracts as *Conversations between Two Sailors*, *Amelia Gale*, *Well Spent Penny*, *Wonderful Advantages of Drunkenness*, and *Martha or the Happy Death*,<sup>35</sup> which they had translated by Bauhofer and disseminated by their travelling lay evangelists. The missionaries also worked toward this same end in an unofficial capacity with Johann Rottmayer and his small band of Baptists, who, upon their return to their native land from Hamburg in 1846, constituted Hungary's first Baptist congregation. They had come back to Hungary at the request of the Scottish missionaries for the purpose of distributing Christian literature,<sup>36</sup> much of which they received from the Tract Society and the Edinburgh Bible Society via J.G. Oncken, who besides being the founder of the Baptist movement in Central Europe, was also a continental agent for both those British societies. The missionaries hoped that the Bible Society would also make use of the Baptists as colporteurs, but their plan was ruined by the confessional objections of the usually ecumenically minded Wimmer.<sup>37</sup>

While the Scottish missionaries were working from their base in Buda-Pest, Pastor Wimmer was continuing his operations from Oberschützen. His work too prospered between 1842 and 1848 because of the freer political atmosphere in the years preceding the Revolution of 1848, and the quiet protection of Maria Dorothea. In those years more than 80,000 Bible Society Scriptures were printed in Güns,<sup>38</sup> including Wendish New Testaments; and over 400,000 Czech, German and Hungarian Tract Society sponsored publications were also circulated.<sup>39</sup> But despite the improved climate for evangelical work, Wimmer still encountered obstacles. On the one hand, the longstanding Catholic opposition to Protestant inspired evangelical enterprise still reared its head, as when Dr. Barth's *Church History* was placed on the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, and Wimmer was tried for inciting hatred towards Catholics.<sup>40</sup> But the only effect of such proceedings was to make the book more sought after. The same

33. National Library of Scotland, Department of Manuscripts, Minutes of the Church of Scotland's Jewish Committee, no. MS-288-81, July 26, 1843, p. 237.

34. National Bible Society of Scotland Archives, Knight G.A., unpublished history of the NBSS, p. 104.

35. Jones, p. 336. *51st Report of the RTS*, 1850, p. 20.

36. Bányai, Jenő, "Az első hitvalló baptisták", *Békehírnök*, April 1, 1971.

37. BFBS. A., Foreign Inward Correspondence, 1846 (4) 116.

38. Browne, vol. 1, p. 449. *38th Report of the BFBS*, 1842, p. xxx-xxi.

39. Jones, p. 339.

40. Jones, p. 339.

political forces that permitted greater freedom for evangelical work in these years also gave scope to a political unrest that directed attention away from spiritual matters. In December 1844 Wimmer wrote to the Bible Society about the effects of Hungarian nationalist agitation:

The present political excitement is becoming daily more injurious to a religious life. The ungracious dismissal of the Diet and its portentous conclusion have caused a feverish commotion and agitation throughout the country, the consequences of which may be anticipated. The Society of Industry is a masked Repeal Union, and if the government has not the wisdom to ignore it, a serious conflict can scarcely be avoided. Times and circumstances like these are very unfavourable for the promotion of religion among any people.<sup>41</sup>

Two years later this largely Magyar political unrest was compounded by increasing national particularism among the Slovaks. Wimmer exposed this latest difficulty to the Bible Society when he wrote:

What particularly seems to deserve the attention of the Bible Society is the singular feature in which the Bohemians (Slovaks) are placed. These people have been instigated by the violent proceeding of their clergy to assume a position in their national character positively opposed to that of the Hungarians, and have been led astray into bye-paths which are unfavourable to the distribution of the Scriptures and appear likely to become still more so. The clergy are beginning to give up the use of the classic Bohemian (Czech) in their addresses from the pulpit and they preach to the people in a *patois* dialect usual in the District of Liptau (Slovak). They condemn the Bible and all religious publications that are not written in the dialect of the people.<sup>42</sup>

Thus Wimmer explained the reason for a marked drop in the number of Czech Scriptures distributed in Hungary in the mid 1840s.

With the outbreak of the 1848 Revolution, Hungary underwent a political transformation which at first seemed to augur well for the evangelical cause. The legal constraints on the work of the British societies were swept away, and it appeared that the newly acquired civil liberties would protect evangelical interests. Robert Smith made the Free Church of Scotland aware of the missionaries' reaction to the revolution when he stated:

Tolerated hitherto but not openly acknowledged and protected, they [the missionaries] now enjoy perfect liberty, and are now relieved from an oppressive load — the government under which they trembled having fallen with its whole system of espionage and corruption.<sup>43</sup>

The missionaries and Pastor Wimmer took advantage of the new freedoms to expand their operations. Wimmer sent out five paid colporteurs, established a warehouse and bookshop for Bible and Tract Society literature in Buda-Pest

41. BFBS. A., Foreign Inward Correspondence, 1844 (4) 130.

42. BFBS. A., Foreign Inward Correspondence, 1846 (4) 130.

43. *The Home and Foreign Mission Record for the Free Church of Scotland*, vol. 3, July 1848, p. 481-482.

under the supervision of the Scottish missionaries, and began to make arrangements for the setting up of Bible depots in Pressburg, Debrecen, Klausenburg (Cluj, Koloszvár), Kronstadt (Brasov, Brassó), and Agram (Zagreb), and the hiring of twenty five new colporteurs. He also began negotiations with a publisher for the printing of Wallachian, Serb and Croat Scriptures, the publication of which had previously been prevented by the censors. For their part the missionaries continued their cooperation with the Baptist congregation, which considerably increased its efforts. These Baptists embarked on a campaign of door to door tract distribution and sponsored a week of evangelistic services, which were led by Oncken, who was on a missionary tour of Central Europe.<sup>44</sup> In support of this effort the Tract Society provided the missionaries with a fresh grant of £200 towards the publication of evangelical literature in Hungarian.<sup>45</sup> The missionaries were also able to use their influence for the evangelical cause and for British practice when they were invited to the conferences of the Protestant Churches that were held for the purpose of remodelling Church constitutions and debating church-state relations.

Notwithstanding the new air of religious freedom, dark clouds hung over the evangelical effort which finally burst in late 1848 and brought the work of the Scottish missionaries and Pastor Wimmer to a halt. Wimmer was the first to feel the negative effects of the revolution when in March his operations were threatened by seditious bands in the vicinity of Oberschützen. His activities were again interrupted in August when he travelled to London as the secret emissary of the Hungarian revolutionary leader Lajos Kossuth in order to procure a loan, a banknote press and arms. Soon after his return to Hungary Wimmer saw it as his duty to become an officer in the Hungarian National Guard and fight against the invading Croat forces, which he viewed as "the mad tools of the annihilation of the Gospel and of religious education" because of the Croats' close identification with the anti-Protestantism of the government in Vienna.<sup>46</sup> Because of these revolutionary involvements an order for Wimmer's arrest was issued when Austrian troops occupied Oberschützen, and he fled to Switzerland in January 1849. In Buda-Pest, the missionaries, despite their deep sympathy with the Magyar cause, refrained from active involvement in politics. But they too decided to leave the country in September 1848 when the revolution turned into a civil war between the armies of the Ban of Croatia and those loyal to the Hungarian Government.

Following the Hungarian defeat at Világos in August 1849, all of Hungary was under martial law, but there existed no legal impediment to the work of British evangelicals. Therefore Smith and Wingate returned to Buda-Pest, and the Bible Society sent Edward Millard to the Habsburg Empire to look after its Hungarian affairs. The missionaries and Millard found that the effects of the late

44. *50th Report of the RTS*, 1849, p. 91. *The Baptist Magazine*, 1848, September, p. 551, November, p. 680-1.

45. *RTS. A.*, Foreign Letter Book, June 30, 1848.

