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Editorial Notes.

THE news of exciting discoveries of Old Testament manuscripts in a cave south of Jericho was but a nine days' wonder so far as the popular press was concerned. It will, however, provide Biblical scholars with many new tasks. Those at work on the text of the Old Testament itself now have Hebrew manuscripts of Isaiah, and fragments of other books, which are at least a thousand years older than any known before. The textual study of the Hebrew Bible and of the Septuagint will receive a new impetus. Further, the formerly unknown work, provisionally entitled "The War of the Children of Light and Darkness," the collection of thanksgiving hymns, the secretarian book of initiation and ritual, and the copy of Enoch in Aramaic should help historians to fill in a number of the many gaps in our knowledge of "the period between the Testaments." It appears that there may still be other scrolls from the cave, besides those now in the United States and at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, and in addition to the fragments which are being examined at the British Museum. It is to be hoped that they will speedily pass into the hands of those competent to make use of them. The contents of the cave as a whole must be examined that the possibility may be considered of their being related to the discoveries which Origen says were made in the neighbourhood of Jericho about 217 A.D. The new find will raise hopes of further archaeological and literary discoveries in the Near East.

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On June 28th and 29th, 1949 the Council of Serampore College met again at Serampore after an interval of ninety-four years. Since 1855 the governing body of the College has had its headquarters and secretariat in London, in close liaison with the Baptist Missionary Society from which has come the main continuing support of the institution in personnel and money. It has long been evident, however, that a new administrative pattern must be devised and the recent political changes in India gave the matter a new urgency. With the cordially expressed goodwill of the Baptist Missionary Society, the Council of the College has been transferred back to India and will in future function there. All the English members have resigned, with the exception of Dr. H. R. Williamson. They will be replaced

by persons resident in India. It is intended that the close links between the College and the B.M.S. shall be maintained, and the B.M.S. has already expressed the hope and intention of continuing its present contribution of four members of staff and £1000 per annum for the next five years at least.

This is a very significant development in the long and notable history of the College founded by Carey, Marshman and Ward. It has coincided with personal changes. Mr. C. T. LeQuesne, K.C., for many years Master of College, has retired in favour of Dr. Christopher Angus. The latter succeeded Dr. George Howells as Principal in 1930, and to his wise and patient leadership is largely due the successful issue of the delicate negotiations involved in the administrative changes. To the vacant Principalship of the College Dr. C. E. Abraham has been appointed. This also is an historic step, for Dr. Abraham is the first Indian to become Principal of Serampore. He is a member of the Syrian Church and has already given many years of devoted service to the College.

We cannot but feel that the present changes would have been approved and welcomed by Carey. Baptists in this country will extend warm good wishes to the re-constituted Council and to the new Master and Principal, in the heavy responsibilities they have undertaken. We are glad to know that Dr. Williamson hopes to maintain and develop personal links between Serampore and this country by enrolling many individuals as "Friends of Serampore."

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At the end of July, Professor Morris B. Owen, M.A., B.D., of the Presbyterian College, Carmarthen, passed away. He had been the Baptist member of the staff for no less than forty-two years. A native of North Wales, trained at Bangor College, his life was spent in the south of the Principality. He won the respect and regard of successive generations of students, and not only the College but also the Baptist denomination in Wales has suffered a great loss by his death. Professor Owen shunned the limelight, but he was ever ready to serve. His special interest was in the field of Church History. For many years he edited *Seren Gomer,* the Welsh Baptist quarterly, and a few months ago translated for it into Welsh Mr. Payne's Dr. Williams's Lecture on the Anabaptists. In addition to his College duties he was for twenty-five years the devoted pastor of the two little chapels of Sitim, Felingwyn, and Salem, Felinwen. It was fitting that his body should be laid to rest on the side of the hill near Sitim, amid beautiful surroundings, in brilliant sunshine, and in the presence of a great company of friends, colleagues, and former students.

The Ter-Centenary of Ilston, 1649-1949.

THIS year Welsh Baptists everywhere are celebrating the ter-centenary of Ilston. This Church was founded in 1649 and its influence was remarkable in the early history of the Welsh Baptist Churches. It is seldom realised that there are seven hundred and fifty churches in association with the Welsh Baptist Union with an approximate membership of 82,700. Few, if any, of this number will not know something about Ilston and its founder John Miles. As a tribute to the Church and its founder, the Welsh Baptist Union Assemblies meet this year at Swansea, the nearest town to the valley of Ilston. In the Assemblies special place will be given to the beginnings of the denomination in Wales and fitting tributes will be paid to the fathers whose sacrifice is still the inspiration of denominational work in the principality.

Ilston is to be found in one of the lovely secluded valleys of the Gower peninsula. But only those who really seek will find this delightful retreat which shelters the ruins of the pre-Reformation Chapel of Trinity Well, which is claimed by tradition and more recently confirmed by historical evidence, as the first meeting place of the Strict Baptists in Wales. Ilston is reached by taking a bus from Swansea to Parkmill, and then following the stream Illtyd inland. Following this quiet stream from the South Road, the pilgrim comes to the ruins of the chapel of Trinity Well, and here a memorial tablet informs him that his search is ended and that he is at the first Baptist Church in Wales. The memorial tablet reads as follows:

"Gorau cof, cof crefydd.
To Commemorate the Foundation
in this valley, of the
First Baptist Church in Wales
1649-60
and to honour the Memory of its Founder
John Myles.
This Ruin is the site of the Pre-Reformation
Chapel of Trinity Well,
And is claimed by tradition as a meeting place
of the above Cromwellian Church.
This Memorial
has been erected with the permission of
Admiral A. W. Heneage-Vivian, C.B., M.V.O.,
and was unveiled by the
Right Hon. D. Lloyd George, M.P., O.M.,
13th June, 1928."

The presumed founder of Ilston Baptist Church was John Miles. Mr. Rhys Phillips in the *Trafodion* 1928, *Cymdeithas Hanes Bedyddwyr Cymru* supplies sufficient evidence to prove that the correct spelling of the name is Miles and not Myles. Peculiarly enough, the original Ilston church chronicle gives a list of the church members and the first name on the list is that of the founder, but in this instance his name is given as Myles. The problems connected with the true spelling of his name are symbolic of his life story and the story of Ilston Church.

Very little is known about his early days except that he went to Brasenose, Oxford, when he was fifteen years of age, and that he matriculated there on March 11th, 1636. He was registered at Brasenose as the son of one Walter Miles of Newton, Herefordshire. Newton, so we are given to understand, was in the Parish of Clodock until 1848, but unfortunately the parish records previous to 1705 are lost. It has been suggested that Miles was ordained in the Diocese of Hereford, but again proof is impossible because the ordination records of the Diocese between 1631 and 1661 have not yet been traced. Not content with this mysterious start to a remarkable career, Miles leaves to all those who would presume to write about him the following ready-made headaches; How and why did Miles come to Gower? Where did he live whilst at Ilston and Llanelly? Who was his first wife, and why was not she a member of the Ilston church? What was the connection between the Glasshouse Church and John Miles and Thomas Proud at Gower? What was Miles' peculiar right to worship at Trinity Well? If Miles was forced to flee to America for safety's sake, why did he return to Gower after three years in America, and why did he return to the States again? And finally, where is his final resting place?

We know that Miles was twice married, but we have no record or indication of the identity of the first wife. There are three suggestions concerning her. She might have been a young lady from the Hereford district where John Miles spent his early days; she might have been a lady from one of the many places where Miles had encamped during the days of the Civil War; or finally she might have been a rich heiress living somewhere on the borders of Glamorganshire or Carmarthenshire. This last suggestion is the most probable because of the evidence of the " Land and tenements " which Miles' grandchildren inherited in 1728. The lady in question is presumed to have lived on some estate between Gower and the Gwendraeth Valley. An only son John was born about 1645. Miles' second wife was Anne, the daughter of John Humphrey, the justice of Massachusetts. Her mother was Lady Susan Clinton, the

daughter of Thomas Clinton, the Third Earl of Lincoln. A son and three daughters were born of this union.

We also know that on July 31, 1656, Miles was appointed lecturer to the Parish Church at Llanelly and received the yearly sum of Forty Pounds for his labours. The deeds refer to him as "Minister of Llanelly." In September, 1657, he was appointed minister of the Parish Church at Ilston for the same salary. In the original document relevant to the transfer we read, "For increase of the maintenance of the ministry at Ilston . . . and that the same bee from time to time paid unto Mr. John Myles the present minister there, approved according to the Ordinance of Approbacon of publiqye preachers . . . in lieu of so much to him formerly graunted as Minister of Llanelly." It is odd that Miles place of abode on Gower or at Llanelly has not been located. If he lived on his wife's estate, as suggested, near the Gwendraeth Valley, the growth of the Baptist churches at Llanelly, Llangennech, and even as far west as Carmarthen, becomes easy to explain.

Although it is impossible to accept Dr. Thomas Rees' sweeping and ambiguous statement that "Miles' history from the time of his matriculation to the year of 1649 is a blank," it is true to say that we know much more about him from that year forward. In the Spring of that year he went up to London with his friend Thomas Proud. During their visit they had occasion to visit the Glasshouse Church and returned home convinced of Baptist truth. It is suggested that this visit to the Glasshouse was not so haphazard or accidental as previously thought. The Glasshouse was owned by Vice-Admiral Sir Robert Mansell, whose roots and family were in the Oxwich-Margam estates. It is not improbable that Proud had either worked at the Glasshouse sometime, or that he had been a personal servant to Sir Robert. It was a very natural thing for him to visit the Glasshouse to meet his old workmates and share with them their zeal for the faith. What could be more natural than for John Miles to be caught up in their floodtide of enthusiasm? He was baptized by immersion and returned to Gower to found the Ilston Church.

Miles' organising genius makes itself apparent immediately. Before January 12, 1650, a Baptist Church had been gathered together at Llanharan for those baptized at Gelligaer and St. Brides. In February a church was formed at Hay, Brecon. In 1651, churches were formed at Carmarthen in the West and Abergavenny in the East. His genius, however, was not only to found churches but to exercise considerable control over them. In October, 1650, it was decided at a special church meeting that there should be "breaking of bread" at Ilston every third Sunday for all members, but that those who lived in West Gower should

meet on the other two Sundays at Llanddewi, and those who lived in the Welsh districts of Carmarthen at the house of "Jenett" Jones near Llanelly. Spiritual welfare enquiries were held in the Welsh districts on Tuesdays, at Ilston on Wednesdays, at Llanddewi on Thursdays, every week, but Church censures were only given at Ilston, the mother church, on the Wednesday morning of every third week.

By February, 1651, it was deemed advisable to baptize at Aberavon, but the right to receive members into full communion was reserved for Ilston. In April, 1651, the Lords Supper was permitted to be held once a quarter at Baglan or Aberavon, with the proviso that all members must partake of communion once a quarter at Ilston and that two or more members must attend Ilston every Communion Sunday to give account of "the condition of their church". Similar arrangements were made at Abergavenny and other churches in the area. Communion was held on the first Sunday of the month at Abergavenny; at Llanwenarth a general church meeting was held on the first Sunday after Communion; at Llangibby communion was given every three months, but a Church meeting was held every Wednesday.

The local arrangements were collated and supplemented by General Meetings which were representative of all areas. Included in their agenda was the arranging of ministerial supplies and the maintenance of the ministry. The first General Meeting was held at Ilston on November 6 and 7, 1650. The decisions are interesting. David Davies was scheduled to preach at Carmarthen on two Sundays every two months and John Miles was to preach on one Sunday every two months, and so also was Walter Prosser. David Davies was also asked to visit Llanharan as often as possible, and in his absence a brother from Hay was requested to take his place at Carmarthen. It was also decided to urge every member to support the ministry, and the sum of Ten Pounds was expected to be contributed annually by the three churches of Hay, Ilston ,and Llanharan. Other General Meetings were held at Carmarthen on March 9, 1651 and at Abergavenny on July 14 and 15, 1651. It is inevitable that Miles' early organisation was taxed to the utmost by administrative and general church difficulties. Thomas Proud was suspended from membership for fourteen weeks because he advocated mixed communion; Abergavenny was faced with a similar problem; Llantrisant was confronted with problems of discipline. In addition there were a host of problems concerning the singing of psalms, the laying on of hands, and the number of church officers and their duties.

