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# THE REVEREND SECRETARY AUBREY

## PART III

### V Aubrey and Church Relations 1925-1939

#### a) The Lambeth Appeal

When Aubrey became Secretary of the Baptist Union in 1925, the Baptists, together with the other Free Churches, were engaged in preparing their reply to the 1920 *Lambeth Appeal to All Christian People*.<sup>1</sup> J. H. Shakespeare, Aubrey's predecessor, had played a significant role in creating the context which made this *Appeal* possible. To understand the attitude of the Baptist Union during Aubrey's secretaryship towards what today we should call ecumenicity requires first a consideration of the ecumenical inheritance which Shakespeare bequeathed to his successor.

Dr Roger Hayden begins his essay on Shakespeare<sup>2</sup> with the categorical statement that 'J. H. Shakespeare was gripped by an ecumenical vision from the days of his Norwich ministry until his death. Having put his hand to the plough, he never looked back.'<sup>3</sup> But as Shakespeare ploughed this furrow with ever greater enthusiasm so, as far as his fellow Baptists were concerned, it became a growingly lonely enterprise. It was not that his colleagues were wholly against church relations with the Anglicans and others: it was that Shakespeare was ploughing too deep and travelling too fast.

As early as 1910 Shakespeare was thinking in terms of a United Free Church. But that was not all. This was the year of the Edinburgh Missionary Conference, so often claimed as a vital staging post in the development of twentieth-century ecumenicity. It was the Edinburgh Conference which, while expressly excluding Faith and Order issues from its agenda, nevertheless, by this self-same exclusion, determined the American Episcopalian bishop, Charles Brent, to initiate the Faith and Order movement. This he did at a meeting of his own church in 1910, pressing it to accept a resolution . . .

that all Christian Communion throughout the world which confess our Lord Jesus Christ as God and Saviour be asked to unite with us in arranging for and conducting a conference for the consideration of questions touching Faith and Order.<sup>4</sup>

Brent's church encouraged the idea and appointed a layman, Robert Gardiner, to act as Secretary to develop the project. Recent research in the archives of the World Council of Churches in Geneva<sup>5</sup> has revealed significant correspondence between Shakespeare and Gardiner which shows the former to have been not only wholly supportive of the enterprise but also active in the development of a Faith and Order Commission in England.

A Faith and Order deputation from America had come to this country in 1912 to visit the Church of England, and a representative committee had been set up by the Archbishops, consisting entirely of Anglicans. A second deputation soon followed from America to enlist support of the Free Churches. This was obtained. The same deputation met with the already existing Anglican committee and informed the members of the Free Church interest. The way was thus prepared for a first meeting in April 1914 between the Church of England and the Free Churches. The outcome was the creation of a representative group of Anglicans and Free Churchmen to plan towards a proposed World Conference of Faith and Order in 1917. The correspondence in Geneva shows that Shakespeare and Gardiner exchanged no fewer than five letters between 16

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March and 18 April 1914,<sup>6</sup> discussing the World Conference issue and the delicacy of Anglican/Free Church relationships in preparing for it. If the war had not intervened, it is highly probable that a World Faith and Order Conference would have been held in 1917, probably in Britain, and that J. H. Shakespeare would have been a pioneer Baptist ecumenist on the world stage. But by the time the First World Conference on Faith and Order was held at Lausanne in 1927 things had changed. Both Gardiner and Shakespeare were dead and no official British Baptist delegates attended.

The outbreak of the war in 1914 concentrated English ecumenical enthusiasm into narrower channels. So far as Shakespeare was concerned, he concentrated first upon his goal of a Free Church Union. In 1910 he had mooted the concept of a United Board to integrate Baptist resources and to stimulate evangelistic and social enterprises. By 1916 he was advocating a federal relationship between the Free Churches and followed this up with constant pressure in both written and spoken word which finally resulted in October 1919 in the formation of the Federal Council of Evangelical Free Churches. With this enterprise the Baptist denomination was willing to go along - albeit with some hesitation. At the Baptist Union Assembly of 1918 Shakespeare argued for the denomination's support for the proposed Federal Council, assuring his fellow Baptists that the tender plant lifting 'its head timidly above the ground after the long winter of sectarianism . . . says "Do not mistake me. I am not organic union. I am only a Federation. Nurture me. . . ."'<sup>7</sup>

Free Church federation was but part of Shakespeare's goal. On 7 May 1915 he had written a letter to Tissington Tatlow, the Secretary of the joint Faith and Order Committee, which contained the significant sentences: 'The present division between the Established and Nonconformist Churches is a grave scandal in the religious life of this country. It is worthwhile making an effort to bridge the chasm which through many blunders came about in 1662.'<sup>8</sup> The letter goes on to question whether there need be but one form of ministry and sacrament. Would Anglicanism be prepared to recognize somewhat different forms as practised, for instance, by other churches including the Free Churches?

Over the next three years Shakespeare came to believe that, if any progress was to be made with Anglicanism, then it would have to be on the basis of episcopacy. This viewpoint he argues in his book, *The Churches at the Cross Roads: A Study in Church Unity*, published in 1918. In a very real sense this book is Shakespeare's 'Apologia Pro Vita Sui' and because it was so he took personally its hesitant and often hostile reception by a number of his fellow Baptists. This hastened his gradual nervous and physical collapse during the following five years. Shakespeare nailed his episcopal colours to the mast: 'It is no use concealing my conviction that reunion will never come to pass except upon the basis of episcopacy.'<sup>9</sup>

The possibility of reunion discussions between the Anglicans and the Free Churches grew during the war. The joint Faith and Order Committee continued to meet and spawned various conferences, notably in Oxford. Other informal channels opened up. The shared dangers faced on the battle fields had bound Army Chaplains together. A report carried in the *Baptist Times* of 4 April 1919 records a conference of Army Chaplains and YMCA workers which expressed a strong desire for Christian unity. Decline in church attendance in the war years had shown that the common dangers faced were by no means confined to the physical realm. During 1919 a series of conferences were held at Kingsway Hall in London, with the general title *Steps to Union*. The final conference was addressed by Shakespeare on Sunday, 13 April, about three weeks before

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the Baptist Union Assembly. He was not only uncompromising on the episcopacy issue - he was vehement in the expression of his views:

Reunion can only take place on the basis of Episcopacy . . . I regard it as a complete waste of time to discuss it upon any other assumption. If I am told that this is a surrender to episcopacy, I reply that I am talking of an episcopacy which is reformed and constitutional, which is not prelatical or monarchical, which is not subject to political appointment, which is consistent with the priesthood of all believers and with the doctrine of soul liberty and I regard it as unchristian to refuse an episcopal order of this kind if it is the price of Reunion.<sup>10</sup>