46. Zimmermann, B.H., *Südostdeutch Forschungen*, p. 738-747.

war had created an extraordinary interest in spiritual matters. They experienced an unprecedented demand for Christian literature which they did their utmost to fulfil. Millard succeeded in getting the Reichardt Press to resume work, and they each resurrected their diminished networks of distribution. Despite the difficulties of operating under martial law in a war-torn country, they managed in less than two years to get over 40,000 Scriptures into circulation — at a cost to the Bible Society of £3,925<sup>47</sup> — and thousands of tracts and books were issued from Oberschützen and Buda-Pest.<sup>48</sup> The Scottish mission's school also flourished. By 1851 it had nearly trebled its 1848 enrolment and now had 350 pupils.<sup>49</sup> Prompted by the sympathy of liberal opinion with the Hungarian cause and by the British public's abhorrence at the brutal manner in which the rebellion was crushed, the Evangelical Alliance also took an interest in the problems of Hungarian Protestantism. Through its organ, *Evangelical Christendom*, the Alliance publicised the post-revolution plight of Hungary's Protestants, and issued an appeal for funds to support the several educational institutions founded by Wimmer at Oberschützen.<sup>50</sup>

Though the British societies were able to resume their work after Világos, political developments in Vienna were running counter to the interests of the evangelical cause. The Austrian Government was formulating a policy designed to merge Hungary with the other Habsburg lands to form a unitary, constitutionless state. To the architects of Hungary's reconstruction Protestantism was seen as a barrier to the successful erection of such a state. Moreover Britain and Austria had been engaged in a series of diplomatic disputes since 1849. The sum of these factors was a crackdown on evangelical activity sponsored from abroad. The distribution of literature was the first to be affected. In the summer of 1851 the bookshop of the Bible Society, the Tract Society, and the Free Church of Scotland was closed by police.<sup>51</sup> This move was followed in January 1852 by an order for the expulsion of the Scottish missionaries from the country. Despite strong protests in public meetings, in the press, and in Parliament, the remaining operations were also attacked by the authorities. In March 1852 the Reichardt Press was raided by the police and all Bible production halted. The last direct link of the British evangelicals with Hungary was severed on July 20, when, after months of police interference Millard too was banished from the Habsburg Empire along with 58,087 Bibles and New Testaments.<sup>52</sup>

The expulsion of Millard marked a suspension of the British evangelical societies' work in Hungary which lasted until 1860. After half a century of support for evangelical religion in Hungary, the British societies were unable to boast a victory over Catholic "despotism", or "the spirit of the modern age". Yet the seeds of evangelicalism had been planted. It was nurtured quietly during

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47. Canton, vol. 2, p. 224.

48. RTS. A., Committee Minutes, September 23, 1851.

49. *Parliamentary Papers*, p. 2.

50. *Evangelical Christendom*, 1850, vol. 4, p. 26-28, 334; 1851, vol. 5, p. 181, 440.

51. BFBS. A., Foreign Inward Correspondence, 1851 (2) 31.

52. Brown, vol. 1, p. 450. Canton, vol. 2, p. 223.

the remainder of the 1850s by Bauhofer, Török, the Saphirs and Rottmayer, and was given a fresh boost in the 1860s by the return of the Bible Society, the mission of the Free Church of Scotland and the Religious Tract Society. Hungarian evangelicalism finally came to fruition in the freer political and religious atmosphere following the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867. The establishment of the Hungarian Sunday School Union, the Hungarian Evangelical Christian Missionary Union, and the YMCA; the development and widespread influence of the Reformed Professor Aladár Szabó's largely British inspired "revival theology"; and the growth of such evangelical denominations as the Baptists, Methodists and Seventh Day Adventists all testify to the growth of a native evangelical movement which became a prominent and enduring facet of Hungarian Protestantism.

JOHN V. EIBNER

### A LETTER FROM CHINA: May 1938

The letter reproduced below is to be included in the archives of our Church which have to do with the work of the English Presbyterian Mission. It throws pin-points of light on an incident in the troubled history of modern China, and the involvement of Christian missionaries in its travail. Three short introductory notes may be helpful: one on the background to the letter; one about the author; and one elucidating some points in the letter itself.

China became a republic in 1911 as a result of what afterwards was sometimes called the First Revolution. From then until the Second Revolution, 1926-28, much of the country was plagued with civil war and banditry. Chiang Kai-shek eventually established over fairly wide areas a kind of military dictatorship, got rid of Russian advisers, and overcame to some extent his northern rivals. It later became clear that his attempts to suppress the so-called Red Armies in the south and west, especially the forces of Mao Tse-tung, had not been successful. Moreover, as the present writer knew all too well from personal experience, local war-lords continued to disturb the peace. Nevertheless, Chiang Kai-shek more and more looked likely to be able to unify the nation. The prospect interfered with the ambitions of a resurgent Japan. Its forces, supremely confident ever since their defeat of Russia in 1904, seized control of Manchuria in 1931, used a naval force against Chinese troops in Shanghai in 1932, and in 1937 opened up a large-scale offensive in northern China proper. The attack spread westwards and southwards, leading among other events to the bombing of Amoy in 1938 – which brings us to our letter.

The writer of the letter was Miss Doris M. Arrowsmith. Under the auspices of the Women's Missionary Association, she was sent by the Presbyterian Church of England to Amoy in 1930. Anti-foreign feeling was running high. By governmental decrees, missionary schools and hospitals had to come even more than

before under the control of Chinese subjects. In practice this meant, among other things, the appointment of principals often less well qualified than members of staff from abroad. Miss Arrowsmith was one of those whose happy tact overcame many of the difficulties. As I remember her, she was never robust in health, but Edward Band did not exaggerate when he wrote in his history of the English Presbyterian Mission: "Miss Doris Arrowsmith proved to be one of those heaven-sent personalities whose broad understanding and unruffled temperament make possible a harmonious and healthful continuity in institutional work."

Some minor explanatory notes may be useful. Amoy, nowadays called Xiamen, is the name both of an island off the south-east coast of China, and of its principal port. The name was formerly used also to denote the much wider area of missionary work in that part of the country. The letter however (despite its heading) was written from another much smaller island just off the port of Amoy, called Kulangsu — nowadays officially Gulangyu. After the Opium Wars (1839-42) until the end of the Second World War, Kulangsu was one of the international settlements enjoying extra-territorial rights which had been enforced upon the Chinese. The initials K.G. in the third paragraph of the letter stand for Kindergarten. The Mr Anderson mentioned in paragraph five was not the husband of Mrs Peter Anderson, who is also named, but Mr H.J.P. Anderson. He was an educational missionary who served in Amoy from 1904 to 1941, and was Chairman of the international Municipal Council for Kulangsu from 1928 to 1938. The letter mentions foreign business firms which had quarters on the island. H.J.P. Anderson was not only secretary of the Amoy Mission Council for many years, but also a wise counsellor highly respected by both the missionary and business communities.

F.G. HEALEY

And so to the letter: it is addressed to Miss Lambert, 17 Lime Avenue, Stockton Lane, York, and sent from the English Presbyterian Mission, Amoy, S. China, May 24, 1938.

My dear friends,

Now that I have wakened from the kind of waking dream which seems to have wrapped some of us round for the past two weeks, I am taking this opportunity of reaching you all before our letters begin to receive attention and censorship. I may not be so free to write again, except about non-committal things. Please do not use the Siberian mail, and probably any replies you may send had better be rather discreet.

As you know, we in South China had rather relaxed our expectations of trouble during this big general attack in the North and centre of China. We were therefore more surprised to hear the gunfire at 4 a.m. on May 10th, than we would have been anytime during the Autumn, but our surprise soon gave way to something more passive and stunned as the bombardment from air and sea

increased in intensity, continuing incessantly until about eight or nine in the evening, and resuming activity about four or five next morning until about four that afternoon, when the city fell, after almost no opposition, for there was practically no ammunition, and though our four little anti-aircraft guns which had been lent to Changchow forty miles away, in their greater need, were recovered for Wednesday's activities, even their defence was only pathetic. From our vantage point of international territory on our island of Kulangsu, we saw and heard the great bombers working all day, though they did not touch the city itself until Wednesday, when great numbers of people had already fled to Kulangsu. We shall never know the extent of either civilian or military casualties, but at least few survived wounds, and after all that expenditure of shell and bomb, there were not more than two hundred odd wounded soldiers who arrived in Kulangsu, to the American Mission Hospital and to an improvised hospital conducted by Dr Cumming and Mrs Peter Anderson and various Chinese workers who could be gathered together.