One of the most amazing features of the times is the close

relationship which existed between the Churches. They frequently sent encouraging letters to one another, and the church at Glasshouse in particular takes great interest in her daughter churches. One letter from the Glasshouse church gives the timely and sound advice that the churches should not be multiplied unless they were manned by efficient pastors. Significantly the General meeting exercised supervision over all the churches, and discipline was centred in the General Meeting. In spite of varying influences and Miles' close contacts with London, the Strict Baptists of Wales developed their church life in a way adaptable to their own environment.

It is fitting that we should remind ourselves of the main features of their Church life. Even as late as 1710, we have this Transfer letter written on behalf of the Swansea church which reflects the prevailing traditions:

> "The Church of Jesus Christ, meeting at Swansea in Glamorganshire, owning believers Baptism, laying on of hands, the doctrine of personal election and final perseverance."

Joshua Thomas remarks on the steadfastness of the early Strict Baptists to their convictions. He also adds that when the church was in difficulty or confronted by a problem such as "Mixed Communion," it was customary to hold Prayer and Fast Days. If the problems of one church were settled it was an occasion of great rejoicing in all the churches. An excellent example of this procedure is seen at Gelli Church. When the problem of "Mixed Communion" which had greatly troubled the church was settled, Ilston, Carmarthen, and Llanafan joined in the general thanksgiving. John Miles also did not disdain to debate publicly in defence of his views. He had no hesitation in issuing a challenge to "Mr. Cradoc, Mr. Powel, and Mr. Jones" to debate on the same platform at Clifford, near Gelli. Another interesting feature was the laying on of hands. This custom has almost died out in Wales except for some of the remoter areas, such as North Pembrokeshire, where new members are still received into the membership of the church by the laying on of hands.[1] Miles himself abhorred the custom.

John Miles held his post at Ilston until the Restoration, when he, in common with many others, was forced to flee to America. It must have been very hard for him to close the Church Register on August 12, 1660, but he ventured to take the Register with him in the hope of carrying on his work there. Miles and some others settled at Rehoboth in the State of Massachusetts. Even there he did not succeed in evading persecution for his views,

[1] The Pembrokeshire Churches own Rhydwilym as their starting point. This Church was founded in 1667. William Jones is the founder.

for on July 2, 1667, "At the Court held at Plymouth before Thomas Prince, Governor, and others, Mr. Miles and Mr. Brown, for their breach of order, in setting up of a public meeting, without the knowledge and approbation of the Court, to the disturbance of the peace of the place, are fined each of them five pounds, and Mr. Tanner the sum of One pound; and we judge that their continuance at Rehoboth very prejudical to the peace of that church and that town, and may not be allowed, and do therefore order all persons concerned therein wholly to desist from the said meeting in that place or township within this month." On the 30th of November, Miles and his followers were granted a tract of land on which they built the town of Swanzey. Miles died there on the 3rd of February, 1683. His resting place is not known, but a memorial stone has been raised to his honour at Tylers Point Cemetery, Barrington, Rhode Island.

It has been suggested that when John Miles fled to America, he took a number of Baptists from Ilston with him. Isaac Backus mentions the following, "Nicholas Tanner, Obadiah Bowen, John Thomas, and others also came over to this country." A further number which are described as a colony, returned with him after his visit to Gower in 1664-65, "He returned to England, and came again in 1665, accompanied by a colony." It is only natural that they called the town where they settled Swanzey. Rhys Phillips quotes thus "The Court then transferred Wanamoiset to this territory, and incorporated the whole as a town, named Swansea, from Miles' former home. Thus did the Congregational Old Colony create a town as the seat of the first legalised Baptist Church in America outside of Rhode Island." When the colonists arrived Justices Willet and Brown were in charge of the area, and they delegated Nath Payne, John Allen, and John Butterworth to superintend the settlement of these new members of their community. They, together with Miles, ruled that the heretical, the dissolute, and the quarrelsome were to be forbidden entry into their territory. The heretical were defined as Unitarians, those who believed in transubstantiation, those who gloried in their good works, those who denied the Ascension and Second Coming of Christ, and those who rejected the Divine Inspiration of the Bible. A matter such as Infant Baptism was left open for individual interpretation and parents and ministers were allowed to use their own discretion in the matter. As a result both Baptists and Congregationalists lived peaceably together, but we are surprised that John Miles was prepared to agree to terms which would not have been tolerated at Ilston, Gower. Rhys Phillips suggests amusingly that this was the result of his

second marriage and the change in Miles' social position. Although amusing, it is not impossible that this change of mind did occur for such a reason. Matthews of Ewenny, the celebrated Welsh Divine once said that the Pope was infallible because he was not married, but that if he did marry he would soon discover his fallibility. Perhaps some similar force influenced John Miles. Miles ministered at Swanzey for some time, and when the town was destroyed in an Indian raid in 1675 Miles moved to Boston where he founded the first Baptist church in that city. He returned to Swanzey after its rebuilding and died there in 1683.

But to return to the early days of the Ilston Church, one of the most interesting features is the Church Register with its list of members. This Register is now kept at Fall River, Mass., U.S.A. It contains in addition to the membership lists, the records and letters of the Ilston Church from 1649 to 1660, followed by the records of the Church in America. The first twenty-six names are as follows:

"John Myles
Thos; Proud of Landewi
Jane Lloyd of Paviland fallen asleepe
Elizabeth Proud of Landewi
Margrett Davies of Ilston
Sarah Williams of Kevengorwydd
Mathew Davies of Kilay
Elizab Harries of Lanmadock
Elizab Hill of Rosilly
Ann Williams of Kevengorwydd
William Thomas of Llangennach
Ann Davies of Burwick
William Morgans of Byshopston fallen asleepe
Henry Griffiths of Byshopston
Mary Griffiths of Byshopston
Katharin Morgan of Byshopston
Georg Harrie of Lanmadock
Margarett Bowen of Ilston
Joan Jenkins of Lanmadock
Jenett Jones of Burwick
Margarett Georg of Burwick
Ann James of Burwick
Leyson Davies of Ilston
exco John Austin of Ilston
Sage Ffacklen of Ilston."

Other names which show the scope of Miles ministry are "John Hughes of the church att Hay"; "Evan Llewellin of ye church att Llanharan"; "Ann Grove of ye church att Barnstaple"; "Evan John, Llandilo"; "Richard Edward of Verwig in Cardiganshire"; and "Ruth Knight of Rosse." By 1660 the church numbered 261, of which 115 are men.

When John Miles left Ilston the work was carried on by

such men as Lewis Thomas, Y Mwr, Morgan Jones, Llansawel, and Morgan Jones, Llanmadoc. Theirs was the unhappy time of persecution. Charles the Second had returned to the throne and the floodgates of persecution were thrown wide open. The situation in Wales is best described by Vavasor Powell's graphic eyewitness account of events in his *Bird in the Cage*.[2]

"Be pleased now to cast your eye upon the late restriction which I might well call persecution, of the Gospel in Wales. To omit mentioning the great wrong done unto many scores, about May or June, 1660 in committing and continuing them in prison without any cause but to fulfil that saying, Quicquid volumus facimus; since that time there hath been very violent proceedings especially in some countries, where some poor and peaceable people have been dragged out of their beds and without regard to age or sex, have been driven some twenty miles to prison on their feet, and forced to run by the troopers horses, receiving many blows and beatings. Others, who were quietly met together after their manner for many years to worship God and edify one another, were cast into prisons without examination, contrary to the laws of this and other nations." In spite of the King's promise in the Declaration of Breda 1660, cruel laws were enacted against the new sects, such as the Corporation Act of 1661, the Conventicle Act of 1664, the Five Mile Act of 1665, all of which had their effect on the work and witness of our Baptist Fathers. Were it not for men of the calibre of Lewis Thomas and the two Morgan Jones's, the work of John Miles would have been in vain.

Where did the Ilston Church meet for worship? This question is difficult to answer without referring to the rather dry historical data at our disposal. The first reference to the Chapel of the Holy Trinity is found in the Will of Morgan ap Owen dated July 4, 1467. Morgan ap Owen had bought the surrounding property from Geoffrey de la Mare in 1441. This property included the lands of Court House, Ty Mawr, Ilston, and Wogan Hill, Pennard. Morgan ap Owen in his will leaves 6s. 8d. each to the altars of St. Mary's and St. Helen's at Swansea, and a similar sum to the Church at Ilston. Significantly for our purposes he left 3s. 4d. to the altar of Trinity Chapel. Trinity Chapel was near his home at Ilston and it is obvious that this is the Chapel he had in mind. But to delve still further back, in 1221 the Manor of Millwood was given to the knights of St. John who had their centre at Slebech, Pembs. This gift was by the hand of John de Braose who two years previously had married Margaret, the youngest daughter of Llewellyn, Prince

[2] Vavasor Powell (born 1617) spent nearly eighteen years in gaol for his faith and died in the Fleet Prison in 1670.

of Wales. By 1230 the possessions of the Knights had grown so extensive that Bishop Anselm of St. Davids gave them a charter of ownership. In the Middle Hill MSS we read:

"In Goher, of the gift of John de Braose, the Church of Saint Yltint Vanik and all that land which is called Mullewood and Borlakesand." In the records of the Millwood estate of 1584 only a house and garden are found at Ilston between the church and the stream, and this property was held by one Wm. Dawkin. By 1641 an addition is made to the original description namely: "Griffith Penry Esqre, held a parcell of Land called Trinitie Well contayning by Estimacon one acre and a halfe, lieing Between the lands of John Daniell on the Weste Parte and the Landes of George Dawkins on the South and East p'tes in the parish of Ilston, et redd p annu . . . 0. 9. 1d." In all probability Trinity Well was a private chantry which in course of time became less used. It was obviously still standing in 1650 when Cromwellian officials made an investigation into the affairs of the Manor of Pennard. It is then merely mentioned as a boundary between Kittle and Lunnon in these words "Trinity Come Chappell." This brings us to the period of John Miles and to a period of great spiritual awakening in Wales.

In 1636 we have ample evidence of the spiritual unrest which was to leave a nonconformist stamp on Welsh social life. Peculiarly Gower seems to be one of the first areas to show its disapproval of religious conditions by public protest. Marmaduke Mathews' celebrated objection at Penmaen Church is significant of the trend of the times. For voicing his protest Mathews was compelled to pay the price and fled to America, probably to Malden, Mass. But his protest is not forgotten in Baptist circles for his descendants perpetuate his name. Still more interesting to us as Baptists is the fact that the Lord of the Manor of Penmaen was Lewis David, the father of the Davies family which played an important part in the formation of the Ilston Church. In 1642 we hear of another protest presented by the inhabitants of the Ilston Valley to Parliament, which runs as follows:

"1642, April 30. Petition of Parishioners of Pennard, in the County of Glamorgan to High Court. Have never had more than four sermons a year in their parish church, and those by a man of a very scandalous life; pray for the nomination of Ambrose Mosten, a lecturer, a man of goodly sort, and one who can preach in the Welsh and English tongues."

The Broadmead Records describe this same Ambrose Mosten as a "Man of great abilities and highly esteemed as a minister of God's word." Phillip Henry complains that Mr. Mosten refused to baptize a child in spite of his pleading with him, and

adds "His grounds I know not." D. Rhys Phillips suggests that if Ambrose Mosten held these views in 1642, it was a preparation for Believers Baptism in Gower before Miles began his work there. An interesting thing then happens. Ambrose Mosten is moved to the North and John Miles succeeds him in the Ilston Valley. It is felt that there is something deliberate in this because the two men held the same views on baptism, both came from the Hereford district, both were former students of Brasenose, Oxford, and is it unreasonable to regard them as old friends? It would be interesting to discover their contacts at Oxford, and if we could find out the name of their tutor there, it might throw great light on the formative influences in the life story of John Miles and through him on the beginnings of Baptist witness in Wales.