Since the publication of his book, Free Church opposition to Shakespeare's viewpoint had manifested itself. The *British Weekly* on 5 December 1918 had published an hostile editorial, entitled 'Mr Shakespeare at the Cross Roads'. The editorial raised the question as to what Baptists made of their Secretary's views:

We challenge Mr Shakespeare to put the straightforward issue before Baptists next May and to ask the rank and file of delegates to say whether their Secretary is representing them or vitally misrepresenting them.<sup>11</sup>

Shakespeare did not take up the challenge, but T. R. Glover made opportunity to do so. At the March Council of 1919 a letter was read from the two chairmen of a joint conference of Anglicans and Free Churchmen held at Mansfield College in Oxford from 6-8 January 1919, indicating that certain resolutions would be coming to the Baptist Union for consideration. Council agreed that when they came they would be considered by a special committee set up for the purpose. This action would be reported to the Assembly. At which point Glover gave notice to the Council that he intended to move a resolution on the matter at the Assembly.<sup>12</sup> The terms of the resolution welcomed the many evidences of better relations between the churches but then went on in general terms to challenge any basis of union which implied the irregularity of the already existing Free Church ministries.

At the Assembly in May 1919, Herbert Marnham, the Union's Treasurer, became President. In his presidential address he commended Shakespeare's book but added 'Some I know are not prepared at present to follow him all the way along the road he would have us take, but we can surely go with him in his great scheme for the federation of the Free Churches'.<sup>13</sup> When Glover came to move his resolution, however, he took the opportunity to relate the setting up of a committee to consider the Oxford Conference resolution to the whole union issue.<sup>14</sup> Glover began: 'The motion has a long pre-natal history. It began with a book that raised whether the Churches that now stand at the cross roads are to set forth on a particular spiritual pilgrimage.' This scarcely veiled reference to Shakespeare's views was further developed by the comment: 'But we were told that Reunion would involve reordination, and we wish to know the answer to be given on that issue.' Glover argued for united evangelism, interchange of pulpits and intercommunion. The reference to the Churches at the Cross Roads clearly touched Shakespeare on the raw. The *Baptist Times* report reflects a highly charged atmosphere and an emotional response by Shakespeare. He accused Glover of misquotation and misrepresentation. He defended his right to his own views, which were that 'we were reaching a point at which reordination would not be asked from any one of us'. Most of what Dr Glover had said seemed to him entirely irrelevant. Did they realize what

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vast changes were taking place in ecclesiastical relations? He concluded that a paper had written in a way which was not very polite of Mr Shakespeare at the cross roads. 'I am not at the cross roads,' he then claimed in resounding tones, 'I have chosen my path and I shall follow it.'

The *Baptist Times* records that 'Amid loud and continued applause the Secretary resumed his seat'. The Assembly then called for Dr Clifford to speak. He responded with a moderating speech which assured the Assembly, 'My faith in my dear friend Mr Shakespeare is as intact and complete and thorough as ever it has been during the last twenty-five years. . . Mr Shakespeare, while working for unity, would stand out as a Baptist to the very end.'<sup>15</sup>

In retrospect we may discern that that debate at the Assembly of 1919 reflects the truth that Baptists standing at the unity cross roads were going to find it very difficult to come to a united decision as to what road to take. That was to be the ecumenical heritage Shakespeare bequeathed to Aubrey - and indeed that same heritage remains with us still.

The Lambeth Conference met in 1920 and in August issued its *Appeal to All Christian People*.<sup>16</sup> It contains what has become known as the Lambeth Quadrilateral which in summary suggests that the visible unity of the Church will be found to involve the wholehearted acceptance of the Holy Scriptures, the Nicene Creed and the Apostles Creed, Baptism and Holy Communion, and a ministry acknowledged by every part of the Church as possessing not only the inward call of the Spirit but also the Commission of Christ and the authority of the whole body - which ministry, it is suggested, is provided by the Episcopate.

On 28 September 1920 a provisional statement on the Appeal was issued on behalf of the two Free Church Councils, indicating that a committee had been set up representing the constituent Churches to examine the proposals with a view to transmitting their findings to the authorities of the Free Churches.<sup>17</sup> The Lang papers in Lambeth Palace Library record that Shakespeare suggested that the Free Church committee should meet with the Archbishop of Canterbury on 8 December.<sup>18</sup> This was evidently agreed, as informal minutes record such a meeting. Baptists present were Wheeler Robinson, Pearce Gould, Herbert Marnham and F. B. Meyer. The Appeal was introduced by Cosmo Lang, Archbishop of York. Meyer replied:

This day is the dating of a new chapter in the relationship between Anglicans and Non Conformists . . . we are very conscious that the Holy Spirit rested on your deliberations and that there was manifested another day of Pentecost . . . we seek guidance by the same Spirit . . . we believe that something must be moving in the mind of our Lord.<sup>19</sup>

So the Free Churches together and individually embarked upon the tortuous path of discussing the Appeal and of preparing necessary responses. A detailed account would be out of place here but it should be said that, as conversations with the Church of England progressed, it became more and more evident that neither the concept nor the traditional interpretation of episcopacy including Apostolic Succession were in any meaningful way open for discussion. Initial enthusiasm of numbers of Baptists gradually waned. But Shakespeare held tenaciously and more and more unrealistically to his hopes of episcopal compromise until in 1923 those hopes broke him. Paradoxically, but understandably, most Baptists, whilst not losing their desire for closer relations, became more overtly Baptists by stated conviction. Amongst these was Aubrey himself.

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In the spring of 1921 he was invited, as the minister of St Andrew's Street, Cambridge, to give a lecture before members of the University in Cambridge on *Reunion from the point of view of the Baptist Church*. It is a lecture which has considerable significance for our immediate purpose and, indeed, for subsequent events in the Baptist Union.<sup>20</sup>

He began by politely pointing out that the number of Baptists worldwide was one and a half times as great as the Church of England and the American Protestant Episcopal Church. The family of Baptists is diverse. He remarked upon the familiar Baptist dilemma: 'We do not want to go in for reunion with those of another order of Church government at the cost of disunion from those of our own order'.<sup>21</sup> He then lectured his hearers on Baptist history and principles. When he turned to table his views on reunion, he began with the familiar disclaimer, '. . . no individual can possibly speak for all Baptists. I do not pretend to do it. But some things we can safely say:<sup>22</sup>1) We cannot approve of uniformity. We believe in unity of the Church but it is not the unity of the flower bed or even a garden that may be walked around. It is the unity, rather, of some great sweeping park, with all its richness and variety - to use the Greek word, a paradise. The Church is to us the Paradise of God with all that that large, wide word implies.

