SOUTHEASTERN BAPTIST
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To John.

from. Jim. Maude.

with all good wishes

Christmas 1933.

FOUNDATIONS

FOUNDATIONS

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by
[CAPTAIN STOCK]

HALIFAX:
EDWARD MORTIMER LIMITED, PRINTERS, REGENT STREET.

1933.

FOREWORD.

Many modern Baptist Histories contain "Forewords" written by some well-known denominational leader, in which nice things are said about the author and a kind of testimony is given to his reliability. I am not fortunate enough to be known to any one so placed from whom I could hope to receive any such hall-mark of respectability.

The letter I reproduce will perhaps be accepted if it be recognised that it is the only substitute I have to offer.

"Winterton, Westerham, Kent. 5/4/32.

"My Dear Captain,

Of my many dear friends up North you often pass through my mind. I know you will be interested to hear from one of your old boys—now in his early forties alas! I often scan the old photographs of the B.R.B. with feeling of many happy memories.

"I am awfully fit—since I came here to this country practice, and very busy. I am very much married, two boys and a girl.

"The first three years I was here I ran a Boy Scout Troop, and enjoyed it tremendously, but now through lack of time, although I am still Group Scoutmaster, I do little with them except lecture on elementary first aid. I have a lovely garden here and spend a good deal of my spare time with my roses.

"I often wonder how you are when I think of the wonderful time you gave us, especially the little 'select' parties that went to Windermere at Whitsuntide to prepare for Camp.

"Do you remember the glorious day we cycled to Keswick and had a picnic on the lake. Marmaduke Robinson, White, you and self, and our escapades with the Revival Meeting Captain on the Sunday evening. It was one of the many gorgeous holidays you gave me, and with memories of it and *as a return* I took two poor scholarship boys to Switzerland with me last Summer

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(as my wife could not come and my children were not old enough yet), and we had a great time. I told them all about you and what a good time you used to give me, and that I took them as a return of thanks. Both boys had just taken their Matric. after I had persuaded their parents to let them stay at School a year longer.

"I still have my Maltese Cross, a relic of our old Society. You probably know that George Nevitt was killed near me in France in Bourlon Wood. I was Medical Officer to his Battalion for some time. I have also all the old Camp reports in my possession. I do hope you keep well.

"With kind and affectionate regards,

Your grateful old Boy,

HAROLD PICKLES."

PREFACE.

Amateur historians, however modest the scope of their research, probably soon pass through instructive experience. They find how inexact and superficial is their knowledge of history. They discover how mythical and unfounded are a great many of the traditional stories they have believed and treasured all their lives. They are surprised to find how unsafe it is to accept everything they see in print as infallible, and they learn to distrust their own power to draw correct conclusions and deductions from authoritative facts. Having come to a proper and wholesome state of self depreciation, they will perhaps give up all thoughts they once entertained of writing any sort of a history and feel thankful they have been saved from their once intended folly.

That at least has been my own experience. The thought of writing of the origin and early days of the Nook church came to me several years ago, when I first had the opportunity of reading through the MSS. which form the basis for so large a part of the present work, but was put aside for some years as involving too much risk to peace of mind and ability to sleep at nights. The human mind, however, having once conceived an idea continually returns to it, and often almost compels a man to do that which all the time he is conscious he is unwise in doing. In publishing this volume I know I am acting foolishly and laying myself open to all sorts of pains and penalties. "Behold, my desire is, that mine adversary had written a book." I have no adversaries, at least I know of none, but I have a great many good friends who will doubtless find pleasure in picking

out flaws and errors in my work, as possibly I should do in theirs, if they published anything. I may perhaps disarm criticism to some extent if I say :—

1st. At the best, what follows only pretends to be a few chapters in the history of the church. One day some better man will set himself the task of re-writing the whole story, and it is certain that many of the gaps I have been obliged to leave, he will be able to fill, and that he will correct many mistakes which I have made for want of the information he will possess and I do not.

2nd. It has been my endeavour throughout to draw a clear distinction between statements for which I have authority, and deductions and imaginations that may follow from such statements. I should be much embarrassed if I were asked for my authority for all that is found in my Pictures in the Fire.

3rd. I would ask my readers to recognise that it is no easy task for a layman living in 1932 to enter fully and sympathetically into the life of a church as lived some two hundred years ago. I should feel very sorry indeed if I appeared to fail to appreciate the labours of the good men who were the church's foundation builders, and who had to contend with difficulties and discouragements to which we who live in this day are strangers.

4th. It must be always clearly understood that, except for the few pages at the end dealing with the church of to-day, no one but the writer is responsible for what is found in the following pages. Neither the church nor anyone else connected with the church, is in any way committed to anything by the present publication.

It will always be a pleasure to me to give to those interested, facilities for consulting the MSS. in my possession. These will eventually be handed over to the Salendine Nook church, and whether retained there or placed in the custody of some college, opportunity for their perusal will doubtless always be available.

In my reproduction of the MSS. no corrections have been made ; all are given as they were written.

The pen and ink illustrations are the work of Mr. D. P. Carrington, of Wakefield.

In days long ago, when I was sometimes speaking on platforms, I found myself selecting one man in my audience and addressing all I had to say, to him alone. I am now adopting the same course, for I have only one person in my mind throughout; I have never told my friend and do not propose to tell him the use I am making of him, but I shall probably find out what he thinks of it all, and if he is satisfied I shall be content.

I dedicate my book to this unnamed person.

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"The passing of the Toleration Act of 1689 cannot be treated as unconcernedly as the passing of The Road Traffic Act of 1930."

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(2) Various plots of land acquired up to 1838.

The various dates of the exact portions of land cannot be accurately ascertained, as the early deeds did not contain plans and the boundary divisions were removed as the properties came into possession of the Church.

(3) Property acquired in 1856 and 1863.

(4) ,, ,, 1846.

(5) ,, ,, 1879.

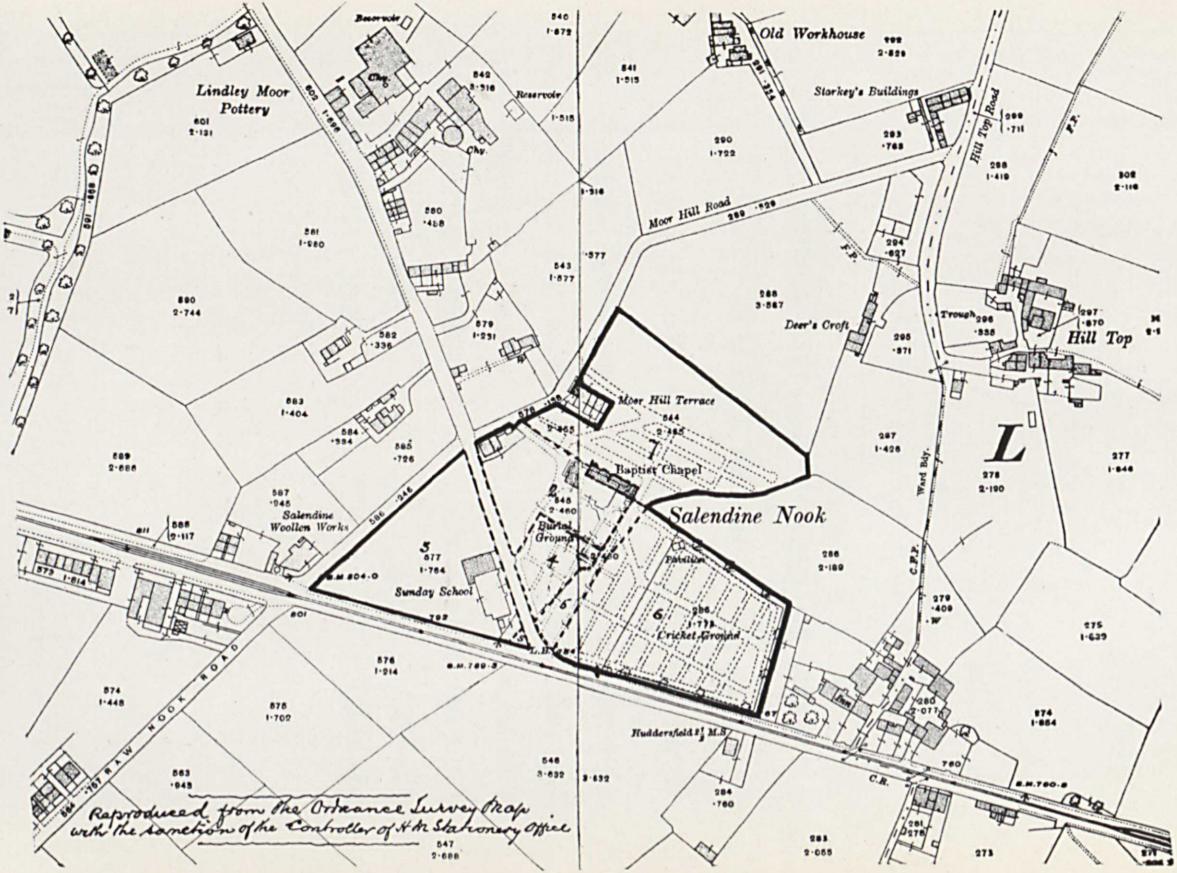
(6) ,, ,, 1896.

(7) ,, ,, 1922.

The plan indicates the projected development of the existing Tennis Court field as a Burial Ground, and similarly the field to the north of the Chapel a portion of which has already been laid out.

The church estate appeared on two separate ordnance sheets, and the straight line from the top to the bottom, in the centre of map, represents the junction of these two sheets.

Total area about eight and a half acres.



MAP OF CHURCH ESTATE, 1932.

Section 1.

THE PERSECUTING YEARS OF THE STUART KINGS.

The Plymouth Breakwater ... ... Chapter 1.

Some Pages in English History ... ... Chapter 2.

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CHAPTER 1.

The Plymouth Breakwater.

The lighthouse standing at the western entrance to Plymouth Sound gives to many travellers from far countries the first intimation that they are nearing England and that their journey is about to end.

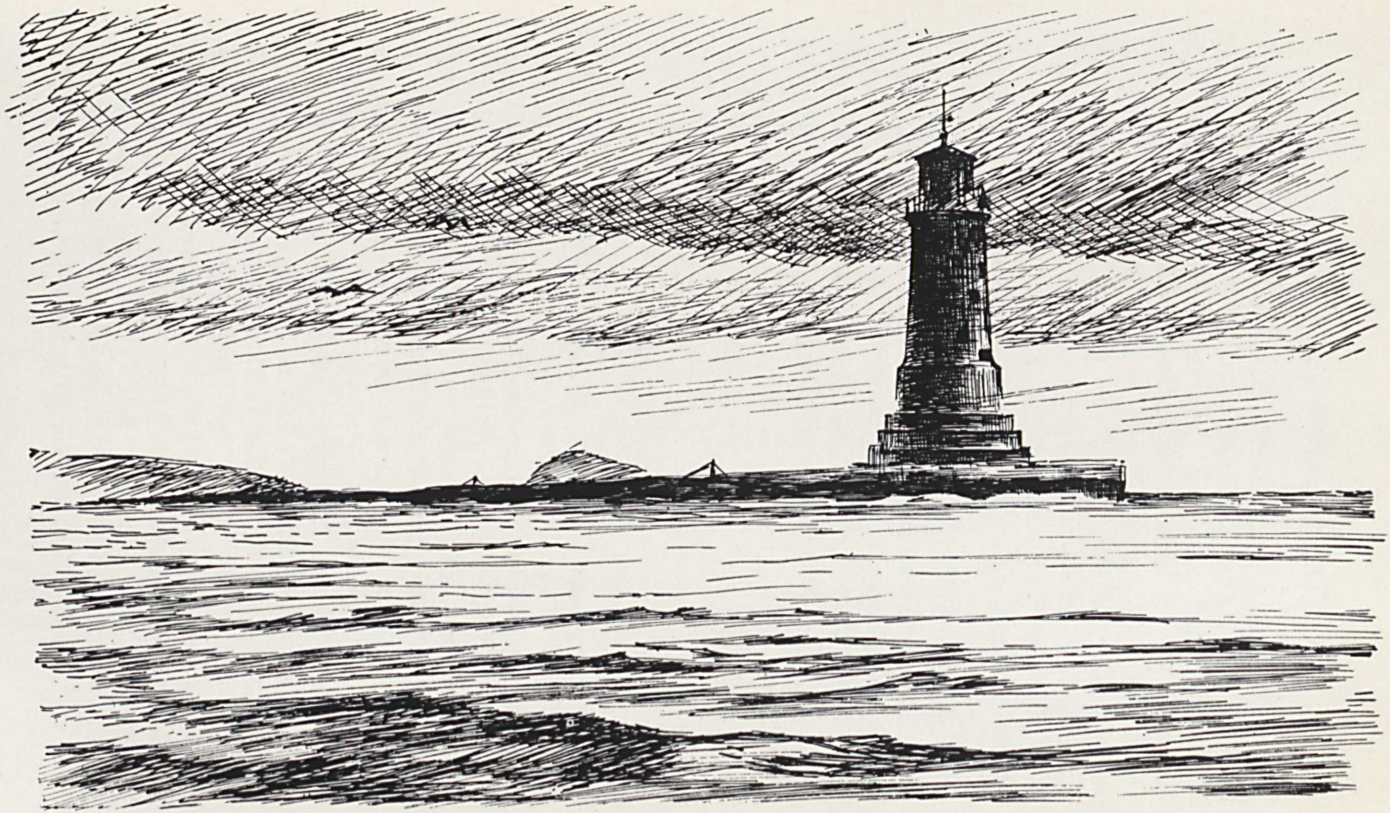
This lighthouse will often seem to these travellers to be built on the very surface of the sea, for when the tide is high and the wind blows strongly, except for a troubled line of breakers stretching away to the East, nothing but unbroken water is visible on all sides.

Plymouth Sound is now one of the best and safest harbours on the coast of Britain, ships may anchor there and ride out in safety almost any storm that blows, but it was not always so ; there was a time when the southerly gales brought disaster to the ships which sought its shelter, and many a stout vessel became a wreck on the rocks below the Plymouth Hoe.

Many schemes were proposed for protecting the Sound, and various plans were considered and discarded for building breakwaters reaching out from the land on either side of the bay ; finally it was decided to build a breakwater across its centre and in water some 30 feet deep, leaving an entrance to the Sound at each end ; a bold and pretentious scheme for which many prophesied certain failure.

The site of the foundations for this breakwater was marked by buoys and included a space 1,700 yards long and 70 yards wide. A fleet of specially designed vessels was built, a quarry near the water's edge in an adjacent estuary was chosen, and on August 12th, 1812, the laying of the foundations of the Plymouth Breakwater was commenced.

Ungainly looking craft containing great blocks of stone, one, two or three tons in weight were brought



THE PLYMOUTH BREAKWATER AND LIGHTHOUSE.

to the site and their loads dropped into the water. A clanking of the vessel's chains, a loud splash, a brief disturbance of the surface, and the vessel passed away leaving all apparently as before.

Years elapsed before the foundations were complete, and for a great part of that time all was hidden beneath the sea. Scores of thousands of tons of rock were lost to sight, and eight months had passed before even a stone could be seen above the surface at the lowest tide.

The foundations of the Plymouth Breakwater were well and truly laid. The lighthouse now stands secure. But for the labour of those years in which the unseen foundations were being laid, there would have been no safe harbour or guiding lighthouse.

CHAPTER 2.

Some Pages in English History.

The following pages may refresh my readers' memory as to the condition of the country during the persecuting years of Charles II. and James II. It is the claim of this book that the first foundations of the Salendine Nook Church were laid in these years.

The death of Oliver Cromwell on September 3rd, 1658, spelt the death of the Commonwealth which had owed its birth and continuance to his outstanding genius. His son Richard who succeeded him as protector was of a different calibre, a man of even less than mediocre capacity. When Oliver's strong hand was removed chaos reigned ; Richard signed his abdication on April 22nd, 1659, and retired into private life, dying at Cheshunt in 1712.

The people of England had tired of the Commonwealth ; they had chafed under its restrictions ; they were wearied of the divisions and disputings of parties alike in religion and politics. They, like a people of old, wanted a king to reign over them. Negotiations were commenced with Charles II., which materialised in his being invited to return to his father's throne. He had written from Breda

> "And because the passion and uncharitableness of the times have produced several opinions in religion, by which men are engaged in parties and animosities against each other which, when they shall hereafter unite in a freedom of conversation, will be composed or better understood ; we do declare a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the Kingdom : and that we shall be ready to consent to such an Act of Parliament as upon mature deliberation shall be offered to us, for the full granting that indulgence."

He was proclaimed King in May, 1660, and with almost universal enthusiasm was welcomed when he returned to England and entered London in triumph on May 29th.

It appears to be generally admitted that if Charles had had his own way he would have kept this Breda pledge. He had no strong religious convictions ; what leanings he had were towards Roman Catholicism, for on his death-bed he joined the Roman Catholic Church and died in that faith. The Nonconformist cannot justly lay upon Charles personally the charge of having initiated all the persecution that occurred in his reign, but he was an indolent, evil living man, engrossed in his own vicious indulgence, and he had no intention whatever of prejudicing his own ease and comfort, by running counter to the wish of the majority of his people, for such a trifling matter as the keeping of a pledge.

It would be incorrect to suppose that full liberty of conscience had been enjoyed during the times of

the Commonwealth ; the Presbyterians of that day were as little willing to grant toleration as the Anglicans had been. The ideal of universal toleration was not yet. A few voices were heard crying in the wilderness, some of them from Baptists, but real religious freedom was in its childhood, and it was written that it had to pass through many a scene of battle and blood before it arrived at its full manhood and became the nation's birthright as we know it to-day. Even John Calvin was the cause of the burning of Servetus in 1553 for heresy.

CHAPTER 3.

Some Pages in English History—*(Continued).*

It may be a matter of continued surprise to the reader of history to recognise what an important part religion played in the life and politics of the 17th century.

Religious matters have to-day ceased to be a dividing issue in politics ; in recent parliamentary elections they have never been mentioned. They are no longer a dividing factor in the everyday life of the people, but the history of the 17th century is largely composed of questions affecting the religious differences of the times. The affairs of the Church seemed to eclipse those of the State. People, who manifestly had no real practical religious experience or sympathy still fought for the Church of their choice, and made great gaps in every relationship of life between themselves and those whose views differed from their own.

For the greater portion of the first year of Charles reign, negotiations were carried on for a comprehensive scheme of conformity. Conferences were held between leading Anglicans and leading Presbyterians, but it

was evident very soon that the Church of England had regained her old supremacy, in the 1661 parliament all but one in ten seats had gone to those standing for King and Bishops. It was also manifest that she was about to get her own back with big interest. The conferences failed in their purpose, as it was evidently intended by the Bishops they should fail. Conformity by consent was seen to be impracticable, conformity by compulsion should be attempted and so commenced the series of persecuting edicts under which our forefathers suffered so grievously.

In 1661 was passed the Corporations Act, which excluded dissenters from all municipal offices, and as the members of parliament for some boroughs were elected by the Corporations, left the election in those cases solely with members of the Church of England.

In 1662 followed "An Act for the Uniformity of public prayers and Administration of Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies and for establishing the form of Making, Ordaining, and Consecrating Bishops, Priests and Deacons in the Church of England." This Act stipulated that on St. Bartholomew's Day (August 24th) every parson, vicar or other minister whatsoever should make the following declaration in presence of his congregation :

> I do hereby declare my unfeigned Assent and Consent to all and everything contained and prescribed in and by the Book of Common Prayer.

No minister who was not episcopally ordained could be presented to any living and any minister not so ordained administering the Lord's Supper in a private house or conventicle was liable to a fine of one hundred pounds.

In 1664 the First Conventicle Act was passed. It provided that any person over 16 years of age who attended a nonconformist service, at which more than four persons other than those of the same household were assembled together, should be liable to fine and

imprisonment, and transportation on a third offence, while return or escape from banishment was punishable by death.

In 1665 came the Five Mile Act.

By its provisions every clergyman who had been driven out by the Act of Uniformity was called upon to swear that he held it unlawful under any pretence to take up arms against the King, and that he would at no time endeavour to make any alteration of Government in Church or State. In case of refusal he was forbidden to come or be within five miles of any city, town or borough, or of any place where he had been wont to minister.

In 1670 the Second Conventicle Act was passed which, although mitigating the penalties, was much more stringent in its inquisition than the first act which had expired and which it replaced.

In 1673 the Test Act, "An Act for preventing dangers which may happen from Popish recusants" but which affected other dissenters as well, was passed.

"Every person that shall bear any office, civil or military, or any place of trust in the realm or in the navy, shall receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the usage of the Church of England, within three months after receiving office, and shall produce a certificate of having received the sacrament, and shall take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, and subscribe a declaration against transubstantiation."

It may not be quite so easy for an English nonconformist to have the same understanding of the Covenanters in Scotland as he has of the dissenters in his own country.

The Covenanters certainly had no sympathy with the principle of religious toleration; they wanted a State Church but that to be their own Church. They proposed that their faith should alone be tolerated in the whole of their country, and would have had the

provisions of the covenant compulsorily extended to the three Kingdoms ; in fact that Presbyterianism should be the only religion allowed anywhere.

They represented the church militant ; they were quite prepared to suffer to the death or to fight to the death, but they had a preference for the latter, and no one can blame them for that.

That they suffered terribly is unquestioned. They met on hill sides, on lonely moors and in hidden places for their worship, and were harried and hunted continuously. The name of Graham of Claverhouse stands out above all others for his tireless energy in suppressing their gatherings. Thousands of Covenanters suffered fine, imprisonment and death for adherence to the dictates of their conscience. Renwick the last of the Covenanter Martyrs, was executed in the Grassmarket of Edinburgh in February 1688.

The Covenant, to which they subscribed and which gave them their name, pledged them to defend even unto death the true faith according to the Word of God, and to resist to the uttermost the setting up of Bishops over the Church of Scotland.

The position of the dissenters continued much the same during the reign of James II. as in the reign of Charles II. Short periods of suspension of the penal acts occurred during both reigns, but only because both Kings supposed that by clemency to the Protestant Dissenters they could obtain an equal measure of relief for their Roman Catholic subjects.

James II. was an acknowledged Roman Catholic ; he was headstrong and obstinate, determined, whatever might be the cost, to establish Roman Catholicism as the religion of the country. It was this which lost him his throne, for overtures were made to William of Orange which matured, and resulted in his landing in Torbay on Nov. 5th, 1688. James fled to France and William and Mary were crowned on April 11th, 1689.

CHAPTER 4.

The Persecuting Edicts.

Numerous books in which the persecuting edicts have been discussed have been written, some by leaders in the Church of England and others by Nonconformists. It is interesting to recognise the difference between them and to read what the Church of England historian of later years has to say about them.

One from the Anglican point of view appears in a volume of *The English Church* by the Venerable Wm. Holden Hutton, B.D., Archdeacon of Northampton, etc.

"On St. Bartholomew's Day, 1662, some twelve hundred ministers (the generally accepted number is 2,000) "left the benefices they had occupied, and were replaced, frequently by the earlier incumbents. The loss of good men was grievous, but now that the mists of controversy have cleared away it is impossible to regard it as other than inevitable. When the majority of the Church and nation were agreed as to the limits of the Church, and, notably, insisted on the necessity of Episcopal ordination, it was impossible that men not so ordained and differing on important points from the doctrines of the Prayer Book should continue to hold office in the Church and to neglect her commands. Comprehension could only have been achieved by the sacrifice of convictions on both sides, and this was a sacrifice which men's consciences happily would not allow them to make. When the Act of Uniformity was enforced the Church was left in a position to carry out her system consistently, and those who left her for conscience' sake were free to teach and worship as they willed. But, unhappily, Parliament would not allow the settlement to be permanent. From definition it advanced to persecution.

"In 1664 an Act was passed against conventicles, which became known as The First Conventicle Act. By this, every person who should be present at a religious service other 'than is allowed by the liturgy or practice of the Church of England,' was made liable to fine and imprisonment, and on a third conviction to transportation. The power under this Act was placed in the hands of the

justices of the peace, who were often incompetent to exercise it with any pretence of consideration ; but it seems the Ana-baptists and Quakers, whom Presbyterians and Independents, no less than Churchmen, regarded as noxious enemies of the Christian faith, were the chief sufferers by the Act.

"This was, however, only a beginning. In 1665 was passed the 'Five Mile Act' levelled directly against the dissenting ministers who had not subscribed the Act of Uniformity. It directed that all such should take the oath against the lawfulness of bearing arms against the king, and against endeavouring alteration in Church or State, or they were not to 'come or be' within five miles of any town in which they had acted as 'parson, vicar, or lecturer,' etc. The Act was obviously a purely political one, as no religious test was demanded, and the Parliament might claim that if it pressed hardly on the deprived ministers it could only be because they were enemies to the political settlement which the majority of the nation supported. But though the argument would be strictly true, the Act, like all other inquisitorial measures, was a grave infringement of true liberty of conscience, religious as well as political ; because religion and politics could not truly be separated in the mind of a religious man of Charles II.'s day.

Nonconformist authors naturally write in a much more bitter strain.

Even if it be allowed that some Act of conformity may have been necessary to correct the chaos which had prevailed during the Commonwealth times in the Church of England, the Corporations and Test Acts, which it is to be noted were not repealed until 1828, were pieces of arbitrary injustice, and the Five Mile Act and the two Conventicle Acts were examples of unmitigated intolerance and tyranny.

The Act of Uniformity and the Five Mile Act had no practical bearing on our early forefathers at Nook. They dealt only with the persons of the nonconforming clergy of the Church of England. Mr. David Drury, of Honley, and Mr. Christopher Richardson, of Kirkheaton, were the only two who came out on St. Bartholomew's Day in the Huddersfield district.

The Corporations and Test Acts would affect them to some extent, but the Conventicle Acts meant everything, for under these Acts meetings for dissenters' worship anywhere were absolutely forbidden.

A highly treasured tradition still held by some at Salendine Nook is that their 1739 chapel was built under the Five Mile Act by which they understand that no dissenters' place of worship could be built within a distance of five miles from a parish church. To get over the difficulty that Salendine Nook has never been more than $2\frac{3}{4}$ miles from the Huddersfield Parish Church, someone originated the myth that Almondbury was then the parish church, and the Huddersfield Parish Church did not exist. This myth has held its own in spite of the fact that there has been a parish church at Huddersfield as long as there has been one at Almondbury and that the Five Mile Act had nothing whatever to do with the building of meeting houses.

CHAPTER 5.

The Toleration Act.

William the Third was a Dutch Calvinist Presbyterian. He had no very strong religious feelings, but insisted on a policy of toleration, as witness his declaration :—

> "We could never be of the mind that violence was suited in the advancement of true religion nor do we intend that our authority shall be a tool to the irregular passions of any party."

On May 24th, 1689, was passed the Toleration Act, its provisions being briefly :—

That dissenters from the Established Church of England (with the exception of Roman Catholics and Unitarians) were thereby exempted from the penalties hitherto incurred by absenting themselves from

church, or by frequenting unlawful conventicles. They were, however, prohibited from meeting with locked doors, though, on the other hand, a penalty was enacted against those who disturbed their congregation.

It was also provided that no congregation was permitted to assemble until its place of worship had been certified and registered at the Bishop's Court or at Quarter Sessions.

It is so unlikely that a nonconformist would have registered his place of worship at an ecclesiastical court, when a civil court was not only available but more convenient, that I have not thought it necessary to make any search except amongst the records of the Quarter Sessions.

The First Meeting for the Public Worship of God at Salendine Nook, October, 1689.

CHAPTER 6.

A Picture in the Fire.

It may be confessed that the writing of history has already appeared to me to be a cold-blooded soulless sort of business. The capacity to record scenes of comedy and tragedy, love and hate, success and failure, sorrow and gladness, laughter and tears, in an impersonal, relentless, callous manner is, I suppose, the first qualification which a historian should acquire. It should be a matter of indifference to him what he has to record, his sole interest should be to keep his record accurate. In the foregoing pages it has been shown :—

1st. That there was a time of much persecution for dissenters.

2nd. That a Toleration Act was passed in 1689 which gave a relief from this persecution.

Having said this an orthodox historian would have said all that was needed, and would pass on to his next chapter.

I confess to being entirely unorthodox in many things. I propose to drop for awhile the rôle of an orthodox historian, and to live in the much more interesting realm of imagination.

The passing of the Toleration Act of 1689 cannot be treated as unconcernedly as the passing of The Road Traffic Act of 1930. I have spent long hours in the winter evenings in the quiet of my room, thinking of all that Act meant to the thousands of simple, honest, God-fearing people throughout the land. I have seen many pictures in the fire.

Look with me into my fire and see one of these pictures.

The October evening wind blows coldly over the moorland. The houses are few and widely scattered. Lights shine here and there but one is more brilliant

than the rest. Something unusual is happening, men and women are about where there is generally solitude, and all seem to be approaching the place of that conspicuous light. They are all excited, they are talking eagerly. They are just plain folk, the women have shawls over their heads and clogs on their feet, the men have their dogs at their heels.

I, too, become part of the little stream which converges toward that light ; I see as I draw near that it comes not from a dwelling-house, but from an ancient barn ; I enter, and although *I am not seen* I see and hear all that is passing there.

Two chairs have been kept vacant, most certainly for guests of distinction.

The seating of the congregation on little wooden stools gives me to understand what were those strange objects that the women had carried under their arms. I notice one woman of many years, seemingly the mother of the little Israel, has the place of honour and sits in an old rocking chair of the sort I remember seeing in the cottage homes of long ago.

I see evidence of loving care which has been taken to make their rude meeting house a fitting place to receive a visit from the Master and I think that the barn that night is well named,—a Meeting House,—a house where the Lord might meet His people, and that the good folk who are there must believe that He who had spent so many hours of His life on earth amongst those who were poor and despised, would not forget them now that He is in His glory at the right hand of His Father.

The smell of recently gathered hay and the sweet breath of grass fed cattle permeate the air, and I remember the incense that had been offered at some of the great Churches I had once visited, and I wonder if the Master, who was born in a fold yard and cradled in a manger would "Think on" as those good folk would say, that all they could offer was the

same incense He had known when, as a babe, He had drawn His first breath on earth.

The dogs are sitting quietly at their masters feet. It seems fitting that they should be there for I know they had done their part in the many hours of watching on the hills around, and that it had been their lot to bring back warning to the homestead when danger threatened.

The door to the house opens and two men come through. I look at them curiously for that they are to be the preachers at the meeting seems certain. The one is old and feeble, the other of middle age strong and virile. They sit down in the two seats that have been reserved for them and the barn for awhile has a solemn stillness upon it.

The old man rises from his seat and the service begins. I see his shaking hand open the Bible, and his fingers begin to fumble about the pages of the Old Testament and it comes to me instinctively, that he will find his way to the prophet Isaiah for his reading that night. I hear him commence the 40th chapter, but though the Book is open he seems to be reciting the whole from memory.

"Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, saith your God. Speak ye comfortably to Jerusalem, and cry unto her, that her warfare is accomplished, that her iniquity is pardoned: for she hath received of the Lord's hand double for all her sins."

And he reads on through all the glowing passages of the long chapter, and as his voice rises and falls and rolls and echoes among the old beams and rafters of that place of meeting, I hear the Old Testament read as I heard it read in my boyhood days by the old folk of those times, and as I think I seldom hear it read in these latter days.

The book is closed and the prayer follows. I do not propose to repeat the petition that in my vision I heard offered that night, but amongst many other

things a fervent supplication went up to the throne above, that the Good Lord would give them grace to forgive their enemies for all the cruelties that had been wrought on them and theirs for so many years, and when he repeated the Lord's prayer at the close he passed slowly over those words "forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors."

The prayer ends. I feel the congregation moving and settling themselves in their seats and the sermon begins.

The Text.

"Watchman, what of the night?
The morning cometh."

Be assured the sermon that night was no conventional doctrinal discourse, but commencing in a low and at first a hesitating voice the old man tells them—what indeed they already know, of the night—the long weary hours of the darkness of the black night of persecution which had overshadowed the people of God for so many years.

He takes them back to the days of Queen Mary and speaks to them of the fires of Smithfield and the torture and death meted out to God's people in those times of darkness and distress; of the harsh, cruel, unrelenting persecution which followed through all the reign of Queen Elizabeth, of men and women burned at the stake even in those days of the so-called Reformation.

He pictures to them the terror of the Stuart reigns, of the fines, imprisonments, banishments and deaths. He reminds them of all they had suffered themselves for conscience sake; of their humiliation in being hunted and driven like partridges in the mountains; of his own bitter experience; of his imprisonment for years in a den in which they would deem it cruelty to stable their cattle. He bids them notice his shaking limbs and twisted fingers which bear witness to the ague and rheumatism from which he had suffered and

would suffer to his dying day from his long confinement in that living tomb.

He testifies, and with a catch in his voice, of many—the dearest friends of his life—who had rotted to their death in those dungeons—Watchman what of the night ? The night had indeed been long and dark and fearsome.

And then his voice drops a little and he speaks of those men of little faith who in their long continued pain and distress wondered whether the Lord had forgotten His people and was deaf to their cries, and once again he turns to Isaiah.

" But Zion said, The Lord hath forsaken me, and my Lord hath forgotten me. Can a woman forget her sucking child, that she should not have compassion on the son of her womb ? yea, they may forget, yet will I not forget thee. Behold, I have graven thee upon the palms of my hands ; thy walls are continually before me."

And the old man lifts his head, the catch leaves his voice and his limbs cease to tremble as he passes to the second part of his text. And he tells them of the morning which cometh, nay which had already come.

He holds before the people a little piece of paper, and he dwells on all it means to them and the people of God ; of the blessed morning that had come, of deliverance from violence and oppression, of the peace and security that should be enjoyed by them in the future, for that God had taken the whole bundle of mercies for which they had been waiting and wrapped them up in one great deliverance.

He points to the big barn doors which had for the first time been opened that night for the public worship of God and he assures them, please God, the open door shall never be taken from them again.

He draws glowing pictures of all that God had in store for them and their children's children in long years to come, and he calls upon them to lift up their

hearts in thanksgiving to the giver of all good things for so great a liberation. No longer should the burden of their petitions be, How long! How long! O Lord!—for the night had passed away and the morning had come.

And then I see him turn to the men of his little congregation mostly sitting together in one part of the barn, and in the name of the Master he served he gives them the "Well done, good and faithful servant".....He commends them for that they had fought a good fight and wrought a good work, throughout a long night they had kept burning the light of the blessed Gospel in that place.

And his voice softens and sweetens as he utters words of comfort and commendation to the women of his flock. He assures them that he knows their sufferings and distresses have been greater than those of their men folk for that it is always harder to see those we love in danger and trouble than to bear the trouble ourselves. And as I still look into the burning coals of my fire I am conscious of a movement. It may be only a piece of coal falling from the grate. But I turn and look around and I see those collie dogs are restless and in trouble. They have risen to their feet and are rubbing their heads against their masters knees and seeking to lick their hands, and when I look into the faces of the men I understand, for I see there are tears in the eyes of all. And this touches me for I have a dog myself at home, a big affectionate brute that I believe would gladly die for me any moment. But I know better than those faithful beasts. I know that those are not the tears of sorrow but the signs of joy because the long dark night had passed away and the morning has come.

There is silence again for awhile as the old man totters back to his seat.

The younger man rises and again I see a move-

ment amongst the little congregation and a look of pleased expectancy on the faces of some of the people. This is one who has come fresh from the bloodstained hills of their native land and they will hear "The Word" in their mother-tongue—and he begins.

"I purposed i' ma hert that, if, throw the guid han' o' oor God upon us, we sud ever enter an open door for His worship, His ain Word wad be on ma lips. As I waited on the Lord for the word He wad be pleased tae gie me, there cam tae ma min', like the owercam o' a sang, 'When the Lord turned again the captivity of Zion, we were like them that dream.'

"By a gracious orderin' o' Providence oor brither wha hes just spoken was led tae tell o' the darkness o' the nicht an' the comin' o' the morning. Sirs, I wad enlairge a wee the same thocht.

"Sae firstly let us speak o' that bondage whilk lay upon us.

"Praise be tae His name, because, certes, nae han' but His could hae broken us free frae the gates o' Hell. For siccan, and nae less, were the iron bars o' oor capteevity.

"Oh! weel I wot that, as oor brither has tellt us, the hoosehold o' faith i' this lan' coored anaith the whup o' the oppressor. But, wow, sirs, gin I hadna a mair sorrowfu' story tae tell o' ma ain hamelan', wad I hae forhooed it, tae tak shelter, as frae the blast o' the terrible ones i' this land.

"I' that lan' o' mine we leeved under a King wha had ta'en the Covenant, wi' a solemn oath tae keep the same. I spier at ye, whatna Covenant did he keep? A covenant made wi' Beelzebub.

"We askit but the leeberty tae worship God aefter the mainner o' oor feythers. But, lack-a-day, siccan sichts rise afore ma een. I see folk gaither far frae their hames, i' the hert o' the hills an' the midst o' the mosses, to hear God's free Word. Plain folk

maistly are they, like oorsels here. But there's nae peace lyin' roond as it lies roon' us this nicht. Na ! there's the bluidy Clavers or the blasphemin' Laird o' Lag, drawin' near wi' their dragoons. Gin they resist, their bluid stains the auld grey stanes. Gin they submit, on promise o' the King's mercy, they are na suffered tae leeve lang eneuch tae declare that the tender mercies o' the wicked are cruel. For folk are herded like swine intae pens and syne shippit as slaves tae the Plantations. The gentles hae their limbs crushed i' 'the boot' so that, i' their agonies they may betray ithers greater than themsels. The preachers munt their hinmaist poopit, the gallows i' the Grassmarket.

"Or, methinks, I see a humble man askit, at the door o' his cot, tae renunce his faith. He willna. The King's officer shoots him deid. As the man's help-meet gaithers the fragments o' his shattered heid, the murderer spiers, 'What think ye o' yer man noo ?' She hes pooer gien her tae move her lips, ay, an' grace poored intae them, for she daurs him wi' this bauld rally, 'I aye thocht muckle o' him ; but never mair than I dae this day.'

"Ay, sirs weel micht the lan' say o' its captivity 'The plowers plowed upon my back ; they made long their furrows.'

"But I maun haste me to the seecond heid o' this oor meditation—the Lord's deliverance. 'When the Lord turned again the captivity of Zion, we were like them that dream.'

"Whan the people o' God sat by the waters o' Babylon an' hingit their herps upo' the willows, the Lord was e'en then workin' oot their deliverance. Hed He no' said tae Cyrus, 'I have even called thee by thy name : I have surnamed thee, though thou hast not known me ?' Wherefor was he called, that king bidin' far awa frae the land o' oppression ? What for but tae deliver the Lord's folk. When the

deliverance cam by that foreigner's han', maun it no hae seemed tae God's ain folk, wha hed wept by the waters, as a dream ? An' the Lord's deliverance o' us, wrocht by a King frae yont the seas, is it no a ferlie, a miracle e'en, like only unto a dream come true ?

" There are those wha hae reason tae grue at this latest wonner o' the Lord. Whaur, noo, I ask ye, is the pride o' them, oor oppressors ? An' the answer is in that word, ' As a dream when one awaketh ; so, O Lord, when thou awakest, thou shalt despise their image.' Truly, He hath made the wrath of man to praise Him. Can we no tak the ae word o' richt they hae spoken an' mak it oor sang ? For e'en the heathen in hert hae confessit anent oor deliverance, the Lord hath done great things for them.

"An we this nicht, beholdin' in oor very gaithering that oor capteevity hath been turned, ocht tae hae oor tongue tuned tae singin' an' giein' glory tae Him alane. ' The Lord hath done great things for us ; whereof we are glad.' That is the sang we sud sing, ay an' oor children's children. Forfend it that we sud forget the deliverance in ony time o' peace an' o' barns filled wi' routh o' warldly guids. Reapin' in Joy ; ay ; but only aefter a sowin'-time o' tears. Eh ! sirs, fain wad I jalouse that the Lord Wha hath delivered will no' alloo His children tae forget.

" Methinks I see oor twa lands hauding close the leeberty dear-bocht by the sancts wha pit their all in jeopardy tae win it for us.

" The seed o' that leeberty is the evangel o' Christ. Gin that seed is sawn in faith, the land will be blessed indeed. An' here, whaur we gaither, is a field o' God's ain fencin'—Oor hert's desire this nicht is that we an' them that come aefter us may conteenually magnify His blessed name."

The old man again rises to his feet. He tells them this night they must sing, for that now that the Lord

has so graciously turned away the captivity of their Zion their mouth is filled with laughter and their tongue with singing. He reminds them that they had never sung together before at their meetings for worship, but that they can and will sing this night. He urges them to fail not to join in this their first exercise of song and assures them that the Lord will forgive them if their voices are cracked or quavering for that he looks at the heart and knows all.

And so in my fireside vision I see the congregation rise from their seats and the old man parcels out the 124th Psalm two lines at a time, and they sing together their first tribute of thanksgiving to God and whilst they sing there are some who sway to and fro as I remember the old folk did sometimes when I was a boy, and some too, close their eyes as also did some in my boyhood days.

Now Israel
may say, and that truly,
If that the Lord
had not our cause maintain'd ;
If that the Lord
had not our right sustain'd,
When cruel men
against us furiously
Rose up in wrath,
to make of us their prey.

Then certainly
they had devoured us all
And swallowed quick
for ought that we could deem ;
Such was their rage,
as we might well esteem.
And as fierce floods
before them all things drown,
So had they brought
our souls to death quite down.

The raging streams,
with their proud swelling waves.
Had then our soul
o'er whelmed in the deep.
But bless'd be God,
who doth us safely keep,
And hath not giv'n
us for a living prey.
Unto their teeth,
and bloody cruelty.

Ev'n as a bird
out of a fowler's snare
Escapes away,
so is our soul set free ;
Broke are their nets,
and thus escaped we.
Therefore our help
is in the Lord's great name,
Who heav'n and earth
By His great pow'r did frame.

That first Psalm musically considered might not have been looked upon as a success, but the good people were happy and pleased, and is it not certain that their inartistically rendered psalmody would be acceptable to the One above in Whose name they were met ?

"Women received their dead raised to life again: and others were tortured, not accepting deliverance; that they might obtain a better resurrection:

And others had trial of cruel mockings and scourgings, yea, moreover of bonds and imprisonment:

They were stoned, they were sawn asunder, were tempted, were slain with the sword: they wandered about in sheepskins and goatskins; being destitute, afflicted, tormented;

(Of whom the world was not worthy:) they wandered in deserts, and in mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth."

—Heb. XI.

Section 2.

THE ROSSENDALE PERIOD.

The Advent of the Mortons ... ... Chapter 7.

Registrations under the Toleration Act ... Chapter 8.

The Community within the Rossendale Confederacy Chapter 9.

Do Do. Chapter 10.

Do. Do. Chapter 11.

A Picture in the Fire ... ... Chapter 12.

CHAPTER 7.

The Advent of the Mortons.

Dr. Stock published in 1875 a history of the Salendine Nook Baptist Church of which he was then Pastor. The discovery of a great mass of manuscripts dealing with the latter part of the 18th century and some amount of research work which followed, have shown, however, that many of the statements in this early history call for much revision.
Dr. Stock stated :—

> "More than three hundred years ago, a numerous Scotch family of the name of Morton fled from Scotland to avoid the persecution then raging against the Protestant religion in that country. They were potters by trade, and settled at Salendine Nook in the Parish of Huddersfield. They brought some workmen with them, and fetched others out of Staffordshire, and started a pottery business at the Nook, which has been carried on in that district to this day, and still flourishes there. The early Mortons were all Presbyterians, and they opened on their own property at Salendine Nook a small chapel for the worship of God, which appears to have stood not far from the site of the present Baptist place of worship. This little Presbyterian meeting house was opened soon after the accession of Queen Elizabeth to the throne of England in 1558. No record has been preserved of the history of the place. It seems, however, to have existed many years. The Mortons did not adhere to their Presbyterian convictions. Their family meeting house had ceased to exist before the first Baptist chapel was built in 1739, and many members of the family were gathered into the Baptist Church soon after its formation."

It is quite clear that Dr. Stock had only family tradition behind him in fixing the date of the Mortons advent at Salendine Nook (or Lindley Moor) as early as Queen Elizabeth's reign. We know, however, that they were there in 1689, and that they were sufficiently settled as to have places which they registered under the Toleration Act for Protestant Dissenters' worship.

It is also a fact that the old Mortons of the last generation used to affirm that in their early days the then old Mortons would tell of meetings during the persecuting times, held in the dark, in a barn, the people bringing their own buffets for seats, and the men with their legs swathed in straw bands to keep them warm.

Further, they claimed to be able to point out the site of the original barn where these meetings were held, a site which is now part of the chapel graveyard, but where undoubtedly, as shown by one of the early chapel deeds, a block of farm buildings once stood.

It may also be emphasised that, whenever the first Mortons came to Lindley Moor, from whatever place and for whatever reason they came, their lineal descendants are living there to-day, and are carrying on the pottery business which their forebears established in the days long past. The statements in Dr. Stock's book about the Mortons' meeting house etc., will be found to be entirely inconsistent with what is found in this book.

Some few years ago a Morton who claimed descent from the Lindley Moor family sent me the following copy of a letter which appeared in the "Weekly Scotsman," 17/2/1917.

Aberdour Castle. Situated on the Dour.

The Story of "The Maiden."

"The article in last week's 'Weekly Scotsman' is particularly interesting. In reference to James, fourth Earl of Morton, further details may be added. His Lordship had a chequered career. He was raised to the Chancellorship of Scotland by Queen Mary, but in 1565 was forced to fly into England for alleged acquiescence in the murder of Rizzio. He was pardoned and again became Chancellor, subsequently High Admiral of Scotland, and in 1572 Regent of the kingdom. But he again fell into disgrace. Accused of being an accessory to the murder of Darnley, he was arraigned upon that charge, found guilty, and publicly

executed at the Market Cross of Edinburgh, 2nd June, 1581, by the guillotine machine called 'The Maiden' which he had himself introduced into Scotland.

"The story of the introduction of 'The Maiden' is as follows :—When in 1565 he fled into England he took refuge at or near Halifax, Yorkshire, with relatives named Morton. At Halifax there was then, and still is, a spot off one of the main streets called 'The Gibbet.' This gibbet, however, was not the usual gallows, but an artificial mound of earth, surmounted by a block of stone (access to which is by some three or four steps). On the top of this stone was an instrument for beheading, the knife of which being raised and allowed to fall, severed the head from the body more expeditiously and painlessly than the usual beheading axe. The actual machine used when Earl Morton was a refugee is still in existence, preserved against time and weather in a museum. His lordship had a replica made, brought to Scotland, got it adopted as the national method of decapitation, and was its first victim. The French guillotine is a similar instrument. 'The Maiden' is now in the Antiquarian Museum at Edinburgh.

"It may be interesting to add that the family with whom the Regent took refuge at Halifax have continued to reside there in an unbroken male line of descent down to this day, the writer being personally acquainted with the present representative, and has inspected the family tree. The above historical association of Halifax with Scotland is not merely a family tradition, but the accepted history of the locality."

We may take it that the Mortons living to-day at Lindley Moor are the descendants of the original settlers, and that, if Earl Morton stayed with relations named Morton in or near Halifax, he had stayed at Lindley Moor. I have had correspondence with several branches of the family living in various parts of the kingdom and all say they originally came from Lindley Moor. A firm of pottery manufacturers at Cinder Hills, Halifax, bears the same name, but the head of the firm states that it is believed that their family settled in Halifax some 200 years ago, and that they came from Lindley Moor.

If the connection of Earl Morton with the Lindley

Moor Mortons could be established, no difficulty would be found in dating their advent back to Queen Elizabeth's time, but the story does not carry conviction in spite of the fact that the statement has been made elsewhere that "The Maiden" was introduced by Earl Morton. Extract from the "*Gentleman's Magazine, April 1793*":—

> "The Earl of Morton, regent of Scotland, passing through Halifax, and happening to see one of these executions, caused a model to be taken, and carried it into his own country, where it remained many years before it was made use of, and obtained the name of 'The Maiden,' till that nobleman suffered by it himself, June 2nd, 1581. The remains of this singular machine may yet be seen in the Parliament House at Edinburgh."

Even if that part of the story were correct, which does not appear to be the case, it is most unlikely that so great a man as Earl Morton would have been driven to accept the very modest accommodation that could be afforded him at Lindley Moor. Earl Morton had very great and powerful friends in England and the homes of some of the highest placed families in the land would be open to him. It is almost grotesque to suppose he would be satisfied with the Lindley Moor Potteries. Again, the family name of Earl Morton was Douglas and any relatives he might have at Lindley Moor would be named Douglas and not Morton.

I have had some correspondence with the writer of the foregoing letter and have pressed for the authority for his statements. I am waiting yet for his answer. A letter was sent to the Professor of History at Edinburgh University asking for his deliverance on the matter and the following was the reply I received :—

19th October, 1931.

Dear Sir,

I have been asked to reply to your letter of the 5th instant addressed to 'The Professor of History, Edinburgh University.'

The story that James, fourth Earl of Morton introduced the guillotine machine called 'The Maiden' into Scotland and that he himself was executed by it is a favourite one with the amateur historian, but I am afraid that the first part of it has no foundation in fact. You will find an exhaustive article on the subject in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 1867-68 (volume vii. part ii.), pp. 539-60, where it is shown that the machine was made by command of the Provost and Magistrates of Edinburgh in 1564.

The family name of the Earls of Morton is Douglas, not Morton, and I have been unable to find any connection between the Earls of Morton and the family of Morton of Salendine Nook.

It seems to me more probable that the Mortons who settled at Salendine Nook about 1689 were Covenanters who fled from Scotland during the 'Killing Times.'

The national library of Scotland a year or two ago purchased from the Earl of Morton a large quantity of his family papers. I understand they are for the most part the charters and legal documents printed in the 'Registrum Honoris de Morton' published by the Bannatyne Club in 1853. You will find a description of the Morton Letters in the second report of the Historical MSS. commission, pp. 183-5.

In 1921 P. W. L. Adams published an exhaustive 'History of the Douglas Family of Morton' but it contains very little about the fourth Earl; in fact, it practically starts the history from his death.

I return the enclosures which accompanied your letter. I shall be glad to hear from you if I can be of further assistance.

Yours faithfully,

WILLIAM ANGUS,

Curator of Historical Records.

It is clear that we must regard the whole story given in the columns of the "Weekly Scotsman" as being without authority.

The suggestion in Mr. Angus' letter that the original Mortons probably fled from Scotland in the Covenanters' "Killing Times," carries with it a considerable amount of probability, and accords so well

with all I have been able to ascertain that I am disposed to accept it as correct.

It is quite certain that the Mortons had settled at Lindley Moor before 1689, and it is extremely probable that they had carried on their meetings during some part of the persecuting days of the Stuarts. It must be confessed, however, that there is no evidence of this last statement beyond the very definite family tradition.

A return was made for the years 1665, 1669 and 1676 showing the number of conventicles in the various dioceses, the number of adherents and the names of their leaders, and the Rev. G. Lyon Turner in his "*Original Records of Early Nonconformity Under Persecution and Indulgence*" has extracted and published these records as they were presented. I can find no mention of the Mortons or their immediate district in these returns.

Again, Mr. Turner has compiled the returns of those who applied for licences under the Declaration of Indulgences in 1672; some 2,500 licences were granted within the first ten months, but I can find no mention of the Mortons or their immediate district in this list.

Further, a number of people were convicted under the Conventicle Acts, and some at least of these convictions are recorded in Horsfall Turner's Northowram Register. I have carefully gone through all the cases there recorded; I can find no Mortons in these lists. John Marslland and Doraty his wife, Quakers at Quarmby, and a number of Quakers from "Hodersfield" are noted as being absent from Church, Oct. 4th, 1683. There seems to have been quite a number of Quakers in the immediate district in those early days.

I have not in my research followed the fortunes, or rather misfortunes, of the Quakers. They were a

people to themselves. It may be said, however, that one gets a certain admiration for them as sturdy old gentlemen, as witness the following amongst a great many other convictions recorded under the Conventicle Acts.

1682. Decr. 31st, Sabbath Day. Meeting at house of Benj. Parker of Thornton, Butcher, where besides the family, were Thomas Higson of Kebbrooke, Hatter, Joseph Higson of Easby, Linnen Webster, John Parker of Acronley in Lancashire, Rich. Boothman of Salterforth, husbandman, Willm. Ellis of Broughton, husbandman, all of them reputed Quakers, silently sitting in ye house, not a speaker amongst them. Joseph Higson confessed before Justice Assheton that he was present, but would not tell who else was there neither would he subscribe to his confession.

Benj. Parker confessed there was a meeting at his house but who were there, or what it was about would not confess, and would not sign the confession respecting himself.

Thomas Cowper of Knottingley, a Quaker indicted for being at an unlawful conventickle, contemptuously refused to plead to the indictment—fyned tenn pound, which he refused to pay—to be conveyed to be imprisoned. Barnsley, Oct. 1682.

Robert Clarkson of Pontefract, a Quaker, contemptuously refused to take the oath of allegiance—committed to gaoler of York. Barnsley, 1682.

Lindley Moor even to-day may be correctly considered somewhat isolated, but before 1689 it would be as likely to escape notice as any place in the kingdom, and it is quite probable and perhaps certain that such meetings were held by the Mortons and escaped detection and consequent convictions.

The names now given to certain localities would not hold at the time of which we are writing. Quarmby, Lindley, Salendine Nook and Lindley Moor are to-day certain clearly defined places, and no one who now lives in Salendine Nook would give his address as Quarmby, but until 1707 I cannot find the

name of Salendine Nook used. Quarmby seems to have been the name of a wide district. The hamlet Quarmby, as we know it, might have been known as Quarmby Fold, but that Salendine Nook was described as Quarmby seems quite certain. From subsequent pages it will be seen that John Morton's house in 1713 is registered as at Quarmby and in 1742 as at Salendine Nook, and even so late as 1792, Edmund Morton is described as being of Hilltop within Quarmby, George Heie as being of Linley within the constabulire of Quarmby. Salendine Nook in the early days would thus come within the designation of Quarmby or Lindley in Quarmby.

Mr. Joseph Whiteley Shaw states that "Salendine" derives its name from the flower Celandine, which once grew in profusion in the district, but the Rev. J. E. Roberts, a Vicar of Longwood Church, gives a different derivation. He says in his "*Some Annals of Longwood*," "the name Sallendine variously spelt Sallendon and Sallonden has sometimes been thought to have reference to the Celandine Plant. It is much more probable that the word is a gradual corruption from Salarden. Sal—Long. Arden—Wood. A recently formed Masonic Lodge in this district bears the name of Sal-Arden."

CHAPTER 8.

Registrations under the Toleration Act.

It is possible that some who read this book may be engaged in research work in connection with their own particular places of worship, and that the following detailed account may be of service to them.

It came to my knowledge that the records of the

registrations under the Toleration Act could be consulted, and as the authorities at the Wakefield County Hall seemed the most likely people to give me the information I required, I called, and found all that I was looking for was there. My wish was to study the records of all who certified and registered their meeting houses for Protestant Dissenters' worship in the West Riding between the years 1689 and say, 1733.

I would mention with appreciation that the authorities at Wakefield have been exceedingly courteous and obliging all through my investigations and every facility has been granted to me in my research.

The registers for the period in question consist of a number, say about a dozen, of bound volumes in which all the West Riding Sessions decisions are recorded, the registrations of the meeting houses amongst them.

The books are in a good state of repair considering their age, but the old style of writing is difficult to read ; they were originally indexed but under names only ; so that such indexing was of little use for my purpose ; very fortunately, however, someone in more modern times has indexed each volume in addition under " Meeting Houses." Sincere thanks are due to him whoever he may be.

To go through the books even with the assistance of the new indexing was a lengthy task, and a great part of another day was spent in making the necessary search.

In giving the lists which follow, although it may be definitely affirmed that all the items given, actually appear in these books, a third search was made and on this visit I had the assistance of a friend to verify the extracts, it is not so possible to affirm that the list is complete ; there is always the possibility of inaccuracy in indexing and also of my having inadvertently missed some item which should have been included.

I extracted the following as being the only entries I could find which had any bearing on the subject matter of this book.

October 10th, 1689.	Michael Morton.	Quarmbie.
October 10th, 1689.	George Heie.	Linley.
July 18th, 1695.	Hugh Ramsden.	Golcar.
October 8th, 1713.	John Morton.	Quarmby.

Samuel Grimshaw a Quaker, registered a house at Lindley on April 20th, 1712, and there may have been other Quakers registered, but, as before stated, I have not taken full notes of these.

It will be noticed that there are no entries in this list in or about 1731, the date when Henry Clayton commenced his regular preaching at Salendine Nook.

I noticed the following entry of a Nook Meeting House at a later date.

July 12th, 1739. Thomas Greenwood. Sallindin Nook.

The registrations in the book at Wakefield for the 1689 entries read :—

Wakefield. 10th October, 1689.

Upon the certificate and request of Michael Morton— It is ordered that the house belonging him in Quarmby in the said Riding be recorded as a place for religious worshipp pursuant to a late Act of Parliament. Intitled an act to exempt their Majestes Protestant subjects dissenting from the Church of England from sundry penal laws.

Wakefield 10/8/1689.
George Heie.
Upon the certificate and request of George Heie it is ordered that the house of the said George Hey of Linley in the said Riding be recorded as a place for religious worship pursuant to a late Act of Parliament entitled an act to exempt Their Majestes Protestant subjects dissenting from the church of England from sundry penal laws.

10/8/1689 means October 10th, 1689. The new calendar which made January the first month of the legal year did not come into force until January 1st, 1752.

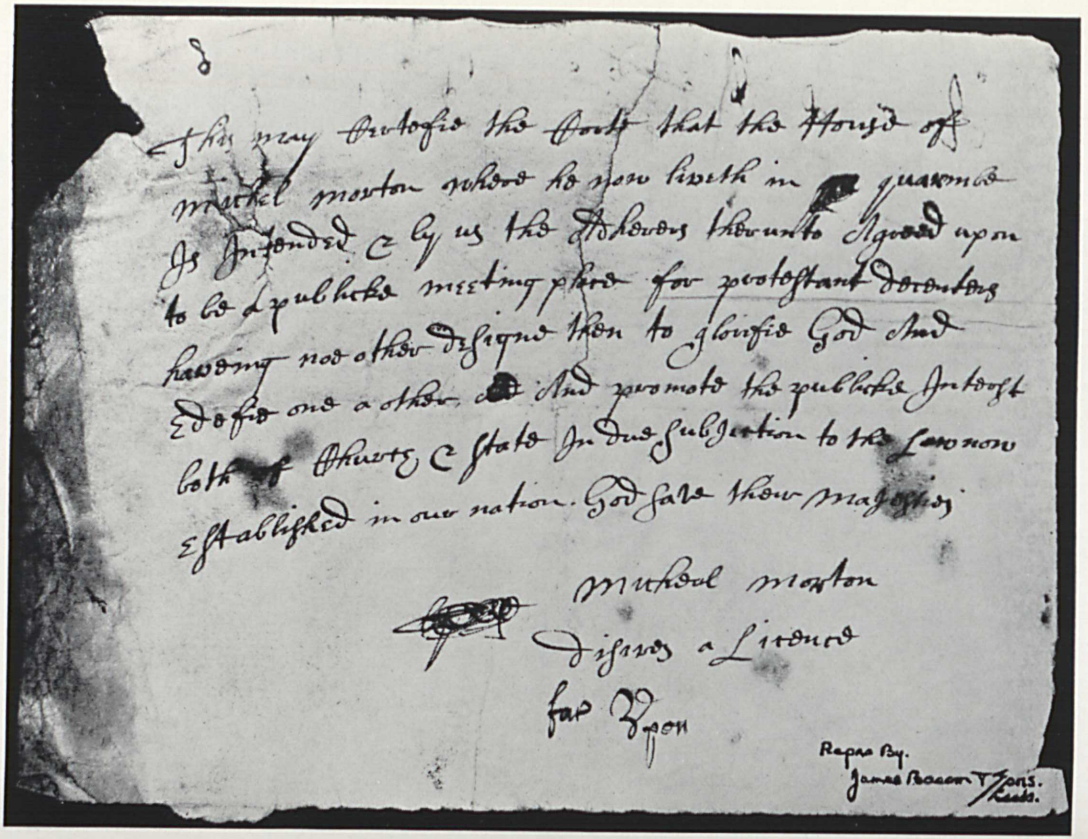
There were also registrations as under which I give for general interest.

August 6th, 1689.	John Armitage.	Kirkburton.
October 10th, 1689.	Richard Wheatley.	Northorpe, Mirfield.
January 17th, 1694.	Meeting house at Wooldale Lidgate, nr. Holmfirth.	
January 4th, 1696.	Sam Haigh.	Marsden.
April 10th, 1716.	Danl. Hepworth.	Deighton.
October 8th, 1724.	Clayfield Meeting House.	Barkisland.

Those under dates October 10th, 1689, October 8th, 1713, and July 12th, 1739, being of the very first importance, permission was asked and granted for a sight of the original applications for the certificates. Further permission was subsequently asked and granted for opportunity to photograph the 1689 applications and these photographs are reproduced. It may be added that the two are written on similar paper, probably a large sheet torn in two.

Tradition always speaks of the Mortons' first meeting house at Lindley as a barn, but it will be noticed that all the records of the registrations use the word "house." To speak of a man's house to-day invariably means his dwelling house, but I suggest that the word house as used in connection with these registrations might, if written to-day, be better expressed as "premises." In studying the records generally I have found that in the vast majority of cases the word "house" is used. The wording of the item referring to the Nook 1739 Meeting House reads :—

> "A House sit at Sallinden Nook in the Parish of Huddersfield in this Ryding was certified by Thos. Greenwood to be a place of meeting for religious worship of Protestant dissenters which was recorded as such at the sessions and a certificate made thereof pursuant to the statute in that case made."



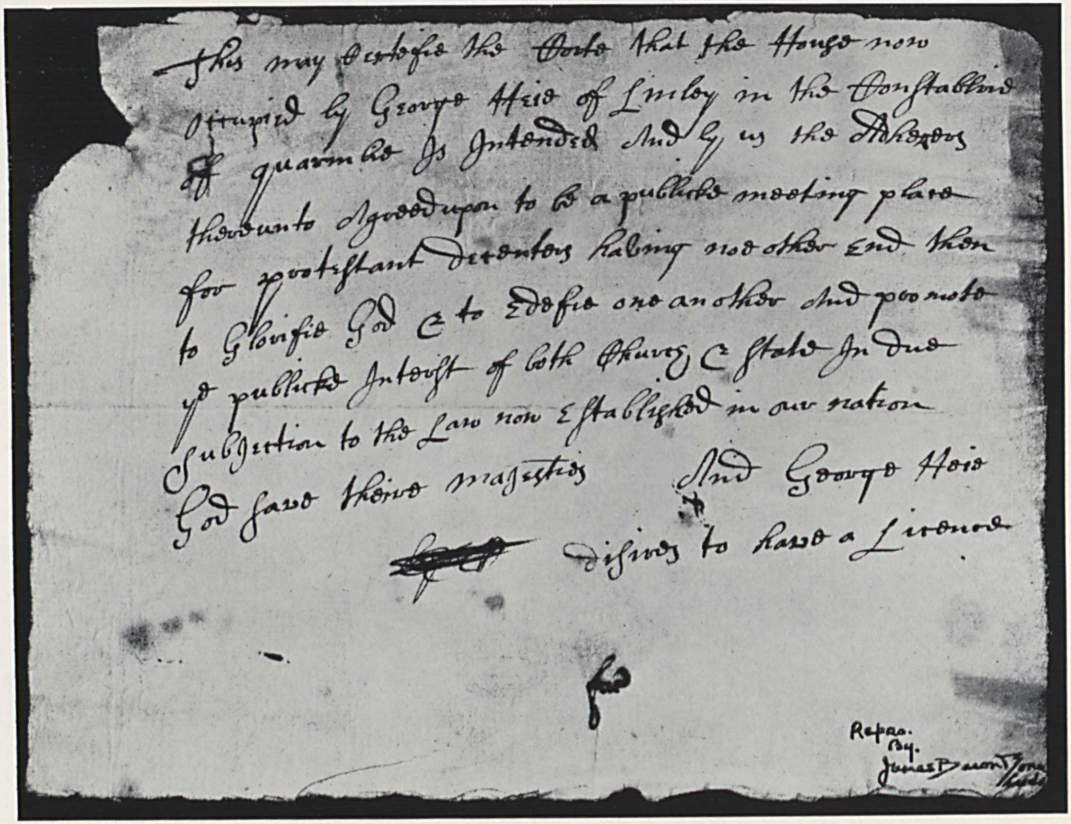
8

This may Certifie the Court that the House of
Michel morton wherein he now liveth in [redacted] guarnsey
is intended & by us the Inhabitants thereunto Agreed upon
to be a publicke meeting place for protestant dissenting
hearers no other designe then to glorifie God And
Edifie one another And promote the publicke Interest
both of Church & State in due Subjection to the Law now
Established in our nation. God Save their Majesties

Michael Morton
his [redacted] marke
Witness a Lizard
Jan Ozon

Repro by.
James Bacon & Sons.
Leeds.

APPLICATION FOR CERTIFICATE UNDER THE TOLERATION ACT, OCTOBER 8TH, 1689.



Application for Certificate under the Toleration Act, October 8th, 1689.

Transcription.

This may Certefie the Corte that the House of Michel Morton where he now liveth in quarmb[i]e Is Intended and by us the Adherers ther unto Agreed upon to be a publicke meeting place for protestant desenters haveing noe other designe then to glorifie God And edefie one a other, And promote the publicke Interst both of Church and State In due subjection to the Law now established in our nation. God save their Majesties.

Micheal Morton
disires a Licence.

This may Certefie the Corte that the House now occupied by George Heie of Linley in the Constablire of quarmbie Is Intended And by us the Adherers thereunto Agreed upon to be a publicke meeting place for protestant desenters having noe other end then to Glorifie God and to edefie one another And promote ye publicke Interst of both Church and State In due subjection to the Law now established in our nation. God save theire Majesties.

And George Heie
disires to have a Licence.

(The date the application was put in, was Oct. 8th, 1689. The entry in the Register, Oct. 10th, 1689, is the date on which the certificate was granted.)

I ask my readers to make a study of the two original applications for October 10th, 1689.

It will be seen that these applications are in the same handwriting and that the wording is practically identical. I suggest that they were both written by Michael Morton, for it will be seen that, whereas Michael Morton's name at the foot of his application is written as a signature, the application for George Heie adds the word " and," which makes it apparent that George Heie's name is not so written.