It has been a mercy perhaps that the educated Chinese who know most about what such defeat means have been so busy so far with relief work that they have had little time to realise the tragedy of that side of things. We are all unable to see the wood for the trees, but the trees are very much with us in the shape of perhaps 80,000 refugees, most of them absolutely destitute. This island with a length of a mile and a width of three quarters, a perimeter of about three miles has a normal population of about 40,000, but of these it is estimated that at least half have left the island either last Summer, or this last fortnight, and those the most able in the ordinary way, to be called to be leaders, or at least to be financially independent as well as articulate. We had an emergency meeting of the Boards of the six Christian schools on Wednesday night, and it was then stated that not one of the principals and very few of the teachers of the non-Christian schools were in Kulangsu. Most had gone to Hong Kong on Tuesday, merely walking out! Counting the schools which have come over from Amoy since last September, there must be about ten of these schools. And in the medical and other professions there are many sad gaps, though it is wonderful to see the work that has been done by the teams of workers Chinese and foreign. There are more than fifty certified refuges, the Anglo-Chinese College being nearly the biggest with nearly three thousand in its various buildings. We have 850 or nine hundred in our school in the most congested conditions and a similar number in the Kindergarten buildings. The K.G. staff and boarders are living with our staff and boarders in the Macgregor Memorial Hostel and all our three schools are running an attenuated but genuine school programme, punctuated by periods of service of different kinds. This has been a great comfort to the teachers and families alike, and it has tended to dispel at least some of the rumours and fears. In addition to the work of registration and supervision of the camps (sanitation was a terrible question for the first ten days, but now it is comforting to notice the wholesome smell of chloride of lime where there were very different odours — though this good work is still very far from complete),

there has been the organisation of rice distribution. The International Relief Committee has been able to dispense two meals a day of two bowls a time of rice porridge, most of which has been cooked by steam at a pickle factory or tinning concern. I am anxious to explore that place! It is issued in new petrol tins which have been made by the thousand this week by the Asiatic Petroleum Co and the Standard Oil Co. One tin holds fifty bowls of rice, for twenty five people.

A branch line at our school is the reception of tiny babies out of the hospital, to sleep on the floors! and Mrs Peter Anderson, who has left the Hospital to Mrs Jett and the Chinese workers now, has a milk kitchen to which nursing mothers may bring their infants for supplementary feeds for the most needy, though the line is having to be drawn a very long way this side of ideal conditions.

Mr Anderson's work is correlating that of different groups and individuals, including the link between the Municipal Council of which he is Chairman, with the Court of foreign Consuls, and his duties are legion. Mr Tully is one of the chief camp inspectors, and some of his revelations do not bear thinking about. Miss Pearce and Miss Lindsay had some days of this work too, and there are others including Peter Anderson, who with a team of very able A.C.C. old boys, is chiefly O.C. Sanitation. I have not been outside our school very much, but both the refuge and the milk station are now running more smoothly, and we hope to start a very simple clinic tomorrow to relieve some pressure at the hospitals.

The Slave Refuge children are a great credit to the training they have had in the last few years, and even though Mr Khaw and his daughter who was acting matron, and their nurse-leader have left, the girls are doing splendidly, and they have about 400 refugees there too!

The story of the landing of 5000 sacks of rice and 4,000 bags of flour on one day was a record in the history of the port, and a triumph of international organisation and good will, in which even "our visitors" had a small if scarcely cordial part, for they allowed immunity for third party boats to cross to the British Warehouses in Amoy on the Bund for one day only to bring the rice across. That and the existence of the canning factory have saved the situation so far, and the greater part of the rice money has been met by gifts from overseas Chinese at the moment.

With the summer coming, the question of typhoid and cholera arises, and the medicals are busy with all the available serums. We have all been done.

We have news now from all our stations upcountry, and so far there have been no incidents. Long may that continue. Dr Fraser who has been acting as Dr Strick's locum in Chuanchow, is returning there from Swatow, and he is having to go via Foochow! We are glad that Miss Fraser was in Chuanchow before this happened, as she can probably be able to do much more there in the team than on her own in the South, apart from our relief that she herself has company.

The wireless has meant a good deal to all of us, though we have seldom stayed to hear it ourselves! But it has meant much to know that you have had fairly accurate news (Mr Tully is "Reuter" here, and his telegrams have been fairly carefully used). It brought you all much nearer to us, and we know that you had a big share in the answered prayers of this last two weeks. "As thy days, so shall thy strength be" is one of the many promises that has been abundantly filled for us all, and the training of the "inner man" in these months of the war before our own position became acute, has made for greater strength, and a more complete commitment of all this wrong and all this suffering into the hands of our Heavenly Father. In small ways and in big ways, He has made His presence felt.

One great blessing is that there has been no question of our compulsory evacuation, which was an ugly shadow across our thinking in the Autumn. To have had to leave our Chinese friends to tackle these things alone would have been unthinkable . . . but we have not been asked to do that, even though the present consul is not an ardent sympathiser! China's sorrows cannot be over for a long time yet, but when one sees what strides have been made in public spirit and constructive patriotism in the last ten years, one has still very great hopes for the future.

There are many things I would like to tell you about, and this letter comes too much from the midst of things to give any considered picture of even the present in Kulangsu and Amoy, while the rumours and scares for the future that reach us daily are fortunately of a transient and intangible nature, and they can't all be true, so we don't believe anything until we see it.

I write this under the shadow of urgent news from the CzechoSlovakian border. May it be possible yet once more to avert war in Europe, and to avert it honourably!

With love and good wishes to you one and all,  
Yours ever, DORIS M. ARROWSMITH.

## REVIEW ARTICLE: THOMAS CHALMERS

*Thomas Chalmers and the Godly Commonwealth.* By Stewart J. Brown. Pp. xii, 438. Oxford University Press 1982. £25.

The Presbyterian Church in England was constituted during the six years from 1836 to 1842 and it looked to the Church of Scotland as its mother church. Indeed, it would have preferred to be a synod within the Church of Scotland rather than an autonomous English Church, but the Church of Scotland refused to countenance any extra-territorial jurisdiction. During these formative years the Church of Scotland was moving towards the Disruption

which resulted in the constitution of the Free Church of Scotland and the rise of rival congregations in the majority of Scottish parishes. The Free Churches often seemed to be far more vigorous than the parish churches which had lost many of their leading members to the Free Churches.

The Presbyterian Church in England had followed this upheaval with intense interest and its synod pledged almost unanimous support for the Free Church and looked upon its leaders, especially Chalmers, as heroic pioneers. Only a handful of presbyterian churches in England took a stand in support of the Auld Kirk, and of these Crown Court Church of Scotland in London is the main survivor. There were two main reasons why the Presbyterian Church in England was so firmly in sympathy with the Free Church. First, most of the ministers in England had come from Scotland and were drawn from the evangelical and expansionist section of the Church of Scotland which in time became the back-bone of the Free Church. Secondly, resentment at disabilities facing non-Anglican churches in England fostered sympathy for a body rebelling against the legal restraints of the Scottish Establishment and of the patronage system.

Presbyterian churches in England issued regular invitations to Free Church leaders such as Candlish, Buchanan, Cunningham, Guthrie and Duff to preach on special occasions. Chalmers had only four more years to live after the Disruption and his forays outside Scotland were virtually over but he was a venerated figure around whom gathered memories of earlier visits to London when he had lectured to learned societies and public meetings and when his sermons in Regent Square and other churches had been widely acclaimed.

A new biography of Chalmers is therefore of interest within our tradition. This work by Professor Brown of the University of Georgia fills a long-standing gap in Scottish historical studies. The main previous biography was compiled over 130 years ago by William Hanna, Chalmers's son-in-law, and has been followed only by the slim biography by Professor Hugh Watt. There have been numerous assessments of his life and work in pamphlets and articles and these have been surveyed and taken into account in this new biography.

Chalmers is remembered as the leader of the Disruption and it may come as a surprise to find that three-quarters of this book will have been read before the spectre of Disruption appears on the scene. Chalmers was born at Anstruther in Fife in 1780 and by thrift, diligence and natural talent he graduated at St Andrews University and became the parish minister of Kilmarnock where he rated his responsibilities so lightly that he held he could have five days in each week for other pursuits and he sought a concurrent university appointment. He suffered many setbacks in this due to the prevailing patronage system but he persisted in trying to manoeuvre the system to his own academic promotion, even if at that time his qualifications were of no special note. However, though he defended and tried to use the Established system, he was much irked by its deviousness and by the obvious failure to keep the Church in touch with the spawning masses of the people in the industrial areas. This unease was one of the

factors leading to a major change in his convictions and he became a dedicated minister and preacher to whom crowds flocked to hear him read his carefully-prepared and rivetting sermons. He was also determined that the parish should be the focus of charitable and ecclesiastical life. To help needy parishioners he advocated a system of parish collections; the elders would distribute the money to those of good character who were in genuine need. Chalmers held that this would avoid the flabbiness of voluntary societies and the impersonal rigour of a legally-enforced Poor Law system which, in his view, only encouraged parasitical pauperism.