2) I do not think that there would be the least chance of a reunion that would include Baptists without the disestablishment of the Church within the State as one of the first conditions.

3) The talk of a big Church does not get at our hearts at all. What we are concerned about is a vital Church, not a big one.

4) It has been our experience that the Holy Spirit does not always use the channels which are commonly approved. We believe that the voice of the laity must be more heeded in any reunited Church than in some communions in the past.

5) In Christ there is neither male nor female and the services rendered by women in our churches compel us to insist that the Church for us must be a place in which, if their fellow Christians choose, women may have the right to offer every ministry.

6) With regard to episcopacy, we will not say there must not be any episcopacy. We have in practice made certain innovations in the direction of it, but I think you will find that Baptists in general would say there must be no system that savours of ecclesiastical aristocracy . . . We do not say 'No bishops' but we certainly say 'No prelacy'. . . We cannot regard bishops as essential. We believe that to say that God's grace in its fullness cannot come to a man apart from bishops or that a man cannot exercise a full ministry of grace without the imposition of a bishop's hands would be to fly in the face of history and to deny the plain working of the Holy Spirit. . .

7) . . . We do believe that already we have a unity of fellowship if only we can realize it and we want to realize it. We want a closer fellowship and a nearer approximation to a single Church . . . We are willing and

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anxious to see where God will lead.

8) We confess our faith. We would seek to walk more faithfully in a way of brotherly love. We want intercommunion because that means so much to us all.

9) We desire a free, though not indiscriminate, exchange of pulpits . . . I think that the issue between us is not so much a fear of false teaching as that it is felt by our Anglican brethren that we attach a different sort of importance to preaching. Quite frankly that is so. We believe that the supreme means of grace our church has to offer to the world is the utterance of the truth it possesses through a personality that has been vitalized by contact with the Lord Jesus Christ.

10) . . . We have a love for, and an exalted view of the Christian Church. . . The vision of a church 'without spot or wrinkle, or any such thing' is as dear to us as it is to any member of the Anglican Communion . . . Will you be hurt if I say that I think one of the things we should ask if we come near reunion would be that, for the sake of the purity and honour of the Christian Church, there should be more rigid discipline such as many of you desire . . . it is a matter of inquiry if our people are absent from Holy Communion for more than six months - and we regularly suspend our members from the privilege of churchmanship, and, sometimes, with sorrow expel them altogether because of unworthy lives. It is because of our high idea of the Church that we do such things.

In answer to a question on the attitude to re-ordination, Aubrey indicated that Baptists could not have the validity of the previous ministry impugned or questioned but, if it was a matter of recognizing or authorizing their ministry in another communion where it had not been exercised before, he thought that they would be willing to attend a solemn service for that purpose.

On 27 April 1921 the Baptist Union Assembly received a report from the Free Church Committee on the Lambeth Appeal. The report was specifically stated not to be a reply but rather an elucidation of the issues involved. A resolution was passed at the Assembly which said that the movement for unity 'has received a great impulse from the fraternal and sympathetic spirit of the Lambeth Conference'.<sup>23</sup> The previous day the Assembly had been addressed by the Archbishop of York, Cosmo Lang. It was clearly a memorable occasion. The *Baptist Times* describes the scene - J. C. Carlile at his journalistic best.<sup>24</sup>

The Archbishop of York appeared perfectly at home in the pulpit of Bloomsbury Chapel on Tuesday morning. Every available inch of space was crowded, every face in the audience alert with wistful expectancy' . . . The Archbishop's countenance bore a happy comfortable smile throughout. In speaking he toyed at the outset with the archiepiscopal cross on his breast. Later he clasped his hands over it, hiding it, but in fact pressing it closer to himself. Then, upturning his face skyward, his appeal, though restrained, developed tremendous power.

Fortunately the *Baptist Times* reported the whole address verbatim. It was a masterly exposition and is still very much worth reading today. It was evidently well received,

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but left little doubt that episcopal ordination was essential in any reunion proposals and that in the interim, mutual formal recognition would be required. Anglican ministers would be willing to receive such formal recognition as Baptists might desire to give and Baptist ministers who wished to minister in Anglican congregations would also receive formal recognition from Anglicans which would be commission through episcopal ordination. Lang claimed that this would not be called re-ordination because 'we expressly say "God forbids that any should repudiate a past experience rich in spiritual blessing for himself and others"'.<sup>25</sup>

While Lang's reception was warm and the resolutions of thanks moved by W. Y. Fullerton and Alfred Pearce Gould were effusive, the Archbishop's own reaction after speaking to the Baptist and Presbyterian Assemblies was not far from the truth on the issue of organic union: 'In both cases the reception was very cordial to me personally but I do not think these good people have any real care about a visible Church at all. I am afraid they are still content if only they can preach at St Paul's and communicate at our altars.'<sup>26</sup>

As the discussions on the Lambeth Appeal continued throughout 1922 and 1923, one gains the impression of growing weariness and impatience amongst Baptists. Weariness because of the amount of material being produced and the lack of evident progress on the crucial issue of the ministry; impatience because the reunion issue was diverting time and energy from the demands for evangelism and service pressing upon the denomination set in a growingly secularized and disillusioned post-war Britain. The minutes of the joint conferences held at Lambeth indicate less regular Baptist participation, due in part to Shakespeare's developing ill health. But there was a growing opposition to giving any ground at all on the ministry question. T. R. Glover was evidently becoming the mouthpiece of this opposition. He was also using his pen with great effect.<sup>27</sup> At the Assembly of 1923 he was elected to the Vice Presidency of the Union. Shakespeare was not only becoming more and more isolated, he was also growing less and less realistic. He told the joint conference at Lambeth in March 1923 'Dr Glover's views are not really representative. They represent a tradition left by Mr Spurgeon.'<sup>28</sup>

It was on 15 June 1923 that Shakespeare attended the meeting of the joint conference at Lambeth for the last time. On that occasion a memorandum was presented by the Anglicans on the status of the Free Church ministry. This was published on 6 July and spoke of the Free Church ministries not as invalid but as 'in varying degrees irregular and defective'. Shakespeare grasped the positive straws in the document and regarded it as marking 'the most important stage of the story of reunion'.<sup>29</sup> This was his final contribution to the conference. That same summer, after the Baptist World Alliance conference at Stockholm, his health finally broke down. Charles Brown and J. C. Carlile attended the joint conference at Lambeth in July 1923 and Brown was also present on 29 February 1924 when a document was presented by the Bishop of Truro and A. E. Garvie on constitutional episcopacy. Dr Brown told the conference that his difficulties when confronted with such a document would be ten times greater with Baptists than with the Federal Council, and he referred to the frank teaching of T. R. Glover, President Designate of the Baptist Union, as to the competence of laymen to preach and minister the sacrament.<sup>30</sup> Five more meetings of the joint conference were held before it disbanded in 1925 but no Baptist attended any of them.