Who George Heie was, and where his meeting house was, we do not know. Possibly George Heie was a member of the community living some little distance away, and it was desired to have meetings at both places. It may be that Heie's meeting house was the traditional barn, and M. Morton's meeting place a room in his house, for it is noticeable that Morton registers a house where " he now dwelleth " and Heie a house " he now occupieth."

The most interesting matter about these two applications is the wording and what we can gather therefrom.

The language is not what we should expect from Michael Morton. Whence did Michael get his wording ? In the answer to this question we gain the answer to another question, viz. : — When did the Mortons first come within the orbit of the Rossendale Confederacy ?

John Moore, although living in Rawdon, was one of the most prominent members of the Rossendale Confederacy, a frequent correspondent of Wm. Mitchel, and dismissed in 1699 from the church in Rossendale to become the Minister of a church in Northampton. It is specially recorded that John Moore was most active in securing places in which the Rossendale itinerant preachers could exercise.

I found all filed together under the same date, a little batch of five applications. One of them from

this John Moore and others reads as follows :—

> "This may inform this court that a barn belonging to Widdow Hill at Windhall (? Windhill) in the parish of Calverley and County of York is intended and by adherers hereunto agreed upon for a publick meeting place for Protestant dissenters having no other intent than to glorifie God and edifie one another. And to promote the publick intrest of both Church and State in due subjection to the law now established in our nation. Agreed upon by us whos names are hereunto subscribed.
>
> God save the King.
>
> October 8th, 1689.
>
> Richard Simson.
> William Garth.
> Joshua Sandall.
> Tim Collier.
> John Hardacer.
> John Moore."

Applications with the same wording from Joseph Hall of Thorne, nr. Wakefield, and Richard Wheatly of Northorpe, in Mirfield, as well as those from Morton and Heie are in this little batch of papers.

If we compare John Moore's application with those of Michael Morton we learn whence M. Morton got his wording, and we know also when and how the Quarmby or Lindley Moor community obtained their first introduction to the Rossendale Confederacy.

It is quite evident that John Moore had been gathering together, as was his wont, a little band of these applicants and piloting them through their registrations at Wakefield, so that they might then be added to the list of places supplied by the Rossendale preachers.

Salendine Nook therefore, became a Rossendale preaching station as far back as October, 1689.

CHAPTER 9.

The Community within the Rossendale Confederacy.

It is almost inevitable that every Yorkshire Baptist Church History should make some reference to the pioneer evangelising work instituted by William Mitchel and David Crosley and what has been termed The Great Rossendale Confederacy.

William Mitchel was born in 1662. He began to preach in 1684. He was twice apprehended under the Conventicle Acts and confined for awhile in York Castle. He was a sincere and Godly man and lived a life consistent and without reproach. He died in 1705 at the early age of 43.

David Crosley was Wm. Mitchel's cousin and seven years his junior. The two became colleagues in their evangelising Mission, say in 1687 or 1688.

Crosley was a man of unusual gifts and possessed of a very attractive personality. He led a somewhat roving life and for a period his conduct was inconsistent and improper, but he sincerely repented and for the latter part of his long life occupied an honourable status amongst his fellow christians and amongst the churches of the district in which he lived. He died in 1744 in his seventy-sixth year.

There is an oft told story that Crosley, when 22 years old and visiting at a house in London, saw a piece of tapestry, picturing Samson and the lion, on the walls of the room in which he was sitting. This gave him the subject for a sermon on "Samson, a type of Christ." The sermon, preached without notes, contained 97 divisions and subdivisions and created a great sensation. He was asked to print it before he left the pulpit and it became almost a classic in the literature of the times.

Both Mitchel and Crosley were undoubtedly men of exceptional mental capacity and intellectual force ;

and as preachers possessed of a power which was remarkable. The letters they both wrote—strangely alike in composition and style—which have been preserved, show a certain delicacy in language and an order and forcefulness in composition which compel respect. Their published works give proof of a literary capacity not to be despised.

It would be a matter of the greatest interest to know how Mitchel, who only learnt to read when arrived at manhood, and Crosley, the one time stone mason, acquired the necessary qualifications for the admittedly great part they played in the Nonconformist religious life of their times.

"From whence hath this man these things? and what wisdom is this which is given unto him, that even such mighty works are wrought by his hands? Is not this the Carpenter?"

It is stated that Wm. Mitchel was the subject of religious conviction in his 19th year largely through the death of a brother to whom he was greatly attached.

Rev. F. Overend in his "*History of the Ebenezer Baptist Church, Bacup*," states :—

> "David Crosley, the kinsman of Mitchel, who later became his distinguished colleague, was brought up by a Godly aunt, who from Crosley's earliest years seems to have exerted a good influence upon him. She took pains in giving the boy religious instruction, which had the effect of producing in him a taste for sermons and preaching. She got him to read sermons to her, an employment that to the average boy would have been anything but congenial. But young Crosley seems to have liked it, and added to his liking for exercises the aspiration to be more than a reader of the sermons of others, for we find him making sermons, and reading them to his aunt, as if he were reading from a printed page, then asking her what she thought of the sermon."

One feels that this account seems to belong to the 20th rather than the 17th century.

Crosley writes of Mitchel :—

> " In reading, meditation, and prayer he was unwearied. In going to hear the Word of God, through many miles, in dark nights, and over dismal mountains, I and others, who were his constant companions, must say he was no less indefatigable....."

During the whole of the period during which Mitchel and Crosley could have gained any preliminary religious training or experience, the country was under the shadow of the persecuting edicts. The first Conventicle Act was passed before Crosley was born and only two years after Mitchel's birth. The Toleration Act was not until 1689, some years after both men had commenced preaching but here and there, in secluded and hidden spots where they were the most likely to escape notice, were to be found Conventicles where services were held in spite of the Acts, and where those who were sufficiently in earnest might find some religious experience of the kind that made Mitchel and Crosley the men they were.

Mr. Overend states :—

> " When Mitchel and Crosley first began to visit Rossendale, they would undoubtedly find a number of Protestant Dissenters scattered through the district, and to these they preached. They passed from place to place, preaching wherever they could gather a little company of hearers. At first they were simply evangelists, but in process of time the advisibility of forming these little groups into an organised church began to take shape in their minds. Presently as the result we see the actual ' Church of Christ in Rossendale ' emerge, to which the two evangelists became elders or pastors."

Not for long were their efforts confined to the immediate district of Rossendale. The passing of the Toleration Act gave them many open doors within a wide area, and one of these open doors was undoubtedly at Salendine Nook.

In studying the story of Mitchel and Crosley one is conscious of a feeling of disappointment as well as

of appreciation. In their early years their work displays a marked resemblance to the greater work of John and Charles Wesley in the following century. The 1687 Mitchel and Crosley had the same burning zeal for the spread of the gospel ; they recognised the same urgency for going to the people rather than waiting for the people to come to them ; they formed a confederacy, the Wesleys a connection ; it seems a pity their evangelisation work, great as it was, should have been confined within that radius of 40 miles of which Crosley writes.

In 1694 the Confederacy became a church of the Congregational order and Mitchel was the Minister and had primarily all the pastoral duties of his own church to attend to ; in 1705 he died comparatively early in life. Crosley was in London. There was no machinery and no money available for such a purpose but a great opportunity had been missed ; Mitchel and Crosley's most outstanding usefulness had been as evangelists ; neither appears to have been markedly successful as a Pastor ; it is interesting to imagine what would have been the result had it been practicable to give to these two men a roving commission to go throughout the land preaching and organising as did John Wesley.

Although it is true that without the two leaders there would have been no Rossendale Confederacy and that the historian would have had a different story to tell of the Baptist denomination in Lancashire and Yorkshire, it is not to be supposed that they would long remain the only preachers in the confederacy. Others actuated by the same devoted spirit would join and become fellow workers with them.

Many of these others were probably untaught in everything that passes for teaching in these days, some scarcely able to read, rough-speaking, and without any kind of art in the manner of presenting their

message. It is perhaps difficult for us to grasp fully the extent of the lack of their equipment for any kind of religious exercise.

A great many acceptable preachers of much later years have been uneducated in the ordinary meaning of the word, but they have had a religious education to which these men would be entire strangers. The people of this country have a religious education to-day whether they will or no ; the majority of the children of the land pass through the Sunday Schools and whilst there are taken into chapels and churches frequently ; in almost every day school the Bible is studied at least as literature ; the newspapers and the secular press record the affairs of religion and religious societies, and to some extent the very atmosphere is permeated by Christianity. People of to-day know at least what religion is if they do not practise it. It is not a difficult thing to conceive of a convert of to-day, granted he possesses a certain readiness of speech, becoming a preacher of to-morrow, but it will be recognised that all this in no sense represents the position when the Rossendale preachers came to Salendine Nook.

In 1691 Mitchel stated that within a compass of 40 miles there were 20 licensed meeting houses at which they ministered ; one of these 20 houses was at Lindley. Although I have made the most careful search, I can find no other Lindley than Lindley in Quarmby, in the Quarter Sessions Rolls.

We have every ground for asserting that the little community with its centre at Lindley Moor or Salendine Nook became part of the Rossendale Confederacy from the time that Michael Morton and George Heie registered their houses on October 10th, 1689, remained in it until it broke up into separate churches, became an outlying station to Rodhill-End and Stone Slack at an early date (I cannot say the exact date

except that it was before 1713), and continued in connection with this Rodhill-End and Stone Slack Church until the formation of the Independent Baptist Church in 1743, a period in all of 54 years, and that during that time their meeting places were largely, if not entirely, supplied by these preachers sent out from Rossendale, or later from Rodhill-End and Stone Slack.

This is further proved by a study of the original application for the meeting house registered by John Morton in 1713, which reads as follows :—

> "To The Honble her Maties Justices of the Peace at the General Quarter Sessions of the Peace to be holden at Leeds the 8th day of October 1713. The humble petition of Thos. Greenwood and John Morton sheweth that the House of the said Thos. Greenwood called Robertshaw in Heptonstall in the said Riding and the house of the said John Morton in Quarmby in the said Riding are designed for places of Religious Worship. Do therefore humbly desire that the same may be recorded at this sessions pursuant to an act of Parliament for securing her Majesties Protestant subjects dissenting from the Church of England from sundry Penal laws.
>
> And your petitioners will ever pray.
>
> Thos. Greenwood.
> John Morton."

The meeting house that Thos. Greenwood registered was the first specially set apart meeting house at Stone Slack, as mentioned on a later page.

In the 1739 deed John Morton is described as of Salendine Nook in the Parish of Huddersfield, clothier.

What was the need for the registration in 1713 but that at this time the Mortons had relinquished the use of their traditional barn and become possessed of some definitely set apart meeting house at or about John Morton's premises ? The "house" of Thos. Greenwood was certainly a specially set apart meeting house. It seems certain that such

was the case with regard to the " house " registered at Quarmby.

Thos. Greenwood was then occupying the same position with the Rodhill-End and Stone Slack branch church as Henry Clayton occupied at Salendine Nook during the 12 years of his lay ministry. The date of the first Salendine Nook meeting house or chapel is therefore 1713 and not 1739.

CHAPTER 10.

The Community within the Rossendale Confederacy.

(Continued).

A great many of the 20 registered meeting houses mentioned as supplied by the Rossendale itinerants in 1691 developed into Independent Baptist Churches much earlier than did Salendine Nook. Reasons for this delay on the part of Salendine Nook, I think, are not difficult to find. Salendine Nook was an isolated, sparsely populated district, and the community was a small one. In 1743 there were found only eleven, including Henry Clayton and his wife, to form the membership of the Baptist Church. Another reason probably is that the Mortons, who with their immediate following were the mainstay of the community, were Scotch Presbyterians. That they should accept the services of the Rossendale preachers, who, it must be remembered, were not Baptists when they first came to Lindley—the Rossendale Church only becoming definitely Baptist in 1710—give them every support and build them a meeting house, did not involve any marked sacrifice of their traditional Presbyterian principles. But to go through a Baptistry and to appear before a church as candi-

dates for membership would be quite another matter, and their influence would delay the adoption of the Baptist order.

Henry Clayton preached for 12 years before the Church was formed. It is not difficult to believe that during these 12 years Henry Clayton had won the Mortons' love and respect, and if he pressed for a separate church, and that a Baptist church, they would eventually agree. But only one of the name, Rebecca (admitted 1770, excluded for non-attendance), joined the church before 1803, and then only a few of that name were admitted. They were trustees, John and Edmund, in the 1742 trust, and Edmund sen., and Edmund jun., and Joseph, in the 1792 trust.

One fact which I admit has surprised me, is that in spite of the Mortons' valuable and frequent material services, their names never appear either in our MSS. or, with the exception referred to, in the church book until 1803.

When the church was formed in 1743, no mention was made of the gift of the chapel and surrounding land in 1742 by Joseph Morton. The entry in the church book reads :—" Mr. Henry Clayton having preached the gospel for the space of twelve years past to a congregation assembling at the said place ; and his labours having been blessed of the Lord with success, in the increase of the Hearers, and the erecting of a commodious Meeting House, etc."

The Mortons for the first century of the period we are recording seem to have filled the position of chapel stewards, rendering to the community outstanding services, but in that quiet unostentatious manner which seems to have become one of the traditions of the church.

Salendine Nook is fortunate in having another such chapel steward to-day. He also renders to the church

the same inestimable services in the same self-effacing manner that the Mortons displayed 200 years ago.

I suggest to my readers who know the present chapel steward, Wilkinson Lockwood, J.P., that if they wonder, as I have done, that the records of these early times should be so silent about the part the Mortons took, they should ask themselves whether our present chapel steward does not provide a solution of that which is puzzling them.

CHAPTER 11.

The Community within the Rossendale Confederacy.

(Continued).

Many church histories contain expressions of regret that so little is known of long periods of their early life. I do not think we need to know much more than we do know about the 54 years of our Rossendale connection. At least we know all that is to be known, all that really matters. Silence may sometimes be eloquent ; we may sometimes learn as much from the absence of records as from their presence.

The fact which prominently stands out is that, with nothing else than the meetings in barn and cottages, and the first very modest meeting house, the community held on for 50 years.

Throughout the writing of this book I have wondered whether there were certain distinctive characteristics of the church to-day which could be traced back to the foundation days ; whether the superstructure which the builders of later years erected is what we should expect when we study the foundations on which this superstructure stands.

During these years of which I have been writing unseen foundations of the church were being laid.

A few commonplace perhaps even ungainly, men and women would gather together in a commonplace barn or cottage. Some murmuring sound followed by something louder which might have been supposed to represent singing, perhaps as unlovely as the clanking of a vessel's chains, would come to the ears of the chance passer-by ; a little movement about the doors of the meeting place as the people dispersed, and all was then as before.

The good woman of the cottage would put on her apron and take up the routine of her housework again; the farmer would climb his stack and throw down on the floor, where the congregation had shortly before been seated, the hay for the evening meal of his cattle ; all would leave as little mark behind as did the dropping of the stones on the spot where the Plymouth Breakwater eventually rose, but foundations were as surely being laid by these meetings as by those vessels which dropped their loads in Plymouth Sound.

I do not think that it has ever been contended that Nook people are specially qualified by either nature or grace for mounting up with wings as eagles, or that they even possess a marked fitness for running without wearying, but that they have a marvellous capacity for walking without fainting is unquestionable, and the period now under review shows this in a most notable degree.

THE ROSSENDALE PREACHER.

CHAPTER 12.

A Picture in the Fire (Period 1700).

Some of my readers will perhaps be local preachers and will find themselves at times before an audience to whom they will be expected to say words of comfort and exhortation ; I ask such an one to look into my fire and to turn back the wheels of time for over 230 years ; think that you are one of these itinerants living in Rossendale, and that one Saturday evening a message is sent to you from your Minister, William Mitchel, to the effect that the brother who was due to take the service in Morton's barn at Old Lindley on the Sunday has been suddenly taken ill, and you are called upon to fill up his place.

If you will act the part, you will go—oh yes, you will go. You will not even trouble to look out of the window to see what sort of weather you are likely to have before you agree to go.

You will act wisely if you go to bed early on the Saturday for you will need to start in good time on the Sunday. You will pick out the strongest footwear you possess for the way is a long one ; you will certainly find no means of getting to Lindley but on foot and your journey will be, not figuratively but literally, "O'er Moor and Fen, o'er Crag and Torrent."

Let me repeat an account which one of the early preachers gives of his own experience.

> "I set off from Southfield to preach at Colne one evening. It was before the bridge was erected at the bottom of the Lenches over the river Calder. The river was swollen and the stepping stones were either swum away or they could not be seen. In this perplexity what was I to do, go back to Southfield or go through the stream. Duty said venture through. I did so though it took me nearly to my waist. I got safe through, obtained a change of raiment, preached to seven persons in John Highton's house, Windybank, from 'Ye must be born

again.' The service over but my audience could not leave the house—Someone had tied them in the house with a strong rope."

You must not expect when you get to your destination to find a well heated, soft cushioned sort of a place so it might be well to go warmly clothed. When you arrive you will be very kindly received ; if you have any wet clothing the Mortons will lend you some of theirs until your own is dried. You will find an old lady there whom the family hold in high esteem ; this old lady is over 70 but quite spry and you must make a great fuss of her. She is really a very charming and simple old soul.

There will be a big meal prepared for you and much disappointment will be felt if you do not share heartily in it.

You will be expected to say grace. It would be a great mistake to mumble a few words as is the custom in the 20th century ; anything like " For what we are about to receive may the Lord make us thankful," would be considered wholly inadequate ; you will be expected to make a reasoned thanksgiving of say five minutes duration.

You will, of course, thank the Bounteous Giver of all good gifts for His never failing Providence in causing the fruits of the earth to provide so abundantly for the wants of His creatures, but you must also tactfully bring in the equal goodness of the Creator in providing such capable instruments to prepare these bounteous gifts for the comfort of the creatures ; in fact, if you can convey the impression without actually saying it, that the honours in the matter lie with the cook—well and good. Be assured the good Lord will forgive you for He is not like some " puir prood bailey-like body, fu of his ain emportance an' ready to be doon upo' onybody at didna ca' him by the name o' 's office, ay think—thinkin' aboot 's ain

glory" *(Robert Falconer.* Geo. Macdonald, LL.D.), and He will know why.

You need not be afraid of your food getting cold, the old lady will look to that; she will see that the meat is not taken from the fire till the grace is finished, she will remember many a preacher whose grace lasted longer than the five minutes.

You must expect to find a meal very different from those to which you have been accustomed. You will find knives and forks. The forks are an evidence of high good breeding; the Mortons are very proud of their forks, not the silver-plated goods you have been used to, just horn handled, iron, two pronged affairs; but even these are only brought out on great occasions, as when they receive a visit like yours. Generally, people use their fingers. You must remember that up to the end of the reign of Henry VIII., all, high and low, kings as well as subjects, used their fingers; and when forks were first introduced about 40 years before your visit they were greatly ridiculed, one worthy divine actually preaching against their use as being an insult to a Providence who had made fingers. If you wield your fork dexterously you will win golden opinions from your hosts who will be much impressed; as a matter of fact before the meal is one fourth over, your fellow diners will give up all pretence of using their forks and will return to the good old method of fingers.

You should know that the Sunday dinner has been a matter to which much consideration has been given by your entertainers. Being Scotch and therefore strict Sabbatarians, they did at one time provide only cold dishes, all the cooking being done on the Saturday. This was a trouble to the old lady, she thought that the preachers who came such a long way were entitled to something better, that to prepare a hot dinner was a work of real necessity which could be allowed without unduly grieving the good Lord. She

did not get her own way for a time till a happy inspiration came to her to quote the Psalmist David and his shewbread, and either because of her arguments or to please the dear old soul they gave way, and so now whenever a Rossendale preacher is to be entertained, and that is nearly every Sunday, a hot dinner is the order of the day and the old lady is happy.

There will be wheaten bread ; that is a luxury in honour of your visit ; you must not forget to praise its whiteness.

You will probably commence with Cocky-leeky broth. No Scotch dinner is considered anything but a makeshift without some sort of broth.

Then will follow "Sheep's Head." On this dish infinite care will have been expended and if you can manage to do full justice to it you will have scored a point in your favour. There will be probably a roasted brisket of mutton in case you are not equal to the sheep's head, but that will be only a concession to your possible English fastidiousness.

The third course will be oatcakes with butter and crowdie. The crowdie will be a new thing to you, but it is a kind of sweet course or dessert. They make their crowdie by hanging curdled milk in a linen bag till all the moisture drops out and then lay this in a thick layer above the butter on the oatcake. They will offer you either a cup of ale or some claret, but you will be wise to choose the ale which your hosts will take.

There is one thing you must on no account fail to do, you must say all sorts of flattering things to the old lady about her cooking. In the 20th century it is not considered good form to say much about food —good or bad. Forget all that and only remember that the preparation of the Sunday dinner in general and the sheep's head in particular, is the most important event in that good old lady's life, it is what

dwells in her thoughts all the week. Say all the nice things you can about that sheep's head, even if you have to stretch the actual truth a bit, spread yourself on the subject ; the recording angel will see your worthy motive and deal lightly with you. If you can think of something quite new to say which the old lady can quote to her friends in the coming week, her old heart will fairly sing with pleasure and she will come to your service in the afternoon with a soul rightly tuned for divine things. If you fill up your part well in the service she will be saying as she wishes you good-bye :

" A by ordinar day ye hae gi'en us, gude sir. Certes the Lord Himsel hes been wi' us."

And your praises of her cooking and your glad tidings of salvation will be all so inextricably mixed up in her mind, that the dear old soul will not in the least be able to separate the one from the other.

You must not fail to ask her how she contrives to make all her food so palatable, but if you are hungry do not ask her before dinner. When you have been well fed and you stretch your legs before the fire in the old rocking chair with the final cup of ale beside you, and you feel at peace with all mankind, then ask her. She will just manage comfortably to tell you in the half hour before the service begins.

You had better ask Michael to exercise in prayer at your service and perhaps another of the family to do your reading for you. It will please them and they are always very good to those who minister to them as you will be doing. There will only be the afternoon service, and you will want to get away back as soon as possible after the service is over. It will be a long and tiring day for you, but then that is just what the Rossendale preachers know all about.

And what sort of a sermon are you going to give them ? You did a good deal of preaching before you took that 230 years step back into the past, and

I heard three of your sermons and I remember I thought fairly well of them. A bit high-brow, perhaps, but none the worse for that.

There was one on the "Right Use of Wealth" based on the parable of "The Talents" and you pointed out that the ideal taught by that parable was not Socialism under which a man possessed nothing, but Stewardship whereby a man should hold all he had, whether of wealth or opportunity, not as his own but as a steward. Stewardship or Socialism ?—Quite a good sermon that was.

There was another, from the text "Search the Scriptures," and you contended that the modern critical study of the Scriptures strengthened rather than weakened their authority as a spiritual guide to mankind.

In the other, on the text "The conies are but a feeble folk, yet make they their houses in the rocks" you pointed out that in spite of that, they were described as exceeding wise. You showed that the wisdom of the cony consisted in its knowing its limitations and acting accordingly, and you sat heavily upon those misguided people who thought they knew all and could do everything better than anyone else.

I confess I do not think any of these discourses would be suitable for the people you are to minister to in Morton's barn. Do you ?

You will have a congregation before you very different from what you have ever had before. It might be just as well to forget the Mortons are in your audience, for they do not need your message as much as the others ; those others will be the ones you need to think about.

They will be poor, and their poverty will not be the poverty that wonders if it will run to a week or a fortnight at the seaside this summer ; it will be the grinding poverty which wonders if there will always be food for the children and whether when they

are too old to earn even the scanty pittance they have been used to, they will sink to the level of the pauper class.

Tell them of One Who came to earth as a poor man, Who spent his life on earth as a poor man. Who did so because He wanted from His own experience to know what it was to be a poor man, so that when He went back to His glory He could fit and furnish those mansions in the skies in just such a manner as He had found out from His stay on earth those poor friends of His would most need. Tell them about those mansions in the skies and do not spiritualise your reference to them till they mean nothing to your hearers.

A friend of mine, a Solicitor and a Wesleyan local preacher, was preaching one evening to some simple folk, and when he stayed to conduct the after prayer meeting, had to listen to one of his hearers who prayed, thanking the Lord that there were mansions, never heed what they had heard that evening, for the title deeds were written in their hearts where no rascally lawyer could rob them of them. Give them a heartening picture of mansions where they will find Warmth, and Comfort, and Abundance, for those are things they have never known and probably never will know in all their lives on earth.

Then tell them of the Rest that remaineth to the people of God. You will have a lot of tired people before you, people who commenced working for their living at an age when the children of 1932 would have only recently left their cradles, who work long hours and will continue so to work until their tired limbs can no longer be driven to the toil. The men work from sunrise to long past sunset for little reward and their periods of rest are but momentary incidents in a long life of ceaseless toil. The women's work is never done. It will indeed be happiness to them if you can bring home to their consciousness that there

is waiting for them a rest that remaineth, for in all their lives they have never known anything that remained but toil and hardship.

And then tell them, and this is more needful than anything else, that Someone cares for them, cared enough for them to come to earth to live and die for them, and if you want an inspiration for this message just look into their faces, particularly the faces of the old people before you, those wrinkled, furrowed faces that will tell you of a hard and in many cases an unloved life. Remember that the world was very hard to the common people of that day, that to them mere existence was one long battle, that all the ameliorating influences which soften the roughness of life to-day were unknown to your hearers. It was each one for himself with no one who seemed to care. Tell them of the One Who has cared and still cares for them, Who knows them every one by name and Who loves them with an everlasting love.

Do you say all this is very elementary? Your congregation will not find fault with you for that. Some of your hearers may have never heard even a sound of such a message before. They may come to your meeting for the first time and all you tell them may be a strange tale. Do not think you will weary them if you go on for quite a long time.

If you can tell them the story well they will love to hear it. They have no other calls upon their time, and just for the hour or so that they are in that barn, they will be outside the drab monotonous routine of their life. You may be able, with God's help, to cause even these soul-starved men and women to see visions and to hear strange and beautiful music.

It is only the old old story I know, only it will not be the old old story to them. Anyway tell it again, and tell it more simply than you have ever done before.

Section 3.

THE REV. HENRY CLAYTON'S PASTORATE.

The Rodhill-End and Stone Slack Church ... Chapter 13.

Henry Clayton's First Twelve Years at Nook ... Chapter 14.

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The Wesleyan Movement, and the Rev. Henry Venn at Huddersfield Parish Church... ... Chapter 17.

Henry Clayton's Dream and Later Years ... Chapter 18.

A Picture in the Fire ... ... Chapter 19.

CHAPTER 13.

The Rodhill-End and Stone Slack Church.

At the beginning of our study of Mr. Clayton's relationship with Salendine Nook Church it may be well to give briefly the history of the one time Rodhill-End (or Rodhill-Hey) and Stone Slack Church.

In 1694 the scattered communities forming what has been termed the Rossendale Confederacy became consolidated into a distinct Church which was known as "The Church of Christ in Rossendale," with its headquarters at a meeting house erected in 1692 in Bacup.

In 1700 a few members of this Rossendale Church formed a branch church at Rodhill-End and Stone Slack, and held their meetings at the houses or other premises of their respective adherents.

In 1703 a meeting house, exclusively for religious worship, was erected at Rodhill-End, and was the first of the Mitchel and Crosley meeting places to record itself as Baptist when putting the premises in trust *(Baptists in Yorkshire and North West).*

In 1711 Tho. Greenwood bought some property at Stone Slack on which a meeting house was built; this was registered as previously shown at the same time as John Morton's meeting house, viz.: October 8th, 1713.

In 1717 a separate church was formed comprising the communities at Rodhill-End and Stone Slack. Thos. Greenwood was ordained Pastor. One of the elders chosen was Henry Clayton, of Clayton House, Wadsworth, this could not have been our Minister but was perhaps his father.

In 1737 a deed was executed transferring the property at Stone Slack from Thos. Greenwood to " trustees for the purpose of a meeting house for Protestant Dissenters called by the name of Baptists or Independents." There were thus two meeting houses but one church, worship being carried on alternately in the two places.

In 1742 Thos. Greenwood died.

The Stone Slack meeting house ceased to be used about 1772. Services were still continued at Rodhill-End until about 1781, when this meeting house was also closed down and the church dissolved, some of the members uniting with the churches at Hebden Bridge and Todmorden.

CHAPTER 14.

Henry Clayton's First Twelve Years at Nook.

Henry Clayton was a member at Rodhill-End and Stone Slack when, in 1731, he came to preach regularly to the little community then worshipping at Quarmby, or Lindley Moor, or Salendine Nook as it is called to-day. He was a farmer living at Wainsgate, Wadsworth, near Hebden Bridge, or to be more exact, Skip Hill, Wadsworth, about 12 miles by road from Salendine Nook.

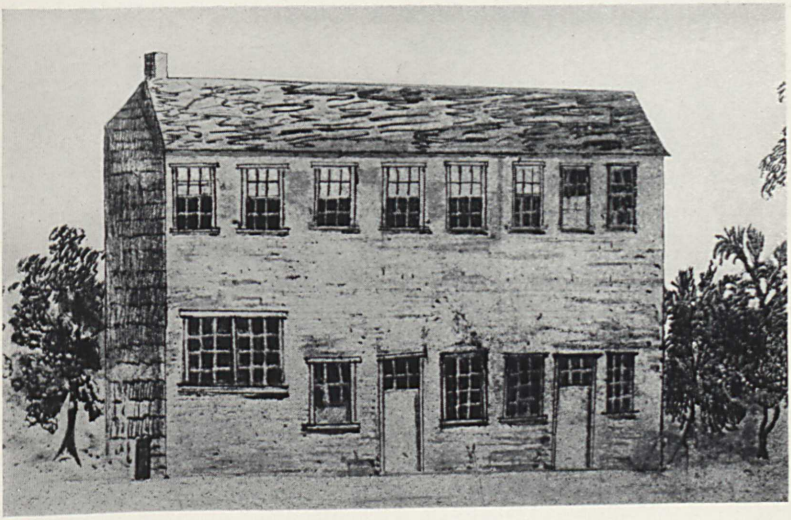
A farm is known to-day as " Far Nook " and there is good reason to believe our first Minister lived there. We know Henry Clayton's son, Thomas, became Pastor at Cloughfold and remained there until 1784. I have written to the " Baptist Times " and to the " Hebden Bridge Times " inviting any of Mr. Clayton's descendants to communicate with me, but no one has replied.

With the information we now possess, it is certain that he came to the meeting house that had been registered by John Morton on October 8th, 1713. There was no other place at Salendine Nook in which he could preach without incurring pains and penalties under the Conventicle Act.

That Henry Clayton initiated nothing, but simply took over the work of supervision which had been exercised first by the Rossendale itinerants, then by the Rossendale Church, and then by Rodhill-End and Stone Slack Church, is certain. He may have been on occasional preaching visits to Nook before, but that in 1731, although not then ordained, he practically took over the pastoral oversight of the community is undoubted, for the church minute book records the fact.

In 1731 for the first time the little flock which worshipped at Nook had a personal relationship with one man as their spiritual leader. It was a great event in their history. Before that time they were ministered to by laymen who came and went, and doubtless occasionally by Thomas Greenwood, the Rodhill-End and Stone Slack Pastor; the services were maintained, the sheep were fed, but they had no under shepherd of their own. In 1731 the term "The Minister" gave place to "Our Minister," for they had then someone on whom they had a claim, they were "his people," he was "their Minister"; a fellowship they had not known before. There have been various religious bodies who in their emphasis of the "Priesthood of all Believers" have discountenanced the stated pastorate, but these bodies have never been greatly successful, human nature is such that it craves for a personal relationship as between Pastor and people.

Henry Clayton never resided at Nook. A brief reference to him by J. Fawcett, the son of Dr. Fawcett, makes this quite clear, and, moreover, this is evident



when we consider the position of the community in his time, there was no money available for his support ; J. Fawcett says he did not get enough for his travelling expenses ; Dr. Stock says, not enough to pay for the shoeing of his horse.

CHAPTER 15.

The 1739 Meeting House.

In 1739 the second specially "set apart" meeting house came into existence, and was duly certified and registered at the Quarter Sessions. The certificate still in the possession of the Church reads as follows :

"West Ryding of Yorkshire. To Wit—At the General Quarter Sessions of the Peace of the Lord the King began and holden at Skipton in and for the said Ryding on the tenth day of July in the twelfth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord, George the Second, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith, etc. And from thence continued and holden at Bradford by adjournment in and for the said Ryding, the twelfth day of July aforesaid, before Sir Walter Calverley, Baronet ; William Horton, Esq. ; and others their fellows, Justices of the Peace there, etc.

"The new Erected Building scituate at Sallindon Nook in the Parish of Huddersfield in the said Ryding was certified by Thomas Greenwood to be a place of meeting for religious worship of Protestant Dissenters, which was recorded as such at the said Sessions, and a certificate made thereof pursuant to the Statute in that case provided."

The Certificate is apparently in error in speaking of the twelfth year of the reign of George II. ; it should evidently have been the thirteenth year.

The following is a copy of the application :—

"July 1st, 1739.

These are to certifie his majesties Justises of the peace or whom it may concerne that an house at Sallendin nooke

in the parish of huthersfield and county of York is Erected bulded and set apart for a meeting place for protestant dissenters in religious worship standing upon the lands of Joseph Morton And we desire it may be certified and allowed by you in open Court and your petitioners shall pray wittness our hands the day and yeare above sd.

Tho. Greenwood. Joseph Morton.
Joshua R. Morton. William Suthers.
John Morton."

It will be noticed what a large part the Mortons had in this application.

The date of the entry in the sessions rolls at Wakefield is July 12th, 1739, Bradford Quarter Sessions.

At whose cost was this building erected ?

Surely a community which could hardly afford to pay for the minister's horse shoeing would not find it easy to meet such an expense. This meeting house was of considerable dimensions for those days, being 52 feet in length and 24 feet in breadth, and in 1801 we know it had a gallery, for in John (Thos.' son) Stutterd's diary, October 25th, 1801, we find this note—" Memo. This afternoon T.T. helped them in singing closet, had sat in gallery a morning or two." But it is evident from a pencil note in the church book that sometime subsequent to 1739 some structural alterations had been made and probably the gallery had been added then.

This question is answered when we examine the church title deeds, for amongst these deeds we find the following :—

" This Indenture made the Seventh day of February in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and forty two in the sixteenth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Second by the Grace of God of Great Britain France and Ireland. King Defend' of the Faith etc *Between* Joseph Morton of Saladine Nook in the parish of Huddersfield and County of York, Yeoman, and John Morton of the same place, Clothier, Edmund Morton of Intakehead in the parish aforesaid Clothier. Stephen Brook of Elland in the parish of Halifax aforesd, Chapman John Greenwood the elder of Sowerby in the parish of Halifax aforesaid Yeoman, and James Hargreaves

of Hepton Bridge, Shallooner on the other part *Witnesseth* that for and in consideration of the sum of five shillings of lawful money of Great Britain to the said Joseph Morton in hand paid by the said John Morton, Edmund Morton, Stephen Brook, John Greenwood, James Hargreaves or some or one of them before the sealing and delivery of these presents the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged and for other good and valuable causes him thereunto moving he the said Joseph Morton Hath granted assigned and conformed and by these presents doth grant, assign and conform unto the said John Morton, Edmund Morton, Stephen Brook, John Greenwood and James Hargreaves and their survivors during the term of nine hundred years now ensuing the date hereof that new erected chapel or meeting house with seventwo square yards of ground hereunto adjoining and being at IntakeHead in the said parish of Huddersfield which said chapel or meeting house is for the use of the Protestant disenters usually called by the name of Baptists. To have and to hold the new erected chapel or meeting house together with the said parcel of land thereunto adjoining to the said John Morton, Edmund Morton, Stephen Brook, John Greenwood and James Hargreaves and their survivors during the said term of nine hundred years to be fully compleated and ended yielding and paying yearly and every year during the said term unto the said Joseph Morton his heirs and assigns the yearly rent of one peppercorn if demanded. And the said John Morton, Edmund Morton, Stephen Brook, John Greenwood, James Hargreaves the survivor and survivors of them shall hereafter during the said term of nine hundred years when and so often as needs shall require by and with such collection or other contributions, as shall from time to time be made by and amongst the said protestant disenters take a special care that the said new erected chapel or meeting house be kept in good and sufficient repair that the same be kept fit and comodious for a chapel or meeting house for the said Protestant Disenters in a religious worship and upheld and continued for the said use and to and for no other intent and purpose whatsoever during the said term and to the intent that there may be a due constant and perpetual execution (during the said term) of the trusts aforesaid. It is declared and agreed by and between the parties aforesaid to these presents that the said Joseph Morton for himself his heirs Exors and admins, and every of them doth covenant grant and agree to and with the said John Morton, Edmund Morton, Stephen Brook, John Greenwood and James Hargreaves and the survivor and survivors of them by these presents in manner following. That is to say that at such time or times and all times during the said term when and so often as the number of the Trustees aforesaid shall by death or otherwise come or happen to be but only two or fewer it shall and may be lawful to and for the then surviving trustee or trustees by and with the assistance and approbation of the Minister Pastour or Teacher of the said Protestant Disenters for the time being to be assembled in the said new chapel to elect and nominate so many other persons as shall make up the then surviving trustee or trustees five or more in number which new elected trustees and the survivors of them shall from time to time and at all times during the said term be employed and concerned in the

execution and performance of all and every the Trusts aforesaid and from time to time during the said term have the like full power privilege and authority of nominating and electing other persons to succeed in power and trust as aforesaid. In witness whereof the said Joseph Morton hath hereunto set his hand and seal the day and year above expressed.
S. S. & D. in the presence of
John Denton.
David Crosley.
Jos. Miller. JOSEPH MORTON."

The Deed was endorsed as follows :—

" Memorandum. Before the sealing and delivery of these presents we the within mentioned Trustees do agree that we will on our part perform the covenants and agreements relating to us as witness our hands.

John Morton.
Edmund Morton.
Stephen Brook.
Jno. Greenwood.
James Hargreaves."

The following appears also on the back of the deed :—

" September 8th 1764. Memorandum that We Edmund Morton, James Hargreaves together with Henry Clayton the Minister of ye within named Chappel being met according to Legal Notice to Elect or Nominate proper Persons to be put in as Trustees for ye aforesaid Chappel and by a Majority of Voices have mad Choice of the following Persons viz:—
James Cartlidge, Joseph Haige ye son of Michael Haige late of Quarmby, Wm. Suthers ye son of David Suthers, Thos. Lockwood and John Barret."

The signature of David Crosley as a witness is of special interest.

It will be particularly noticed that, although the chapel was built before July 1739, it was not transferred to the trustees until 7th February, 1742, which according to the modern calendar would be 7th February, 1743, and the certificate issued was for a place of meeting for religious worship of Protestant Dissenters ; nothing was said of these dissenters being Baptists at that time.

That the meeting house was built and paid for by the Mortons is only in keeping with what occurred with four out of the first five Baptist meeting houses built in the district. In the letter from Salendine

Nook church to the Association in 1793 there appears this statement :—" In our last informed you that our fourth swarm was about to settle at Lockwood."

Elland meeting house was built by Ashworth.
Blackley meeting house was built by Cartlege.
Pole Moor meeting house was built by subscription.
Lockwood meeting house was built by Ingham.

So that four out of the first five Baptist chapels in the district were built by private donors ; only Pole Moor had to raise its funds by public subscription.

This, the first of the church deeds, now completes the chain of evidence which links the Baptist Church with the previous meetings of the Mortons, except that in a deed of 15th March, 1792, appointing new trustees (all but Edmund Morton had died) the following were chosen :—

Edmund Morton	of Hilltop within Quarmby in the Parish of Huddersfield. Pot Maker.
Joseph Morton	of Intake Road within the same township and Parish. Pot Maker.
Edward Hanson	of Ballroyd within Longwood in the Parish of Huddersfield. Clothier.
William Brigg	of Lindley within the same Parish. Schoolmaster.
George Brook	of Stone Delves, in the same Parish. Cloth Dresser.
Thos. Stutterd	of Allison Dyke, in the same Parish. Bookkeeper.
George Garside	of the township and parish aforesaid. Clothier.

George Wrigley	of Millsbridge, in the township and parish aforesaid. Drysalter.
Sam Eastwood	of Millsbridge aforesaid. Clothier.
Thos. Casson	of the same place. Clothier.
John Lunn	of Common End of the township of Linthwaite. Clothier.

together with Edmund Morton the elder. There were thus two Edmund Mortons, the elder and the younger.

The next important matter to be recorded is the formation of an independent Baptist church, and, as the church minute book contains a full report of the whole of the meetings, I give the entries as they appear in this book.

CHAPTER 16.

The Formation of the Church in 1743.

"A record of matters relating to the Religious Assembly at Sallonden-nook in the Parish of Huddersfield, in the West Ryding of the County of York ; since the year of our Lord, 1743.

"Mr. Henry Clayton, having preached the gospel for the space of twelve years past to a Congregation assembling at the said place ; and his labours having been blessed of the Lord with success, in the increase of the Hearers, and the erecting of a commodious Meeting House, wherein to assemble themselves together, for the worship of Almighty God ; they began to think it their duty to enquire, What further service the Lord required of them, for promoting the interest of religion, and the comfort and edification of their own precious and never dying souls ; and also, What a happy opportunity the Providence of God had now put into their hands for the doing of this work, and how dangerous, it would be to let it slip:—and the said Henry Clayton, and a few of his hearers, being members of a church of Christ at Rodhill End and Stone-Slack, lately under the pastoral care of the Rev. Mr. Thomas Greenwood, Deceased:—and reflecting upon the great distance of

most of their residences from the community to which they belong, and the many disadvantages that attend them on that account, and also the hopeful prospect of several of their well-disposed neighbours joining with them in the fellowship of the gospel, if they had the encouragement of a fit opportunity to do it :—

" Upon these considerations they concluded that it was their duty, and might, under the blessing of God, conduce much to their mutual comfort and edification, for them to embody themselves together in the relation of a distinct Church of Christ.

" Whereupon they agreed to make application to the aforesaid church for their dismission from them and for their approbation and allowance of them to sit down together as a Church of Christ by themselves, the copies of which Request and Dismission are inserted hereafter. And having thus obtained their dismission, as a further preparation to the solemn work before them, they appointed and kept Friday, August 19th, 1743, as a day of solemn prayer to ask counsel, direction, and a blessing of the Lord.

" The way being thus prepared for the execution of this pious and honourable design, they invited and called in, as witnesses and assistants to them in this work, the Rev. Mr. John Wilson, Pastor of the church at Rawden ; Mr. Alverey Jackson, Pastor of the church at Barnoldswick ; and Mr. Thomas Ashworth, teaching Elder of the church at Cloughfold, in Rossendale : and on the Lord's Day, August 21st, Mr. Wilson, upon exchange with Mr. Clayton, preached to them on Matt. xvi. 18, in order to show them—the Foundation on which they are to build ; the Hand by which they are to be builded ; and the Safety of all those who are so builded;—and on Monday, August 22nd, in another solemn meeting, another sermon was preached to them on Matt. xviii. 20, in order to show them the form of the house, in which was opened the Nature and the Constitution of a Gospel Church, with the encouragement given by Jesus Christ for erecting it, by the promise of His presence in the midst thereof.

" On Wednesday, August 24th, being the day appointed for the completing of this good work, BY SOLEMN PRAYER WITH FASTING, the assembly, and those united to assist them herein, being come together, prayer was made to Almighty God for a blessing on the work of the day by Mr. Henry Clayton; and then the letters of Request and Dismission were publicly read, which are as follows, viz :—

THE LETTER OF REQUEST.

Sallonden Nook, August 7th, 1743.

To the Church of Christ at Rodhillend and Stoneslack ;
We the members of the said church, resident about Sallonden Nook, send greeting, in our great New Covenant Head, the Lord Jesus Christ, wishing grace, mercy, and peace may be multiplied unto you.

Dearly beloved Brethren,
Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God (in whose hands our Times are) to bound our habitation at so great a distance from you, as greatly interrupts our fellowship and communion with you : and forasmuch as God hath been graciously pleased

to send amongst us his faithful servant and our dearly beloved brother in the Lord, Henry Clayton, who hath, for some years past, laboured amongst us in Word and Doctrine to our spiritual profit and mutual satisfaction, and under whose ministry we have been blest with a little reviving, and have now a hopeful prospect of a growing increase:—now that we may not be awanting to improve this happy opportunity to the best of our capacity, it is our desire to embody ourselves together as a church of Christ, under the care of the said Henry Clayton as our Pastor;—and in order to our comfortable and regular proceeding in this desirable work, we request your kind approbation of the good design, by your granting to him and us a letter of dismission from you, with your consent and allowance to form ourselves into a distinct church of Christ.

And we also desire, that by some persons chosen and appointed as your representatives, you would be so kind as to favour us with your company, and be witnesses of our proceedings herein, on the 24th of this instant August, at nine of the clock in the morning, that being the time we have appointed for the performing of this intended work.

Which, with our Christian love to, and our present prayers for you, and earnest desire of the continuance of your brotherly love to us, and daily prayers to God for us, is from your brethren and sisters in the Lord, Henry Clayton, Elizabeth Clayton, William Southwark, Senior, William Southwark, Junior, David Southwark, Sarah Firth, Grace Jagger, Susanna Lees.

THE LETTER OF DISMISSION.

We, the Church of Christ usually meeting at Rodhill-End and Stone-Slack, send Christian Salutation to our members who desire their dismission from us, in order to form themselves into a distinct Church of Christ at Sallonden Nook.

Dearly beloved Brethren;—

We heartily approve of, and cheerfully consent to your pious intention;—and for the end you have in view we do hereby give unto all of you jointly, and to each of you severally, a free and full dismission from us. And now, dear brethren, may the blessing of the Lord crown your Christian design with desired success:—may you be happy and comfortable together in your relation as Pastor and People, and grow and increase with the increase of God, that we may have occasion always on your behalf to give thanks to our Father and your Father;—to our God and your God, in and through our Lord Jesus Christ.

This letter was signed at Sallonden Nook, August 24th, 1743, by three officers of the church, as deputed and authorised thereto by the church;—namely, John Greenwood, Jonathan Jackson, and Richard Thomas.

Then the following brief Confession of Faith was Read, and unanimously agreed to:—

We, the Servants and Handmaidens of the Lord Jesus Christ, whose habitations he hath bounded near Sallonden Nook, and who usually meet together there for the worship of Almighty God, under the blessed name of Christians, the general name of peaceable Protestant Dissenters, and the particular name of Baptists, are this day met together at the said place, in order to join ourselves together as a Church of Christ by mutual

consent and solemn covenant, according to the will of God revealed in the Holy Scriptures, and the example of the Primitive Christians recorded in the New Testament; believing all things that are written in the Law and the Prophets, the Gospels, the Acts and the Epistles of the Apostles; which Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, AND THEM ONLY, we declare to be the divine rule and certain standard of our faith and practice. Nevertheless, we being willing to manifest our consent and agreement in Faith and Doctrine with others, our Christian Brethren and churches of Christ, in their summaries of heavenly doctrine and confessions of Christian faith, as founded upon, and contained in the Holy Scriptures;—

We declare that,

The Faith wherein we sit down together as a Church of Christ is the same, FOR SUBSTANCE, with what is delivered in the 39 Articles of the Church of England, except the 34th, the 35th, the 36th, and part of the 20th and part of the 27th;—and understanding the 3rd, of Christ's continuing in the State of the Dead, and under the power of death, until the third day;—and the word Penance in the 33rd for a profession of true repentance, accompanied with proper fruits; and by the Judge there mentioned, the whole Church.

The same, for the most part, with that of the Church of Scotland, called the Assembly's Confession.

More nearly the same with that Declaration of the faith and order of the Congregational churches agreed upon by the Elders and Messengers at the Savoy, in the year 1658, and reprinted 1729.

And, WITHOUT EXCEPTION, the same, both for faith and order, with the Confession of Faith set forth in 1689; signed and assented to by more than one hundred Ministers and Messengers of Baptised Churches in England and Wales.

Then the following

SOLEMN COVENANT OF COMMUNION.

was solemnly rehearsed, and signed by the members.

We, a small handful of the unworthy dust of Zion, usually assembling for the worship of God at Sallonden Nook, and in obedience to the Command of God, and Conformity to the Example of Jesus Christ and his faithful Followers, recorded in the New Testament upon profession of Repentance towards God, and Faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ,—Baptised in water in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost ;—having first given our own selves to the Lord, are now met together with one accord, to give ourselves one to another by mutual consent and solemn Covenant, according to the Will of God, with deep humiliation for our past sins, and earnest prayer to God for pardoning mercy and persevering grace. We say with our hearts, We are the Lord's,—and subscribe unto Him with our hands in manner following:—Namely,

We this day avouch the ever blessed Jehovah, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, (the one only true and living God) for our Covenant God, and all-sufficient Portion; and give up ourselves to Him alone for his peculiar people, in a perpetual Covenant, never to be forgotten.

We receive and submit to the Lord Jesus Christ, as our alone

Saviour, Prophet, Priest, and King, on whom alone we trust for Wisdom and Righteousness, Sanctification and Redemption.

We devote and consecrate ourselves as living Temples to the Holy Ghost, our Sanctifier, Guide, and Comforter, whose gracious operations and heavenly conduct we desire daily more and more to feel and follow.

We take the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament as the only ground and rule of our faith and practice, desiring in all things to be conformed to the holy will of God therein revealed; according to the tenour whereof we now covenant with God, each for ourselves, and jointly together, to worship God in spirit and in truth:—to observe his commandments, and keep his ordinances, as he hath therein delivered them to us. To be subject to that divine order and discipline which Jesus Christ, our only King and Lawgiver, hath appointed in his Church; and not to forsake the assembling of ourselves together for the worship of God in its appointed seasons; but to continue in our relation to one another, and fill up our places in the house of God, and maintain his worship therein to the best of our capacity, until death, or evident calls of Divine Providence shall separate us one from another.

To love one another with pure hearts fervently, and endeavour to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, for the honour of our God and our mutual good unto edification.

We will, also, make it our care to walk before the Lord in our own houses with perfect hearts, and upholding the worship of God therein, by prayer to God and reading the Scriptures, that so the word of God may dwell richly in us.

And, as we have given our children to the Lord by a solemn DEDICATION, so we will endeavour to teach them the way of the Lord, and command them to keep it, setting before them a holy example, worthy of their imitation, and continuing in prayer to God for their conversion and salvation.

We will also endeavour to keep ourselves pure from the sins of the times and places wherein we live, and so to be holy in all manner of conversation, that none may have occasion given by our unholy lives to speak evil of God's holy ways. And all this, under an abiding sense that we must shortly give up our account to Him that is ready to judge the quick and the dead.

Unto which solemn Covenant we set our hands, in the presence of the All-seeing, Heart-searching God, this twenty-fourth day of August, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred forty-three.

Witnesses.	*Signed by.*
John Wilson,	Henry Clayton, Pastor.
Alverey Jackson,	Stephen Brook.
Thomas Ashworth,	William Southwark. His mark.
John Greenwood,	Wm. Southwark, Jun. His mark.
Richard Thomas,	Sarah Firth.
Jonathan Jackson,	Grace Jagger, G. Her Letter.
John Ormerod,	Susanna Lees. Her mark.
John Hoap,	Elizabeth Clayton. Her mark.
Henry Pluritt,	David Southwark. His mark.
John Mitchell	Joshua Worth. His mark.
	Mary Watterhouse. Her mark.

Then (that is, after the signing of the above solemn Covenant by the eleven,) Psalm cxxxii. was sung by the congregation, and prayer was made for a blessing on the Church by Alverey Jackson. When prayer was concluded he proposed the following questions to the Church, to which they returned answer by William Southwark, Senior, who was chosen by them to answer in the name of the Church, as followeth, namely,

1st Question :—With what further view hath this Church called us together at this time ?

Answer :—To be witnesses to the Church's act, in calling out and setting apart our beloved brother, Henry Clayton, to the Office of Pastor in this Church, and to assist in his solemn ordination thereto.

2nd Question:—Seeing every Church ought to choose her officers from amongst her members, it is necessary for order's sake to ask you, Is the said Henry Clayton a member in full communion with the Church ?

Answer :—Yes, he is.

3rd Question :—Forasmuch, as no person ought to be imposed upon any Church as a Pastor, or officer therein, without the consent and choice of the Church to whom he is to minister in that office, and to whom the right of organising themselves with proper officers doth belong ; I ask, Is the Church free and desirous to constitute and appoint him to the work and office of Pastor over her ?

Answer :—Yes, she is.

Then let it be signified by each of the members with one consent lifting the right hand : which was immediately and unanimously done.

Then he proposed the proper questions to Henry Clayton ; who accepted of the call of the Church, and consented to take the care of them in the Lord, and answered the questions asked of him, and made confession of his faith, to the mutual satisfaction of all concerned."

The original paper which Mr. Clayton read as his confession of faith has nearly perished ; only one half side of it is preserved. But, by inserting the words necessary to complete the sense, Dr. Stock makes out that Mr. Clayton declared his belief thus : (the words in brackets have had to be supplied).

"I believe the Holy Scriptures of the Old and (New Testaments to be the) word of God, and the only certain Rule of (faith and practice) ; and that all men are commanded to read, hear, (and obey this divine word.)

I believe there is one, and but one only (living and true God.)

I believe there are three subsistances in the (one God,—the Father,) the Son, and the Holy Spirit; and these three (persons are one) in essence, and equal in power and glory. (1 John v. 7.)

I believe God in his eternal purpose according (to the good pleasure of his) will, for his own glory, hath foreordained (his people to salvation.)

I believe God executeth his decrees in the world (by his word and Spirit.)

I believe God created man, male and (female in his own image, perfect) in knowledge, righteousness, and holiness, with dominion (over God's other works.)

I believe when God had created man, he (entered into a covenant) with him, upon condition of perfect obedience (the test of which was abstaining from) the tree of the knowledge of good and of evil.

I believe our first parents, being left to (themselves, of their own free will,) through the subtlety of the serpent fell from (their original innocence.)

(I believe God has instituted) the means whereby the elect are to be made holy.

(I believe the Church was) purchased by Christ.

(I believe the means) whereby Christ communicateth to us the benefits of (this atonement are the) ordinances, especially the Word, Baptism, and the Lord's (Supper.

I believe that these) means are made effectual to the elect.

(I believe this is done by) the Spirit of God, who by the preaching (of the word, and the) ordinances, worketh in us Regeneration; a sense of (sin and the exceeding sinfulness of) all our sins; and applieth to us the Redemption (which is in Christ Jesus, whereby) we come to cast ourselves and the burden (of our guilt upon Him, and learn to trust him,) and to love him, and delight in his service.

(I believe the ordinance of baptism should be) administered to all those who actually profess (to exercise) faith in, and obedience to our Lord Jesus Christ, and (is performed by the immersion of the) whole body of the party in water in the name (of the Father, and of the) Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

(I believe the Lord's) Supper is to be administered to them who have (by baptism made a public) profession of their faith in Christ.

(I believe man's duty is) summarily comprehended in the Ten (Commandments, which law) continueth to all men for a Rule of obedience.

(I believe that all professed Christians) should be careful to maintain good works."

Dr. Stock states—"The fragment which we possess of this clear summary is only about six inches by five. Mr. Clayton wrote on both sides of the paper; one half of the paper is gone, dividing it down the middle. Thus we have in the first part the beginning of each sentence; and in the second part the latter half left us. I have given anxious attention to the words needing to be supplied, and believe that the reader here has before him the exact sense that Mr. Clayton conveyed. My impression is that Mr. Clayton enlarged upon these points at his ordination, and that

the manuscript was of the nature of mere notes to assist the speaker's memory."

The narrative proceeds :—

"Then the Examinant spake to the church and to their newly elected Pastor jointly, to the following effect, viz. :

Now, dear brethren, you tell us, That you have called us together to be Witnesses, and we are Witnesses; but it concerns you to know and remember, that we are not the only, nor the chief witnesses of the solemn transactions of this day: for the allseeing Heart-searching, omniscient, omnipresent God is here Witness: for He is in the midst of this 'two or three,' that are here this day gathered together in His name. The holy angels, who are all ministering spirits, sent forth to minister to them who shall be heirs of salvation, and who are daily spectators and nice observers of what passeth in our religious assemblies are here witnesses. Yea, the evil angels, your adversaries, are witnesses of the work of this day, who will not fail to seek advantages against you, and to accuse you before God, if you fail of answering your obligations to God and to one another. Yea, this place which you have builded for the worship of God, and these stones which you have here laid together, are witnesses of your solemn engagements this day; to which, if you shall hereafter prove unfaithful, the stone out of the wall shall cry out against you, and the beam out of the timber shall answer it.

"I only observe further, with respect to the Imposition of Hands, that a relation or a Power of office in the Church is not conveyed by it: for no imposition of hands by any man, or set of men whatsoever, can give any man the place and power of an officer in any Church of Christ, without their consent, their choice and call of him to that office, and his own choice and consent to it, publicly and jointly testified. Much less do we think that any men or set of men now upon earth, have any power or commission from the Lord Jesus Christ to bestow either spiritual gifts or sanctifying graces, to qualify and fit any person for the discharge of any office in the Church of Christ, by the laying on of their hands :—but as we find in the New Testament, that laying on of hands was used with prayer as an orderly way of separating men to that work and office in the Church, for which they were already qualified by the gifts and graces of the Holy Ghost, and to which they were duly called by the Church; so we look upon it, and continue the use of it. (Acts vi. 3, 5, 6 and xiii. 1, 2, 3).

"Then the said Henry Clayton was solemnly set apart to the work and office of a Pastor in this Church by prayer and the laying on of hands, Mr. John Wilson being the mouth in prayer, and the other two ministers before mentioned joining with him in the laying on of hands: after which, according to the order agreed upon by them for the management of the work, Mr. Jackson went up into the pulpit, it being his province to give the charge to the Pastor, and began with singing Psalm 132, Long Metre, and then preached a sermon in the nature of a charge on Col. i. 28, 29.

"After him Mr. Wilson, whose province it was to show the duty of the Church to their Pastor, went up, and began by singing Psalm 92, 2nd part, and then preached on Heb. xiii. 17.
"Then Mr. Thomas Ashworth, whose province it was to conclude the work of the day, went up, and began by singing Psalm 95, and preached on 2 Thes. iii. 1-7, first part, and concluded with prayer:—of all which work may God have the honour and glory, and this Church the benefit and comfort. Amen."

The Church Covenant was not the original production of anyone at Salendine Nook. It was the Rodhill-End and Stone Slack covenant and they adopted it from some older church, for it is found in use by several founded before Rodhill-End. It is not known whence it first came, but that it is a beautiful composition no one can deny and, considering the age in which it was written, the absence of doctrinal assertions is remarkable.

In the "*History of the Scapegoat Hill Baptist Church*" appears the following :—

"Another question that received attention about this time was the abbreviation of the church covenant. Although this was, comparatively speaking, but a small matter, it is perhaps worthy of mention as indicating the changes in the thought, language and customs of the people made by the passing years. It would be of interest to trace the history of this old covenant to its original source, but for the present we must forego the indulgence. Suffice it to say that the Scapegoat Hill copy, neatly written in the opening pages of the "Church Roll" is a reproduction of the one in use at Pole Moor, which in turn may have come from Salendine Nook, or perhaps some of the other churches of Yorkshire or Lancashire, founded at an even earlier date. The revised version as adopted and printed by the Church at Scapegoat Hill, 2nd March, 1899, suggests, among other things, a more catholic spirit in its attitude towards Christians of other denominations. This is seen in the elimination of a sentence like the following:—'Whatever is contrary to them (the doctrines of Calvinism) whoever may bring it shall receive no countenance or encouragement from any of us, neither by our presence, purses, meeting or dwelling houses.'

We would like to assure our good friends at Scapegoat Hill that their original covenant did not come from Salendine Nook, that the Nook covenant has never been altered since its adoption, and that an unpleasant experience is waiting for any misguided person who might be so ill-advised as to suggest it should be changed in any respect whatever.

Mr. G. W. Blackburn relates that when he went to South Africa he joined a Baptist church which had no covenant but proposed to adopt one. Mr. Blackburn gave to the Minister a copy of the Nook covenant with the suggestion that it might be accepted. The Minister looking through it expressed himself as amused at its antiquated diction, and thought it would require considerable touching up to bring it up to date but that then it would do quite well. Some weeks after, Mr. Blackburn met the Minister and asked about the covenant and whether he had done with it as he had proposed, and was told that, after further consideration, he had decided it had better be left untouched, for it was not in his power to improve it, in which I think we shall be agreed he was correct.

Reference is made to the confession of faith adopted by the church as the basis of their fellowship, and to the clause referring to the dedication of the children, in later chapters.

CHAPTER 17.

The Wesleyan Movement and the Rev. Henry Venn at Huddersfield Parish Church.

During the pastorate of Henry Clayton occurred the great movement initiated by the Wesleys. There is obviously no place in this book for a record of the work of John Wesley and his followers except to say that Salendine Nook, like almost every other Nonconformist church, directly and indirectly benefited by it. Both Joshua Wood and Robert Hyde ascribed their first serious religious impressions to the influence of Methodist preaching.

A few words are necessary with respect to the Rev. H. Venn, the Vicar of Huddersfield from 1759 to

1771. Mr. Venn was what the people in those days termed a "Gospel Minister," and was a prominent member of the Evangelical circle who sympathised with and supported the Methodists; the Huddersfield Church in his day was always open to John Wesley, who, when in Huddersfield, stayed in Longwood House, Deighton, in which one of the Whitacres then lived. This Whitacre was one of two brothers who owned the Whitacre Mills and whose names appear frequently in my manuscripts. Thomas Stutterd was in the employ of their firm, and Longwood House was not only the dwelling house of one of the brothers, but also the office for the factory. Many of the MSS. letters are written from Longwood House. John Wesley in his diary says :—

28/7/1781. After preaching I retired to Longwood House one of the pleasantest spots in the country.

30/4/1788. In the evening I went to our quiet and delightful retreat at Longwood House.

Mr. Whitacre was sufficiently in sympathy with John Wesley as to allow Methodist services to be held at Longwood House on the Sunday evenings.

Mr. Venn was a most fervent and attractive preacher, and drew large crowds from all parts of the district.

At first this seriously affected the services at Salendine Nook. Mr. Clayton had little chance of competing successfully with Huddersfield Parish Church in Mr. Venn's time, and the Nook congregations were diminished by runaways who went down the hill to Huddersfield. Mr. Clayton naturally felt this keenly, and perhaps showed it too much, for it is evident from one of Venn's letters that the two were not on cordial terms.

When Mr. Venn retired from Huddersfield due to failing health, a new Vicar of quite a different type

succeeded, the people who had flocked to the Parish Church in Mr. Venn's time were unwilling to accept the new condition of things.

A considerable number formed themselves into a church of the Congregational order and built themselves a chapel at Highfield, with the concurrence of Mr. Venn who subscribed to its funds.

Some at least of Mr. Clayton's flock returned to his fold, others who had been influenced by Mr. Venn also attached themselves to Salendine Nook ; it seems probable that some of these would be of a somewhat better social position than those who had hitherto formed the Nook adherents ; Benj. Ingham, a man of good standing who at his own expense built the first Lockwood Baptist meeting house, and who was Mr. Wood's host when he first came to Salendine Nook, was one of Mr. Venn's men.

CHAPTER 18.

Henry Clayton's Dream and Later Years.

Dr. Stock states that Mr. Clayton had been greatly depressed by the falling away of his people through Mr. Venn's success, and had written to a brother Baptist Minister, telling him he seriously thought of resigning his office and giving up his ministry at Salendine Nook. Mr. Clayton's correspondent wrote him a very encouraging letter in reply, and begged of him to go on and trust in the Lord. We should very much like to know the name of this correspondent so that his memory might always be honoured amongst us. After the receipt of this letter Mr. Clayton had a remarkable dream ; he saw a much larger chapel standing upon the site of the

one in which he ministered, great numbers of people flocking to it, and carriages rolling up to the gates. This letter and dream decided him to remain.

We read of his appearing at current denominational functions and preaching in neighbouring pulpits. He attended the ordination services of John Stutterd at Colne and delivered the charge to the people.

In consequence of Mr. Clayton's increasing years and infirmities the Rev. Joshua Wood was ordained as assistant Pastor on January 7th, 1773, and it is pleasant to have it on record that relations between the two men remained most cordial and affectionate to the end of their joint pastorate.

Mr. Clayton died on the 21st December, 1776, having served the church as a lay minister for twelve and as Pastor for thirty-three years, making a total of forty-five years, during the whole of which period, without fee or reward, he travelled that long journey of twelve miles each Sunday to serve the church at Salendine Nook.

There is reason to believe that Mr. Clayton was buried in the Nook graveyard near to the 1739 meeting house, and that either the 1803 or 1843 chapel extended over the site of his grave.

Up to the time of the last alterations to the chapel, a gravestone was in the aisle near to the entrance; this is remembered by many now living. I am assured that on this stone, Henry Clayton's name was inscribed, and that his age at death was given as seventy-seven.

HENRY CLAYTON'S LAST JOURNEY AND FAREWELL TO SALENDINE NOOK.

CHAPTER 19.

A Picture in the Fire.

There is no difficulty in forming a correct estimate of Henry Clayton, the first Minister of the independent Nook church.

The church minute book records that his funeral sermon was preached by Joshua Wood "in which he gave a short description of the amiable conduct of the deceased speaking rather below than beyond what might have been truly said."

Dr. Fawcett refers to him as a plain, steady, upright man.

One hundred and eleven men and women joined the church during Mr. Clayton's ministry and the membership at the time of his death numbered sixty-one persons. Not a great result for nearly half a century of persistent, devoted service, but to consider these hundred and eleven persons as the measure of the fruit of this man's life and labours would be a mistake. Be assured that Henry Clayton's ministrations touched a much larger congregation than ever assembled to hear him preach in the Nook pulpit.

His parish was a wide one, stretching away from the door of his meeting house at Nook to the door of his farm on the hills at Wainsgate. Henry Clayton could not continually pass through that parish without making many friends and rendering many services. Can we imagine him passing unconcernedly a house in which, to his knowledge, lay a sick or dying man, woman, or child, without staying to minister comfort and consolation ?

For forty-five years two kinds of sermons had been preached ; the few people gathered together at

Salendine Nook heard those delivered from his pulpit, —very plain, perhaps very dry utterances,—but a vastly greater number of people living on the road-side would hear the sermon preached by the clip-clap of his horse's hoofs as he passed to and fro on his Sunday journeys.