Finally, there are strong reasons for believing that John Miles and his people met at Ilston Parish Church. The first business meeting of the Baptist church was held at Ilston on August 16, 1650, and in the records of that meeting we read: "They have thought fit to order that there shall be constant preaching at the publique meeting house at Ilston." From certain records it is obvious that the meeting place was the local Parish Church, and perhaps this reference proves it without further argument:

"Glam' sh John Gwither of the . . . of Lanridian & Ma . . . widd' of ye p'ish of Ilston were published in ye meeting place Comonly called ye church of Ilston . . . According to an Act of P . . . publ . . . the 24th of August 1653 & they were married the ...th of february 1655 before John Gibbs, Esqr, one of the Justices of the peace of the sd. County. This was entered ye 3rd of March. Jo Gibbs."

Joshua Thomas in his *Hanes y Bedyddwyr* gives the Order of Service for a normal Sunday morning at Ilston Parish Church. The Service commenced at 8 a.m. In the monthly meeting of the whole church Thomas Proud or Morgan Jones conducted the Service for the first hour, and then some "worthy" brother would conduct a service in Welsh. Following this a sermon would be delivered by John Miles or a public minister. Finally all would join in the Breaking of Bread. Prior to 1660 there does not appear to be any other meeting place apart from the Parish church. But, by June of the same year, John Miles had lost his position as Minister of Ilston Parish, the Restoration was in full swing, the church door was officially closed and locked by a representative of St. Davids' and within a month, Wm. Houghton was being welcomed as the new rector of Ilston. Yet in spite of these rapid religious and political changes we find

that Ilston Baptist Church, according to its register, was still accepting new members. It can only be deduced from circumstantial evidence that in the hour of their distress the Baptists met at the forsaken Chantry or Chapel of Trinity Well, hidden away in one of the loneliest but loveliest valleys of Gower.

The Right of Way leading to Ilston was kept open by the constance vigilance of many Baptists, ministers and laymen, and more recently by the watchfulness of the late Rev. E. Edmunds, the former secretary of the Welsh Baptist Union. Mr. Edmunds made an annual pilgrimage to the site and made a special point of calling the attention of the police to the purpose of his coming. Recently I had the pleasure of hearing a prominent Welsh layman describe how he, when a young man, had helped Mr. Edmunds on one of his visits to Ilston by removing gates and other barriers which had been erected to hinder access to the mother church of the Welsh Baptists. This Right of Way has now been established and the visitor can make his way to the site unhindered. Oddly the Baptists are very weak on Gower today and churches are small in size and membership. The moralist can draw his own conclusions. But without Ilston the Baptist churches of Swansea, Llanelly, Port Talbot and the surrounding areas and indeed the Welsh Baptist Union would not have been formed nor the Baptist witness in Wales so long-standing and effective in the life of the nation.

FRANK LEE.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION:

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English—*Pennard and West Gower*, Latimer Davies; *History of the Family of Maunsell*, E. P. Statham; *A History of the Puritan Movement in Wales*, Thomas Richards; *Religious Development in Wales*, 1654-1662, Thomas Richards; *History of Protestant Nonconformity in Wales*, Thomas Rees; *John Myles and the Founding of the First Baptist Church in Massachusetts*, H. Melville King; *A History of New England, with particular reference to the . . . Baptists*, Isaac Backus.

American Baptists: Northern and Southern.

DR. ROBERT ANDREW BAKER, of the South-western Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, Texas, has produced a most valuable factual study of the "Relation between Northern and Southern Baptists." It has been awarded a doctorate by Yale University and should help those on both sides of the Atlantic to understand better the complexities of Baptist relationships in the United States. American books are not easy to obtain, American Baptist history all too little known in this country. The subject is of such importance both historically and in terms of immediate practical issues that we make no apology for presenting here a summary of Dr. Baker's book, which runs to nearly 300 pages. In what follows we have kept as closely as possible to the author's own words. Our own comments and additions are few.

The earliest Baptist churches in America were to be found in three distinct areas: New England, Pennsylvania and Jersey, and Southern Carolina. Organised connectional or denominational life developed slowly, though local Associations were formed in the eighteenth century according to the English pattern. The earliest of these was the Philadelphia Association, formally constituted in 1707. During the closing decades of the century the Associations undertook home missionary activity within and beyond their own borders.

With the establishment in 1802 of the Massachusetts Domestic Missionary *Society*—that is, a voluntary organisation of individuals, not churches—a different principle and method of activity appeared. Shortly afterwards, in 1814, there was formed the General Missionary Convention of the Baptist Denomination in the United States for Foreign Missions. It was organised by Luther Rice to provide support for Adoniram Judson and other foreign missionaries. As in the case of the English Baptist Missionary Society, this was the first general organisation embracing the whole country. Unlike the B.M.S., however, its membership consisted of societies, churches and groups of churches, but not of individuals. It may be regarded as a hybrid type of organisation, part society part Association. In its early years it seemed possible that this General Convention would undertake to foster education and home missions, as well as foreign missions, but the tide of opinion in favour of societies for special

purposes proved too strong. In 1832 the American Baptist Home Mission Society came into existence, as a channel for the efforts of those seeking to follow and evangelise the men and women engaged in the great expansion westwards. A proposal to convert the General Convention into a general denominational body was rejected. This Home Mission Society worked by encouraging existing State or Association efforts and by initiating new ventures. In its early years it drew support from the whole Baptist community in America. It proved, however, very difficult to satisfy conflicting claims in so vast an enterprise; and the slavery issue soon proved divisive.

Within a few months of the founding of the Home Mission Society, the Baptist Board of London addressed a famous letter to American Baptist ministers on the subject of participation in the slave system, sending it to the General Convention (that is, the missionary organisation) under the impression, apparently, that it had general denominational supervision. A year later Frederick Augustus Cox and James Hoby were sent over to America by the Baptist Union "to promote the sacred cause of negro emancipation." In the ensuing decade English Baptists tried by many communications of one kind and another to stimulate the abolitionist cause. But the General Convention, drawing support from both northern and southern states, insisted that its business was limited to that of foreign missions. The issue, however, could not be avoided. Many of the keenest American abolitionists were Baptists, but in the south generally a different attitude prevailed. In 1845 Southern Baptists withdrew both from the General Convention and the Home Mission Society. They established for themselves the Southern Baptist Convention, which again was a new kind of organisation.

> "The financial basis of representation was carried over from the society method, but the fundamental principle of the society idea—one society for each kind of benevolence—was rejected. This Southern constitution put all benevolences under one convention. Separate Boards were named to function for each benevolent task and to act during the recess of the convention" (p. 90).

There resulted what Dr. Baker calls "an ideological conflict between Northern and Southern Baptists." Their polity became quite different. For some time the Home Mission Society tried to continue its activities in certain of the southern states. Inevitably the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861 widened the breach between the Society and the Southern Baptist Convention, but it also quickened the interest of the former in the freedmen. In 1869 one third of the agents of the Home Mission Society

were at work in southern states, in spite of the claim of the Southern Convention to be recognised as the only general organisation for missions within the territorial limits of the south. There had by then grown up, however, not only parallel evangelistic activities by the Southern Convention, but also a widespread desire on both sides for better relationships, or even union. During the same period those who had been slaves withdrew from the white Baptist churches of the south, forming their own organisations, most of them connected either directly or indirectly with the Home Mission Society. The National Baptist Convention of the Negro Baptists—not mentioned by Dr. Baker—was formed in 1880.

The Southern Baptist Convention, with its tightly-knit connectionalism, had some difficulty in establishing its authority even within its own constituency. From 1882 onwards, however, it grew rapidly in strength and by the close of the nineteenth century it had clearly become not only effective for its own immediate purposes, but a centre of denominational consciousness to which there was no parallel in the northern states. "From 1882 to 1894," writes Dr. Baker, "the Convention gained in favor and strength and a denomination was born" (p. 184).

A conference held at Fortress Munroe, Virginia, in September, 1894, proved a landmark in modern American Baptist history. Representatives of the Southern Convention and the Home Mission Society there agreed on principles of co-operation which removed many of the causes of friction and difficulty which had marred relationships in the previous half century. The Society gradually reduced its work in the southern states, and the way was prepared for a gentleman's agreement accepting a geographical division of interests based on an imaginary line running south of Delaware, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, Indiana and Oklahoma, and bisecting Illinois and Missouri. The situation improved still further when, in 1907, Northern Baptists reorganised themselves by drawing together their three principal societies into a general body. The Northern Baptist Convention, which was then formed, was not exactly like the Southern Convention, but it did provide a centralised organisational and financial unity, its aim being

> "to give expression to the sentiment of its constituency upon matters of denominational importance and general religious and moral interest; to develop denominational unity; and to give increasing efficiency to efforts for the evangelisation of America and the world."

Representation in the Convention comes from the churches and Associations, with officers of recognised denominational societies

and organisations regarded as ex-officio members. To safeguard their endowments, however, the three major societies retained a semblance of continued legal independence. This somwhat anomalous situation has provided the opportunity for new complications of recent years. The Conservative Baptist Foreign Mission Society, formed in 1943, asked to be recognised by the Northern Convention as a missionary agency. To agree would have undermined the basis of the Convention (leaving aside altogether the theological controversies which caused the formation of the new society). On the other hand, the refusal of recognition may provoke the formation of a wider new organisation of an even more disruptive character. The particular manner in which these difficulties present themselves comes in considerable measure from the special kind of organisation adopted by the Northern Baptists in 1907.

The principles of comity first agreed by North and South in 1894 were re-affirmed and extended in 1912. It has not always proved easy to apply them, particularly in border states such as Illinois, New Mexico, Oklahoma and Missouri. But responsible leaders on both sides have desired amicable settlements. The general tendency has been for churches in border territories to affiliate more closely with the Southern Convention. There remain certain areas of present tension, including Alaska.

Differences of polity between North and South have, of course, been accompanied by differences of theological outlook and sympathy. The North has favoured open communion, inter-denominational comity agreements in America and overseas, and co-operation with the Federal Council of Churches and the Ecumenical Movement. The South has been more conservative; isolationist, so far as close relationships with other denominations are concerned, expansionist, in regard to the recognition and affiliation of groups of its own *diaspora*.

Dr. Baker's book ends on a grave note. Serious problems now face American Baptists in their mutual relationships. Geographical boundaries inevitably cause tension, and the number of places where there is friction is likely to increase rather than diminish. But newer issues are even more serious. The Conservative Baptist Fellowship of Northern Baptists has shown a disposition to seek support in the south, but has not hesitated to criticise some of those associated with the Southern Convention. There appears to be danger of an attempt to win local churches in both north and south on the basis of a doctrinal emphasis—which would be a new principle altogether in American Baptist history. Further, the proposed union between Northern Baptists and the Disciples of Christ contains new elements of unusual complexity. The Disciples have many churches in

southern territory. What will happen to geographical comity agreements if Disciples' churches are united with the Northern Convention? Dr. Baker thinks that the only wise solution is to do away with geographical boundaries, leaving each church or other Baptist body free to determine its own affiliation. "It is entirely possible," he says, "that the greatest encouragement ever given to the unification of Baptists in America may be the infiltration of Baptists from each section into the other" (pp. 251-2).

Faced with the fact that in Alaska and even in Chicago there are now churches of "Southern Baptists" affiliated to the Southern Convention, the Northern Baptist Convention at its annual meeting in San Francisco in June of this year boldly voted to invite all Baptist groups in the United States to join a single denomination. Formal invitations are to be sent to the Southern Convention, the two Negro Conventions and to bi-lingual conventions consisting chiefly of Germans and Scandinavians. At the same time Northern Baptists moved a step further towards their proposed merger with the Disciples of Christ.

American Baptists must work out their own salvation. Their brethren overseas will follow developments with concern and sympathy, knowing how much depends on a united and strong Baptist community in the United States. Dr. Baker nowhere refers to the Baptist World Alliance. All that he records, however, surely emphasises the importance of this uniting fellowship and the need for establishing it firmly and effectively in the heart and life of Baptists in every hand. "Baptists," says Dr. Baker in his closing paragraph, "should always be conscious, not only of the tired eyes of history gone by, but of the yet unfashioned eyes of Baptists who will live centuries hence."