During the early months of 1924 the Baptist Union Council and its Assembly Programme Committee debated whether to take any action at all on the reunion question at the 1924 Assembly in Cardiff, when Glover was to become President. The minutes



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suggest some disagreement but in the end it was decided to take no action. So there, for the moment, so far as Baptists were concerned, the reunion matter rested. Shakespeare's resignation was received at the Cardiff Assembly and J. C. Carlile acted as Secretary for the next twelve months, until Aubrey came into office in April 1925.

During Aubrey's first year it became clear that a reply to the Lambeth Appeal was going to be required from each of the individual Free Churches. At the February Baptist Union Council in 1926 a committee was set up to draft the official reply. It consisted of J. H. Rushbrooke (chairman), H. Wheeler Robinson, P. W. Evans, B. Grey Griffiths, Gilbert Laws, F. Townley Lord (convener), H. L. Taylor and Alfred Ellis, together with the officers. The reply was drafted in two months and was presented to the strike-bound Assembly at Leeds.<sup>31</sup> It is cautious in tone and defines clearly and concisely the Baptist concept of Church, Sacraments and Ministry. On the specific issues of the Lambeth Appeal it accepts the primacy of Scripture, and acknowledges the importance of the creeds, though it adds 'we cannot give them a place of authority comparable with Scripture'. The reply accepts the two sacraments, defining baptism in the context of the church as a fellowship of believers, and affirms that the value of the Lord's Supper rests upon the presence of the Lord and the faith with which the elements are received. Baptists cannot assent to the seeming exclusion from the Church of the non-sacramental bodies of devoted Christians. The ministry section of the reply affirms the priesthood of all believers as against a separate order of priests, and the right of the church to call whomsoever it will to preside at the Lord's Supper or fulfil any other duty. The conclusion is predictable:

It will be gathered from this reply that union of such a kind as the Bishops have contemplated is not possible for us . . . Further progress in the direction of Christian Unity can be secured, we are convinced, only by unreserved mutual recognition.<sup>32</sup>

At the 1926 Assembly, Aubrey moved the acceptance of the document and stressed its importance, and the President, J. H. Rushbrooke, seconded. The *Baptist Times* records: 'The whole Assembly, at the call of the President, stood in approval and adoption of the reply. There was no sign or sound of any dissentient opinion or feeling.'<sup>33</sup>

The Lambeth archives contain the original of Aubrey's covering letter which went on 4 June to Archbishop Davidson with the Baptist reply on the Lambeth Appeal. One paragraph sums up the position:

May I repeat to your Grace the assurance that I gave to our Assembly, that it [the reply] was conceived in a spirit of the greatest friendliness towards the Church of England and that at every stage those who drew it up were concerned to say nothing that might be hurtful or hinder the movement for the realization of our unity along the lines that might be more fruitful. We do sincerely desire closer relations with the Anglican Church and are anxious to work together with our brethren there in the most complete accord possible.<sup>34</sup>

### b) The Ecumenical Movement 1925-1939

Unanimity, indeed, there was in 1926 on the response to the Lambeth Appeal but, as no doubt Aubrey knew only too well, tensions remained not far below the surface on the extent of Baptist participation in things ecumenical. These tensions were to reappear in

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the discussions on the Union's participation in the World Conference on Faith and Order which was to take place at Lausanne in the summer of 1927.

As we have seen already, Baptists had been making positive responses to the idea of such a conference since before the war. During the war Baptists had participated in the embryonic Faith and Order group meeting in England, which had clearly been part of the pre-history of the Lambeth Appeal. In the minds of some Baptists, therefore, the Faith and Order issue became linked with the Lambeth Appeal. The Baptist Union minute book records the existence of a World Conference of Faith and Order Committee meeting up until 1924. When the death of Robert Gardiner, the Secretary of the Faith and Order movement, was reported, the committee decided that, if and when a new secretary was appointed, the issue of Faith and Order should be referred to the Committee of Christian Unity.

At the Assembly of 1926 Rushbrooke became President and took as the title of his presidential address, 'Protestant of the Protestants'.<sup>35</sup> In the course of the address he made reference to the Lambeth Appeal and made very clear his anti-episcopal stance, expressing the view that episcopacy is 'not the direction in which we look for the evidence of Christian unity'.<sup>36</sup> This perception of the demand for episcopacy tended to colour much of the reaction to all ecumenical enterprise in the years following 1926. All the addresses in the 1926 Assembly were listed under one heading, 'The Faith of the Baptists'. It was an unashamed beating of the Baptist drum. The result was that Rushbrooke became cast more and more in the role of the defender of the Baptist Faith. This role was naturally enhanced by his position as Secretary of the Baptist World Alliance. The difficulty for Aubrey and others was that this viewpoint seemed to produce in Rushbrooke an anti-ecumenical stance which had not been quite so evident before his presidential year. Oral tradition has it that Aubrey and Rushbrooke did not easily relate to each other personally,<sup>37</sup> and Aubrey's evident growing sympathy for the infant ecumenical movement may not have helped. To be fair to Rushbrooke, he had been a Baptist delegate at the Stockholm Life and Work Conference in 1925, together with Gilbert Laws. He was also under pressure from the situation of hostile Orthodox attitudes towards the Baptists in Russia and central Europe. Baptists certainly participated in the Birmingham Conference on Politics, Economics and Citizenship [COPEC] which developed active relationships during the 1920s; but Faith and Order was a more difficult and divisive issue. Rushbrooke, as President, was in the chair of the Baptist Union Council during 1926-7, which was the crucial year of decision so far as Lausanne was concerned.