There were men and women in middle life who could never remember a time when that sermon had not been heard on the Sunday morning and afternoon. One of the earliest recollections of their childhood had been that their mothers had called to them

"See, yo, childer—there's t' Nook parson."

As they grew older, perhaps when the weather was rough and stormy, the mother would be saying to her husband

"Its ower weet and wahld for 'im to be goin' ovver t' top 'e gets noa younger."

or perhaps

"T' parson's lat this afternoin. Very lahkly he's callin' some-er. There's a lot o' fowk badly naa."

As the years passed still further on they would find themselves saying

"Th'owd lad's gettin' waker. Ahm flaid we's sooin loise him."

Again, at the last and when the journeys had ceased for ever,

"Eh, lad, ah keep lookin' aat for t' parson an' all t' tahm ah know at he's deead an' buried. 'E war a reit un were th'owd man. We's neer see 'is marra ageean."

There were many who lived on that road-side who were never seen in any place of worship where sermons were preached from a pulpit; there were some who went into such places and came away untouched and unheeding; but they heard the sermon that Henry Clayton preached as he passed their houses,

and it was one that men have always listened to and heeded, that men will always listen to and heed. It was the sermon of a man's unselfish, consistent, consecrated goodness.

For forty-five years that sermon had been continually preached. It was not a lengthy one with ninety-seven divisions and subdivisions. There would come the faint sound of the horse's feet in the distance gradually growing louder and then fading away again into silence, hardly three minutes from first to last, but something tells me that during that short space of time, at least towards the end of his life, when he was white haired and feeble, there would fall an armistice day silence on the road ; that the profane man would cease his profanity, the quarrelsome woman would hush her wrangling, and even the wayward child would forget its fretfulness.

It is said that in his younger days the ambition and dream of the German ex-Emperor was to ride home like his grandfather through the streets of Berlin after some great and successful war.

Our Wainsgate farmer's last home coming was not the triumphant return of one who had made women widows, and children fatherless. There were no shouting crowds or garlands of flowers, although perhaps, had one only had the vision, there might have been seen the horses and the chariots of fire on the mountains around as the young man saw in Elisha's day. Yet it was a victorious return. For he had not quitted, he had carried on to the end ; he had finished his course.

He had had a dream, and like Israel's leader of old, he had, if only in a vision, seen a promised land, a promised land of a big chapel and many people flocking to its services. Not something very great, that promised land of his dream, but the vision of it had been his encouragement and inspiration, and had

kept him patient and faithful to his task through many discouragements.

As he comes to his home on the last afternoon of his forty-five years' journeys I think I see in my fire that he knows it will be his last. I see him stop and look back. Does not his heart go out to those faithful few who had formed his little flock for so many years? "A small handful of the unworthy dust of Zion" his covenant termed them. Dust perhaps, but veritable gold dust in his estimation for they had been all his life to him. He had had no other ambition than what had centred around them. His and their church had been his first and only love.

I have some friends in the north country ; I never go to the Lake District without renewing my acquaintance with them ; they live high up in the hills and are never met with elsewhere ; their scientific name is "Allosorus crispus," we call them "Parsley Ferns." They are found growing in profusion at the base of the roadside walls but only at a certain altitude, and, although I have many times brought back little clumps of roots and endeavoured to acclimatise them in my own garden, I have never succeeded, they have never survived more than a year or two.

On the evening of Tuesday, May 3rd, 1932, a pilgrimage was undertaken. It had none of the pomp and circumstance of the conventional pilgrimage, there was nothing mediæval about it. With Councillor Thomas Wrigley, Mr. Wright Hamer, Mr. J. H. M. Calverley, and in a modern motor car, I left Salendine Nook to follow the road we believed that Henry Clayton had traversed throughout those forty-five years of his ministrations at Nook.

We passed by Blackley to Elland, deviating a little from the direct route to visit the site of the old Elland Baptist meeting house referred to in subsequent pages, and noticed with pleasure the respectful

care given to the old burial ground, which remains intact. We proceeded by Salterhebble to King's Cross and then on the main Manchester road as far as Luddendenfoot, when we turned sharply to the right and commenced at once to climb. We were soon indeed amongst the hills. We passed Midgley and still climbed, whilst glorious mountain views were opening out all around us.

I recognised that we were looking on the same vista of hill and valley that had appeared to Henry Clayton in the thousands of pilgrimages he had made before us, and that all that mattered had not altered since his day. A few evidences of man's puny efforts, some factories and houses, and the line of rails at the bottom of the valley, had been added, but the mountains, the eternal mountains, and the moors, were as God had made them and as Henry Clayton had seen them. We were right up to the Wadsworth moors, to the very edge of the region of the heather before we came to the few scattered farmsteads amongst which our yeoman Pastor lived his long and honoured life.

I knew then all I had sought to know. It had been given to me to understand from whence had come the inspiration which gave the strength and persistence for those forty-five years of consecrated service, for such men as Henry Clayton, like the mountain fern, are not bred in the valleys. They need the high altitudes, they need also the training of daily struggles with the forces of Nature to mould them to the pattern of the men they are.

One of the three or four farms we saw was the one actually cultivated by our first Minister, but they were all much alike. The fields which formed the little demesne of each, were evidently originally part of the moorland ; to any one but a highland bred man the tilling of those fields would prove a heart-breaking and hopeless task.

I am writing this on the day after I had been in that same pilgrimage car, for an eighty mile run amongst the hills and lanes of Surrey and Sussex. It is early summer. I had not been in the immediate district before, nor had I ever in my life been so impressed with the beauty of our English country side. The manifest fertility of the soil, the richness of the pastures, the herds of contented cattle, the luxuriance of vegetation in trees and hedges, the exuberance of Nature's bounty, the wealth of flowers in the gardens of even the humblest cottages ; all was brought home to me as it had never been before.

Amidst it all I had the vision of that bleak and lonely moorside farm with its few stunted, wind battered trees and unlovely stone walls, where an honest man wrestled for a living, and acquired a God-like patience and persistence.

Henry Clayton stands out as one of those rare souls grateful for a very little,—a little reward in temporal things, a bare living honestly acquired, a little rest when his long day's work was done, a little comfort as in the winter evenings he stretched his limbs in his old rocking chair beside his fire of peat, a little excitement as when he attended the ordination services of John Stutterd of Colne, and gave the charge to the people, and perhaps, too, when he took part in one of the few Association gatherings held during his pastorate, a little flock to whom to minister, a little, a pathetically little visible result of his long continued ministrations, and just once or twice in the forty-five years of such ministrations, a gracious little revival, just a little ripple on the waters which were generally so unchanged and still.

Just a little, a very little carried Henry Clayton patiently through those forty-five years.

As I look into my fire I see and hear him when he came back on the Sunday afternoon from his services at Nook, telling his wife of his day's experiences. It would only be the relating of little events. She would assuredly want to know who had been at the meetings ; Henry would find this no difficulty for it was only to a little congregation he preached, and as he stood up in his pulpit their presence would be recognised by him at his first glance.

There would occasionally, but only occasionally, be a little good news, as one or another of his flock came forward and signified their wish to join his little church, and then would follow the description of a little baptismal service in the little well at the Potovens.

There would be a little talk about the houses he had visited on the journey back.

How eagerly Mrs. Clayton in that lonely farm house at the edge of the moors would listen to the recounting of all these little things, but how impossible it all sounds to us, we restless, dissatisfied creatures of the 20th century.

Be assured that though grateful, and even in some sense contented, Henry Clayton was not satisfied. It was not in his vision that matters should always be as they were, any more than those who laid the foundations of the Plymouth Breakwater were satisfied that their work should always be hidden beneath the surface of the waters. We recognise a dreamer of bigger things who had the vision of a destiny for his church far greater than what it was in his time.

In that, Henry Clayton earns most our gratitude and admiration. In that, we appreciate his approach to real greatness. The man who sees great things in the future in which he may not hope to participate, and works faithfully, cheerfully and patiently to secure

those great things for those who shall succeed him, is a great man indeed.

It was not given to him to see the fulfilment of his dream but, be it known unto you Henry Clayton, that subsequent generations remember and acknowledge with boundless gratitude and reverence those forty-five years of devoted service, in which were being laid foundations for that which has since been.

Section 4.

THE REV. JOSHUA WOOD'S PASTORATE.

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CHAPTER 20.

Dr. Fawcett's Obituary Notice.

The following appeared in "*Rippon's Register*" almost immediately after Mr. Wood's death.

"Obituary

for 1794.

Rev. Joshua Wood, Sallendine Nook, York.

On September 6, 1794, died the Rev. Joshua Wood, Baptist Minister at Sallendine Nook, near Huddersfield, Yorkshire. The following particulars, however defective, I hope will be acceptable to some of your readers.

He was born in the month of October, 1734. His father, Mr. David Wood, was a reputable man in the corn trade at Leeds. He was of the Presbyterian persuasion, kept up the worship of God in his family, and governed his domestics with answerable decorum and propriety. His son Joshua, was kept at school till he was fourteen years of age, and being possessed of good natural abilities, and a love of learning, his progress was pretty considerable. He was then taken into his father's counting-house, and occasionally assisted in other branches of the business. His mother, about this period, began to hear those ministers who are commonly distinguished by the name of Methodists. Her son Joshua frequently accompanied her; and it pleased God to make use of their preaching for the awakening of his mind to a sense of his lost condition as a sinner, and his need of the salvation which is in Jesus Christ. He began to make a public profession of religion at about the age of seventeen, when he joined Mr. Wesley's society at Leeds.

But having an opportunity of hearing that eminent servant of Christ, Mr. George Whitefield, his views of the evangelical system were enlarged; he embraced the doctrines commonly called Calvinistic, and in consequence of this change in his sentiments, left the society above named.

Mr. Wood's advancement in knowledge and piety was such, that about his 20th year his friends thought him qualified for public usefulness, and encouraged him to make trial of his gifts in preaching. The business of the counting-house did not suit his turn of mind. He had all along a strong bias to learning, and the acquisition of religious knowledge. He therefore left his father's house and resided for about twelve months at Shipley; during which period he frequently preached at Idle, near Bradford, and at other places. But returning to Leeds he was admitted a member and an assistant preacher of the Society of Independents, under the care of the late Rev. Mr. Edwards, and continued in that relation and capacity till the year 1760. Mr. Wood, besides his employment as an occasional preacher,

kept a school at Leeds, and it appears that he was well qualified for this province. But having an invitation to preach to a congregation, who usually assembled for divine worship in a room in the Angel-yard, in Wakefield, he removed thither, in compliance with their solicitations.

While he continued at Wakefield, Mr. Wood was convinced that the baptism of believers by immersion is the one baptism which was instituted by Jesus Christ, and practised by his apostles and the primitive churches. After some hesitation, having examined the subject with cool deliberation, he resolved, whatever sacrifice he might make in so doing, to comply with the ordinance. He accordingly signified his desire of being baptised to the late Mr. Hartley of Haworth, and Mr. Crabtree of Bradford. They gave him a meeting at the house of the writer of this article, where Mr. Wood communicated a very pleasing account of the Lord's dealings with him, of his faith in Christ, and views of the Gospel, and was baptised the same day.

The Baptist Church at Halifax being then destitute of a minister invited Mr. Wood to preach to them. His labours gave general satisfaction, and he had an honourable dismission from the church at Leeds, signed by Mr. Edwards and others. In the year 1760 he was ordained pastor. Mr. Hartley delivered an excellent charge on the occasion, and Mr. Crabtree preached to the people with much affection, seriousness, and propriety.

He continued at Halifax till the year 1770, and was afterwards recommended by the Rev. John Tommas of Bristol, to the church at Prescott, Devon. He went to this people in September 1771. But as he found at length that there were some in the church who would not agree to the due order of the Gospel, though they had been for a sufficient time possessed of rules which he had drawn up for their consideration, he could not remain there with any comfort; and so, after having served there upwards of twelve months, he removed. But his labours had been considerably blessed for the awakening of careless sinners, many of whom were baptised, and added to the church after his removal.

The Baptist interest at Sallendine Nook had been in a very low state. For a long course of years, Mr. Henry Clayton, a plain, steady, upright man, had laboured there under great discouragements, and with little appearance of success. But that good man had the happiness of seeing a very considerable revival of religion in his congregation towards the close of his life. As he was now far advanced in years, and attended with infirmities, he made the motion for Mr. Wood to be invited to come and settle in that neighbourhood, as an assistant to him. Mr. Wood having an unanimous call, after some time, complied with it, and was received into the family of Mr. Ingham of Lockwood, where he was generously entertained for some years. This was eventually a very great blessing to the society and congregation at Sallendine Nook. Mr. Clayton and Mr. Wood lived in peace and harmony, and assisted each other in the public services of the sanctuary, till the good old man finished his labours and his pilgrimage on earth, and went to take possession of the promised inheritance in heaven, for which he had long been patiently waiting.

At Mr. Clayton's decease, Mr. Wood at the request of the church, took the whole charge of them upon himself, and continued in his relation to them with reputation and honour, till it pleased God to call him home.

His constitution was rather delicate and feeble; he was often under affliction, and yet but seldom so far indisposed as to be rendered incapable of attending to his usual exercises in the pulpit. His health visibly declined for about a year before he died; but such was his regard for the great work in which he was engaged, that he preached twice to his dear people the Sabbath but one before he went to rest. His labours were greatly owned among them, and he was highly esteemed by them for his work's sake. His zeal for God, and his concern for the welfare of the souls of men, were observed by his people to increase more and more, as he drew nearer to the close of his life.

During some of the last days of his illness he was so weak that he was scarcely able to converse with his friends. But his mind was calm and serene in the prospect of his end. He said to some who were lamenting to think of the probability of his being soon taken from them, 'I have lived long enough to see the weakness and instability of man, to know that salvation is entirely by Grace through Jesus Christ, and to be satisfied respecting my own interest in that salvation. Heaven is the place I have been praying and longing for these forty years, and why should I start back at the near prospect of entering into it?' If it were the will of God that he should be spared to be a little longer useful, he was resigned; but if it pleased the Sovereign Disposer of life and death to remove him, he said he was perfectly willing to die. Thus good Dr. Watts, when on the bed of languishing, was asked by one of his friends, how it was with him? He answered, 'I am waiting for God's permission to die.' This happy state of mind was particularly exemplified in our worthy friend. The servant who attended him, happening at one time to hear him with some emphasis repeat these words, 'I am ready, I am ready,' she stepped to him, and softly enquired for what he was ready? He answered, 'I am ready to die.' In this state of composure and tranquillity he resigned his soul into the hands of his Redeemer. He was buried at Sallendine Nook on the 10th September, and his funeral sermon was preached by brother Hartley of Halifax, the Sabbath next but one following, from the words of the Apostle Paul, 2 Tim. iv., 7, 8. 'I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith: Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day: and not to me only, but unto all them also that love His appearing.' This text had been much in his thoughts during his sickness. The whole of it afforded him refreshment and consolation; but he often repeated the latter part of it with great emotion. 'Not to me only, but unto all them also that love His appearing.' The doctrines of the Gospel in general, which he had maintained and preached in life and health, were his comfort in sickness, and in the hour of death.

The life of this good man was so uniformly circumspect and exemplary, that he might be said to have had a 'Good report of all men, and of the truth itself.' In his private conduct, he was peaceable and benevolent; and, making allowance for the infirmities incident to human nature, in every view highly respectable. He was so steady in his attachment to what he believed to be right, whether in principle or practice, that he could not be induced to deviate from it, by either the frowns or the smiles of any man whatever. This was a distinguishing feature in his character.

He had a penetrating genius, his judgment was remarkably correct, and he was well versed in casuistical divinity. Yet his preaching was plain and practical, especially for the last twenty years of his life. During this period, he was fully convinced of the propriety and the necessity of a ministerial address to the unconverted. And it is worthy of remark, that after he had this conviction, his ministerial labours were rendered abundantly more successful than before, in turning sinners from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God. The late President Edwards was his favourite author. He read his works with constant attention, approbation, and delight. But the sacred Scriptures were his chief delight; he read them in their originals, and studied them with unwearied application. He wrote his sermons almost at length, yet he never made use of notes in the pulpit. God was pleased to give him many seals of his ministry, who, it is hoped will be his joy and crown of rejoicing in the day of the Lord Jesus. Mr. Wood has left nothing in print but a circular letter, addressed to the Association, ON RELIGIOUS ZEAL. As he was never married, he lived in a great measure exempted from domestic cares, and devoted his life to study and retirement. I shall close this short tribute to his memory with the admonition of the apostle to the Hebrews: 'Remember them which have the rule over you, who have spoken unto you the word of God; whose faith follow, considering the end of their conversation, Jesus Christ the same yesterday, and to-day and for ever.'

JOHN FAWCETT.

Brearly Hall, Nov. 8, 1794.

(Mr. Wood's circular letter was "On Christian Zeal.")

CHAPTER 21.

Letter to Association and John Sutcliff's Letter.

It may be well to reproduce the letter from Salendine Nook Church to the Association in 1795, not only because it deals with the subject of this chapter but also because it is a very good example of the

literature of the times. It is uncertain who was the author, but there is reason to believe it was Thomas Stutterd.

"To the Ministers and various Members of the Particular Baptist denomination assembled in Association at Bacup on the 27th and 28th May 1795. The Baptist Church of Jesus Christ meeting at Salendine Nook sendeth Christian Salutation.

We esteem it a privilege that we have an opportunity of laying our case before you in order that we may enjoy the advantages of your sympathy and prayers.

The great Sovereign of the Universe and adorable Head of the Church whose ways are all right and equal, however mysterious and unpleasant to man, has been pleased to exercise us with some very awful dispensations since we addressed you last year. Our many aggravated follies have justly provoked the indignation of the Lord and for our disobedience we have been visited with the chastening rod of our Heavenly Father. The great Shepherd of Israel has taken away our pastor His under Shepherd from us by the resistless stroke of death. We had been highly favoured with the eminent dispensation of the Word by our late dearly beloved Minister Joshua Wood for more than twenty years till last summer when after a lingering indisposition he left this world and entered into ye joy of his Lord on the 6th September.

His latter end was truly comfortable and happy. For some time we remarked that his discourses and conversation were peculiarly heavenly and animated. The precious truths of the everlasting Gospel he had so clearly and faithfully dispensed to us in the course of his ministry afforded him the greatest consolation in the prospects of his dissolution. The peace and serenity of mind he enjoyed evidenced the presence of his Divine Master. His confidence of an interest in the promise of Eternal Life excited him frequently to triumph in the language of Paul. I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith: Henceforth there is laid up for me a Crown of Righteousness, which the Lord the Righteous Judge, shall give me at that day: and not to me only, but unto all them that love His appearing.

He was a man of great piety, sound judgment, and *exceedingly* studious. The proficiency he had made in literature was improved by him for the best of purposes viz. to render his discourses intelligible and practical. The Lord, whose prerogative it is to give ye increase, was pleased to accompany his labours amongst us with power to the conversion of some sinners and the edification of Saints. Yet we have much reason to blame ourselves on account of the very little improvement we have made under his ministrations.

We have also to lament the loss of five other members by death this year and most of them were accounted valuable amongst us. One of them had obtained a good degree of disputation amongst us by having used the office of deacon well for many years.

Now upon reflection and examination we have great cause to be humbled under a deep concern that we have not given more evidence that these dispensations have been sanctified to our spiritual good. Our hearts are yet too much fixed upon earthly things. Our love to God, His ways, and people, is very defective and our zeal in duty and for the honour of our Redeemer is too languid. These unsanctified affections are hurtful to our growth and happiness in ye best things. May ye Lord direct and quicken us in His way—We beg an interest in your supplications at ye divine throne.

We have also to invite you to join us in gratitude to God for many tokens of goodness to us unworthy as we are. We trust that His loving kindness has not been utterly taken away from us. We wish to rejoice in His faithfulness. Although He took away our late dear Pastor He did not leave us destitute of ye provisions of His House, but we were very seasonably supplied with ye preaching of ye Divine Word by our dearly beloved brother W. Brigg, one of our members who he had raised up in years ago to speak in His name occasionally. His labours have been very opportune and acceptable to us during our state of widowhood.

We continue unanimous in our profession of the doctrines of free and distinguishing grace and have been favoured with the invaluable blessing of peace among ourselves.

In the course of the winter we heard that Mr. Hyde of Cloughfold was at liberty. We made application to him and in consequence of such steps as were thought prudent by both sides he is come over to us, and it is our ardent desire that the Lord may render him useful amongst us. Our congregation has been rather thin during the severity of the winter but now as the summer advances and having a new minister we are well attended. We are pleased to see a general attention and apparent seriousness in our hearers at large and hope that some will come forward.

We have had a great decrease in numbers this year. We have permitted nine of our members to begin an interest at Lockwood and we wish the Lord may send them prosperity.

By death we have lost six. We have lately baptised one, not yet in fellowship. We have excluded one.

Our present number of members is eighty-nine.

We wish the blessing of God may attend your assemblies, that saints may be edified and sinners converted, that God may be glorified by your coming together.

The grace of Christ be with you.

We remain Your affect Brethren in ye Gospel."

I also print a letter received by Mr. T. Stutterd from John Sutcliff of Olney, which contains a reference to Mr. Wood.

Dear Friend,

Am exceeding glad to hear from you. Your token of friendship was very acceptable. Sympathise with you in your domestic

trials. While clouds and darkness are round about, Justice and Judgment are the habitation of the throne of God. All things work together for good. Our grand defect is the weakness of our faith. Well might Christ say to us "O ye of little faith." If that is the language of reproof we well deserve it. The weakness of our faith is dishonourable to God, injurious to our own selves and sinful in its nature. To this cause we may impute the small measure of influence that divine truth has upon our souls, the low estate of Spiritual comfort we enjoy and the little activity we feel and manifest in the ways and service of Jesus.

Rejoice to hear of the increase of your society under Mr. Wood. Every interview with that good man raises him a step higher in my esteem. Religion is flourishing in some places especially in the Colonies. In North America between 3 and 4,000 have been baptised in Virginia in 3 years time.

Pray why Mr. Hindle left Halifax? heard of it last week, but had no reason assigned. I used to think the people were remarkably attached to him. Am rather impatient to know the cause of his removal. If you can find time before you leave Northampton, wish you would give me some account as no doubt you know something about it.

Something wrote on the back of your letter with a pencil was so rubbed out as to be unintelligible. I supposed it related to the double lecture which I hear is to be at Cloughfold. Some of the Ministers' names I made out but something else, probably their subjects, I could not decipher. Let me have it again.

Has Mr. Martin's strange piece against Mr. Fuller of Kettering found its way among any of your connections in Yorkshire? If so pray take one or more of Mr. Fuller's replies from Northampton. They are only 6d. each. Dare say Mr. Wood would like to see it.

Have not a duplicate of Dr. Bellamy's dialogues. Wish it was in my power to serve you. His 'True Religion Delineated and Distinguished from all Counterfeits' is out, price about 3/6.

You wish for an account of the churches in our Association. We shall soon—God willing—meet at Spalding in Lincolnshire. Sometimes I make memorandums on these occasions. If I should this year, I'll endeavour to prepare them for you against your next journey to Northampton.

As to things at Olney. We have very few additions. Two added lately have been all for almost 2 years. Lately we have lost by death 3 valuable men members, which has weakened us much. Sometimes I am pleasant in, but often discouraged respecting my work. Give my love to Mr. Wood and Mr. Ingham on your return. Through mercy I enjoy good health. With my best wishes,

I rest,
Yours cordially,
JOHN SUTCLIFF.

Olney 18 May 1789.

Mr. Carey goes to Leicester after Midsummer.
How go matters on at Colne?

CHAPTER 22.

Further Records.

Mr. Wood was at school till he was fourteen years of age ; this is stated as though unusual. It is also recorded that he read the Scriptures in their original languages. Being curious to know from what source he obtained his Hebrew, I wrote to the Head-Master of the Leeds Grammar School, asking if they could trace his name on the school records and submitting my difficulty as to the source of his Hebrew. The Head-Master answered that they could not trace his name as having been at the Leeds Grammar School but mentioned " Hebrew was often done in the old Grammar Schools and there are still relics of this in the Hebrew Scholarships at the Universities."

Although Mr. Wood might have learnt the rudiments of his Greek and Hebrew as a boy, it is certain that he must have been an unwearied student throughout his life.

On his arrival as Assistant Minister to Henry Clayton, Mr. Wood lived as a guest with Mr. Benj. Ingham of Lockwood. We do not know exactly for how long. Dr. Fawcett says " He was generously entertained for some years."

He then took up his residence with John Ramsden, of Ramsden Mill, Golcar, where he remained until sometime towards the end of 1789.

A note in Mr. Stutterd's diary reads :—

" Nov. 29th 1789. A subscription at Nook for buying Mr. Wood goods to set up house with. £13 10s. 0d. was collected to be made up to £20. His late host John Ramsden is dead. It is strongly suspected he took some white mercury."

We have also a letter from Wm. Brigg, 8/12/1789.

" Dear Sir,

I would have you tell William Redfearn to come over to Lindley to-morrow for I want to bespeak something for

Mr. Wood. I fear that the subscription money will fall short of answering the end purposed tho' I think it will reach upwards of £20 if such as have promised bring in their quotas. Please remind W. Archer that whatever duty finds for him to do, to do it with all his might. With respect to Sheffield people. If they require my presence there you should let me know at what time.

I am, Dear Sir,

Yours affectionately,

Wm. Brigg."

That Mr. Wood removed to Lindley is certain, as in the letter following, his address is given as Lindley.

The account of Mr. Wood's settlement as sole Pastor after Mr. Clayton's death reads thus in the church minute book :—

"The Church appointed Thursday, January 2nd 1777, as a day of fasting and prayer, at which time they renewed without a dissenting voice their call to the above Joshua Wood, to take upon him the pastoral care of them—which call was expressed in the following words:—

"Dear Brother,

You doubtless remember that, about four years ago, we gave you a call as a Church of Christ to serve us as an assistant to our aged and honoured Pastor, upon this condition, that, at his decease, you should take the oversight of us in his room. This call you accepted; and as it hath pleased God, who is the wise and uncontrollable disposer of men, to remove our beloved Pastor from earth to heaven, or to take him to Himself, we would now renew and confirm this call, by expressing our desire that you would take upon you the pastoral care over us.

"We have, we hope, been profited by your ministry, and it appears to us suited to promote still our spiritual edification:—nor has your conversation among us been contrary to your character as a minister of Christ; which considerations move us to request of you the above favour. We are willing, so far as we know, to be ruled by the laws of Christ, to love and submit to, or obey you in the Lord, and to endeavour to make your life comfortable, by striving with you for the faith of the gospel, in those things which the Scripture directs us to: and, in a word to maintain the order and discipline of God's House.

And so, we trust, you will not deny us."

To which he returned answer as follows :—

"Dear Brethren,

I am sensible of my own weakness and insufficiency, in some measure, for that great work which you invite me to perform. Who is sufficient for these things? But notwithstanding my unworthiness and weakness, God is able to support me with increasing strength; he can make the feeble as David, and

illustriously magnify his own power and goodness in working by so mean an instrument. And though I have met with many troubles since I came among you, yet I must confess that I still love you, love you dearly, and am willing to serve you in the work of a Pastor, so long as you are willing to conform to the laws of Christ, according to what you intimate in your call.

That is, as must be supposed, or as was supposed, unless some other occurrence render my continuance in the relation of a Pastor improper, or unsuitable. Particularly, the laws of Christ I mean are such as that in the 18th of Matthew respecting private admonition in private offences:—the exclusion of those members who may be guilty of any such like scandalous sins as those mentioned in 1 Cor. v., provided they do not repent, and acknowledge their sins aright, upon their being duly admonished by the church.

I request of you your prayers. If St. Paul, a star of the first magnitude desired the saints to pray for him, both for utterance, and success, etc., I have surely reason to desire a like favour of you,—I, who am at best but a glimmering taper in comparison of him.

Further, I would desire and require of you to vindicate my character against false aspersions, which may at any time be cast upon me. The interest of a minister and people, like that of man and wife, is mutual, and the advantage of the one is the profit of the other. In fine, I beseech you, that you would live in peace and love, and the God of peace shall be with you."

Mr. Wood then made the two following requests to the church, in order to prevent future misunderstanding :

" 1st—That she would allow him two or three Sabbaths in the summer season, to go to the salt waters for his health : and as to the defraying of the expenses of those who might supply for him in his absence, this might be settled at some future period, or at any time."

" 2nd—That as he lived at some distance from the meeting house, if he should, on some particularly stormy Sabbath, be hindered from coming to God's house, she, the said Church, would not take offence at his stopping at home under such a circumstance.

N.B.—Both these requests the Church readily complied with, and, AS HE HAD BEEN ORDAINED BEFORE, he administered the ordinance to them on the Sabbath following viz., on January the 5th, 1777."

With respect to his request to be excused from attendance on particularly stormy days, he did not hesitate to take advantage of the permission granted to him, for, on several Sundays when the weather was very bad, my MSS. record that he stayed at home

and the services were conducted by one of the lay preachers present. T. Stutterd notes, December 3rd/89, "Mr. Wood did not come by reason of the rain. Mr. Brigg preached."

Mr. Wood's favourite salt water resort appears to have been Blackpool.

I have only two letters from Mr. Wood, one was to Mr. John Stutterd pressing him to preach at the Association meetings at Nook in 1791, the other is referred to later.

"Dear Brother,

The annual meeting is to be at our place on the Wednesday and Thursday of the next Whitsun week or on June 15th and 16th, 1791. The preachers and the subjects which have been chosen are as follows viz.:—

1st Day. Election. Mr. Hartley.
Conversion or Effectual Calling.
Mr. Beatson or in case of failure Mr. John Stutterd.

2nd Day. The Privileges of the Converted.
Mr. Fawcett.
The Duty of Church Members.
Mr. Crabtree.

I have written to Mr. Beatson and have received for answer that his health will not admit of his coming to preach for us on the above mentioned occasion so that of course the latter subject of the first day falls to your share and as it is a subject more easy and plain than some and you will have sufficient time to muse on it, so I hope you will cheerfully comply with our request. The temptations attending ministers are many but they serve a good master and though their labour may not be followed with all the success which they wish for, yet it will not be forgot by Him who approves of the smallest kindness done to His people. I sincerely wish you much happiness in your connections, and desiring that the grace of Christ may be with your spirit.

I remain your affectionate Brother in Christ.
Joshua Wood.

Lindley. March 9th, 1791."

I also give an extract from a letter sent by Thomas Stutterd to his brother on the subject of this Association sermon. This letter is interesting in its reference to white wigs, evidently then the proper full dress for Ministers to wear at important functions. I wrote to Dr. Whitley asking for information as to the custom in the matter of these white wigs, i.e., if they were universally adopted. The following is his reply :—

15th December, 1931.

"Dear Mr. Stock,

About 1790 there was a tendency to affect a wig with huge side curls. This had been common among Independents but Baptists were much slower to adopt. And at Salendine Nook I doubt whether public opinion would approve. Yet I have a few silhouettes, etc., showing it was possible in similar places."

Thomas Stutterd's letter to his brother :—

"I do not like your anticipating fears respecting preaching at the Association. Why are you afraid ? You surely won't be so cowardly as to let a few White Wigs frighten you ? If you had been a young man and a young Minister you would have been more excusable. Therefore I hope you will discover that you are not ashamed of the truth but valiant for it. As our people have been voluntary in their choice, I mean the nomination was not forwarded by me, I hope you will not disappoint them."

Mr. Stutterd did not preach. It is evident the White Wigs were too formidable for him.

Mr. Wood although a scholar was no author. The only literature that came from him was the circular letter "On Christian Zeal," which appears in the appendix at the end of this book. It is hardly to be expected that this will be read throughout, but it is given because it is evidently the first printed matter that came from Nook church, and because it is a very good example of the circular letter of the period.

Dr. Stock told this oft quoted story of Mr. Wood :

"When the Slaithwaite minister of the Established Church wrote him a letter in Latin, assailing him, and other nonconformist ministers as intruders into sacred orders, and an illiterate race of men, Mr. Wood replied to him in good scholarly Greek, in defence of his Nonconformity and his ministry, and begged an answer in the same tongue. The Slaithwaite clergyman took the letter to a brother clergyman at Elland, who advised him to let Mr. Wood alone, as he was clearly his master in learning and so the controversy ended."

The membership at the close of Mr. Wood's ministry numbered eighty-nine. It must be remembered that four different churches had been formed since his ministry began, and that in each case several of the Nook people had been transferred to form the nucleus of the new church.

During his pastorate many week night services were initiated, but they all seem to have been organised and carried through by his laymen.

CHAPTER 23.

Further Records.

A study of the pastorate of Joshua Wood is interesting because in many respects he is unlike any of the others who have been Pastors at Salendine Nook. Mr. Wood is apparently the only celibate Pastor the church has had. He was a reserved, studious man, loving the solitude of his study and the company of his books. Whilst scrupulously fulfilling all his ministerial duties, preaching his carefully prepared sermons, visiting the sick, attending Association meetings, and taking a not infrequent part in such meetings and the few denominational occasions when his services were required, it would appear from a general study of his life that he was never happier than when he was in his study alone amongst his books.

It is not difficult to imagine that, had Mr. Wood been born into a Roman Catholic family, he would have found his way into some cloistered retreat which had a reputation for more austerity of discipline than usual, and in some stone built cell have contentedly passed his years in meditation and religious exercises. As it was, he was born in a Presbyterian family, influenced by the Methodists, and became a Particular Baptist Pastor, but his natural bent showed itself throughout his life.

A study of his sermons does not convey to us the dreams or visions of a mystic, they were particularly methodical and even conventional in their arrangement, with many divisions and sub-divisions and with copious quotations from Scripture. We cannot trace any evidence of deep thought or emotional ecstasy in these discourses ; there is however, one matter in which he stands out prominently and characteristically.

He was unsparing in his contempt and abhorrence for anything which even approached to Antinomianism —the doctrine that faith in Jesus Christ dispenses with and renders unnecessary the observance of the moral law.

We learn from the obituary notice written by Dr. Fawcett that, when Mr. Wood went to Prescott, he found a church far from satisfactory in this matter, and like St. Bernard of Clairvaux, he set himself to restore his little community to the due order of the Gospel. He drew up a code of rules for their consideration as St. Bernard did in restoring the simplicity of the rule of St. Benedict, and when he found there were some who refused to conform, his stay among them was found to be impossible. In all his preaching, and in his Association letter " On Christian Zeal," we find him continually insisting on the necessity for consistency of conduct on the part of professing christians.

There is a quaint passage in this Association Circular Letter.

In his 4th observation that christian zeal must be manifest for good works as well as for the doctrines of grace, he writes :—

> "Some professors have a zeal for the doctrines of the gospel which is not approved by God. When they hear these (i.e. the doctrines of grace) they smile, hearken diligently and are ready to say within themselves 'Oh ! —Brave !—This is preaching ! '—but when they hear duties strictly enforced from the Divine authority and from Gospel motives, they put on a frowning countenance, soon drop their attention and say 'This is poor legal stuff,—and the preachers of it are half Arminians, if not altogether so.' But the zeal of such persons is not genuine and their wickedness in slighting duty is exceedingly vile so that we are at a loss for a name fully to express its atrocious nature."

It is not for us to know what steps Joshua Wood took to mortify the flesh and to keep his body in subjection, but we may be sure that the fasts enjoined by his church—fasting took a high place amongst the duties pertaining to christian discipline in those days—were punctiliously observed, and that if his early environment had been such as to lead him into some hermit like retirement, his self inflicted penance would have been severe, and his asceticism thorough.

To state that the Minister of to-day enjoys advantages which were denied to his brethren of 140 years ago is a self-evident truth, but there was one advantage which the Minister then had which is denied to his successor of the present day.

It would seem that little else was expected from a Pastor in Joshua Wood's days but

(1) That he should preach the gospel as effectively as possible and in strict accord with the accepted and orthodox theology of his church,

(2) That he should visit the sick,
(3) That he should live the life and die the death consistent with his preaching.

I have sought carefully to find a reference to any kind of meeting held in connection with the ordinary church life other than

(1) Public Worship in the chapel and the monthly Communion Service,
(2) Week-night devotional meetings at the houses of the people,
(3) Church meetings.

Seemingly, church business generally was dealt with by the deacons, for, except on the occasions when an applicant for membership appeared before the church, or a lay preacher was "thrust out," or some very exceptional matter arose, the monthly church meeting was simply a devotional service with an ordinary sermon from the Pastor and prayers led by the laymen.

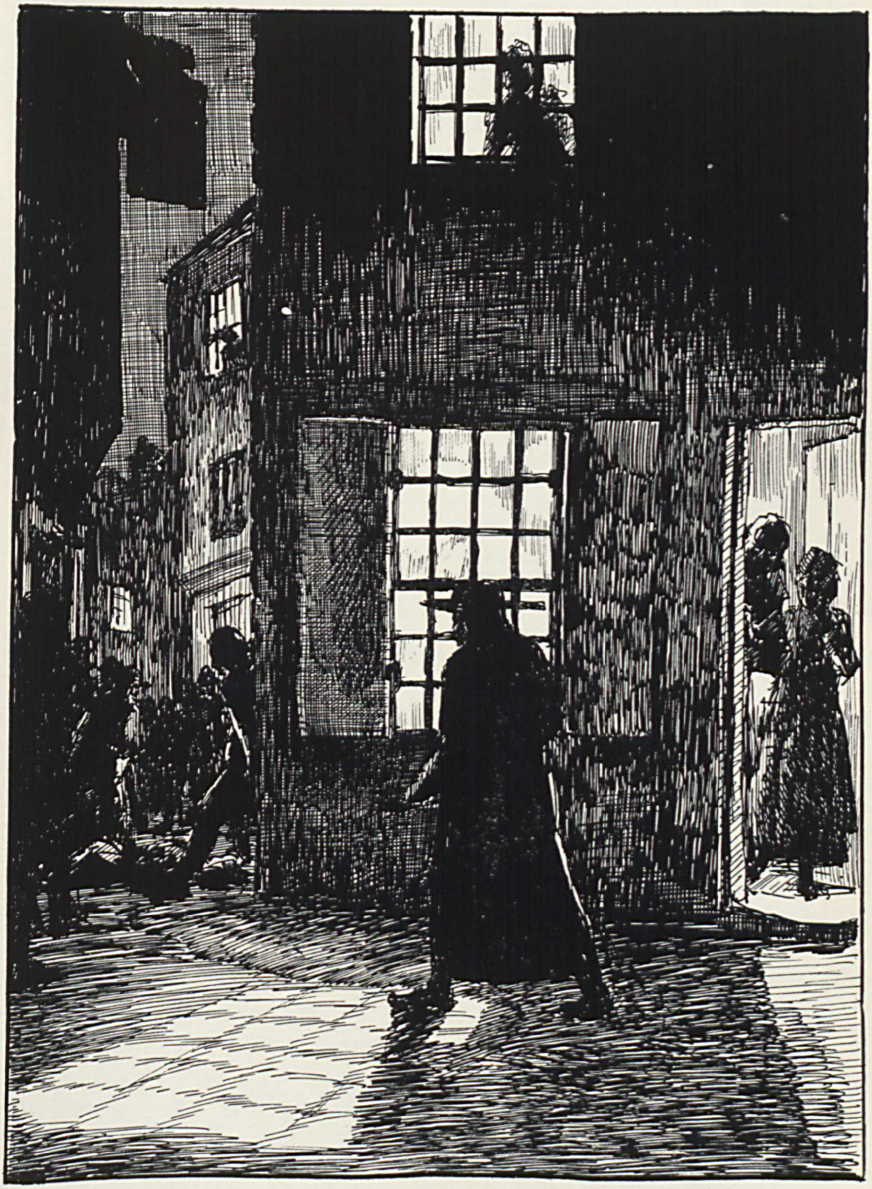
In my papers are a great number of records of services in the chapel, those who have made these records mention even the hymns that were sung, but beyond the occasional reference to a coming church meeting, not a single announcement of any sort is made ; I think it is certain that if any announcement were made it would be sure to be referred to.

There were no announcements because apparently there was nothing to announce.

When the Minister came down from his pulpit on the Sunday afternoon he could face the preaching of the next Sunday's two sermons forthwith. These two sermons were undoubtedly a great task to many. It was expected that each should last for an hour. Many Ministers, Robert Hyde amongst them, found the task an exacting one, some almost too much. In some letters from a Minister to a brother Minister, there is the plaintive lament that, when he has finished

one Sunday's sermons, he wonders where he is to find matter for the next. The minds of the preachers, however, were not distracted by all sorts of subsidiary meetings and functions at which they had to officiate; they had neither to serve tables nor to appear at social gatherings.

I cannot find that Joshua Wood considered it part of his duty even to attend the devotional meetings held during the week at his people's houses; only once or twice is it mentioned he was present. He could go into his study on the Sunday, and almost every other evening in the week, and dream dreams and see visions with almost as little to disturb him as though he had been living within monastery walls.



CHAPTER 24.

A Picture in the Fire.

I have spent much time looking into my fire for that which would account for the deference—tinged with something of awe—with which Joshua Wood was regarded by all with whom he came into contact. A study of his sermons gives me no help, for as stated they seem exceptionally conventional. The part he took in the leadership of his people outside the Sunday services tells me nothing. And yet everyone spoke reverently of him and Dr. Stock gave him this somewhat unusual testimonial :—

> "Mr. Wood was a great terror to evil doers. The threat 'I will tell Mr. Wood' was one which had great weight with inconsistent members. He seems to have greatly resembled Mr. Grimshaw, of Haworth, in his fearless dealings with transgressors."

In my old Brigade Days, a youth in our Corps trained as a Doctor, and I was in frequent touch with him during his medical course. During the latter part of his training he was told off from the Leeds Infirmary to attend to outside maternity calls ; his duties thus often took him into some of the lowest slums of the city ; and into places where a single policeman would have gone in danger of his life. He was never molested, sometimes a couple of evil looking men would come up to him as he was making his way through the dark streets and looking at him say "It's the Doctor, let him pass." They had the sense to know that if they did otherwise their women folk would have to suffer for it, and so the standing orders of the worst slum were to let "The Doctor" alone.

He told me of the unholy rows that occurred during some nights when he was on duty, and a whole

street full of men and women were settling some little difference that had arisen amongst them. It was not the custom in such cases to call the police. Nothing perhaps would have suited the people better, for they would then doubtless have joined forces and had a battle after their own heart. They went for the Catholic Priest and this Priest would come, unarmed except perhaps for a walking stick, and scatter the crowd like a flock of sheep. To stand at a door or window, and to see a little bit of a man chivying a lot of big toughs who could, had they so willed, have crumpled him up like a piece of paper, was great sport, so my medical student used to say.

We have no knowledge of the physique of Joshua Wood other than the description given by Dr. Fawcett in his obituary article.

"His constitution was rather delicate and feeble; he was often under affliction, and yet but seldom so far indisposed as to be rendered incapable of attending to his usual exercises in the pulpit."

The little Priest subduing an unruly mob with nothing but a walking stick, and the "delicate and feeble and often under affliction" Joshua riding about on that "primitive sort of pony" Dr. Stock mentions, giving the rowdy wife-beater occasion to scuttle around a corner, make quite interesting and attractive pictures in that fire of mine. I confess I am beginning to have the same admiration for our Minister as I had for that Priest, when I heard about him years ago.

My fire does not always give me the pictures I seek—I have written about Joshua Wood in his study and I sought in my fire for some scenes which I could describe of Joshua among his books, wrapt in pious contemplation of his Sunday's sermons, whereas I can only see pictures as of one who "waxed valiant in fight, turned to flight the armies of the aliens." And

moreover my fire persists in mixing up our "often under affliction" Joshua Wood with the militant little Priest. I am therefore driven to the conclusion that there must be something in common between them in spite of the fact that in many respects their religious outlook was so different. That what gave power to the one to rout the mob, gave authority to the other to cause terror to the evil doer.

They both of them had in their favour
'The reverence that was paid to their calling.'

It is not necessary to emphasize the reverence that the Catholic gives to his Priest, but we should understand and appreciate that an exceedingly high estimate was placed on the ministry amongst dissenters in the years about which we are writing,—I am much impressed with this in reading my papers,—not always for the person of the Minister but for the office he filled.

I find expressions emphasizing this all through the MSS., and it must be remembered that many of these are by laymen, local preachers we should call them to-day. Amongst even religious folk, the office of local preacher now is not one usually associated with such reverence or heart searchings as in the years under review.

Thomas Stutterd throughout the whole of his writings never once passes the preaching at his own church under criticism. He has nothing whatever to say about the sermons he heard from the Nook pulpit; he writes frequently after these, but never says anything either good or bad about them, even to his brother John, his most confidential correspondent. He never puts into writing anything about his Ministers personally. We are not helped in any way in our judgment of Joshua Wood or Robert Hyde from any criticism we find in Thomas Stutterd's papers. This is inconvenient for a historian, but we cannot but

admire the good sense displayed in thus avoiding anything which might be a source of Church trouble.

With respect to the other preachers he hears he has much to say; he discusses their manner and bearing, their prayers, their preaching, and the general impression their ministrations make upon him.

The following is a characteristic extract from one of Mr. Stutterd's very many criticisms :—

> "December 23/1787. Heard Mr. Davis at Baptist meeting, Reading. Mr. Davis has a very respectable congregation. He is a zealous preacher and very entertaining. He seems to aim at plainness more than sublimity in his style. He used some expressions which extorted a smile from me and I observed some others. Instance, when speaking about Haman's wife's conduct to him said 'much the way of the women tho' Dear Heart alive.'"

During at least the first period of his life all that was involved in the conduct of public worship was a matter of absorbing interest to Thos. Stutterd. He was an exceptionally acceptable preacher and set a high standard for himself; I can quite picture him rehearsing in his study the correct length of stride to take in mounting his pulpit steps, and the proper cadence to adopt in giving out the hymns to be sung. Undoubtedly to men with such ideals there would be much heartburning over the rough and uncultured men who occupied so many of the pulpits of the day. It is pathetic to read in the letters of some of those early preachers their longing for a ministerial standard which they knew was expected of them, but which was beyond them. The following letter from James Shuttleworth the Pastor of Cowling Hill, is an example :

> "Cowlin-hill,
> Nov. 9th-1789.
>
> Dear Brother,
> Som of our friends being at Couln the 1st of Nov. and spook with you, say you wished to have an exchang

with me on the 28th of this instant to which I hartley agree and am glad of the freedom you manefest in makin the offer.

I shall be glad to see you at ouer house the night be fore. I have not convainent lodgers for you but ouer friend have and desire you will be kind enough to faver them with your compney.

I have of late seen more of the greatness of the work of the ministery than before which has made me to say I am not sofficient for these things, this togather with som stratness in providence has almost prevaled on me to resinee the work and there is but one thing that witholds and that is a secret presevation in my mind that God has caled me thereto and he that setteth his hand to the plow and looketh back is not fit for the Kingdom whether there be something of temptation in it I cannot say I could like to talk with you a bout this affare.

Pray for me.

My respects to your wife and friends,

James Shuttleworth."

Joshua Wood fully satisfied expectations in these matters. We can imagine the pride with which his flock would recount his knowledge of Hebrew and Greek—I do not know whether he ever quoted these languages to his people, he was foolish if he didn't. It was something indeed in those days to have a real scholar for Pastor, probably not one in twenty of his colleagues was so equipped. All this veneration would be known throughout the district, the evil doer as well as the Salendine Nook member would look with awe upon a man who knew so much as it was believed did Joshua Wood. Whether Joshua Wood ever thought of trying a few sentences of Greek on the impenitent wife beater I cannot say, but I am inclined to think it would have had a miraculous effect if he had.

Joshua Wood was the Pastor of the Nook Church and a scholar as well.

In another aspect my fire shows me a very marked resemblance between the Priest and Joshua Wood.

The Priest would be called Father So and So by his people, and in a very real way he would exercise the function of a father. It was not his ideal to be satisfied with attendance at the Sacrifice of the Mass on the Sunday morning, he would make it his business to know all about his people, and through the confessional he would exercise the right to deal with all their sins and shortcomings.

The Particular Baptist Minister of Salendine Nook 1776 to 1794, would have been greatly distressed if his people had begun to refer to him as Father Wood. I would ask my readers, however, to turn back a few pages of this book and read again the record of Joshua Wood's settlement as sole Pastor of the church in 1777.

We should entirely fail to understand Joshua Wood if we did not recognise that in addition to holding

that a correct standard of living was of as much importance as a correct attitude to doctrine, he also equally maintained

that a Pastor's duty was pre-eminently to maintain this standard amongst his people.

When he became Pastor at Nook it is clear that he considered himself called upon to be, as Pastor, a champion for good living, a veritable St. George to give battle to the ugly dragon of inconsistency.

We in this day are not likely to fail to honour him greatly for his attitude in this matter, for the principle he fought for was particularly necessary in an age when correct doctrine was considered of such outstanding importance, not infrequently to the open neglect of a corresponding consistency of conduct.

Dr. Fawcett in the letter sent to the Association from his church in 1787 writes :—

"During the course of the last year we are sorry to say we have had some things amongst us of a distressing nature. It would be too tedious to enter into particulars, suffice it to say that the misconduct of some who have gone in and out amongst us and some little difference in judgment as to dealing with them, have been the principal cause. God has in some degree withdrawn the sensible manifestation of his presence from us. Our souls have at some seasons been ready to faint within us, yea we have wept when we remembered Zion the city of our solemnities, we hanged our harps on the willows. We have been under the painful necessity of excluding several from our Society."

In an obituary notice of one of the old divines of the period it is stated that one of the churches to which for awhile he ministered was dissatisfied.

"They were desirous that he should be often saying: 'How much a person might live in sin and nevertheless be a child of God.'

Whereas he was frequently showing 'How far a person might go under a profession of religion and yet be an enemy of God and a child of the devil.'"

There is a story told of a Minister in a country district being held up one dark night on a lonely road by two men who demanded his money, the interview being brought to an abrupt conclusion when the men recognised that it was their Pastor they were addressing, and the Minister that two of his deacons were threatening him.

It is a matter of very little importance whether Joshua Wood was called Father or not; his relationship to his people in this respect was very much like that of the Catholic Priest.

It would indeed have caused perturbation had a confessional been set up in a corner of Nook chapel. But in principle perhaps there was not much difference between Joshua Wood's "Private Admonitions," and the "Catholic Confessional," except that it needed a

good deal more courage on Joshua Wood's part to give those private admonitions, than it did on the part of the Catholic Priest to fill up his place in the confessional box.

Some strong words were used in the letter of invitation from Nook church to Joshua Wood inviting him to take over the sole pastorate on Henry Clayton's death. They undertook to submit to and obey him in the Lord. It is quite evident Mr. Wood had had some trouble in the church during the four years he had been assistant Pastor, and that this trouble had been caused by his determination to maintain his standard of good living. He makes his continuance of the Pastorate conditional on the church conforming to his requirements in this matter.

Mr. Clayton had grown old and infirm ; he was living twelve miles away ; such trouble under such circumstances was almost inevitable. Most emphatically Salendine Nook needed just such a man as Joshua Wood, and the great majority of the Nook people, and all the better part amongst them, evidently recognised this, and appreciated Mr. Wood's services greatly.

When Mr. Wood spoke of " private admonition in private offences " I wonder if a smile did not go round the meeting. It does not appear that Mr. Wood would tread delicately when occasion called for these " private admonitions."

There is another and even more marked similarity between the Priest and the Nook Minister. Mr. Wood was a celibate and ascetic recluse, he lived a life shut off from his fellows. If he insisted on a high standard of living from others, he was prepared for his own conduct to be judged by an even higher standard. Both Dr. Fawcett and Dr. Stock are emphatic on this. Not only was he a good man, but

his conduct was so uniformly circumspect and exemplary that he was said to have had a "good report of all men." No scandal was ever associated with Joshua Wood.

The people of his day were not accustomed to men like Joshua Wood; he would be something of a mystery to them,—this celibate, lonely, Particular Baptist recluse. He lived a life apart, and this undoubtedly contributed largely to the awe and reverence which surrounded him throughout his life.

It is quite manifest that the ideal of the relationship between some Nonconformist Ministers of to-day and their people has little in common with that adopted by Joshua Wood.

With all diffidence I cannot help wondering if the Nonconformist Minister has not gone too far in identifying himself with his laymen; whether for example, he has not made a mistake in casting off the distinctive clothing of his calling and adopting the ordinary clothing of the layman.

Dr. Stock was in many respects an ideal Pastor, he could be as cordial and genial as any one could wish, but he never forgot, and his people never forgot or wished to forget, that he was their Minister. He wore the clerical garb throughout his life, and I am convinced it would have been considered a positive sacrilege if he had ever been seen wearing anything else.

When he paid a pastoral visit he might sit and talk for an hour and charm his hearers with his conversation, he might tell the boy of the house, stories of little John Dory in the backwoods of America and his adventures with the wolves,—Dr. Stock had a whole series of stories about this John Dory, and very good ones they were,—but before he left, the Bible

would be brought out and family worship would be conducted ; his people expected this and would have been disappointed if it had been omitted.

This sort of thing is hardly the custom to-day, but I put it with all respect whether something has not been lost by the adoption of the present day standards, and whether there is not much to be admired in the whole-hearted consecration which our only celibate Minister gave to his calling as Pastor of the Nook church.

Section 5.

WILLIAM BRIGG.

His Life ... ... Chapter 25.

His Letters ... ... Chapter 26.

A Picture in the Fire ... ... Chapter 27.

CHAPTER 25.

William Brigg—His Life.

It will be seen from the letter to the Association in 1795 that on the death of Joshua Wood, September 6th, 1794, ministerial oversight was entrusted to William Brigg and he retained this office until the advent of the Rev. Robert Hyde. He was a most estimable man, and became a member at Nook by transfer from Hebden Bridge on Oct. 12th, 1777. For many years he did much good work for the church ; more than a mere passing notice is therefore due to him. He attended the Association meeting at Bacup in May, 1795, and Rippon's Register records :

> " Met again at 6 o'clock in the evening. Brother Sharp was chosen moderator and parcelled out a hymn. Brother Brigg an approved preacher in the church at Salendine Nook prayed. The letters from the churches were read and the moderator closed by prayer."

He was a schoolmaster and also a farmer in a small way, and lived in Lindley for the greater part of his church membership, although his grave-stone in the chapel-yard gives him as of Fartown. He and Thomas Stutterd were undoubtedly the leading laymen at Nook during a large part of the period covered by my MSS. He was Thomas Stutterd's most intimate friend and closest colleague ; on the various occasions when they jointly conducted the services in Nook chapel, the one would take duty in the morning and the other in the afternoon.

The account of his being " thrust out " by the church appears in his letter to Thomas Stutterd, October 30th, 1786, and is quite characteristic of the letters the good people of that day wrote to one another.

"Dear Sir,

Thro' mercy I am still preserved in the land of the living for which I ought ever to adore the God of all comforts, the rather because that by sin and transgressing his most righteous laws I have forfeited any claim to His protection which an innocent creature might otherwise with confidence look up to his creator for, were it not for the hope which the Gospel holds forth of mercy and grace even to the vilest of the vile. This causes joy to spring up in the believer's heart, even when all sensible objects seem to depress the Soul and otherwise would bring a horrible gloom upon it. Upon this view Christ is truly precious unto such as believe in Him. I have been greatly favoured since I had the pleasure of seeing you. The Lord's day after, I desired Mr. Cartlege to go to supply for Mr. Williams but he told me his health would not admit of it. I then told him you had pressed on me to go, but I said provided that I could get through, it might be received in a disagreeable point of view by some of our friends. However he said he thought that they would have little reason so to do. He spoke to Mr. Wood about it in the intermission, and the Church was desired to stop a little after the sermon, and Mr. Wood laid it before the Church and I had full liberty given by her to go, but I scarce knew where to put my head I do assure you. Consequently I went—and to-day I was at Rochdale. But the more I think of the greatness of the work, the more I feel my mind embarrassed with mountainous difficulties and that which disturbs me most is the doubts which arise in my mind, whether I am acting right in attending to a work of such vast importance. If this point was well settled I could more firmly and with more forwardness of mind attend unto the work. When I hear people class me with the Ministers of the Gospel it seems to me a title which is not well adapted to my weak abilities. I must own that God has helped me much in my outsetting, let the event be what it may. In the morning I had these words for the foundation of what I said 'Say ye to the righteous.' I observed that the words divided themselves into three parts.

The Character of the persons addressed.

The subject of address.

The reason why they should be addressed, etc., etc.

I have in some measure performed my promise and I hope you will be kind enough to return me the like favour as time and opportunity may permit. May the Disposer of all events give unto us wise and understanding hearts, that we may have just conceptions of His Word, our affections much elevated when thinking of it. That we may be instrumental in doing some good in God's name whilst on earth, and be permitted to reap the advantages of true godliness in the other and better world to come, and all through the merits of Christ which is the sinner's prayer of yours.

William Brigg."

It need hardly be said, with the notes of this sermon before us, that Mr. Brigg was not a deep

preacher. One is reminded of the Vicar mentioned in a certain novel who was busy in his study preparing his sermon for the following Sunday on the text, "And all the people said, Amen," and his exposition that his text naturally divided itself into two heads, 1st, what it was the people said; 2nd, who it was that said it.

The phrase "Thrust out by the Church" seems to have been peculiar to the Nook. I find in a letter of Thomas Stutterd's, dated 8/Aug/1786, the following :—

> "In my absence I understand our people at Nook have had some altercation respecting ———. A few wanted him thrusting out, but were warmly opposed by Mr. W., who said he would as soon have his right hand cut off, as thrust anybody out contrary to their inclinations. I am informed that the conclusion was, that they could wish him to exercise when and where he pleases, and that oftener than he does if opportunity will allow."

He is asked for the meaning of the phrase by his brother John and replies in a letter, 21/8/1786 :—

> "It is a term used by our friends at Nook by which they mean a sending a member out to preach, who in their opinion has ministerial gifts."

The following are two letters from Wm. Brigg which I include to illustrate the almost passionate zeal some of the good men of the time had in religious affairs. These letters show how much they longed for correspondence and discussion of that which lay so close to their hearts. Religious exercises never seemed too long or too frequent for them. Their ofttimes extremely long letters to each other were full of sermons they had heard or preached, or about matters affecting their own or others spiritual experiences. They would write four or more pages of foolscap size, and at the end perhaps only half a dozen lines about, what one might term, the real news of the day. Such letters it is safe to say are never written

now by anybody. They were not often written then by Pastors, who were much more likely to write short practical business-like epistles similar to those of to-day, but by pious laymen like Wm. Brigg especially those who were lay preachers. Those which follow are chosen from many in my manuscripts of a similar type.

CHAPTER 26.

William Brigg's Letters.

August 14th, 1793.

My dear Friend,
When I received your packets I felt a degree of pleasure hoping that amongst other matters I should meet with a long letter but in this my hope was broken off. If I was to give a detail of complaints respecting the loss which I think I sustain through the want of a free, open constant and mutual correspondence being carried on of a serious nature, with a trusty friend perhaps would not answer any very valuable end. Nevertheless I think I can say with some degree of regret that I do not remember a period in which I enjoyed so little conversation about experimental godliness, since I became a professor of religion as I do at the present, to say I am so often in the company of professors. Altho I am not altogether insensible that this circumstance may be an indication of general barrenness of mind, yet I cannot but think that Christian conversation is getting, of not already gotton, upon a bad plan, and that religion is too much treated as a matter at the arms length. Otherwise how could the wise man have made out his assertion when he says "As iron sharpeneth iron so man sharpeneth the countenance of his friend Ointment and perfume rejoice the heart, so doth the sweetness of a man's friend .by hearty counsel."

The counsel which does these things, does not consist in general being not made up mostly of the shell of religion, or what this or the other person says about this, or that polemitical points of doctrine, much less chiefly of politics. No. It is a counsel which proceeds from the heart well impressed with the necessity and importance of real religion in general, and an ardent desire to feel its power upon the heart individually, also to promote it in others. Sure I am that I have at times found more advantage from Christian conversation about experimental religion than ever I did from any other private discourse. After all I cannot but think that it is possible that you and I might be a mean of promoting each others spiritual welfare, to a better advantage than we are at present, provided we could

bring our minds to attempt to give each other now and then an hour in which to attempt giving each other a few lines to stir up our minds by way of remembrance, to tell each other of our spiritual difficulties, to drop each other a word of direction, reproof, and encouragement as need required. Is not this a likely way to promote true soul prosperity and Christian friendship? I will recommend these subjects to your candour and if we do not unite in our judgements respecting them, let me beg of you not to let it remain a secret wherein the difference lies, and should we happen to agree in our opinions let us remain so that he who knoweth to do good and doth it not unto that man it is sin, and whatsoever we find to do, let us do it with our might, seeing the time for working will be so soon over.

I remain,
Dear Sir,
Your sincere friend,
W. BRIGG.

Lindley.

17th January 1794.

Dear Brother,

I have borrowed a few minutes from that part of time which I usually consume in sleep. You may know that I am too much addicted to the literal as well as spiritual sleepiness the former complaint is owing I think to a benumbness which is in my brain, and the latter arises from a want of more spirituality, and the prevailing unsanctified dispositions I am the subject of. I am sometime ready to say that tho I am in the midst of the professing world and have more frequent interviews with professed Christians than others, yet I fear I never was a greater stranger to the enjoyment of those advantages which ought to result from or be enjoyed in Christian fellowship. Time has been when I thought that I knew something of what Solomen's meaning is when he says "Iron sharpeneth iron so a man sharpeneth the countenance of his friend. Ointment and Perfumery rejoice the heart so doth the sweetness of a man's friendly hearty counsel." I cannot see but I am labouring too much under a sense of the want of these advantages. Political news and an universal complaint of hard times, badness of trade seem to be the prevailing topics which engross the attention and employ the tongues of men almost in every company, and they are very barren subjects and ill suited to feed and edify a christian mind. I am ready to think that the late flourishing trade has blunted the edge of spiritual mindedness in too many Christians, and what with the mind being too far removed from the centre of happiness together with the embargo which Providence has laid upon that great Ship commerce, it has happened to the mind of many as it did once to the feet of a certain Dane of which you have read viz. no solid ground can be come at whereon to rest the too much agitated and over jaded mind. How vain is the attempt to seek happiness in those things which cannot contain or give it. How strangely is our hearts infatuated by sin. It is no great wonder to behold men busy in pursuing a shadow, who are unacquainted with the true substances but I cannot but view it as a strange piece of business in men, who have tasted in some measure something of the

advantages of the true Canaan, to see these lust in any degree after the flesh pots of Egypt, and yet it is but too common to feel our hearts cleave unto the dust. What great need has the Christian always of receiving more grace that he may feel his need of being quickened and to have his heart enlarged, to run the way of God's commandments with greater alacrity. It is a miserable state to have the heart set upon the world, and to have the conscience torn to pieces with the terrors of God's law, which will always be the case in some degree where there is only the theory of religion. May it be your and my happiness etc. etc.

I am sorry to know that you have met with a sharp trial a little before you set out upon your journey. I think notwithstanding our former testimony is by one means or other somewhat suspended, yet my regard for your welfare is not to my knowledge any abated. Therefore my advice is that you will or ought to seek unto God for direction, that He may cause all things to work together for your good and prevent you from taking any unadvised steps.

I was at Hebden Bridge the last week. J. Ashworth opened the service the first day. Mr. Sharp preached on "For our light affliction which endureth but a moment." I believe he touched the feelings of many, though some thought that some things he advanced did not grow so naturally out of his text as some ideas which were supposed to be in it, had they been mentioned.

The meeting commenced at 6, was introduced by T. Littlewood who was afterwards chosen moderator, then the letters from the churches were read and held forth a very lamentable and afflicting scene. The general part of most of them consisted of a tale of distress, and tended much to confirm the idea which I had formed of the religious world some time since.

The second day we met at nine in the morning. J. Hindle was asked to introduce the worship, and accepted thereof, which gave great offence to some. Jas. Ashworth took his hat, and went out and came no more in till he had done. Langdon preached a very full, compact and necessary sermon from those words spoken by Christ to his disciples "For I am with you always etc." He improved it as Christ being with His ministers to see their motives in entering upon their work, the manner how and the ends they have in view in their work, also to support under difficulties and to crown their labours with success. Friend John Sutcliff followed with a very able and judicious discourse from Paul's words to Timothy. "Be thou not ashamed of the testament of our Lord."

W. BRIGG.

We learn that Wm. Brigg's ministrations after Mr. Wood's death were not altogether acceptable to the church as witness the following letter:—

"Alas I find my poor weak mind much in agitation betwixt hope and fear, have found prayer of some use I think at times, I

desire to be guided in God's ways, And pray that external trials may not tempt me therefrom. Perhaps you may find so much compassion as may prompt you to take one half of my work the next Lord's Day.

I have been told our Mills Bridge folk say my preaching is too ebb or superficial and that they———. As to the former I freely own the justness of the charge, and have seen cause to own it before God with shame, and as to the latter I am willing to resign up the post, and I think it would give me pleasure to hear any of them excel. The work is honourable, the cause is good. I come far short of realising what Paul expressed when he said "I will very gladly spend and be spent for you, tho the more abundantly I love you, the less I be loved." Yet I cannot say that there has any thing transpired more than I expected, save that it appears to me that some are afraid that my poor labours must be imposed upon them whether they will or not. My prayer is that the Lord of the harvest would be graciously pleased to send us a pastor after His own heart, in Mercy, and not in wrath, that we may be fed with the wholesome words of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and prosper us in the best things. But I must conclude my scrawl by subscribing myself your

Affectionate friend in the best bonds,

W. BRIGG.

Lindley,
Nov. 23rd 1794.

But he showed an entirely christian spirit over the matter and as is seen by the following letter, was asked to write the call from the church to Robert Hyde :—

"Dear Friend,
I was to hear Mr. Hyde the last night and was well entertained with the sermon. Text 'The mercy of the Lord is on them that fear him.' Described the character of those who had it. Described the object, illustrated the Mercy etc. The current runs very high. The Church is to be convened next Lord's day night. Mrs. H(indle) was at Blackley the last night, is to return to Hull to-morrow, I was asked to write a call for Mr. H. for the Church's approbation, said I would better tell what to write, when I had heard his voice. From your friend in haste.

William Brigg."

Lindley, January 19th 1795.

William Brigg was essentially a good man and of a goodness that was not too common in those days. He was a peace loving man and a peace maker. It may be said of him and Thomas Stutterd that the former was the Home Secretary and the latter the

Foreign Secretary of the Nook church for the twenty years which are dealt with in my MSS. Thomas Stutterd was frequently and for long periods away from home; Wm. Brigg was always at home, and able to exercise an influence over the church's domestic interests which was not possible to Thomas Stutterd. He was not a great preacher but was acceptable and preached often. He was, as stated, a schoolmaster, and I give place in the appendix to one of his sermons, on "Train up a child, etc."