His fame as an evangelical preacher and social reformer soon spread. In 1813 he received a call from London Wall Church, one of the leading presbyterian churches in London but here he could have had no scope for developing his parochial plans. His move, when it came in 1817, was to the Tron Church in Glasgow; at his installation there was a concourse of evangelical leaders including even the Anglican Charles Simeon from Cambridge. At the Tron Kirk he combined his passion for the salvation of individuals with practical plans for the amelioration of the grim conditions in which masses of people had to live. He found that in Glasgow there were only 21,000 church sittings to meet the needs of a population of 120,000; moreover, the sittings were mostly rented by the more affluent citizens. Brown describes the Church of Scotland in Glasgow as "a voluntary association for the upper social orders". Chalmers said that at least thirty new churches were needed and this would reduce the average size of parish from 10,000 to 3,000 parishioners. Some pilot schemes were launched and in 1819 Chalmers himself became the minister of the new parish of St John carved out of his old Tron parish.

Then, to the dismay of many of his supporters, Chalmers gave up his parish ministry in 1823 to become the Professor of Moral Philosophy in St Andrews. He had achieved much in his parish and he had gathered a devoted band of voluntary helpers and had founded Sabbath Schools attended by 1000 children and a day school attended by 419 boys. He held that the work would now go on without him and that in St Andrews he would be able to plant his ideals in the future ministers of the Church. Brown points out that his plans in Kilmany had not survived his departure and that in 1826 the charitable schemes in St John's folded up for lack of voluntary helpers. However, nothing daunted Chalmers in his advocacy of parochial schemes and of the erection of new churches. He was also already a strong figure in the General Assembly. In 1817 he had played a major part in securing an Assembly decision to end pluralism, particularly the pluralism combining a university position with a parish ministry, a combination which he himself had once sought to obtain. He moved even nearer the centre of affairs when in 1827 he became the Professor of Divinity in Edinburgh, and in 1832 he was called to be Moderator of the General Assembly.

The evangelical party was by now restive under the patronage system and was demanding that a presentee should not be imposed upon a parish against the wishes of a majority of the heads of families. This claim was liable to have

repercussions upon the legal status of the parish and of the heritors who could probably claim that the right of presentation was an inalienable personal property, but the government had indicated that it would support the claim of congregations to have a veto on presentees. In 1834 the General Assembly passed two acts, the first granting the right of veto to the majority of communicant heads of families, and the second according parochial status in spiritual and pastoral matters, *quoad sacra*, to the new churches which had been erected within the old parishes. These churches would be represented by ministers and elders in the church courts and this would strengthen the evangelical party in the General Assembly. Parliament approved this arrangement provided it did not infringe the civil rights of the old parishes, and herein lay the seeds of future trouble. At first, both acts proved practically effective. During the next five years there were 150 presentations of ministers to parishes and only ten of these were vetoed and most of these cases were amicably resolved by fresh presentations. The second act encouraged the Church to embark upon a vast extension programme and in the next four years 187 new churches were built. Chalmers was the organizing genius behind the programme and he sallied forth over the whole country extolling the opportunities before the national Church and pleading for generous support. He also tried to put heavy pressure upon the government to endow these churches so that seat-rents could be kept sufficiently low so as not to discourage attendance by the poor. He held that the government was obliged to enable the Church to fulfill its duty as the national Church.

Then things took an adverse turn. The Whig government was dependent upon the support of Dissent in both England and Scotland and it was soon made clear that the government would not risk losing that support through helping the Scottish establishment. Melbourne's attitude to the Church of Scotland has been described as "a languid and bored indifference" and Brown would agree with this verdict, but there will be those who think that he has not given sufficient weight to the reasons for dissenting opposition to establishment and endowment, the main reason being the seeming injustice of having to contribute through taxation to an established church and at the same time contributing voluntarily to support a dissenting church, and in Glasgow there were as many seats in dissenting churches as in the parish churches. Government coolness encouraged legal challenges to the General Assembly decisions of 1834, and in 1839 the Court of Session began to issue a series of majority decisions asserting the uninhibited right of the heritors to select presentees for vacant parishes, and also declaring that the new parish divisions had no legal basis and that the old parish churches were entitled to receive all the charitable collections taken within the old parish boundaries, even in the new *quoad sacra* churches.

These decisions were a crude exercise of state control over the Church and they demolished Chalmers's social schemes. Even if later historians can confidently assert that these legal decisions were the final desperate effort by the decadent Moderate party and would eventually have had to give way to the clear will of the Church it could hardly have appeared to Chalmers in this light at that

time of crisis. His plans were thus wrecked and his social theories were also under attack. Critics were claiming that his schemes for parish relief for the poor were incapable of coping with the problems of poverty. Karl Marx referred to him as "the arch-parson" and dismissed his programmes as attempts to give an acceptable face to the old order of society and there were those within the Church who held that schemes which made good character one of the conditions of receiving aid needed to be replaced by schemes with a statutory assessment and an administration covering all citizens.

Chalmers was thus assailed from many sides and he who had been a lifelong defender of establishment became outraged by the existing form of establishment and found himself being swept on a tide which led to the Disruption. There were unedifying examples of lobbying, particularly by some of Chalmers's aggressive followers who had hopes of a successful takeover of the church courts and then of an irresistible confrontation with the government, but they were robbed of this prize by a group of forty evangelicals led by Leishman of Govan who took the view that their aims could be achieved without the disaster of division and that there was still the remaining safeguard that no presbytery could be forced to ordain and induct a minister who was not a properly accredited probationer or minister. This group was subjected to much abuse and they were labelled as "the forty thieves", and when it came to the crunch in 1843 their stand was followed by other evangelicals and 216 evangelical ministers out of an estimated total of 714 evangelical ministers remained within the Established Church. The seceding minority of 454 ministers out of a total ministry of 1195 was joined by 192 probationers and these formed the initial ministry of the Free Church. This Free Church was indeed a large and vigorous body and within four years had set up a rival church in over 700 parishes. Great sacrifice was involved for ministers who forsook their manses and their secure incomes but this drew forth enormous generosity from their followers who gave sufficient to build new churches and manses, to form funds for ministerial support, to found New College in Edinburgh, and to undertake the support of the former Church of Scotland missionaries, everyone of whom joined the Free Church. This generosity is all the more remarkable when it is recalled that this was the time of the "hungry forties" when, as Brown clearly shows, bad harvests and business regression had reduced many people to serious financial straits, though this had also the effect of reducing wages and making the cost of church building much lower than it would have been in more prosperous times.

Hitherto, the majority of accounts of the Disruption have been written from the Free Church point of view and Brown also gives full credit to the vision, courage and sacrifice of Chalmers and his followers, but there was a price to pay. Chalmers's vision of a fully national coverage by the Free Church and with a care for all the people had to make way, to his great distress, for the organization of a voluntary body caring mainly for those who chose to join its ranks, and the Free Church was no more able than the pre-Disruption Church to gather in the industrial masses. Indeed, it was the Auld Kirk, the surviving Church of Scot-

land, which had rather more success in this direction. Brown concludes that the Disruption was not only the greatest failure of Chalmers' career but also a tragedy for organized religion in Scotland. It broke up the Establishment, ensuring that the Church would never again exercise the same influence over Scottish society as it had before 1843.

Scottish Presbyterianism was now divided into three sections, the Auld Kirk, the Free Church, and the earlier seceding bodies which from 1847 were mostly combined in the United Presbyterian Church. The Free Church still kept in mind the idea of a proper establishment but when the idea of restoring presbyterian unity came to the fore the Free Church did not look towards the Auld Kirk but towards the United Presbyterian Church. It took almost sixty years for this move to come to fruition and part of the reason for the delay was the difficulty of bridging the gulf between the establishment and the voluntary principles. In England, similar negotiations took place between the Presbyterian Church in England and the United Presbyterian congregations in England and even there, where establishment of presbyterianism was not within the realm of practical possibilities, it took thirty years to reach an agreement and this was only achieved in 1876 when it was agreed that there was no necessity to deal with the issue of establishment in the terms of agreement. In Scotland, the further union with the Auld Kirk, though much to be welcomed, did not restore the opportunities and resources which were lost in 1843.