At a meeting of the Lambeth Reply Committee on 5 March 1926 correspondence was discussed between Rushbrooke (who was in the chair) and Dr J. E. Roberts, concerning the Lausanne Faith and Order Conference. Somewhat oddly, it was agreed that the matter should be referred to the Executive Committee of the Baptist World Alliance and that the reply of that committee should be reported to the Baptist Union Council in July. Presumably it was argued that as Lausanne was a world conference then the Baptist World Alliance should be the relevant body to consider the issue. J. E. Roberts had been a minister in Manchester, though by 1926 he was serving in Scotland. He had been President of the Baptist Union in 1919 and was a fervent advocate of ecumenicity. When the Baptist Union Council met on 13 July, the President reported action taken by the BWA Executive in connection with Lausanne. Unfortunately the Council minutes do not tell us what he said, but the result was evidently not positive towards participation. Roberts was disappointed but undaunted. He sought support from within

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and without the denomination. On 16 November a letter arrived from Roberts and A. E. Garvie, the Congregational ecumenist much involved in the Lambeth conversations, pleading for Baptist presence at Lausanne. Further procrastination resulted in the decision being deferred until February 1927. The Council met on 16 February when the decision could be put off no longer. The minutes read:<sup>38</sup>

Considerable discussion ensued. Several members felt that Lausanne would largely cover ground traversed at Lambeth, and that almost inevitably the result would be the same.

Although the minutes do not say so clearly, others thought differently, because it was proposed 'That the President and J. E. Roberts be requested to represent the Union at the Conference in Lausanne and that the question of expenses be referred to the Finance Committee'. This was carried by 43 votes to 25. So the Union was to be represented at Lausanne - at least so it seemed. What happened next is extraordinary. The minute book continues:<sup>39</sup>

Second Session. The President re-opened the matter on the ground that several members of the Council - including himself - took the view that it was not right or fair either to the delegates or to the Lausanne Conference to expect 2 of their number to represent a Council which was so divided on the subject - better to send a friendly explanatory statement than to be improperly represented'.

As Dr Rushbrooke was involved in present discussion he asked permission to leave the chair - and H. C. Mander took his place. Whereupon Standing Orders of Council were suspended for this debate. Eventually Mr Ernest Wood, J.P., moved and Mr John Thomas, J.P., seconded a resolution 'along the lines of Dr Rushbrooke's statement'. Then two rather younger men, both ministers - Revd G. H. Ruffel Lazlett and Revd A. J. Burgoyne, moved and seconded that the Finance Committee be instructed to defray expenses of an adequate delegation to Lausanne. This amendment was put and defeated. Unfortunately the voting is not recorded, The original Wood-Thomas resolution was put and carried. We have no means of knowing whether any Council members who were present at the first session went away thinking the matter settled and so were absent from the second session. The incident reflects Rushbrooke's determination to defeat participation. He was in a difficult situation. He was a very great internationalist. He knew the view of the sizeable Southern Convention of Baptists in the United States; he knew that even the Northern Convention had said that its members could go at their own expense as validated delegates; he knew that there would be some Orthodox presence at Lausanne and he was only too well aware of the problems of Baptist ministers in Orthodox countries in Europe. He had a vision of a strong, functioning Baptist World Alliance and a dream of a European Baptist Federation. For English Baptists to go to Lausanne could compromise his personal position. English participation could endanger European - if not world - Baptist relationships. But the Council in February 1927 was clearly manipulated by informal discussions between sessions.

We do not know for certain what Aubrey thought of this decision. He wrote to the Secretary of the Faith and Order Conference, Ralph Brown. Somewhat unusually the letter was published in the *Baptist Times* at the end of March.<sup>40</sup> It reads as a letter written by a man under constraint. It repeatedly emphasizes that the decision has been taken by Council. Aubrey details the part played by Baptists at Stockholm, in earlier

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discussions relating to Faith and Order, and in the Lambeth Appeal process. British Baptists remain willing to confer on Faith and Order matters. The writer repeats that he is instructed to inform the Secretary that the Union finds itself unable to be represented at Lausanne. The door is left wide open for the Union to receive any proposals emanating from Lausanne. The delegates will be in the prayers of British Baptists. It is to be hoped that these prayers encompassed J. E. Roberts who, nothing daunted, went to Lausanne at his own expense and even led Opening Worship at one of the major sessions! Indeed, as late as a Council in July 1927, a vain attempt had been made by Roberts, supported by letter from Ralph Brown and Charles Brent himself to reopen the issue.

In early September the *Baptist Times* printed an article by Roberts entitled 'Impressions of Lausanne' which began:<sup>41</sup>

The decision - disastrous as it seemed to some of us - of the Baptist Union Council not to be represented at the World Conference of Faith and Order placed me in an awkward position . . . North American Baptists were just a little wiser than we - they sent a delegation of 7 - and most of their delegates were young men.

The article produced an immediate riposte from Rushbrooke,<sup>42</sup> who complained of the use of the adjective 'disastrous' employed by 'my friend, Dr Roberts'. Roberts had also complained that British Baptists had missed a fine chance of serving hard-pressed fellow Baptists in Eastern Europe. To this remark Rushbrooke retorted, 'My friend is entitled to his opinion. I may claim to know something of the situation and the possibilities concerning this matter and my judgement is totally at variance with that of Dr Roberts'. Rushbrooke continued: 'We are not indifferent to the questions raised; our minds are open to all the light which God may grant - but some of us feel that there has been an excess of talk and that it is better to get on with our practical tasks.'

On 15 November 1927 the Council received a resolution from Beechen Grove, Watford, regretting the Baptist Union's absence and hoping that in future the Council will reconsider its position. There was a further letter from Roberts in the same vein. The matter was deferred until March 1928, when Aubrey asked the Council to say:

- a) that while they were not represented at Lausanne, the Union must not be regarded as having withdrawn from the World Conference on Faith and Order,
- and b) that communications with the Baptist Union should be made through the General Secretary.<sup>43</sup>

Whether these latter were going to the Baptist World Alliance or to Roberts is not clear, but Aubrey wanted to be in control of ecumenical contacts and correspondence.

At the same Council, Roberts, while still maintaining the Baptist Union absence to have been a mistake, moved that an *ad hoc* committee should consider both the Lausanne Report and the minutes of the Continuation Committee. Roberts further moved that the reports should be circulated to the churches. Rushbrooke seconded the resolution which was passed unanimously and once again unity about unity seemed to be prevailing amongst Baptists. On 14 May the General Purposes committee decided that it, plus C. T. Le Quesne, should be such a committee. Roberts attended the Continuation Committee as a link between the Union and Faith and Order until his untimely and

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somewhat sudden death on 25 January 1929. On 12 March the General Purposes Committee was told that the Secretary of the Baptist Union had been elected as a member of the Continuation Committee and Aubrey was formally requested to attend as a representative of the Baptist Union.