He died on 16th Sept., 1803, aged 55 years, and is buried in the Salendine Nook burial ground.

CHAPTER 27.

A Picture in the Fire.

"And some of the chief of the fathers gave unto the work. The Tirshatha gave to the treasure a thousand drams of gold, fifty basons, five hundred and thirty priests' garments."

"And that which the rest of the people gave was twenty thousand drams of gold, and two thousand pound of silver, and threescore and seven priests' garments."

"So the priests, and the Levites, and the porters, and the singers, and some of the people, and the Nethinims, and all Israel, dwelt in their cities;"

"The rest of the people gave,"

"And all Israel dwelt in their cities."

A few of those who have given of their best in service to Salendine Nook are mentioned in this book, a few of such have their names inscribed on memorial tablets on the walls of the chapel; all the Pastors and just a few of the laymen are thus distinguished, but assuredly there have been "the rest" who gave.

I raise a memorial in the very centre of this book to the unknown givers of the past,—to "the rest" who have not worn on their breast any Victoria Cross for conspicuous service, who have not been mentioned in dispatches, whose names do not appear in this or any other history, but who have simply earned the right to wear the war medal of active service—a place on the roll of Consistent Church Members.

Before I came into possession of my MSS. I probably knew as much—or as little—of the history of Salendine Nook as is known by the average man in the church, for I had read what had been written by Dr. Stock and Mr. J. W. Shaw, as the majority of the Nook people have also done, and nothing else.

I had no idea whatever of the part the early Mortons had in the foundation of the church, or of the services that William Brigg and others gave in her maintenance in later years. My research work in connection with this book has brought home to me some perception of the great multitude constituting this "rest" who in the 243 years of the church's life have also given, so that the "Israel" at Salendine Nook may dwell to-day in her city.

As I look into my fire I see a long procession of sincere and honest men and women who have formed the rank and file of the great army of the "also gave" and who have passed away leaving behind them no record of their services, save an entry on the church rolls.

In the giving of money, Salendine Nook has always been conspicuous for the splendid liberality of "the rest" who gave.

I remember when at Jagger Green, sometimes feeling embarrassed in this matter. There was always something on foot which involved this money giving and more than once or twice I felt myself compelled to check rather than to stimulate the generosity of the people there. It was common knowledge that the wages paid in the district were on the low side, and I was constrained to tell the people they were in my judgment giving more than they could really afford and that I felt uncomfortable in being in any way instrumental in causing them to do so.

I was once having lunch in a restaurant in Leeds when a Salvation Army lass came in to sell some Salvation literature costing some fourpence a copy. She came to me and I told her I did not want what she was selling, but if she would guarantee that I should get credit for it in the Books Above, I would take a copy. She replied, "So you are the sort

of a man who expects to get to heaven for fourpence are you ?" I admit I deserved it.

There were not many fourpenny tickets issued in the Jagger Green booking office in my time and I rejoice in that memory, for a pious mean man is as offensive a spectacle as can be found anywhere in this world in which we live.

I remember Mr. Jenkins several times expressing his admiration of the way " the rest " of the Salendine Nook people gave to the support of their church.

In the early days there were but few connected with Nook whose position would take them out of the category of " the rest." The Mortons, who were the Tirshathas of their day, were succeeded by Cartlege and Ingham. But in those days there were few indeed whose capacity for giving money would justify us in classing them, from this standpoint, as amongst " the chief of the Fathers."

It was " the rest of the people " whose gifts made it possible to carry on and to build the 1803 meeting house. All honour to the Salendine Nook "rest," who in those early years, gave of their straitened means, and all honour to " the rest " in her sister churches who formed the great majority, and gave both money and service to keep the doors of their places of worship open.

The great part played by " the rest " who gave to the conduct of the services is emphasised all through this book ; the pulpits were regularly supplied only because of this " rest " who were willing to give.

The hours of leisure in those days were very limited ; Sunday was the only day which was really the people's own. No little sacrifice was involved in making those long all-day journeys to occupy the pulpits of the little meeting houses, where often the congregations were but a handful. These journeys

were generally made on foot, sometimes on horseback. In winter and summer and in all sorts of weather, Ogden, Rochdale, Bingley, Sheffield, Gildersome, and Halifax were frequently supplied by the Nook laymen, but occasional visits to other stations are recorded and all the local churches, Nook, Pole Moor, Lockwood, Blackley and Elland would very often have been without supplies but for "the rest" who gave.

Is the part played by "the rest" who gave, and are giving to-day, confined to the giving of money and the rendering of help in the conduct of public worship? Are these the only things that men and women may give to justify their membership of a Church of Christ?

A Minister who came to my house a few Sundays ago told me of one of his people who asked him recently for advice. This man said he had been much impressed with a vision of all the sorrow and sadness there was in the world. He had seen a sort of fire picture where everything seemed to be out of harmony and it was borne in upon him to do something to mend matters, to make the world better and happier. What did the Minister advise?

The Minister knew his man whose limitations he recognised. He was at his residence and looking out of his window and noticing the house was semi-detached, he said, "Have you ever thought of beginning with your next door neighbour for I see you have a next door neighbour? Don't you think it might be quite possible for you to be a friend and a helper to him in such a way as would make his life an entirely different thing? It would be so easy for you as his next door neighbour to be a great influence for happiness in his life, and he may be needing your good offices quite as much as anyone else you could hope to serve."

The man's enthusiasm disappeared at once. It was evident such a simple thing as a mission of service to a next door neighbour did not appeal to him in the least. He probably wanted something involving the waving of a flag and the playing of a band ; nothing more was heard of his mission.

I would like to erect a statue to the man with a mission of " Good-will towards men," who recognises that glory to God in the Highest spells peace and good-will towards men, and who begins with his next door neighbour.

The early church was noted for her hospitality not only towards her own people—her next door neighbours—but to all to whom opportunity gave her the chance to minister. It was one of her distinguishing features.

There is a tendency in modern times to substitute formality for the personal touch. There are subscription lists and collections to enable the denomination to do officially what had to be done at one time by personal contact. Nobody will dispute that in many respects modern methods are better than the ancient, but there is a possibility that a man to-day may be thinking that if his name is adequately represented on these subscription lists and he has done his bit when collections are made, he has done all that could possibly be expected of him, and his neighbour next door need not be considered.

Many of " the rest " may not be in a position to give much money or to contribute anything in the conducting of public worship, but the giving of good-will to the neighbour next door is within the power of all, and a warm-hearted, sympathetic, helpful church member who really cares for his or her fellows, and shows it, may be a more influential giver than many whose subscriptions are large and whose exercises are frequent.

In no department does this appear more possible and desirable than in the church's relationship with the young. The old folk, I am sorry to have to admit, were strangely remiss in their recognition of the claims of the child, but to-day a new vision has come. The child to-day is not the church's next door neighbour ; the child has been brought into the church's own home. I urge that happiness is the birthright of the child ; the good God intended the child to be happy ; He created the child for happiness and gladness. If a church has no other attitude to the child but to secure its happiness she has not altogether failed in her mission. I believe with all my heart in a mission to ensure that the child enters into its birthright in this matter, for a child who is deprived of this birthright suffers immeasurably all through its after life ; its whole future is likely to some extent to be warped and soured.

It does not need the gifts of a Tirshatha, or the ministrations of a chief of the fathers, to give children happiness. The duty and opportunity lie with " the rest." A very little will make the very young, glad and happy. A loving attitude, a simple game of play, an inexpensive toy, are often the very utmost that is needed, and even when the young have passed the stage of little children, if " the rest " will respond to the opportunities ready at their hand, small difficulty would be found in carrying out this mission of happiness.

My readers must forgive me if I so often refer to my old days at Jagger Green. It was my life then which to-day most closely associates me with Salendine Nook. If I had to sum up the impression which remains with me of the seventeen years I spent there, it could be done in the one sentence—" We had a good time together."

I recently met one of the old scholars, now living at Boroughbridge. For twenty minutes the good lady simply poured out her reminiscences of the old days. Picnics, tea meetings, entertainments, excursions, were all evidently as vivid to her to-day as though they had happened but yesterday. I asked her if she could remember one single word that had been spoken from the desk. She could not call to her mind a word. Her memories, which I am convinced have mellowed and sweetened her whole life, were about the pleasure and happiness she had had in her old school days.

I was in a railway train some time ago coming from Huddersfield to Leeds. Two men unknown to me were talking in the carriage. One said he was getting out at Dewsbury, he was due to open a Sale of Work at a chapel in the hills near. He explained to his friend that he formerly was a Sunday scholar there, that his parents were in very humble circumstances and he had not had many pleasures as a boy, that it seemed to him that all the little he did get, came to him from his association with that Sunday School, and now he had grown up and, so I gathered, had got on in the world, he never refused any help for which they asked.

My brother the Rev. Alfred Stock, B.A., B.D., who will be remembered by many of my readers, used to say that there were two things needed to make a good Christian: Faith and Works. He was conscious that his faith was not all that might be desired, so it was up to him to put in a bit of overtime in the matter of works, to average up, and his whole life was lived consistently with this idea—a most sensible, practical attitude for any man to take, and one which can be warmly recommended to any youth who is beginning to sense difficulties in his religious convictions.

One of the poorer members at one of his churches had a son who was an errand boy in a chemist's shop. The boy was anxious to get on in the world, and my brother suggested he should try and get through the chemists' qualifying examinations. He had only been to elementary schools and did not know a word of Latin. My brother, who was an experienced coach, took this boy into his house for six months on Saturday afternoons,—when he could be best spared from the shop—gratuitously coached him for his examination and gave him his tea, so that he could get back at once to his work.

My brother used to recount with the greatest satisfaction that this boy passed the examination quite well, whereas his master's son, who was at the local Grammar School and had had every possible advantage, went in for the same examination and failed.

My brother also used to relate that this boy's father, who was grateful for the kindness shown to his son, when called upon to lead in prayer at the week-night meeting, felt it incumbent upon him to spend the greater part of his exercise in putting the good Lord wise as to what an excellent Minister they had. My brother who was not without humour, would add "I often called upon this brother to lead in prayer."

Let "the rest" make it part of their mission to ensure that all children who come within the ken of their church, shall grow up with an abiding memory of the good time and the many practical kindnesses that came to them from their church association, and they will not have lived in vain. They will not have failed to do their part in ministering to the well-being of the church to which they belong.

Such kindnesses will be remembered with an appreciation which is never given to merely good advice, for I would suggest to the many members of

this great society of "the rest" that, in these modern critical days, it is the hardest task to make people better by anything we may hope to be able to say to them. Not one in a hundred amongst us is so gifted, that without much tact and good taste, even with the best of intentions, our amateur efforts may soon become impertinence. On the other hand it is easy for any one of us to add to the happiness of others, and common sense dictates that before assuming the difficult rôle of a spiritual guide and mentor we should first try our hand at the easier task of winning our fellows' good-will by making ourselves their friends. Before assaulting the citadel let us capture the out-works. A Sunday School teacher to-day who thinks that meeting his lads on a Sunday afternoon and talking to them about Moses and Jacob for half an hour, is likely to have any lasting effect on the lives and characters of his class is making the mistake of his life.

When a boy has learned to look upon his elder as a friend and in some degree at least as a companion, he is in a fair way to be influenced by him as his teacher, but not before. Admittedly this involves a great deal more trouble than many are willing to take. To win a boy's friendship and goodwill is a big thing. Few big things are won without sacrifice.

One day during the week before last Easter two boys, who were strangers to me, came to ask if they could camp in my field during the Easter holidays and I gave my consent.

On arrival at home on Good Friday evening I found three boys in the field.

On the Easter Monday afternoon whilst they were at tea I told them I wanted them all to look into their past lives, as far back as they could remember,

and tell me of some of the kindnesses that had been shown to them by others than their own folk. They were all about 16 years of age. They appeared to be all of very poor but respectable families. They had all been in Sunday Schools (Catholic, Anglican and Wesleyan) and one had been a member of a company of the Boys' Brigade.

One of them at first drew blank entirely; he could not remember anything of the kind. The other two had soldier relatives and both spoke with kindly remembrance of their goodness. One of them said his soldier cousin had given him a new suit of clothes and half a crown when he was twelve years old, and he evidently remembered this as the red letter day of his life.

The relative of the other had taken him to football matches when he too was quite a youngster.

Other appreciative words were also spoken by the old Brigade boy. He had a brother who is a hunchback and delicate in other ways who also had been in the B.B. company. One of the Officers had been kind to this boy, for he had gone up every evening to the hospital, where for awhile the boy was an inmate, to enquire after him. Just that little attention had been remembered with very much appreciation. I asked very particularly about the Sunday Schools the boys had attended, but drew blank. Truth compels me, however regretfully, to record that not one of the teachers or officials of the three Sunday Schools had apparently made a lasting impression of any kind on any of the boys.

The soldier's half crown had sunk far deeper into the boy's consciousness than all the lessons he had ever heard from his teachers in the Sunday School.

I read this over to the boys to make sure I was correct. The one who at first drew blank said he had

suddenly remembered that, when he was about five years old, his whole family were down with measles, and on a Christmas morning the Wesleyan Minister and two ladies came to their house with a suit of sailor clothes for each of the three little boys and a basket containing amongst other things two rabbits. This boy now sixteen years of age well remembered those two rabbits that came to his house eleven years before.

The half crown and the rabbits were undoubtedly the star turns in the three boys' recollections of kindnesses shown to them during the whole of their past lives.

Life seems largely made up of experiences like this.

The churches go to endless trouble and expense to provide opportunity for religious worship, equip splendid buildings and conduct elaborate services with ornate ritual, beautiful music, and inspiring preaching, and some of those for whom this trouble and expense are incurred, go through their lives treasuring kindly recollections, not of these services, but of some odd half crown or a couple of rabbits.

Section 6.

THE REV. ROBERT HYDE'S PASTORATE.

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Do. ... ... Chapter 30.

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CHAPTER 28.

Early Days and Cloughfold Pastorate.

Robert Hyde was born at Marsden, nr. Colne in the year 1756. At 17 years of age, like his Nook predecessor, he came under serious religious impressions through association with the Methodists. The subject of the administration of Baptism to those only who were of an age to know what it meant arrested his attention, and he was publicly baptised in a river at Colne on December 16th, 1773. It is stated that a Methodist friend, as Hyde was going to the water, said to him, "Robert, I would wait at least for warmer weather," and was answered, " I do not know that I shall live to see warmer weather," and so he was baptised, the ice having to be broken for the purpose.

He became a member of the Baptist church at Colne and was invited to speak at what the Rev. John Stutterd called their private meetings, and afterwards to preach before the church. " His people were unanimously of opinion that he had gifts for the work of the ministry, and in accordance with their earnestly expressed wish he engaged for a time as an itinerant in the neighbourhood."

The Baptist church at Cloughfold being destitute, invited Mr. Hyde to supply their pulpit, an invitation which he accepted, subsequently becoming their Pastor.

He was ordained on the 3rd May, 1787.

He writes to John Stutterd, his old Pastor, as follows :—

" Dear Brother,

A conclusion is come to respecting an ordination. We have fixt upon the 3rd day of May, 4 weeks to next Thursday. To begin about nine o'clock forenoon.

Mr. Hirst, Mr. Nutall and you should be engaged and Mr. Nutall to ask questions, you to give charges, Mr. Hirst

to preach to ye people. If all is well we shall expect you at Cloughfold night before. We thought it proper to fast until service is over—Acts 13. 3. If you can assist me with respect to answers shall be obliged to you. I have many fears, help me with your prayers. I have received a letter from Mr. Keene which informs me of the success of my petition. The sum is ten pounds—I am one of the last that will receive.

We are pretty well. Children poorly in ye legs. Things much as usual. Mr. Hirst to be at Sheffield, Easter Sunday. I should be at Bacup. Hope your mother is better, hope my mother is better.

I am your affectionate brother and companion in Misfortune,

Robert Hyde.

Cloughfold. March 27th, 1787."

"Dear Brother,

Through mercy we are all in tolerable health as to the body. With respect to what I have to say of myself 'tis a mixture of comfort and grief. I experience and feel different frames with regard to my mind. I have just reason to complain and lament an amount of unsanctified affections, and for want of more love to and zeal for Christ, and his cause. I am not altogether without doubt and fear with respect to my own safety. Though some times I think that I can call Him my God and Father, I do think the more watchful and diligent I am, the more peace I enjoy.

I find the work and office I have entered into to be a great and weighty one. I have thought at times that if I had known as much of its importance when I first began I should have had more struggles in my own mind. The uprightness of my intention (so far as I know my own mind) gives me some satisfaction. I hope that at times I find some pleasure in the work. I have not the happiness to see much fruit as yet. At times I am cast down on this account. I think that it is my desire to be useful to the souls of men that God may be glorified. It is a great matter to be free in every respect from selfish ends. Oh this pride of the heart though it does not reign yet sometimes it rages and this inate corruption spoils the perfection of every duty. Thanks be to God for the un-

speakable gift of his Dear Son, and thanks be to our Lord Jesus Christ for that righteousness which He has wrought out which makes believers just, and gives them access and acceptance with a holy God. 'Tis my joy to be found in it not having on my own filthy rags for I am sure if I be saved it must be wholly of Christ, and I think I am entirely willing to be saved by Him. I would praise the Lord for what he has done for me and not be forgetful of His benefits.

I think you ordered quarter meeting to be on the second Wednesday in March. If all is well, I wish to come over to see you then. If you could think it eligible to come to Cloughfold on the Sabbath Day next after the meeting I would be at Coln in your place. I could wish you to do the same office you have done before. I mean with respect to the child. However if this cannot be at that time I shall wish it to be some time. Elizabth Clayton is dead and buried. She has left two small children. Lawrance Ormerod of near Goodshaw Chappel died very suddenly. February 13th. Funeral sermon preached from Psalms 57. 1. Oh the necessity of being ready for death. I cannot well enlarge at present. I remain affectionate. Yours in the best bonds,

ROBERT HYDE.

Cloughfold
February 24th, 1788.

Give my respects to Wm. Lonsdale and wife."

Mr. Hyde was at Cloughfold for nine years. He felt then that a change was desirable, for he was not altogether happy in the apparent want of success of his ministry there.

CHAPTER 29.

Pastorate at Nook.

In 1795 Mr. Hyde was invited to Salendine Nook for a month, and in August of that year was settled Pastor of the Church.

The following notice appeared in Rippon's register.

"Rev. Robert Hyde. On the 13th August, 1795, the Rev. Robert Hyde was settled successor to the late Rev. Joshua Wood as pastor of the church at Salendine Nook. At the same time four deacons were ordained. The Rev. John Fawcett gave the charge from John 5. 35. 'He was a burning and a shining light.' The Rev. William Hartley preached to the people from Heb. 13. 17. 'Obey them that have the rule over you,' and the Rev. Charles Bamford addressed the Deacons from 1st Tim. 3. 13. 'For they that have used the office of a deacon well, purchase to themselves a good degree, and great boldness in the faith which is in Christ Jesus.'"

I cannot do better than reprint in full the reference to Robert Hyde which appears in Dr. Stock's history of the church, it being remembered that when this was written there were many living whom Dr. Stock could consult, who had known Mr. Hyde personally.

"He was a man of humble origin, and during the earlier part of his career had to continue his trade as a weaver, in order to enable him to bring up his family, and provide for honest things in the sight of God and man. He had not had the advantage of a good education in his boyish days, but made up for this drawback by intense devotion to study in later years. His wife simply put 'HER MARK' against her name when it was entered in the Church Book. The pastorates of Messieurs Clayton, Wood, and Hyde lasted altogether 95 years : this does not include Mr. Clayton's 12 years of service as an evangelist.

"The learned Dr. Boothroyd, the Commentator, and second pastor of the Congregational church at Highfield, was a great friend of Mr. Hyde's. On one occasion the Doctor came up to Mr. Hyde's dwelling to spend the day with him in confidential talk about their common work. Mr. Hyde declared that he could not spare the time from his weaving, but Dr. Boothroyd prevailed on him at last to take a day's holiday from the loom. They spent a very happy, profitable day together. In the evening, Mr. Hyde accompanied his visitor part way home. During the walk the Doctor slipped a sovereign into Mr. Hyde's hands,

remarking that this would more than cover what he had lost by the sacrifice of a day's weaving. Mr. Hyde was mighty in the Scriptures, and Dr. Boothroyd often asked his opinion about the meaning of texts. Their friendship remained unbroken to the last, and Dr. Boothroyd often showed kindness to his poorer Baptist brother.

(NOTE.—It will be seen from a subsequent page that Dr. Boothroyd took part in the Association meetings at Nook in 1832).

"Mr. Hyde did indeed labour in the word and doctrine. He came at his sermons with some difficulty, but they were always carefully prepared. His favourite place of study was the vestry of the chapel, and very frequently he was found there on the Lord's day morning by the chapel keeper, when he came to open the place, and make all ready for the first public service. Many, many Saturday nights Mr. Hyde never went to bed. The matter of his sermons was solid, weighty, and eminently instructive, while at the same time he was much blessed in the conversion of sinners. He had an impediment in his speech which made it rather difficult for a stranger to catch all that he said, but the excellence of the thoughts made his own people forget the manner of their communication.

"The congregation steadily increased after Mr. Hyde's settlement, so much so that in eight years time it became necessary to pull down the old chapel and put up an entirely new one. This larger place was opened in 1803. It was much larger than the original structure, but much smaller than the present one. Of the opening service I can find no record in the Church Book. It was well filled from its opening day.

"As the population, trade, and wealth of the locality increased, the resources of the church at Salendine Nook increased too; and, in a few years, Mr. Hyde was able to dispense with his weaving, and devote his whole time to the work of the ministry. Some of the concluding years of his life were his most successful ones. Towards the close of his career the good old man's soul was depressed with the idea that he was doing no good, as additions to the church had been for some time so few and far between. He even talked of resigning his office. But the Deacons and church agreed that they would observe a season of special prayer, and would commence a house to house

canvass of the entire congregation, to ascertain whether some were not seeking the Lord. The result was a gracious revival by which the aged pastor's heart was made to sing for joy, 31 converts being received in 1836 and 33 in 1837.

"In the year 1838, the year of Mr. Hyde's death, the church returned the number of its members as 199. Most of those who were received into the church in 1836 and 1837 stated that they had found spiritual good under Mr. Hyde's preaching YEARS BEFORE, and had only been waiting for the helping hand and encouraging word to induce them to join the church. Would not such a house to house canvass be serviceable now? Might not the whole church combine again in such a work, as it did in 1836 and 1837?

"Mr. Hyde was highly esteemed by his ministerial brethren, and was often asked to take part in association services. He was looked up to as a wise counsellor in difficulties, and had considerable influence in the county. But he was always happiest when at home, and his best sermons were preached in the Nook pulpit. He emphatically dwelt amongst his own people, and was an ever welcome visitor at their fire sides. At the date at which I am now writing, 26th November 1874, there are exactly 20 members left among us who were added to the Church before Mr. Hyde's death, while many more have a vivid recollection of what the good old man appeared to them to be in their youthful and childish days. The impress of Mr. Hyde's devoted labours is still seen among us: the influence of his holy conversation still hovers in our midst: long may it continue to do so; for surely he is in every respect entitled to be classed among the Baptist worthies of the last two generations.

"Before Mr. Hyde's death his growing infirmities rendered it necessary to associate a helper with him in the ministry of the reconciling Word. Accordingly the Rev. James Macpherson, pastor of the church at Salthouse Lane, Hull, received and accepted an invitation to become co-pastor with Mr. Hyde. Mr. Macpherson came into our district, June 10th, 1837, and remained co-pastor until Mr. Hyde's death in the next year. The former preached the latter's funeral sermon from Psalms xci. 16, 'With long life will I satisfy him, and show him my salvation.' A very large concourse of people assembled on the occasion."

There is only one letter amongst my MSS. written by Mr. Hyde whilst he was at Salendine Nook ; it was addressed to his old Pastor, John Stutterd, at Colne. I have a considerable number of his letters written whilst he was at Cloughfold, other than those reproduced in this book.

"Dear Brother,

One of our friends is coming to Colne Fair. I take the opportunity to write you a few lines. I enjoy a modest state of health. Mary is often poorly in body, our children have been very ill of chin-cough but are a little better at present. We have many mercies notwithstanding our affliction. I wish to be thankful. Am constrained to believe that preaching is a great difficult work. I am almost continually in bondage on account of my own insufficiency for it. Sometimes I am a little encouraged by considering that the Lord works by weak instruments. I have this satisfaction, the people among whom I labour are kind and peaceable. 'Tis my prayer that it may continue. Publik services are moderately attended in general, though we are much thinner in our congregation this cold weather. I many times think of your discouragements and should be glad to hear of the prosperity of the church at Colne. Have you got to know their minds respecting your continuance among them. I was much affected to hear what I did when I was over at Colne. Has your petition succeeded at London ? I hope it has. Wm. Lonsdale's situation has line much upon my mind. I should be glad to hear that he has conquered the temptation. Please to give my respects to him and his wife.

"My kind respects to all friends.

I remain, Your affectionate friend and brother in the Lord,

ROBERT HYDE.

Salendine Nook,
Decr. 19th, 1796.

My respects to your wife."

CHAPTER 30.

Pastorate at Nook.—*(Continued).*

There is in my MSS. an affecting account of the death of Robert Hyde. I forbear to attempt to describe such scenes. It needs a better man than I am to tread such sacred ground. Suffice it to say that even the most hardened cynic surely cannot withhold a tribute to the way in which the good men of those days faced their passing. Truly they walked through the valley of the shadow of death and feared no evil; the swellings of Jordan caused them neither dismay nor misgiving. The people to whom they had ministered would have grieved greatly had it been recorded that the faith they had so confidently preached had failed them in the great testing time of their last hours. To meet their end consistently was the final seal of their ministry; to fail in that was to have failed in everything, and so, in the obituary notices of the good men of the period, we nearly always find full accounts of their last hours. Nothing would have a greater effect on the minds of the living than to know that these men could face death so confidently, nay eagerly. It was the last sermon they preached and with most of them it was the most effective sermon they did preach.

The death of Mr. Hyde completed one hundred and seven years during which the church at Salendine Nook had been ministered to by three men.

It is to be regretted that much contemporary Church history is not altogether pleasant reading and in the record of the relationship between the Pastors and their people this is not the least conspicuous. A large proportion of the early Dissenters were undoubtedly people with little ideas and outlook, and there is found in the history of the times a wearisome amount of Church trouble. We find even the great

Wm. Mitchel writing a heart-broken letter to John Moore on November 15th, 1699, and it would appear from this letter that John Moore was having difficulty with his own people also.

"Dear Brother,

After my kind love to thee and thy dear wife etc., these may let thee understand that I have received thine, to the increasing of my sorrow and trouble which I had enough of before, and what answer to return to the contents of thy letter I know not; but if I was in thy room I never would inquire of the Church the reason, etc., but if possible part with them in love, which will best become the circumstance, being in no proper relationship to them, nor full communion with them, which if thou wert there would be little good done (as I fear) with such inquiries. I should have been glad had my circumstances in Rossendale been free and clear as thine; but nobodies' state, sorrows, and trials are like mine, of which I cannot endure to think or write, it afflicts and wounds me night and day. The church at Barnoldswick desired me and the church at Kimbolton hath sent to me, but I am under such conflicting discouragement with respect unto my last office station, as that I know not what to do. I have been so wounded in my body, soul, and family as that never anything that I met with did so discourage me, enfeeble and weaken my hands in the work of the Lord; but if God grant me any competent measure of health, I am inclined to be a Gibeonite, and hew wood, and draw water for the house of my God, and let those build and rule that can do it more acceptably than I.

"Richard Ashworth is chosen officer in Rossendale and Ja. Haworth at Barnoldswick. D.C. and his family being gone beyond Sands. As for these letters thou desires (one of approbation and another commendatory for thyself and wife) I cannot help thee that I know of, the Church having concluded to dismiss me from office. Thy way will be to write to the Church, or if thou forbear I shall acquaint some of the brethren with it, and desire them to do it, if I can be heard but I often cannot, tho (as Job saith) I entreat for the children's sake of my own body.

"Things look very black and what the issue will be the Lord knows. God grant us upright hearts, humble and patient minds, subject and obedient wills, that we

may not put forth our hands to iniquity. I rest thy poor afflicted sorrowful Bro. in the Kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ.

W. MITCHEL."

We can find nothing whatever of this unhappiness at Nook during those early one hundred and seven years. The three Ministers all died in the pastorate. When two of them grew old and feeble (Robert Hyde was in his 82nd year when his death occurred) the church still loved and cherished them, and supplied younger men to be their assistants. There are in my MSS. most private letters and confidential papers; in not one of them is there one word of disparagement either by a Nook Pastor about his people or by the people about their Pastor.

The relationship between Pastors and people during those 107 years stands to the everlasting credit of the Salendine Nook Church. The Church was worthy of her Pastors. The Pastors were worthy of their Church.

Robert Hyde in his letter of 19/12/96 states that his people are kind and peaceable, and undoubtedly that testimonial would willingly and could truthfully have been given by both Henry Clayton and Joshua Wood.

Robert Hyde was subjected to a severe test, the severest test to which any Pastor could be subjected.

" Set apart for the Ministry " is a phrase appearing sometimes in Nonconformist writings.

Twelve miles of hard-going road " set apart " Henry Clayton the moorland farmer, feeding cattle in his byre, and spreading manure in his fields, from Henry Clayton the Pastor and spiritual leader of his church at Salendine Nook. His better education, his celibacy and his natural reserve " set apart " Joshua Wood in a very marked degree, but Robert Hyde the uneducated weaver, the man with the large family,

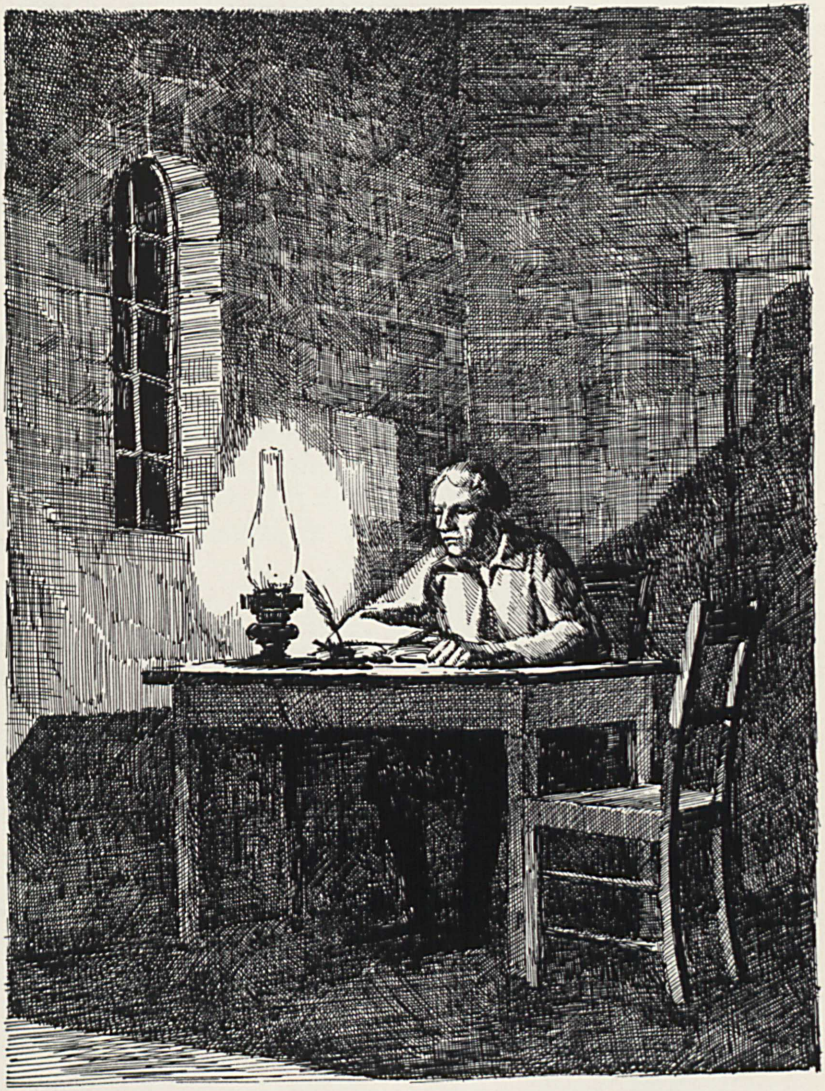
living right amongst his people, knew no such "setting apart." He was pre-eminently one of, and one with, his flock. And yet for the 43 years of his ministry Robert Hyde stood that test well, for he was loved and honoured more in his later years than at any other time of his life. Robert Hyde was a great man, of that there can be no doubt, not only good, but a gifted leader of men, with a great personality and a big heart. He was extremely modest and diffident about his own qualifications. Mr. Hirst, Pastor of Bacup, writing under date 5/3/1787 about him says :

> "I believe the people (i.e. the Cloughfold people) are unanimous in love to him, and hope therefore they will not forget to supply his wants in some comfortable degree. He is a worthy young man. I love him dearly ! but am afraid that the great sense he has of his weakness, bows him down too much."

There is a story told of a principal of a divinity college in Scotland, addressing his newly joined students at the beginning of a term thus :—

> "Noo, laddies, ye hae come doon frae yer fairm-touns tae be turned intae ministers. A body kens there are three things needit tae mak ye guid ministers.
>
> "Firstly, there is the grace o' God i' yer herts ; and, gin ye ask Him for that, He will gie it tae ye.
>
> "Secondly, there is learnin' and, gin ye are willing, we can gie ye that.
>
> "Thirdly, there is juist common sense, an' gin ye haena got that, ye maun e'en gang back tae yer 'Ploos' for neither God nor man can gie it tae ye."

Nobody had given Robert Hyde much learning, but he made up for the absence of it by a double allowance of the two other qualifications, and his memory will always remain as of one of the greatest of the men who have filled the Nook Pastorate.



THE REV. ROBERT HYDE IN HIS VESTRY IN THE 1803 CHAPEL.

CHAPTER 31.

A Picture in the Fire.

I could not close my record of Robert Hyde, without trying to find some pictures in my fire, which would bring home to my readers specially characteristic features of that good man's life and labours.

I wondered if I could see a picture of Robert Hyde at a church meeting when some new applicant for membership was to pass through that, which many will agree was one of the great ordeals of their own lives, when they had to recount their experiences before the church,—the time when, perhaps more than any other, the tact and sympathy of the presiding Minister is displayed in its most endearing manner.

I am writing this in mid-December and already the coming Christmas is in the air. I hear mention of Christmas presents, of children who are beginning to count the days to their annual visit to the Pantomime or "Panteshine," as one of them persists in calling it, of parties and dances and all kinds of festivities.

Robert had a large family. Rippon mentions in his register for 1798, "This useful minister has 8 children the oldest not 15 years of age." Before he died he had had a family of fourteen born to him.

Could I see Robert Hyde laying aside all official pastoral dignity, playing games with his large family on some Christmas day?—would his people be shocked if they had seen their Minister playing leap frog with his boys in the waste land adjoining his house?—or Robert Hyde creeping about in the early

Christmas morning with presents to put into the eight stockings and, should I find those presents tin soldiers or new Testaments? Could my fire be induced to tell me what sort of Christmas days the children of that age had? I have so longed to have something to write about other than sermons, Association meetings, and death-bed scenes. The parents of that day were human and had the same love for their off-spring that mothers and fathers to-day have for theirs. How did Robert Hyde's children spend a Christmas day?

I have pictures both of Robert Hyde at a church meeting when an applicant for membership was giving his experience, and of his children's Christmas day; they are not in my fire but in a diary of Jabez Stutterd (Thomas's son) under date, Thursday and Friday, December 25th/26th, 1800.

1800.

Decr. 25th Thursd. this day I went to Ch meeting at Nook with G. Brook when we got there Mr. Brigg was at prayer and then he spake abt 15 minutes abt brotherly love compared the church to a Body of many members agreeing to act in concert &c. when he had done Mr. Hyde thanked him for his hints and enquired if there were anyone come with an intent of relating their experience to which several people replied that I was—he desired me to come and sit near him, and then said it was necessary that those who offered themselves as candidates for Church fellowship should relate something of their experience, and tell what God had done for their souls, at what particular time and the cause of their first beginning to be religious, their different frames of mind, their faith and their thoughts abt the ordinances of the Gospel. I said that I could not tell of any particular time nor of any sermon or particular providence of God from which I could date my conversion. I had always had serious thoughts of my duty towards God, I had always been accustomed to hear the Gospel, and had opportunities of reading more than some, I thought as I increased my knowledge so the Holy Spirit had gradually carried on

the work of regeneration in my heart. That once I had endeavoured to work my own salvation, hoping my own doings might be acceptable to God thro Christ, but as I often fell into gross sins this only increased my distress. But that now I saw my own inability to do anything, my own utter unworthiness of the favor of God and rested upon Jesus Christ as my only Saviour. I found Jesus really precious with me, and could depend upon his righteousness, and what he done and suffered for me for my acceptance of God.

Mr. Hyde then said that what I had said was very proper, and that those who had religious education, often were at a loss to know when they were converted. Here Mr. Brigg said that Dr. Watts could never give any account when he begun to be religious, yet it was not doubted that he had been so.

Mr. Hyde asked me if I had anything further to say about my faith, or the ordinances. I said I thought Baptism as practised by the Baptists was scriptural as to the mode, and that it should be administered to believers —that it was a representation of the Death, burial and resurrection of Christ, and of our being dead to sin of our being washed by the grace of God, and our living to holiness. Here Mr. Hyde asked anybody to question me if they were not satisfied. Mr. Brigg said he was. Matthew Lunn said he had nothing to say, then Mr. Hyde desired those who were willing that I should be a member to signify it by holding up their right hands.

Mr. Hyde then moved that if there was anybody else come to relate their experience they should come forward, it was said, "there is a woman here." Mr. Hyde asked her if she was come with an intent of saying anything. She said "Not at present." Mr. H. asked her where she had attended. "At the Methodists." "You have some different views then?" "Yes I have." "Where do you live?" "At Cloughead in Golcar." Should be glad to hear her say something of her experience. "She did not come with that intent but only to hear their talk." Mr. H. "I am glad that you are seriously inclined but as these meetings were private she would not take it amiss to withdraw," accordingly she went away. After this it was

mentioned there would be a collection for the repairing of the Chapel at the close of the meeting. They wanted 47/s.

Sam Brook said that he had come to get his liberty or a dismission as he could not be comfortable in hearing at Nook he was at difference with Joe Nichols. Mr. H. said that he should wish a reconciliation and desired that a meeting might be appointed for that purpose. S.B. said he would attend to no more meetings and after some entreaties and debates S.B. took his hat and withdrew, after this the deacons were appointed to see several of the members who never attended, to remind them of their duty and to know some reason why they did not attend. After singing Jonas Walker concluded by prayer. It being Christmas Day and Mr. H. had preached in the forenoon there was a very full Ch Meeting suppose 50.

In the evg attended meeting at Mr. H.'s. Robert Thornton prayed. Mr. H. then read the last verse of Gen. 45 Chap. "And Isack said It is enough" &c. and explained the passages by turning to the context. Jo Shaw who had proposed the passage then spoke for a long time, shewing that Joseph was a Type of Jesus in many things and shewed how Christians rejoiced that Jesus lives, described the Character of an Israelite &c.—after singing Joe Nicholls concluded. I agreed with Mr. H. to go with him to Milnsbridge to be baptised to-morrow morning at 10. Dec. 26th Frid. This morng at 10 I went with Mr. H. to Milnsbridge to be baptised called at Sus Harrison's and then went to T. Cassons he had removed out of his house at the Bridge end but had the key—we undressed in it and went to prayer a few minutes, then went down into the water and had a deep burying. I was not at all afraid there were very few spectators—after coming out and being dressed I felt myself all in a glow so warm and comfortable—went to T.C.'s, had some bread and butter and warm ale there was Mr. H., T.C., Matthew Lunn, and Jo Shaw—we smoked about ½ hour and then I came home with Mr. H.

This afternoon heard Mr. Moorhouse at Wm. Hall's Quarmby from Exod. 9, 20 & 21. "He that feared the word of the Lord amongst the Servants of Pharoah made his servants and his cattle flee into the houses: And he that regarded not the word of the Lord left his servants and his cattle in the field."

I. There is a storm coming. Part of it probably and part of it certain.

1. He did not pretend to the knowledge of future events but from the present state of things and from the situation of the nation, it was probably that sad calamities and distresses awaited us.

2. There was a storm which certainly was coming upon us Death and Judgement. We all believed and knew that we should die yet how unconcerned are we about being ready even those who are old think they may live 5 or 10 years more. The Judgement at the last day was a most tremendous storm the earth would be burned up the Judge come in flaming fire &c.

II. They had fair warning we are warned by the word of God.

III. The different spirit which was manifested. Some feared God and some feared him not.

IIII. They were differently rewarded according to their different conduct—a very full house and exceedingly attentive."

If a sermon had to be preached on Robert Hyde's relationship with his people, could a better text be found than that one sentence in Jabez Stutterd's account of his appearance before the Church ? " He desired me to come and sit near him." That request provides the key note of Robert Hyde's ministry. It suggests all the pictures I seek as to his ideals during his long pastorate of 43 years. To be near his people, to be their friend and counsellor and their companion and father, was his aim and ambition throughout his long connection with Nook Church. The tablet on the chapel walls describes him thus : ' To his beloved people he was a faithful friend and wise counsellor.'

And what about Robert Hyde's children's Xmas day ? Robert Hyde was a poor man—with his very

big family a really poor man. It is however a great mistake to suppose that the expenditure of a large sum of money is necessary to give children a good time ; in many cottage homes they have far more solid happiness on a Christmas day than some others who live in a palace. It is not money that makes the difference.

The good Lord knows that my parents had little enough when we lived at Devonport and I was a child, but we looked forward to Christmas for it was the time of the year to us.

Very early in his family life my father conceived and adopted a certain ritual as representing his idea of a family Christmas day, and intense conservative as he was, he never changed. When we had grown up we still observed nearly all the same ritual. We knew it would have distressed him greatly if we had altered it and so it was held as sacred as " the Faith once delivered to the saints " and every little detail became as traditional as one of the points of Calvinism. On the Christmas Eve a room was set apart and everyone in turn would come in and set out his or her Christmas presents which were carefully covered over, to impart a sense of mystery. Everyone in the house was expected to give a present to everyone else.

On the Christmas morning after breakfast my father dressed up as Father Christmas and we assembled in the room with the presents. Father Xmas after a few preliminary and appropriate remarks removed the coverings and the presents were then distributed by the donors, beginning with the youngest. I do not like to imagine the distress it would have caused my father if any deviation in the exact ritual had been allowed to creep in, if, for example, one of the distributors had acted out of the proper

turn. It was a bit of high finance for us to provide say the dozen different presents out of the amount of 1/6, which was all we often had at our disposal. But it had to be done.

After the distribution of the presents it was the invariable custom for the whole family, except the mother, who was not sorry to get us all out of the way, to go for a walk. Then came dinner and it was the dinner of the year. Tradition said turkey and Christmas pudding. Where the old folk got their turkeys from in those lean years of my childhood I do not know, probably they were presents from some one in my father's congregation, but I don't really believe I have ever in my life sat down to a Christmas dinner without turkey. Turkey on Christmas Day has become one of the creeds of my life ; I should feel it sacrilege if it were disregarded. After dinner we were supposed to be able to find sufficient occupation in examining and admiring our presents. After tea a room was cleared and the evening was spent in games accompanied by what to-day would be called light refreshments. That was my father's idea of a Christmas Day for his children, and it made it the greatest event of the year for us.

When we came up to Nook in 1872 the programme was interfered with by the Sunday School meeting in the chapel in the evening of Christmas day. That meeting was looked upon by us as a great nuisance, and I am quite sure my father had something of the same opinion himself.

What about Robert Hyde's Christmas Day ?

A full preaching service in the morning, a Church Meeting in the afternoon and a Cottage Meeting in

the evening at his own house when Jo Shaw "spoke for a long time" on Joseph as a type of Christ. When people of that day mentioned that a man spoke for a long time we may be sure it was a long time. And Robert Hyde's children, the boys and girls of 15, 13, 11, 9 and 7 years of age?—they would be at the service in the morning, and probably at the one in the evening!

Mr. Joseph Whiteley Shaw gives us a picture of John Hyde, one of Robert Hyde's children, when he had become a man.

> "Mr. John Hyde, another of the first deacons was a remarkable man in another respect. He was modest and retiring to an unusual degree; plain and simple as a child; transparently good and gentle; his spirit never seemed to be ruffled, his very words kindness itself. I think it would have been impossible to arouse a revengeful spirit in him. I fondly cherish the remembrance of a conversation with him in his field on the hill while attending to his little farm, so full of goodness and gentleness, and when he preached in the chapel, as he sometimes did, I seem to see him with his thin locks and face of meekness," etc.

Poor little 7 year old John Hyde. I seem to see him and his brothers at that Cottage Meeting in the evening, wondering why they were not enjoying their Christmas day. How pleasant it would be if I could only invite John to come and spend his next Christmas with me. I would write a letter of invitation to Robert in these words.

"Dear Mr. Hyde,

I feel quite sure I am correct in supposing that you would like your children to have an abiding sense of the happiness of heaven. You would like the thought of the happiness of the

Better Land to be as an inspiration to them throughout their life. I should like to be associated with you in that most worthy desire and if you would allow your little John to spend the Christmas-tide at my place, we will all try to give him such a little taste of happiness as will make your task so much easier than it must be at present. It will save you such a lot of explanation if you can tell him that this happiness of which you speak is something like his last Christmas. I am not quite sure at present he really knows what you mean when you speak of happiness.

Yours etc.

Would it be a difficult thing for a man living in the 20th century to give to a boy living in the 18th century a four days' holiday which would seem to him a veritable heaven of happiness ? For Robert Hyde's children to get away from the shadow of the church supervision would be something. That there is a subtle impalpable difference between the children of the manse and their fellows is unquestionable. Little John Hyde would have two standards to conform to ; he would have it soon impressed upon him that his conduct was under the ever watchful eye of the good God above, and the even more critical eyes of the good folk composing the Nook church on earth.

What an untapped mine of opportunity in the way of Christmas presents John would present. There would be no need to ask him if he had this, that or the other. I have tried to imagine what possessions John would carry about with him in his pockets if indeed he had pockets—I am inclined to think that John's pocket treasures would be a pathetic sight—

and what sort of clothes he wore. Be assured they would not be bought at a shop ; probably his father's old clothes cut up at home to fit him. It was a day when clothes passed down the family from parents to children and from the elder to the younger children. We knew all about that when we were children.

Thomas Stutterd was much better off than Robert Hyde and he wrote

> "13th July 1789. In answer to your request from my old neighbour J. Horrocks, I cannot say that I can do anything for him at present. Have cut several coats for my lads—they wear out cloaths very fast, and it is too expensive for me to buy new cloth for them."

It is a pleasure to me to look into my fire and imagine what it would be to take John down to a ready-made clothes shop and fit him out completely with absolutely smart and new outfit—I remember the good Wm. Brigg had something to say about clothes in his Sermon on "Train up a Child" (see appendix). But I should be delighted to ignore all that, if only for the pleasure of going contrary to the standards set up by the good folk of that day for child life—and from there to take him to a children's toy shop. How those round wistful eyes that I had seen in my fire of John at his last Christmas Cottage Meeting, would open when he saw a 20th century Christmas toy shop, and knew he could choose almost anything he wished. And then to spend the day much as Christmas days are spent to-day when children are about, and with no Jo Shaw to speak a long time on Joseph !

It would be well to get a bit of that surplus meekness out of him; perhaps bring in a neighbour's boy, and get the gloves on them and let them go at one

another until John got one or two, which would cause him to set his teeth and have perhaps his first experience of the pleasure of getting his own back. It is really painful to picture a man with so much meekness as displayed by the good John Hyde. His early education must have been sadly deficient.

At first, John might be very shy. He would never have been away from his mother's side in his life before or have had a meal at any but his father's table. When men folk came to see his father he would be kept out of the way, and he would be glad, for the grown folk frightened him. Perhaps some man, more kindly disposed than others, might pat him on the head and express the hope that like the pious Timothy, he would learn to love the Scriptures in his youth. How Timothy has been hated by generations of boys who have had him quoted to them in such a manner! I think that with the assistance of the gracious lady who mothers all the many boys who come to our house we could soon get over John's shyness.

I should not take him to the Pantomime because I should know his father would rather I did not, but that would not trouble me; I should not rely on any such amusement for the success of my endeavour to give him a good time; what I should mostly aim at would be to translate into practical application the ideal of companionship which the 20th century has shown possible between the young and their elders.

John Hyde at 7 years old would already have begun to do something to earn his living. He would have been taught how to wind bobbins for the shuttles of his father's loom. This Christmas may be the last

that he spends as a real child. They began to work early in those days, and even the few pence they were able to bring home at the week-end were very welcome.

Good-bye, little John! I am sorry you cannot come this Christmas. You must take the will for the deed, but I shall often think of you and the good time we should have had together, if those unfortunate one hundred and thirty-two years had not prevented it!

Section 7.

THE LAYMEN OF THE PERIOD.

General ... ... Chapter 32.

The Stutterds ... ... Chapter 33.

A Picture in the Fire ... ... Chapter 34.

CHAPTER 32.

General.

It would be easy to occupy considerable space in recording the personalities of laymen whose names appear in my MSS. J. Starkey, W. Archer, J. Miller, J. S. Shaw, Jno. Brook, Wm. Brook, J. Nicholls, Jno. Lunn, M. Lunn, Rd. Thornton, T. Casson, J. Ramsden, D. Townend, T. Dawson, J. Womersley and others, all frequently exercising in prayer, some "thrust out" as lay ministers. I forbear because I am trying to bring home to my readers a general view of the period, and such a record would not greatly help us. The principal value of my papers is that they give such complete pictures of

(1) Pastors—The Rev. John Stutterd of Colne and the Nook pastors.

(2) Leading Laymen—Thomas Stutterd and Wm. Brigg.

(3) Baptist Churches—Salendine Nook and Colne.

Anything whatever affecting the Nook Pastors may reasonably be considered as of moment, but the laymen are interesting chiefly as they help us to understand the times in which they lived.

There are two matters on which I think information would be desirable.

It will be remembered that there were eleven to form the first roll of church membership. Of these the men were Henry Clayton (the pastor), Stephen Brook, three Southwarks, and Joshua Worth. The church has apparently always had those bearing the name of Brook on her roll, but whether the Brooks of my period were descendants of the Stephen Brook of Elland, chapman or pedlar, I do not know. The names of Southwark and Worth apparently soon

dropped out altogether from church records. There is a note in the church minute book "Wm. Southwark Junr. departed this life January 24th, 1768, and was buried in our meeting house."

The other matter is—who were deacons in the early days? Mr. Joseph Whiteley Shaw regrets that he cannot find the names of any deacons who filled the office prior to 1832. That there were deacons before then is undoubted. The church book states that John Hanson was deacon for several years before 1811. In the account of the ordination of Robert Hyde in 1795 it is stated that four new deacons were appointed but the names are not given. I am sorry I cannot help the church in this. I doubt if even the word appears more than once or twice in my MSS. The omission is strange.

One layman, Jas. Gledhill, who was admitted to membership at Nook and transferred to Elland was a frequent correspondent of Thomas Stutterd. He was a schoolmaster and appears to have been a boisterous self-assertive man with ideas of his own. He got into trouble with Thomas Stutterd for his unorthodoxy, with Jabez Stutterd in connection with Elland affairs, and was confined for awhile in York Castle, evidently for seditious and ill-advised talk.

The real leaders amongst the laymen of the church during Joshua Wood's and the early part of Robert Hyde's pastorates, were Thomas Stutterd and Wm. Brigg, and up to the time of their taking charge of their own respective churches at Blackley and Lockwood, James Cartlege and Benj. Ingham. The two last named are referred to in later pages. Wm. Brigg has already been the subject of a special section.

CHAPTER 33.

The Stutterds.

Jabez Stutterd, the father of Thomas, came to England from Perth, finally settling at Briercliffe or Haggate before 1748. He died in 1767 aged 61. It would appear he joined the Scottish Baptist Church at Haggate.

The only reference to him is a note in one of Thomas Stutterd's letters, 17/10/1791 :

> " I bought Crosby's History of the Baptists for brother Jabez and History of England for myself and sons. I have often wished to have Rapin's History but never had such an opportunity. My father used to commend it very much, as the most impartial history of England, and my father was a man of better parts, and more learning than his son Thomas a good deal."

Jabez had three sons and one daughter.

His sons :	John	born March 1749	died	1818.
	Thomas	1752	,,	1815.
	Jabez	1762	,,	?

John Stutterd was baptised and joined the Haggate Baptist Church in 1767, and commenced preaching in the same year. He became the first Pastor of the Colne Baptist Church, formed in 1769, remained such for forty years and died in 1818. He is referred to frequently in the pages of this book.

Jabez Stutterd was of a somewhat roving disposition.

When first mentioned he is living in Colne, then in the employ of Whitacre, Huddersfield. He then removes for awhile to Waller Clough, Golcar. He is then in employment in Driffield and has ministerial oversight of Driffield Baptist Church. Finally he removes back to Colne. First he is a Methodist, then joins the Baptists at Elland, transfers to Blackley, then a Methodist again at Colne.

An interesting point about Jabez Stutterd is to trace how, after he has joined the Methodists for the second time, his old Baptist training frequently shows itself. The doctrine of "sinless perfection" emphasised by the early Wesleyans was always offensive to Jabez, and the love feasts tried his patience. He records in one of his diaries, June 30/1814 :

> "I consider that many spoke in the love feast yesterday that did not understand what they said or whereof they affirmed.
>
> "One denied that the work of sanctification was a gradual work, it was wholly instantaneous, he knew it by experience.
>
> "Another was justified the week before last, and last week he was sanctified."

Thomas Stutterd apparently joined the church at Haggate when about 18 or 19 years of age.

In 1779 he was resident at Allison Dyke, Longwood. He had been a schoolmaster in his earlier years. His occupation when he first came to Longwood is not disclosed, but he did not seem happy in it, for he seriously thought of taking up school teaching again. (See subsequent pages).

On June 10th 1781, he was admitted to membership at Nook by transfer from Haggate. In 1783 he joined the firm of Whitacre, woollen manufacturers, as bookkeeper at 21/- a week. In 1785 he probably began travelling for that firm. In 1797 he commenced business as wool and woollen cloth merchant, with a partner or partners under the style of T. Stutterd and Company.

We can trace three distinct periods in Thomas Stutterd's life and relationship with the Nook church. The first of these between the date of his joining the church i.e. 1781, and the date of his starting in business for himself in 1797 it is proposed to deal with now.

The bulk of his papers refer to the years from 1784 to 1803, but we find a stray letter from Wm. Moorhouse, Minister of Highfield, as early as 1779.

"Sir:

Last Lord's Day morning I received a nameless letter, the contents of which were far from being disagreeable. From general circumstances has been enabled to guess the author. Therefore take the liberty to address you in a more immediate way than directed. You are entirely right in the judgment you formed of my notion of faith and tho' unpopular yet I think it will bear the trial. Have not the least objection to a more familiar acquaintance with you either by letter or in conversation.

I am, Sir,

Your obliged servant, etc.,

Hudds. Aug. 21/1779." W. Moorhouse.

During the period from 1785—when T. Stutterd first commenced travelling—we find an interesting note of instructions from his employers on 7/1/1785,

"Ask the right sort of people to drink with you or they will be offended. Their liquor is generally punch. Contrive if you can not to be there in the evening. I do not think it would be quite agreeable to you. If you happen to meet with any travellers in company, if you drink together it is usual to pay an equal share of the reckoning unless you have more friends in company than they have, then you pay a proportionate part, but make it a rule to pay more than your share rather than less."

to 1797 Thomas Stutterd's most useful work for the church was accomplished. He became a member of the "Cabinet" and practically the "Foreign Secretary" for Salendine Nook.

His journeys for his firm took him frequently into the Midlands. He became a very acceptable preacher, and the pulpits of some of the best Baptist meeting houses in the bigger towns were open to him whenever he was willing to exercise.

In addition there were a number of the smaller places, Bugbrooke, Witney, Coate, etc., whose people

looked upon his occasional visits to them as red letter days. Of all the chapels in which he exercised, Bugbrooke was the one he visited most frequently and for the people there he had a sincere affection. He wrote of those " agreeable people at Bugbrooke " and always appreciably of his exercises there.

Most country churches like Salendine Nook were isolated units, with little touch with the outside world. Thomas Stutterd caused Salendine Nook to be known to the outer world and he brought the outer world into touch with Salendine Nook.

He preached without notes, as shown from the following extracts from his diary :

" March 25 1787.

Evening T.S. at Almondbury, ventured for the first time Romans 8-13 ' For if ye live after the flesh, ye shall die ' etc. About 100 hearers. I went under discouragement being but little prepared. When I opened my Bible, another subject rather offered, however I resisted it. I soon found my fears in part removed. The Lord was my helper. I found great liberty. I do not know that I have had a more happy opportunity and the congregation was much affected. Many shed tears abundantly. May these impressions be of a lasting nature. It is three weeks now since I preached before. Wife being ill etc., has kept me at home and I have had many discouraging thoughts concerning preaching lately, but this opportunity has in some degree revived my resolution to persevere."

" April 8th, 1787.

Evening T.S. at Almondbury, ventured for the first time without notes, found myself rather puzzled to recollect the particulars and some proofs were omitted. However if I preach any more I intend to lay them aside if possible."

During the periods he was at home he was the foremost in organising week-night meetings, the intermission meeting on the Sundays between the morning and afternoon services was due to his initiative. He very often supplied the pulpits of the neighbouring meeting houses as well as that of his own church.

Extract from Thomas Stutterd's 1786 diary :

"Aug. 20th. I was an unexpected visitant at Nook. Mr. Cartlege complained of being poorly and wished me to take his place. With some reluctancy I agreed to one end of the day. He fixed upon the morning and accordingly I with throbbing breast and trembling limbs, mounted the pulpit for the first time and spoke about 55 min. from Hab. 1-13. 'Thou art of purer eyes than to behold evil, and canst not look on iniquity.'

(1) Why God cannot look upon sin with approbation.
(2) Some instances wherein it will appear that God can't look upon sin but with disapproval.

"I was unhappy in my mind and much straitened, yet the people seemed satisfied and commended and encouraged me. I suppose 'I did not leave the track' using the language of my hearers.

"Mr. Cartlege preached in the afternoon from Rom. 8. 2. At night at school Hab. 1-13. I felt more composure and liberty—a more happy opportunity.

"A Methodist preaching yesterday in the course of his harangue delivered the following profound thesis : that the world was eternal from the beginning and that it would continue eternal to the end.

"Aug. 27th. Having promised Mr. Cartlege to attempt something one end of the day I again ascended the pulpit and read for a text Micah 7-18—Mr. Cartlege wished me to go up again in ye afternoon and I complied. 2 Saml. 14-14. 'For we must needs die'—I was much affected at observing many of the congregation in tears.'"

The fervent zeal and the undoubted sincerity of his piety could not fail to have a great influence on all with whom he came in contact, and it is safe to say that of the worthy laymen who served the Salendine Nook church, Thomas Stutterd between the years 1785 and 1797, like Abou Ben Adhem, "led all the rest."

Thomas Stutterd had an exceedingly active and restless mind ; he was continually buying books. He writes to his brother :

"June 28th, 1789. I bid 10/6 for a share in Brighouse Library. This library about 3 years stand. I am told there is a valuable collection of books, not much divinity.

I was asked 15/- but suppose I shall be taken. There are two book clubs in Brighouse besides. The Calvinists and Arminian for divinity."

His library must have been much larger than the average Pastor's library, and it is certain he read his books. He seemed to be always seeking to express himself, and we find him writing the longest of letters very largely about religious matters. Besides those in the body of the book I give three in the appendix. His brother John at Colne for whom he had a very sincere affection was his most frequent correspondent, probably because he was the one whose outlook was most like his own.

The most interesting of all Thomas Stutterd's many letters is undoubtedly the one he sent to his wife on 2nd April, 1793, describing William Carey's last Sunday at Leicester prior to his setting forth on his great missionary enterprise. This letter is reproduced in "*William Carey*" by S. Pearce Carey, M.A.

"2nd April 1793.

"I now sit down to write you a letter just to inform you that I am pretty well. The day I left you was rough, windy and wet. At Penistone I found my breeches very wet, and I have had very cold weather from Woodhouse to this place, yet I may say with gratitude that my health has been preserved.

"On Sabbath morning I reached Leicester. Went to Baptist meeting. Mr. Carey spoke from Matt. xxviii.—Christ's Commission to His disciples. Noticed the subjects to be baptised, not those incapable of being made disciples as Infants, nor hypocrites, but believers. The action commanded, to Baptise not sprinkle or pour but to dip, immerse or plunge. This is the command of heaven and must be obeyed rather than the laws of men.

"When Mr. Carey had finished his discourse one of the Brethren gave out a hymn, A Baptist hymn. During the singing the candidates for Baptism and Mr. C. got ready and ye Baptistry was opened. Mr. C. stood near the water and delivered a short address to the cong. and a short prayer. Then he baptised eight persons in

the chapel. Betwixt each person's baptism a verse was sung. Seven were bapt three weeks ago.

"Afternoon. The meeting filled very quickly, was very full before service began with sad countenances and weeping eyes.

"Mr. Carey delivered his farewell to a sorrowful congregation indeed. I never witnessed such a sorrowful scene before. I could not help being much affected. People parting with an affectionate minister made so remarkably useful among them, that the church is more than double it was two years ago. The ways of Providence are indeed mysterious. Mr. Carey left Leicester the same evening perhaps for ever. He leaves a peaceable and prosperous people, whose hearts are bound to him, a comfortable salary, a pregnant wife, wants but two months of her time, and two children. One boy goes with him, a voyage of 15,000 miles, to attempt the conversion of Heathens. How greatly must his heart be set upon his work. I asked him if he felt his mind comfortable in his proceedings. He answered 'Yes I do.' He squeezed my hand to his breast and said 'Yes I do. My family and friends are dear to me, I feel much on a/c of leaving them. But I am clear that I am called to go, I am perfectly satisfied that it is ye will of heaven I must go. Therefore am happy in obeying that call.'

"I have met with a small misfortune this journey. Last Saturday morning I had one shirt, two neck cloths stole, whilst in the care of the chambermaid. She was liable to make up the whole loss, but I could not go to the full value as it would have been so hard for her."

One point which makes the study of Thomas Stutterd so interesting and instructive is that his theology was so entirely orthodox judged by the standard of his time. It might have been supposed that a man of his intellectual calibre would have been somewhat more liberal in his views, that he would have looked a little bit further ahead than his brethren, but it was not so. He stands out as a very real type of the good men of his day, not only in his piety but in his theology.

It would be a great mistake, however, to suppose that Thomas Stutterd was entirely representative of

his time ; in some respects he seems to have been one hundred years in advance of his day. If we had only Thomas Stutterd's writings before us, we should be apt to form a completely erroneous idea of the period in which he lived. He wrote a beautiful legible hand, and the language he used was singularly good forcible English. He was methodical and orderly in the arrangement of his matter, even in a letter to his wife. In all these things he stands out as most exceptional amongst the writers of the papers I have ; in fact much of his correspondence is such as to cause us to wonder if he is writing in the eighteenth or twentieth century. There is no difficulty in recognising you are back in the eighteenth century when perusing most of the other MSS., whether written by pastors or laymen.

A few of the leaders such as Jno. Sutcliff of Olney and Dr. Fawcett of Hebden Bridge of course excepted, the Pastors of the period make a poor showing generally in their correspondence as shown in my MSS. Some of them wrote and spelt badly. Their communications were often clumsy, sprawling affairs which would get a boy of fourteen to-day into trouble with his schoolmaster, and there was little order or method in their composition.

All honour is due to these eighteenth century Baptist Pastors despite, or perhaps because, of all that truth compels us to say about them. They did their best and were fully conscious of their deficiencies. They carried on the work of foundation building at a time when without their labours there would have been no such building. They worked for the love of their calling, for they got little indeed in money payment ; and almost without exception they carried with them an impression of sincerity and honesty.

We may look upon Thomas Stutterd's second period as between the years 1797 and 1809, during

which time he was in business on his own account.

In May 1797 his sons had grown into men. They had been doing a little business as wool merchants, and Thomas decided to leave the firm of Whitacre and in partnership with Whitacre's waggoner, he became the head of Thomas Stutterd & Company, wool and woollen merchants, and took his sons Jabez and John into association with him.

There is undoubtedly a subtle change soon manifest in Thomas Stutterd. We still find him preaching (he occupied the Nook pulpit several times in 1801/2), attending Association meetings, and writing a few letters to his brother John, but there is a difference. The letters he writes now are not those he once wrote ; they are business-like communications much like those of to-day.

As stated, I have included three of his letters in the appendix, and if my readers will compare the one written in 1787 with the one written in 1802 they will recognise the difference to which I am alluding.

I wish with all my heart I could close my account of Thomas Stutterd at this point, that I could leave him as one of the best known and most respected and honoured Baptist laymen in the North and Midlands, and that at the end I could picture his going to his rest like so many of the good men of his day, surrounded by affectionate and sympathetic friends and colleagues.

Such may not be. There is a third period to record. From the correspondence I have, we learn that Thomas Stutterd & Company soon commenced to do a shipping trade with America, that their agent there was a rogue and Jabez had to go to America to see after things. The times were extraordinarily bad ; banks as well as business firms were failing in appalling numbers all over the country. From information I have obtained from the Bankruptcy House

in Carey Street, London, I find that the firm, then Thomas Stutterd, Jabez Stutterd (his son) and Thomas Littlewood, failed in 1805 and again in 1809.

There is a long rambling letter dated 25th April, 1810, written and signed by Thomas Stutterd to the Nook Church (but evidently not sent) from which we gather he was "out of connection." It is a letter from a heart-broken man. He writes :

> "Although I have been the occasion of injury to some to my great and continual sorrow yet it was always contrary to my wish and inclination. I do not recollect that I ever attempted to deceive any man either in buying, selling, or obtaining money. The amount of my total losses by bad debts and disasters at sea is as much if not more than the sum I owed when I failed the heaviest in the last year."

We learn from this letter that Nook Church had made some reference to him in their letter to the Association at Rochdale, which pained him greatly.