All this and much more, including a treatment of Chalmers's teaching on many issues, is covered in Brown's fine volume. It is admirably produced. There are errors of spelling or grammar on twelve pages. There are two errors of fact. Chalmers was not, as is asserted twice, a D.D. of Oxford; he was a D.C.L. Edward Bickersteth of the Evangelical Alliance was not an English Dissenter; he was an unwavering Anglican.

R. BUICK KNOX

## REVIEWS

*John Calvin*. Edited by G.R. Potter and M. Greengrass, in the Series, Documents of Modern History, edited by A.G. Dickens. Pp. ix, 187. Edward Arnold, London, 1983, pb, £4.95.

This is an excellent collection, initiated by the late Professor G.R. Potter but shaped, revised and explained by Dr. Greengrass whose edition this really is, of source material for the study of Calvin's life and work. We learn much about the background of European ecclesiastical and civil affairs, about Calvin's upbringing and his personal gifts and habits, about his theology, his controversies, his churchmanship, his diplomacy and his authoritarianism, and about the Reformation in Geneva and its influence outside Geneva and outside Europe.

Any reader who is familiar with the 180 documents in this volume will have material for a fair assessment of Calvin's life and work, and he will be assisted by

Mark Greengrass's editorial commentaries which provide a framework for the collection.

R.B.K.

*The Religion of Protestants: the Church in English Society, 1559-1625.* By P. Collinson. Clarendon Press. Oxford, 1982, £17.50.

The period from 1559 to 1625 saw the birth of dissent of both a Catholic and a non-conformist nature and Catholic as well as Free Church historians tend to take it as conventional wisdom that the established church was a rather rigid institution with only a limited capacity to absorb autonomous movements. It is the merit of this book — the most interesting set of Ford lectures for ecclesiastical historians to appear for some considerable time — that few of the conventional stereotypes are left unquestioned. For, Collinson argues, the Elizabethan and Jacobean church contained within it some remarkably anomalous structures and vigorously expressed religious sentiments of different Protestant kinds. These included spectacular public conversions as well as gadding to sermons, public fasting, private household conventicles, well-organized prophesyings and public annual covenanting sessions. For the Ipswich godly, for example, Sunday afternoons meant trips to the Suffolk countryside to hear the powerful roar of Mr. Rogers ("Come, let's go to *Dedham* to get a little fire!"). London godly preferred the more dulcet tones of Richard Sibbes in Gray's Inn church. At St. Albans, public fasting on Whit Monday 1596 was reminiscent of the practices of the French Reformed church; the minister Erasmus Cooke preached three sermons lasting six and a half hours to a congregation including the ministers and faithful from "foreign parishes" and ending with a good meal for all and a money collection. In some parts, the established church tolerated "private days of conference" where the morning was spent in a kind of catechising, "younger Christians" answering first, those more versed next; then lunch followed by psalms and a sermon. Others held evenings of conference for the purpose of "repetition". As the preacher John Udall advised: "After the sermon we ought at our coming home to meet together and say to one another, "Come, we have all been where we have heard God's woord taught. Let us conferre about it" (and again the sociable "come": "let us go" . . .). Could one get more congregational than the Protestant family conventicle? Tolerated by church authorities it appealed, not to the "industrious sorts of people" as Christopher Hill suggested, but to the "socially civil and amenable" that Collinson mentions. This lively sense of community ensured, for example, that in the prophesyings in the Wirral peninsula "all the professors, though living ten or twelve miles asunder, were intimate and familiar as if they had been all of one household". Collinson identifies this "sociability" with the communities from which it grew. It also prevented the growth of true separatism to any serious proportions while at the same time it encouraged the growth of a *quasi*-separatism among the godly which was bound to be the lot of the religion of Protestants in the first generation of the abandonment of Catholic rituals and habits of mind. Puritanism was

thus an essential part of the established Elizabethan and Jacobean church and not an alien culture within it.

Sociable, Protestants may have been, but were they, and their religion, popular? Protestant apologists could make them sound as though they were in the way that John Foxe did by reporting the “sympathetic presence of a great multitude of the godly people” at the burning of a martyr in Mary’s reign. Catholics were probably nearer the mark when they spoke of “braine sicke foles” who would “runne and sweate” to see any gruesome event. In their realistic moments, Protestants knew that their majority was but a moral one. The sermons are pessimistic about the success of the Protestant reformation while the records of ecclesiastical administrators always underestimate the extent and shape of — for want of a better substitute for that confusing term “irreligion” — the lower levels of religious commitment. An experienced preacher like the Essex-born Arthur Dent knew all too well the competition from “the scandal of wakes, ales, greens, Maygames, rushbearings, bear-baits, dane-ales, bonfires . . .” and the like. He knew that attendance at church did not tell the whole truth for it was a papists’ fallacy to imagine that “if they heare Masse in the morning, they may do what they list all the day after”. So Collinson wisely chooses to disregard numerical evidence and points out the existence of those true “Dark Corners of the Land”, the huge upland parishes like Whalley (180 square miles) and the already inadequate provision of churches in towns like Halifax and Sheffield, not to mention London.

Excommunication was the ultimate weapon in the hands of the established church and it was frequently used. But it was a feature of the varied and voluntarist established church that it was so. As the Presbyterian Robert Baylie gleefully remarked in 1646, with all the confidence of a consistory behind him: “Episcopal Courts were never fitted for the reclaiming of minds”. Or, as the pastor to the Pilgrim Fathers, John Robinson, put it: “The Church of England plays with excommunication as children do with rattles”. They worked best when dealing with such cases as bastardy and sodomy, when, that is, they answered the needs and reinforced the values of the parochial community. They were not instruments for social control of the non-respectable by the respectable, for their tireless (and most fruitless) efforts were spent in trying to discipline the *respectable* church abstainers and sabbath-breakers.

Of course, church discipline involved the magistrates and the religion of Protestants in the first century of its implementation was an élite-dominated religion. If the sense of sin was so pervasive in Protestant writings, this was because the laity felt themselves to be surrounded by sin. In Norwich, for example, the godly followers of John More, “the apostle of Norwich”, met in the civic church of St. Andrew’s (they became known as “St. *Andrewes* birds”). They included the most upright members of the city’s lay society, its officials and magistrates as well as prominent gentry. They were not the “disobedient persons” they were made out to be by those in the cathedral in Norwich. Collinson is right to remind us that it is a Laudian perspective to see Puritanism and disobedience walking hand-in-hand, especially in the saucy, non-episcopal

market-towns which Laud regarded as the seats of sedition. The stigma of "factious person" does not square with the John More who is reported to have grown the longest and largest beard of his generation in order that no act in his life should be unworthy of the gravity of his appearance. In Banbury, the Puritan High Constable Richard Whateley, JP (a well-to-do mercer) led the attack on the two famous market crosses as idolatrous and campaigned against the traditional maypoles as leading to seditious disorder and unlawful acts. The opposition, mustered by a sheriff of the county and a suspected church papist retorted that Whateley was guilty of illegal iconoclasm and division of the town. The fact of the matter seems to be that the religious zeal expressed by some Elizabethan magistrates and MPs was not consonant in their minds with political reform or with potential sedition. To them, it was the dangerously limp, voluntarist nature of the Church which constituted the greatest danger. This was why they exercised their powers of patronage to ensure that godly ministers were appointed to their churches; why leading gentry such as Sir Robert Jermyn of Rushbrooke in Suffolk ("a great and hot Protestant") voiced lusty Amens in sermons critical of the estate and government of the Church, and ensured that those guilty of sexual incontinence were flogged mercilessly, while working with the Bury notables to conduct a campaign "for the repressing of synne and wickednesse".