Minutes of the Continuation Committee and of other national committees on Faith and Order indicate that Aubrey played an increasing role in the movement.<sup>44</sup> There developed a growing friendship with William Temple, Archbishop of York and chairman of Faith and Order. They worked together with others in the arrangements for the Second World Conference on Faith and Order held at Edinburgh in July 1937, where Aubrey chaired a section of the Conference.<sup>45</sup> Significantly he was also elected a member of the committee of thirty-five drawn jointly from Faith and Order and Life and Work, which recommended to the Edinburgh Conference and to the Oxford Life and Work Conference held that same summer that a World Council of Churches should be inaugurated. He was an alternate on the committee of fourteen set up jointly by Oxford and Edinburgh to forward the World Council project. He was present at Clarens in Switzerland in August 1938, when the Faith and Order Continuation Committee decided to commit Faith and Order to the World Council project.<sup>46</sup>

J. H. Rushbrooke remained very cautious. He argued that at the significant meeting at Utrecht concerning the World Council formation Aubrey would be present as a representative of the Baptist Union Council and that, whatever was agreed at Utrecht, the Union could not be committed to membership until Council and Assembly agreed. That this was the proper procedure Aubrey did not doubt. He duly reported progress to the Council. In March 1939 the Council had before it a formal letter from Visser T'Hooft, who was acting as Secretary to the joint committee provisionally charged with the formation of the World Council of Churches. This invited the Baptist Union to become a founding member. There was a long discussion in Council before Arthur Newton and G. Evans moved that it be recommended to the Assembly that the Baptist Union should join the proposed World Council. Then an amendment was moved - somewhat surprisingly by Ernest Payne of all people - 'that the letter be sympathetically received but a committee should be set up to consider the implications'.<sup>47</sup> This amendment was defeated 47:63 and the resolution to recommend to the Assembly that the Union should join the Council was agreed with only five dissentients.

In retrospect it can be said that if the Payne amendment had carried, then the 1939 Assembly could not have dealt with the matter and the chances are that the Baptist Union membership of the World Council could well have become a casualty of the war. As it was, however, the resolution to join was taken as part of the Council's report to the Assembly. The *Baptist Times* for 4 May 1939 reports that, in introducing it, Aubrey made an impassioned plea for unity in these difficult days and pleaded for a 'united front to show the world what Christianity really means'.<sup>48</sup> He also characterized the proposed World Council and the Ecumenical Movement as 'the biggest thing in the world at the moment'. Assembly accepted the report. So Aubrey hoped to steer the Baptist barque alongside the good ship *Oikoumene*, but before the latter could be launched war broke out and nine years were to elapse before the Union's decision to become identified with the World Council could become reality.

It was Aubrey's friendship with William Temple, combined with his moderatorship of the Federal Council of the Free Churches, that provided him with what was probably his finest hour ecumenically in the inter-war period. On 19 January 1938 he addressed the Convocation of York in York Minster at the personal invitation of the Archbishop.

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The invitation came as a direct result of the Edinburgh Faith and Order Conference. It was that Conference and its implications which were to be the subject of Aubrey's address. We still possess Aubrey's own manuscript of that address, complete with the usual last minute alterations.<sup>49</sup> The event was widely reported in the press.<sup>50</sup> The *Manchester Guardian* carried a detailed report on 20 January in a column alongside news of Niemöller's impending trial. The *Northern Echo* ran the headline 'Baptist Minister makes history - the first Nonconformist to address Convocation'. The *Yorkshire Post* has a photograph of Temple and Aubrey together and an early paragraph in bold type which said 'Rev. M. E. Aubrey emphasized the need for a spirit of unity on a wide base. Their divisions remained but the ancient bitterness had gone.'

The address shows Aubrey at his oratorical best. 'We greet you in Christ's name no longer as foemen but as brothers in one family'. Speaking of Edinburgh, he said, 'As I spoke in halting conversations with men who a generation ago would have thought it incredible that they should ever enter into intimate Christian fellowship with a Baptist minister, as I listened humbly when one of our Orthodox brethren who seemed a thousand leagues away from me spoke simply of what the Communion of Saints meant to him, I knew that he sought what I was seeking too - though by a different path . . . As the days of that exacting fortnight rolled on, in spite of divergences that appeared, we knew ourselves drawn closer together in fuller sympathy and stronger desire to understand. No bitter word was spoken, no sharp passages occurred and the moment of greatest spiritual exaltation was not the first service but the last.' He pleaded 'for patience, for absence of timidity, for frank definition of differences as an inevitable stage of progress . . . If we are not frank we cannot learn from each other . . . We are pledged to ecumenicity and we must bring others to share our hope of a Church of Christ truly one throughout the world - standing for the mind and will of God - and bring them to work for it.'

After speaking of the proposed World Council of Churches - 'which will require persuasion, grace and determination', he paid a tribute to William Temple and concluded with a preacher's peroration:

We could not doubt in that Assembly that the light was the light from heaven. In Edinburgh we looked away for a while from a distracted world where men are hungrily, brutally, struggling for mastery, where their shouts fill the skies, and our eyes and hearts were filled with the promise of a new Jerusalem come down from heaven - God's country where the people called by His name shall dwell together in the unity of the Spirit and the bond of peace and 'the gold of that land is good'. That is what Edinburgh meant to me.

1938 was a difficult year for Aubrey. Not only was there the Russell Square scheme<sup>51</sup> but there was also an abortive end to an attempt to rekindle the Lambeth Appeal conversations. This attempt had started in 1931 and had progressed somewhat fitfully throughout the decade. It is a saga still largely unrecorded. So far as Baptists were concerned, it came to a total halt when a proposed outline reunion scheme was published in February 1938<sup>52</sup> without the full agreement of all the participants (including Aubrey and Charles Brown) to all its contents. The Baptist Union Council refused even to discuss it and caused A. C. Don to comment to William Temple: 'The action of the Baptists shows once more that they are the most intractable of all the non-conformist bodies.'<sup>53</sup> Temple himself wrote significantly: 'I have been thinking for

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some time past that we shall not get much further with the joint conversations of Anglicans and Free Churches on our present basis and that we need to be moving towards dealings with any denomination that may be ready to deal with it.<sup>54</sup>

Yet in the February of 1938 at a joint conference between Anglicans and Free Churches Aubrey was asked to speak on practical co-operation between the churches in the following up of the Edinburgh Conference.<sup>55</sup> He suggested that there should be a national campaign of education based upon current reunion proposals which could be forwarded by the Friends of Re-union with members of the joint conference collaborating in their individual capacities. But by the October of 1938 - following Munich and its aftermath - Aubrey and Berry, (Secretary of the Congregational Union) wrote to Lambeth, suggesting that the next meeting of the joint conference should be replaced by a meeting convened with reference to the international situation.<sup>56</sup>

Out of the pressures of war came first the merger in 1940 of the two Free Church movements, and then in 1942 the founding of the British Council of Churches. In both these enterprises Aubrey played a full part. One wonders whether it was only the fact of its geographical location that caused the inaugural meetings of both the Free Church Federal Council and of the British Council of Churches to be held in the Council Chamber of the Baptist Church House in Southampton Row.