It would appear that the firm finally wound up after the failure in 1809. Thomas Stutterd returned to his old firm of Whitacre, and became again their traveller and Jabez became traveller for a firm of woollen manufacturers in Huddersfield (named Armitage) and doubtless because it was central for his journeys took up his residence at Banbury.

Thomas Stutterd during the last few years of his life was a subject for profound pity. He had seen the wreck of all his hopes for the establishment of a business which should be the support of his old age and a career for his sons. He had had to return to the humiliating position of a servant, and a servant to his old master from whom he had parted on not the happiest terms. He had had to take up again those long journeys which had always been irksome to him. He was harassed by the continual return of the infirmities to which he had been subject all his life. He was ashamed to meet the people who had

trusted him and lent him money which he could never hope to repay, and, perhaps more than all, he was "out of connection." The old prominent position he had attained as a leader in his denomination was no longer his; the pulpits which had once been so widely open were now barred to him. He could attend the services as a hearer but not as a preacher.

There are only a few letters from Thomas Stutterd at this period. One, however, dated June 3rd, 1813, is given in the appendix. There is something extremely pathetic in this letter. It is a return to the first period. It is the sort of letter that Thomas Stutterd was writing in 1790, except that he has now nothing to record of his own ministrations. We cannot but wonder what was in his mind when he wrote this. Did he have a sudden longing for the days of long ago, those early and happy days of his fervent zeal?

The last letter amongst my MSS. written by Thomas Stutterd is from Cheltenham dated July 1st, 1815.

"Dear Wife,

I received John's letter and was very glad to hear from you. I hope you are quite recovered from your late illness. I have now the pleasure to inform you that I am considerably better than when I wrote last. All bilious patients have the calomel pill given here and I had no precaution given me nor notice what it was. I went out as usual and found myself so tender that I could not bear the wind to blow upon me scarcely. I sat a few minutes in a room where there was a draught at a friend's house which affected me so that as soon as I got home I was seized with shuddering and went to bed. This threw me back and made me low. However my Dr. tells me now I am much better than when I came. Dr. Searger is reported the most skilful apothecary in town.

"I am greatly obliged to you for offering to come to Oxford. This is nearer you than Oxford by 9 or 10 miles and I should like you to receive the benefit of these waters which are very notable for liver complaints. If

you think you can bear the journey I should be very glad of your company. But as I am now comfortably placed in a private lodging house where I have an excellent bed and a room to sit in. The only lodger—no children—and the woman very attentive in getting me whatever I choose (she buys and charges my victuals) therefore there is no absolute necessity for your coming.

"It is unfortunate to be confined here among a company of perfect strangers spending money and rendering no service, yet as I am told by all those who speak to me that I am better and with perseverance may get much better still and hearing of many who do get cured of my disorder here, I feel disposed at present to try a little longer. I have not asked my Dr. whether he would recommend me to go to Bath. I have a good guess what his answer would be. I muster up all the resolution I can to make myself content. If I am interested in Psalm 146-5 'Happy is he that hath the God of Jacob for his help, whose hope is in the Lord his God: which made heaven and earth.'

"I ought to be thankful wherever I am.

I remain,

Thine, Thomas Stutterd.

"Do beg my respects to Geo. Broughton and to all my children. I had a letter from Mr. Whitacre yesterday.

Mrs. Stutterd,
Woodhouse,
Huddersfield, Yorks."

It would appear from this letter that he had not only returned to the firm of Whitacre but had removed from his house "The Heights," Lindley, to the old house he occupied at Woodhouse.

We have a note from Jabez Stutterd, his son.

"Crown, Oxford,
13th August, 1815.

Dear Wife,

My father thinks himself rather better to-day but is very weak, not able to sit up in bed except he is lifted up and then thought it long, while a clean sheet was put on but he is collected in his mind and converses without much difficulty. He has not much fever but he has a continued thirst for which he takes a good deal of penny-royal tea and has eaten an orange. He cannot eat much only 3 small bits of bread pudding to dinner and some

beef tea. Dr. Walter says there is no immediate danger of his dying but has strong doubts of his ever getting better.

I found my Mother and brother John here, came this morning by coach, and I have wrote to-night for Joseph to London.

John thinks of returning to-morrow as he has not quite finished removing and has also his journey orders to see after. I am,

Your affectionate Husband,
Jabez Stutterd."

Thomas died some few days after this letter was written, and was buried in the Baptist chapel burial ground at Oxford.

It must be admitted that the records of the Nook Church in her early years were very imperfectly kept. All those who were admitted to membership were doubtless recorded ; as they were required to sign their names, or what was more common to make their marks, as having accepted the church covenant, but in many cases even the dates of their admission are wanting. Further, there are in very many cases no notice of their death or other reason for ceasing their membership.

I have looked with anxiety as to what the Church book has to say about Thomas Stutterd. It duly records his transfer from Haggate to Nook in 1781 but nothing else. So far as the book is concerned he is still a member of the Nook Church.

Had any record been made of his separation I would have earnestly pressed upon the church to have granted his restoration even after all the years that have passed since his death.

As the book stands, however, this is not necessary, and I am very glad for the picture of Thomas Stutterd in his later years has weighed heavily upon my mind and has caused me much unhappiness ; it is a joyous relief to me to be able still to regard Thomas Stutterd as being once of the Nook Church Militant now of the Nook Church Triumphant.

CHAPTER 34.

A Picture in the Fire.

A missionary stationed in a certain district in India was clever with his pen and was accustomed to send home accounts of his mission work, accompanying them with pleasing little pictures of his surroundings which were duly reproduced in the current missionary periodicals. In all these pictures the palm tree had a conspicuous place. A friend who knew India well and had lived in the particular district for several years, wrote and asked the missionary why he persisted in picturing these palm trees when he knew perfectly well that there was not a palm tree within hundreds of miles of his station. His answer was brief but sufficient, "The British public demand palm trees."

I have a number of histories of local Baptist Churches and almost without exception they have amusing accounts of the eccentricities of manner and speech of some of their old folk. It would seem that there is a demand for such accounts by members of the British public, at least those in the North country, who are readers of Baptist histories.

I am sorry that I am unable to meet such a demand. The laymen of my period were far too serious to be amusing in such a way. All that belongs to a later age, I do not think there would have been the slightest chance of a man being "thrust out," if he could not have been relied upon to present his message in a reasonably intelligent way, and with a certain amount of good taste.

I am no spiritualist, but I have had many talks with the good folk of the past. When I have a long quiet evening before me and have all their letters and papers around me, I set a chair on the other side of my fire and conjure up Thomas Stutterd, or some other old friend, and we talk.

Thomas came in this way the other evening.

I told him how greatly we were obliged to him for all the trouble he had taken to write and preserve his papers, that they had brought home to me, and I hoped would do to others, the life of his time most vividly, but that it was so very difficult for one who lives in 1932 to speak of those who lived in 1792 with a full understanding, that it was so easy to misjudge and misunderstand through looking at things from a wrong perspective.

The people of 1932 claimed to be living in "an enlightened age," but I remembered that people in his day also made the same claim and it is quite certain that the people who will be writing in 2032 will say some very severe things about the people of 1932 and their antiquated ideas, that it is very likely that the criticism of the people of a hundred years hence about their forebears will be far more severe than those of to-day are about theirs, for I confessed quite frankly that in some respects at least, we laymen of to-day are a decadent set as compared with the laymen of his time; that we can neither preach, pray, nor read the Scriptures, as our fathers could. I recognised with respect that he could stand up in any Nonconformist pulpit in the land and preach an entirely acceptable sermon lasting for an hour, but that I failed to think of any one of us who would be equal to such a task.

I told him that we laymen of to-day seemed to have lost the liberty which the old people had when they exercised in the matter of prayer, that some of us conveyed the impression that we were trying to whisper into the ears of the Almighty some profound secret which we were particularly anxious that no one else should hear.

I recognised it was not so with the old folk and that we need not go back so far as his time.

When—?—who was of a much later date, was called upon to exercise and had carefully spread his red handkerchief on the floor to protect his trousers' knees—?—always prayed kneeling—and had warmed up to his task, not only the good Lord above but every one of—?—fellows below, within a radius of a hundred yards, would know that—?—had approached the "Throne of Grace."

And I admitted that even in such an apparently simple thing as the reading of the Scriptures we had lost the art. We were so apologetic and diffident that my reading of a chapter, say, of Isaiah, would leave behind it something of the impression of a rendering of the Hallelujah Chorus on a tin whistle.

I mentioned that in my younger days I visited frequently an old man named Davidson who lived in a one-roomed cottage at Old Lindley. He had been a local preacher but had become feeble and was unable to get about.

We always had a little service at which he alone exercised, I knew it pleased him and it was a treat to me to hear him. He had a rich unctuous voice and his memory was stored with those old quotations and phrases which were the stand-by of the people of his age. I always wanted him to read out of Isaiah, for I never heard it read elsewhere as he read it. He was not frightened to read it dramatically as we laymen of to-day are. His prayer simply as a work of art was a delight. We never used to sing but he would repeat some of the old hymns he knew by heart. I remember two lines of one :

Vast magazines of plagues and storms
Lie treasured for thy foes.

I have tried to find the full hymn but have never succeeded.

Davidson, I suggested was a type of the local preacher of sixty years ago and we laymen of to-day,

in some respects at least, are poor substitutes.

I admitted we could not even tell a story as our fathers could, and as for the Nook smoking vestry—Ichabod ! Ichabod !

I told Thomas Stutterd that when the 1843 chapel was built, a vestry on the ground floor was set apart and specially assigned for smokers. There was, however, no rule that only smokers should use it, and it became the place where the men folk mostly gathered to pass the time of waiting before and after services.

It was supposed to be sacred to men, although in the very early years I have seen some old ladies there, smoking their long churchwarden pipes. The chapel services were held in the morning and afternoon right up to Mr. Jenkins' time, so there were always considerable periods when the smoking vestry became an informal Court of Appeal. The midday prayer meeting or intermission service, was held in the larger vestry and would take up say three quarters of an hour, but not every one left the smoking vestry to attend, so that for two hours every Sunday this Court of Appeal was in full session, and affairs were discussed with an amount of native wit and shrewdness which made it a pleasant place in which to spend an hour.

But now we laymen who go there sit like figures at Madame Tussaud's. As one who had known the Nook smoking vestry in the days of its glory I told him it was positively distressing to find so great a decadence, and having spoken as I thought handsomely and humbly I went on.—But those Sunday services of yours seem to have been singularly dull and gloomy affairs ; to-day we have a bright, cheerful service in a comfortable, well warmed chapel, with a fine organ, a good choir, solo singing and anthems, and a sermon which is a subject of complaint if it

lasts for more than half an hour. We have a trained and educated ministry and a whole service as attractive as modern thought can make it.

To the man of to-day your services with the hour's sermon and dreary unaccompanied singing would be almost unthinkable. We cannot help feeling that such services must have been a great burden to your laymen. The Sunday must have been a very wearisome time for you all.

I heard Thomas speak.

He said he was much affected to know his papers had been of such interest to his church, that it never had entered his thoughts that they would have been read and treasured one hundred and fifty years after they had been written, but that I was making a great mistake about the services in the old times and the effect on those who attended them. He said that instead of being a source of weariness they were the greatest delight of his life.

He told me—what of course I already knew—of his long travels away on business, of the pleasure it was after one of these journeys to be back again amongst his family and friends. He told me how when he had come home, had greeted his wife and children, and gone round the garden and admired his wife's bed of tulips, he would go into the little room he called his study and with all his books and papers around him would first on his knees thank God for his safe return, and for all the anticipated happiness of the weeks before him.

He would then on a piece of paper draw up a programme for the seven or eight weeks he had in prospect before his next journey, and with what almost passionate eagerness he would plan out those precious seven or eight Sundays at home, from what he would preach when fulfilling his ministerial engagements, how he would insist on spending two out of every

three Sundays in his place in his own church.

He spoke of the gladness that filled his breast as he started off for Nook the first Sunday morning after his return, the greetings he would give, the welcome he would get from old friends and fellow workers, and the delight it was to find himself in the old corner seat in the old—we would say uncomfortable—pew. Unhappy ? Wearied ? Indeed !

He went on, "Do you say that I am only speaking for myself and that others might have quite different feelings? One of our members by the name of William Holy lives at Rawmarsh, between Rotherham and Sheffield, some twenty-five miles away ; he rides over on a small black galloway every Sunday throughout the summer months and occasionally at other times to attend our meetings, does that sound like unhappiness? with your organ, choir, anthems and other fal de lals ! can you tell me of one who rides twenty-five miles to attend your chapel ? If the services were so dull and wearisome should I be found so regularly in the meeting houses on the Sundays when away from home ?

" You are as you say quite out of perspective. You are judging the past from the present, whereas the environment and circumstances of the two are quite different. Your age is an age of restlessness, an age when speed reigns supreme, with your aeroplanes at 110 miles per hour, your railway trains at 60 miles an hour, your motor cars at any speed you care for when no policeman is in sight ; how can you put yourself in the position of a man living in 1792 ? We were all slow-moving and slow-thinking as compared with you ; most of our people had never been more than twenty miles away from their homes in their lives ; you can get into your motor car and go by road to London in five hours ; to visit London in my time was an event to be remembered all

a man's life. My brother John had to go into the Midlands to get money for his new chapel. It was a matter of discussion for years, and it was only with the greatest difficulty that I could at last persuade him to undertake the task. I was used to travelling but it was always a burden to me and I was always fully alive to the inevitable dangers of my journeys.

"Do you think that we would envy you the environment of your 20th century or the speed of your travelling, with all its restless dissatisfaction with that which is placid and stationary?

"Do you suppose they would be happy if my people were suddenly to find themselves living in your day? I am quite sure of this, if I had to preach in Nook chapel in 1932 the text I should take would be found in the 46th Psalm and the 10th verse, 'Be still, and know that I am God,' for it seems to me that the man who ignores the first part of my text is in danger of forgetting the rest.

"There is another difference. We not only learnt the lesson of being still and happy, we knew something of what the Apostle meant when he said 'For I have learned, in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content.' With all your progress have you not learned that 'A man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth?'

"Are you not looking back upon us with a kindly pity, which is entirely misplaced? It may be well to have a fine chapel but that alone does not spell happiness; when Michael Morton came home that October in 1689 with his certificate for the meetings in his barn was he not happy then in his new found liberty and safety? and when in 1713 the little community went into their first definitely set apart meeting house—you would call it chapel—would it not be a great day to them? would they not feel that they had gone up a step in the religious world? But did

they look back on their barn days as times of unhappiness ?

" When they first began to worship in the 1739 chapel would there not be many who would cherish very hallowed memories of what had passed in the little chamber which had been their previous gathering room ?

" And once more when we again enlarged our borders and entered into our 1803 chapel we were glad, but we did not despise all that had gone before, nor think we had been a subject for pity.

" When I came home from one of my journeys in May, 1791, I found our meeting house had been all done up, every window that was cracked had been replaced, every corner of the building had been scoured, and the whole of the inside and outside had been redecorated, and our people were simply full of pride in their place of worship.

" It may seem a small thing to you people of the 20th century but the coming of the Association to Nook in 1791 was an event that was spoken about for many months. It was the first time that Nook had been so honoured. Deart Heart alive ! what an excitement it caused ! My wife told me she believed every woman in the congregation aimed to have something new to wear, and that meant a lot more to us than it would do to you.

" You talk about the year 2032. You tell me your chapel to-day will hold say 1,000 but don't you hope in 2032 you will want a chapel to hold 3,000 or more ? and if your successors build such a chapel and erect some handsome Gothic-Cathedral-like premises such as are affected by some of your Baptist churches, and these successors of yours pity you for having to worship in your old four-walled, barn-like building—as they may term it—and talk of your unhappiness, would you not be surprised and annoyed ?

"And there is one more thing I want to say—I think in my day the members of a church were in a much more affectionate bond of sympathy than they are with you. Our church meant so much more to us than yours can to you. You have so many more channels through which your activities may pass than we had, every branch of public life is open to you if you care to avail yourself of your opportunities, we had nothing but our homes, our work and our church, we were looked upon by the big folk of our day as misguided eccentricities; we were, after all, but barely tolerated, and could never feel sure the age of aggressive persecution would not commence again. We were all companions in our alienage. You laugh at us for that old hymn of ours 'We are a garden walled around,' but have you ever thought how true in one sense it was, and that the wall was built from the outside? As dissenters, the world had largely put us 'out of connection.'

"When we went to the meeting house we were amongst friends and the only friends most of us ever knew, friends with whom we had common interests. You speak of the hour's sermon but do you apprehend that if ours had been a Quakers' meeting and if the Spirit had not moved anybody to speak, if we had sat in silence together for the whole hour, the blessed sense of the companionship of kindred souls would have made it worth while? Whatever you may think and say about the general circumstances and affairs of our life please leave our meetings alone, for we were as happy and as little wearied in them as ever you can be in yours."

And then he stopped and I thought for quite a long time before I spoke again.

"Thomas, before I say anything else I want to take exception to that sentence of yours. 'You laugh

at us for that old hymn—'We are a garden walled around.'

"We don't 'laugh at you' for that hymn. We don't 'laugh at you' for anything, God forbid that we should. We, living to-day, respect you and the others of our forefathers too much to 'laugh at you.' Please understand that quite clearly.

"We may smile at some of the things you and your folk said and did, and differ greatly from your views. But that is quite a different thing, for I remember in one of your letters you mentioned that some of the sayings of a preacher to whom you were once listening gave occasion for smiles on the part of yourself and others in the congregation. I did not take that to involve any sense of disrespect on your part toward the preacher. A laugh at our forebears, which carries with it even the suspicion of a sneer, will not be found in the pages of the book I am writing.

"I can in some way appreciate what you say from my own experience. In my younger days I was a Sunday School teacher, and later a Superintendent in the School the Nook people established in the hamlet of Old Lindley to which you removed in 1797.

"I was a teacher there for ten years, and then became Superintendent and remained as such for seven years. We had school from 10 to 12 in the morning and from 1-30 till 3-15 in the afternoon and in the evening we had an adult preaching service—at least all through the winter—at which practically all the children attended. That meant five and a quarter hours' services. We had very good congregations, and could get the room quite full whenever we liked to arrange some special singing, or find almost any excuse for inviting the older people in the village to come. I have spoken to some of my old colleagues and we all agree that we never got wearied of the

length of the services. I am surprised when I look back and recognise it was so. I think we too were such good friends that we were sorry to part from each other and I know that as I walked over on the Sunday morning I was happy and contented enough in prospect of those five and a quarter hours' services.

"There is one other thing I want you to talk about,—those cottage meetings you refer to in your papers. I suppose you had given up troubling about getting the places certified and registered, and that by your time the provisions of the Toleration Act had been largely ignored in your district and you were not molested.

"The old cottage prayer meeting is almost, if not entirely, a thing of the past. You will understand that we have now commodious buildings, with large and small rooms, suitable for any meetings, and although we have week night services they are held in these buildings.

"I remember very many years ago going to one or more of these cottage meetings. I have forgotten where. I only remember two things, the stone flagged floor of the room, and the grandfather's clock in the corner. I remember the ticking of that clock as though it were only yesterday, I have heard it all my life. During the occasional perfect stillness that occurred, the clock seemed to tick more insistently than ever that solemn relentless message of the passing of time. I think sometimes the old grandfather's clock had something to do with the formation of the character of the old folk of your time, never hurrying, never dallying, never louder, never softer, never rushing, never stopping. Many of your people would never be out of the sound of the sermon preached by their clock all their lives. The grandfather's clock has largely become an antique and a curiosity, and people to-day put on their mantelshelf some florid,

garish sort of a contraption which is in keeping with the age, but I have remembered the ideal of patient, steady endurance that clock preached to me at that cottage meeting ever since."

Thomas Stutterd—

"When I first began actively working in the church at Nook there were no regular week-day meetings. Mr. Clayton's living at Wainsgate had prevented his holding any, and Mr. Wood—good man—was not equal to initiating aggressive work of that kind. He was delicate and could not stand much night work. Whenever he came to my house to an evening meeting we kept him overnight.

"I hardly know where to begin when I talk of the week-day meetings. We met together in the early morning and in the evenings frequently. For some time I was a member of a debating society where other than religious subjects were discussed. I met for awhile with a few others at J. Gledhill's at Birkby to talk over purely religious subjects at 5 o'clock in the morning. I organised week-night services at my own house at Allison Dyke and then took alternative weeks with my dear friend and fellow worker Wm. Brigg. I had a meeting at 8 o'clock on Sunday mornings at my house. I took the service at the school on Sunday afternoons at 5 o'clock.

"I found, however, I was much hampered by the long periods that my business took me away from home, and I had to cease my leadership of such gatherings. Wm. Brigg and others—my brother Jabez amongst them—still carried on, and when I was at home I gladly helped them with my presence, but it was a great trouble to me that my opportunities for usefulness at Nook were so much interfered with by my long absences. It could not be helped.

"I am grieved the cottage meetings have been discontinued. They had an influence and a use which

no formal meeting could supply. People would come to a cottage service when they would not go to one at a meeting house. They need not dress up ; the women could put a shawl over their heads and go just as they were, and the men could wash their hands and faces and come in their working clothes. We encouraged them to do so.

" They were such homely affairs too. There would be a little friendly talk before the meeting began and after as well. We could get people to speak at a cottage meeting who would not open their mouths elsewhere, and we had some who would exercise in prayer but would not speak. Don't you think that what you say about the people of your day having lost their ' liberty ' may be explained by your having made religious exercise too much the work of the Pastor ? We could trace the beginning of many of our members' connection with the church through their attendance at our cottage meetings."

Then again I took up the conversation.

"A few minutes ago, when comparing the people of the 18th century with those of the 20th century you said ' You have so many more channels through which your activities may pass than we had, every branch of public life is open to you if you care to avail yourself of your opportunities, we had nothing but our homes, our work and our church.'

" Now, although in one sense this is true, I do not think your deductions are correct. A very great number of the people at Nook to-day have nothing that really matters to them but their home, their work, and that which is in connection with their church. Because they are not barred, as dissenters, from municipal or other public work makes really very little difference to them. Only one of the Nook folk is a member of the Huddersfield Town Council. Is not the real difference between our time and yours largely

due to the fact that the present age has a conception so different from yours of the scope and mission of the Christian Church ?

" Do you call to mind that passage in the Psalms ' I will sing a new song unto Thee, O God : upon a psaltery and an instrument of ten strings will I sing praises unto Thee? '

" I remember you used to be frequently begging from your brother John the heads of his sermons. May I give you some heads for a sermon on this text?

The church portrayed,

1st. As music. As singing a song.
2nd. This music rendered on an instrument of ten strings.
3rd. These ten strings all tuned to one dominant note.
4th. This dominant note—' The furtherance of the Kingdom of God upon earth.'

" I suggest that the church to-day is singing this new song on an instrument of ten strings whereas in your ideal the church was an instrument of one string only. I know you were poor and that your opportunities were very much less than ours but I suggest that people to-day have a far clearer perception of the ideal of the Church of Christ as a mother concerned with all that makes for the health, happiness, and welfare of her children, than your people appear to have had. And if Christians of to-day have so much more of interest in their lives than had those of your day, it is not that they have so many more things to occupy them outside their church but that they find so many more things within it than in your time were ever dreamt of.

" I can never find any mention that you had even a tea meeting, and surely, limited as your opportunities admittedly were, you could have put in an odd tea meeting, or a children's treat with a bun and a mug

of beer, or some kind of a gathering other than a purely religious service.

"One factor more than any other which has brought about the singing of this new song is undoubtedly the continually increasing part the young have, and have had for very many years, in Church life. I can hardly see a glimmering of an idea that the Church should study and adapt her methods to meet the needs and aspirations of childhood in your day. You had Sunday Schools of a sort, but they seem to have been largely attended by adults, and even they were not the responsibility of the Church. To-day the Nook has three separate Sunday Schools with a total number of scholars on the roll of nearly five hundred. If you came to the chapel on the last Sunday in June you would indeed see a sight which would astonish you, and the church has a great wealth of organisation to interest and influence the young.

"Not only in Church matters but in all the other aspects of life a mighty change has taken place in the relationship between the young and the old.

"A schoolmaster in the olden times said that he was the real ruler of the State, for he ruled the children, the children ruled their mothers, the mothers ruled their husbands, and the husbands ruled the State. The rule of the child to-day is much more direct than that.

"When I read the literature of your day I recognise two parallel roads with an impassable gulf —and with no bridge—between these two roads ; the one road trodden by the adult, the other by the child. For a very long time, but particularly during the last fifty years, although the gulf remains at least to some extent, all kinds of bridges have been constructed so that the young and their elders pass often across these bridges and mingle freely together. But I must forbear because.....

"Thomas, I want you to do something for me. Your old church is strong and flourishing. It still holds as closely as ever your people did to the really essential doctrines of the Christian Faith. If you came to their public worship to-day, you might miss many things and see much that was new to you, but it is almost certain that you would not find fault with a single word that was uttered.

"The present chapel stands on the same site as yours. The pew in which I sit when I attend the services there, may be just in the very spot where your old straight-backed pew was placed. The children's children of those who were your fellow worshippers still partake of the bread and wine which you as deacon distributed when the Church sat down together. And to these people, when this book is finished, you will be no stranger, but a friend and fellow worker.

"Give me a message that I can put in this book of mine. Give the Church and people, not forgetting the children, at Salendine Nook in 1932, your benediction. If you will do this for me I will do something for you. I will send a copy of this book and your cordial good wishes to your old and dear friends at Bugbrooke, those 'agreeable people' for whom I know from your letters you always had such a warm regard."

I have a picture of Thomas Stutterd. It is very faded but I can trace his features quite clearly in a good light. He was a fine figure of a man, with refined and clear cut features quite different from the massively built type that so many of the pictures of the divines of that age portray: with the help of this I can see Thomas Stutterd whenever I seek so to do.

I have said that the people of his day were easily moved by any sudden call upon their emotions, and, when in this vision of mine I saw Thomas Stutterd

rise quickly and eagerly from my old arm chair, I saw he too was very very greatly affected. Moreover, I saw Thomas Stutterd for the first time as he was when he exercised in the office of a Minister.

My room is singularly still to-night ; the fire has burned down to a few red embers ; there is not a breath of wind outside ; I am alone in the house ; I have just received a gracious letter from a friend from whom for awhile I have been estranged. I am verily " in the Spirit " for receiving the benediction Thomas Stutterd invoked on the Salendine Nook Church of 1932, which I pass on to all who love that church and find in it their home and inspiration.

Thomas Stutterd's Benediction on the Church of to-day.

Eternal God! Who art ever present, not only in the heavens that stretch above us, but also in this tumultuous world that environs us, Whose purposes are not alone concerned with the measureless infinities of space but delight to provide for the smallest and weakest of Thy creatures.

Thy commands go forth from east to west. At Thy bidding the morning breaks and the evening falls. The day shows forth the power of Thy might, and at night the stars shine out as watch fires of the hosts that own Thee Lord.

We come into Thy presence with our hearts running over with thankfulness and our lips abounding in thanksgiving. Thou hast been merciful to us and Thy goodness has ever been with us.

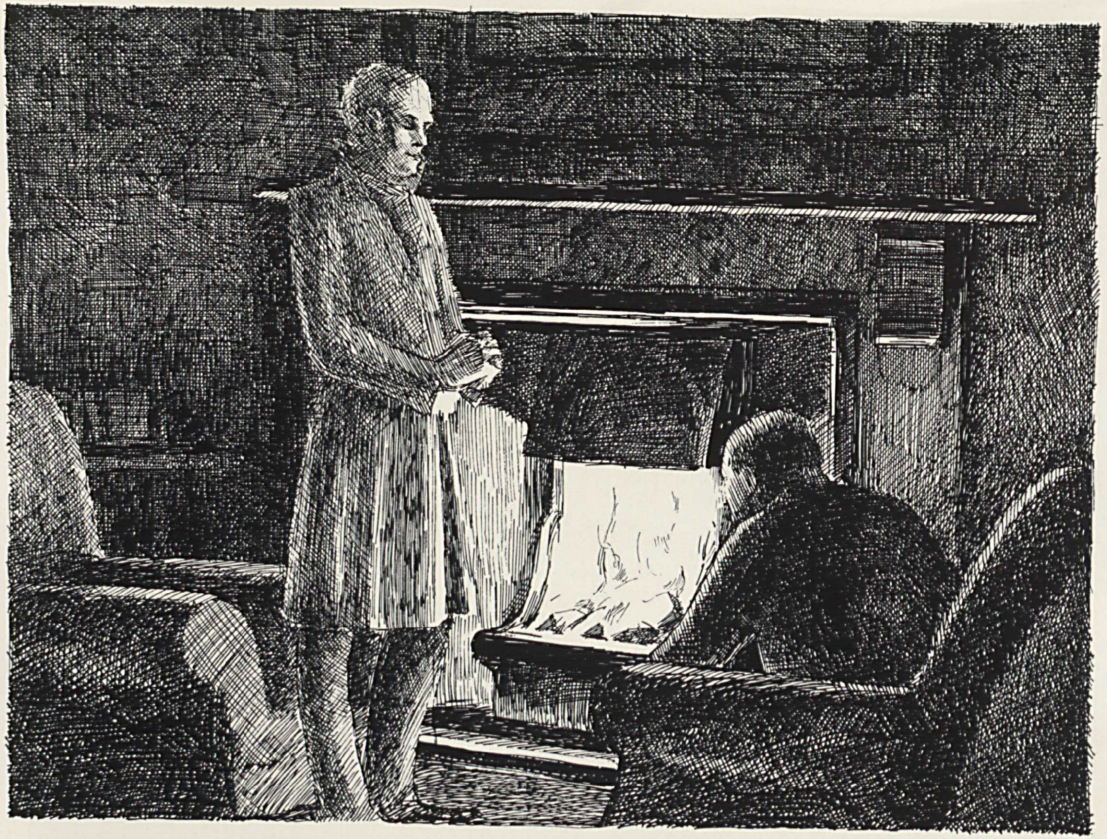
We thank Thee that for so many years Thou hast had a people who have called upon Thee and have ever found Thee a prayer hearing and a prayer answering God. Continue to be ever merciful to them. The Lord bless them and keep them. The Lord make His face to shine upon them and be gracious unto them. The Lord lift up the light of His countenance upon them and give them peace.

We commend to Thy gracious keeping the little ones amongst them. We call to mind days long ago when children were gathered in the arms and had showered upon them the caresses of Thy Son Christ Jesus. We pray Thee to interpret to Thy people to-day the full meaning of those caresses. Teach Thy Church the lessons of the Master's most pregnant words as touching the place the little child has in Thy Kingdom and grant that the child may always have that place in their hearts and that part in their Church which shall most accord with Thy most gracious mind and will.

Be ever at the side of the officers of the Church. Grant that those who are her elders may make their calling and election sure and evident to all men by the consistency of their lives and the Christ-likeness of their relationship with all with whom they come in contact.

Deal gently and lovingly with the old, those whose thoughts dwell so much in the long ago, and in the days that are past. Give to them the double blessing of forgetfulness and memory. May they forget the winters of their lives, the east wind, the frost and the darkness, and remember only the hours of summer, the flowers, and the music of birds. May they forget the tears, the sob, the heartbreak, and remember only the joy and song of life. And when to them comes the message which calls them hence, let their passing be but as a half uttered sigh, begun the sigh but completed the song, begun amidst the shadows of this life but finished in the glory of that life beyond, where no shadows fall.

Bless them and keep them all and for ever, O Lord our God, and to Thee be glory and praise for evermore.



THOMAS STUTTERD'S BENEDICTION.

Section 8.

CONFESSIONS OF FAITH.

General ... ... Chapter 35.

Verbal Inspiration of Scripture ... ... Chapter 36.

Calvinism ... ... Chapter 37.

Total Depravity of Man ... ... Chapter 38.

Observance of the Sunday ... ... Chapter 39.

A Picture in the Fire ... ... Chapter 40.

CHAPTER 35.

General.

As the main purpose of this book is to bring to those now living a fuller understanding of the church at Salendine Nook during the early years of her life, some reference to the religious outlook of that period is essential.

In Part 1 of the "*Baptist Handbook*" of to-day is found the following :—

> "(III) Declaration of Principle.
> The basis of this Union (i.e. the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland) is
> 1. That the Lord Jesus Christ, our God and Saviour, is the sole and absolute authority in all matters pertaining to faith and practice, as revealed in the Holy Scriptures, and that each Church has liberty to interpret and administer His laws.
>
> 2. That Christian Baptism is the immersion in water into the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, of those who have professed repentance towards God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ who 'died for our sins according to the Scriptures; was buried, and rose again the third day.'
>
> 3. That it is the duty of every disciple to bear personal witness to the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and to take part in the evangelisation of the world."

One may wonder what the good Baptists of one hundred and fifty years ago would have to say about a confession of faith so simple and catholic as this.

There is one point in which modern ideas are very different from those of the past. No man to-day with any degree of intelligence would attempt to write on Theology, or any other subject, in the apparently light-hearted, confident way of our forefathers. I have recently bought a little religious book in which the author says he spent twenty years in gathering

together his matter, and another ten years in writing his book.

I spent a few hours in Dr. Underwood's study at Rawdon a while ago. I noticed he had written a book on "*Conversion*" just one chapter in the christian life, and whilst I could trace a relationship to his subject throughout all his large collection of books, quite a considerable portion of his shelves was devoted to works bearing directly on this one particular matter.

To-day, a man who writes any kind of a treatise will often quote pages of authorities; in Dr. Whitney's "*Studies in English Puritanism*" the author gives a list which fills eight pages.

Our forefathers do not appear to have been hampered by considerations of this kind. It would seem they felt quite competent to sit down and from a study of the Apostle Paul's epistles to evolve a whole system of theology, or from the perusal of an admittedly imperfectly kept church minute book to write a complete history of a church.

One of the consequences of this apparent want of diffidence appears in the many "Confessions of Faith," treating on almost every possible relationship between God and man, which are found in Baptist history. We have confessions of faith drawn up by national conferences of the churches, such as that of 1689. The district Associations in their doctrinal assertions as the basis of their association followed. The individual church in her Doctrinal Trust Deed, which has so often been the cause of trouble in later years, laid down also her own standard of faith and order.

In the account of the formation of Salendine Nook Church in 1743 it is declared that, without exception, the church accepted the 1689 Confession of Faith, and I have thought it well—as being of historic interest—to include in the appendix, the record of the conference at which this confession with its 32

theses was adopted. I have not thought it necessary to give the forty pages in which these theses are elaborated.

It would be a mistake to suppose that such creeds were not known and studied in the early days. The book from which the report of the 1689 conference has been extracted was on Thomas Stutterd's bookshelves. If Thomas Stutterd had been asked to draw up entirely new articles of faith he would doubtless have cheerfully undertaken the task, and would probably have been just as elaborate as the compilers of the 32 theses of 1689.

Four doctrines, which in the early days dominated the outlook of the people at Salendine Nook, are specially mentioned because of the great changes which have taken place with respect to these doctrines in modern times. They are :—

(1) Verbal Inspiration of Scripture.
(2) Calvinism.
(3) Total Depravity of Man.
(4) Observance of the Sunday.

CHAPTER 36.

Verbal Inspiration of Scripture.

Dr. Stock in his "*Handbook of Revealed Theology*" which in most points exactly represents the orthodoxy of 1790, limits his view of verbal inspiration to the original manuscripts.

> "We say in the original records, that is, in the manuscripts which the prophets and apostles themselves wrote, or revised after they had been written by their amanuenses."

Dr. Stock also says

> "And as to the various readings which have been permitted to creep into the inspired canon through the care-

lessness or ignorance of transcribers ; these do not affect our argument at all, which has respect to Scripture as God originally gave it. Still it must be borne in mind that these variations are not important, and that God has permitted them, no doubt, for wise reasons; among others, to quicken the industry and earnestness of the church in investigating the words of 'Scripture undefiled' ; and to excite in us a desire to watch with Godly jealousy over the purity of the sacred records."

Even in Dr. Stock's day there were some who would toss their heads when the Doctor began to explain what a more correct rendering of a text would be from a study of it in its original language. They wanted the Bible left alone.

The people at Nook cared nothing about original manuscripts. They believed that in the Authorised Version they had the oracles of God ; that God had kept the book pure throughout the ages, and they refused to listen to any authority other than that found within the pages of Holy Writ. They would probably argue that it was absurd to suppose that God had verbally inspired those who had written the first manuscripts, and had then ceased to care what mistakes might arise from an uninspired transmission.

Very seldom indeed do we find any suggestion of an attempt to question the text of the Authorised Version in those early days. Certainly comparatively few of the Ministers or laymen were sufficiently educated to discuss the translation, even if they were willing to do so. All the modern critical study of every sentence in the Scriptures was unknown and unwanted, at least as far as Salendine Nook was concerned ; it has been stated that Joshua Wood was conversant with Hebrew and Greek but his sermons show no evidence of this.

Thomas Stutterd frequently spoke of the Scriptures as " The Oracles of God," and that was the standard,

almost without exception, of all those who came within the Salendine Nook orbit. Anyone who weakened on that was anathema and an infidel. I have referred to J. Gledhill in the list of laymen of the time; he gets into trouble, as will be seen by the following extract from a long rambling letter of his of December 23rd, 1797, to Thomas Stutterd.

> " I go now and then to hear preachers both among what is called orthodox and heretodox Christians, well, what then my good friend, the truth in the Scriptures tells me to search all and try all but hold to that which is good, that whatever things are lovely, praiseworthy etc. I am to think on these things—good instruction—Truth inspired advice, calculated to do good to all mankind. You must agree then with me sir, that I am to try, search and approve of things that are true, good and praiseworthy by that wisdom, Spirit of God or reason which the great first cause, the parent of Nature, the Master of the World, God Jehovah has given me and, Oh thou great Jehovah may I never look upon this as a partial gift from Thy bounteous, nay all bounteous hand. The orthodox preachers tell me this reason is depraved that it is carnal sensual and devilish, etc., etc., and what is called the heretodox very little differ from them. These things pain me—while I hear the different sects of Christians each most strenuously vindicating their own sentiments as infallible and if not damning at least condemning all who differ from them. Surely my good friend there is such a thing as truth in the world and who is more likely to be the nearest truth, He whose sentiments flowing from a mind fraught with humanity and benevolence are grounded upon reason and rationality or he who boasts of implicit faith or belief in almost innumerable things he cannot in the least comprehend only because they are found in the Bible? By the light of the Spirit of God I know, I see, and believe that he is goodness and purity—So does He also delight in the happiness of man.
>
> " If he says thou shall do no murder (and so he speaks in man) it is impossible, nay I was going to say, blasphemous to say or believe that He commands the Jews to go murder, and destroy nations who dwelt secure and were less idolatrous than themselves.

> "If He delighteth not in the pain of His creatures it could not be His order to sacrifice animals much less could He command a tender parent to offer up his only son, etc., etc."

And he adds a footnote

> "Hoping my good friend you will forbear calling me Infidel. It is a foul name and poor Gledhill does not deserve thus treating. If you believe the whole of the Scripture as Divine Truth I also believe the whole of Divine Truth contained in the Scriptures using the Divine Light the good Apostle exhorts me to use, when I think of those good things, etc."

One of my own early recollections is that I had been speaking from a passage in the Book of Job at one of the Sunday Schools, and I ventured to suggest that we could only look upon the Book as a sublime poem, and that it could not be contended that Job's experiences were actual history. The moment I finished and had come down from the platform one of the old folk met me with this, "Now mister, we are having none of that here. You said that Job was only a poem and it says in the Book 'there was a man in the land of Uz,' and if the Book says there was a Man of Uz why then there was, and nothing more is to be said about it." I saw looming in the future an appearance before the church and possible ex-communication, but escaped by pointing out that the next sentence said that Job was a perfect man and how did that fit in with his doctrine that there never had been, or would be, a perfect man save one.

Some of my older readers will remember that the account of Saul's visit to the witch of Endor was a subject of discussion round the stove of our meeting place in the old days. The explanation, that the story of Samuel's appearance was due to a piece of successful deceit on the part of the witch, would have been readily accepted, but for the unfortunate sentence "And Samuel said." If the Book said that Samuel

spoke, he did speak, and they would have nothing to do with any other explanation.

That was the attitude Salendine Nook took in the period I am describing and for a good many years later, and Joshua Wood, scholar or not, showed no sign of any different standard.

The people of the day had their little libraries, the more intelligent laymen as well as the Ministers. There are constant references in my papers to catalogues of books. It is not altogether difficult to imagine what would be found, for example, on Joshua Wood's shelves ; undoubtedly a great number of Association Letters, Rippon's Registers, Jonathan Edward's publications, Gill's Commentaries, and a number of other devotional and religious works, but all books which accepted the Bible on the orthodox basis. The 1689 Confession of Faith made it quite clear that the Bible could only rightly be explained by the Bible, anything outside had no weight, and probably most of our old folk at Nook never at any time read anything which did not accept the Bible on the orthodox basis.

It can readily be understood what a bombshell J. Gledhill's letter would be.

It is not a little difficult to understand how a man of undoubted and exceptional intelligence, like Thomas Stutterd, could hold to his creed without apparently experiencing any trouble about the matter. Our forefathers seldom seemed to appreciate any difficulty in their attitude to the Scriptures, with the result that there was a certain materialism in their conceptions which is most interesting, if puzzling, in its childish simplicity.

Thomas Stutterd in his letter to his wife on April 9th, 1813, when he was 61 years old, writes :

"The parish (Fleetmarston) consists of one village containing two farm houses and four or five lone houses. If I should die in that neighbourhood I should have no objection to have my poor old, weary body laid there to sleep till the resurrection. There would be nobody to heave a sigh over my grave ; nor should I be much incommoded by hurry and bustle on the resurrection morn."

Nathan Smith in his letter on the question, On what day were the angels created, writes that :

"though the angels be pure spirits they must have a habitation somewhere."

The people of 1790 would have much to say about the following passages in Dr. Wheeler Robinson's book on the "*Religious Ideas of the Old Testament*," passages to which surely very few thinking men of to-day would take exception.

"There remains a final question of great practical importance, which to-day perplexes the minds of many who are concerned with the teaching of Biblical religion. Suppose the general contention of Old Testament criticism to be admitted viz., that the Old Testament is a progressive and not an absolute revelation of the fundamental Christian truths, containing much that is not history, much imperfect morality judged by a Christian Standard, many Statements about God which have dramatic rather than dogmatic value—how far can we continue to make use of it in public worship and private devotion, and especially in the teaching of religion to the young or the uneducated ?

"In rejecting such direct appeal to the letter of Scripture as would imply that this, and not the life behind it, were the primary revelation, have we not deprived it of its authoritative place and power ?

"In answer to such questions, it is not enough to say that we must take the Bible as we find it, and that if the facts to which criticism appeals are indeed facts, we must make the best of the conclusions. Such an answer might imply that we have lost something by the newer interpretation of the Old Testament, whereas the argument of this book has been that we have gained immeasurably as far as the vital and permanent elements of the Old Testament are concerned."

The old folk it is evident found a considerable amount of pleasure in setting each other problems to solve as to the correct interpretation of passages in the Scriptures, much as some quite serious people to-day take in working out crossword puzzles. Two men would come to an agreement to write to each other, each letter containing both an answer and an enquiry.

Thomas Stutterd had as his partner at one time Thomas Blanchard.

John Stutterd and Nathan Smith the Minister of Barnoldswick, were also correspondents.

The kind of questions they asked one another is shown by the few following extracts.
Thomas Stutterd's notes.

"Answered a query from Thos. Blanchard—If right to expound Isai 42. 11. 'Let the inhabitants of the rock sing' by applying to Christians. Answered in the negative. According to ye connection it intends.
Let them rejoice who live in rocks."
Asked Thomas Blanchard to expound Prov. 10, 10. 'He that winketh with the eye causeth sorrow.'

John Stutterd asks.

"Does the real Christian believe any truth which the Devils do not believe?" Are there any truths which a Believer knows, that Devils do not know? A writer of the name of Ewing maintains that there is no difference between the manner of believing in a Christian and that of Devils, and that wicked men believe in the same manner as a real believer. That the only difference lies in the nature of what they believe. His idea of faith seems the same as Mr. Lane's opposed and disputed by Fuller."

The most interesting of these questions is the one propounded to Nathan Smith by John Stutterd because we have the full exposition by Nathan Smith in the two letters which follow. The question put forth was, "On what day were the angels created?"

" Dear Brother,

" I remember you asked me awhile ago whether the Angels were included in the six days work of the creation, or they were created before the foundation of the world.

" This is a question to which I dare not give a positive answer ; yet it might seem disrespectful and contrary to our proposals, were I to make no reply. Tho' the scriptures be sparing on this subject, I think they give us some reason to believe, that the Angels were a part of the six days work of creation ; for Moses says '*Thus were the heavens and the earth finished and all the host of them.*' If we admit that the heavens here intend the third and the aerial heavens including the sun, moon and stars, then the host which is distinguished from them, seems to intend the Angels, which Luke ye evangelist styles, the heavenly host. However, it is certain they are a part of creation ; but if they were created long before the heavens and the earth which were made in six days, with all their host then, it could not properly be said, that the first day's work was the beginning of the creation, which is contrary to the account of Moses. Admitting that they were created before time then something of a past Eternity must be ascribed to them which (in my view) is peculiar to God only. The morning Stars, and the Sons of G, that sung and shouted for joy when they saw creative power and skill displayed in the works of creation, seem to bid fair for being the Angels which were the production of the first day. They cannot intend the Sons of men, because there were none then (man being the finished piece of the Creation). The words cannot be understood metaphorically (I think) with any degree of propriety for the Stars are never styled Sons of God (that I know of), tho' ministers be called stars. Indeed it appears evident that some of the Angels transgressed and fell very soon after the creation, because one of them was concerned in the deception of Eve ; but that is a weak objection against their being created in the six days ; for it was as possible for them to rebel against their sovereign in a few days after their creation as when a million of years had elapsed.

" Thus I have given you my thoughts on the subject, and hope you will not esteem it presumption.

" Permit me to ask you this question.

" Have the Elect of God no interest in the Covenant of Grace, prior to their effectual vocation and the manifestation of the blessings of the Covenant unto them ?

" I shall esteem it a favour, if you please to give me your thoughts on this subject. I desire you would bear me on your mind at the throne of grace, and I hope, in return, I shall not forget you.

I remain, yours affectionately,
Nathan Smith.

Moorclose.
June 23, 1789."

" Dear Brother,

" I esteem myself considerably indebted to you for your reply to my question. The ideas you have communicated are perfectly

consistent with mine on the subject ; but I know not whether they rather fall short of my compleat sentiment on that head or not. I believe that all the blessings of Adoption, Pardon, Justification, Sanctification and Ultimate Glorification, were unalienably settled on the Elect in Eternal Counsel and Covenant of Grace and Peace, and that they have a real interest in them while unregenerate, tho' that be a secret to them and as such they have no right to claim title to them so long as they remain in that state, that effectual vocation no more constitutes their interest, considered as a free donation in the eternal Mind and counsel of God, than it constitutes the Love of God, the Covenant of Grace, or the Redemption of C———. Some I apprehend will quarrel with these expressions who probably hold the same sentiments in Ideas but express them differently. There ought I think to be a real distinction, between an inheritance being settled on an Heir, and the actual and manifestative title or the enjoyment of the Heritage. I am sorry that I can only give you probabilities (at least in stead of arguments, in answer to your request concerning the third heavens &c.—when we cannot obtain certainty probabilities should not be despised. The evidence on which I found the Hypothis of the Angels being the production of the first Day of the Creation, is, their being styled Morning, Stars, Job. 38. 7. which sung together at the founding or forming and fashioning of the world which seems to intimate that they were created very early in the morning of the Creation. That they intend the Angels appear probable because the human species were not formed then—that they cannot intend the Luminaries commonly called the Stars seems probable because they are never denominated the Sons of God that I remember. We are taught by scripture metaphors to conceive of heaven as a place which admits the Idea of Creation ; whereof it must either be created in the six days or before ; but since we have only one account of the Creation therefore third heaven may be included in Gen. 2. 1. We may suppose, that God proceeded in a regular gredation in the work of Creation, beginning with most brilliant and descending to the more gross parts of the Universe wherefore light was formed before the terraquences globe. Gen. 13. Why then may we not suppose that the lucid Empirean was the first Production of creative power, and indeed it was necessary it should be, if we admit the Angels to have been created so early for tho' they be pure Spirits they must have a habitation somewhere. Jude. 6. Thus I have given you the substance of what occurred upon reading your letter but if I had not great confidence in you, I should not be so free in delivering conjectures. I hope you'll overlook blunders in the composition. I should be glad if you would be so kind as to shew me how you express yourself on the Divinity of J.C. and I beg you would be very explicit. Thro' mercy we are both well, and would hope you are so.

" Dear Brother, accept the sincere respects of your unworthy Servant to yourself Ec.

N. Smith.

Moorclose.
Aug. 31, 1789."

CHAPTER 37.

Calvinism.

The doctrines specially associated with the name of John Calvin, which commanded such outstanding influence in the religious outlook of the times, have so entirely ceased to be a practical issue in the Baptist pulpit that it is quite possible the younger generation may be almost unacquainted with what Calvinism means, or at least what it stood for with our forefathers.

John Calvin was born in Northern France in the year 1509. His father enjoyed a position of some importance in connection with a Roman Catholic Cathedral, and John, his son, received at the age of 12 the income from certain sinecure ecclesiastical posts which enabled him to enter the Paris University in 1523, where he remained an undergraduate until 1528. John was intended by his father for Theology, but owing to a dispute between the father and the Cathedral Chapter to which he was attached, it was determined that John should study law. The father died in 1531 and the son was left his own master.

Between the Spring of 1532 and the Christmas of 1533 Calvin experienced a sudden conversion, and, for the future, religion became his first concern.

Nothing is known with certainty about this conversion, but that he read and became impressed by Luther's writings which had penetrated into France seems certain. He did not at first break from the Romish Church, but in 1534 we find him resigning the posts he held under that Church, and imprisoned for a short time as a heretic. France became unsafe for him, and he journeyed to Switzerland and took up

his residence at Basel. In 1536 he wrote his "*Institutes of the Christian Religion*," and with it at the age of 26 John Calvin became the admitted leader of French Protestantism.

Willeston Walker in "*A History of the Christian Church*" states :—

"Calvin's mind was formulative rather than creative. Without Luther's antecedent labors his work could not have been done. It is Luther's conception of justification by faith, and of the sacraments as seals of God's promises that he presents. Much he derived from Butzer, notably his emphasis of the glory of God as that for which all things are created, on election as a doctrine of Christian Confidence, and on the consequences of election as a strenuous endeavor after a life of conformity to the will of God. But all is systematised and clarified with a skill that was Calvin's own.

"Man's highest knowledge, Calvin taught, is that of God and of himself. Enough comes by nature to leave man without excuse, but adequate knowledge is given only in the Scriptures, which the witness of the Spirit in the heart of the believing reader attests as the very voice of God. These Scriptures teach that God is good, and the source of all goodness everywhere. Obedience to God's will is man's primal duty.

"As originally created, man was good and capable of obeying God's will, but he lost goodness and power alike in Adam's fall, and is now, of himself, absolutely incapable of goodness. Hence no work of man's can have any merit; and all men are in a state of ruin meriting only damnation. From this helpless and hopeless condition some men are undeservedly rescued through the work of Christ. He paid the penalty due for the sins of those on whose behalf He died ; yet the offer and reception of this ransom was a free act on God's part, so that its cause is God's love.

"Since all good is of God, and man is unable to initiate or resist his conversion it follows that the reason some are saved and others are lost is the divine choice Election and Reprobation. For a reason for that choice beyond the will of God it is absurd to enquire, since God's will is an ultimate fact. Yet to Calvin election was always primarily a doctrine of Christian comfort. That God had a plan of salvation for a man, individually was an unshakeable

rock of confidence, not only for one convinced of his own unworthiness, but for one surrounded by opposing forces even if they were those of Priests and Kings. It made a man a fellow laborer with God in the accomplishment of God's will."

Calvin removed to Geneva in 1536 and remained there during most of the rest of his life.

Salendine Nook people claimed to be "Moderate Calvinists," i.e., whilst firmly maintaining belief in the predestination of only a limited number to be saved, they held that it was still open for them to give a free and unlimited invitation to all to accept of the offer of salvation; but it is probable that up to fifty years ago there were always a certain number amongst the Nook members who had Hyper-Calvinistic leanings.

One of the old folk likened Dr. Stock's preaching to a cow that gave a beautiful pail of milk and then kicked the pail over and spoilt everything, meaning that having preached "Distinguishing Grace" with entire satisfaction, he would at the close offer this "Grace" to anyone who would accept it.

Hyper-Calvinists believing that under the doctrine of election only the elect could possibly be saved, saw no reason why any but the elect should be preached to, and objected to the wholesale call to the unconverted as being out of harmony with the tenets of Calvinism.

When Dr. Stock, the most strenuous exponent of Calvinism who ever occupied the Nook pulpit, was at Chatham a considerable number of his people were Hyper-Calvinists and resented his open invitations, and required him to preach to the elect and the elect only. His reply was, that if they would get a piece of chalk and mark each one of the elect, he would do as they wished but otherwise he had no option but to offer salvation to all alike.

Antinomianism, which has been referred to in earlier pages, is no part of Calvinism, for Calvin was emphatic in his repudiation of any idea of an election to a state of moral inconsistency.

Jabez Stutterd when he first appears in my papers is a Methodist, evidently much to his brother Thomas' disgust.

On a certain day when both are employed in the same office at Longwood House, Thomas writes to his brother at Colne, and when he has finished brings his letter to Jabez, supposing he might like to add a few lines, and Jabez reads what his brother has written :

> "Brother Jabez rides about tantivy as a local preacher among the Methodists on Sabbath days. I wish he would first learn and then teach. In him we have a striking and awful instance of the depravity of human nature. Ah ! how has man lost the image of the unchangeable God. I pity, pray and shame for him. I wish he did the same for himself, but I fear he is not ashamed of himself. If I was in his place I think I could not have any confidence to look anybody in the face."

Jabez is naturally aghast at this unexpected outburst and writes :

> "I am much concerned at my brother writing in the manner he has done. I don't know any part of my conduct that is so glaring as he represents. I can look any person in the face and am not ashamed. If my brother thinks I am in the wrong I wish he would speak to me himself and not blacken my character in such an awful manner to others. Is there not liberty of conscience? Am I culpable for not believing the same doctrine as he does? Let any reasonable man judge for himself. Those truths I experience in my own soul are far superior to any calumny that can be laid on me for the belief of them."

Jabez subsequently becomes a Baptist and joins the new formed Baptist Church at Elland, much to Thomas' gratification.

There was not much love lost between the Baptist and the Methodist. Several instances of a lack of good feeling among them appear in my papers.

The Baptists and the Independents, it is quite evident, were on cordial terms of friendship. Thomas Stutterd not infrequently occupied the Highfield and other Independent pulpits. Extract from letter 9/9/1790.

> "You will send Mr. Moorhouse word or letter that I shall not be at home on the 19th instant. I am glad to hear there is an opening at Marsden for the Independents. I am no bigot. I bid every sect who preach the gospel, Godspeed. When opportunity serves I shall be always very willing to assist Mr. Moorhouse."

It will be noticed that Dr. Boothroyd of Highfield, took part in the 1832 Association Meeting at Nook.

At the 1799 Baptist Association Meetings at Leeds:

> "It was resolved that a proposal be made to the Independents for an union for the purpose of extending the gospel to the villages, etc. The deputation to be carried by Messrs. Fawcett and Langdon to the Independents' lecture at Heckmondwike 12th June."

The same cordiality cannot be said to have existed between the Particular and the General Baptists.

In "*Baptists in Yorkshire and North West*," it is stated :

> "In 1789 the General Baptists i.e., the New Connection had founded a small church at Longwood five miles from Halifax. The work was superintended by a most devoted layman who lavished time, service and money on the cause. The story of John Booth's disinterested labours is the story of a very noble failure. For fifteen years he walked to Longwood, preached twice and walked back to Halifax at night without any remuneration whatever. The people were not responsive. Some of the members of the Church were a disgrace to their profession. Ministers and the Association too advised him to desist. Nevertheless undaunted he pressed on till advancing years and severe illness incapacitated him from doing any more. In 1805 the church was extinct."

Thomas Stutterd writes, May 23rd, 1789 :

"Brother Jabez informs me that Dan Taylor has baptised six at Longwood lately. It is very pleasing to hear of any being willing to submit to the ordinances of the New Testament tho' the majority of men despise and slight them. They are certainly from God and should be attended to. It would have given me greater pleasure if I had been informed they were in the Gospel plan of salvation by grace alone."

This is the only reference I can find in my papers to any recognition by the Nook people, of the General Baptists' fifteen years labours at Longwood. It seems to emphasise the great gulf which separated the Calvinist from the Arminian in those days.

The Particular Baptist could co-operate cordially with the Calvinist Independent, but not with the Arminian General Baptist.

An amusing account of a passage of arms between Thomas and a Methodist is found in one of his diaries. As before stated, Longwood House buildings with the permission of Mr. Whitacre were used on the Sunday evenings as a Methodist meeting place.

"Longwood House, August 23rd 1784.

Mr. Wm. Turner,
Sir,

This covers a copy of a mem. I made in my pocket mem book, occasioned by going to preaching at Longwood House the 2nd instant. I minuted down my sentiments for my own private use, but having since been told your name and habitation I have now taken the liberty to convey them to you and as you are a young man, I took more encouragement inasmuch as young men are generally more susceptible of conviction and improvement than men of riper years. The ministry of Christ is a very desirable and important work. 1 Tim. 3. 1 2 Cor. 2. 16, and although we are highly favoured of God in this country and under the greatest obligation of thankfulness that he has been pleased of his abundant goodness to cause the joyful sound of his gospel to be sounded in our ears and that His word has been accompanied with Divine power to the conversion of many sinners yet there are multitudes still in the gall of bitterness and bond of iniquity. The harvest truly is great but the laborers are few. Luke 10. 2. O that God would send forth more laborers into his harvest and abundantly second the labours of those already sent.

"I take the liberty to remind you that it is a preacher's duty to adhere strictly to the Scriptures of truth. His doctrine should

be sound according to the Oracles of God. By the enclosed papers I presume you will find you have not altogether attended to this rule.

"If you wish to be a minister approved of God you must rightly divide the word of truth see 2 Tim. 2. 15., and if you have the approbation of God you need not fear the frown of men.

"If Providence gives me another opportunity of hearing you, I hope to find you will endeavour to speak good English. Bad language in a public speaker tends to corroborate bad habits of speaking in the hearers, and is not so good to understand, good language yet plain, I conceive to be the most profitable for common hearers. An English Grammar and a careful attention to the language of books you read, would help you to improve.

"I don't look upon myself qualified to criticise on religious matters or the English language. The Bible I make the only rule of my sentiments without regard to the opinions of any set of men. There are many different notions about religion in the world in this day. Whatever sect I hear I wish to imitate the noble Bereans who searched the Scriptures, which is the only preservative under a Divine blessing, or security from being carried away by every strange wind of doctrine. The Scriptures are a plain and infallible guide in these things, if we will but attend to them with an unprejudiced mind. I wish you well. May the Lord prosper you.

I am,

Your most humble servant."

"Text—The preaching at Longwood.

Hymn 114. Thou canst Thou wouldst this moment save,
Both me and all mankind,
And give us hearts to feel and know
That Thou hast died for all.

Sentiment Hymn. Spirit eradicating all sin out of hearts. He that saith he hath no sins is a liar and the truth is not in him.

Manner. Pronunciation—bad—Mak, influences, perféctly.

Language. Very bad English—Two or three is gathered. Believers has.

Action. Awkward. No expression in it, stretched arms, etc.

nr. Longwood, August 27th 1784."

Sir,

"You was pleased to deliver a sermon to a congregation at Longwood last night. I was one of your hearers and in return I now present you with a short sermon.

"Text. Your preaching in a Barn at Longwood. August 26th 1784, Evening. In treating the subject I shall endeavour to attend to the following method.

1. Consider your Doctrine advanced.
2. The manner in which you delivered your discourse.

"Under the first heading I must include the Hymn you first gave out. Whoever was the author of it, you adopted it as your own, therefore you are responsible for the sentiments contained in it. And give us hearts to feel and know that thou

hast died for all.' If every individual of mankind is intended by the word all here, I think the petition is founded on an error. If Christ died for every individual why are not all saved? Did Christ die for some who never partake of the gracious benefits flowing to sinners through His death? To suppose such a doctrine would be an undervaluing the atonement made by Him. The truth is Christ laid down His life for His sheep, and He Himself has said that some of mankind are not of His sheep.

"Thou canst Thou wouldst this moment save
Both me and all mankind."

If so why are not all mankind saved? You say God is both able and willing. Why then what hinders? If God is willing to save all mankind, you must say that that part of mankind who are lost have greater power than God Himself, which would be downright blasphemy. You say that God can and would save all mankind. We know that he does not save all mankind. How then can you reconcile these two propositions? Upon the whole the words are replete with absurdity and self contradiction. The Scripture truth is God makes His people willing in the day of His power.

"Again in describing the Spirit as good, you said that he eradicates all sin out of the hearts of believers. Who told you so? Permit me to give you a caution. Prove the sentiments you advance. Now I can fully prove from Scripture that you are in error. 'He that saith he has no sin deceiveth himself and the truth is not in him.' How then dare you advance such gross errors to a public congregation? Do you think we are a company of ignorant country people who will eagerly swallow all you say without any consideration or scrutiny? The above are some of the principal sentiments I would mention at this time. I told you in the beginning that my sermon would be short. Therefore I must pass on to the second proposition which was to touch a little on the manner in which you delivered your discourse.

1st. Your pronunciation is bad in general. Mak for make, influince for influence, perfect perfectly etc. etc. Many a child of 7 years of age pronounces better than you do. I advise you to get a spelling book, read and study it. Be diligent in endeavouring to attain the knowledge of words and how to call them. For a preacher to be so exceedingly deficient in this matter is quite shameful. It argues negligence and a slothful disposition.

2nd. You are a little unhappy in your choice of words. Your mind is not stocked with a sufficient quantity of suitable words to convey your meaning to your auditors in such a clear manner as you would wish. This produces a little hesitation which in the course of your sermon was manifested in several instances. I am sensible you cannot remedy this all at once. It must be a work of time. An English Dictionary explaining the meaning of words I presume would help you to improve.

3rd. Your language is extremely defective. A public speaker ought by all means to understand the tongue in which he delivers his discourses. I seldom heard an orator make so

many palpable blunders. I believe you uttered some scores of sentences that were intolerably bad English such as 'two or three is gathered.' 'They was.' 'Believers has' etc. etc.

4th. Your action comes now under my notice. A prudent gesture is very ornamental and very useful in the pulpit. It has a tendency to engage the attention of the hearers and gives peculiar energy to the speaker's reasoning.

"I am sorry to say that you do not excel in this branch of preaching. Indeed you throw yourself into so many awkward positions that one would be ready to imagine a 'Merry Andrew' had mounted the pulpit only with this difference. The Clown's behaviour generally excites a kind of pleasure in the bystanders while your ridiculous deportment is attended with disgust and aversion.

5th. The management of your passions.

"When a preacher manifests temper and mind agreeable to the nature of the subject he is treating upon, how pleasing, striking and forcible. If a good orator is relating the trials and afflictions of the people of God, he will be all tenderness, sympathy and lamentation. The mournful tone of his voice and sorrowful aspect of his countenance will abundantly evince the trouble of his heart. How very different is your method. It appears that your feelings are quite opposite to those of other men. When telling us of the sorrows of the righteous in your introductions, instead of that solemn gravity the subject demands, you assumed a gay, lightsome disposition. How odious to affect a smile in such serious matters.

"I might go on to more particulars such as your ill mannered cadence or tone of voice etc., but these are sufficient.

INFERENCES.

1. By the former part of my discourse you will see that I have proved some of your doctrines to be erroneous. Hence the necessity of reading and meditating the Holy Scripture. To follow a man or any set of men in religious opinions any further than is consistent with the Divine rule will not stand the test.

2. Inasmuch as you are so extremely defective in your method of preaching, I presume you will be convinced of the necessity of exerting all your powers in order to improve or you will do no credit to your Divine Master or yourself. To conclude. This address is primarily designed for your welfare. As I apprehend you are but a young preacher and as such would thankfully receive friendly reproof from any one. I hope you will not be offended with me. Consider what I say and the Lord give you understanding in all things.

I am Sir, Your humble servant "

Enclosed in a letter to Mr. Brown at the preaching house, near Huddersfield and sent August 29th per pro Inman.

It may be difficult for us to-day fully to appreciate how great a hold Calvinism had upon the Particular Baptists in the age about which I am writing.

My papers and records are full of the doctrine. It comes up like King Charles' head on every page. It appeared at the greatest length in all their confessions of faith, it was the bond of union in all their associations, it had importance in the doctrinal trust-deeds of their places of worship, many churches gave it honourable mention in their covenant, it was the sine quâ non for participation in their funds, and it was continually preached in their pulpits. To be called an Arminian was looked upon as equal to a deadly insult.

In the letter from Colne Church to the 1788 Association appears this passage :

> " It is painful to relate that after much forbearance we have been laid under the disagreeable necessity of excluding a brother for the deceitful and scandalous crime of drunkenness.
>
> We have another mournful case to lament. A Youth of promising genius was encouraged to preach among us and we flattered ourselves that he would be a growing blessing to the Church of Christ. But now we greatly fear the contrary for he avows those sentiments which are generally styled Arminian and we as a Church have given him a first and second admonition but without the desired effect."

It is only within the last fifty years that such doctrines have disappeared as living factors in the Nook pulpit. In 1891 when the union of the Particular and General made but one Baptist Union, Predestination as a practical issue and a subject for preaching had a decent and honourable burial, and I venture to prophesy that Nook will never hear another real old-fashioned Election sermon as long as time lasts.

What there was in Calvinism to retain this place in the affection of our fathers for so long I confess I cannot understand.

There really was nothing instinctively exclusive in the old folk's aspirations ; this is evident from their earnest prayers and fervent longings for revivals. It

is pathetic to read how eagerly they sought for and treasured any news of a revival anywhere.

It was the dream of a Baptist Minister to be able to report at an Association Meeting that the good hand of the Lord had been upon them, and that there had been a gracious revival amongst the people of his church.

It is not because those who believed the doctrine were dour, sour, stern and unloving. Thomas Stutterd was a devoted husband, a tender father and a man evidently with sincere good-will to his fellow-man.