Collinson concludes, on the basis of a generation of intensive research into diocesan records by himself and other English historians, with a sympathetic picture of the established Church, more tolerant of its foibles than the lay anti-clerical contemporary critics (whom he underplays) were. It was undoubtedly no easy vocation to be an Elizabethan bishop. The voluntarist Church must have seemed near ungovernable. And it was no small feat for episcopal apologists both to defend their constitution of a Church against Roman Catholics and also to intimidate their Presbyterian opponents both at home and abroad. For the latter, they had to erect a rather stark perimeter fence of "Obedience to the Powers that Be": for the former they had to deny that the will of the prince was always the way of the faithful. They talked of converting the prince, directing his conscience, pointing out the way of righteousness and, of course, totally excluding the path of coercion of a prince. And yet, if they preached this with too much flattery, they were widely condemned for it. Finally, poor chaps, they had to withstand the wayward royal patronage of Elizabeth and the withering remarks of a queen who did not trust her clergy. The unfortunate Dean Alexander Nowell had to be taken home for dinner by Archbishop Parker "for pure pity", so completely had he been destroyed by the queen shouting him down during his sermon. And there would be many more examples of episcopal embarrassment before James I gave them a quieter life. It is hardly surprising that they had no stomach to resist Charles I's Arminianism. But, although not well-endowed financially, many were assiduous in their duties, prodigious preachers, strenuous confirmers, responsible for some of the achievement of enforcing Protestantism in the localities. Of course, there were the inevitable

Mrs. Proudies and Obadiah Slopes, or, rather, their ancestors, but beneath the conflicting and incomplete evidence of clerical reputations, there stand solid clerical facts. The clergy did become better-trained and better-off. They diligently married and produced Quiverfulls of offspring who themselves had a tendency to take or marry the Cloth. If they were not uniformly well regarded by the laity, this was because, in a voluntarist church, attitudes of laity towards clergy would never be uniform.

Collinson has chosen his period and regions carefully. Perhaps not all the dioceses of England were as voluntarist as those in East Anglia. He excludes the Marian persecution and the sense of separateness, minority and exclusivism which exile and martyrdom could create. By stopping in 1625, he excludes the York House Conference, Laud, the Civil War and the Restoration along with the subsequent banishment of Dissent from within the Church. Laudianism has much to answer for in Collinson's perspective; the disappointment of Protestant hopes, the cutting of the ties of "sociability" between Church and society, the fracturing of the voluntarist Church in the quest for uniformity. But on its chosen period, this is admirable ecclesiastical history, beautifully written and abounding in fresh perspectives and fascinating detail. In its analysis of this critical period which set the contours of English religion it will become a classic.

M. GREENGRASS

*The English Baptists of the Seventeenth Century.* By B.R. White. (A History of the English Baptists, 1.) Pp. 155. Baptist Historical Society, London, 1983. £4.95.

One's first impression that this is just another drum-beating denominational booklet is deceptive. Dr White is a seasoned and dedicated historian. He has written unweariedly — on the Separatists, on Baptist ecclesiology and organization, on Baptist Associations, on Jessey and Patient and Pendarves, on Knollys and Kiffin, on the church at Reading, on the mission to Wales in 1656 (to go no further). If the platform erected looks unfamiliar, underwater its structure is firm.

Readers may be surprised at the prominence given to the General Baptists. In the pieces just mentioned Dr White confined himself to the Particular (or Calvinistic) Baptists. Here, for the period to 1660, he not only treats of the General Baptists first but, in what is the slightly longer of two chapters, refers to thirty six General Baptist churches outside London, compared with only twenty three Particular Baptist churches in the following chapter. Since in *Association Records* more like seventy five Particular Baptist churches in England are mentioned, this is a conscious restraint, a redressing the balance in the interests of a group now largely forgotten. Surprise fades to regard for a historian's integrity.

Occasionally a General Baptist, even a General Baptist church, would defect to the Particulars, and there were personal friendships across the boundaries, but, as Dr White demonstrates, the two groups differed over church government, the understanding of the ministry, liturgical practice and attitudes to the civil

power. To all intents and purposes, moreover, they had no dealings with each other. To treat the two groups as variations on a single theme may seem natural, but one wonders at what level (save the terminological) it makes much sense. Though convenient for other churches as their distinguishing mark, was the issue of baptism felt as the controlling factor by either group? Certainly both of them repudiated infant baptism and replaced it with believer's baptism because of their reading of Scripture; but this is not to say that they read Scripture in the same way; the names General and Particular make it plain that they did not. Like those in the previous century who came to the Reformation from a religious order and who adopted the Bible as a new rule, the General Baptists stood for obedience to the re-enactment in baptism (and all else) of scriptural practice; they were stiffer, more historicist, conservative, static. The Particular Baptists were more dynamic and expansive; what they found in the Bible, and what baptism meant to them, as the covenant did to other Calvinists, was an assurance of God's promises, enabling them to look to the future with hope, a future that might embrace both civil revolution and the return of Christ. Such an analysis<sup>1</sup> is confirmed by the fact, which it helps to explain, that in the following century the General Baptists were drawn towards the Presbyterians in unease over the doctrine of the Trinity as going beyond the letter of Scripture, while the Particulars came to fraternize increasingly with the Independents in openness to a fresh experience of divine grace.

This is to go beyond Dr White's assignment here, but Dr Watts's recent success in writing of all Dissenters throughout the period from the sixteenth century to 1789 has shown how unsatisfactory it is to stop short at chronological termini or denominational boundaries. In this regard the book is traditional. These Baptists seem almost self-subsistent. Samuel Fisher's defection to the Quakers is noted, but without comment or elucidation of what in some parts of the country were serious inroads. Churches such as Bunyan's at Bedford,<sup>2</sup> which had Baptists and Independents sharing in membership, Dr White looks at but passes by: his concern here is with "closed membership" churches only. He also keeps narrowly to England. Baptists in Ireland are mentioned but Baptists in Wales hardly, though it is clear that they were all part of a single movement, which can only fully be appreciated in its entirety.

The limitations on his space (pp. 155 only, including a full index) must have tried Dr White severely. The fuller study he has long had in mind will be awaited eagerly. Meanwhile we congratulate the President of our sister Society on the skill in compression that has made room for, e.g., a survey of Baptist historians, the controversy over the necessity for the laying on of hands in (or at the time of) baptism, the part played by Baptists in political plots, and the summary

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1. The characterization is not without exceptions, for the Seventh Day Baptists were mainly Particular Baptists, while the General Baptists later fathered an evangelical New Connexion.
  2. For a short list of such churches, with *Declarations* put out jointly by Baptists and Congregationalists, see my *Visible Saints*, pp. 119-20.

statistics of Baptist publications 1660-88. Three portraits tellingly illustrate sartorial evolution: the fine broad collar worn by Kiffin, already narrower on Knollys, on Hardcastle has shrunk to the conservatism of formal bands.<sup>3</sup>

GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL

*Peter and Jack: Roman Catholics and Dissent in eighteenth-century England.* By Eamon Duffy. Pp. 24. Friends of Dr. Williams's Library Lecture, 1982. Dr. Williams's Trust, 1982. £1.

In what Dr. Duffy fairly terms a seminal and brilliant book published in 1975 Professor Bossy of York sought to align post-Reformation Catholicism in this country with Protestant Dissent as another "modestly successful nonconformist sect". He could point to some exciting similarities, but Dr. Duffy thinks he went too far. That in eighteenth-century Catholicism the laity was dominant, and that any effective parochial structure was lacking, Dr. Duffy allows. He further points to a "doctrinal and devotional restraint" such as also characterized the Older Dissent. But essentially Catholics looked abroad: to the worldwide church of which they were part; to "our Masters" in Rome; to the colleges on the continent where all their priests and not a few of their children had their education. This was their life-line, and any perception of themselves as an English religious minority group was quite secondary and accidental. Dr. Duffy is enviably familiar with Dissenting as well as Catholic sources, and his judgment is not likely to be questioned.

GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL

*"Let Sects and Parties Fall": a short history of the Association of the Churches of Christ in Great Britain and Ireland.* By David M. Thompson. Pp. 229. Berean Press, Birmingham, 1980. £3.

This book was originally commissioned by the Churches of Christ to replace A.C. Watters's 1948 history, long out of print. It is also intended to inform a wider public largely ignorant of this small denomination which numbered at its peak, in the inter-war period, 208 churches and 16,596 members. The standard modern church histories have largely ignored the Churches of Christ and there is no copy of Watters in Dr. Williams's Library.