ERNEST A. PAYNE.

Sidelights on Serampore.

SOME time ago the writer had recourse to those two mines of historical information in Calcutta, the Imperial (now Indian) Library and the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, since when he has been possessed of a desire to explore some of the interesting byways that everywhere led from his main subject. One of these byways is the one that leads to Serampore. It can be followed through many publications of a century or a century and half ago, but for our present purpose we confine it rigidly to the first fifteen volumes of the *Calcutta Review* beginning with the year 1845, by which time the Serampore trio had become highly respected characters of recent history. There is no doubt but that the *Calcutta Review* has been thoroughly combed by the authors of the various "Lives" of the early Bengal missionaries and no important fact is likely to have been overlooked by them, but a biographer must select his matter and must often omit material unnecessary for the purposes of his book and yet which sheds some sidelight on the character whose story he is telling. It is such material, extracted from the old volume of the *Review*, which follows.

The *Calcutta Review* as its name implies, published reviews of contemporary publications. Its articles were anonymous and confined to subjects relating to India and the affairs of the East India Company. The reviews are lengthy and are often of considerable interest. Generally they seem to be the reviewer's own essay on the subject discussed and include a large amount of independent information.

Article 1 of the first volume deals with the social life of the English in India and sheds a little light on the convenience of the Danish settlement of Serampore not only to proscribed missionaries, but also to others who for one reason or another had incurred the displeasure of the all-powerful Company, and wished to find asylum outside its jurisdiction. "A man becomes bankrupt," we read, "passes through the Insolvent Court, surrenders, or ought to surrender every farthing he has in the world, and what is the result? We do not see a pale-faced, dim-eyed wretch, with stooping gate and slouched hat, and coat out at elbows, stealing along the streets to his small furnished lodging in an obscure quarter of the town. No; on the very day that his name appears in the *Gazette*, whilst he is advertised to the whole world as "late of Calcutta and now residing in the Danish settlement of Serampore," he may, perchance be seen on the

course of Calcutta riding a fine English horse . . ." His domicile is of course Serampore and he is now a visitor to Calcutta, but by migrating to Serampore he has evidently rapidly found new means not only of subsistence but even to opulence. No doubt it is with creditors' money for the time being at least.

The incident in the year 1807 when the Government attempted to close the Serampore press is discussed at some length in an essay on "The Early or Exclusively Oriental Period of Government Education in Bengal." It will be recollected that exception was taken by Government to a pamphlet published by the Serampore Press which was alleged to be offensive to Moslems and likely to be productive of disorder. All that the offending pamphlet contained, says the writer, was "a brief statement of gospel truth, while it depicted in plain but strong terms the character of Muhammed and his sanguinary faith: but not in terms plainer or stronger than justice demanded, and historic truthfully warranted. The only effect it had on the Mussalmen themselves, was, that it led to the request, on the part of a Mogul merchant, that one of their learned men 'should prepare an answer to it'." The publications of the Press were proscribed and the Danish Governor of Serampore, who at all times remained a firm friend of the missionaries, pressed for an *official* answer from the British Governor-General to the question "Whether the circulation of the Bible in the Bengali language was to be included in his lordship's prohibition?" The reply he eventually received was as follows: "We are not aware of any objection to the promulgation of the scriptures in the Bengali language unaccompanied by any comment on the religions of the country." That is as the *Review* ironically comments, "the English Government were not aware that there was any objection to the publication of the Bible, yet they were not certain."

The struggle continued with the well-known result; with the aid of the Governor of Serampore the missionaries successfully resisted the demand that the Press should be removed to Calcutta (which would have meant its closure) but were compelled to submit any matter for publication to prior censorship by a Government officer, who would be either a Hindu or a Mohammedan.

The "secret department" of Government then having nothing better to do, desired Mr. Blaquiere, one of the magistrates of the Town of Calcutta to make further enquiries regarding the missionaries and, to quote the *Review* again, these enquiries "led to the fearful discovery that there were other tracts of a similar nature in the Hindustani and Bengali languages—and to the still more astounding discovery, that the Gospel of salvation was actually preached to the inhabitants of Calcutta!" This

information was included in a despatch to the Court of Directors in which it was stated that Mr. Blaquiere had directed a Brahmin in his service to wait on the Reverend Mr. Ward and, under a pretended desire to become a convert, to obtain from Mr. Ward such copies of publications issued by the missionaries as he could. The result of this subterfuge was that Mr. Blaquiere was very cleverly able to produce to the Secretary to the Government no less than eleven publications, some in Bengali and some in Hindustani. Mr. Blaquiere also deputed "a person in his employ" to attend one of the meetings conducted by Mr. Ward and a copy of the report of this meeting was appended for the perusal of the Honorable Court. The "Memorandum" reports that the ceremony was conducted by an elderly Bengali who, during the course of his sermon observed that even Brahmans and other people of respectability live a sinful life in the town; to this they were prompted by their evil inclination. He questioned the difference between Brahmans and other men seeing they are both liable to sin equally, that if other castes were required to expiate their sins, why not the Brahmans—that Brahmans cannot forgive sins. A European then ascended the pulpit and preached a sermon in English. Among the hearers, the observer reported, he did not see a single person of respectability, but such as he recognised lived an irregular life. (Was it a lack of familiarity with the gospels that led Mr. Blaquiere to overlook the most obvious retort which could be made to the criticism of a church which carried its message to the Indian equivalent of publicans and sinners?)

On receipt of these communications, the Supreme Council took even more extreme suppressive measures in spite of all the explanations of "the venerable Mr. Carey" and all the protests of the Governor of Serampore. There was, however, one servant of the Company possessed of the energy and the will to make a vigorous protest, and to dare the frown of the Government he served; this was none other than the Rev. Dr. Claudius Buchanan, later Vice-Provost of the College of Fort William and one of the group of evangelical chaplains of the East India Company appointed through the influence of Charles Grant and on the recommendation of the doughty Charles Simeon of Holy Trinity, Cambridge. Buchanan "addressed a memorial or remonstrance of a character so bold, energetic, and uncompromising, as to draw upon himself the heaviest denunciation of the Supreme Government. The stroke had evidently fallen on some real sores. For so keenly did the members of Government smart under the cutting animadversions of the memorialist, that they felt themselves compelled to address a conjoint letter of complaint and self-vindication to the Court of Directors. Most

certainly the Rev. Doctor did not mince the matter. His trumpet gave no uncertain sound." All honour to the Reverend Doctor; his was hardly a gentle character, but he dared in no uncertain way "to be the champion of our church."

A bypath leads from Serampore to Burma; it was trod by Felix Carey and Chater and by Adoniram Judson, and they found it a thorny path. In due course the work grew in Burma and, as at Serampore, a Mission Press was established. The *Calcutta Review* frequently notices publications of the American Baptist Mission Press at Moulmein and an early volume informs us that from Moulmein appeared a little book of verse compiled by a Mrs. C. J. Simons entitled *The Child's Wreath of Hymns and Songs*. The review devotes several pages to it, in which the dearth of educational books suitable for children is deplored and more especially the absence of a demand for them. A footnote, however, pays tribute to "the Serampore and other Missionary Presses" which had published important educational works, though, sad to say, they were designed to create rather than to meet a demand. A criticism which has rather a modern sound is "the pernicious habit of slipping off the tongue expressions of self-condemnation and devotion equally beyond the possible calibre of a child's mind . . . how can a child repeat such words as the following with any degree of understanding?

> Madly I ran my sinful race,
> . . . . . .
> Vindictive Justice stood in view;
> To Sinai's fiery mount I flew."

and, "on infantine lips what meaning can be attached to these expressions?

> You were wretched, weak and vile,
> You deserved His holy frown,
> But he saw you with a smile,
> And to save you hastened down."

Mrs. Simons however was a mother and was evidently not quite so devoid of an understanding of a child's outlook as some of her selections might indicate, as the following "entire specimen of Mrs. Simons's versification" will show:

> MARY'S LAMB
>
> Mary had a little lamb,
> Its fleece was white as snow,
> And everywhere that Mary went
> The lamb was sure to go.

It is a pleasure to think of Mrs. Simons sitting among her children (a veritable quiverful, without doubt, though one of her poems suggests that there were gaps in the quiver), in the steamy

heat of faraway Burma while her thoughts strayed to the cool green pastures of some village in her native land, to the spring-time and to the lively fleecy lambs her own children would never see so long as they remained in exile, and formulating a verse which a full century later would be on the lips of every English child. It is interesting to think too, that it was a Baptist Mission Press which first published "Mary had a little lamb."

In Volume III of the *Review* we read of a book by the mighty Alexander Duff on the subject of *Indian Missions and Hinduism* which leads the writer to contemplate the "Literary Fruits of Missionary Labours" and we are not at all surprised to find that he writes with admiration of the extraordinary liberality of mind of "the first Englishmen that ever came to the shores of Bengal with the single purpose of communicating to the *natives* of India the pure gospel of salvation; with no advantages of academic training . . . they were led into various courses of research that issued in their being the agents of diffusing a greater amount of accurate knowledge regarding India and it's people . . . than had been accessible to European students before. A few years before they came to India, Carey and Marshman (and we suppose Ward also, though we do not remember to have heard aught of his early history) were men of whom it might be said that "They knew, and knew no more, their bible true," and a few years after their arrival, we find them grappling successfully with some of the most difficult subjects of philological and ethnographical research; and until this hour their works are among the most important sources from which the student must gain his knowledge of India and Indian things. He who would enquire into the natural products of the country will find that he must proceed a long way before he reach the point to which Carey led the way. He who would study the philosophy of Indian life, and the laws and usages of the people will find much information in the periodical writings of Dr. Marshman; while the student of man and matters might live long in the land . . . without getting any information he might not have got from the classical work of Mr. Ward."

The Rev. William Robinson joined the Serampore Community in 1806; he attempted to form a mission to Bhutan and later proceeded to Java and Sumatra, thence returning to minister at the Lall Bazar Church, Calcutta. During his years in Bengal he pieced together a poem in blank verse of no less than eight books, with an appendix thrown in, bearing the formidable title *The Invisible World: or The State of Departed Spirits between Death and the Resurrection* which was offered to a long-suffering public in the year 1844. The reviewer of this monumental work confesses that the mere fact that a poem in

heroic verse equal in length to *Paradise Lost* had been produced by "an acclimated sojourner for a quarter of a century in the anti-poetic plains of Bengal" had served to whet his curiosity and he "hastened to its perusal." The reviewer's theory that poetry could not be written in the plains of Bengal remained undisturbed; he plodded bravely through Mr. Robinson's poem to the bitter end and the opinion, formed at the beginning, that he was reading "not poetry but rather a somewhat tame and bald prose" was still firmly held when he lay down the book.

The poem supposes an intermediate state in which "a disembodied spirit, lately arrived from earth, seeks an early interview with Adam. Amongst other matters he is anxious to learn what the common Father knew respecting the shape, size and motions of the earth, when an inhabitant of Paradise before the fall. Adam replied that he had succeeded in discovering much himself, and what he had failed in discovering was condescendingly communicated to him by angels from heaven."

Adam says:

> "Once, when a number of them had to me
> A visit paid, and had, on many things,
> With me conversed; much wishing, on some points
> To be still more informed, I thus addressed
> Them, and the information I desired,
> At once obtained."

and in further questioning the angels Adam says:

> ". . . but still we had not learned
> The earth's extent; that is a point on which
> Your information will us much oblige.
> . . . . . .
> . . . I have since observed, that when
> I stand upon a hill or rising ground,
> I further see than when I take my stand
> Upon a lower spot; and this to me
> An indication seems, that the earth's form
> Is globular . . ."

The angel demonstrates the rotation of the earth by means of a "fruit" on which stands an ant which typifies a man, and having concluding his demonstration, closes with:

> ". . . And now I hope,
> The cause of night and day to thee is clear."

It is enough; we are inclined to agree with the reviewer that good missionary though Mr. Robinson undoubtedly was, his *Invisible World* has no great poetic of philosophic merit.