Mr. John, the present Minister, states that before he came to Nook he had read some of Dr. Stock's books and expected to find that the Doctor had left behind him the memory such as one is apt to associate with a pronounced Calvinist. Instead, he found those who knew him spoke of a genial, kindly, sympathetic man who could tell a good story and was fond of children. Salendine Nook Church erected a tablet to the memory of her last Calvinistic Pastor with this tribute :

" A learned Theologian and a Genial Christian."

At the foot of the Kent and Sussex Association report 1796 is found this passage :

> " From Brighton we learn that one of the persons who fell into the error of ' Universal Restoration ' and was excluded, had been restored to the Church and on his dying bed, declared his abhorrence of the error and died very happy."

What there could be so abhorrent in the hope of " Universal Restoration " as to cause a man to die " very happy " in its renunciation is a psychological problem which is beyond my comprehension.

When I read this passage I confess I gave up any attempt to understand the old Calvinistic outlook.

CHAPTER 38.

Total Depravity of Man.

That the people of my period had their full share of trouble, and that they had to contend with many things which did not spell happiness is freely admitted.

It has been pointed out that the standard of health generally was a very low one. Thomas Stutterd had a weak digestion and a poor liver all his life and this undoubtedly caused him frequent depression. The people were poor. Thomas Stutterd when thirty years of age, accepted a position as bookkeeper at 21/- a week, and records evidently with great satisfaction when thirty-five years old that his wages were seventy guineas per annum. The Pastors were poor.

If ever there was a period in the Christian era when the people of God needed a gladdening, heartening conception of their religion it was in the period about which I am writing. It is to be regretted that exactly the opposite was the case.

In addition to all their material difficulties and consequent mental gloom, they had a most unhappy tendency to look on the shadowy side of their religion, and in nothing is this more evident than in their whole-hearted adherence to the Doctrine of Total Depravity of Man.

Such a doctrine whether right or wrong cannot be looked upon as cheerful. It does not induce a smiling face or prompt a heartening song and perhaps if only for this reason the good people of that day took it to their bosoms and cherished it as a thoroughly congenial item in their creed. It really does seem as if they actually loved the shadows and distrusted the sunshine.

The trials and afflictions of the righteous ; the world as a waste howling wilderness ; life as vanity of vanities ; the utter worthlessness of the human race, and death as the great release to be earnestly desired, were subjects for their meditation and utterances to an extent which the people of to-day would consider not only uncalled for but positively unwholesome. They undoubtedly thought they pleased God by their attitude in these matters, although it seems difficult to understand why.

I should like to argue the matter with Thomas Stutterd thus:—Thomas, you are a loving and devoted father, your children (particularly your first-born son Jabez) are very dear to you, would it please you if one of your neighbours said to you that your children were the worst-mannered brats in the whole countryside, that they were false from the crown of their heads to the soles of their feet, and that they deserved no better treatment than is meted out to a litter of unwanted puppies ? I know you thought it necessary to put your little Jabez in the coal cellar for awhile to induce in him, shall we say, a more ready approach to the Throne of Grace.

Thomas Stutterd's diary 20/1/1785,

> " Jabez talked while at family prayer. When over I chided him, he continued to cry for some time and would not say his prayers. I put him in the coal house. He roared bitterly. I soon released him and he was willing to kneel down and say his prayers."

But when you put him there did you believe he was altogether bad ? Did you really believe in his total depravity ? Did you not feel sure that notwithstanding his childish faults he was still a fine little fellow ? And so why do you think that the good Father above is pleased when he hears you and the other good folk delight in calling His children all

sorts of hard names and maligning those whom you believe He has loved with an everlasting love ?

And then Thomas, not many years ago you and Mary Cordingly stood at the altar of the church and were made man and wife and as you came away, your bride on your arm, you would not have changed places with any man. You thought her the best woman on earth and you loved her then and love her now more than anything else in the world. Would it have pleased you then, would it please you now, to hear hard and opprobious things said about her ? Your Bible speaks of the church (which after all can only mean those who form its membership, yourself and your fellow Christians) as the Bride of Christ. Can it please the Bridegroom to hear those hard things you say about His Bride ?

I cannot help feeling that it would have been a most useful and godly discipline if, when Thomas Stutterd and a good many others of the age were young men, they had passed through all the afflictions suffered by the millions of men who went from this Empire to play their part in the Great War of 1914/18, had Woodbine Willie for their chaplain, and had taken a few lessons from him. Whatever troubles and evils, and they are many, the Great War brought upon this nation, it at least established this ideal—to face trouble with a stiff upper lip, to make the best of things and to keep on smiling. That was the practical lesson the people of Thomas Stutterd's day needed more than anything else.

There were three results which seem to have followed from their too zealous acceptance of this doctrine of total depravity, this belief that man by nature is wholly vile, or as they would put it in the language of Isaiah—

" From the sole of the foot even unto the head

there is no soundness in it ; but wounds, and bruises and putrifying sores."

An exaggerated introspection. An extravagant self-depreciation. A considerable amount of self-pity.

I give extracts from two of Thomas' letters to his brother Jabez, and these two extracts are entirely representative of the letters that certain good men sent to one another in the days of which I am speaking. Can we imagine a man writing thus to anyone and least of all to a brother to-day ?

"April 15th, 1786. Notwithstanding my innumerable transgressions and exceedingly aggravated follies ye great and merciful Preserver of men yet continues graciously to exercise his patience towards me in not cutting me down as a cumberer of ye ground. It is entirely owing to his rich mercy that I am not this moment in company with Dives in ye pit of everlasting destruction receiving ye wages of sin even death eternal."

"Henly 12/1/1793. I trust I am in some measure convicted of my deserts. That I richly deserve ye worst of punishments, if my Maker shall send my soul to ye lowest Hell this night, I must justify ye proceeding. Yet although I am convinced of ye truth of this, I want to feel ye force of this conviction in my own mind. I want to feel my wretchedness and to be humbled under it. I know I am defective here and often fear that I have never yet been thoroughly pricked in ye heart, self condemned, and as it were singed with ye flames of Hell."

I have mentioned that Thomas Stutterd made himself very active in organising week-night services. At one time he had meetings every week in his house at Longwood ; then these meetings were held alternately in his house and in Mr. Brigg's at Lindley.

In 1785, when he was only a young man of thirty-four years, he writes from Northampton when on one of his journeys to the people meeting at his house the following letter :

"To a few Christians who meet together Oct 12th, 1785, at Allison Dyke.

Northampton, Oct. 9th, 1785.

"My dear Brethren and Friends,

"I have much reason to bless God for his goodness displayed to unworthy me. He has thus far mercifully preserved me from ye many dangers which are incident to travelling and granted me a continuance of a moderate state of health. Oh that I might experience a more dependent thankful frame not only for temporal blessings but especially for covenant mercies ye gift of His Son, and Salvation from sin and misery.

"Although I am here as to my bodily presence yet my heart and affections are with you. You are ye excellent of ye earth in my estimation. Your company is far more precious and desirable to me than all ye gaiety, splendour, and magnificence that this world can afford. An interest in your prayers at the Divine Throne is much more valuable and satisfactory to me than if I had ye acquaintance and friendship and favour of all ye courtiers of King George.

"With regard to my experience or ye state of my mind respecting religious matters I sometimes think it somewhat resembles a leaf in a book wrote upon both sides one page is covered with dark coloured letters entitled at ye top ye dark side. The other page is wrote in golden characters but placed in so thin and confused a manner that it is read with great difficulty. Ye top line is ye bright side.

Ye Dark Side.	Ye Bright Side.
By nature a child of wrath even as others.	I have some reason to hope I have experienced ye new birth.
The subject of much darkness and ignorance about God and his perfections, law, salvation, word and gospel obedience.	I find in my heart some opposition to sin. A warfare which I believe ye unrighteous are quite strangers to.
Of myself, my depravity, weakness, helplessness, deceitfulness of my own wicked heart.	Am sensible of my own weakness and utter unability to wage war against inward corruption."

etc. etc. etc. at great and wearisome length.

"As far as I know my own mind, I have great reason to bless God, that we have been inclined to set on foot our weekly meetings inasmuch as I believe through Divine blessing it has been ye means of stirring me up from an idle, lukewarm state of mind, to more activity and striving against sin, and warmth of affection to God, His work, and people. If this is ye case with you it will be a strong motive to continue though through opposition and inconveniences such an important and advantageous practice. The Lord bless you. I hope to see you again in the flesh but if God orders otherwise I trust to see you in ye heavenly mansions where I shall bless God for your company on earth and join you in ascribing Salvation to God and ye Lamb for ever and ever. But my paper and my time is done. I must conclude. Pray for me.

I remain Dear Friends,

Your brother in the Gospel of Christ,

T. STUTTERD."

It will be noticed that as a matter of course Thomas Stutterd speaks of his death, the possibility of his not living to see his people again in the flesh. He repeats the same remark in a subsequent letter. Death was a frequent and favourite subject for his exercises in the pulpit.

Robert Hyde in 1790 when 34 years of age writes:

"My family is in tolerable health. Am in a poor state of health myself though better than what I have been. Am ready to conclude that these pains that I feel are the 'Harbingers of death.' It is my prayer to the Father of mercies, that may not be a terror to me, I wish to feel a more growing meetness for the inheritance of the saints."

And the good man lived till he was eighty-two.

The venerable Wm. Crabtree of Bradford when sixty-seven years old writes:

"I have had poor health this several years past and this has been a very trying winter to me on many accounts, but the time of my departure is at hand and at times I care not how soon I get home, although I would not die in a pett."

And the time of his departure was postponed till he was ninety-one years old.

It is strange how even to-day some people who are getting on in life, love to utter gloomy premonitions of their approaching dissolution.

I think it is about twenty-three years ago that I first began to tell my people at home that

> "I can't expect to be staying much longer with you now."

Most of us have some pet phrase we use on such occasions and I rather fancy myself on mine. Truth compels me to say that such remarks, although repeated at stated intervals all through the years, have never been believed, but have been always treated as an excellent joke.

Instead of receiving from my people that "tenderness, sympathy, and lamentation, that mournful tone of voice and sorrowful aspect of countenance," which it may be remembered Thomas Stutterd recommended to the Methodist preacher at Longwood House, those to whom I have thus spoken have invariably returned my presages of an early demise with unseemly mirth and rude scoffs.

That is the custom to-day and an excellent custom it is, for surely the one thing expected from a man above all others is that he should face his passing with as little fuss and upset to his fellows as possible.

In Thomas Stutterd's diary, September 23rd, 1784, we find this item :

> "Cold and lifeless in secret prayer. Oh my leanness, my leanness!"

Whereas on September 24th, the next day, he records :

> "Fine, fair morning, up soon after five. Had rather more liberty in secret prayer than at sometime. Felt pride rise. Vile creature! Oh for more humility and self abasement."

What could the good Lord do for men like that?

Amongst the many other things I have looked for in my papers is evidence of a sense of humour,

and the only entry which even seems to approach to it is the following epitaph recorded, without comment, in one of the diaries :

" Beneath this stone my wife is laid
She's silent now. Enough is said."

It is quite impossible to conceive of anyone to-day setting himself to make out a Dr. and Cr. account similar to that of Thomas Stutterd's, less still that he should put it into writing for someone else to read and criticise. Such things are simply not done. People do not discuss themselves and analyse their spiritual experiences and reduce it all to matter for public discussion, and for this we may find room for much thankfulness. There are undoubtedly now people who talk about themselves and their affairs too much, but they are not popular and are looked upon as displaying the worst possible form. Perhaps when the man of 1932 goes to Church and joins in the simple confession " We have left undone those things which we ought to have done ; and we have done those things which we ought not to have done ; and there is no health in us," he is quite as sincere, and possibly his confession will be accepted as surely, as those of the people of the old times with their elaborate self-examination and confessions of unworthiness.

Perhaps, too, the man of 1932, although he does not consider it good form to be always talking of death and his chances in the hereafter, may be cherishing the hope that, when he comes to his passing, he may have strength to utter as his last words, "God be merciful to me a sinner, for Christ's sake," and that, not for all the world can offer, would he barter or renounce his right to use that plea, " For Christ's sake."

No man is competent to draw up a correct Dr. and Cr. account of his own merits and demerits ; no man

is sufficiently unbiassed for such a task.

I invite my readers, however, at least those over seventy years of age, to compile a record of the experiences of their whole life, to follow Thomas Stutterd's example and have a Bright Side and a Dark Side, not about themselves, but about the people whose lives have touched theirs.

On the Dark Side enter up the few experiences they have had which have caused them to think unkind things about their fellow men.

On the Bright Side place the happy relationships of life, the good-will shown to them, the services rendered to them, the times when their lives have touched other men's lives and have caused their hearts to go out to their fellows in esteem and affection, and then see how the doctrine of total depravity will stand when judged by the Dr. and Cr. account of their experience with their fellow men.

The following passage appears in S. Pearce Carey's "*William Carey*," speaking of a period soon after Carey's arrival in India :

> "He had never known days so dark as when as early as in mid January (1794) Thomas the keeper of the purse reported that their first year's income was exhausted with no more to be looked for from England till the next Autumn's venture. He had pitiably miscalculated their first year's expenses, their resources had been hopelessly inadequate."
>
> "The mental disorder and distress which harrowed Mrs. Carey and her home for the next thirteen years dates from this misery. Ill with dysentery, her first-born son still worse, unable to afford even bread, appalled at their destitution in this strange and friendless city, her brain began to give way, her kindly nature suffered change."
>
> "Early on the fourth morning they reached Debhatta to find the bungalow not vacant. He would have been in sadder plight than ever without shelter for his family or food beyond that day, had not Mr. Charles Short, the Company's salt assistant been the best of Samaritans.

Out with his dog and gun he was astonished at the arriving of the several English strangers. He hasted to the Ghat and invited them to his house. Nor did their missionary errand chill his welcome though he counted it absurd. After breakfast he installed them as his guests even the sick Mother and Felix and insisted on supplying all their wants. He was Kipling's thousandth man Who will sink or swim with you in any water."

"Thus did this bachelor Englishman lift loads from Carey's life. He made no profession of religion still less of trust in Christ to Carey's heartfelt pain. But he did walk by the golden rule and proved neighbour to those stranded ones. Christ was a stranger once more in the persons of these His representatives that morning. This young Englishman took Him in."

One can feel a certain amount of sympathy for an intelligent man, who had to preach in keeping with the orthodox creeds of his day, when such incidents as these were coming to his knowledge.

CHAPTER 39.

Observance of the Sunday.

Inasmuch as there are to-day so many different conceptions of the duty of the Christian as regards the observance of the Christian Sunday and these differences still exist at Salendine Nook, as they do elsewhere, I propose to limit anything on this subject to the insertion, without any comment, of two or three extracts showing the extreme strictness with which our forefathers observed the Sunday, and leave it at that.

Extracts from circular letter.

"Northampton, June 6th, 7th & 8th, 1786.

"Seeing brethren the service of the day is of a spiritual nature you ought to watch against whatever may have a tendency to carnalise the mind. Some attention to your

very food may not be improper. Guard against an excessive indulgence of your appetites especially on the Lord's Day. Some people have a custom of getting the best dinner they have in all the week on the Sabbath on which account it is too frequent for one of the family to be detained from Divine service to prepare it, while it may be, all are rendered less fit for public worship in the afternoon, as a full stomach especially if the food is rich naturally tends to promote drowsiness, lifelessness and inattention.

"Array yourselves in a clean and decent manner, but beware of that apparel which consumes a large portion of time in putting it on. When so much time is spent at the looking glass, there is but little remains for your Bible and your knees. Attend public worship regularly and seriously. Be present at the beginning of the service. Rob not yourself of the first part of the opportunity nor disturb the devotion of others by being too late. While there watch against drowsiness. Remember that while you are asleep your pew is just as good a worshipper as you are, though not so offensive to God or man. Forget not that one end of worship is to have intercourse with God.—Solemn thought.

"When worship is over depart with a becoming gravity. How disgraceful to see a congregation all in a hurry as if they were striving to see who could quit the place first. Such persons seem as if they thought they had been in a prison and are so pleased to see the doors open that they are ready to leap out for joy.

"On your way home act in character. Recollect where you have been and the solemn account you have to give. Examine what advantage you have received and enquire what you can do for God and His cause more than you have ever yet done. Ask your conscience what you have to be thankful for and of what to be ashamed.

"Shun the various avocations and amusements by which sacred time is often wasted. Walking in the fields for mere recreation or standing at your door to see everybody that passes by are practices that must pain the mind on serious reflection. When the topics of your conversation are news from abroad or the situation of the nation at home, the state of the markets around or the common affairs of life your conduct is a distinct breach of the Sabbath. On it you are required not to find your own

pleasure or speak your own words but to call it a delight, the holy of the Lord, and honourable spending it in honouring Him. Isa. 58. 13."

Extract from circular letter.

Bromsgrove, June 11th & 12th, 1783.

"Train up your children in a strict regard to the Sabbath. Enforce the command upon their conscience, Remember to keep holy the Sabbath Day and reverence my sanctuary. Reverence the Lord's Sanctuary with your presence and with the presence of your children and servants and shew them by your example your love to God's House and its ordinances and the place where His honor dwelleth. Caution them against thinking their own thoughts, speaking their own words or doing their own actions on this holy day. After public service is over you should keep them within doors, make them read the Bible or some other good and religious book. Make them duly attend family prayer and take care they are never employed in any worldly business on the Lord's day but what cannot be avoided."

John Stutterd's diary, 10/3/1790.

"John Greenwood seems a confirmed Deist. Said lately it had been well if every copy of the Bible had long since been burnt. The other Sunday he mended his stockings half an hour in the forenoon in spite of all the persuasions of his Mother."

CHAPTER 40.

A Picture in the Fire.

Robert Hyde's Sermon on Predestination and Total Depravity.

The Rev Robert Hyde on the evening of Saturday April 3rd, 1802, was a tired and troubled man. The winter of 1801/1802 had been an exceedingly trying time.

Thomas Stutterd in his letter of 28th February, 1802 (see appendix) writes :

> "We are now all pretty well, except myself having a very sore throat and I find myself exceedingly apt to take cold. Wife has been very poorly for three or four weeks, has sunk much, but thank God, is now got pretty well. It has been a sickly, dying time this winter. I hear that two of our members now lay dead. We have been surrounded by fevers and it has been much so in the South also."

This state of things had continued all through March. Robert had to preach a funeral sermon on the following day for John Lunn's wife.

He was troubled about another matter. He had been reproached by some of his members more fond of the old Puritan doctrines than others, that he did not give them these old doctrines in his sermons and that some were inclined to wonder if he were not half an Arminian. They had asked him if he could not give them a real sermon on the following Sunday afternoon on Election and Reprobation and the Total Depravity of Man, and he had said that although he hoped that his sermons were inspired to some extent by the Spirit of God and he could not therefore make any definite promise, he would consider what they had said and would not forget their wishes.

He had had a busy week, every minute of his waking hours had been fully occupied. He had been

THE POTTER'S WHEEL.

at work at his loom every morning as soon as daylight came, and had worked hard so as to be able to finish his piece on the Friday evening. There had been a church meeting on the Thursday evening at which he had given an exhortation on "Wilt Thou not revive us again: that Thy people may rejoice in Thee?" but his great task had been to visit the many sick and dying people.

Saturday had been a very full day. He had finished his weaving as he had hoped on the Friday evening and had allowed himself the whole of Saturday to fulfil his pastoral duties. Early in the morning the chapel keeper had been in to tell him that the fuel for the stoves would not last out the week-end, and he had called in passing to speak to Morton, the Chapel Steward, at the potteries about it. He was told that Morton was in his works and went in to find him.

He had never been in the pottery itself before although he had often been in the house there. The man he sought was busy near a potter's wheel which caught his eye at once and he found himself watching it with much interest. He saw the lump of clay placed on the wheel and under the skilled touch of the potter assume the form and shape required. It appeared almost like magic to see the clay so docile and amenable to the touch of the worker. They were making small tobacco jars at the time and he asked if he might have one as a memento. He passed through the warehouse in which the finished and perfect goods were carefully stored until occasion occurred for their distribution.

On leaving the pottery he found his way over Lindley Moor down to Old Lindley and from there to Greetland, Stainland, Outlane and back to Salendine Nook. It was well into the afternoon before he sat down to his midday meal. His work was not yet

done, for he had a long list of people in Longwood to visit before his ministrations were over.

On the coming day there were three meetings at which he had to speak; he would be expected to preach in the morning and afternoon and to give some exhortation at the Communion service in the evening. Robert Hyde did not at any time come easily by his sermons, and there was the promise he had made that he would consider the propriety of preaching Election and Total Depravity. Tired as he was, this would involve an all night preparation. After tea at his house his wife made up his supper in the red bandanna handkerchief, and he stepped over to the vestry of the chapel for his long watch-night study.

My fire is very noisy to-night, it has only recently been lighted. The wood speaks incessantly. I propose to continue the story as my fire told it, in Robert's own words.

"I was very tired and I felt I must sit down and rest for awhile before I commenced the real work of the night, but thoughts of all the events of the past winter came vividly before me. We have had a very trying time, sickness and death have been all around us. We have never been free from ailments of one kind or another in my own house. Thank God the small-pox have not begun ravaging, but my children have been down with chin-cough, whooping-cough you call it, and their distress has been painful to witness.

"I have during the past winter lost three of the kindest and dearest friends any man ever knew. One was the Doctor who had attended me and my family ever since I settled at Nook. He dwelt at Leymoor, Golcar. A more generous man never lived. He came frequently to see us for I have a large family, and he would drop in when he was passing even if we did not summon him. He would never take a penny

piece from me for his services. He would laughingly say that he wanted to have a friend or two at both places. He knew he would be all right for friends in the one place, but he was not so sure about the other.

"He was exceedingly good to the poor. It was common talk that he would take more trouble over a sick person from whom he could not hope to receive a penny than over a man who lived in a mansion. He said they needed it more. They do say that some little time before he died, he burnt all his account books, for, said he, 'the rich won't pay, the poor can't pay, so what is the use of books anyway.'

"Some unkind people suggested that he was not as temperate as he might have been, but they dared not speak thus in my wife's hearing, for she reverenced the very ground on which he trod.

"He was indeed a friend to me and my family.

"We have had another great loss. We have always had much kindness from our neighbours when we have been in any sort of trouble or distress. I told my good friend John Stutterd, years ago, that I had found the people at Salendine Nook kind and peaceable, and indeed this is true, but one of our neighbours has been particularly good to us. She was a widow woman with no children and, although she was not really connected with our church, she was 'as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land' to us in all times of trouble. My wife loved her dearly.

"And there was another who was a great friend to my boys. They looked up to him as a real hero. He lived some two miles away and the lads would often go and see him and were always sure of a gracious welcome. My sons do not get many pleasures, and I think all they had came from him.

"They have all gone during this last terrible winter and I was thinking about them. It has been a great trouble to me to recognise that not one of these three

people throughout their lives showed any taste for divine things. I went to see the Doctor as he lay ill and ventured to speak to him about his soul's welfare, but he turned it lightly aside. He said it was very good of me to trouble about it, but that he was not at all certain that there was a future state, and if there was, he would have to take his chance, as, according to my belief, his future was settled millions of years ago and so what was the use of his troubling.

"I was thinking too about the past winter with all the sickness there has been, and all the wonderful kindness which has been shown by the Salendine Nook people to each other in their distress. I have done my best, God knows that I am sorry it has been no more. My people, thank God, come out well in times of trouble. I have known a great number of cases where women, who work long hours at a mill, have spent half the night in sitting up with sick neighbours, and where those who earned hardly enough to keep themselves in food have gone without to supply the need of some worse off than themselves.

"Thomas Stutterd was telling me the story of what happened this last winter at a church in the South. The Baptist churches there are often in better circumstances than ours in the North, the deacons sometimes men of substance. One church in Berkshire has amongst her deacons, bankers, manufacturers and merchants. It came to the knowledge of the Pastor of this church that two deacons, a banker and a manufacturer had decided to retire from the diaconate. They were both busy men and the office they filled, although taking up a considerable amount of time, did not seem to mean very much, the church was peaceable and prosperous, and apparently others could easily do what they were doing.

"There was a large village some few miles away from their place. A violent fever epidemic had broken

out and was making fearful havoc amongst the people. Men and women were stricken in great numbers and many were dying without any ministrations of the Gospel.

"When the deacons' meeting came at which it was understood that these resignations were to be announced, the Pastor spoke. He said that it was generally known that two brethren were about to resign and he regretted it, because they all knew that a plague was ravaging the village near them, and that many people were dying unministered to, and without hearing the message of the Gospel.

"He had proposed to submit to that meeting a plan for the formation of a band of workers who would at once take charge of everything, and ensure that every possible creature comfort should be provided for the stricken ones, that to every dying man and woman the message of the Gospel should be carried, and that this band should be led and supervised by the diaconate and himself.

"He said that it would be wrong not to point out clearly that such a task would be one fraught with grave danger to life, as the plague was no respecter of persons.

"Thomas told me that for a few minutes there was a great silence in the room when the Pastor finished. One of those who were there and told him the story, said the clock in the corner could be heard as though it were a church bell.

"And then one of the two deacons put his hand into his pocket, took out a sealed letter and slowly tore it into little bits, saying quietly, 'That makes things quite different. I shall be ready for my place in this plan of yours to-morrow morning at eleven o'clock, and will stay with you as long as you need me.' And the other man simply said 'I entirely agree, quite different.'

And Robert Hyde went on. "God forgive me but when I think of all the tenderness and goodness I have seen displayed during this last distressing six months, not only by professors but by others who show no taste for the things of God, I cannot but wonder if there be not more of the divine than the devil in the great majority of men and women and thinking thus, how could I preach with sincerity on the Total Depravity of Man?

"But I felt that time was passing and I had much to do. My thoughts travelled to the doctrine of Election I had promised to consider as a subject for the coming Sabbath afternoon's sermon. A happy inspiration seemed to come to me. I called to mind my visit to the pottery and the potter's wheel I had seen at work there. I remembered the Apostle Paul had used the simile in one of his Epistles. I soon found it, and cherished the hope I could make a profitable discourse based on the potter's wheel. I commenced my notes.

Text—Romans 9-21.

"Hath not the potter power over the clay, of the same lump to make one vessel unto honour, and another unto dishonour?

"I began by noting the unlovely nature of the clay before the artificer's hand had touched it, and compared this clay to man in his state by nature.

"I continued on the wonderful skill displayed by the potter, in the changing of this rough material into the finished work of art and beauty, and I dwelt on the divine wisdom and goodness displayed in the way and plan of salvation.

"I commented on the beauty and utility of the finished work, and I touched lovingly on all the promises for the future of the ransomed soul.

"And then although I knew my sermon was only half finished, overcome as I was with the fatigue of

the long day, I must have slept or fallen into a trance.

"I was again standing by the potter's wheel and watching the clay being moulded under the hands of the craftsman. I was again passing through the warehouse and Morton was showing me with pride the finished and perfect work of the pottery. I turned to leave the buildings and then I stood still. I found myself gazing at what in the morning I had seen in passing but to which I had not given a thought.

"In a corner of the open yard was a vast pile of imperfect and broken pottery—jugs, pitchers, bowls, vessels of all kinds flung together in an indiscriminate heap, mingled hopelessly in an utterly uncared for condition. I remembered the neat rows of the perfect goods I had seen on the warehouse shelves. I recognised that in this heap I was looking upon the reprobates of the pottery.

"Some through inherent defects in the clay, some through accidents in passing through the works, some through failure to respond aright to the glaze, some through being subjected to too much heat in the kiln, all were rejected, all were valueless in the eyes of the potter.

"I had been thinking only of the vessels 'unto honour'; I was now looking upon the vessels 'unto dishonour.'

"As I stood spell-bound in my trance, those poor vessels in their pathetic dishonour began to assume human shapes. I saw many faces amongst them. As God is my witness, I saw clearly those three friends of mine looking out at me,—the same kindly face of my dear good friend the Doctor, that I had seen bending over the beds of my children when they were all stricken together with the small-pox, the same cheering, heartening face of the man who had been up half the night with my wife when my children were born into the world, but it was now

with an infinite sadness and reproach he looked at me, as though in some way he was holding me responsible for his place in that dishonoured heap.

"Shall I ever forget that look of reproach I saw on my dear friend's face as I stood at that pottery door? This thought suddenly cut me to the quick. What was I doing to be rejoicing in a doctrine which involved the fashioning of vessels 'unto dishonour' if those vessels were my brethren and sisters? What was there Christ-like in any such rejoicing?

"In the agony of my soul, I cried out loudly 'I am not to blame! I am not to blame!' God forgive me, for I was distraught, and knew not what I was saying. And then I came to myself and found I was standing up in the vestry and great drops of perspiration were streaming down my countenance."

. . . . . .

Robert Hyde did not preach from Romans 9-21 on the afternoon of Sunday, April 4th, 1802. He preached instead from the text

"Like as a father pitieth his children."

And the worthy Calvinists who came that afternoon were not really disappointed. They had not had the sermon they had asked for, but they had heard a man preach the "Love of God" with a passionate insistence to which they had never before listened.

One of them even was heard, as he left the meeting house, to murmur something about the preacher's heart, as well as his lips, having been verily touched that afternoon by a live coal from off the altar.

Section 9.

THE CHILDREN.

Small-pox ... ... Chapter 41.

The Factory Child ... ... Chapter 42.

Day and Boarding Schools ... ... Chapter 43.

The Church and the Child ... ... Chapter 44.

Do. Do. (continued) ... Chapter 45.

A Sermon by my Fire ... ... Chapter 46.

CHAPTER 41.

Small-pox.

" Small-pox are begun of ravaging at Cowcliffe. We tremble at the thoughts of them. Two dead since Saturday. One died this morning."
Jabez Stutterd. April 9th, 1787.

" Hannah begun in small-pox.

Son Jabez ill, very insensible. He has a great many pox, small ones. John up most of the day, his pox seem near the height. Tommy has a vast deal coming out. This evening dies a child, grandson to our landlady, after the small-pox had appeared three days."

Thomas Stutterd. 3/3/1789.

" The small-pox are in our neighbourhood, at Foulbridge, Southfield and Colne. Hitherto they have been confined to the higher parts of the town. Some are begun at Colne Lane and Waterside, but none in these latter places have yet died of them. They have been severe in Colne. They have brought a girl of 11 years of age from Dent Fold, into our burying ground. Several of my scholars are in them. John Tillotson, Angel Inn, three dead, all he had by his present wife ; Enock Smith one ; Robert Emmott two ; Tommy Wilkinson one ; Dr. Buck one ; Jude Hargreaves one ; Jon Jones one etc. etc.
" I think all the children at Southfield have got them and four are dead viz. Mally oldest child of John Whitaker ; Joseph Turner's child, Mally ; Peter Horrack's child ; and Betty daughter of John Marshall's ; John Watson has one dead ; Little John Elliott is in them."
John Stutterd 10/3/1790.

I give these extracts with intentional abruptness.

A study of my papers has destroyed for ever any lingering sentiment I may have had for the "Good old Days." There was nothing good about them when weighed in the balance with our present age.

The general standard of health was very far from satisfactory. In nearly every letter in my possession either the writer or some member of his family is, or has recently been, ill. A clean bill of health for any length of time for a whole household was indeed a rarity. The impression gained from the description often given of the indispositions that afflicted the adults, was that the food they ate, perhaps in some cases the only food they could afford, did not agree with them. Thomas Stutterd had a bad liver all his life and was always complaining of indigestion, and a great proportion of the ailments seems to have been of the same kind. A certain amount of foolishness and want of common sense was displayed.

Thomas Stutterd writes in June 1815, the year of his death,

> "I find that one of the greatest evils I am exposed to —or is it an evil—the clamorous invitations of friends to eat this and that, wishing me a good appetite etc. Now I have repeatedly found, by dear bought experience, that this is all against me. I have now come to a resolution to eat that what I think will suit me, if I can get it, however teased to the contrary."

A belated resolution for a man to make in his 63rd year.

In 1780 the average life of the population it is stated was twenty-five years, whereas in 1850 it was forty-one years, and according to the 1921 census statistics, the expectation of life of a child at birth was fifty-five and a half for males and fifty-nine and a half for females.

An interesting point to Baptists here arises. If the expectation of twenty-five years in 1780 is based on

the Northampton Table of Mortality, as compiled by Dr. Price, it is not correct, for the reason that this table was based on the number of deaths during the forty-six years, 1735 to 1780 within a certain parish in Northampton, and certain assumptions were made on a comparison of a number of deaths with the number of christenings, without allowance being made for the large proportion of Baptists whose children were not christened, the effect of this being to increase the death rate shown in the tables.

This mistake cost the Government about two million pounds before it was discovered, for in 1808 when Government life annuities were established as part of a scheme for the repayment of the National Debt, the rates depended on this Northampton Table, and the annuities were of course granted at prices much below their values.

Quite a pleasing incident to remind the authorities that there were such people as Baptists, and that it was not safe to ignore them at all times.

Small-pox among the children was a real nightmare to parents in those early days. References are continually being made in my MSS. to the appalling ravages made by this disease. A great proportion of the children of the day had small-pox. It seemed almost as common as vaccination is to-day. Jabez Stutterd lost two of his eight children by small-pox. Thomas Stutterd it will be seen by the extract from one of his letters, had at one time all his family down together. The Medical Officer of Health for Huddersfield states that the small-pox which was then so very prevalent was always of the severe type, not at all like the mild form which has occurred in various parts of the country in recent years, and that we may take it for granted that every person who recovered from the malady in those times was permanently disfigured. There was no attempt at isolation. Thomas

Stutterd in one of his later letters, when small-pox was in the district, begs that his child who had so far escaped, should be kept off "butter," why particularly butter I do not know. I have referred the matter to a medical friend and he writes :

"I am interested to know that 'butter' was suspected in connection with smallpox, but I have no idea why. The history of medicine is full of things like that. Things that are now accepted as commonplaces such as contagion of diseases, the circulation of the blood and so on, were unsuspected for thousands of years. But man is very prone to theorise, and no doubt there were very many fancy notions about the causation of smallpox. Malaria, as another example, is now proved to be due to a minute animal, which is introduced into the human blood by a mosquito and alternates between mosquito and man ; but that discovery was made in our time, and people used to ascribe malaria to 'miasma' (whatever that might be) that arose from swamps, to mists, to chills, to contaminated water supply and, no doubt, by different people, to witchcraft, God, or the devil.

"Smallpox is of course especially a disease of childhood. In the old days adults largely escaped, either because they had already had it, or because they were naturally immune. Children have been known to have it even before birth.

"Vaccination consists in conveying a comparatively innocuous illness called Vaccinia (cowpox) which partially protects against smallpox, but not as efficiently as the latter. The precise relationship between cowpox and smallpox has been the subject of much controversy. Inoculation of actual smallpox was practised at one time to some extent. The idea was to get over the almost inevitable attack at a convenient time hoping for a mild one, it was not always mild. For many years vaccination had been practised casually, by a few people, but Jenner was the first to investigate and weigh the value of it, and the date ordinarily given for its 'discovery' by him is 1796, in which year he first deliberately inoculated a person first with cowpox, and then with smallpox. He had given careful consideration to the subject making many enquiries for more than twenty years before he ventured to make so drastic an experiment."

In "*The Suffolk Baptists*" *by Rev. Ashley J. Klaiber, M.A., B.D. (Lond.)* recently published,

appears this passage :

> "A curious example of prejudice, finally broken down by weight of public opinion occurs in the Wattisham minutes.
>
> "In 1785 a woman was separated 'for the sin of inoculation' i.e. vaccination against small-pox.
>
> "In 1796 two other cases were brought before the church but these persons 'having sense of their sin it was agreed that they should fill up their places.' After this, apparently, no further notice was taken of the matter."

From information given by the Huddersfield Medical Officer of Health I learn that, although Huddersfield very early, as compared with other towns, realised the importance of their responsibility and the necessity, on the ground of public health, for the isolation and treatment of persons afflicted with infectious disease, and was the first place in the United Kingdom to require notification by the medical practitioner, it was not until 1872 that the old workhouse at Birkby was rented from the overseers for the isolation and treatment of these diseases.

The sense of helplessness which the people of the period must have experienced in matters of sickness brings to one who reads the papers in my possession an overwhelming spirit of sympathy. What could the people do ? To-day, the poorest, through the hospitals and medical charities of one kind or another, can hope for the most skilled medical treatment obtainable. If infection appears, the authorities take over the responsibility of the case. Isolation and disinfection have taken the place of the pathetically crude idea of keeping off "butter" etc. Modern skill in prevention has caused small-pox to be a rare experience in place of the almost inevitable expectation of the family, and in this matter at least, parents of to-day have indeed occasion to bless "The goodness and the grace, which on their birth have smiled."

The prevailing gloom of the period was probably due more to the low standard of health of the people

generally, and to the entire absence of all modern methods of dealing with sickness, than to anything else.

CHAPTER 42.

The Factory Child.

The picture which truth compels us to draw of child life during the period under review is in many respects the most forbidding of anything that falls to be recorded in this book.

The evidence given in 1833 before a parliamentary commission presided over by Mr. Sadler, who in the following year unsuccessfully contested Huddersfield, is almost unbelievable in its revelation of brutality and cruelty to child life in the past.

This was the evidence as noted in the "*History of Huddersfield and its Vicinity*" *by D. F. E. Sykes, L L B.* More of a similar nature follows. Abraham Whitehead said :

> "I am a clothier, and reside at Scholes, near Holmfirth, which is the centre of very considerable woollen mills for three or four miles ; I live near the centre of thirty or forty of them, and have had constant opportunity of observing the manner in which these mills are regulated and conducted, and I have observed them for the last twenty years. The youngest age at which children are employed is never under five, some are employed between five and six as pieceners. In the summer time I have frequently seen these children going to their work as early as five or six in the morning, and I know the general practice is for them to go as early to all the mills, with one or two exceptions ; I have seen them at work in the summer season between nine and ten in the evening ; they continue to work as long as they can see, and they can see to work as long in these mills as you could see to read. In winter there is a variation ; some of the mills begin to work at six o'clock, and some only begin so soon as they can see to work in the morning, but many of them begin at six, or between five and six in the winter time. I live near to parents who have been sending their children to mills for a great number of years, and I know positively that these children are every morning in the winter season called out of bed between five and six, and in some instances between four and five.

"My business as a clothier has frequently led me into these mills, to carry work to or from them. I have for the last twenty years constantly made observations on these mills, having seldom missed a week going to some of them, and sometimes two or three times a day. I cannot say that I ever saw these mills actually at work later than ten; I do not say they have not been at work later, I have seen them as late as ten in the winter season—children of tender years were employed. I have been in mills at all hours, and I never in my life saw the machinery stopped at breakfast time at any of the mills. The children get their breakfast as they can; they eat and work; generally there is a pot of water-porridge, with a little treacle in it, placed at the end of the machine, and when they have exerted themselves to get a little forward with their work, they take a few spoonfuls for a minute or two, and then to work again, and continue to do so until they have finished their breakfast. This is the general practice not only of the children, but of the men, in the woollen mills in the district. There is not any allowance for the afternoon refreshment called 'drinking' more than for breakfast. In summer some mills allow an hour for dinner and others forty minutes. There is no time allowed in the winter, only just sufficient to eat their dinner, perhaps ten minutes or a quarter-of-an-hour, and in some cases they manage the same at noon as they do at breakfast and drinking. The children are employed as piecceners. They, when at work, are always on their feet—they cannot sit and piece. The only interval the children have for rest is the very short time allowed for dinner, except it may sometimes happen that they may be out of what we called 'jammed wool,' and then the children have a short time to rest themselves, and even then they are frequently employed in cleaning the carding machines.

"I have seen children during the last winter (1832) coming from work on cold dark nights, between ten and eleven o'clock, although trade has been so bad with some mills they have had nothing to do; others have been working seventeen or seventeen-and-a-half hours per day. This requires that the children should be awakened very early in the morning. I can tell you what a neighbour told me six weeks ago—she is the wife of Jonas Barrowcliffe, near Scholes. Her child works at a mill nearly two miles from home, and I have seen that child coming from its work this winter between ten and eleven in the evening; and the mother told me that one morning this winter the child had been up by two o'clock in the morning, when it had only arrived from work at eleven; it then had to go nearly two miles to the mill, where it had to stay at the door till the overlooker came to open it. This family had no clock, and the mother believed, from what she afterwards learnt from the neighbours, that it was only two o'clock when the child was called up and went to work; but this has only generally happened when it has been moonlight, thinking the morning was approaching. It is the general practice in the neighbourhood—and any fact that I state here can be borne out by particular evidence that, if required, I can point out.

"The children are generally cruelly treated; so cruelly treated that they dare not hardly for their lives be too late at their work in a morning. When I have been at the mills in

the winter season, when the children are at work in the evening, the very first thing they enquire is, 'What o'clock is it?' If I should answer 'Seven' they say, 'Only seven? It is a great while to ten, but we must not give up till ten o'clock or past.' They look so anxious to know what o'clock it is that I am convinced the children are fatigued, and think even at seven that they have worked too long. My heart has been ready to bleed for them when I have seen them so tired, for they appear in such a state of apathy and insensibility as really not to know whether they are doing their work or not; they usually throw a bunch of ten or twelve cardings across the hand and take one off at a time. But I have seen the bunch entirely finished and they have attempted to take off another when they have not had a carding at all; they have been so fatigued as not to know whether they were at work or not. The errors which they make when thus fatigued are, that instead of placing the cardings in this way (describing it) they are apt to place them obliquely, and cause a flying which makes a bad yarn, and when the billy-spinner sees that he takes his strap or the billy-roller, and says 'D——n thee, close it, little devil, close it,' and he smites the child with the strap or billy-roller.

"It is a very difficult thing to go into a mill in the later part of the day, particularly in winter, and not to hear some of the children crying for being beaten for this very fault. How they are beaten depends upon the humanity of the slubber or billy-spinner; some have been beaten so violently that they have lost their lives in consequence; and even a young woman had the end of a billy-roller jammed through her cheek. The billy-roller is a heavy rod, of from two to three yards long, and of two inches diameter, and with an iron pivot at each end; it runs on the tops of the cardings over the feeding cloth. I have seen the billy-spinner take the billy-roller and rap the children on the head, making their heads crack, so that you might have heard the blow at the distance of from six to eight yards, in spite of the din and rolling of the machinery; many have been knocked down by the instrument. I knew a boy very well, of the name of Senior, with whom I went to school; he was struck with a billy-roller on the elbow, it occasioned a swelling, he was not able to work more than three or four weeks after the blow, and he died in consequence. There was a woman in Holmfirth who was beaten very much with a billy-roller. This which is produced (showing one) is not the largest size, there are some a foot longer than that; it is the most common instrument with which these poor little pieceners were beaten—more commonly than with either stick or a strap. With regard to the morals of the children who work in mills, we cannot expect that they can be so strict as children who are generally under the care of their parents. I have seen a little boy, only this winter, who works at a mill, who lives within two hundred or three hundred yards of my door; he is not six years old, and I have seen him, when he had a few coppers in his pocket, go to a beershop, call for a glass of ale, and drink as boldly as any full-grown man, cursing, swearing, and saying he should be a man as soon as some of them. I do not know that there are many such boys, but the expressions of children in mills very much accord. You cannot go into a

mill where even the most wealthy master clothier is called Sir or Master; they call them all 'Old Tom' or 'Young Tom,' etc. They call their employers so.

"There is not any possibility of children employed in this way obtaining any instruction from day schools, but since this Factory Bill was agitated, when I have been at mills, the children have gathered round us for a minute or two as I passed along, and have said 'When shall we have to work ten hours a day? Will you get the Ten Hours' Bill? We shall have a rare time then; surely somebody will set up a neet (night) school; I will learn to write that I will.' The opinion of the inhabitants of my neighbourhood is, that if a Ten Hours' Bill be passed, it will be the greatest advantage that they could possibly enjoy. They are of opinion that the more they work the less they receive for it. They say that the markets are overstocked by overworking, and the men are overworked. When a master gets an order for a certain quantity of goods, he sets all his men to work night and day until it is completed. It is the general opinion that if a stop is not put to this excessive and increasing labour there will never be an end to the reduction of wages, but whether the wages will be reduced or not, they are convinced it will be a benefit; and they are anxious that the Bill should be passed into a law. I live six or seven miles from Huddersfield. There is a mill at Smithy Place, three miles and a half from Huddersfield, and that mill worked so long about two years ago that a boy at that mill actually hanged himself, because he said he would sooner do it than work so many hours a day as he had done. I had a brother-in-law working at the mill at the time, and sufficient evidence can be produced before this Committee to prove the boy destroyed himself rather than be so over-worked. From what I have observed, I do not believe that so beneficial an alteration in the hours of labour as would follow the enactment of the Ten Hours' Bill could come about except by legislative enactment, for the parents who send their children to the mills are generally those who could not provide for them by any other means, and they have no alternative but to send them. But the masters as well as the men generally, in the neighbourhood of Holmfirth, are disgusted with the overworking of children, and they say it ought to be remedied. But it cannot be remedied unless everyone is compelled to do as others do. We understand by the Ten Hours' Bill, a bill that will not allow children of a certain age to be actively employed more than ten hours per day, which will be twelve, leaving two hours for rest and refreshment. I have never seen the harsh treatment I have described exercised upon persons of fifteen or sixteen years of age; persons of these ages are generally employed in some other business than piecening. It appears to me that Parliament interference is necessary to protect the parents as well as the children. The children have created commiseration by being overworked. It is also injurious to the parents, because the masters or millowners who have no conscience or feeling do not care what length of time they run their mills. When one takes the lead another must follow, and then all continue to work long hours, although the first might feel some advantage, yet when all come to that point, the

advantage is lost, and they must strain another point or there is no advantage in it; by doing so, they lower the wages more and more—and the more they work the less wages are obtained. If protection were afforded by law to children up to the age of fifteen, those about that age would suffer; and why should they continue to work seventeen or eighteen hours per day? It seems to me that youths ought to have some opportunity of learning to read and write, and other domestic duties. For instance, when females who were brought up in mills get married, they know not how to manage their children; it is even a proverb in the neighbourhood of Holmfirth, that the man who would have a good wife must take care not to marry 'a factory doll,' as she will not know how to manage a family. I think all ought to be protected by law until they be twenty-one years of age.....I know, from my own knowledge, that children of the age of from six to twelve have really been working from sixteen and seventeen hours per day. I know it by seeing them going to their work and coming from their work, the same children."

Children living under such circumstances could have no possible chance of attending either day or night schools, and the great bulk of the poorer classes grew up unable to read or write.

I quote the following extracts from John Mayall's "*Annals of Yorkshire.*"

4th September, 1832.

"The candidates for the representation of Leeds attended at the Mixed Cloth Hall to address the electors, when Mr. Marshall came forward to propose Mr. Macaulay, some of the blue party placed before him a standard representing a view of Messrs. Marshall's mill in Water Lane, in a snow storm on a winter's morning, with several poor decrepit and half naked children trudging in a shivering attitude through the snow. On the picture were painted the words 'A scene in Water Lane at five o'clock in the morning.'"

September 2nd 1833.

"Joseph Radcliffe overlooker at the flax Manufactory of Mark Walker, Mabgate, Leeds, was committed to York on a charge of manslaughter for having caused the death by ill treatment of Samuel Tomlinson a cloth dresser, residing in the Jolly Tar Yard, Marsh Lane. The funeral of the boy on the Sunday following, at the Parish Church drew altogether an immense concourse of spectators among whom were 600 factory children."

January 1st, 1834.

"The Factory Act came into operation this day, by which no person under eighteen years of age was allowed to work between the hours of half past eight o'clock in the evening and half past five in the morning, or be employed more than twelve hours a day or sixty nine hours a week, one hour and a half in the day being allowed for meals. No child under nine years of age to be employed except in silk mills. Six months after the passing of the act, no child under eleven years of age to work more than fortyeight hours a week, or nine hours a day, nor

after eighteen months, any child under twelve years of age, nor after thirty months under thirteen years of age.

"To have holidays on Christmas Day and Good Friday and eight half days in the year, at the pleasure of the Master, besides which provisions were made for the appointment of Inspectors etc., for the education of the children by the establishment of the schools, and the appointment of Schoolmasters etc."

My MSS. deal almost entirely with people like Thomas Stutterd, whose circumstances were such as to enable them to keep their boys at home and at school far beyond the time when the children referred to in the previous pages were sent to the mills, and all Thomas Stutterd's family seem to have had an education above the average standard of the times.

It is necessary to remember this difference when reading the following pages.

CHAPTER 43.

Day and Boarding Schools.

It has already been stated that Thomas Stutterd had been a schoolmaster in his younger days, and before he came to Longwood in 1779. In 1781 he was not happy in his employment and heard that a friend of his, J. Garnett, had left his school at Bolton, Lancs., for one at Rochdale. Correspondence passed between the two as follows :

First letter to Mr. Stutterd, received 17th November, 1781.

"Sir,

Your friendly epistle I received. The contents inform me that you have heard of my removing to Rochdale and seem rather dubious of my being fickle. I acknowledge I have given both you and all others great reason to be so, but always knowing my own circumstances, and thought that no person keep me, so I launch forward at a venture, but am persuaded that every time I have removed has been much the better, therefore do not doubt that

Rochdale will be better than any. There is a house and school free and £7 a year for a few little scholars and the town seems likely. You say you have some inclination at times for your old profession and if I must give you my thoughts about it, I must tell you that if you could get a good school that it would be much better. As for Bolton I cannot tell what to say therefore shall leave it to your own judgment, with the best account I can give you about it. My school when broke up, and that was last Friday, consisted of about 30 writers at 6d. per week 10 readings at 3d. and 30 at 2d. and as for the night school it is almost over until after Christmas be turned, and then a good penman may get a half a guinea per week. I never charged less than 1d. per night for writing, and I have had between 20 and 30 for about 2 months, 6 nights per week so that I do not doubt but you or any other sober person might get a good living in Bolton, and for the desks and forms I have them to dispose of, but shall leave it to your own determination considering that your present situation is hard money but under masters, but must conclude, with desiring an answer immediately.

Yours most obediently,
J. Garnett.

Direct me in Toad Lane, Rochdale."

This letter received Nov. 17th, 1781, in ye evening.

Notes made by Mr. Stutterd of letter sent to Mr. Garnett Nov. 18th, 1781.

Write to Garnett as under Nov. 18th 1781.

Received his letter without date.

How did he leave Bolton. What became of his scholars. Did they want another master, or they would go to other schools. Am at a loss on account of his leaving so abruptly.

What sort of payers are Bolton people. Were your scholars poor people or not. If he left the house empty. How is it situated, is it in the heart of the town.

What sort of a house is it. Is it fit for a school and living too, genteely. What rooms are there and what sort of windows. If good light.

What sort of a neighbourhood.

What rent did you pay.

What sort of schools are there in Bolton tell me their names.

What state is the Baptist Meeting in.
If Jno Drake a bookseller now living in Bolton.
My wife well qualified to teach sewing. If she could not get scholars.
What desks and forms have you there. What price.
How did you get Rochdale and does it frame.
What sort of writing pleases Bolton. If fine Hair Stroke. Strong writing or more weak.
How is trade at Bolton brisk or flagging.
What hours begin and end school both day and night.
What sort of an appearance do they expect a master to make.
Are Bolton lads unruly or tractable."

Second letter to Mr. Stutterd Nov. 24th, 1781.

" Sir,

Your free and open epistle I received in which you say you have not come to a determination about Bolton, but seem to want all the intelligence you can get which is very right for we ought to look twice before we step once, but however I shall with all my mind give you what I can about it, and in the first place the scholars are some gone to one place, and some to another, some at home, and three came along with me, and if there do not a master go there, will other three or four come at Christmas so this is the manner the scholars are in. I told them I would get a successor if possible. There is a very large free school in Bolton with two masters, and I think the one has 80 pupils that is the largest—his name is Shaw the other has 60, his name is Boardman but is of little use to the town, for they seem to mind the cup more than their work. Then there is another free school with about 20 pupils at Slack Gownhay (?) There is three or four—besides and none a writer worth notice, so that I think there is a good opening. My scholars paid so I had no mind to find fault. They were of rank from Esquire's sons or daughters, to the meanest, they approve of something in writing what is uncommon for they know very little about it only they think their children....."

" The house that we left is empty and we shall be obliged to have it on our hands till May day. It is in Danesgate in a very proper place. It is not well calculated neither for school nor house that is not both in one. There is two ground rooms which we made into a school with each one light, the front room has a large sash but not all

fit for a school only for a time. There is five good chambers which we made our dwelling house, there is a garret over them all, which is fit for a bedroom. The rent is £7 7 0. It is in the street. The neighbours are of all denominations. As for needlework I can give you no account of, only think that there would be some employment. The desks that I have at Bolton are 3 which will hold 36 or 40 writers which cost me about 50/-. The hours which I kept my scholars was exceeding many, with having such a numerous. They were between 7 in the morning till 6 at night in the summer, and 7 and 9 in winter.

Of Bolton lads there are both good, bad and indifrant. Mr. Drake lives in Bolton. I got Rochdale school with very little trouble. I happened to be going into Yorkshire with my wife's sister and heard of it. I had my best clothes on and got a little powder on my head, and took a walk to talk with the trustees, and asked them if they did want one that was sober and a good hand, so I seemed to be easy about them, and tould them that I had a good place but thought I could get them one that would suit them, but they wanted to look at my writing, so I gave them a few lines which seemed to tickle their fancy very much, then they asked me a few questions what I could do. I likewise answered them, then they told me they thought I was the very person they wanted, and asked me if i'll accept the school. I told them I could not tell, but I was going into Yorkshire and if possible I would determine and give them an answer as I came back, and accordingly I did and has not as yet repented. My success is as good as can be expected. The Baptists at Bolton are about 14 members and have a meeting every two weeks, that supplies them. The time is come that I must conclude, but before I must tell you that if you do intend to make a trial at Bolton, you must let me know very soon, as there is one or two others is about it and I cannot tell whether they have determined or not but if you will let me know your determination, I will endeavour to put a stop to them.

Dear Sir, I hope you will excuse this black blundered scrawl so i'll remain

Your most obedient

J. Garnett."

Rochdale.
24th Nov. 1781."

Copies of these MSS. were sent to the "*Bolton Journal and Guardian*," and were referred to at length in their columns as being of great interest to the town. Their article finishes :

> "Mr. Stutterd did not come to Bolton, but his letters have left us a vivid picture of the old fashioned 'dominie' striving for long days in dim classrooms to drive into unwilling heads the education with which he himself was not too well endowed. Garnett's reward for a full weeks work could have been little over 30/- and out of this came rent and stock. No wonder that before seeking a new position Stutterd asked what sort of an appearance is a master expected to make, and Garnett perhaps discreetly refrains from reply."

William Brigg kept a school at Lindley and Thomas Stutterd sent some of his children there. Mr. Brigg writes to Thomas Stutterd, 23/11/1794.

> "Dear Friend,
>
> Enclosed I have sent you two specimens of my boys' writing contrasted with one wrote by a boy of John Marshall's who is 15 years of age and has been a many years at several of the great boarding schools, whereas my boys are not yet 11 years of age, and have been instructed nowhere besides at my school. You may make what use of them you please. If you learn any intelligence respecting school matters I hope you will be communicative."

J. Gledhill had a school at Birkby and Thos.. Stutterd sent at least one of his children there.

The Rev. John Stutterd was a weaver at one time ; his wife also was a wage earner as shown by the following extracts :

> "Feb. 21/1788. Am very busy to-day. My piece must go to Halifax and these eight score are heavy weaving. Believe I shall be awake all night."
>
> "8th Dec. 1798.
>
> My wife for some weeks has seemed more healthy than in general. Winding twist, doubling and triming heald yarn etc. Of late she has been fond of reading of light amusive reading, and has seldom enjoyed her favourite pipe without the accompaniment of a book."

But he gave up his weaving and opened a day school.

These day-school teachers would sometimes be asked to take in a boarder, as is shown by the following letter :

" Mr. Stutterd,
Dear Sir, I received yours. I could wish you to tackle my lad for 3 or 6 months or 12 months but if you have not goten a spare bed I make not the lest doubt but provishon will be bought in Colne for money and if you have not convenience for washing that may be goten also and I will pay for that. My best resptes to your wife and I wish her to consent for the lad to come the resin of my opling to you I think you will tacke care of is morrels and I all wase have bene careful of the compny my children keeps.
Your ancer soone as possibell.
Will oblige,
Your friend,
John Sykes."

The following is an advertisement of a ministerial boarding-school 1780 :

" Reading, writing, arithmetic, surveying, grammar, etc. etc. carefully taught on the most modern and approved plan and boys boarded and fitted for business at 12 guineas per annum and half a guinea entrance, by C. Whitfield, Hamsterley, Durham."

Dr. Fawcett kept a boys' boarding-school and many of the sons of the better-off Baptists of the period would be educated there.

The following is a copy of the Doctor's prospectus:

At Brearley Hall in Midgley, near Halifax, a very pleasant and healthy situation.

YOUTHS.

Are genteely boarded and trained up with diligence and fidelity.
And care in ye several branches of literature necessary for civil and active life by J. Fawcett and assistants.

TERMS.

Board and tutorage if under 15 years of age. 16 guineas, if above, 18 guineas. Entrance half a guinea and a pair of sheets. Washing 6 shillings a quarter.

Thomas Stutterd sent some of his sons to Dr. Fawcett's school. Here is a letter from Dr. Fawcett :

Brearley Hall, May 28th, 1794.

Dear Sir,

In answer to your obliging enquiries. I have as above sent you the terms of our school. We shall have a few vacancies after the ensuing holidays and shall be willing to take your son if you conclude to send him.

We have two vacations every year at Midsummer and Christmas, each of which continue about a month.

The report you have heard of Mr. Fuller's being expected at the Association was not without foundation, it was his intention to have come but some circumstances have lately occurred which will probably prevent it. The last time we heard from him he was going to London to collect for the missionaries who are most likely before this arrived in India although no certain accounts have been heard of them Mrs. Thomas who went in another vessel has written to her friends.

The persons fixed upon to preach at the ensuing lecture are Langdon, Sharp and Crabtree, I shall be glad to see you at that time.

I remain Dear Sir,

Your sincere friend and obedient servant.

J. FAWCETT."

I give the following somewhat quaint letter from Jabez at Dr. Fawcett's school :

" Brearley Hall, Decr. 4th 1795.

Honored Mother,

After a close application to our learning for the space of half a year we now please ourselves with the prospect of a little relaxation. A privilege which we value the more because it gives us the opportunity of visiting again our dear relatives and friends. I shall be exceedingly happy to find them all in the enjoyment of as good health as I am.

It will not become me to say much of my proficiency in learning nor is it necessary that I should as you and the rest of my friends will judge for yourselves I shall only say that my best endeavours have not been wanting. I thank you for your care and anxiety on my account and hope you will sometime see that neither these nor the expense of my education have been bestowed in vain. The day appointed for our breaking up is the 19th instant. I shall be glad of a line as soon as convenient how and when I shall come home.

My tutors give their respectful compliments to you. Please to give my love to brothers and sisters.

I am,
Your dutiful son,
Jabez Stutterd."

In another letter from Jabez on Oct. 17th, 1795, he describes how he spent a special half holiday.

"Last Wednesday we had a holiday in the afternoon. Stocks, Brook, Hudson and I took a trip to Sowerby paid a halfpenny a piece to go all about it (i.e. presumably the Church) it is a fine church there is a large monument set up to the memory of Archbishop ——— who was born in that township. It is the figure of a man as large as life made of nice White Marble with an inscription underneath concerning him. Likewise near the Sacrament Table two monuments one of Christ, the other of Moses as large as life both of which are of marble. Also a very large organ. It has 8 bells but is not a parish Church but I must now conclude, give my love to brothers and sisters.

I remain Honoured Mother,
Your dutiful son,
Jabez Stutterd."

It will be noticed that not a word is said about any games or other sports. In a boarding-school of to-day a special half holiday in October would not be spent as Jabez Stutterd and his friends spent theirs. I am reminded that some time ago I was sharing in the pleasure of giving two boys of thirteen years of age their first visit to London. On the Tuesday afternoon we went to St. Paul's. After they had been taken down to the crypt and up to the whispering

gallery, we sat down in the nave whilst the afternoon service was being conducted. The pealing of the noble organ, the chanting of the white robed choristers, the stealing of the afternoon sun through the richly coloured glass, the massive beauty of the fane etc., etc., all seemed to impress my youthful companions very little, for it was evident they were restless and wanted to be going. So we went, and I learned when we got outside, they had been promised that after we left the Cathedral they should see "The Mechanical Man" at Gamages.

I have no doubt that Thomas Stutterd would have been much troubled—we were not a bit.

CHAPTER 44.

The Church and the Child.

I do not think I could better illustrate the difference between the present day attitude to children and that of the old times, than by giving an extract from a letter written by Thomas Stutterd to his son Jabez, then twelve years and nine months of age.

30th March, 1794.

My dear Son,

I wrote to thy Mother from Burford on the 12th instant. I hope my letter got home. I now write to tell thee that I desire that thou wilt tell thy mother and thy brothers and sisters that I am well. I hope you are all well. How is my dear Joseph's fingers. I left a direction for Banbury for 8th March, I did not receive a letter there and did not leave till the 11th in the evening. How was that my dear ? I am afraid you neglect to write. If you have not wrote to Reading on the 17th I shall be ready to scold.

Dont say you know not what to write. You may write about 20 things and what you may think not worth while to write, may perhaps be most acceptable to me.

In the first place you may give me a copy of your daily memo of the weather, occurrences in the neighbourhood, the books you read and some particular extracts from them that strike you. What Chapters in the Bible you have read, and what you have found in them that has taken your attention. You may write what particular thoughts have passed through thy mind. You may write what you think of Death, Eternity, Heaven and Hell. Jesus Christ, His Death and Salvation. You may write your wishes in regard to the line of conduct you could like to pursue, and in what sphere you could wish to move when you arrive at Manhood, if God spares you.

You may give me an account of the meetings you have been at. What has been said. Who has prayed. Which have been edifying meetings etc.

You might tell me what you do at school, and how your work there will apply to practice, for you must know that you are not sent to school merely to pass on the time, but that you make a wiser and more useful man both for your own advantage and that of others. I mean that you answer the end of thy creation and be an honour to thy creator etc."

Can anything appear more grotesque to a man of the present age than to suggest to a school-boy of twelve years old, that he should put into writing his views on Death, Eternity, Heaven and Hell ?

There was a formal dedication service for the infant soon after it was born ; it will be remembered that in the church covenant there is mention of the fact. The ceremony was more than a religious service ; the child was then given its name. There are several references to this service among my papers. Note in John Stutterd's diary, " March 15th, 1788, night—Named Robert Hyde's child. Tis called Robert. Is 13 days old."

February 13th, 1785. T. Stutterd's diary :

" Mr. Wood came home with me—gave some reasons why we don't Sprinkle infants, and advice to us parents how to bring up our children, viz. Instructing them, Correction (if occasion for it), keeping them in on a Sabbath Day etc. etc. Bringing them to public worship. Praying

for them and setting them a good example—assisted us to return thanks to God for his late gracious deliverance in time of child bearing. Jas. Bray, Jno. Starkey and G. Broughton present."

The records of these children who were thus dedicated and named, were required to be sent to London on the passing of the Registration Act of 1837, and are now preserved at Somerset House.

I can remember being put into a somewhat embarrassing position in my younger days. I was in the habit of going frequently on the week evenings to the Sunday School at which I was a teacher. I was returning one evening, when a woman ran out from one of the cottages on the road side, and asked me to go into one of her neighbour's houses. Mrs. So and So wanted to be "loised." I did not in the least know what was required of me but I went; it was explained that the good woman had had a child born and that it was not considered decent and proper for her to leave her house until she had had some service about it; I was entirely ignorant of what was expected of me but two or three neighbours were brought in and we had a service, probably quite unorthodox in its ritual. Anyway they seemed to think I had done all that was necessary, and the woman regained her freedom.

I have stated that the age about which I am writing was a gloomy period. That for the children of the poorer classes life was simply hell. How did children generally fare in this time of the shadows—the children who do not love gloom, and look for happiness and laughter? They had their parents' love as surely in that day as in this. The mother's knee would be theirs, and her arms would be as warm as those of to-day; the mother of 1790 would weep as bitterly and would as surely refuse to be comforted over her small-pox stricken children as did Rachel of

Ramah. The fathers, although perhaps stern and forbidding in some cases, and almost always utterly failing to have the least understanding of child life and aspirations, still loved their offspring with an abiding affection. Thomas Stutterd was a most tender father and for his first-born son at Dr. Fawcett's he seems to have had a special fondness. John Stutterd in the loss of his only child, writes :

> " Thursday, Decr. 3rd, 1789. We interred a sensible, obedient, only child—Mournful occasion indeed. Nathan Smith gave us an excellent discourse from 'And she answered, It is well.' I cannot refrain thinking, if my John was living and prattling about me it would be better."

The children had the open air and the woods and the fields with their birds and wild flowers, and that they would have games of some sort is certain, but what had the church to say to the little ones ? How did she respond to the extraordinary opportunity that Providence had given her to follow her Master by taking the children into her arms, and ministering to the needs of childhood ? It would be incorrect to say that there is no recognition in my papers by the good folk of that date, that there were children coming about the meeting house and within the cognizance of the church. Thomas Stutterd writes Jan. 16th, 1785, Sunday :

> " I attended at Nook both ends ; in forenoon in a pretty good frame for hearing, in afternoon more disturbed. I sat in vestry uncomfortable on account of many rough lads who crowd the fire continually. There wants to be regulation in the government of this room. The lads should either be kept out, or compelled to keep their seats."

Apparently all the church at Salendine Nook had to say to the children of that day, at least as far as is found in my MSS. was " keep quiet or keep out."

I have most carefully searched through all my papers, say up to 1805. I have studied the notes of the sermons found in these MSS. and in contemporary

literature, but I can find no reference to any kind of children's services, or even to any special addresses or sermons for them, and moreover I cannot trace a sermon or address likely to be really understood or appreciated by any normal, healthy child.

There were what were termed Sunday Schools, but I doubt if these were not frequented more by adults than by children. There was one at Longwood at which Thomas Stutterd often exercised, but when asked what sort of hearers he had, mentions that five of them were members at Nook and the rest carnal, by which he meant that they were not professors. It would seem likely that those attending would be given some secular lessons, perhaps only in reading, and have a religious service after. There are frequent references to this Longwood Sunday School in my papers. (4/3/1787. Brother Jabez teaching in the Sunday School at Longwood 'Letter T.S.').

Such institutions, however, were purely private affairs, for which the Salendine Nook church evidently took no responsibility. Mr. Joseph Whiteley Shaw, who made a study of the matter, places the date of the first official connection of the Nook with the S.S. as 1820.