This book is a history, not of the local Churches, but of their Association, as their Annual Meeting came to be called. The advantage of this approach is that by particular reference to the minutes and papers of the Meeting, and even more to the movement's prolific magazines, one can best chart the development both of the denomination's position on doctrine and practice and of its attitudes to wider society. The cost of attention paid to these sources is inattention to the life of congregations and their leaders at local level. So the reader is, for example, taken by surprise by the apparent ease with which ordination came to

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3. But is not this an eighteenth-century divine, perhaps a later Hardcastle, e.g. Joshua of Bradford? Thomas died in 1678.

be accepted (1943) in a denomination which had for so long resisted forms of hierarchical authority. Again, there is little explanation of the change in attitudes that resulted in the (1954) abandonment of the view that the Churches of Christ possessed the only Scripturally-consistent form of ministry.

The Annual Meeting gave the independent congregations a feeling of national solidarity. Yet throughout most of its history the Churches, who had established the Annual Meeting solely to foster evangelism, largely succeeded in preventing its acquiring other executive powers. It was not allowed to arbitrate judicially between disputing chapels, nor to proliferate committees. The independent-minded Albert Peel would have drawn many fruitful comparisons between his history of the Congregational Union and Thompson's history of the Association, but Thompson has a far keener sense of the social context of the churches than had Peel.

The origins of this denomination are essentially two. The split in the Glasite movement in 1763 had led to numbers of Scotch Baptist congregations, both in Scotland and in England. The Scotch Baptists held to the New Testament as the sole source of authority for Church order and practice, which they took to include congregational government, a plurality of local elders and a weekly Lord's Supper. From 1833 onwards, a Scotch Baptist periodical began to publicise the writings of Alexander Campbell — a Scots emigrant to the United States — which were much in line with the Scotch Baptist position. Both they and Campbell called for the unity of the worldwide Church on the basis of the pattern of the New Testament church. The Scotch Baptists were at the time divided on the problem of the priority of the weekly celebration or the necessary presence of elders at the sacrament. Convinced of the former, James Wallis broke from the Scotch Baptist congregation at Nottingham to found a new congregation on Christmas Day 1836.

Wallis, a draper, began his own magazine to publicise Campbell's views. He deliberately exploited the Scotch Baptist network for their promotion. It is no accident, claims Dr. Thompson, that booksellers were prominent in the early Churches of Christ. Indeed, a compositor was once convinced of their position whilst busy on the magazine proofs. Wallis aimed at the literate artisan. The movement eschewed emotional revival, basing its "Position and Plea" on rational argument. (The 1842 magazine contained a review of D.F. Strauss.) Rational argument could take the form of public debate with secularists: David King took on both Holyoake and Bradlaugh. Earliest recruitment came by the transference of entire Scotch Baptist congregations: it is likely that the invitation to the first (1842) Meeting forced several of these to declare their allegiance. Recruitment thereafter was largely by evangelism, secondarily by internal growth. The 1842 Meeting had been called to foster cooperation for evangelism. That year there were fifty known congregations. By the time of the second Meeting in 1847 there were eighty. At that meeting Campbell, on his only return visit to Britain, was invited to take the Chair. Meetings were thereafter annual until 1979, the dissolution of the Association.

“Christian reflection finds itself in a tension between faithfulness to the past and openness to the present”, the author has written in another context. The crucial importance of the Churches of Christ and thus of this book lies herein: here is a denomination which has had the courage to face the challenge to its authority and its origins of modern Biblical scholarship and to take a new direction in consequence. A great part of the importance of this book is its honest discussion of the tensions and attitudinal changes which characterised this church in regard to three crucial issues: the Sacraments, the Scriptures and the goal of Christian unity.

*The Sacraments:* The New Testament model was understood to demand a weekly celebration, believers' baptism and “closed” communion. Any suspicion that persons baptised as infants had been admitted to Communion caused aggravation, even though this position was plainly seen to be a brake upon evangelistic activity. Campbell himself was once accused of laxity. In the 1860s and 1870s evangelists from America were asked to adhere to the “closed” position. This contributed to a split with the local English churches which was not healed until 1917. In its turn, this reconciliation was partly responsible for the breakaway of the more conservative of the Churches, the “Old Path” Churches. It was increasingly realised how much the “closed” communion position inhibited mission abroad and evangelism and ecumenism at home.

After 1845, numerical decline increased the home pressures and “guest” admittance to Communion was finally agreed in 1956. But the change of heart was due also to involvement in the ecumenical movement. A key factor was James Gray's decision after the World Council of Churches Assembly at New Delhi (1961). He came to realise the “even though some of the greatest scholars . . . believe that New Testament Baptism was solely for believers, the Churches of the world are not going to abandon Infant Baptism. If we are to move closer to Infant Baptist Churches we must make up our minds to accommodate ourselves to this position.” If this crucial accommodation had not then been made, the ecumenical tide would have been missed by the very Church which had sought Church unity from its origins.

*The Scriptures.* The development of the Higher Criticism was obviously a threat to a Church that sought the restoration of primitive Christianity on the understanding that the New Testament provided the clear pattern for this. The first response to the threat was resistance. G.Y. Tickle (1872) was appalled by the suggestion that the study of the primitive church was a study in embryology because it contained no completed system of church government. “There you have at one fell swoop all the ground taken from under us.”

Majority acceptance of the critical method and its findings came slowly. It came partly through the influence of such leaders as Sydney Black and William Robinson, both of whom studied briefly at Mansfield under, respectively, Fairbairn and Dodd. In 1920 Robinson became the Principal of the first training college at Overdale. Overdale's decision in 1922 to affiliate to the

Student Christian Movement caused a furore in the churches, second only to the reception they gave to Robinson's colleague Joseph Smith in 1926 when he presented advanced views upon the institution of the Lord's Supper. Nevertheless, the breakaway of the "Old Paths" Churches, on such issues as these, made it easier for the remainder to accept, as with W.J. Clague in 1938, that "the historical method has shown our Churches in Christ position on Church order and ministry to be untenable." In this situation, Thompson comments that Robinson's work was thereafter to provide the Churches with a credible reinterpretation of their plea for the restoration of the unity of the New Testament Church. He encouraged the Churches to fulfil their pristine role by taking a serious part in the modern ecumenical movement.

*Church Unity.* From its origins the Churches of Christ had sought the unity of the Church. Until the "conversion" of James Gray at New Delhi the closed communion practice (which English Baptists had steadily been dropping throughout the nineteenth century) effectively prevented practical steps to intercommunion with other Churches. With David King's death in 1894, a more liberal era for reunion began. (Arthur Black had been at Grindlewald in 1892. It would be intriguing to know how much he had been tempted to participate in the open communion celebrated there by Bishop Perowne.) The Churches of Christ began to take more seriously their breach with the American-founded churches and reunited with them in 1917. Yet only one year previously they had felt unable to relax their closed position so as to support the proposals for a Free Church Federation. In the inter-war years, their awareness of the wider world of churches steadily increased, and their participation in overseas missions (began in 1892) helped in this. They joined the Free Church Federal Council in 1941 and the new British Council of Churches the next year.

After the war, the drive for church unity had two springs. Thompson writes: "The rethinking which has taken place on the inter-related issues of baptism, communion and church-union has been very largely the result of increasing involvement in the ecumenical movement." He also admits the pressures upon a Church finding itself in rapid decline. (1939 : 15200 members. 1956 : 8740 members.) A further factor, was that the denomination's history, position and plea were largely unknown to the other British Churches. In 1964 the Churches were represented at the Nottingham Conference. Two years later they first sent observers to the Presbyterian-Congregational Joint Committee. The concluding account of the union with the United Reformed Church is a minor miracle of objective reporting, coming from the pen of one so involved. The story remains to be fully told.

Dr. Thompson's account is a necessity for any one who claims to care for the future of the ecumenical movement. This book is remarkably inexpensive; may this encourage a large circulation. For unless the story of the Churches of Christ is taught and learnt widely, the extraordinary example that this tiny Church has set will never be followed. Of this story the United Reformed Church is the trustee.