A long discussion in the *Review of* 1847 on Indigo Planters as they had been about half a century earlier reminds us that at

that period Carey and his associate, John Thomas, were Indigo planters at Mudnabati and Mahipaldighi respectively for some years. Indigo production was for over a century a staple industry in Bengal and Bihar, and even to this day there are those who can remember how the indigo industry was dealt a death blow when the brilliant dyes of modern aniline chemistry effectively ousted the duller vegetable dye from the market.

The indigo planter of early days was not a servant of the Company; doubtless he entered the country with the cognizance of the Company, though he may not have had official permission. The prevalent picture in England of an indigo planter, to quote from the *Review*, was of a man "with a wide-brimmed straw hat, a fierce and oppressive overseer, and a whole string of unfortunate dark coloured beings, working away incessantly under a broiling and vertical sun . . . and is supposed to go home at the end of a couple of lustra, with a fortune raised on the basis of oppression and illegality." "We will try and give the planter fair play," says the anonymous essayist, "nothing extenuating, nor setting down aught in malice."

The planter who settled in Bengal about the time of William Carey was as often as not an adventurer seeking a spot on which to establish himself. His method was to purchase "a potta of about fifty, or one hundred bighas, and there erect a factory with vats, godowns and machinery complete." Under the laws of the Company he was not allowed to own land himself, the land was therefore held "*benami* or covertly, by the master, and openly by his native agent, or some other man of straw." He was not even covertly a landowner on any scale, and to obtain a crop he would have to persuade the neighbouring peasants to sow indigo, giving them an advance of two rupees per bigha and promising them a dividend at harvest time. The zemindar, or landowner of the district, who incidentally seldom had any interest in the land apart from extracting his rents, was not usually disposed to look very favourably on this interference with his lordship over the ryots, and inevitably there were quarrels. In a country where landmarks are easily obliterated, where, for example, during the rains a small muddy stream might become a raging torrent flooding large areas of land and then subside into a course quite different from that it had previously followed, there was ample opportunity for disagreements over boundaries. Indigo estates were far from the centres of government and the arm of the law never very long in India, seldom extended as far as the indigo estate. The result was that disputes were as often as not settled under the "lattial system" by the retainers of the respective sides. The word lattial is derived from the vernacular word "latti," now more commonly spelt "lathi," is a weighted bamboo

pole capable of forming quite a formidable weapon; it is used in these days by the Indian police as the equivalent of the truncheon. The writer was recently amused to find that the cashier at his office in Calcutta keeps one by his desk. Settlement by the "lattial system" merely indicated a free fight between the respective factions.

Having erected his factory, the planter would then seek out high sandy places on which to sow his indigo and efforts would be made to pursuade the ryot occupying the ground to accept the two rupees advance and undertake the work. For one reason or another the ryot was generally reluctant to do so, but in the fall of the year he was short of money, and at that season could be pursuaded to enter into an agreement for the sake of the advance. When sowing time approached the ryot would begin to display his reluctance to commence sowing; the two rupees per bigha had long since been spent and forgotten and the planter would then have recourse to law for breach of contract. A slip of paper awarding him damages might then be received from the court; of these damages he would be able to obtain only a fraction if any, while the ryot "who was previously known in the village as a man of flocks and herds, with a plough or two and a train of lusty oxen, has suddenly dwindled down into a penniless outcaste . . . Bullocks and utensils, kids and goats are safe under the protection of his patron . . . his very house and adjoining plots of ground turn out to be the property of some distant relation. This situation resulted in the unprincipled sowing of the lands by force, with the aid of a strong body of lattials."

The seeds being sown by one means or another, and the plant having commenced growing, the grass and low jungle which sprang up with great rapidity in the hot damp climate of Bengal, must be constantly weeded out. Agreement or no agreement, this was not to the taste of the ryot and so coolies must be hired by the factory for weeding, and two annas per man entered against the name of the defaulter.

At last the crop, if it survived the hazards of climate and jungle was gathered, and the ryot received his payment. From this must be deducted the advance and other amounts standing against his name. From the balance, rent must be paid, debts repaid, together with interest in the neighbourhood of fifty per-cent (low enough! when the watchman at the writer's office died in 1947 he left about a thousand rupees out in loans among his fellow-workers carrying interest at the rate of eighty per cent.) Then there would be demands for "gifts" from the planter's agents, the zemindar's agents and many others who felt they should share in the year's prosperity, with the result, the *Review* informs us, that the ryot would be left with about eight annas to

pay off demands of one rupee twelve annas. On the whole indigo growing was not very profitable to the ryot, and it is hardly to be wondered that he did not find it a very attractive occupation.

In these circumstances as well as in the misfortunes William Carey suffered due to floods, probably lie the reasons why he, an eminently practical man, was not able to make indigo production pay. Hampered on the one hand by the indolence of the ryot and his reluctance to cultivate indigo energetically, and on the other hand by his own conscience, which we can hardly imagine permitting him to resort to the "lattial system," or any other method of enforcement, William Carey was in a business in which the odds were weighted against him. Doubtless too, his Christian employer, Mr. Udny, although prepared to continue the factory for so long at a loss in the hope that a few successful seasons would make all the difference to a project existing so near the border line between failure and success, was not prepared to resort to enforcement either. Indigo planting tided Carey over a very difficult period and was part of his preparation for Serampore, but both he and Mr. Udny were wise to drop it when they did.

William Carey died in 1834, and by the year 1850 the references to him in the *Calcutta Review* are becoming few and infrequent, though literary work by later Baptists is reviewed quite frequently. The occasional references to Carey by the English residents in India of that time indicate that he had become almost a legendary figure, looked back to with veneration. The following paragraph, occasioned by the publication of a work entitled *An Anglo-Indian Domestic Sketch—A letter from an Artist in India to his Mother in England in* 1849 relates a minor incident and, quite incidentally, gives an indication of the impression Carey's life had made on the average European. In discussing the ravages of white ants, one of the minor plagues of life in the tropics, the writer says, "We have heard that the venerable Dr. Carey was never known to be thoroughly enraged by any creature, except by these same white ants, and well he might—for they utterly destroyed in a single night, either Walton's Polyglot or Poole's Synopsis. We believe it is on record that the good old man set about a search after the queen mother, with a view to cutting off the succession; but whether he did or not, we do not remember to have heard."

F. M. W. Harrison.

Recollections of a General Superintendent.

IT seems but yesterday since I was being exhibited as an abnormally young superintendent, a precocious child unwisely allowed to sit up and share the activities of his elders. Alas! I am now solemnly described as "the doyen", presumably because there is no honest Saxon word adequate to portray the effect of twenty-six years spent in this exacting duty. The period has yielded a store of happy memories and witnessed a remarkable alteration in the denomination's appraisement of the Superintendency. Here I can only select a few outstanding recollections:

As the youngest superintendent ever appointed—still in the thirties—I was the natural target for advice when emerging from the shelter of a generous church into the exposed ground of denominational office. I was urged to concentrate upon the important people; to give my time to the small churches; to remember that the ministry existed for the churches; to realise that the ministers held the key to all our problems; to wear clerical dress; to remain human; to endeavour to keep my soul alive in spite of the deadening effect of administrative duties, etc., etc. It was all very bewildering, but I soon discovered that it took more wisdom to decide between conflicting advisers than to make up my own mind in the secret place. One minister solemnly assured me that his church would never invite a superintendent to conduct worship or to advise on policy; but he hinted that if I attended his week-night service as "an ordinary person," he might invite me to lead in prayer. It seemed strange counsel to one who was perforce refusing about three engagements a night, and the strangeness was not lessened when, a few years later, that particular church and minister were appealing for the superintendent's help. The advice which recurs most frequently concerns the temptation to preach old sermons. "If I were a superintendent", said one of my ministerial friends, "I should discipline myself by preparing at least one new sermon each week." In due course that counsellor became a superintendent, but I do not remember that he repeated the advice after his appointment. With an area comprising over two hundred churches and covering four counties, repetition is inevitable and need not be vain. Surely the late E. G. Gange would have been unwise had he destroyed the manuscript of his famous sermon on "Somebodies and Nobodies" after its first delivery! It must have been preached hundreds of times to the great advantage of his hearers. Of course, discretion is necessary, especially at Anniversary seasons when gipsying is popular, but a message

worth preaching is worth repeating. A generous chairman, who introduced me by saying that he had never heard me repeat a sermon, was unconsciously paying tribute to my book-keeping rather than to any extraordinary versatility. It is significant that the advice tendered to superintendents today has ceased to be trivial and now generally takes the form of suggesting that they should exercise more authority and give corporate spiritual leadership to the denomination.

In the early years the Superintendency was suspect. Dr. T. R. Glover spoke for many Baptists at Cardiff, in 1924, when he referred to the superintendents as "men who had taken a step down from the pulpit" and expressed the view that the office was a danger both to the denomination and to the men who held it. This opinion is no longer prevalent and is in striking contrast with the tributes paid by recent Presidents of the Baptist Union. What has caused the change? An answer may perhaps be found in the Reports submitted to the Council by successive Commissions, appointed to consider matters of polity. The report of 1926, necessitated by criticisms of the Scheme and its administration, stated :

> "The General Superintendents as a body are strongly concerned for the spiritual well-being of the Churches, and in view of the heavy administrative tasks laid upon them it is no slight achievement to have accomplished so much . . . Nor do we hesitate to affirm that our General Superintendents, in the spirit and quality of their manhood and service, are deserving of the confidence and support of the entire denomination."

The Polity Commission, reporting in 1942, went further :

> "The General Superinendents have now been at work among our churches for twenty-seven years, and we have no hesitation in saying that they have abundantly justified the institution of their office . . . The original conception of their office was primarily one of spiritual leadership . . . We believe the time has come to take more seriously this view of the office, and to give our General Superintendents larger opportunities of exercising such a ministry.

During the period under review the denomination has raised great funds, established numerous departments and undertaken ever-widening service in the interest of churches and ministers. In all these activities the superintendents have taken a leading, if not always a conspicuous, part. It is significant that in the last Council Report tribute is paid to the unostentatious nature of their contribution :

> " The regular work of the Superintendents has become more rather than less difficult . . . Much of their work is known through our papers but by far the greater part of it consists of doing good almost by stealth . . . Their mutual confidence and helpfulness as a body are a great asset and the Council look to them for guidance."

Those who ask the superintendents to think corporately on denominational problems may rest assured that this is their constant practice. On the other hand, those who think the superintendents should make authoritative pronouncements on questions of faith and order will, I hope, continue to be disappointed. While an impressive catalogue could be compiled of the contributions made by the superintendents to the achievements which have marked recent decades, this would convey a mistaken conception of their aim and purpose. They are proud to serve, but have no desire to rule. They do not wish to be regarded as a bench of bishops or a spiritual cabinet, for their increasing influence depends upon contact with back-benchers, and they believe that

> The game is more than the players of the game,
> And the ship is more than the crew.

The superintendents have unique opportunities to feel the spiritual pulse of the denomination, to diagnose its ailments and prescribe remedies; but they prefer to serve as general practitioners rather than to advertise as proprietors of a panacea. I leave the board with grateful memories of its team-work: a perfect camaraderie has bound us together in the fellowship of service and our relationship with the General Secretary has been ideal. Dr. Aubrey, Mr. Ball and Rev. O. D. Wiles have enriched our fellowship, contributed to our discussions and helped in the solution of our problems; and we have given to them a loyalty which has ripened into affection. The machinery of the Baptist Church House runs smoothly because Diotrephes is unknown at 4, Southampton Row.