The circular letter to the Association Meeting at Northampton in 1786 on "The Authority and Sanctification of the Lord's Day" contains this note :

> "It may be hoped that the prevailing practice of establishing schools upon the Lord's day may be attended with the most beneficial effects. Love to our country but especially love to religion should rouse in our bosoms a warm concern for the welfare of the rising age. The proper education of youth is a matter of the highest importance. The manner in which the Sabbath day is spent by multitudes has the most pernicious effect upon their minds and morals. On it a greater progress is commonly made in vice than upon the other six. According to the present laudable plan, many are in a great measure preserved from what would be harmful, and by being

taught to read and regularly brought to the public worship of God are in the way to learn that, which through a divine blessing may be profitable to themselves, and render them more useful members of society at large."

It is always a matter of wonder to me that even to-day some men forget so soon the lessons of their own childhood. It is difficult to believe that they have ever been boys, there is such a gulf between the child and the man, but if we would see this gulf in its most impassable form we need only study the Bromsgrove Association letter of 1783—referred to later—on the training of the child.

Mr. Brigg's sermon on the same subject, which is found in the appendix, presents a more humane ideal, but the almost savage delight that the writer of the former document takes in portraying the child in its most unprepossessing light, is positively repulsive.

I cannot help wondering how Thomas Stutterd's children spent their Sundays. Very often, Thomas would be away from home. The family would come back from Meeting House at 4 o'clock. They would have tea—and then ? I imagine Jabez going up to his father's bookshelves for something to read. Thomas often gave particulars of the purchases of his books, but I fail to see any one which by any chance could be of interest to a child, except perhaps the "Pilgrim's Progress." Beddome's Catechism and similar productions would hardly be looked at, voluntarily, by a child even in those days.

It was a great point in their conception of the training of the young that they should be "kept in on the Sunday." Joshua Wood emphasises this monumental, futile negation as well as the compiler of the 1783 Association letter. Even W. Brigg's homily is all on the negative side. He does not urge that if children are to be so carefully trained in what they are not to do, it was up to their parents to provide

some alternative and equally attractive things they might lawfully do.

I ask my readers to imagine Thomas Stutterd's boys on a fine Sunday afternoon, when there was every possible inducement to be in the open, looking out of the window and wondering how they were to pass the four hours before bed time.

The young to-day have such a dominating influence in the life of the individual, the Church, and the Nation, that it is distressing to picture the disadvantages of child life in the days of our Puritan forefathers. There seems to have been no kind of religious companionship between the old and the young. The Sunday School as we know it did not exist. The many social functions of Church life in which the young now take such a prominent part, were not then dreamt of; they would all have been considered sacrilege of a very objectionable nature had they been suggested.

The attitude to child life in the Puritan times is the greatest flaw in the whole of an unlovely outlook. It is difficult to think charitably at all of ideals which had so much of dreariness and selfishness and so little of beauty in the conception and treatment of childhood; and this holds equally in the passive acquiescence in the abominable scandal of the child in the factory, as in the ignoring of the claims of the young in better circumstances in the Church.

This attitude, at least to a large extent, remained long after the period dealt with in my MSS. In "*The Popular History of the Baptist Building Fund*," *by Seymour J. Price* appears this passage:

> "Trust deeds continued to give the committee much trouble, and applications for assistance were declined with regularity 'Deeds unsatisfactory.'
>
> "The fund existed for the assistance of 'Particular or Calvinistic churches' and the committee's interpretation was inflexible. Finally in January 1850 the solicitor was

asked to prepare a Model Trust Deed. After much discussion and several alterations the deed was adopted in the following May and for some years was printed in the Annual Report. The deed almost became the recognised standard form of the denomination. It is somewhat restrictive and has not proved an unmixed blessing. The attitude of the age to youth is reflected in the clause which gives permission to hold a Sunday School if it were thought necessary or expedient and then only if two thirds of the members assembled at a church meeting approved."

What kind of sermon or address was given to the children in the early Sunday Schools ? I have before me a printed copy of a Baptist Minister's

" SERMON
on the happy death of a little child,
delivered to
The children of the Sunday Schools, and other young persons
on
Sunday Evening, May 21, 1843.
Numbers xxiii. 10.
' Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his ! ' "

The sermon opened with these cheerful words

" We have, in the case of the individual from whose words I am about to address you, an awful illustration of the observation that ' it is not sufficient to desire to die the death of the righteous.' Who spake these words ?—Balaam—a false prophet ; one who three times tried to curse the people of God ; one who persevered in his rebellion, and who died fighting against the very people whom God compelled him to bless. Yes ! he who first uttered this prayer is himself, now, in the bottomless pit. Balaam is with the lost in hell ! I shall say a few words....."

and continued throughout from the impossible standpoint so generally adopted by our Puritan fathers in their attitude to the child.

For generations the churches had simply ignored the children. It was only to be expected that teachers should need to serve a long apprenticeship before they became "master craftsmen" in the new task they had undertaken. It is the reverse of pleasing, however, to contemplate the probable deliverance of the average Sunday School speaker during the period of this apprenticeship.

CHAPTER 45.

The Church and the Child—(continued).

A little time ago the whole of the civilised world was stirred by the kidnapping of a baby from its home. The police everywhere were put on the alert. Money was spent without stint. A ship was chartered to help in the search and nothing that the wit of man could devise was spared in the endeavour to recover this kidnapped child.

In addition to those not directly associated with the Sunday School, Salendine Nook church has to-day, and has had for many years, a family of five hundred children in her home, and on an average perhaps forty of these are stolen, kidnapped or lost to her every year. Some two or three each year may definitely decide to remain in the family but the vast majority pass out and neither Salendine Nook nor any other church knows them any more. All this, it must be confessed, is accepted much as a matter of course and apparently without causing any undue uneasiness to anyone.

It would be entirely false and unjust to suppose that the Church's efforts with the children she thus loses, have been of no account and that children so

lost to the Church have gained nothing of permanence by her ministrations. This fact, however, cannot be gainsaid,—from a most essential point of view the Church has to admit a distressing failure, for it is not part of her policy that her children should be stolen, kidnapped or lost to her ; it is not the ideal she has ever before her.

The greatest of the present day questions before Church is how to retain her young. She has solved the problem of how to gain touch with them, she has yet to learn how to maintain that touch.

Five hundred and more children to-day in the family of the Nook church ! What vast potentialities lie in that simple fact ; potentialities of usefulness not only to the Mother Church but to the whole district in which those children live.

During the recent Great War, Germany made a mighty effort to force her way past Verdun to reach Paris, but the people of France had other views. They said,

" They shall not pass "

and they backed this resolve with all the resources of their country, they spared neither blood nor treasure, and they held Verdun.

They held Verdun because of their stern determination and of all they were prepared to sacrifice to make good those words, " They shall not pass." Will the church at Salendine Nook ever be heard saying with the same intensity of purpose about her children, " they shall not pass thus from us, we will hold them whatever the cost may be ? "

There is little need for apology in using the simile of war and battle in considering the tasks of the Church. The Scriptures use the simile frequently and preachers and poets of all ages have spoken and sung of the Christian's life as a warfare. There are two things to be recognised,

(1) The Great War has taught emphatically the uselessness of obsolete weapons, especially in naval fighting. The four inch gun is no good against the six inch, or the eight inch against the twelve inch. The result of any fighting on such unequal terms would be certain from the beginning. Our sturdy forebears won many a hard fought battle with no other weapons than the pike and the bow and arrow. A handful of men with a few well-placed machine guns to-day, would without any injury to themselves annihilate in a few minutes a whole regiment of archers and pikemen.

In the Church's warfare with "the world, the flesh and the devil" and most certainly in her fight for the possession of the future of her children there is the same urgent necessity for the adoption of the best and most modern equipment and weapons. It is greatly to be regretted that so many good christians refuse to recognise this elementary fact. They think and live in the days of the bow and arrow. Their attachment to the ideal of "The Faith once delivered to the Saints" extends in an even greater degree to the equipment and weapons once wielded by those saints.

The Verdun campaign of the Church to-day for the retention of her children will never be won by weapons of the bow and arrow type.

(2) The best ordnance that was ever constructed will never win victory without the right sort of men behind the guns. One of the most futile things in the world is to hold meetings to decide on all sorts of new organisations and methods for no other reason than that they have been found successful elsewhere. The circumstances may be entirely different. It would be just as foolish to enter into battle with the latest ordnance and

> with no one competent or willing to use it as to go back to the equipment of the bow and arrow. No man can be considered an expert trout fisher until he is competent to make his own artificial flies. I submit that no man or body of men can be considered capable and expert leaders until they have learnt how to evolve much of their own organisation and methods consistent with the needs and resources incident to their own circumstances. They need minds quick and alert to learn from anybody and anything and to sift out from all they see and hear that of which they can make use in forging their own weapons.

I am quite aware that all this offers no definite practical suggestion on the present day problem of the Church's retention of her young.

I have had many dreams and visions of the ideal methods of the ideal Church in her relationship with her children. May I put into words just one of these, and may I also state that in one Baptist church in Yorkshire a great part of this vision has been translated into practical operation ? When I brought this before the Nook people some years ago during Mr. Jenkins' pastorate it was sympathetically received. For various reasons it was not proceeded with at the time, but it was never turned down and I should not be surprised if there is a minute recorded somewhere, approving of it. My vision has been added to since it was brought before the Nook people, but I give it as it presents itself to my mind to-day.

Our old Puritan forefathers, I suggest, were unduly nihilistic in their attitude. They saw in the Church policy and methods of their time much which offended their deepest religious convictions, but, instead of intelligently sifting out the wheat from the tares, they often made a clean sweep of all, and thus much that

was not only harmless, but even helpful and beautiful, was ruthlessly sacrificed.

The Baptist in the relationship of his Church to the child, I suggest supplies a conspicuous example. It does not seem to have been necessary in order to enter a protest against the error of "Baptismal Regeneration" that he should have altogether dissociated his Church from any relationship with the child, nor does it seem to be in keeping with Christ's teaching.

I suggest that it is possible for the Baptist Church formally and officially to enter into a very real and a very intimate relationship with the child without any compromise of her distinguishing principles. A man may be conducting and controlling a great business. He may have a family and it may be his earnest hope and ambition that when his sons are old enough they will become partners with him in the conduct of this business and eventually, when his own day is past, carry on in his place, but whether they do all this or not, they are still his children. He may be disappointed that they do not fulfil all his hopes but they are entitled to receive from him all that his parental love may dictate.

The Church is engaged in the great business of evangelising the world. She has a large family of children in her home. It is her earnest desire that they may in due time become partners with her, but whether they become members of her church and thus partners in her business, or not, it should be made manifest that they are nevertheless her children and entitled to her never failing love and consideration.

I would have a great and beautiful book provided, the very best that British craftsmanship can produce, with columns—in the case of Nook—for thousands of entries. Every child when it enters the family of the church, either through the congregation or Sunday School should have its name inscribed in this

book. When the child arrives at the age of twelve it should be given the opportunity of signing its own name as a recognition of the fact that it accepts its relationship as a member of the church's family. I suggest this book should be opened and the signatures made once every six months in the chapel under the distinct auspices of the church, and every possible endeavour should be made to make the service on such occasions the most impressive of any held throughout the whole year.

There should be ample space under every name for the record of the Church's future relationship with the child and even when such child has grown up an occasional entry should be invited. This book should be the " Church's Great Family Bible " and should be a vivid witness to the Church's motherhood. It should be kept in an equally beautiful cabinet always on view and in the most conspicuous and honoured place in the chapel.

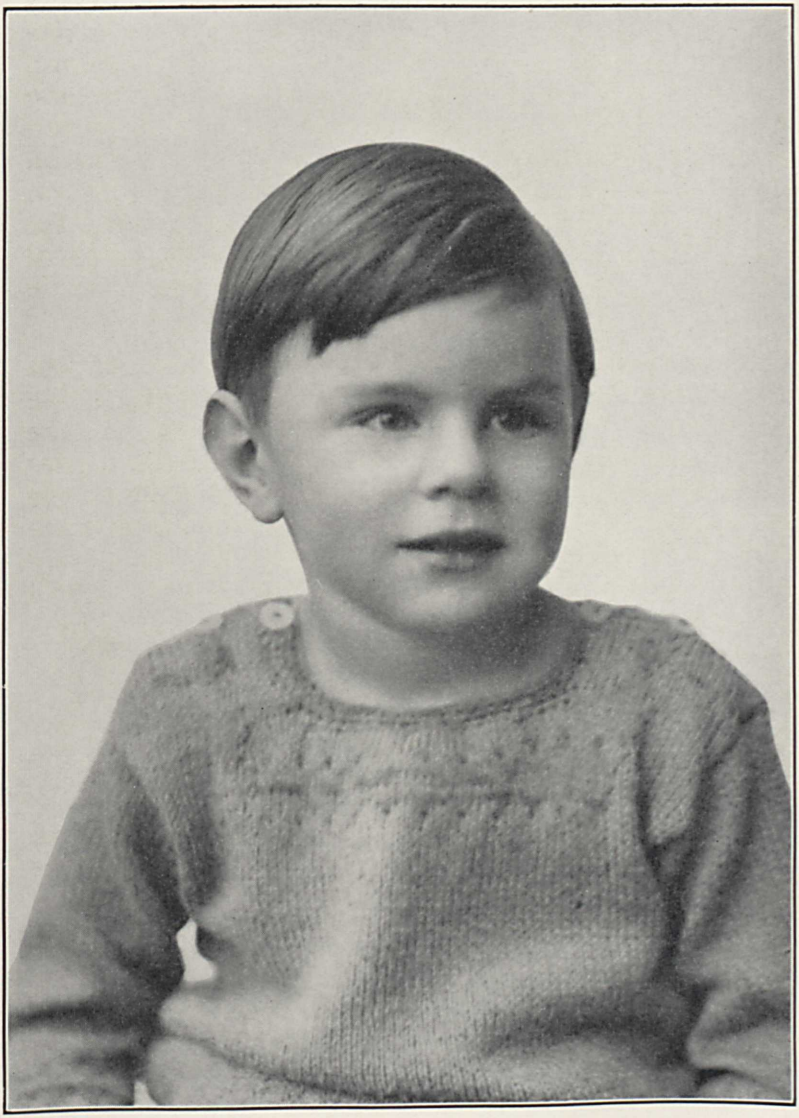
The pages of all church books, unhappily, are found disfigured with records of exclusions. There need be none in this " Family Bible."

I would go much further with these children who form the family of the Church and whose names are thus inscribed. The idea of Godparents has much in it that is beautiful. It is not necessary that anyone should make promises or give undertakings on some one else's behalf, which in the very nature of things cannot be certain of fulfilment, but I would ask those men and women who claim to have the love of God in their hearts and desire earnestly to show this love to their fellow-men, to undertake in the sight of God and before the Church to be real friends and fathers or mothers in Israel to two or three of these children who may be committed to them, to care for them in both temporal and spiritual matters, to watch over them in their passage through

their childhood, and to foster and cherish continually the church's relationship with them until they arrive at the full age of maturity. I would that the Church to the utmost of her powers, should encourage the idea that the relationship of these men and women with the children in their charge is second only in moment to that with their own offspring, for I am convinced that the secret of success in this battle for the children lies in the extent to which personal fellowship between the young and the old is made a real force and power.

I respectfully offer the Nook church my earnest good wishes for success in this great problem of the retention of her children. I urge her people to take off their coats to the task, to tighten their belts, to set their lips, and to sail into the struggle with the love of conflict in their hearts. Men of our race have seldom shrunk from fighting because big odds were against them. For God's sake let us change fretful and useless complaints of difficulties for the determined resolve, "they shall not leave us!" Let us give up dreaming of the bow and arrow, or of only the hour's school service on the Sunday afternoon; if we would succeed we must be prepared to make the task much more a whole-time one.

If we do not secure all the success we wish, we can, if we will, altogether change for the better the present condition of affairs. Of this we may be as certain as that day will follow night.



CHAPTER 46.

A Sermon by my Fire.

Not in entire forgetfulness,
And not in utter nakedness,
But trailing clouds of glory do we come
From God, who is our home :
Heaven lies about us in our infancy !
—Wordsworth.

When I came into my room this evening the fire looked most uninviting. Someone had thrown on a considerable amount of fuel ; it looked all very unpromising ; it was not certain that the fire had not been entirely extinguished. When, however, the upper surface had been lifted, underneath was a great centre of radiant heat ; in the heart of the fuel there was really a glowing furnace.

Our forebears had an uncanny capacity for conveying in their ex-cathedrâ utterances an impression of cold and uninviting unloveliness. Their Confessions of Faith, their Association letters particularly, and some of their sermons carry with them, at least to a man of the twentieth century, an atmosphere of chilly unattractiveness. There are, however, many evidences that beneath the surface the people had as warm and responsive hearts as any who live in this century.

A congregation of men and women in tears to-day would be a rarity, but we find frequent records of such in the time of our forefathers. The recital of scenes of sorrow, or appeals to their emotions touched them quickly. Rigid Calvinists, weeping copiously, seem somehow to present a strange anomaly, and yet my papers show quite a number of such pictures.

Thomas Stutterd as an exponent of Calvinism and the Total Depravity of Man seems different from the

Thomas Stutterd sitting up night after night tending his children, all down together with small-pox.

J. Womersley as one of the custodians of sound theology, presents one picture, but J. Womersley, rough man as he probably was, bursting into tears at the mere suggestion of the passing of his leader, shows us another and more attractive man.

Extracts from Jabez Stutterd's letter to his brother Thomas, 3/4/1793, respecting the week-night cottage meeting :

> " T.B. said a little, Jno. Starkey spoke very sensibly on the subject. Then read your letter, when I read that part of it where you say you hope to see them again in the flesh. If not God's will you should ; that you hope to see them in heaven to rejoice in redeeming love with them for ever, J. Womersley burst into a flood of tears and was much affected."

It has often been said that some men are better than their creeds. Notwithstanding all that is in this book I confess to a great love and reverence for our old folk. There was something lovable about them, however unlovely their creeds ; they give an impression of warmth and feeling, however chilly their doctrinal outlook may have been.

The circular letter to the churches in the Midland Association, read at their annual meetings at Bromsgrove in 1783, gives a characteristic exposition of their doctrinal view respecting the child.

> " It is natural for all children to walk contrary to the pure and holy law of God for they are as prone to evil as the sparks are to fly upwards. Foolishness is bound up in the heart of a child but the rod of correction shall drive it far from him. Prov. 22. 25. He that spares his rod hates his child. Children are born depraved, they are shapen in iniquity, and by nature children of wrath. They are of their father the Devil. Their hearts are deceitful above all things and desper-

ately wicked. Every imagination of the thoughts of their hearts is only evil continually. As children are thus depraved and corrupt....."

I wonder if the writer of this letter, the Reverend Thomas Thomas, had ever read this passage in that same Bible from which he quotes :

" And Jesus called a little child unto him and set him in the midst of them, And said, Verily I say unto you, Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven."

And further, I wonder if the reverend gentleman had not some child of his own, one of those whose

" hearts are deceitful above all things and desperately wicked, whose every imagination of the thoughts of their hearts is only evil continually "

who was not more to him than almost all the world beside, and who when this little fellow crept up to his father's knees at night to say his prayers, did not bring Thomas Thomas nearer to his God than all the Association letters he had ever written or heard ? What need had Thomas Thomas to go all the way back to Old Testament times, when his Gospels give so much more beautiful ideals with respect to the child ?

.....

The old Baptist Church at Bromsgrove was *en fête.* The Association to which they were attached included churches within a wide area, from Cirencester in the South to Birmingham in the North. Many of the churches were small, few of them had full time Pastors. In most cases, men who were by trade, carpenters, shoemakers, blacksmiths, shopkeepers, and farmers ministered to them.

A pilgrimage began early on the Whit Tuesday morning. Several on horseback, a few in coaches, but mostly on foot, the Pastors and messengers commenced their journey, and the magnet which drew them all to Bromsgrove on this day of grace June 11th, 1783, was the annual meeting of the Particular Baptist Association, two red letter days of the year to many. Some had started in the middle of the night to walk the score or more of miles which must be traversed ere they reached their destination.

The first service, beginning at 6 o'clock on the Tuesday evening with the reading of the letters from the various churches, gave a pleasant and gracious initial key-note. The Moderator announced that he never remembered to have had such pleasing accounts before, a net increase of twenty-six in the membership. An atmosphere of gladness pervaded the assembly. It seemed likely that the voice of thanksgiving would take the place of the mournful regrets and complaints that often were so conspicuous at such gatherings.

And followed those delightful hours when gathered around the supper table in the big room at "Ye Olde Black Crosse" (the Inn which claims to have entertained Charles I. after the battle of Worcester) which had been reserved for their use, they enjoyed communion with men of like interests and experiences to themselves. They had all good news to tell, and it took them till early morning to tell it. There was not much sleep. They must be moving soon after five if they were to breakfast at leisure and be at the six o'clock meeting, at which the Association letter was to be read.

They awoke to a fine morning; it promised a fine day; the long journey back to their homes would be under the most favourable circumstances. All was conspiring to make the 1783 meetings verily

a time of refreshing, to be treasured in remembrance throughout the year.

At this early morning service brother Hume prayed with much liberty and many thanksgivings, and then brother Thomas Thomas' turn came. He had the Association letter in his pocket. It had to be delivered, there was apparently no help for it, but it was all out of tune with what had gone before. Within a few minutes a cold draught chilled the room, and when he came, as he soon did, to those passages which I have quoted, one or two of his hearers positively winced. One of the younger men actually and unforgivably smiled ; there came to his vision the picture of his little boy, who in the early morning had been brought down in his night clothes to say goodbye to him as he had started, and who had been lifted up to him as he sat on his horse, to give him his parting caress. He called to mind that he had promised to bring back "something" for the child when he returned from Bromsgrove ; there was a suspicious bulge in his coat pocket at that moment, and there was a nervous spontaneous movement of his hand to assure himself that this " something " was safely there.

They listened, but the joy of the meeting had somehow gone. It was the old hard unlovely atmosphere again. Brother Thomas had missed his chance. Even if it had startled his solemn brethren, he would have done the Association a great service if he had torn up his carefully prepared letter, and had invited them all to follow the example of the Nottingham Association and tell the story of how good God had been to them to enable them to write the heartening letters they had listened to on the previous evening.

There were some who had come undecided whether to stay till the end of the meetings or not. So happy had been their experience up to this moment that they had decided to remain, but not now. Perhaps

they wanted to get back to that child of theirs they had heard so misrepresented, and so we find this illuminating notice inserted in the report of the meetings.

> " It is desired that the Ministers and messengers of the churches belonging to the Association would endeavour to make it convenient to themselves to stop until the whole business of the Association is finished."

After the letter had been read brother Smith concluded with prayer.

The fire which when I entered my room appeared such a fitting emblem of brother Thomas' Association letter is now burning merrily. I am reminded of the phrase used by our good Minister, "O! Brave! This is a fire." It is throwing out a most grateful heat. The Rev. Lawrence Butterworth was to have preached in the afternoon from some text in Corinthians but my fire will not allow of it ; I sincerely apologise, my fire clamours to be allowed to change Lawrence Butterworth's text and matter for that afternoon's sermon, and I have to let it have its own way for I must keep on good terms with my fire. I admit it is difficult from the records we have of the Rev. Lawrence Butterworth, the compiler of an excellent concordance and the author of a number of treatises on most abstruse theological questions, to imagine his preaching the sermon that follows, but this is a sermon inspired by a fire that can do very astonishing things.

I set myself to follow the example of my good friends of the past and write after the reverend gentleman and this is what I found had been dictated when I came to examine my notes.

Sermon on the " Little Child."
Preached by the Rev. Lawrence Butterworth
but inspired by my fire.

"During the whole of the time we were listening to the letter read to us by brother Thomas at our meeting early this morning, I was continually calling to mind those words of the Queen of Sheba when she visited Jerusalem in the long past.

'Behold, the half was not told me.'

"Although we heard much of the relationship of the old with the young and of the duties of the old in the training of the child, behold the half was not told us, for the Master insistently demands that those who would be His followers should sit at the feet of the child, and learn the lessons which it is the child's mission to teach to the old.

> "And they brought young children to him that he should touch them; and his disciples rebuked those that brought them.
> But when Jesus saw it, he was much displeased, and said unto them, Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not: for of such is the kingdom of God.
> Verily I say unto you, whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall not enter therein.
> And he took them up in his arms, put his hands upon them, and blessed them."

"The words of reproof uttered by Christ were addressed to His disciples, those who should be the Pastors, messengers and elders of his early churches and at such a gathering as might not unfitly be compared with the one I am now addressing. The Master was 'much displeased.' God forgive us if we who are the Pastors, messengers and elders of His Church to-day should be displaying the same spirit and bearing in our comprehension of the little child, as did those who called thus for His censure.

"It will not be disputed that men should take heed to the injunctions contained in the Scriptures, and

enforced by the manifest demands of every-day life, that they should recognise their responsibility for the training and moulding of the characters of the young, but I would urge all to apprehend that in fulfilling such obligations they are treading on sacred ground ; that the utmost reverence is due to the child ; that any unloving or unlovely conception of child nature is dishonouring to the One Who, in those words I have quoted, bestowed upon the child its sanctity and mission.

" My mind travels backwards. I see a man of God lying under a tree and asleep. But a little while before he had been Jehovah's fearless champion, facing the King and all the prophets of Baal, but at the threat of a woman he has turned his back on his duty, has fled into the wilderness and under the juniper tree sleeps the sleep of utter exhaustion. My Scriptures tell me that as he lay and slept ' an angel touched him ' and this gentle touch brings about a soul's awakening. Elijah is a recreant prophet with his back to his duty, and asleep. Elijah's God is on Horeb's mountain with soul-inspiring messages and duties for His servant, and the mission which has been committed to this ministering spirit is to awake this wandering and sleeping man.

" Elijah sleeps, but amidst the troubled dreams of disaster and defeat, of a life's work ended, of duties laid down for ever, comes this soul reaching touch with so mighty a power, that the baffled beaten man awakes, forgets his coward wish to die and struggling to his feet, becomes the brave man once more and taking up the burden of life, through the wilderness he goes on his forty days journey to meet his God.

" The angel visits long have ended ; remains the stress, the wilderness.

" Remains the wearied fainting traveller ; remains his need for helpfulness.

"The picture to which I ask your attention this afternoon is not the one we had portrayed to us this morning. It is the vision of the child as a messenger of the Eternal One, and the Touch of the Child as the touch of an angel of ministration and inspiration.

"We hear men speak to-day of 'Apostolic Succession," of churches who claim for their Ministers, validity of their orders because their ecclesiastical forebears received from the Apostles the 'laying on' of hands, and that gifts and graces, thus conferred, have been handed down through the ages in an unbroken succession to the present day. My claim for the validity of the teaching and ministering office of the child rests upon a higher authority than that of the Apostles.

"He took them up in his arms, put his hands upon them, and blessed them.

"The 'laying on' of those hands consecrated for ever the mission of childhood.

"The child who is in our midst to-day has the same loving, gladdening nature as the child who nestled in the Saviour's arms, who pillowed its head on His breast, and threw its little arms around the Master's neck. Men and women as the generations come and go, may and do change. The character and outlook of one generation may differ greatly from that of another, but thanks be to God, the little child in its natural disposition, and with all its endearing qualities, has come down to us through the ages, and remains almost as unchanged as the God Who created it, and the capacity of the child to minister and inspire remains to-day as when Christ bestowed upon it its mission.

"In dealing with the Mission of the Child, I would wish to speak

1st. On what the Child's Touch may bring home to the Individual,

2nd. The need for the Church of Christ to respond to this Touch.

The Child's Touch may bring home to the Individual.

"1st. *The love of God.*

I am a father and I see many before me who are fathers. I address my appeal to those to whom God has given the great blessing of parenthood. I am conscious that when my first-born child was placed in my arms I apprehended as I had not done before, what was implied by that text, 'Like as a father pitieth his children.' The touch of my first-born's little fingers gave me a clearer perception of the love of our Father in heaven than I had ever before conceived. I have no place in my heart for any man who can hold a child of his own in his arms for the first time and not be thrilled to his inmost soul. I am convinced there is nothing in the world so pure and unselfish as the love of parents for their offspring. To many the touch of their babe brings the first experience of unselfish affection they have ever known. The very helplessness of the child, its utter dependence on the care of its parents taught me as never before the dependence of man on the good providence of the Father above. It has been my custom ever since I became a father, before retiring to my room for the night to pay a visit to the chamber where my little ones sleep and stand for a few moments at their bedside. I am conscious that sinful man as I am, I come nearer to my God whilst thus watching my sleeping children than at any other time in my life. A storm may be raging outside but that troubles them not; they are sleeping under their parents' roof; they are dependent

upon them for everything and they sleep in peace because they trust them implicitly for protection. So do I see our Father in heaven watching over His children on earth, all more dependent on His care and protection than ever my children are on mine. It is an unspeakable comfort to me to know that He is watching over His children with an infinitely greater love than fills my breast when I stand at my children's bedside, and that I may trust Him with even greater confidence than my children trust me.

" 2nd. *The forgiveness of God.*

My children have taught me what real forgiveness means. I have a friend. For many years we lived near to each other ; we attended the same house of God ; we partook of the same cup at the supper of the Lord ; we were as Jonathan and David. To my lasting regret a difference arose and hot bitter words passed between us, those hot bitter words that, alas ! pass between those who have been the dearest of friends. For months we went by each other without speaking. Through the kind offices of friends a reconciliation was effected, and outwardly at least we are on much the same terms as before ; but I am conscious that all can never be as it was before. I pray for him as I believe he does for me. I should rejoice, were opportunity to offer, to do him some service ; I believe he feels the same towards me, but we both know that we can never be as we were before those hot bitter words were spoken. The forgiveness which consists in forgetting altogether and as though it had never been, is a grace seldom given to weak and faulty human nature.

Not so is the forgiveness of parents for their offspring. I have other children than my first-born; some of my family have grown to years of discretion but have not always done as I have wished; they have called for forgiveness on my part and they have had it, pressed down and running over, and I am not conscious of any lessening of my love for them. There is no reserve in the forgiveness that a parent gives to his child, as there is so often in the forgiveness he gives to his friend. The lesson which I have learnt from my child has brought me great comfort when I consider the many and aggravated follies of which, in the sight of my Father in heaven, I have been guilty. I know now something of what the forgiveness of God may mean, as I never knew it until my child was sent to teach me the lesson.

" 3rd. *The comprehensiveness of God's love.*

I have said I have other children than my first-born to gladden my home. I love them all, there is not one of them who is not the subject of my tenderest affection. There are no reprobates in my family. In my younger days, before my children came to cause me to bless God every day of my life, I talked much of election and predestination, but since the touch of my child has come to me I see things differently. I would not be found behind those poets that the Apostle Paul quoted to the Athenians of old. There was no partiality in their conception of the fatherhood of their God, nor since I became a father has there been in mine. Because I know that in my relationship with my offspring there is no 'Distinguishing' love I know there cannot be in His.

" 4th. *The finality of God's love.*

A woman who is a member with us was left early in life a widow with a little daughter who became the mother's one and only thought and interest. The child was all that was bright, lovable and attractive and her mother idolised her. She was undoubtedly somewhat spoiled and as she grew up caused at times not a little trouble and anxiety. But such is motherhood, the more trouble she caused, the more it seemed the mother's heart was bound up in her child.

One night, after she had grown to be a young woman she disappeared. She had apparently gone to her room as usual, but in the morning her room was empty and her bed unslept in. As may be easily understood the mother was distracted and for awhile refused to be comforted. Then commenced years of waiting. She told me she never locked her outer door and never closed her own bedroom door. She waited for the wanderer to return to her. The weeks grew into months and months into years. It was not until over three years had passed that one night as she lay in bed in that light sleep to which she had trained herself she heard the lightest of sounds at the door latch. Springing quickly up and throwing around her the cloak always kept ready, she hurried down the stairs to find the outer door half open, and her daughter standing there. She had come back as her mother had for so long hoped and prayed she would do. When the time came for the full confession to be made, she who had strayed told her mother she had had in her mind that she would come home and seek forgiveness and

if she found the outer door unlocked she would allow herself to cherish the belief that she would be received, but if not she would have turned away without hope. The mother replied

'My child that door has never once been locked since you went away.'

"I believe in the 'Final Perseverance of the Saints.' I believe in the final perseverance of many other things. I believe in the final perseverance of the unlocked door. Because I am persuaded that nothing that could ever happen would cause me to lock my door upon a child of mine who sought to return to my home, so do I believe the Great Father of us all will never lock His door upon any one of His children, however far that child may have wandered and however long delayed his return may be. There are, I am constrained to believe, no locked doors in the house of God's love and forgiveness, nor can there ever be, either in this world or in any other world.

"It may be suggested that part at least of what I have been saying has no direct reference to the lessons centring around the *little* child. But that is not so. My contention is that the most pregnant lessons of fatherhood came to the father by the touch of his child in its early years. Have my hearers ever recognised that parents in the comprehension of their children—even when those children have long passed the stage of childhood—have still the vision of them as they were when very little? Many things may have happened, the parent may have become as dependent upon the child, as the child was once on the parent, but the vision of the little child is not lost, it still remains.

"In the Epistle the Apostle John addresses to the men and women of the early churches he uses

throughout the endearing term of 'little children.' In the affectionate fatherhood of his attitude towards them they are still his 'little children.'

"I see amongst my congregation men and women of advanced years, those who have borne the burden and heat of many days and upon whose shoulders to-day rest great and far-reaching responsibilities. Their presence with us has caused this gathering to become a 'vision splendid,' for 'the hoary head is a crown of glory if it be found in the way of righteousness.'

"Be assured and comforted, my brethren and sisters, whatever our age and whatever our circumstances, our good Father above has not lost the vision of us as His little children.

"I am conscious of the Touch of my children every day of my life. When unsanctified thoughts and desires assail me, as alas! they will do all men, I ask myself what my little child would think of me if he knew, and this consideration is a most effectual means of grace in enabling me to cast such thoughts and desires far from me.

"My child will come to me at times in trouble because some toy of his, on which his little heart was set, has broken in his hand, and he believes I can put it right. When some temporal advantage on which I had set my heart, like my child's toy, breaks in my hands, or some thorn in the flesh buffets me, I find a new meaning in that passage, 'My grace is sufficient for thee.'

"The Touch of my child in my life has been as the touch of the angel that came to Elijah. It has been truly an awakening touch. I had been unconscious of numberless things I am now able to comprehend.

"I must pass on. We have to consider the lessons

that the Church may learn from the Touch of the little child.

"Are there not three distinguishing characteristics of child life?

Simplicity. Gladness. Affection.

"I have during the past week spent much time in reading. I have not a very large collection of books but I love and read every one of them, some of them many times over. I have a few works which deal with the multitude of different conceptions man has formed of God and of God's relationship with man, and others which deal with the history of the Christian Church from apostolic times. This history, in the light of those words of our Master with respect to the little child, makes strange reading indeed, and in nothing in this more marked than when considering the child as an emblem or a pattern to the Church of

Simplicity.

"I have no time or opportunity to bring to your notice the great number of varying creeds and dogmas that have vexed the Church in the past, creeds and dogmas that have caused persecution, revolutions, and wars, and over which blood has been shed like water, creeds and dogmas which had no bearing on the practical issues of every-day life, vain speculations on the nature and attributes of the Deity about which in the very nature of things the finite mind can have no comprehension. But I come to our own times and I bring the lesson right home to ourselves to-day.

"I have on my shelves most of the confessions of faith of the Particular Baptist Denomination; I have studied them all and particularly the one emanating from the National Conference of 1689.

"This 1689 Confession of Faith comprises thirty-two theses and is elaborated in forty pages of printed matter. The condition of church membership in our

denomination is that this Confession of Faith should be substantially accepted and adhered to, on pain of repudiation and excommunication. How many of these theses, think you, can be understood in the remotest degree by the child who lives in our homes and who has to listen to the preaching in our meeting houses ?

" I see in the future, not in our generation, nor perhaps in many generations to follow, but at the Lord's good pleasure, the time when the child's touch shall have been felt in the Church of Christ, and when a great proportion of these doctrines will be shed like leaves in autumn.

" Our Church will not always refuse to respond to the mission of the child, and the time will come when no doctrines will be insisted upon but those which are in keeping with what I believe the Master had in mind, when He called the little child to Him and placed this child in the midst of His disciples.

" There is something strangely wrong if it be considered impossible to fashion a simple creed which will not only meet man's utmost needs, but be in keeping with this ideal of a Church with a little child in her midst.

The Touch of the Child as an Inspiration of Gladness.

" I love the gaiety and gladness of my children. I love to hear their prattle and their laughter, I love the sunshine their presence brings into my home.

" When my children were all stricken with the small-pox my house for the first time for many years became quite still. The movements of their mother in the chambers above, where for days and nights she hardly ever left their bedsides, took the place of the patter of their footsteps. The music of their voices gave place to a brooding silence ; the old sounds of child life I loved so well were no longer heard. There

were many daily duties to be performed, which required me to show to others as little as possible the anxieties oppressing me. But whilst my house was thus silent my heart was as lead.

"I sit sometimes in my room on a summer evening and watch my children playing in my garden, and the sound of their happy voices floats through the open window, and fills my heart with great peace and contentment. Ofttimes in their play I hear them singing; with their hands joined in a ring they sing as they circle round; I love most that play of theirs in which they sing.

"Sometimes a different note may come through my open window. One of my little ones has perhaps fallen and suffered some trifling hurt, and I see my child running into the house to its mother, or if its mother be not near, to its father to be healed and comforted. How soon a child in trouble seeks its mother or father! Even such a little matter, I am conscious, casts a shadow on my contentment.

"I have spoken about our Father in Heaven ever watching over us even as I have so often stood watching over my own sleeping children.

"I have another vision of my God, as a listening God, listening, ever listening to those many voices which pass upward from this earth to His throne above.

"I have spoken about my garden. The Master speaks of His vineyard. 'For the kindom of heaven is like unto a man that is an householder, which went out early in the morning to hire labourers into his vineyard.'

"What are the voices that come up to Him from those vineyards of His? From the churches who claim to be His workers there? Are they voices of gladness such as are borne to me through my window from my children? Are the workers singing at their

work? Can we not comprehend that our Father loves as much to hear his children singing at their work as I love to hear my children singing in their play?

"There is a picture which the Christian of to-day sometimes portrays of this world and his place in it which bears no resemblance to a vineyard, still less to a vineyard with the workers in song. It is the picture of the Christian banished to some far off penal settlement, in which he is doomed to labour for varying periods of bondage, his only joy being the anticipation of the time when his period of exile shall expire, and he may return to his native land.

Not so is my vision of this world in which we live. The ground on which we tread is not foreign soil; the world rightly understood is but an outlying post of the great Empire over which our God is ruler. We are still under the flag; we are colonists here, not convicts. The vineyard in which we work is part of the Master's estate.

"We may perhaps excuse an old colonist when the shadows lengthen, when he feels his work is done, when he remembers the many friends of his youth who have left him to return to the old country, if he, too, begins to hear the call of the motherland, if he waits longingly for the vessel which shall carry him over the deep waters to the homeland from which he came.

"For one whose work is not done, to be perpetually recounting the hardships of his lot, and to be continually longing for the going down of the sun which shall herald the cessation of his work, is not honouring to the God who gave him his part and place in this world in which he lives.

"We have only a brief space of time in which to occupy this outlying post of the Empire, compared with the eternity which lies before us. Every moment

of life on earth should be to us as a pearl of great price. If instead of our conception of the world as a desert drear, we could fully grasp the idea that the good Lord has given us a vineyard in which to work, and that the inestimable privilege has been bestowed upon us of being fellow workers with Him in making this vineyard a place in which is to be found nothing but what is comely and beautiful and refreshing, more often would the good Father above be pleased to hear his Church in song.

"The Church of Christ has a mission to bring gladness into the world. If it will respond to the inspiring touch and example of the little child in her midst it will not fail in this mission.

The Touch of the Child as an Inspiration of Affection.

"I have said I have several children; there are seven, one little maid and six boys. Need I say that this little maid is a treasure indeed in our home? She is a very loving and lovable child and to watch her and her ways is a never failing source of delight.

"She developed the motherly instinct at a remarkably early age, and she has now quite a large family. We call her 'Little Mother.' Not a few of my friends are her warm admirers and many a doll has found its way into my house....."

Here I had to stop and ask my fire where it was going. To be attempting to describe a 1783 Association sermon, and even to recognise that such things as children's toys had any existence, was really too absurd, but my fire insisted that if it undertook to preach about the child it must be consistent. Did I want it to be talking about "Effectual Calling" or some other point of Calvinism? Did I want it, like John Stutterd to be frightened of the white wigs?

As the interruption had occurred I took the opportunity to look around. I had been so much interested in watching the preacher that I had forgotten the congregation. How were they impressed by what they were hearing ?

There was evidently no need to apologise to the women folk. They were greatly enjoying themselves. They had never hoped to live to see the day when a child's doll would be a subject for their consideration in a Particular Baptist Association sermon. They would have something indeed to talk about in the coming week.

The faces of the majority of the men folk conveyed the impression of a guilty consciousness that they were listening to unorthodoxy of a pronounced type, but withal a certain placid contentment, the sort of a look one would expect to find on the face of a schoolboy who on some fine summer afternoon had had an unexpected half holiday, and had found himself in the fields amidst the singing of the birds instead of being shut up in a class room listening to a lecture on mathematics.

There was one middle-aged dour-looking man from whom I felt some trouble would be coming for the preacher. His look seemed to be something similar to what I should expect from a disappointed man who had come to see an execution, and had found a reprieve had been granted at the last moment, and what he had expected and for which he had been eagerly waiting was finally off.

"My child's family is representative of all classes of society, from the real aristocrat only recently bought at one of the best shops in the City of London, fully attired in the latest doll fashion, to the poor pathetic apology for a doll which has been in my child's

possession almost as long as I can remember. This latter doll is indeed an unprepossessing image, halt, maimed and blind, and yet such is the heart of my little maid, that it is evident the warmest of her affection is given to this creature of misfortune, for it is the one she takes to her bed at night, and when, as she sometimes does, she divides her family into the good and the bad, I have noticed this one always has a place of honour amongst the innocents.

"It is a sweet and blessed thing to receive the affection and caresses of a little child, but I submit that the principal mission of the child in this world lies not in its capacity for bestowing its affection, but in its still greater capacity for inspiring affection in others.

"I have already emphasised this in my remarks on the Child Touch to the individual. I want to impress the same lesson in its relationship to the Church.

"I believe that some day this Touch will be felt in the Church as effectually as it is in the home. I have spoken of fatherhood. But there is a word with even a greater meaning—the word motherhood. I believe that some day when the Church has responded to the Touch of the Child in her midst, she will have a much wider conception of her mission and witness than she has to-day. I have spoken of the world as a vineyard on the Master's estate. I have also the vision of this world as a nursery in the great home of our Eternal Father, in which men and women shall receive their training for some mighty destiny which eternity has in store for them, and I see the Church of Christ as a nursing mother ever deeply and lovingly concerned with all that makes for the health and happiness and welfare, both temporal and eternal, of these men and women.

"But now I must forbear. Were I to attempt to put before you the thoughts that flood my mind, when

I think of all that might follow from the acceptance by the Church of that ideal of motherhood, I should be found like the Apostle Paul to be preaching until midnight, so that there would be many like Eutychus to fall into a deep sleep——"

And so the sermon ended.

I was very curious to hear what the dour looking brother would have to say to the preacher and what would be the reply. I just caught these words,

"You ask me how I reconcile all I have said this afternoon with the Apostle Paul's Epistle to the Romans. Brother, I do not find that word 'reconcile' in the vocabulary of inspiration. When was one generation hampered in its vision by the recognition of any need to reconcile such vision with that of a past generation? When does any christian denomination think it necessary to reconcile its particular beliefs with passages in the Scriptures other than those particularly enunciating its creeds? In the Scriptures themselves did the Apostle John, when he gave utterance to 'God is love,' stop to consider whether he could reconcile—as you term it—his conception of the Deity with 'for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me?' Did the Apostle James in writing his Epistle consider whether all he wrote could be reconciled with all the Apostle Paul wrote?

"In the sense in which you are using the words did the Master Himself consider it necessary to reconcile His teaching? Can you reconcile the passages 'Ye must be born again.' 'For I was an hungred and ye gave me meat?' Did the holy men of old of whom the Apostle wrote, who were moved to speak, stop to consider whether what they spoke could be

reconciled with what other holy men had uttered?

"Brother, you have entirely failed to understand the method the good God has been pleased to adopt in revealing Himself to man. He has caused men in all ages to speak as they were moved, and to see visions, and these visions have come down to us in the pages of Holy Writ, vivid but distinct. I have had a vision of the little child. I do not ask you to reconcile the vision that God has given to you with the vision He has given to me, any more than I see any necessity why I should try and reconcile mine with yours, besides all this....."

And then like Bunyan in his prison I awoke and behold it was all a sermon in the fire.

Section 10.

CHAPEL SERVICES.

Singing, Reading and Prayer ... ... Chapter 47.

Preaching ... ... Chapter 48.

A Picture in the Fire ... ... Chapter 49.

CHAPTER 47.

Singing, Reading and Prayer.

In the ordinary Meeting House Services on the Sunday there were

Singing of Hymns.
Reading of the Scriptures.
Prayer.

I can trace no record of any kind of special service.

With regard to the Singing. It will be remembered that at the formation of the church only Psalms were sung. There was a time when the introduction of hymns was a cause of heartburning and trouble in the churches.

Watts' collection was doubtless the first hymn book to be in use at Nook. Probably in Joshua Wood's time Rippon's collection was added. I have a copy of the combined Watts' and Rippon's hymn book, used before the adoption during Dr. Stock's second pastorate of Psalms and Hymns, and it is interesting to look through its pages. One which bears the sign of most use is under the title of "Election." I find a reminder of the old persecuting days in the following:

"Why do the proud insult the poor,
And boast the large estates they have?
How vain are riches to secure
Their haughty owners from the grave!

They can't redeem one hour from death
With all the wealth in which they trust;
Nor give a dying brother breath,
When God commands him down to dust.

There the dark earth and dismal shade
Shall clasp their naked bodies round;
That flesh, so delicately fed,
Lies cold, and moulders in the ground."

"And will the God of Grace, perpetual silence keep ?
The God of Justice hold His peace, and let His vengeance sleep ?
Behold what cursed snares the men of mischief spread
And men that hate thy saints and thee, lift up their threatening head.

Against Thy hidden ones their counsels they employ,
And malice, with her watchful eye pursues them to destroy,
The noble and the base, into thy pastures leap
The lion and the stupid ass conspire to vex Thy sheep.

'Come let us join' they cry, 'To root them from the ground
Till not the name of saints remain, nor memory shall be found'
Awake Almighty God, and call Thy wrath to mind,
Give them like forests to the fire, or stubble to the wind.

Convince their madness, Lord, and make them seek Thy name
Or else their stubborn rage confound, that they may die in shame.
Then shall the nations know that glorious dreadful word,
Jehovah is Thy name alone, and thou the Sovereign Lord."

A great number of hymns which at one time were looked upon as entirely satisfactory are now disused and forgotten ; on the other hand a number of those most popular to-day were in Watts' and Rippon's collection. Our religious National Anthem

"Our God, our help in ages past,"

was sung by our forefathers and appreciated as much by them as by us.

Their hymns give a better understanding of the outlook of our forebears than the sermons they preached, for they put their creeds into their hymns to an extent unknown to-day. All the articles of their faith may be found in their psalmody. In 1932 a hymn book of one denomination could very well serve for all. It was not always so.

I have carefully sought for information as to the introduction of instrumental music at Nook but have not been successful in my search, and I doubt if any accompaniment was used in the 18th century services. This matter was a source of much trouble in the

churches. Nathan Smith writes to John Stutterd on October 26th, 1792, the following letter :

" I suppose you have heard a great sound of instrumental music into Divine Service among us. If your views of it be like the generality, should not wonder if you be thunderstruck and alarmed. When anything of this sort takes place misrepresentations and misunderstandings often abound. Three months ago I was as far from thinking of this taking place as you. This is the truth of the affair. It got introduced through the inconsiderate, imprudent invitation of a woman one night when there was a member singing at Chapel, and that contrary to my proposal to the singers when they broke up that night, to lay it before the Church previous to its introduction. Indeed they knew I had nothing against it as an individual, which might encourage their procedure. They found it met the approbation of the generality of our Church and ye Congregation. This made me despair of success if I opposed it by calling a meeting and exerting my influence against it, without making a great breach in the singers, and the congregation, and so it has run on until now, without a consent taken on the subject among the Church at large. The singers imbibed a great zeal for a bass viol which at first I softly discouraged from a fear of the consequences and a consideration of Church circumstances but finding they received great encouragement and fearing breach I fell in with it. We have three brethren that are greatly offended. I received a letter from Dr. Stennett to one I sent to be informed whether there was any rule (according to common report) forbidding the use of instrumental music in the Churches they assisted. His answer was " No " but gave me his opinion against it. To ease the minds of the offended brethren and to avoid giving offence to our London friends I attempted to suppress the instrumental music and it was dropt last Sabbath. But my scheme proved abortive for the offended members censured what they supposed (though falsely) to be the motive of giving up, as much as the continuance, and so maintained their displeasure and the singers were as displeased at the thought of declining it to gratify two or three touchy persons. One singer said ' I sing no more in the Chapel,' and some of the subscribers took umbrage also. Fearing the consequences that took place at Sutton in a similar case, and viewing the matter as indifferent, yesterday we

concluded at our Church meeting to admit one bass and a treble instrument.

"Perhaps you will think this random work, but you know it is much easier viewing and prescribing a mode of action in difficulties, than managing them. We expect the censure of sister churches for this innovation as it will be called. We hope however yours will not be the most severe. This perplexing affair has caused me to lose many an hour of sweet repose and tho we have acted thus, I believe it is much more prudent to keep such matters out of a church, unless they could be admitted with the universal consent of members, provided that they have not got introduced.

"Many exclaim aloud against the legality of musical instruments in Divine Service but as what I have seen or heard on the subject has appeared to me little more than unqualified assertions I should be glad of your thoughts on the point and I hope my dear friend we shall not become strange and peevish should we have our different views on the subject. Wishing you every desirable blessing for body and soul. I continue your friend and brother,

N. Smith.

Barnoldswick.
October 26th 1792."

From this letter it will be seen that the Barnoldswick church had a choir and it would appear they allowed solo singing. It will also be noticed that there had been trouble at the Sutton church.

Thomas Stutterd gives his opinion on the question in a letter Nov. 27th, 1792 :

"As it is a matter of lamentation for every friend of Zion hearing of offences arising among the brethren, I am heartily sorry for the uneasiness that has taken place at Barnoldswick, I wish the three offended brethren would not persist. I think the introduction of instruments in public worship is a matter of indifferency. Oh that a spirit of forbearance was in greater exercise among professors."

We may take it for granted that there was at the time no instrumental music at Salendine Nook or Stutterd would have mentioned it, and that N. Smith recognised that he was laying himself open to reproaches from his brother Ministers, who might have

Barnoldswick quoted to them as an example to be followed.

An understanding of this old-time difficulty may not be easy for those who can hardly conceive of a place of worship, of even moderate dimensions, without an organ, unless they bear in mind that the people distrusted an innovation which they feared might be the beginning of the end of the simplicity of their services. In 1825 the erection of an organ in the Brunswick Wesleyan chapel at Leeds by the trustees and against the wish of the people was the cause of a serious secession in the Methodist body. Wm. Redfearn says :

> "Why did the people dislike the introduction of an organ ? Why did the Conference deliberately break its own laws ? Why was the special District Meeting—constitutional or not—so ready to sanction the expulsions ? Why should this painful incident be the starting point of a disastrous agitation ?
>
> "In answering these questions let us not deride immoderately the prejudice against organs, nor say as Dr. Rigg says that the organ meant a solemn, perhaps a stately, public service conducted by an educated order of ministers. It meant much more than that. What these Methodists held was that the organ was intended to be the precursor of the Church of England service. 'This feeling' says Dr. Gregory 'was far from extinct seventy years ago in Nonconformist circles.'"

Our early Baptists did not want a form of service other than the one they were used to, and they were not at all sure that instruments of music would not be the thin edge of a wedge, the effect of which they could not foresee but which they dreaded. They maintained the simplest form of worship. Two or three hymns, the reading of the Scriptures, a prayer of from ten to twelve minutes duration and the sermon comprised all they looked for or desired.

That there was a choir of a sort at Nook in 1787 is certain from this extract from one of Thomas Stutterd's letters :

"3 July 1787, Our singers wished me to provide two or three Psalm tunes from Colne, particularly those sung last Lecture."

As to the Reading of the Scriptures there is nothing to be said except that the people had a nice taste in everything belonging to the conduct of public worship, however simple that worship might be, and the manner in which the reader, by a proper intonation of his voice, could give emphasis to the sentiments he was expressing would be subject to as much criticism as any other part of the service. This is evidenced by Stutterd's scathing remarks on the mannerisms of the Methodist preacher at Longwood House.

With respect to the prayer,

Some years ago, at least some considerable time before the war, I heard a Minister preach on the subject of prayer. He contended that prayer was a lost art, that the men of his generation did not pray—they had almost forgotten how to do it,—a few women and children still kept up the practice in some half hearted sort of way, but the men folk—no ; that there was an immense difference between the men of the 20th century and those, say, of the 18th century. He gave as one of his reasons for this that the people of his day were living in times of peace and plenty, that they felt no need for prayer, but that if some great national calamity should arise, some terrible plague, some great war in which they found themselves, and those they loved, exposed daily to deadly peril in which God only could save and help, they would be found on their knees again as in old times.

I often thought of his words during the years 1914/8.

That a freedom in the happy expression of their sentiments and petitions, when exercising in prayer, was a gift greatly to be desired is seen from the

frequent comments found in Thomas Stutterd's diaries when he is recording his own experiences.

Thomas Stutterd's Sunday at one time, on days when he himself was not preaching, would probably be spent as follows :

5-0 a.m. Rose and spent an hour in reading, meditation and prayer. He would record in his diary whether he had had liberty or otherwise, from which it is obvious that he would be praying aloud.

7-0 a.m. Family worship, at which he would also pray aloud, and record what liberty or otherwise had been enjoyed by him.

9-0 a.m. Would start for Nook. On the way he would perhaps call at a fellow member's house and join in a prayer meeting.

9-45 a.m. Would be at the early meeting at the chapel, where almost invariably he would lead in prayer.

10-30 a.m. Chapel service.

1-0 p.m. Would take a leading part in the Intermission Meeting in vestry and pray again.

2-0 p.m. Chapel service.

6-0 p.m. Either a meeting at his own or some other house. Would again be expected to exercise.

A man who regularly prays aloud in secret and then proceeds to analyse and criticise his exercise, is not likely to be unprepared when he stands up before a congregation ; his private devotions are certain to stand him in good stead.

In one of Thomas Stutterd's letters to his brother John, 12/2/1791, there occurs this passage :

> "When I was at Nottingham, 12th December last, noticed in Mr. Hopper's prayer—'Bless our King, his consort, ye Prince of Wales and all ye family, regard thy whole family upon earth, look over our concerns, forgive

what is wrong, rectify what is disorderly, and supply what is wanting. Capacitate us for etc.'

"His prayer, sententious, animated and about 12 minutes long. His preaching very zealous and lively yet not boisterous, not any great exertion in it. It seemed to me to be rather ye effect of a well informed pious heart, than much study and labour. Frequent sentences of prayer in ye sermon. He imitates ye apostles in exhorting sinners to repent etc."

CHAPTER 48.

Preaching.

The central and dominating feature of any Sunday service was of course the sermon. A Minister mentioned to me a few days ago that one of his leaders had told him quite plainly that a sermon to-day was expected to be a short essay with one leading thought, not occupying more than twenty-five minutes, preferably twenty minutes; which reminded me of a sermon I once heard.

I was left at home on Sunday morning to look after two little nieces. One, whose father was a Minister, asked if they might play at having chapel. I told her that would be quite proper, but of course she would have to preach a sermon; I was assured this would be duly forthcoming; I need not say I waited with great interest for that sermon. The pulpit was the back of an armchair, the congregation sat on a stool in front. When it came to the time for preaching, the little maid leaned over her pulpit and solemnly said:—

"You must be good. Amen."

Not exceeding twenty minutes, orthodox, comprehensive and practical. Verily an excellent discourse from this leader's point of view.

The Nook sermon in the old days was expected to last for an hour. Thomas Stutterd records that on the occasion when he first occupied the Nook pulpit his lasted fifty-five minutes, the five minutes short of the standard length being doubtless a concession to the fact of its being his first appearance.

It was the custom in those days to write after the preacher, and I have a great number of notes of sermons in my papers. John Stutterd (Thomas' son) wrote very fully after sermons preached in 1801 and 1802, mostly by Robert Hyde. Many other notes or heads are found in my MSS.

"Liberty" in preaching was greatly valued, and was possessed in a wonderful degree by some of the old time preachers. Perhaps the best illustration of this is found in the Rev. Benj. Beddome of Bourton, the composer of several hymns still preserved in our present hymn book. Rippon records the following incident :

> "Sermonising was so much his forte that at length when knowledge had received maturity from years, and composition was familiarised by habit, he has been known with a wonderful facility of the moment, to sketch his picture at the foot of the pulpit stairs, to colour it as he was ascending, and without turning his eyes from the canvas, in the same hour to give it all the finish of a master. One instance of this will long be remembered which happened at a Ministers' meeting at Fairford in Gloucestershire. After public service began his natural timidity it seems overcame his recollection. His text and his discourse, for he did not preach from notes, had left him and on the way from the pew to the pulpit he leaned his head over the shoulder of the Rev. Mr. Davis, pastor of the place, and said 'Brother Davis what must I preach from ?' Mr. Davis thinking he could not be at a loss answered 'Ask no foolish questions.' This became the occasion of the following discourse for Mr. Beddome turned immediately to the text Titus 3. 9.—'Avoid foolish questions.'"

It is told of the Rev. Davis of Reading that "in 1796 he preached 21 separate sermons on Heb. 11-1. "When he had delivered the last he said in his free way 'That's a good tale.'"

The following account of Joseph Piccop 1744/1772 is given in Hargreave's "*History of Bacup Church.*"

"Mr. Piccop at times preached warmly against conformity to the fashions and customs of the world. He took the liberty to do so in London, particularly against the dress of the ladies. The day following, a lady who had heard him, sent him some lawn or muslin and a pair of scissors desiring he would be so kind as to cut her a gospel cap. Mr. Piccop was compelled, though mortified, to acknowledge his inability.

"Mr. Piccop being engaged for the first time to preach at a certain chapel in the city, arrived at the vestry and sat down as an unknown stranger. It should be remarked that Mr. Piccop did not make a very genteel appearance. He carried little of the parsonic dignity of some of our modern preachers in his exterior. The time appointed for the service approached and several people came into the vestry. After waiting some time in expectation of the preacher's arrival they began to express their fears of a disappointment. Mr. Piccop suffered their patience to be pretty well tried and then after enquiring if the hour was come, arose and ascended the pulpit to the no small astonishment and disgust of the people. Their behaviour in the commencement of the service betrayed their uneasiness and disapprobation. After prayer they appeared a little more reconciled to the preacher.

"Before Mr. Piccop read his text, which on that occasion was Amos 3-12, 'As the shepherd taketh out of the mouth of the lion two legs or a piece of an ear.' It is reported that he spoke to the following effect :

"That there is nothing very inviting in my outward appearance is evident to all and whether there is anything within that is more engaging it is not for me to say but of that you will be better able to judge for yourselves presently. However, such as I have I give. I will set before you

"'Two legs and a piece of an ear.'"

This sermon had a great effect.

"A certain gentleman who had been very agreeably disappointed, thanking Mr. Piccop for the discourse, hinted that he had exceeded the usual time observing that he should have noticed his watch. Mr. Piccop in his rustic simplicity informed him he never had a watch in his life, upon which the gentleman drew his own from his pocket and presented it to him declaring he should not be without any longer. Such was his popularity in London that a congregation would have assembled to hear him at five o'clock in the morning. One time when appointed to preach so early, he felt himself at a loss for a subject almost to the hour. He fixed at last upon Isaiah 40 1/2 and experienced an uncommon degree of liberty in speaking, his plan was scarcely half finished when the usual time was spent but when he hinted at concluding, he was audibly called upon by several persons to proceed, he did so, and detained the congregation the greater part of an hour to their great satisfaction."

In offering any sort of criticism on the preaching of the period it would be unjust not to recognise the many disadvantages under which the speakers laboured. Many of them had even less time for study and preparation than the local preacher has to-day; they had their secular work to attend to as well as the duties of their pastoral office. They had to preach two sermons, each of an hour, on the Sunday to the same people, and an interchange of pulpits, although welcomed, could only be effected very infrequently.

They had had no college training; homiletics as a study was not known to them. The books on their shelves were all of the same type presenting the same style and matter.

And, perhaps more than all, a great deal of the preaching of to-day which is considered—and rightly so—very acceptable, would have been looked at with suspicion by our forebears as "poor legal stuff." A good many years ago a certain Congregational Minister who had attained some eminence as an amateur astronomer preached at Salendine Nook on the "Wonders of the Heavens" and as he was coming

away was accosted by one of his hearers with the remark, "Mister, I don't know that the moon and stars ever saved souls." They wanted the old story told in the old way, just as many men would infinitely prefer hearing the "Messiah" to which they have listened a score of times, than any new music that could be offered them.

The most frequent and popular of the methods adopted by the old preachers was question and answer. For example, if the text was "Remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth," we could expect a sermon much as follows:

1st. Who is to be remembered? Thy Creator. Then would come a series of subdivisions on the nature and attributes of the Creator.

2nd. When is He to be remembered? In youth; followed by a number of subdivisions showing the special reasons why youth should have been so emphasised.

3rd. How is He to be remembered? This would give an opportunity for a whole series of subdivisions explaining what in the preacher's mind was implied by the word remember,—repentance, faith, consistent life, etc.

4th. Why is He to be remembered? Because of the evil days coming, etc.

That would doubtless pass as quite an acceptable arrangement of heads. Some form of question and answer appears in the great majority of discourses of which I have particulars.

I fail to find anything striking or original in the heads of the sermons, all seem much alike and obvious from the text. The real gift of the preacher must have depended not on the skeleton of his sermon, but on the way in which he clothed such skeleton. An old orator of the past was asked what were the essential points of oratory. He replied "There are

three. 1st Delivery. 2nd Delivery. 3rd Delivery." Delivery, and a certain amount of originality in the elaboration, were all that seem to have distinguished the acceptable preacher from his less successful brother.

A great number of things in the old-fashioned sermons are never heard now. For example, the preacher of that day loved to dwell on the joys of Heaven and I have no doubt that many beautiful prose poems were composed on this subject. I give the following extract :

> "But with comfort we may add
> Its difficulties shall in a little while be all unfolded. We are now in the wilderness, clouds and darkness are on every hand but Canaan is just before us. That land is full of light. The language of Jesus considered in this view is very encouraging. 'What I do thou knowest not now ; but thou shalt know hereafter.' Jo. 13. 7. We are now like a little bark tossed about on a tempestuous ocean. Jesus sits at the helm and guides us safely on, that we neither dash on the rocks and be broken, or strike on the quicksands and be swallowed up, winds and waves seem to mingle earth and skies, but under the control of our great pilot shall only waft us the faster on. Soon shall we safely enter the harbour of Eternal Rest, land on the celestial banks amidst angelic shouts and stand with rapturous triumph on Salem's peaceful shores. Then shall be laid open a view bright and astonishing. We shall look back and see that the heaviest of our afflictions were among the richest of our mercies. We shall discern unity and harmony where we once imagined nothing but contradiction and disorder. Those things which now produce our severest sorrows will then enliven our sweetest songs. Then will He bring us forth to the light and we shall behold His righteousness viz., the equity and propriety of His conduct."

We are enjoined to-day to do right not because of future rewards and punishments, but because right is right. Such a high standard does not offer to the preacher the same opportunity as the old vision of Canaan and Salem's peaceful shores.

A great many doctrines which are never mentioned to-day found a place of honour in the sermons of our forefathers.

With regard to the preaching of our first three Pastors,

We know nothing about Henry Clayton's preaching and our only conjecture can be from what we know of the good man himself.

Joshua Wood's preaching is to me disappointing. I expected a different and a higher standard from him than is disclosed by what I find in my MSS. Notes of the sermon preached by him on the text

"The fear of the Lord is his treasure,"

are found in the appendix. This sermon has twenty-three divisions and subdivisions and seems more than usually conventional and uninteresting.

Robert Hyde's sermons are more illuminating and characteristic of the man. Robert always preached within the orthodox creeds of his day, but it is quite evident he did not revel in them like so many of his contemporaries. He never preached doctrine for the sake of doctrine. His sermons were warm, loving, often intensely practical discourses, such as from our knowledge of the man we should have expected. Out of the seventy-five sermons preached by him in the twelve months 1801 and 1802 of which I have full notes, his texts were found as follows : Isaiah six, Revelation two, Acts two, Psalms eleven, Gospels twenty-one, Epistles twenty-one, Job one, Proverbs six, Zech two, Genesis two, Exodus one.

I have Dr. Stock's pulpit Bible for his last pastorate at Nook, and I find he preached during such pastorate,

Two hundred and eighty-eight sermons from texts he found in the four Gospels,

Five hundred sermons from texts he found in the Epistles and Acts of the Apostles, and whereas he

found texts for only fourteen sermons from the "Sermon on the Mount" recorded in the one hundred and seventy-one verses in the 5th, 6th and 7th chapters of the Gospel of St. Matthew, he found texts for twenty sermons from the thirty-nine verses in the 8th chapter of Romans.

The old-time preacher was expected to "keep to the track," to use T. Stutterd's expression. He might be forgiven for being dry and prosy but to wander from his subject was unpardonable. There are occasions in my papers where the criticism was that matters were brought forward that were not clearly in, and others omitted which might very properly have been brought out of the text.

I remember a Nook man once criticising a sermon as being without "throughs," and on my asking what that meant, he explained, that in the building of a dry stone wall, really two walls were built, and every now and then a larger stone was inserted, which went through both walls, and held the whole together. It is evident that Salendine Nook has always demanded "throughs" in sermons, for the people of one hundred and fifty years ago had the same views on this matter as those of later date.