Aubrey's ecumenical status grew. He continued on Faith and Order after the war. He was at Amsterdam for the founding of the World Council of Churches in 1948 and was elected to the Central Committee. But by 1952 he was weary of the then difficult travel and sent his successor, Ernest Payne, as his alternate to the Central Committee in India. It is not improbable that Aubrey had something to do with Payne's being immediately and startlingly pitchforked by the chairman of the Central Committee, George Bell, Bishop of Chichester, into the chair of the Evanston arrangements committee, from which beginning Payne ecumenically never looked back.<sup>57</sup> Shakespeare may have died feeling that his ecumenical attempts had come to little. Yet the wider ecumenical vision has been an integral part of the perspective of all his successors. They may not have ploughed the furrow so deeply as did Shakespeare but they have never let the plough slip from their hands and the furrow is still being tended and lengthened.

There is just one fascinating postscript to Aubrey's 1938 address in York Minster. At his farewell meeting at the Baptist Union Assembly in 1951, one of the guest speakers was -significantly - the Archbishop of Canterbury, Geoffrey Fisher. In the course of his remarks Fisher said, 'M. E. Aubrey began my ecumenical education. It was the weight and wisdom of his address to the convocation at York which led me to commit myself to the ecumenical movement.'<sup>58</sup> Anyone who knows anything about church relations in England from 1945 onwards will know the importance of that particular ecumenical commitment for which Aubrey was apparently responsible. If Aubrey had done nothing else ecumenically that one achievement is significant enough on its own.

What I have written on Aubrey<sup>59</sup> does not, of course, tell the complete Aubrey story. Nothing has been said of his development of denominational polity, structures, mission, nor of the considerable contribution he made to wider affairs, particularly during the years just before the war with the German question and after the war with his work in Europe. Enough has been said, hopefully, to achieve the purpose originally stated of bringing Aubrey out of the shadows into the light of Baptist history where deservedly he belongs. Pinned to the top of Aubrey's papers was a card upon which was printed a poem by an unknown writer of uncertain poetic ability but of simple and

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sensible faith. The poem is based on Proverbs 4.12: 'As thou goest, step by step, I will open up the way before thee'.

Child of my love, fear not the unknown morrow,  
Dread not the new demand life makes of thee;  
Thy ignorance doth hold no cause for sorrow  
Since what thou knowest not is known to me.

Wherefore go gladly to the test assigned thee,  
Having my promise, needing nothing more  
Than just to know, where'er the future finds thee,  
In all thy journeyings I go before.<sup>60</sup>

A word to us all, but especially to those who, like Melbourn Evans Aubrey, find themselves so often at life's 'perplexing crossways'.

### NOTES

- 1 Text in G. K. A. Bell (ed.), *Documents on Christian Unity 1920-1930*, OUP 1930, pp.1-5.
- 2 R. Hayden, 'Still at the Cross Roads: Revd J. H. Shakespeare and Ecumenism', in *Baptists in the Twentieth Century*, ed. K. Clements, BHS 1983, pp.31-54. I acknowledge readily the help Dr Hayden's essay has been in the preparation of the first part of this article. It stimulated my own research to enquire in further detail into the ecumenical inheritance which Shakespeare bequeathed to his successors. We still await a full assessment of Shakespeare's life and work.
- 3 Hayden, *op.cit.* p.31.
- 4 See Bell, *op.cit.* p.15, and for fuller details, *A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1517-1948*, ed. Ruth Rouse and Stephen C. Neill, SPCK 1954, pp.406-12.
- 5 I am most grateful to the Revd K. Clements for his research on my behalf in the archives of the World Council of Churches in Geneva. It is evident that what he found there is material of considerable interest and importance not only concerning J. H. Shakespeare's early and enthusiastic involvement in Faith and Order but as part of the background to the developing discussions between the Anglicans and the Free Churches in England during the second decade of the twentieth century. The Geneva Archive reference is Box 23.0.007 Folder 11.
- 6 As early as 26 January 1912 Robert Gardiner had written to Shakespeare expressing gratitude for Shakespeare's continuing interest in the proposed World Conference on Faith and Order. In the crucial weeks of 1914 Shakespeare wrote to Gardiner on 16 March, to which Gardiner replied on 27 March. Further letters were exchanged on 3 and 4 April from Shakespeare and a reply on 18 April from Gardiner. Six further letters are extant in the Geneva archives, reference as in note 5.
- 7 *Baptist Times* 3 May 1918, p.277.
- 8 Quoted in Hayden, *op.cit.* pp.46-7. Original in Tissington Tatlow MSS in Lambeth Palace Library. Box 23.0.014 in the World Council Archives in Geneva in Folder 14 contains the minutes of the Sub-Committee of Church of England and Free Churches on Faith and Order, 1914-1919, which shows Shakespeare as an active member of the Sub-Committee. The first meeting took place on 15 June 1914. Some of the correspondence mentioned in note 6 relates to this sub-committee.
- 9 *The Churches at the Cross Roads*, p.178.
- 10 Reported in *Baptist Times*, 17 April 1919, p.227.
- 11 Hayden, *op.cit.* p.48, quoting from *British Weekly*, 5 December 1918.
- 12 1919 Baptist Union Minute Book p.424c.
- 13 *Baptist Times* 2 May 1919, p.258.
- 14 *Baptist Times* 9 May 1919, p.278.
- 15 *ibid.*
- 16 See note 1 and also E. A. Payne, *The Baptist Union: A Short History*, 1958, p.196.
- 17 Bell, *op.cit.* p.118.
- 18 Lang Papers, vol. 6, pp.1ff. I am grateful for the courtesy and helpfulness of the staff of Lambeth Palace Library in the preparation of this article and for the opportunity to publish material from the manuscripts housed at Lambeth.
- 19 *ibid.*
- 20 This address should be compared with Aubrey's address to the York Convocation in February 1938 (see pp.334). Both confirm Aubrey's



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concern about church relations and illustrate his conviction that opportunities should be welcomed for Baptist voices to be clearly heard in ecumenical debate but also - especially in 1938 - that Baptists should be ready to listen also.