One of the perils of Independency is the scope it provides for individualists to go off at a tangent. Though we have our share of rebels, Baptists have remained steadfast to essential principles and their history is one of steady unfolding. It is significant that the latest statement on the Doctrine of the Church, adopted by the Council in 1948, quotes with approval the Baptist Confession of 1677. Limiting our view to the present century, it is remarkable that the necessary changes in organization have been developments rather than new beginnings. This continuity is not always recognised and some of our brethren have regarded

the Scheme of Ministerial Settlement and Sustentation as a subtle undermining of Independent principles. When it was first introduced, the Rev. J. Moffat Logan was inclined to think that it was "the abolition of Congregationalism," but experience has proved such fears to be groundless. In his invaluable *A History of English Baptists*,[1] Dr. A. C. Underwood rightly says that Dr. Shakespeare, "who was not enamoured of the old Independency, went on tightening up the organisation," and he quotes Dr. Carlile's comment: "The old guard of the denomination were afraid. Could they have read all that was in Shakespeare's mind they would have been more afraid. The scheme went through and for the first time in their history the Baptists became an ecclesiastical body." I had my own idea as to what was in Dr. Shakespeare's mind, but the scheme finally adopted by the Assembly was no departure from principle, but simply a development, a "tightening up" of organisation to serve expanding life and changed conditions. When Dr. Underwood further suggests that the Scheme "led to Lists of Accredited Ministers being drawn up and to the adoption of a scheme to make sure that after leaving college they continued their studies," he seems to be overlooking the fact that Accredited Lists and a scheme for post-collegiate study were in existence before the Settlement and Sustentation Scheme was drafted. In fact an examination for Collegiate candidates was required by the 1907 Regulations for Ministerial Recognition and relaxed in 1911 owing to the strenuous opposition of collegiate probationers. Writing in 1946, the Rev. R. C. Walton, in *The Gathered Community*,[2] says,

> "In 1915 the Baptist Union inaugurated a scheme of Ministerial Settlement and Sustentation, and this was amended in 1921. An entirely new scheme was adopted by the Annual Assembly in 1926 and confirmed in the following year."

As a matter of fact the alterations were comparatively slight and the report of the Commission, which suggested the amended scheme of 1926, expressly stated:

> "It is, nevertheless, not a new scheme which we commend to the Council, but essentially the old scheme with certain improvements dictated by experience. Indeed, the more precise directions which we incorporate in our recommendations are in large measure merely explications of a procedure which has gradually taken form during these experimental years."

It is a great tribute to those who drafted the original scheme that it has required so little amendment to meet the changed conditions

[1] pp. 249, 250. [2] p. 153.

created by two world wars. Mr. Walton also expresses a prevalent misconception when he states that the Superintendents "have some legal authority over churches and ministers which receive help from the Sustentation Fund." The position was correctly stated by Dr. H. Wheeler Robinson in *The Life and Faith of the Baptists*[3]: "they have no semblance of authority over any congregation, however small." Nothing in the scheme impairs the autonomy of the local church and the superintendents have no right even to attend a church meeting, save by invitation of the members. An Anglican bishop once asked me wherein a Baptist superintendent differed from a bishop. When I replied, "We have no authority," he made the facetious admission, "Between ourselves, neither have we." I refrained from the obvious retort that we *claimed* none. The latest adaptation of machinery to changing conditions—the Baptist Home Work Fund —though drastic in its method of co-ordinating the financial resources of the denomination is merely another example of administrative development and does no violence to the prinicple enunciated by John Smyth: "Christ onelie is the King, and lawgiver of the church and conscience."

Statistics should neither be worshipped nor despised; but rather interpreted. They show that British Baptists made consistent progress until 1905 and have since declined in numbers. It is curious that the arrested progress synchronised with the adoption of improved methods in Sunday Schools and more efficient denominational organisation. Questions and answers at once suggest themselves, but most of the answers are too obvious and should be distrusted. It is at least worthy of notice that the decline commenced *before* the appointment of superintendents, so one tempting answer can be ruled out. In 1932 the superintendents presented a Statistical Report re the Ministry to the Baptist Union Council and this was brought up to date for the use of the Polity Commission in 1938. It revealed that, from 1905, there had been:

(*a*) A serious decline in the number of members and scholars.
(*b*) An increase in the number of churches.
(*c*) A persistent decrease in the number of accredited ministers.
(*d*) A steady increase in the number of unaccredited ministers.
(*e*) A growing number of churches without any pastoral oversight.
(*f*) A tendency to shorter pastorates.

[3] p. 110.

In presenting these statistics, the superintendents endeavoured to reveal causes and to suggest remedies. The loss of 90,943 members and 79,634 scholars in forty-two years was due to the general drift from religion in an age dominated by materialistic considerations; but disillusionment had set in, youth was already in revolt against the irreligion of parents and the number of scholars was increasing. Owing to the movement of population and other causes, the average membership in Baptist churches—already fallen from 145 to 105 since 1905—might continue to decline along with financial resources. In consequence, many churches would find it difficult to maintain single pastorates with accredited ministers. The number of accredited ministers had fallen by ten per year, and the increased output promised by the colleges might be negatived by more ministers exercising their vocations outside the pastorate or denominational office. The inadequate number of baptisms recorded in recent years could be explained, to some extent, by the disturbing fact that more than a quarter of our churches were without pastoral oversight. Perhaps it was not surprising that in the dislocation caused by the first world war an element of restlessness was observed in the ministry, which was manifest in shorter pastorates, a tendency to criticise the Settlement Scheme and resentment against the imposition of time-limits to pastorates.

While not unmindful of the economic factors, the superintendents were convinced that the problems were essentially spiritual and likely to persist until Great Britain enjoyed another evangelical revival. Meanwhile, they sought to encourage the churches to put first things first and thus fit themselves for the Master's use. In addition, they made the following suggestions:

(*a*) *The Adoption of Fellowship Schemes*, varying in size and constitution to meet local circumstance. In this way the benefits of co-operation could be secured without surrendering the historic Baptist doctrine of the Church as a spiritual autonomy. Advantages would accrue to all concerned. Every church could secure some measure of pastoral oversight at a cost commensurate with its resources, avoid the dangers of long pastorless periods, and enjoy a varied ministry. Ministers would also benefit by the fellowship of colleagues, increased opportunity to exercise special gifts, reduced sermon preparation and, in many cases, increased stipends.

(*b*) *The Substitution of a Settlement Covenant for a Time-Limit.* There is value in the term "Covenant" which suggests mutual trust in contrast with the fear which demands the safeguard of a time-limit. On examination, the new method was found to secure all the advantages of the old without the necessity for the statutory Church Meeting which often needlessly disturbed

the harmony of the fellowship. The Covenant is finding increasing favour.

(*c*) *The Urgent Need for an Increase in Ministerial Stipends.* Since the adoption of the Settlement scheme in 1915 the stipend for an accredited married minister, without children, has risen by successive stages from a minimum of £120 to a standard of £312 per annum. In this connection mention should be made of the tireless efforts of the Officers of the Baptist Union to improve the financial position of ministers. It is an open secret that Dr. Aubrey will advocate this just cause during his Presidential Campaign, and he will have the enthusiastic support of the superintendents.

Although conditions are still difficult, a remarkable change has taken place in the denominational outlook. Depression has lifted. Morale is higher. Greater emphasis is being placed upon our distinctive principles and Baptists are increasingly conscious that they have come to the Kingdom for such a time as this. In the ministry, restlessness has given place to a new sense of vocation. The urge to evangelise has stifled querulousness. The tide is turning at last and we are ready to embark.

I shall carry into retirement an album of sacred memories. It contains fadeless pictures of churches and their members; schools and their children; homes and their families. There are sad scenes: a funeral service when we laid the burnt bodies of five brothers and sisters in one grave; the havoc of sin, manifest in wrecked homes and broken lives; and the pathos of industrial depression and war-time anxiety. Yet most of the views are brightly coloured: men who recovered from mistakes and turned defeat into victory; deacons who refused to believe that the cause was lost and maintained the witness of the church through the lean years; crowded Anniversary gatherings when sinners were converted and young disciples gained; and thrilling baptismal services—especially one when twelve young people professed faith in a Saviour Who enabled their minister to face disabling sickness with dauntless courage. Then I treasure the memories of such leaders as John Clifford, rousing vast assemblies to enthusiasm for righteous causes and responding to the call of God in the Council Chamber on November 20th, 1923; Charles Brown, expounding the Word of God and keeping the morning watch when travelling in a railway carriage; T. Reaveley Glover, confounding the organists and choirmasters by changing the hymns and deleting the anthems; H. Wheeler Robinson, teaching us to make more of baptism and insisting upon a College at Oxford; and my own beloved minister, J. H. Rushbrooke, defending the weak, resisting oppressors and uniting isolated groups in the Baptist World Alliance. To have lived and worked with such

men has been a great experience. There are also some very varied interiors in my album: mansions and cottages, wherein I have received gracious hospitality and enjoyed enriching fellowship. Finally, I cherish the picture of manses, screening the hardships of the bravest of the brave, both men and women. Often have I marvelled at their skill and courage; their ability to make bricks without straw, and stews without meat. To have made their burden a little lighter has been a privilege, but to have won the confidence of these brethren is an abiding satisfaction. I lay down my task with regret that I have not made fuller use of abounding opportunities, yet finding hope in the words of Bayard Taylor: "Epimetheus, the after-thoughted, receiveth access of vigor in looking backward, and groweth reversely from age to youth."

H. Bonser.

Oedipus at Colonus: *Sophocles*, translated into English rhyming verse with Introduction and Notes by Gilbert Murray. (Allen and Unwin, 5s.)

"Oedipus at Colonus," like "King Lear," presents us with the spectacle of an old and dethroned king, driven out by the baseness of his own children and exhibiting a strange mixture of regal pride and pathetic helplessness. Yet whereas Lear's downfall is in part due to his own presumption and self-will, Oedipus is a victim of the inexplicable malignance of his gods. It is through repentance that Lear comes to achieve the beginning of his own redemption, but Oedipus feels no need to repent. Having unwittingly committed the two most heinous sins possible, the infectiousness of the untouchable stays with him all his days; he is ἀραῖος, charged with a curse. It is because of his unquestioning endurance of the consequences of this that he ceases to be an unclean outcast and becomes an object of reverence and awe to friend and foe alike.

Dr. Murray's translation into English is pleasing, and the Introduction and Notes he provides will be of particular value to those reading Sophocles for the first time. Although many will feel that blank verse would have been a more suitable medium for Greek tragedy, there is nevertheless great strength and dignity in the rhymed couplets which are used almost throughout.

K. J. Clark.

Methods of Revelation—The Torah.

"THEORETICALLY" writes Wheeler Robinson, "there is no limit to the possible media of revelation, since the transforming power of the mind of man can give religious meaning to any object."[1] The Old Testament and Judaism bear witness to the belief that God may approach man independently of man's effort to find God. One way of God to man is bound up with the idea of Torah.

The word Torah is inadequately translated "Law," a word which fails to express the true meaning or to account for its connection with Judge, Prophet and Wise Man, as well as with the Priest. The fundamental meaning is "teaching," "direction" or "instruction," which probably meant originally "casting" of the lot by which the priestly oracle was given. (cf. *Joshua* xviii. 6.) Thus the Torah of the priests meant not a "book" but "the sacred decisions given by the priestly oracle or otherwise, in the Sanctuary which in Israel was the seat of divine judgment."[2] The people in their desire to know the will of Jahweh turned to the priests, and the decisions which they gave included moral as well as ritual teaching. It is because of their failure to "teach" that the priests were so passionately criticised by the prophets.[3] The prophets had not always been opposed to the priests and their oracles seem to have been given, on occasions, in connection with the priestly ritual. Yet the great prophets repelled by their unworthy professional namesakes and angered because of the betrayal of the people by the priests, separated themselves from the cult of the Sanctuary and delivered their own "toroth." These "decisions" came not from the sacred lot but from the high prophetic consciousness and the living prophetic word. Here we see the noble distinction of Israel's worship where the "decision" given by the prophets reveals the exalted ethical character of their God, for their standard and predominant interest is the moral law, as opposed to the perverted "torah" of the priests.