What is the significance of the Churches of Christ in the economy of God? One tentative answer depends on how widely their story becomes appreciated. Here is a denomination, committed to the unity of the Church, which comes to two realisations: (1) that there is insufficient Scriptural authority for its own tradition of Church order, (2) that the other Churches of the world, with which it hopes to unite, will not drop a traditional practice, of initiation, for instance, even though they realise that there are insufficient Scriptural grounds for it. A spirit of accommodation has characterised the response of the Churches of Christ to this dilemma. I write this as WCC representatives assemble at Vancouver. How might a similar spirit of accommodation enable the United Reformed Church and her sister Churches to lower their own insistence upon traditions with known insufficient Scriptural authority?

PETER JUPP

*Baptists in the Twentieth Century*. Edited by K.W. Clements. Pp. 147. Baptist Historical Society, London, 1983. £4.95.

This interesting book contains the papers given at the Baptist Historical Society's Summer School at Malvern in 1982, and is most welcome for those who could not be there. Dr. Leonard Champion gives a personal view of the changes in church life during the century. Many of his themes are familiar — declining numbers, the collapse of the Sunday School, the growth of denominational organisation — but his reflections on the experience are valuable. For example, when he was in college there were no courses on Baptist history or beliefs — a point which connects interestingly with his later comment: "Looking back I realise that being a Baptist meant sharing in a whole way of life." That totality of allegiance has gone for most Free Churchmen now.

Some essays develop particular themes. David Watts analyses church decline and growth in Glasgow. Michael Walker traces the changes in Baptist worship; and Clyde Binfield describes shifting moods in Baptist church architecture as Gothic gave way to Arts and Crafts and liturgy came to life.

Two essays deal with the ecumenical movement. Roger Hayden considers the ecumenical vision of J.H. Shakespeare, Secretary of the Baptist Union from 1898 to 1924. He shows how Shakespeare's seminal book, *The Churches at the Crossroads* (1918), grew out of his previous work as a minister in Norwich and a supporter of united Free Church action. Shakespeare's work for unity in conversations with the Church of England after the war was opposed in the denomination by T.R. Glover and outside by the *British Weekly*, and this contributed to his ultimate collapse. The unanswered question, "Still at the Crossroads?" haunts the essay. Morris West provides a counterbalance with his sober and detailed account of Baptist participation in the Faith and Order Movement from its beginning to the discussions which produced *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry* in 1982. It should be noted, however, that Peter Ainslie (p. 55) was not a Baptist, but a leading American Disciple pioneer for Christian unity.

The other two essays have political themes. David Bebbington discusses

Baptists and Politics since 1914 in relation to first, the decline in Liberal partisanship, and then concern for social and international issues. Part of the Liberal decline is due to the problems of the Liberal party itself, but it also reflects the decline of communal politics, which echoes in a different way Dr. Champion's remark cited earlier. There was also a general tendency to withdraw from public issues, apart from education and the traditional moral causes — drunkenness, Sunday observance and gambling.

One rather different international issue was the German Church struggle. Keith Clements's penetrating analysis of the background to and consequences of the Baptist World Alliance Congress held in Berlin in 1934 raises some pertinent questions about religious freedom. The German Baptists claimed that they enjoyed full religious liberty under Hitler, and professed surprise at the British sympathy for the leaders of the Confessing Church who were punished, as they saw it, for breaking the law. The issues raised here — the relation of minority and majority churches, political neutrality in a totalitarian society, and whether religious freedom alone is a sufficient criterion of justice — remain lively ones; and the book is almost worth buying for this essay alone.

DAVID M. THOMPSON

*To Be a Pilgrim: A Memoir of Ernest A. Payne.* By W.M.S. West. Pp. xi, 212, Lutterworth Press, Guildford, 1983. £4.95.

Readers of this journal will find particular interest in a memoir which describes how a church historian became a maker of ecumenical history. It is a record which also fascinatingly illustrates the accidents of history. Supposing Wheeler Robinson, Payne's great master, had not been determined that Robert Child should succeed him as Principal of Regent's Park College, Oxford, would Payne, Senior Tutor and passionately loyal son of that college, have been tempted away from the study of history and the training of students to be general secretary of the Baptist Union? Had M.E. Aubrey (whom he was in fact to succeed) not felt the journey to the central committee of the World Council of Churches meeting at Lucknow in 1952, to be beyond him, and had he not named Payne as his alternate, would Payne have begun his career as a central figure in the life of the World Council of Churches? Would the shy historian have become the figure for whom it was natural that his memorial service should be in a crowded gathering at Westminster Abbey?

It is certain that as each unpredictable door opened Payne was able to pass through it to spheres which enabled his amazing ability and formidable industry to be deployed to advantage. It is equally certain that the historian constantly informed the mind and judgment of the ecumenical statesman that he became. Perhaps nowhere is this more evident than in the great controversy over the Special Fund to Combat Racism. Payne was by nature a cautious man. In fact I recall that he opposed the "raiding" of the World Council's exiguous reserves to make a token payment to the fund. He might have been expected to be at least somewhat defensive about the deployment of a fund which destroyed in this

country so much of the ecumenical movement's store of good will. But Payne was also the scholar who contributed the chapter on the Anabaptists to the *New Cambridge Modern History*: he was steeped in the story of the more radical elements in the Reformation. He proved a doughty fighter in defence of the World Council's actions.

His disciple Morris West has written an admirable memoir. He has produced it swiftly, when there will be very many who will wish to secure it. The generosity of friends has enabled it to appear in excellent format and at a very modest price for these days. His portrayal of his friend is accurate, and illuminating. (The degree to which bitter disagreements in the Baptist chapel of his upbringing made him almost obsessive in his desire to be a peacemaker is brought home.) This memoir is a valuable contribution to the telling of ecumenical history, but (speaking more personally) it is an endearing portrait of one who was dear friend of this reviewer.

KENNETH SLACK

*St. James's United Reformed Church Edgware: Golden Jubilee 1933-1983.* (By F. Keay). Pp. 50. St. James's U.R.C., Heather Walk, Edgware. 1983.

Congregational histories have modesty forced upon them by the costs of production, but they continue to appear. This history is modest and welcome. St. James' Edgware will strike many readers as a young church still, yet it has had already its notable ministry (Kenneth Slack's) when membership reached its peak (420 by 1954-5), its noteworthy members (two General Secretaries of the Presbyterian Church of England, one of them the United Reformed Church's first General Secretary and this society's President), and its missionary impulse (St. James's is the parent church of St. Andrew's Boreham Wood and it has developed a special concern for relations between Christians and Jews), and now its course seems set for decline. What Mr. Keay's history demonstrates, however, is that decline is to be seen chiefly, even solely, in numerical terms: St. James's remains an active, forceful congregation, its witness more necessary to Edgware in the 1980s than in the 1930s, when congregations in such areas were still easily gathered.

Mr. Keay's account is affectionate, faithful, and hopeful: three prime qualities for a church history.

J.C.G.B.

*Reformed World* (Vol. 37, Nos. 1 – 4)

These issues concentrate on papers prepared for the Ottawa Conference of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and on the reports of the proceedings. There is much of value for our churches but it is doubtful if much will filter through into sermons or into the agenda of church meetings.

*Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society* (Vol. XLIII, Parts 4 – 6)

Among the many items mainly of Methodist background to be found in these issues there is a tribute by Rev. J. Munsey Turner to the Methodist historian, R.F. Wearmouth, and a fascinating article by Elizabeth Jennings on Sir Isaac Holden, a notable Wesleyan who almost became a minister but proved to be a notable layman.

*The Baptist Quarterly* (Vol. XXIX, Nos. 5 – 8)

Many articles in these issues range far beyond the historical field. Our readers are likely to profit by reading an article on the Elizabethan Familists by J.W. Martin, and another on the Anabaptists by A.F. Kreider. Dr. Nuttall contributes a brief article on Henry Danvers and there is a substantial assessment of the life and work of Theodore H. Robinson by Pierce Matheny.

*Cylchgrawn Hanes* (Journal of Historical Society of the Presbyterian Church of Wales, No. 6)

This number is almost entirely in Welsh. It contains many items of interest, but almost half its pages are taken up by an excellent article on John Phillips, a noted Calvinistic Methodist preacher, churchman and educationalist who founded in Bangor the Normal College for the training of teachers. This article is by Harri Williams of the Theological College, Aberystwyth; his recent death was a great loss to Welsh historical, theological and literary studies.

R.B.K.