- 21 *Baptist Times* Report 15 April 1921, p.230.
- 22 *Baptist Times* Report 22 April 1921, p.246.
- 23 *Baptist Times* 29 April 1921, p.266.
- 24 *ibid.* p.265.
- 25 *ibid.* p.266.
- 26 J. G. Lockhart, *Cosmo Gordon Lang*, 1949, p.274. Lockhart's whole chapter on the Lambeth Appeal is a valuable summary of events from the Archbishop's perspective.
- 27 See for example T. R. Glover, *The Free Churches and Re-union*, Cambridge 1921; H. G. Wood, *Terror Reaveley Glover*, Cambridge 1958, pp.153-4 for Glover's perceptions of the Lambeth Appeal.
- 28 Lang Papers, vol.6, p.186, Lambeth Palace Library.
- 29 Lang Papers, vol.6, p.212.
- 30 Lang Papers, Vol.6, p.267.
- 31 Payne, *op.cit.* Appendix IX p.279.
- 32 *ibid.* p.282. E. K. H. Jordan, *Free Church Unity*, Lutterworth 1956, chapter 11, pp.168-179, has a valuable account of the Lambeth Conversations from the Free Church point of view.
- 33 *Baptist Times* 20 May 1926, p.350.
- 34 Davidson Papers, vol.264, p.351 in Lambeth Palace Library.
- 35 Address reproduced in *The Faith of the Baptists*, pp.60-84.
- 36 *ibid.* p.78.
- 37 Dr Payne was the source of this information in personal conversation with the present writer. Some written support is to be found in his personal reflections recorded in manuscript. I have subsequently had this view confirmed by others who were close to Rushbrooke - but no reason has been stated. It is possible that the difficulties may go back to Aubrey's appointment and the rumours that Rushbrooke was first choice. It is also true that the interests of the Union and those of the Baptist World Alliance did not always coincide.
- 38 Baptist Union Minute Book 1926/27 p.895.
- 39 *ibid.* p.896.
- 40 *Baptist Times* 4 April 1927, p.251.
- 41 *Baptist Times* 1 September 1927, p.610.
- 42 *Baptist Times* 15 September 1927, p.644.
- 43 Baptist Union Minute Book 1927/28, p.819.
- 44 Minutes held in the Archives of the World Council of Churches in Geneva show, for example, Aubrey to have been present at the

- Committee of Reference for the World Conference of Faith and Order held at Church House Westminster on 15 June 1931, with William Temple in the chair. This committee was preparing for the Faith and Order World Conference which was eventually held in 1937 at Edinburgh. The Archives contain also a memorandum submitted on behalf of the Baptist Union Council in 1929 to Faith and Order, commenting constructively on the report of the Lausanne Faith and Order Conference of 1927. Copies of these documents are with the Aubrey Papers in the Angus Library, Regent's Park College, Oxford.
- 45 Aubrey was chairman at Edinburgh of Section IV, The Church's Unity in Life and Worship. Its report came out strongly in favour of the formation of a World Council of Churches. Other Baptist Union delegates were Gilbert Laws, C. T. Le Quesne, John Macbeath and Hugh Martin.
  - 46 Minutes of that committee in Archives of the World Council of Churches, with a copy in the Angus Library, together with Aubrey's signed acknowledgement, dated 24 June 1938, that he agrees with the proposed plan for the World Council of Churches (Geneva Archives 23.1.003 Folder 12). A copy is in the Aubrey Papers in the Angus Library. It is interesting to find from the Geneva Archives that the Administrative Committee of the Baptist World Alliance, meeting in London on 31 January 1938, had produced a memorandum on the proposed World Council, signed by J. H. Rushbrooke. In it the Administrative Committee records its agreement with a declaration of the Lutheran World Convention Executive Committee of August 1937 that 'representation in the proposed General Assembly [of the WCC], the proposed Central Committee and the proposed Committees and Commissions should be ecclesiastical and confessional and not territorial.' This viewpoint was not shared by Aubrey and did not prevail in the final constitution of the World Council where representation is by member Churches based territorially. This difference of opinion could have caused problems of relationship not only for Aubrey and Rushbrooke but also for Baptist Unions and Baptist World Alliance. This same issue re-appeared in 1948 at the Alliance Conference in Copenhagen, where Ernest Payne intervened in a plenary debate, decisively following the Aubrey view (W. M. S. West, *To Be a Pilgrim: a memoir of Ernest A. Payne*, p.66).
  - 47 Baptist Union Minute Book 1938/39, p.778. I

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am grateful to Jon Spiller in Baptist House for help in checking and confirming many of the references given.

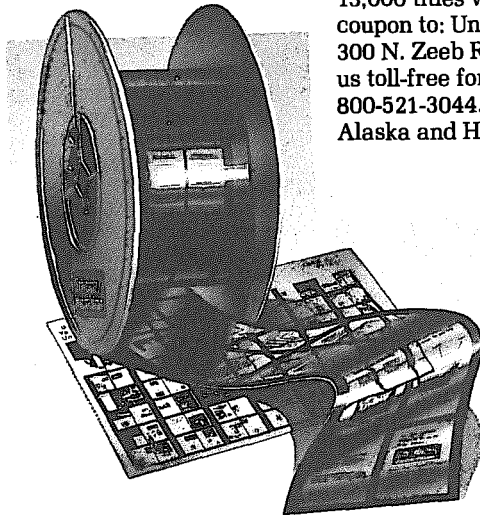
- 48 *Baptist Times*, 4 May 1939, p.346.  
49 With Aubrey Papers in Angus Library.  
50 Press cuttings in Aubrey Papers attached to manuscript.  
51 See *BQ* vol.34, 6, April 1992, pp.263-81.  
52 See G. K. A. Bell, *Documents on Christian Unity*, Third Series, OUP 1938, pp.71-101.  
53 Lang Papers, vol.62, p.263, letter dated 17 April 1938, Lambeth Palace Library.  
54 *ibid.*, in a letter dated 4 April 1938. This
- viewpoint anticipates the policy which instituted the Anglican-Methodist conversations twenty years later.  
55 Meeting held on 11-12 February 1938 at Lambeth. Minutes in Lang Papers, vol.62, p.247, in Lambeth Palace Library.  
56 *ibid.* p.269, letter dated 21 October 1938.  
57 West, *op.cit.* pp.87-8.  
58 *Baptist Times*, 3 May 1951, p.2.  
59 See *BQ* vol.33, 8, October 1990, pp.351-62; vol.34, 5, January 1992 pp.199-213; vol.34, 6, April 1992, pp.263-81.  
60 Card in Aubrey Papers.

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