It was during the Exile that the transformation of prophecy began, more emphasis being laid upon the externals of religion. The spontaneity which had been so characteristic of prophecy began to disappear, and after the time of Ezra the Jews had a vague idea that the age of prophecy had come to an end and the

[1] *Redemption and Revelation*, pp. 98, 110.
[2] W. R. Smith, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, p. 299.
[3] *Micah* iii. 11. *Ezek.* xxii. 26. *Hosea* iv. 6, etc.

age of tradition had begun. This may be seen in Malachi, whom Lods regards as a forerunner of the Scribes and the Talmudists,[4] for he does not look to the continuance of prophecy, but rather to the return of Elijah (iv. 5), and the same tendency is clearly seen in *Zechariah* xiii. The collection of works known as the Apocrypha, belongs to the age when prophecy had ceased and the people were content to live under the Law, while apart from an occasional pseudo-prophetic book in Apocalyptic form, the highest literary efforts are concerned with the Halacha, Midrash and Haggada. Any suspicion of new revelation is not published openly, but is given under the name of some ancient figure like Enoch, Moses, Abraham or Adam. This feeling grew with time and in the age of the Maccabees, the prophets were believed to be no more—"there was great sorrow in Israel, such as there had not been since the days that prophets ceased to exist among them." (1 *Macc.* ix. 27.) The writer of *Ecclesiasticus* speaks of pouring out doctrine as prophecy, and apparently fails to see the difference between his teaching and the great creative prophecy of Isaiah, Jeremiah and the other prophets. The truth is that prophetic revelation had run dry, but there was a supposedly unfailing source from which revelation had been sent forth, a source rich and inexhaustible. It was this source which gave the scribes their power, and from which they drew the inspiration for their highest and most fruitful lives. Here we see as S. H. Hooke has pointed out, a refusal to accept the implications of the prophetic protest. The apocalyptic of the day falls largely under this criticism, as does also the "despairing hedonism" of *Ecclesiastes*, and while devotion to the letter of the Law produced the noblest type of piety, it also "yielded the Dead Sea fruit of formalism and hypocrisy so bitterly denounced by Jesus."[5]

The foundation stone of Judaism[6] is that religion is revealed, and when the prophetic river had become a stream, the stream in time running dry, revelation was sought elsewhere. All revelation, so runs the creed of orthodox Judaism, is contained in the Torah. Unlike prophetic inspiration this is an unfailing source, comprising all wisdom and all possible revelation. It was all that God had given, and all that he could give. Unfailing in its source it was regarded as pre-existent and eternal, "He created me from the beginning before the world, and I shall never fail." (*Ecclus.* xxiv. 9). This is the theme, repeated and emphasised

[4] Lods *The Prophets and the Rise of Judaism*, p. 279. W. R. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 156ff.

[5] *Judaism and Christianity*, Vol. I., p. 266.

[6] The Articles of Belief of the scholastic theologian Maimonides illustrate the prevailing belief of orthodox Judaism. See F. H. Smith, *The Elements of Comparative Theology*, p. 37.

throughout the whole of Jewish literature,[7] and the word Torah which had such prominence in the Old Testament, gradually came to mean "revelation," Moses having written down the Law to God's dictation. Commands had been given by God previous to Moses; they had been given to Adam, Noah, Abraham and Jacob, but "to Moses the complete revelation was given once for all."[8] The Jews, influenced as they were by this conception of revelation, could not conceive of a time when there was no revelation. It was therefore necessary to include Adam in their scheme, maintaining that he had received laws for all mankind. The point which they emphasised above all others was that "Whatever previous revelations there had been, they were all included in the complete and final revelation, the twofold law being given to Israel at Sinai."[9] This exaggerated emphasis upon Scripture may be largely attributed to Persian influence. Communion with God could be obtained through the study of Scripture, and the gradual canonisation of the Law dug the grave of the sacrificial system.

The pre-eminent position granted to Moses had a disastrous effect upon the reputation of the prophets. In direct contradiction to the Biblical presentation of the prophets as creative geniuses, we are told that they added nothing to the revelation already given by Moses. They explained, emphasised, warned and repeated warnings, but achieved nothing more. We should remember the advice which has been given by numerous Christian students of Judaism, that it is futile to attempt to understand Judaism, unless we accept its assumptions and not substitute ours for them. The prophets were in effect, according to this teaching, simply links between the time of Ezra and the Scribes, and although they gave authoritative interpretations and applications of the Torah of Moses, yet their creative genius is denied, their works being relegated to the rank of Kabbala and connected with the oral tradition of the Scribes.[10]

Apart from the revelation as it is embodied in the writings in the Pentateuch, there is also the conception of revelation transmitted orally from generation to generation. This conception had significance when allied to the casuistical labours of the Scribes, but first of all we must consider the effect upon the rest of the Old Testament. We have already seen that while deference was shown towards the prophets as mere interpreters, their original significance was lost, despite the denial of this fact by some modern Jewish writers. Moore writes, "To the Jews at the beginning of our Era the revelation of God was in part

[7] W. R. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
[8] Moore, *Judaism*, Vol. I, p. 112. [9] *Ibid*, p. 276.
[10] Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 112, and W. R. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

embodied in writings which had come down from earlier times—the Law of Moses, the prophets, the histories attributed to the prophetic authorship and conveying religious and moral lessons, the poetry of religious devotion in the Psalms, prudent counsels for the guidance of life in the Proverbs, and story books like Ruth and Esther, to all of which the quality of inspiration, the character of sacred scripture belonged."[11] It was freely recognised that the prophets were men who had possessed the Holy Spirit, consequently all inspired men were regarded as prophets. God had promised to raise up prophets, "The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a Prophet from the midst of thee . . . I will raise them up a prophet . . ,"[12] and under the copious shelter of this text there entered Abraham and Isaac, David and Solomon, Ezra and Mordecai, all being recognised as prophets. It was an easy step to maintain that all the Old Testament books had been written by prophets i.e. by inspired men, and thus everything in Scripture bore the mark of inspiration.

In the Rabbinical Schools there was no theory of the method of prophetic revelation such as that which Plato gives in his *Timaeus*, and which Philo adopted, where the human *nous* was displaced by the divine spirit, but they received as an undoubted axiom the belief that every word of Scripture had the authority and truth of the very Word of God. This inspired work was given an immediate revelation, through visions and dreams or through prophetic inspiration. All Scripture is the revelation of God and the Canon is not a collection of Books distinguished merely by exalted teaching from other collections, but a sacred collection of which every word is inspired. This principle, that the whole of religion is contained in the revelation of God, is the first and essential principle of orthodox Judaism. Yet all Scripture is not intelligible. Some of the "teaching" is clear and unmistakable, but much has to be interpreted, and so there arose teachers and schools for the exegesis of Scripture, that it might be applied to life.

The Torah of which we have spoken, was suitable for an agricultural community, but the Jews scattered throughout the Graeco-Roman world were conscious of its insufficiency; thus a new literature was created. In the new circumstances the most convenient way of making the Law applicable to later generations was the creation of an unwritten law of interpretation. This method may appear a legal fiction to us, but the Jew

[11] Moore, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 237, Vol. III, p. 81, where he shows Rabbinical use of the Torah to denote whole of Old Testament. cf. MacGregor and Purdy, *Jew and Greek, Tutors unto Christ*, p. 72ff.

[12] *Deut.* xviii. 15ff.

believed most fervently in its validity. The adjustment to changed conditions was a difficult one. Nothing contained in the Torah could be altered, nothing added, nothing taken away. Yet it was not sufficiently explicit (e.g. regarding Sabbath observance) and gave no complete ritual for the daily round. The Canon of Scripture having been closed, no new literature was tolerated for a considerable time, but during the interval a process of oral interpretation was set in motion, which in time was to have the name of Moses attached to it. With the help of a greatly increased Law, the Jews were able to face the changing historical scene, and adapt their lives in accordance with the swift passing of time. A vast Talmudic literature ascribed to Moses, solved what seemed an insuperable difficulty, and gained a delegated reverence almost equal to the Torah itself. These rules of life set forth in the Talmud and based on the Mishnah claimed the divine Torah as their inexhaustible source. Rosenthal writes, "Moses, Jewish tradition holds, not only received on Sinai the written Torah but also its interpretation in the form of Oral Torah. The Sinaitic origin of the entire Torah, written and oral, may for the Jurist and the Bible critic be a fiction, but it certainly was an unquestionable truth and reality for the Jewish people."[13] Revelation is therefore still a great fact, but it now speaks through the words God gave to Moses, and is adapted to life through the diligent study of the Scriptures.[14] For this important work there was the training and tradition of the schools, and also certain rules were evolved "as norms of method and criteria of validity."[15]

The broad assumption that there must be an oral tradition going back to Moses, and the firm belief that these ideas had been imparted to Moses, gave such a wide meaning to the Torah, that it could be adapted to almost any situation. The Pharisees held that the Law should be adapted to changing circumstances. "All had been imparted to Moses, so it was held, and whatever might be, at any future time, unfolded as its meaning by some acute and forseeing teacher, was contained in the Torah as Moses had received it."[16] The word Torah which had meant originally "teaching" and "instruction," and had come to be applied to the Pentateuch and still later to the whole of the Old Testament, now referred to the whole revelation contained in the written text and the unwritten tradition. It referred to what had in the past been regarded as included in the Torah, but also to anything and everything which might in future be implied in it. In this

[13] *Judaism and Christianity*, Vol. III, p. 172.
[14] H. W. Robinson, *Religious Ideas of the Old Testament*, p. 126.
[15] Moore, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 248ff.
[16] *Judaism and Christianity*, Vol. III, p. 103.

way the Torah became in reality both immeasurable and inexhaustible. God in his infinite wisdom had caused the Scriptures to be written, but his revelation was not wholly contained in them, for much remained unrealised and obscure until it came as new knowledge to the enlightened mind. Professor Loewe has pointed out[17] how much that has been asserted regarding the Pharisees is false, because of the failure of many scholars to recognise the breadth and scope of their belief. It was never admitted that the commands of the Torah were set on one side, but simply that they were re-interpreted. There was therefore room for development and this method of interpretation by which revelation could mean anything was adopted, occasionally, by St. Paul, with embarrassing results, and was used by Protestant dogmatists in their efforts to unravel the mystery of the Trinity and prove the deity of the Son.

G. F. Moore in his work on Judaism maintains that with such a conception of revelation as the Jews were pleased to follow, there could be no notion of progressive revelation.[18] In a very real sense this is true, but it has been maintained that the Pharisees believed in progressive revelation. "The Pharisee believed in bringing religion into daily life," writes Loewe, "because he stood for the principle of progressive revelation. By this he meant that the spirit of the Torah contained the power of inspiring changed circumstances, not that the Torah required supplementing from without. It could expand."[19] This was obviously the idea behind the unwritten Torah, bringing it into accord with higher moral standards and advancing civilization, and at the same time, by the very subtlety of the conception, preventing any diversions between the conscience and the strict commands of the written Torah. God could then speak to his people in every age, and the method to which the Pharisees gave popularity is regarded by Herford as much more successful than any adopted by the Prophets.[20] The Pharisees according to this view, followed the method of applied prophecy—they were certainly practical. The Pharisees based everything on the will of God as it was contained in the Torah, and that will was gradually discerned by the light of conscience and reason. This was the Pharisaic view of the Law and of the method of revelation.

[17] *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 157ff.

[18] Moore, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 239, 249.

[19] *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 153. cf. E. F. Scott, *The New Testament Idea of Revelation*, who writes, "The aim of Rabbinical exposition, however strange its methods, was to maintain through the Law a living apprehension of God's will. Old ordinances and traditions were so re-interpreted as to afford divine guidance in present needs," p. 233.

[20] *Judaism and Christianity*, Vol. I, p. 108ff.

The Samaritans failed to engineer anything comparable to this ingenious scheme of the Pharisees. Stubbornly refusing to enlarge their conception of the Torah, they clung to their own narrow views refusing to adjust themselves to the changing scene. It is true that unlike the Jews they were never greatly scattered abroad, and consequently were not so conscious of the need for reform. Starting from the dogmatic assumption that the Torah was written by the finger of God and then copied by Moses, they guarded against the unhealthy intrusion of human frailty. There was nothing superficial, no superfluities, and to them the suggestion of scribal errors was a phrase unreal and meaningless. The Samaritans clung to the letter of the Law, and would admit no other writings as Holy Scriptures, their lives being moulded according to the narrow belief which hardened in their minds. Lacking in resiliency they could not hope to achieve anything like the success which came to the Pharisees, for they attached all their belief by slender threads to the Pentateuch, the corner stone of their faith.

Finally, there was the relation of the Law to the Gentiles. It was maintained by both the great schools of the second century (Ishmael and Akiba) that the whole Law was revealed to all nations at Sinai, but all refused it except Israel. Hence we are told of the thundering at Sinai, when the Law was given in Hebrew, Roman, Arabic, and Aramaic, but its appeal failed because it forbade sins which were the curse of heredity upon these people.[21] "In Jewish computation, however," writes Moore, "based on Genesis x. the nations of the World were seventy, and the notion that the Law was given to all nations takes the form of a revelation in seventy languages. Sometimes it is God's voice at Sinai that is heard in all seventy at once, or Moses on the Plains of Moab interpreted the Law in seventy languages; or again, the Law was inscribed on the stones of the altar on Mount Ebal (*Josh.* vii, 31 f.f.) and the nations sent their scribes who copied it in seventy different languages."[22] God, apparently, knew from the beginning that this revelation would be refused by all save the Israelites. They therefore became His "elect" in a very real sense. The collective rejection, however, did not prevent individual Gentiles from obeying the commands and sharing the promises, and this element of a saving tolerance was seen occasionally in the zealous missionary work of those who would compass sea and land to make one proselyte.

The developed conception of the Torah while suspiciously ingenious, and marred by the necessity of postulating a theory

[21] Moore, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, Note 48, p. 87, gives examples of this argument.

[22] Moore, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 278.

which has little, if any, historical basis, nevertheless approaches a great truth. It proclaims that God is ever speaking, for the ancient conversations between God and Moses contain inexhaustible riches from which one may obtain deep and abiding truths.

H. Howard Williams.

Faith Stakes a Claim, by Leslie E. Cooke, B.A., B.D., 171 pp. (Independent Press, 6s. net.)

These sermons by the Secretary of the Congregational Union, formerly minister of Warwick Road Church, Coventry, have about them a characteristic freshness and vigour. As one would expect, they have a strong social application and their illustrations are taken from many walks of life and fields of knowledge. A number of the sermons were preached for special occasions. Some preachers are notably not at their best then. But Mr. Cooke knows how (in the old phrase which he revives), to "improve the occasion."

The style varies and perhaps a sermon should never be judged by how it reads but by how it sounds. Yet we wonder at times how the preacher managed to carry his congregation with him to the far end of some of his long sentences. One such sentence, at the beginning of the sermon on the Potter, occupies the whole of the second paragraph. Again, the points of the sermons as read do not seem to stand out clearly and simply. In some of the sermons the reader is carried from beginning to end without sufficient pauses and rests for the mind.

But these are minor criticisms in view of the prophetic quality of the discourses themselves. Those preachers who read will find themselves refreshed to want to preach some of their own sermons again, but differently; and to expound familiar texts that glow here with new heat and light.

Walter W. Bottoms.

Building for the Future. (1)

KNOWN throughout the world as the home of Morris motor cars the growing industrial community of Cowley, Oxford, is also the home of the young and vigorous John Bunyan Baptist Church. The challenge of Cowley's rapidly expanding housing estates was take up in 1936 by the Oxfordshire and East Gloucestershire Association, largely owing to the enthusiasm of Rev. H. J. White, Ald. L. H. Alden and Mrs. E. A. Hughes. Difficulties were inevitably encountered but there was also considerable encouragement in the form of generous gifts. A site at Crowell Road having been purchased it was resolved on October 14th, 1938 to begin to build. The church at New Road, Oxford, intimated its readiness to consider financing a Ministry at Cowley.

The stone-laying of a small hall took place on December 8th, 1938, and on April 22nd of the following year it was opened for worship by Mrs. R. Wilson Black. Out of a total cost of £1,768 only £442 remained outstanding. Inspired by a £1,000 gift from Lord Nuffield and £881 received from the sale of St. Thomas's Mission premises, whose members had generously allocated the proceeds of sale to the Cowley cause, the responsible committee decided to press on with their plans and, on June 28th, 1941, the School Hall was opened. By the end of that year the generosity of other churches and private donors had cleared the total cost of nearly £5,000.

The first services for public worship were held on April 23rd, 1939 and the evening attendance was most encouraging. Eight children appeared that afternoon for the opening session of the Sunday School, while the following day a meeting for women was inaugurated. Since that time the story of the church has been one of striking progress. On the fateful September 3rd, 1939, the Rev. D. Rigden Green began his work as assistant minister of New Road with special responsibility for Cowley and served the new church with devoted ability until he left to become a R.A.F. chaplain in 1942. A variety of organisations came into existence, church attendance increased and the Sunday School grew rapidly, having today some 200 scholars and twenty-five teachers. The first church membership roll contained sixteen names; members now number forty-four.

Rev. S. C. Crowe of Blockley, the present minister, was invited to the pastorate in October 1942. Under his leadership

the church continued to thrive undeterred by the difficulties of war-time. He and his people rejoiced together in the first Baptismal service, which took place at New Road on September 8th, 1943. Baptisms each succeeding year emphasised the need of a baptistery at Cowley and, early this year, that need was met by voluntary labour.

Annual Gift Days since 1941 have brought in to the church funds a total of £640 and during the same period £368 has been subscribed to the Baptist Missionary Society. Weekly offerings for 1948 amounted to £245. Further evidence of the vigour and spirit of this young church is seen in the fact that each year it has accepted ever larger responsibilities for its own ministry, that the cleaning of the premises is carried out by a rota of women members and that redecorations and the tending of a colourful church garden are undertaken by the men. The Cowley members, however, are the first to testify to the wonderful help they have received in many ways from the New Road church, but for whose magnanimous friendship the cause at Cowley might never have shown the remarkable promise it now displays.

Here, then, in the midst of a great, new industrial community stands this busy, friendly and forward-looking young church. The main church building has yet to be erected. Meanwhile the progress that has been made and the work that is now being done entitle the John Bunyan Baptist Church, Cowley, to be regarded as one of the most successful projects undertaken by the denomination during the last decade or so. While it still awaits the completion of the building scheme, as its present minister has well said, "The building of the true Church, which is the fellowship of believers, goes forward and does not wait on permits, licences or money. It is the Church of the Living God."[1]

G. W. H.

The above is the first of a series of short accounts we hope to give of the origins and prospects of some of our newer churches.

[1] *And They Began to Build. The Story of John Bunyan Baptist Church, Cowley, Oxford,* 1939-49. By S. C. Crowe. Obtainable from the author, 10, Liddell Road, Cowley, Oxford, price 1s. 3d., plus postage.

Reviews.

Positive Preaching and the Modern Mind, by P. T. Forsyth, M.A., D.D. (Independent Press, 10s. 6d.)

This is not a bedside book. The author informs us at the outset that it has cost him much to find his way so far, but he believes that he has found the true and magnetic North. Not everyone will accept Forsyth's orientation, but no one will read this book without feeling its powerful demand for searching thought and deeper preaching.

The preacher's place in Protestant worship is clearly defined; he stands in the true line of succession to the Apostles, who were neither priests nor bishops, but preachers. The apostolic succession is the evangelical, and the continuance of a living Protestantism lies with the recognition of the central place of the Sacrament of the living Word. This Word, which is the preacher's charter and authority, is in the Bible. Many who may not be able to agree with all that is written in the later and more doctrinal chapters will be grateful for the earlier pages on the Bible.

In an age in which evangelism is often separated from the Church, it is good to heed Forsyth's reminder that the preacher's first duty is to the Church, and that it is through the Church that he will make his surest impact on the world. There follows a stimulating analysis of the function of the preacher in the Church; he is not there to declare anything new—though it is all to the good if he speaks with freshness—but to offer to the Church the Gospel that is already in it. He makes discoveries *in* the Gospel but not *of* the Gospel. When he speaks it is the great, common, universal faith addressing the faith of the local community. Forsyth has a pertinent word to say about the demand for short sermons: "A Christianity of short sermons is a Christianity of short fibre. Brevity may be the soul of wit, but the preacher is not a wit."

So much for positive preaching. But what of the modern mind? And how far does the mind of 1907, to which Forsyth speaks, correspond to that of 1949? If our age has found its way through some of the problems of that previous generation, this is due in no small measure to the strong counsel given by Forsyth in this and other books. The Liberalism which he combats so trenchantly in these pages has long since passed to the defensive, but it is good to be reminded of the great truths of Forsyth's positive theology which has prepared the way for

the illustrious Reformed thinkers of today. If theology is to be modernized, he says, it must be modernized by its own Gospel and not by the latest notions of science or sentiment. And if our creed is to be reduced, our faith must be increased as we concentrate on the central doctrines of Christ's Eternal Sonship, Mediatorship and Resurrection.

Forsyth's age, he tells us, was set as never before on moral righteousness. Alas! ours is not. But that should be all the more reason for heeding what he has to say about the moral poignancy of the Cross and the need for preaching the holiness of God as the very core of the Atonement. Here we catch some of the great notes which are sounded in his other works, and especially in "The Work of Christ," and many will feel that here indeed he has found the true and magnetic North. But be that as it may, none will withhold their reverence for his greatness as a man as he concludes: "No one can feel more than I do that if all this be not absolute truth it is sheer nonsense."

Every preacher should read this book, and none will do so without his heart being searched, his mind stimulated, and his preaching enriched.

IRWIN J. BARNES.

Charles Freer Andrews, by Benarsidas Chaturvedi and Marjorie Sykes. (Allen and Unwin, 10s. 6d.)

No brief review can do justice to this timely and significant biography. Written with fine feeling and restraint it breathes throughout the noble spirit of "Dinabandhu." However we may think of him, as missionary, prophet, reformer, statesman, mystic or saint, any true estimate of the "measure of the fullness of the stature" of the man depends on our understanding something of that rare and elusive spiritual quality which informed and integrated his whole being. Those familiar with the largely autobiographical classics of the inner life, his "What I owe to Christ" and "Christ in the Silence," already know that the well-spring of this life so amazingly rich in influence and achievement, was an intense and uncompromising devotion to Jesus Christ. The power of this book to move and inspire derives largely from the authors' unfailing regard for this truth.

The main background of C. F. Andrews' life was the complex tangle of Indo-British relationships during the fateful forty years of struggle for national honour, social reform and political independence. All the world knows how the first and most momentous phrase of that struggle ended in the miracle of August, 1947. It may be only too easy to forget that the ending

might have been a colossal disaster. One cannot close this book without feeling that more than any other single factor one man's willingness to be the "fool of God" made the miracle possible. In the fullness of the times C. F. Andrews was God's special gift to both India and Britain, for if suspicion, bitterness and hatred yielded ultimately to tolerance, mutual respect and a profound desire for a peaceful and honourable solution it was largely by the alchemy of that Christlike love and invincible faith of which he was the embodiment. In a new era bright with promise and goodwill it is for missionaries and statesmen to see that his legacy is not squandered.

It should not be thought that this is a book about India. Once in a generation a life such as this comes as a challenge, an inspiration and a rebuke to all Christians everywhere. Its lessons are of universal application. It reveals what may be achieved in any part of the human scene where one man really abandoned to the Divine Will becomes the tool of His Purpose. It is as relevant to the problems of colour in America and "apartheid" in S. Africa as it is to industrial strife on the home-front or communist infiltration in the western world. It demands that always and everywhere we remember that the root of all our human disorder is estrangement from God and that the only final answer to that is the Word made Flesh.

That is what this book is really about. To read it is both a humbling and exalting experience.

W. J. BRADNOCK.

Luke's Portrait of Jesus, by Hugh Martin. (S.C.M., 6s.)

In his foreword Dr. Martin says that St. Luke's Gospel has always meant more to him than any other single book, in or out of the New Testament, and it is evident in this, his latest publication, that he has been working under a sense of personal indebtedness. It is needless to summarise the contents since the title does that with complete adequacy. Dr. Martin has written for "those who have not the time or the training for following the work of the scholars" and there is almost unlimited scope in the Biblical field for those who can perform that service as helpfully as the author has done here. This is a really useful guide to the third Gospel. Amongst the many who will read it with profit and pleasure, those who arrange Lay Preachers' courses and examinations will, I imagine, take a particularly significant interest in it.

G. W. RUSLING.