There were frequent complaints of the drowsiness of the hearers. Robert Hyde when asked his opinion on the propriety, or otherwise, of the congregation expressing their approval audibly of the sentiments of those exercising either in prayer or in preaching, preached on the text "Amen" and signified his approval, if only on the ground that if the people are saying "Amen" he knows that they are not asleep. Some of the notes in my MSS. of the sermons have suggestive blanks, some heads are missing, and in a few cases the transcriber frankly admits that during the delivery of these heads he was asleep. Whenever a discourse was given on the subject of public wor-

ship the duty of not going to sleep was sure to have a prominent place in the exhortation.

I can call to mind quite well, a little round man at Nook who, many years ago, was accustomed to sit in a corner seat downstairs and who, when the sermon began, would cover his head with his red handkerchief and go to sleep regularly and unashamedly.

My brother's first pastorate was in a purely agricultural village in the Midlands. He had to preach in the afternoon and he said that all his men folk invariably went to sleep. They had been in the open air all the week and when they sat down in the closed up meeting house after a good dinner, it was a physical impossibility for them to keep awake.

He said he considered it a compliment. They could depend on his orthodoxy. If some young student body had been in the pulpit they might have considered it necessary to keep awake to see he did not stray, but with their own Minister they were sure of sound theology and could go to sleep with an easy mind. There is evidence that during Joshua Wood's and Robert Hyde's pastorates the good people at Nook had equal confidence in the orthodoxy of their Pastors.

CHAPTER 49.

A Picture in the Fire.

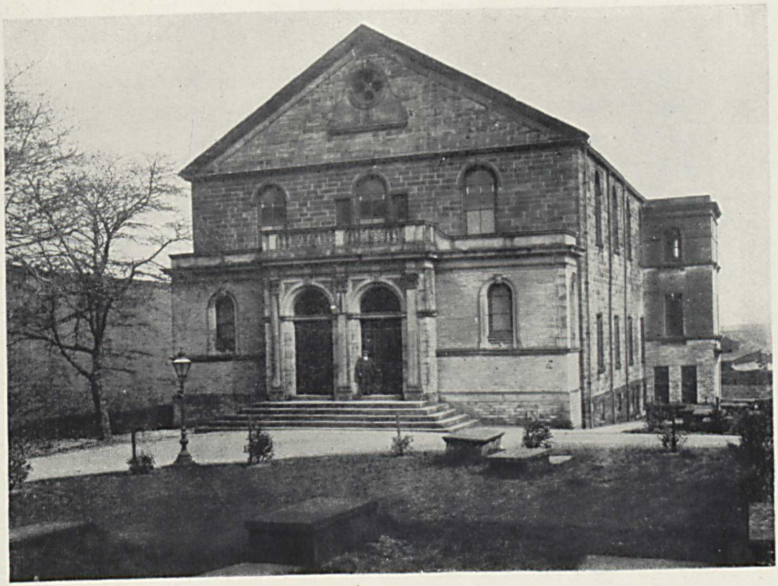
An experienced but cynical author once declared that a safe plan for any writer to adopt was to go through his MSS. and ruthlessly strike out all the passages which pleased him the most,—a counsel of perfection probably never followed. To adopt such a course would involve the omission of all the "pictures" in my book for I confess that I have had pleasure in writing these, if only because on entering into the realm of imagination many difficulties are left behind. Writing on this basis is like detective fiction, where all the incidents and clues are known or arranged beforehand.

I have had a great desire to bring Thomas Stutterd, as he was in 1795, to Salendine Nook in 1932. In all the conversations I have had with him and our other old folk I am afraid I have done most of the talking, and we have mostly discussed the past from the standpoint of the present. It would be interesting to know what the judgment of the past would be on the present.

To a writer of history such a thing is impossible but my fire offers to do all that is required and I have accepted its offer, with the following result.

. . . . . .

On the evening of a certain Saturday in May 1795, Thomas Stutterd was a greatly excited man. He had returned from a long and tiring journey in the Midlands, his horse had fallen lame, hampering his travelling and causing him to reach his home much later than he had expected.



PRESENT CHAPEL.

On his arrival at Woodhouse on the Saturday afternoon he had found a strange letter awaiting him, which réad as follows :—

" Dear Mr. Stutterd,

I propose to call at your house at Woodhouse at 9-45 on Sunday morning next to take you to Salendine Nook in my motor car.

" A wonderful experience is awaiting you. You are an intelligent and observant man and must many times have wondered what the future had in store for your church. The great privilege of seeing and hearing that which has been so often in your thoughts is to be granted to you. From the time you enter my car at 9-45, to the time you are set down at Woodhouse on your return, you will be living in the month of May in the year 1932.

" You will naturally be astounded at numerous things which you will see and hear; the car conveying you will probably surprise you more than anything else, but the wide streets, the large buildings, the extensive factories, and the fine shops will claim your fullest attention and admiration. You will pass a beautiful park and see numberless changes and improvements, but it is not because of any of these that you are to be so specially favoured, it is that you may record the impressions gained from all that comes under your notice at Salendine Nook.

" You will be able to apprehend almost all that passes, but you will not be seen or heard, and when you leave the car on your return, you will be again living in 1795. You will retain the memory of your experiences and you are asked to enter in your diary all the thoughts and impressions that come to you. What you record will appear in the book which is being written, in which you and the others of your time have so large a place, and my fire will see that all you write will be known to me.

"Please do not fail me."

It is the Wednesday following Thomas Stutterd's visit to Salendine Nook. I am alone, and likely to be alone all the day, and this is what my fire discloses to me of the entry in Thomas Stutterd's diary.

"Sunday evening May, 1795.

I have had one of the most wonderful experiences that ever fell to the lot of mortal man. On Saturday evening on my arrival at home from one of my journeys, I am persuaded and shall always believe, a letter was waiting for me. It had come from Leeds and told a strange tale. It spoke of someone calling for me in what the writer called his 'Motor Car' and taking me to Salendine Nook to show me all that would be happening there in 1932. I did not believe a word of it, and because I thought it all a foolish hoax, I said nothing to my people, but I confess I was ready at the time stated, and that I actually experienced all that follows, is as real to me as anything that has ever occurred throughout my life. I have searched for the letter but it has disappeared and my wife looks anxiously at me when I mention it. She insists that I left the house a little later than usual for Salendine Nook and returned at one o'clock. She expressed her surprise that I did not stop for the afternoon service and asked, evidently with some misgiving, if I felt sure I was quite well, for that since the Saturday evening I had been singularly silent and abstracted in my manner.

"My unknown correspondent has asked me to write up in my diary all that befell me and I am doing so, but because my story is such a strange one and people who read it might wonder if I am quite in my right mind, I am not allowing any one to see it, not even my wife, for I am sure it would distress her.

"Exactly at the time stated in the letter I saw a strange and beautiful vehicle noiselessly and swiftly approaching. It appeared to glide over the road until it came to where I was standing when it suddenly stopped. At the speed at which it had been travelling I felt certain it must pass me, but almost like magic it stopped dead at the very point required. I was too astonished to speak but a door opened and before I came quite to myself I was on soft cushions at the rear and we had started on our journey. I am convinced that my seat was as comfortable as anything in King George's own equipage. We had gone but a few yards before our speed increased to an extent that I had not believed possible, but, except for the way in which the buildings on the roadside seemed to fly past us, I should never have apprehended it. There was no noise, no jolting, no discomfort. I remembered what had happened during the past week, the slow, tiring weariness of the hours I had spent on horseback, the noise, confusion and tediousness of the coaches I had used.

"I was now passing over the road at a pace more than four times as great as anything I had ever known before, but although this was undoubtedly the strangest experience that had ever befallen me I was neither nervous nor frightened, except perhaps when looking out of the window, I saw another and similar motor car approaching at the same speed as the one in which I was sitting and there were moments when my heart seemed to stand still for a collision seemed unavoidable, but the driver gave an almost imperceptible turn to a wheel which apparently controlled our direction, and the two passed one another, sometimes with only a few inches to spare, and no one but myself appeared to be the least bit concerned or uneasy.

"My letter said it was not required of me that I should record any of my impressions, except as they affected Salendine Nook, and I forbear to describe all the innumerable changes I saw in the town through which we passed, or anything further about the strange and exciting journey I took in that magic equipage which the writer of the letter termed his 'Motor Car.'

"When we arrived at Salendine Nook and I had alighted I stood for a few minutes before moving from my place to look around. It was clear to me at my first sight that almost everything was different from what it had been as I had known it.

"I could recognise the general contour of the country. The hill behind the meeting house, which we call Hill Top whatever its name may be in 1932, and the hills in the distance convinced me that I was undoubtedly at Salendine Nook. I could see a few old grave-stones which I remembered—blackened by age—everything else had changed. All the waste land which had abutted on to the meeting house premises had been enclosed and cultivated ; the roads had been altered, the main road leading to Huddersfield remained, but had been widened and relaid so as to make it almost unrecognisable.

"I saw a large collection of buildings on the opposite side of the road to the main gates and noticing some children passing into the place, it came to me that this was probably some sort of meeting house for the young, and that the few and imperfect seeds that were being sown in my time had borne fruit in a great increase in the activities of the church in her relationship with the young. I would have liked to enter but did not think I should have the time to spare.

"I wondered if the early prayer meeting was still held. I would very greatly have desired to visit this meeting, had it still been carried on, but could see

no evidence of such a gathering, and concluded with regret it must have been discontinued.

"I turned to look at the grave-yard and was much and deeply impressed. It had been so greatly enlarged as to have become indeed a great cemetery. I had only known the Nook burial ground as a small enclosure in the front and at the side of the old meeting house, it had been extended and bore every evidence that it was being extended beyond all recognition. Beside the vastness of its extent, the whole appearance of the place at once arrested my attention. It had much more the resemblance of a delightful garden than a Dissenters' burial ground and was entirely different from anything I had ever seen before either at Nook or elsewhere.

"There were flowers everywhere. Chaste and beautiful memorials sprang up from the ground on every side, not in the least resembling the plain, depressing, unlovely slabs of stone, or grim-looking box-like chambers, which are all I am accustomed to see at Nook and in other burial grounds I visit. The Nook 1932 grave-yard conveyed to me the most vivid of all the impressions of that memorable morning.

"I have been reading only recently that gravestones had their origin in the customs of some very early tribes of mankind, whose people had the fear that the ghosts of their departed might force their way through the earth to plague and annoy their successors, and accordingly adopted all sorts of methods to prevent such disasters from happening. Amongst these was the placing of a heavy stone upon the body of the dead. This book stated that on one occasion the course of a river was diverted, the grave dug in its bed, and the waters of the river allowed to return to their ordinary channel and flow over this grave to ensure that its occupant should not be able to return to earth to trouble those living ;

not very inspiring suggestions to a Christian man in the interment of those he loved.

"I am conscious that the vision of the Nook 1932 burial ground with its flowers will remain for ever with me. It preached a most effective sermon. I was back on that first Easter Morn with the women who had come on their mission of service and had found that the stone at the door of the sepulchre had been rolled away. I had the vision of the Salendine Nook burial ground of 1932 as of a sepulchre with the stone rolled away. The great weight of doubt, misgiving and gloom which oppressed my people in their conceptions of death, had given place to a garden of flowers.

"I saw, as in a glance, how inconsistent we are in our attitude towards death. We preach with confidence that death is the gateway to glory. We are accustomed to hear our good men speak as though they longed more than anything else for their departure through this gate to that glory, and yet all that is visibly associated with this gateway is pictured in a manner most sombre and unprepossessing; the heavy mourning garb of the survivors, the depressing burial grounds, and the trappings of woe invariably associated with the departure of even an old saint, are, I admit, utterly inconsistent with all we believe and preach.

"The Nook burial ground of 1932 presented a different vision, a vision which I thank God has been granted to me. In this matter I confess without any reserve that 1932 has a far more beautiful conception than 1795.

"I noticed that, although I could see the gravestones as clearly as anything else, I could not read a word of what was inscribed upon them. They might have been all written in ancient hieroglyphics for all I could understand. A merciful Providence had inter-

vened to prevent my knowing the times of the departure either of myself or of my friends.

"As soon as I entered the burial ground itself I made my way to the old portion at the front of the chapel. I was much affected to observe that this part was perhaps the best kept of the whole. There was a space where there were no grave-stones; it should be remembered that many of my people are very poor and a simple unadorned mound of earth is all that can be provided. In this old portion the grass was cut and all was in beautiful order. Some little beds of plants had been laid out, and although it was too early for the roses to be in flower I could perceive that later in the season they might be a gracious and comely sight. I felt 'in the Spirit,' the Spirit of 1932, and although I had no hot-house blooms or garden flowers to offer, I picked a few daisies growing around and dropped these simple tokens amongst the graves of my people, as though it were to let them know, as I knew, that the people of 1932 had still a thought and reverence for them.

" I passed on to the modern portions of the graveyard and noted with what tender care and love the many little plots over the graves were tended. I did not need to ask who kept those graves in such good order. I again called to mind those references to the first Easter-tide and I recognised that the women had again been ' at the sepulchre ' if not in the early morning, in the summer evenings and that in the hearts of the women the same spirit of love and tenderness lived to-day, as was shown on that Easter-Day.

" It came to me that those little plots of garden above the graves presented a gracious opportunity which is lacking in my day. When once the stones which cover our dead have been erected and any inscriptions completed, there is nothing more to be done.

Tears may be shed, but no services are called for. There is a finality about our graves which is absent from those of 1932. I could understand something of the unspeakable relief it might be to those left behind to have those little gardens, for such they were, to look after and minister to.

"I turned away reluctantly from my contemplation of the grave-yard and I walked up to the front of the meeting house and read over the door the words

Particular Baptist Chapel
Rebuilt A.D. 1843.

"I wondered if the old differences between the Particular and General Baptists were still emphasised as much as they had been, how Dan Taylor, whom I know so well, had prospered, and whether that little cause of his at Longwood had flourished so that they have in 1932 as large a General Baptist chapel at Longwood as the Particular Baptists have at Nook.

"I noticed their meeting house was called a chapel but we seldom speak of our places of worship as "chapels," they are all "meeting houses."

"As the time drew near for the service to begin, I observed a number of people standing about and they appeared to be in good spirits. Some were even laughing. We did not think it honouring to God to be laughing in or about His House. I lingered for a few minutes amongst these people to hear about what they were conversing. I confess I was disquieted, they seemed to be discussing mostly worldly affairs and not the more weighty matters of their souls' welfare.

"I was much surprised at the size of the chapel. I am persuaded that it was far larger than any other that I ever saw anywhere before. How greatly God must have blessed the work of His servants to enable them to support a house so large. I thought of all the little places in which I have exercised and won-

dered how they had fared, and if they too had buildings equal to that of the Nook in 1932.

"When I entered I was still more impressed to find so great an edifice devoted to the service of God. The gallery would seat far more hearers than we ever had at our services. The pews were commodious to sit in, having sloping backs instead of straight ones. The big organ in the gallery gave me occasion for much thought. We have no instrumental music in our meeting house. I remember noticing with surprise a bass viol at Highfield when I attended a service there in 1785. Much trouble is caused in some churches over musical instruments.

"At some places they depend on one man to lead the singing and if he is away it is very inconvenient. Once or twice in the meeting houses where I have exercised we could not sing because there was nobody to commence the singing. I remember once when there was only one man who could accommodate us, and he only knew one tune, and we had to sing to that tune all day. The organ commenced to play softly, soon after I had taken my seat. I was very much impressed, and confess although I know nothing of music, it helped me to turn my thoughts Godward.

"I was greatly interested to study the congregation as they came in and took their places in the pews.

(1) I could see no poor people, nor one whose garb would suggest he was straitened in his circumstances. The men were wearing good clothes and although I was in the house of God and my mind should have been set on heavenly things alone, my thoughts strayed, I wondered who had made the cloth for the clothes they wore. I looked in vain for any of the raven cloths manufactured by our people and others, in which numbers of the men of our day were dressed on the Sabbath.

(2) No one showed marks of small-pox. Many of our people are disfigured by this terrible disease. It is a great trouble to many of our women that some of the most comely of their young girls come out of their small-pox with most of their comeliness departed.

(3) There were a number of children sitting together in the gallery. I concluded that these belonged to a Sunday School attached to the meeting house.

(4) There were some beautiful flowers on the pulpit and on the table in the communion pew.

"Some men and women came into the pew in front of the organ, presumably to lead the singing. When it came to the time for the service to begin, these people rose from their seats and began the public worship. I rose with them and must admit I was much displeased to find I was the only one in the congregation to do so. I resumed my seat; I felt much embarrassed for I had not remembered that I was unseen by others.

"The Minister had entered the pulpit some minutes before. He seemed to be dressed as plainly as a Huddersfield clothier. He had no white wig on his head nor white bands round his neck like the Pastors of the leading churches have in my day.

"I minuted down the full particulars of the service:

10-30. Choir.
10-33. Prayer and Invocation.
10-36. Hymn 12 (1719)—Our God our help in ages past.
10-41. Scripture reading Psalms 121, 122 and 123.
10-44. Hymn 454 (1855)—Still still with Thee.
10-47. Address to Children.
10-55. Hymn 1269 (390)—The star of morn has risen.
Prayer.
Lord's Prayer—chanted.
11-6. Anthem.
Notices.
11-18. Collection.
11-20. Hymn 771 (1722)—Glad was my heart to hear.

11-24. Sermon.
11-46. Hymn 888 (1740)—Partners of a glorious hope.
11-49. Benediction.

I also noted the long list of notices given out from the pulpit by one of the laymen, probably a deacon of the church.

" Before proceeding further I would mention three things which cause me some embarrassment.

" It is my hope that when I attend the house of God I go only to join in public worship and for edification. I was conscious that circumstances that morning called to some extent for observation and judgment and the experience was unusual with me.

" I have always made it a fixed and unalterable rule never to submit the services of my own church to any expressed criticism, and I am now required to depart to some extent from this course.

" I recognise how impossible it is to form an accurate opinion of almost anything from attendance at this single service. I make this clear in what follows. I should require to know so many things of which I am ignorant, before I could consider myself capable of speaking with any degree of certainty on much that came under my notice.

" With regard to the singing and musical part of the worship. There was one matter which surprised me greatly. I record the dates on which the five hymns sung at the service were written, only one appears to have been composed within a hundred years of 1932 and that was written in 1855. The book which I made use of had the dates of all the hymns in the collection. I took the opportunity of glancing through this book. I could not find a single hymn which had been written within fifty years of 1932, even in the supplement at the end. I found very many of Watts' and Wesley's hymns, several written by men I know well, Beddome, Fawcett, Rippon

and others, and a large number composed by men in the middle nineteenth century, but none by those living in the fifty years prior to 1932. It would have given me much pleasure to have had the vision of 1932 interpreted by its hymnology. What I am to gather from this omission I know not, but it seems strange for the people of 1932 to be singing only what their fathers wrote a hundred years ago. It is natural to suppose that some of the old and supremely good compositions, such as that first sung at the service

"Our God, our help in ages past,"

surely one of the most beautiful devotional poems ever penned, should be retained with an added value from their age and associations, but has religion in 1932 ceased to inspire poetry and song?

"I noticed a great number of our most popular hymns still in use and that an equally large number of others were omitted, but it did not appear to me that the 1932 book presented any marked features of improvement over ours of 1795, and in that, I confess, I was conscious of a sense of satisfaction as well as of disappointment.

"The anthem however correctly and tastefully rendered did not appeal to me. Anything confined to a choir alone partakes too much of the nature of a concert to be approved by one like myself. Singing with the heart as well as the voice is an inspiring feature of public worship, and I can appreciate that with a trained and able choir more than conventional tunes might be attempted.

"On one of my journeys I was staying on the Lord's-day at a town in the Midlands where there was no Dissenters' meeting house, and I attended a Church which was noted for its music. The building was full and the congregation attentive and fervent. The anthem at this service was sung by the choir in

conjunction with the people, the choir singing a part by themselves very largely in the form of a question, the congregation taking it up, very largely in the form of a response. Though no musician I was much uplifted and found myself joining, even with my unmusical voice, in the noble volume of sound which seemed to roll out from that congregation. This anthem must have been well known for every one seemed to respond when required, and the effect was affecting and inspiring. I understand the organist is a great musician, writes much of his own music and makes a great feature of these anthems for choir and congregation combined. It was certain that the people greatly enjoyed filling up their part. Although I not infrequently attend Church when away on my journeys, I have never been so impressed with the service as I was on this occasion.

"The Nook Minister preached two sermons. The first was addressed to the children. He took for his text the word "Adventure," founding his remarks on the passage in Hebrews 11-8 'And he went out, not knowing whither he went.'

"He pointed out that the spirit of adventure was inherent in human nature, particularly in the young, and that this country would not have been what it is to-day but for the spirit of adventure in her sons. He said there were two things uncertain in Abraham's great adventure and two things certain.

Direction and Destination were uncertain.

Companionship and Conduct were certain.

Abraham did not know in what direction his going out would lead him, or what destination would be his lot, but he set out with two determinations.—That God should be his Companion, and that he would do right whatever might happen to him.

"The preaching of a sermon specially to children came to me as quite new; the one on my visit only

lasted for a few minutes but the preacher's words were full of suggestiveness and I recognised that the address might with advantage have occupied a much longer period than was employed in its delivery.

"The main sermon was on 'Joyous Church-going.'

"I was glad when they said unto me, Let us go into the house of the Lord." Psalm 122.-1.

"It is a duty to attend the Sanctuary and to maintain its sacred service. This duty rests upon us: we owe it to God, to those about us, and to ourselves. It would be profitable to consider this even more than we do, so as to realize the value of corporate worship and to recognise its importance and significance.

"But in our text we are listening to a man who does not speak merely of the duty. He has passed into a brighter stage. He sings of the joy of the Lord's house. To him the duty has become a delight. We seek to follow into this gladsome experience. If we who habitually come to worship entered into the real joy of it and made apparent our enjoyment, then it may be that some who neglect the duty would be more attracted to accompany us.

"The psalmist also recalls how he came to share in that happy occasion. His gladness began before he reached the Holy Place. 'I was glad,' he tells us, 'when they said unto me, Let us go into the house of the Lord.'

"Thus in this verse we have an invitation; its purport; and the spirit of friendly fellowship in which it was given. And in developing the theme of the text he grouped what he had to say further under the following three headings:

In connection with the Sanctuary:

1. The Value of Invitation.
2. The Benefits of Worship.
3. The Influence of Companionship.

"My first impression of the principal sermon, so important a feature and which lasted for an hour with us, was of its brevity, but I recognised that the children's sermon had occupied eight minutes, and moreover I comprehended that, whereas the Sunday's exercises formed practically all the opportunity most of our people had for hearing the Gospel, 1932 gave greater advantages, and that much might be

advanced in favour of the many brief opportunities in place of the one lengthy one ; that the people of 1932 might in effect be enjoying more ample means of grace than we who are living in 1795.

" The notices gave me some perception of the many and varying activities of the church of 1932. Meetings of one description or another were being held on every day of the week except Friday, and although I could have no exact understanding of what transpired at many of these gatherings, they seemed all distinctly connected with religious exercises.

" I had no clear view of how the gallery was occupied but I was sorry to see so many vacant seats in the pews on the ground floor. This however is no sure index of the condition of the church, for when the Pastor stood up in his pulpit on a Sunday morning those empty sittings might be to him a source of gratification and even thanksgiving, inasmuch as they might speak eloquently of the many services being rendered by his people.

" There are undoubtedly days when an entirely inaccurate impression of our church would be gained merely from a view of the congregation in our meeting house. There are frequent occasions when three or four of the leaders of our little flock are away preaching and quite a number of our women folk are engaged in attending to the sick, or rendering other missions of service.

" I recognised that the Nook church had ceased to be solely a community of poor disciples. The many expensive memorials in the grave-yard told me that at my first glance, and this impression was confirmed by all I subsequently observed.

" If Salendine Nook had members who had become wealthy, it is certain that the Baptist Churches generally had also shared in this prosperity. A great longing came to me to know how my people had

stood this test of the possession of wealth. What was the picture they had presented to the world? Was it one of wealth as a talent to be held only as a stewardship, or as a possession to be employed for purposes of self? What had been their witness in this, perhaps the greatest test that comes to a christian man?

"The Baptists of 1795 are seldom indeed subjected to this test. I believe I know all the leaders in the Baptist Churches in Lancashire and Yorkshire and I do not call to mind one who can be looked upon as really wealthy, the most of us are distinctly poor. I have a young family and am receiving a salary of one hundred and thirty pounds per annum and I am considered to be in better circumstances than the most of our people. The great majority of us give of our necessities, we have to go without something we need, to enable us to give anything. Our people are largely gathered in from the rough, the uneducated and the uncultured, their temptations, as might be expected, are largely incident to their passions, but the subtler form of temptation to spirit and soul, coming from the possession of great wealth, is not theirs.

"The fact that the 1932 chapel is a fine one and must have cost much, tells me nothing, for men cannot claim to be highly commended for providing a beautiful chapel in which they and their families may meet for worship, any more than for securing a convenient house in which to live, or a commodious office in which to transact their business.

"Again and again since my visit to Salendine Nook have I found myself with this earnest, almost passionate, desire to know what in 1932 had been the testimony of the people of my faith and order in their attitude to wealth, whether it had been one conspicuously higher and better than the world had

ever seen or known before, or had it been the same old story of a vain striving to combine the service of God and mammon. We have in our poverty spoken often and loudly against the love of money. What had been the witness of my people when tested by the possession of that against which they have so often preached ?

"As I was being conveyed in that wonderful vehicle called a motor car, and again at the close of the service when I noticed a number of other such cars waiting at the gate for Nook worshippers, a picture came vividly before me. It was that of our Association Meetings in 1791.

"One of the great difficulties our people experience is in getting to and from our services, especially in the winter and when the worshippers have arrived at advanced age. Some of them come from long distances and for many there inevitably arrives a time when they have to fold their hands and acknowledge that their service attending days are past and over. It is affecting to observe how bravely our old folk struggle to postpone as long as possible, the passing of this unhappy mile-stone in their lives.

"It was agreed amongst us that all our people, however old and infirm, and however distant their habitation, should have the opportunity to come to our first Association Meetings. The loan of a number of light market carts was promised, and one worthy man who lived at Elland and who was anxious to do what he could lent his heavy farm cart, which the day before had been employed in carrying manure to his fields. It was washed and made as suitable as possible but was nevertheless a manure cart. It brought four old women, and I was standing outside the meeting house when this cart from Elland, with its glad and thankful passengers, arrived at Salendine Nook.

" I thought of that cart when I was being conveyed to Salendine Nook on Sunday morning, and of all the opportunities for usefulness and service which could be found in the possession of a vehicle so swift and convenient as the one in which I rode.
" I called to mind those words of the Master.

> ' But when thou makest a feast, call the poor, the maimed, the lame, the blind : And thou shalt be blessed ; for they cannot recompense thee : for thou shalt be recompensed at the resurrection of the just.'

" It may be that in 1932 there is no need for the christian to provide feasts for the poor, for that there may be no hungry men and women to be found, but the spirit of that passage still remains ; and it appeared to me that in the use to which these motor cars could be put, provided singularly appropriate opportunity for the loyal fulfilment of the Master's command and that the words as interpreted by the circumstances of 1932 could perhaps fittingly be applied—

" But when thou providest thyself with a motor vehicle, forget not the poor, the maimed, the lame, the blind : And thou shalt be blessed ; for they cannot recompense thee : for thou shalt be recompensed at the resurrection of the just.

" I wondered how the owner of the vehicle in which I rode and the owners of the others I saw at Salendine Nook responded to such opportunities for service. I think perhaps if I knew the answer to that question it might do something to help me to find the answer to the wider question I have also asked. Surely however there will be no more old or infirm folk sitting in their homes, with folded hands on a Lord's-day morning and fretting their hearts out because the days of their attendance at the meeting house have passed.

"It will perhaps be expected that I should in a few words give a summary of the general impression I formed of the whole service.

"Some of our people would take offence at many things—the crosses in the grave-yard, the organ in the chapel, the anthem by the choir, the chanting of the Lord's prayer, and even the flowers on the pulpit and communion table would be considered by them as innovations of an objectionable nature. I trust that I have had grace given to me to draw a distinction between essentials and non-essentials, between that which is intended to be an aid to the sincere and heartfelt worship of God and that which is offered as a substitute for this spiritual exercise. I have moved about in the world far more freely than most of our people and have consequently perhaps acquired a somewhat more charitable outlook than is usual in churches like ours at Nook. I can truthfully testify that I was not hindered in my worship by anything that came to my notice at Salendine Nook.

"I also gladly offer my testimony to the fact that not a single word was uttered, not a single sentiment expressed throughout the service to which I could not say Amen. The two sermons were what my people would term good practical preaching and had they been delivered at Salendine Nook in 1795 would certainly have been listened to with pleasure. There is an insistent demand by many of our people for such preaching.

"It is necessary however to emphasise that the 1795 pulpit is expected to have other messages very different from the practical discourses of the kind to which I listened. Although these might be accepted as an occasional and welcome change from the presentation of the vital doctrines of our faith, our people would never be satisfied with such preaching alone, and in that I should be at one with them. The lost

and ruined condition of man by nature, his utter unworthiness, his salvation by Distinguishing Grace alone, the awful realities of the future world with its rewards and punishments, the doctrines of predestination and election, the warning to the carnally minded and the comfortable assurance to the saint, are all found in our pulpit utterances, and no preacher would be acceptable whose message did not frequently and in all earnestness testify to these doctrines. I have said that my attendance at one service left me with many unanswered questions. The general subject matter of the Baptist pulpit in 1932 forms one of these unanswered questions and necessarily limits my judgment.

"I was conscious of a subtle difference pervading the whole spirit and atmosphere of public worship in 1932 as compared with ours in 1795, a lighter, brighter and even happier tone dominated the whole service. 'The spirit of 1932' was evidenced by many things other than the flowers in Nook grave-yard and chapel. Some of my people might complain of a lack of that Hush, Solemnity and Awe to which they are accustomed in all that is associated with the public worship of God. In this matter I must again reserve my judgment. It would indeed be presumptuous and ill-becoming a man like myself to attempt to judge the 'Spirit of an Age,' of which I know nothing beyond what I have learnt from my visit to its one service.

"In conclusion I would unhesitatingly affirm that the service at Nook gave me exceeding great pleasure, and will provide subjects for thought which will last to my dying day; that, though I found many alterations, much of what was the most important remained. My principal surprise was not due to the fact that so many things had changed, but that so much more had remained unchanged."

The note in Thomas Stutterd's diary with respect to the absence of that Hush, Solemnity and Awe in the present day chapel services reminds me of an incident which occurred during the war.

I was staying a night at an hotel and spent the evening in its commercial room. There were only a few travellers present. Two of them—both men advanced in years, the one a member of the Church of England, the other a Nonconformist—I do not know what denomination — commenced a discussion on religious matters, in which I became deeply interested. In course of their conversation the Anglican criticised the Nonconformist for the absence of restraint, and as he termed it, want of reverence, observed by Dissenters in their attitude to their places of worship. He said the Nonconformists appeared to be almost as free and easy in their chapels as in their own parlours ; whereas the people of the Church of England had an entirely different and more diffident, subdued and reverent bearing towards their churches. He used the same words, Hush, Solemnity and Awe that Stutterd uses in his diary.

At this point I asked, with apologies and as a Nonconformist, to be allowed to join in the conversation.

I asked the Anglican, had he a son in the war ? He had.

Was he at the front ? He was, and in the trenches in France.

I led him on to talk about this son of his, a boy of twenty, in the trenches. My readers will recognise that it was no difficult task in those days to get a father to talk about his son at the front.

Did he ever get leave ? He was expected home next week for a seven days leave. I was perfectly certain that in every waking hour of his life, the home-coming of his son would be vividly in that man's thoughts.

I asked him one more question.

When his son came home, did he want from him any of that "conscious sense of restraint," that "Hush, Solemnity and Awe" he had been speaking about? He admitted, frankly and emphatically, that that was the last thing in the world he did want.

I ventured to picture to him the sort of home-coming he was treasuring in his mind for his son and he admitted my picture was not far wrong.

I pointed out to him that the "House of God" was to the Nonconformist his "Father's House" and therefore his own home; that it was absurd to speak of God as our Father and suppose that to please our "Father in Heaven" it was necessary to adopt an attitude utterly opposite to all our conceptions of the wishes of the ideal "Father on Earth."

That the christian during the week might not unfitly be considered "At the war," "In the trenches," "At the front" and he too on the first day of the week got "leave to come home" and this home might rightly be as happy and as free from restraint as the one the boy from the trenches would find waiting for him; that all this no more implied lack of reverence than his boy's attitude to his home suggested want of respect for his parents.

He said he had never looked at the matter in that light before.

Section 11.

ASSOCIATION.

General ... ... Chapter 49.

Interchange of Pulpits ... ... Chapter 50.

Pecuniary Help ... ... Chapter 51.

Annual Meetings ... ... Chapter 52.

Prophecy by my Fire ... ... Chapter 53.

CHAPTER 49.

General.

A feature of the period under review is the spirit of "Association" displayed by the churches in their relationship with each other, notwithstanding many factors which tended to isolation and exclusiveness. It will perhaps be admitted that the congregational form of church government does not naturally lead towards community of interest, or co-operation of method, and the old-time Baptists were very insistent on the independence of the individual church, as witness the following :—

> "We assure you brethren that we do not mean by associating ourselves together to attempt any infringement of your liberties as voluntary societies, possessed of full power to manage all your own affairs within yourselves. We wish you to be zealous for the maintenance of this privilege in its full extent. We do not mean any—the remotest—attempt to exercise dominion over your faith or consciences. But we trust our only aim is to be serviceable as far as we may, to promote the glory of God, the welfare of immortal souls, and the edification of the churches of Jesus Christ. In proportion as these ends are considered our wishes will be accomplished."—Dr. Fawcett's circular letter to Associated Churches, meeting at Colne, 1787.

The difficulties and expense of intercourse in the old days were considerable. To send a letter by post was a luxury to men of such slender resources as were possessed by our forefathers.

The postal rates as extracted from a note-book and diary issued in London in 1792 were,

From any post office in England to any place not exceeding one stage from such office. Two Pence.

From any post office in England to any place above one and not exceeding two stages from such post office, and not passing through London. Three Pence.

From any post office in England to any place above two stages and not exceeding 80 miles and not passing through London. Four Pence.

From any post office in England to any place above 80 miles and not exceeding 150 miles and not passing through London. Five Pence.

From any post office in England to any place above 150 miles not passing through London. Six Pence.

A considerable number of letters were sent by hand. People waited until they heard of some friend going to the place in which their correspondent lived and forwarded the letter by this friend.

Personal travelling, beyond what was possible on foot, involved expense and, to some extent, danger.

Although Thomas had a very sincere affection for his brother John with whom he frequently corresponded, he notes on August 16th, 1792, that it had been five years since they had last met, and they lived within twenty-five miles of each other.

Nathan Smith, Minister of Barnoldswick, writes from London where he has gone to beg for his 1797 chapel :

> " Through the good hand of my God upon me a little after six o'clock in the evening I safely arrived in London on the 1st current. On Thursday night and Friday there fell so great a snow that the coach was obliged to flee into the fields in several places between Huntingdon and London. So great is the snow in the South, that the Kettering mail has been stopt for some time. Some coaches have been driven off the roads into pits, etc., and the passengers and horses entirely perished. We found waggons stopt on the road while we went safely on. What can we say. God was our pioneer. ' The eyes of the Lord are over the righteous and His ears are open to their prayers. What shall I render to the Lord for all His benefits? I will take the cup of salvation and call upon the name of the Lord.' I met a kind reception at the Coffee house, was taken to private lodgings and hospitably entertained. Except hearing the watch I am

as quiet as at home. I have a guide who costs me a guinea a week. I bear my own expenses. I hope they will be very moderate. I get a good dinner at a cook's shop for 7d. I have pocketed forty pounds in five days and a half's travel. I hope to get my sum in a fortnight but would not have my wife to expect me too soon. I meet difficulties but no greater than I have expected. London ministers are not now in the habit of recommending cases nor assisting beggars, which I find a great disadvantage for the laymen are unknown in some parts of the town. Last Sabbath I heard Mr. Booth, he appears to greater advantage in writing than in the pulpit. He is rather in danger of a decline.

"So plain was his appearance that I mistook him before he ascended the rostrum for a poor layman. I heard Messrs. Thomas Thomas, Smith & Upton I approved of what they delivered and their apparent spirit, but their abilities are not great. I have not seen Dr. Rippon nor Betty Currey but I hope I shall. I have been about the King's Palace—an inelegant black pile of building inferior to many gentlemen's seats. I have been through the Bank of England in Guildhall, and in the Bullion Office. Tomorrow I have to preach twice for Mr. Upton. Next Monday night to give a word of exhortation to Mr. Booth's church. Next Wednesday at Eagle Street for Mr. Smith with whose people I partook of the Lord's Supper last Sabbath. It is almost wonderful, although I have been frequently starved, I have not the least cold etc. etc.

Nathan Smith."

London.
14th February 1799."

It has been stated in a previous chapter that much that was unhappy is found in contemporary history.

It is a great pleasure to recognise many things—at least in the lives of those whom I have made my particular study—of a different nature. With one exception I can trace no sign of ill-feeling or jealousy amongst the Pastors. The majestic figure of Dr. Fawcett, the acknowledged and universally appreciated leader of the denomination in the North, is seen moving about amongst the churches, almost invariably

officiating at all their more important functions, looked upon much as an unmitred Bishop with a wide diocese, and I find no evidence of anything but the utmost respect and loyal good-will towards Dr. Fawcett. The lesser lights, comparing experiences, rejoicing in their brethren's successes, sympathising in their difficulties and displaying a cordial friendship and fellowship with each other not only in denominational matters but in almost every relationship of life.

A marked exception was J. Hindle who first appears in my papers as Pastor of the church at Halifax. In "*Baptists in Yorkshire and the North West*" appears the following passage :—

> "The old chapel (i.e. Manchester) had been suffering under Hindle who had damaged seven (? six) churches in twenty-five (? twenty-one) years, acquiring the character of having an irritable disposition, so that a trifling matter discomposed him."

First Halifax 1779/1789 ; then Hanley Green 1789/1792 ; then for a few months in 1792, Elland ; then Blackley 1792/1795 ; then Hull 1795/1798 — all suffered under his personality. He removed to Manchester in 1798, where he was equally unfortunate, and died there in 1800.

Joshua Wood and Salendine Nook church were at variance with Mr. Hindle who had evidently been officiating at Slaithwaite without the concurrence of Nook and before the Slaithwaite people had received their mandate in November, 1787.

The following letter from Joshua Wood to Jno. Parker of Barnoldswick is amongst my MSS. The "Him" referred to in this letter is J. Hindle.

> "To John Parker,
> Dear Brother,
> I am desired by Mr. Ingham and all our people and in their behalf to request your attendance at ye Meeting to be held at Richard Ellam's the Rose and Crown in the back lane, Hallifax, on Thursday the 29th instant, to

begin at 11 o'clock in the forenoon. I suppose you have heard of a letter signed by some ministers met at Sutton and directed to me in which they intimate that unless the difference between Him and Me is accommodated they intend not to supply much longer at Slagthwaite and request me with a few friends to have a meeting.

"Accordingly we have appointed the above day and place for it. In the letter before mentioned it seems to be intimated that the matter of difference only lies betwixt Him and Me whereas in reality ye grand matter of difference lies equally betwixt our people and Him as Me and Him. We have a favourable and I believe a just opinion of your impartiality and candour and we would have you by all means to be there to be a witness of the proceedings, that you make a just representation of me in time to come should need require &c. We desire you would stretch a point to come and without fail attend and we will endeavour to requite you when we have power. I would have written more but I have preached twice to-day and am poorly and very weary. We shall soon reach I hope the pleasant land.

"I remain Your affectionate brother in Christ,

Joshua Wood.

P.S.—Pray give my kind respect to your spouse and daughter—May 25th, 1788."

Hindle was an acceptable preacher but it seems difficult to understand why churches should have been willing to give a call to one who had earned for himself such an unenviable reputation as a trouble maker, except that the supply of Pastors from whom a choice could be made was so limited.

Thomas Stutterd and Wm. Brigg were colleagues and joint leaders at Nook for over twenty years ; in all their papers there is not to be found a shadow of anything but good-will and appreciation of each other or of others at Salendine Nook.

The churches were travelling on an uphill road ; many were fighting a strenuous battle for existence ; as I read my papers it does not appear that their leaders were wasting their strength in a struggle for

their own pre-eminence or in jealousy of each other's gifts. They were merciless in dealing with any wavering in their doctrinal beliefs but they were big enough to avoid fretting over little points of personal prestige. Neither Thomas Stutterd nor Wm. Brigg once give occasion for disappointment in this matter. Their conventional self-depreciation, if perhaps exaggerated, carried with it this evidence of sincerity ; they did not show in their intercourse any inconsistency between their creed and their conduct.

Those living to-day may find it difficult to admire some things associated with our Puritan forefathers, but in this they are entitled to our sincere respect. From this stand-point my papers present a very pleasing study, and portray a conduct which may well be considered as showing that charity which covers a multitude of other defects.

It is evident that the old folk at Nook had a great and abiding desire for the peace and harmony of their church. The little ripples of unhappiness, which are almost inevitable in any community of men and women, were smoothed away quickly and effectively.

The separation of the four daughter-churches called for great sacrifice by the mother-church, but any signs of soreness shown at first soon disappeared. I submit that in nothing do our ancestors show to better advantage than in the christian spirit displayed by them in their attitude to the establishment of these daughter-churches.

I have had this tale told me many times during my life, the story of men who, in their younger days, interested themselves in work of some kind or another in connection with a Nonconformist church, and who put into their task ceaseless and untiring energy. Men who stepped out of the dead rut of mediocrity, who had something of vision and initiative, but to

whom came sooner or later—generally sooner—in spite of, or perhaps because of, conspicuously successful results, the experience of finding themselves in a chilly atmosphere of hostility, resentment or even opposition, so that they became disgusted, dropped everything, and finished church work for ever.

It has been brought home to me when hearing this story, that a continual sifting is going on to-day in some Nonconformist churches—a sifting out of the really efficient, to prevent the overshadowing of the inefficient.

I love our old folk, if only for the absence, at least as far as I read my MSS., of any such littleness and self-seeking.

CHAPTER 50.

Interchange of Pulpits.

It is pleasing to note the "Spirit of Association" displayed by the willingness for an interchange of pulpits whenever emergency demanded or opportunity occurred.

The provision of a continual pulpit supply was often a matter of great difficulty. It was not always easy for churches to obtain stated Pastors. Thomas Stutterd was not infrequently asked for help in this matter.

The following is a copy of one of the letters he received :—

"Witney, Nov. 9th 1794.

Dear Sir,

You will excuse my not writing sooner in respect to the gentleman you talked of. Soon after you went from Witney, heard of a person in the neighbourhood of Stow in the Wolds but on enquiring found him to be a man not of the best character. It is the desire of the people

for me to write to you knowing that you will recommend such a person as will be likely to suit us, and a person of character, which without it, cannot expect the interest of Christ to prosper. You will be so kind as to write to the gentleman as soon as possible. We have been destitute ever since you was at Witney. If the providence of God should direct the gentleman to us, may the presence of the Lord come with him. After you have an answer from the gentleman, you will be so kind as to write to me.

"Am Dear Sir with my very best wishes to you and Mrs. S. and family.

Yours in the best bonds,
James Marriott.

P.S.—We can rise about £40 a year and I don't doubt but if we had a minister settled with us, that we could get the fund and raise more."

Is it not a little pathetic and suggestive that the writer almost apologises for his people's preference for a Pastor with a good character ?

It will be noticed that for some time there had been no preaching at Witney for the want of supplies, but according to the letter quoted in a subsequent page the church seemed to be prospering. I do not know if the Mr. Taylor referred to in that letter is the gentleman recommended by Mr. Stutterd.

The following extract from one of Thomas Stutterd's letters Decr. 14th, 1788, further emphasises the difficulty some churches experienced in obtaining Pastors and pulpit supplies :

"In the compass of my knowledge have lately—viz., this journey—had information of the state of Particular Baptist Churches as under :—

Sheffield. 34 or 36 members. Have hired Benj. Dickenson for a year at £30 and house rent. Much dissatisfied with him fear he is a Sabellian. Have lost some hearers. A few of the members imprudently attempting to raise an interest at Rotherham.

Leicester. Abt. 60 members. Their late tippling Pastor laid down his charge. Supplied by the Association. Seem to be influenced by the too fashionable thirst for a popular Minister.

Foxton. nr. Harbro' but few members. Have been destitute of a Pastor some time. Have service once a day by a neighbouring Baptist and Independent. An annuity of about £20 in hand, nice about preaching.

Northampton. 190 members, very large congregation, well satisfied with J. Ryland Jnr. who is a truly pious, growing Minister, £100 p.a. I am told he gives half to his father.

Weston by Weedon nr. Towcester. A branch of church at Longbuckby, get supplied oft as can. Meet in a farm house, can raise about £25, desirous of a Minister. Well disposed. Mr. Ryland desirous to have them settled, also at Foxton. He wishes one Sharman of Lutterworth to settle at Leicester. Sharman has considerable abilities and has a family. Lutterworth is his native place. A small interest and he would be more acceptable at a distant place.

Oakingham, Berks. 7 miles from Reading, about 27 members sit down at Reading. Mr. Davis wishes them supplied with a plain, orthodox Pastor, they have a handsome meeting house. No other dissenters. Can raise £30 and fund. I gave them the address of Wrathall of Wainsgate."

There were many occasions when supplies were urgently needed. The regular Minister of the church might be taken ill, but the most serious difficulty arose when a church lost her Pastor and became destitute.

Such emergencies were met as far as possible in two ways :

(1) The Pastors showed an accommodating willingness to render every assistance in their power. To help a destitute church, a plan would be drawn up in which the names of almost all the Pastors of the associated churches would appear. There are a number of such lists in my papers.

It was one of the real advantages of being in "Association." In case of need a church could depend on the assistance of her sister churches ; it was a mutual aid society.

When Joshua Wood died, Salendine Nook was left destitute, but Wm. Brigg was appointed to exercise pastoral oversight, otherwise there would doubtless have been a preaching list for our own church.

Jabez Stutterd (son of Thomas) writes on December 14th, 1801, to his uncle John Stutterd :—

"Mr. Hyde has had a letter from Liverpool which is almost word for word the same as yours. The Sunday after he received it, he desired the members to stop a little. After reading the letter he put this question. What answer would be given? Wm. Brigg said the letter was a very dark one as it did not say what church it came from. He judged it to be the third division and if it was, he did not know that they deserved any assistance, as he understood they divided about trifles, and were like spoilt children, wanting to be humoured. Mr. Brook replied that if they were the church of Christ they ought to be fed—here a woman said 'He mun feed uz at whoam'—and that it might be of use to Mr. Hyde and his family in a pecuniary way. My father observed that the letter had lain 3 weeks at the post office. It might be best to write to them to enquire what church it was, and when they would be in want of supplies. I understand Mr. Hyde has given them an answer in the negative. About a fortnight ago Mr. Hyde baptised five, four men and one woman one of them was my brother John. His confession before the church was sensible and satisfactory. That he was a great sinner, that he could do nothing to merit salvation, but relied entirely upon Christ, could not say particularly what had been the means of bringing him to the knowledge of the Saviour. Mr. H. asked him what he thought of Baptism. He thought it to be his duty. What a highly favoured family are we! How grateful ought we to be to God who is thus blessing us both in providence and grace. Two of the others were impressed under a sermon of Mr. Aston from Chester.

"Mr. Lathem of Clough Fold has wrote to Mr. Hyde and hinted that he was movable and should wish to supply at Farsley. My father has been to Farsley and mentioned it to the people, and to Mr. Crabtree and it is intended for Mr. L. to go there to supply two sabbaths in January. Mr. Ashworth has got a house fitted up to preach in, about a mile from Farsley, some of the people attend him and some attend at Farsley.

"I saw Mr. Fuller at his house about a month ago. I did not hear anything about him having an apoplectic fit, his complaint was in his lungs together with a fever. He had preached once a day the two Sabbaths before I was there, and is recovering fast. I bought of him a sermon preached at Bedford, another at the Association 'The Backslider' and a letter to the Norfolk Churches all wrote by him. I understand that he is now quite against Antinomianism. For several journeys past I have bought the Biblical Magazine published by Mr. Morris of Clipstone. It is going to be altered from the Biblical to the Dissenters Magazine and is to be published every month instead of every two months. The Dissenters mag. begins in Jan. 1802 and will be in opposition to the 'Orthodox Churchman.' As you are in the lending society, I would advise you to get it if possible. Mr. Sutcliff of Olney (of whom I have mine) says that it is getting very popular. The principal contributors are Mr. Fuller who signs himself different names. Mr. Greathead signs Cornelius. Mr. Blundell T.B. etc. The price is 6d. Mr. Sutcliff desires his respects to you, several friends enquire about you, Mr. Purdue of Chip Norton, Mr. Davis, Mr. Turland.

"Mr. Purdue is quite infirm, a paralytic stroke has taken the use of one side and injured the power of his mind, so much that he is not likely to preach any more—That church is now destitute. They had a Mr. Morgan but he is gone to Cannon Street Meeting, Birmingham. Mr. Law of Weston has had a slight paralytic stroke but is recovered. Mr. Harris has left Burford and now wants a place. Witney Baptist interest has had a revival since Mr. Taylor has been there. They are now very full. In a letter from my father rec'd this day dated Nottm. Decr. 12th, I read that 'W. Nicholls is going to Lester to supply for Cave, and will call upon us this evening at Quardron.'

"The church under Mr. Cave is very much on the decline. Mrs. Pick never attends and Mr. Pick but seldom. Mr. Horne from Yarmouth is now at Zion Chapel (A Baptist Meeting of very high Calvinists, Mr. Fuller calls them Antinomians) and is well attended.

We are all well,

I am Your affect. Nephew,

Jabez Stutterd.

Height. Decr. 14th 1801."

(2) The services of the lay ministers were largely utilised. The "thrusting out" of a layman was a serious matter. A man was not encouraged to occupy a pulpit until he had received the mandate of his church, but with this mandate he was free to preach anywhere, and at any time, and if he was in any way acceptable he could find more appointments than he could possibly fill.

In the old days, but for the lay ministry, there would have been many Sundays in which numerous churches would have had no services, for it was only with the greatest difficulty that the pulpits were kept always supplied.

The following type of a letter to Thomas Stutterd I find often amongst my papers :

"Dear Friend,

John Kaye came to my house on Monday morning to request me to be at Blackley the next Lord's day and the last night I received an invitation to go to Ogden at the above time, which I have no means in my power to comply with. As I know that you are not destitute of bowels of compassion towards the necessitous, it came into my head, that perhaps you will feel yourself inclined to help friends at Ogden, when you know that I cannot go, and will you go ? Well and if you be inclined to go, I will do all in my power to give vent to so good a disposition. I will lend you my mare to ride upon.

From yours etc.,
W. Brigg.

May 10th, 1798."

Thomas Stutterd on his journeys found a ready welcome in the best churches in the Midlands and when he was known to be in the district he was almost forced into the pulpits.

He writes September 23/1792. Nottingham :—

"Sunday afternoon Mr. Hopper thrust me up into the Rostrum. During the last singing he opened ye pulpit door and said, 'You'l preach in the evening. No !' Yet he gave it out and on my wishing to be excused, 'what !

you would not have me tell the people lies. I would not preach for five guineas.'"

Further :

"Sept. 16, Tuesday. At Northampton This afternoon not well. Last night went to Mr. Ryland's meeting, the first night of this season. It is intended as thanksgiving for harvest, and will continue every night for 8 weeks. I seated myself in a corner, but was hauled up by Mr. Ryland to the table pew. I was not very well and declined to engage in prayer, or word of exhortation on my promising for next night if had opportunity. A young man prayed sensibly. Mr. Ryland spoke about half an hour on prayer, its nature and advantages etc., and a Mr. Evans, an antiquated minister, concluded by prayer, whole meeting 1 hour and about 10 minutes."

It may appear strange that Pastors of important churches like those of Mr. Hopper and Mr. Ryland should, at a minute's notice, be anxious to make place for a layman, but that is only in keeping with the spirit of the times. The people were always eager to hear a fresh message from their pulpit, and the Pastors were as willing to help them.

CHAPTER 51.

Pecuniary Help.

It has been pointed out that probably all the churches in the Association to which Salendine Nook was joined were poor, and few of them self-supporting.

The four of which I know most, Salendine Nook, Barnoldswick, Colne and Cloughfold, all appear to have been at some time helped from the London Fund in the support of their ministry.

My readers may be interested to know what this Fund was. I therefore give a copy of the circular issued in 1798 to the churches benefiting by it. The

circular was sent to John Stutterd with his remittance for £5 11s. 0d. :

"To the Minister who receives Assistance from the Particular Baptist Fund, London.

SIR,

At the request of the Managers, I acquaint you, that your future applications to this Fund are desired to be sent, addressed to their Secretary, Mr. BENJAMIN TOMKINS, No. 4, BRIDGE FOOT, SOUTHWARK, LONDON : and they likewise desire you to send him a particular Direction to you at the place where you reside, as they have under consideration a Method for the more speedy and convenient remittance of the monies voted to the recipients of this Fund—which probably may be adopted should providence spare their lives to another distribution.

N.B.—The application must be made before the month of September.

"To the DEACONS, respectively, of those Churches that apply for assistance from the Particular Baptist Fund in London.
CHRISTIAN BRETHREN,

I have been directed, by the Treasurers and Managers of the Particular Baptist Fund, to inform you, That the benevolent Institution of which they have the management, is a *Charity* intended for the assistance of *poor* Churches, and of *poor* Ministers, in England and Wales, of the Calvinistic Baptist Persuasion only. Consequently, that no Church, whose theological sentiments are not Calvinistic, or that, with due exertion, and with the assistance of the congregation at large, are able comfortably to support their Pastor, should apply for aid from this Fund. Nor is any Pastor, or Minister, whose private property, under the direction of prudent frugality, is equal to his real wants, though his annual stipend from the People be ever so small, to be considered as a proper object of assistance from this charitable Institution—That applications to the Managers for assistance are every year, more or less, increasing—That the greater part of the money distributed by them, from year to year, consists of those Public Collections which are annually made by their respective Churches in the Metropolis; at the making of which Collections, numbers who *labour hard* for their subsistence, and have but *very little* to spare, practically express their generous concern to promote the cause of Christ in the Country. That the Managers find themselves incapable of exhibiting half the assistance which they could wish, to many of those Cases which come under their notice—And that, as your office demands, they earnestly desire you to use every prudent mean for the comfortable support of your Pastor or Minister; that so, if practicable, you may not, in future, have any occasion to apply for assistance from this Fund ; the Managers having long suspected, that various of our Churches in the Country, which have been used to apply for annual exhibitions, might with proper exertions of their own, have comfortably provided for their Ministers without any foreign aid.

"IF, however, after all your endeavours, it be necessary for you again to solicit assistance from the Managers of this

Institution, I am further directed to request, and it is *expected*, that, previous to every fresh application, you make a PUBLIC *collection* for the Fund, and mention its amount in your Petition —That, in every Petition, or Case, there be a concise representation of the *faith* of the Church, and of your Pastor, particularly in regard to the Person of Christ, and the doctrine of the Trinity; of your Pastor's *domestic circumstances*, if he have a family; of his *last year's salary*; and of the *increase or decrease* of your members. That each case contain an accurate Direction how to address your Pastor, or if destitute of a Pastor, how to address the Deacon to whom the money is to be remitted for the Church's use—and, that your case be transmitted to their Secretary before the month of September. Earnestly praying, that evangelical truth, brotherly love, and Christian concord, may not only exist, but abide and abound among you, I remain,

CHRISTIAN BRETHREN,

Your cordial Friend and Brother in the Lord,
BENJAMIN TOMKINS, Secretary.

London, March 7, 1798.

"When you make your public collection for the Fund, the Managers request your Minister to read, in addition to what he may think proper to say in recommendation of it, the following short account of its ORIGIN, of its DESIGN, and of the MEANS OF ITS SUPPORT.

THAT charitable institution, known by the name of The Particular Baptist Fund in London, and which I this day recommend to your benevolent regards, was founded in the year 1717, to assist young Ministers in their studies—to furnish them with a few useful books—and to contribute to the maintenance of poor Pastors and Ministers, whose annual income is inadequate to the support of their families.

"For many years, no minister was assisted from this Fund whose Salary was known to exceed £40: but, for some time past, the Managers, considering the increased price of the necessaries of life, have, in some instances, exhibited donations to poor Ministers, with large families, who receive annually £50 from their people.

"THE Interest of their funded property, though it has gradually increased through occasional donations and legacies, is by no means equal to the accomplishment of these important purposes. The greater part of what is annually distributed is publicly collected in the churches in London, to which the Managers respectively belong, after sermons have been preached, warmly recommending the charity to the generous patronage of all who are able to show their love to the poor saints, by contributing in any measure, to the supply of their pressing wants."

It will be appreciated that the erection of a building, though of the most modest dimensions, was an impossible task to many churches without outside help. Four out of the first five Baptist meeting houses

in Huddersfield district were built by private donors. Pole Moor alone had to raise its money by public subscription and became "A Case" applying to the Associated Churches accordingly.

The people of a church which had undertaken to build, immediately looked around for a suitable district in which they could beg, and did not limit their vision to the district in which their church was situated.

I have already included a letter from Mr. Nathan Smith describing his visit to London on a begging expedition. He collected £100 1s. 6d. on that visit.

It is delightful to note how quite poor churches showed a willingness to do their little to help a sister-church in her emergency.

I can perhaps bring to the minds of my readers this feature of early Baptist life by a full account of the "Colne Case" of which my MSS. give me many particulars.

The Colne church owes its origin not—like so many—to the Rossendale church but to the old Scottish Baptist church at Haggate, of which John Stutterd was a member, and from which he received his dismission in 1769 to become the first Minister at Colne.

In 1769 at the back of New House a room was taken at a yearly rent of £4.

The following note is found in John Stutterd's diary :

> Feb. 1st of the year 1784.
> "Church Meeting. Betty Laycock who had been offended was reconciled. Last Church meeting she produced a plan for a new chapel. It was little attended to. Our hired house is taken for another year at four pounds rental and I hear nothing more said about the matter."

For many years the Colne church had nothing but a room hired at £4 a year in which to meet. They were given notice to terminate their tenancy to

give place to what is termed a "Mystic Congregation," and a new chapel became a necessity. Jno. Stutterd writes under the following dates :

"Sept. 27th 1787.

In regard to Church matters my concern is weighty. Building a new meeting house is necessary and is full intended. But I forsee many great difficulties."

"Oct. 15th. Baptist new meeting house Colne Lane. Was let to be completed at £215. Money to be paid at twice. Former payment Jan. 1st 1788, latter payment when the work is done. John Hartley Mason is the undertaker."

"Oct. 20th. Mr. Cunliffe was paid for the ground 500 square yards purchased £61 17s. 8d. It is surrendered to Wm. Lonsdale and Joseph Sutcliffe with reference to a deed of trust which is to be made. The surrender is in the hands of James Greenwood, Swinden, as customary tenant, Mr. Cunliffe has given bond to indemnify the purchasers against all claims etc."

"Oct. 24th. The undertaker broke ground, on the spot to dig for stones."

"Nov. 3rd. I see the rock does not prove well, he has tried in three different parts of the ground and there is some encouragement in the last place."

"Nov. 6th. The appearance for stone is better than on Saturday. It is not absolutely settled whether the front shall stand to the west or to the south. Nor whether there shall be cellars as their rent would much outgo the interest of money expended in building them, and therefore be a help to the people."

"Nov. 7th. and not before, the members subscribed to the new Meeting house. Old Abm. Greenwood before he died signified his will that eight pounds out of his effects should be given towards a N. M. H. if ever there was one built at Coln but twas too late to make it legal. Therefore it was at the option of his son Abm. who has been applied to respecting it, and says he will give ten pounds i.e. make that eight pounds into ten pounds. Including this the subscription by church members amounts to £64. The subscriptions to be paid at four times, Quarterly payments the first to be made on the first Sabbath in next month. The subscription I fear has been dissatisfactory in some instances. Oh, that we were more affectionate, free and zealous. Take a specimen of subscription. Wm.

Lonsdale £20. Betty Laycock £5. J. Sutcliffe £4 4s. 0d. J. Baldwin £4 4s. 0d. B. Shaw £4 4s. 0d. J. Hartley £3 3s. 0d. J. Robinson £2 2s. 0d. E. Robinson £2 2s. 0d. J. Wilson £2 2s. 0d. J. Hyde £1 1s. 0d. T. Stutterd 10/6 etc. etc."

"May 30th 1788. Church Meeting held in our house. After meeting, friends employed till dark in dressing the chapel and levelling the yard."

"June 1st. Divine Worship in our meeting house for the first time. A part of the windows not in, a part of the stone floor not laid. Much lime for plastering in the place."

At Midsummer 1788, the little Baptist cause at Colne would probably be about £225 in debt.

Wm. Lonsdale, the one man of substance in the community, had given his twenty pounds which was no little sum in those times for a man of his standing. The age of bazaars, tea meetings, entertainments etc., for the raising of chapel funds was not yet. There was only one thing to be done. Colne must become "A Case" and go a-begging.

It was necessary first to put themselves right with the Association and so we find in their letter to be read at the Whitsuntide Meetings 1788, the following :

"But the most remarkable business of the year with us respects our Meeting House. Our hired room was sold for the use of the Mystic Congregation at the very time of our last annual meeting. Accordingly we were discharged, being commanded to quit the place on the 26th May 1788. This was a trying circumstance. No room could be procured we thought that would be suitable, and considering our small numbers and low circumstances in life, building a new meeting house seemed out of our reach. However confiding in the goodness of our cause, the providence of our God and the assistance of our friends, we reflected to attempt it, and through the good hand of our God upon us, we hope to assemble under its roof immediately on our leaving the old room. The expense of our new meeting house and its furniture when completed we believe will be about £320. Our own subscriptions and Donations promised in the neighbourhood by begging from

house to house amount to about £95. In this we include the kind assistance which the Church at Barnoldswick has already afforded us. Hence it appears that a great burden will be upon us, but God is able to make us stand. And we desire you will assist and recommend our case in your respective congregations when it is handed to you. We have already drawn up a petition to the Committee in London. Our Minister brings it with him to the Lecture and we desire you to sign it in order that it may be sent off to London in time."

Application was duly sent to London, but it was not until Sept. 1792 that Colne received the following letter by which time the debt had been cleared off and the application withdrawn :

"London. Sept. 8th 1792.

Dear Sir,

I am directed by the Committee to inform you that the case of your Church at Coln stands next in turn to be collected for in London. You are therefore desired to attend the Committee at their next meeting which will be the first Friday in October at the Jamaica Coffee House in Cornhill between 6 and 7 in the evening.

I am Sir,

Your Humble Servant,

John Cooper,

No. 28 Great Eastcheap.

P.S. It will be convenient to write the present state of the case in a small book in which the Donations may be entered."

The Colne case signed by Messrs. Fawcett, Hebden Bridge ; Langden, Leeds ; Wood, Salendine Nook ; Crabtree, Bradford ; Oulton, Rawdon ; Walton, Sutton ; Littlewood, Rochdale ; and Shuttleworth, Cowling Hill ; would be sent to all the churches in the Association. Its reception would depend to some extent on the influence that could be brought to bear, and on the popularity of the Minister.

Colne had altogether special advantages. John Stutterd, their Minister, had the unstinted help and influence of his brother ; it would actually appear

that Thomas was more urgent and persistent than John. Throughout his life, Thomas behaved exceedingly well to his brother who was his senior by three years, but the relationship seems to show Thomas as the elder, for he is not only found lecturing and stirring John up, but coming to his help financially, and in the raising of the chapel money Thomas was indefatigable.

Thomas was a very well-known and respected layman, not only in the North but in important centres in the Midlands, and Colne people with his influence behind them, were in an exceptional position.

Colne received much help from local churches and even when immediate help was not possible, the letters they sent are pleasant reading. I give an extract from one from J. Stutterd :

Colne, Sept. 14/1792.

I suppose you have heard of my success at Elland namely that Mr. Burley gave me 2/6 and Mr. Ashworth £1 1s. 0d.
" I called on Mr. Fawcett and he said you must rest awhile and then come over and pick up a few corns among us.
" Saturday Sept. 1st I went to Haslingdon and collected £6 1s. 6d. from thence to Accrington. Collected £14 10s. 6d. and went to Blackburn where I collected £7. I intend to come to Mr. Fawcett next Thursday on the same begging."

Also a copy of a letter sent from the Colne Church :

" To the Baptist Congregation at Goodshaw Chapel.
The poor disciples at Colne of the same denomination sendeth Christian Salutation.
Friends and Brethren,
Being assembled before God, our Minister reported unto us the kind reception he was favoured with when attending our case among you. We listened with pleasing surprise to his account of your compassion, sympathy and bounty. And we bless God that He put it into your hearts to consider our necessity, and come up in so diligent and generous a way to the help of His cause among us.
" Our thanks are particularly due to your aged, venerable Minister and those brethren who from house to house

solicited relief for us. And we desire this to be accepted as a testimony of our hearty thanks to the people in general.

"May our God supply all your need and crown this your labour of love with a generous reward at the resurrection of the just.

"We hope it is our sincere concern to walk worthy of that respect of kindness you have shown us. But all our strength is in Christ. Begging for a share in your intercessions we subscribe ourselves your unworthy grateful friends and brethren. Sept. 20th 1789."

The Rev. William Crabtree, Minister of the Bradford church, writes :

Nov. 20th, 1790.

Dear Bro.

The sum collected for you is £10 15s. 0d. besides some copper all above £10 you are wellcome to appropriate to your own use if you choose it. The reason why you have it in a bill instead of cash is, that there were a number of bad shillings, I did not like to throw them away and I believe you could not have paid them. I therefore gave the Cash to my son upon condition he could part with the bad money which he has done. You will remember to return thanks to the Congregation for their liberallity.

from your friend and Brother in Christ
Wm. Crabtree.

P.S. Provided I should want a supply next Febr. 91 may I depend upon you for one day ?"

John Stutterd came with his case to Nook and did exceedingly well, probably better than at any other church to which he applied.

His brother Jabez was allowed by his employers to spend part of two days in helping John to collect in Huddersfield; and together they secured on the first day the sum of £9 17s. 0d., £2 2s. 0d. being contributed by Mr. J. Whitacre, Jabez's employer. John Stutterd occupied the Nook pulpit on the 18th August, 1792, and had a very full house. After the afternoon sermon the Colne case was read and the collection amounting to £7 1s. 0d. was taken.

On the Monday, Mr. Cartlege gave him 10s. 6d. and Wm. Brigg sent 10s. 6d.

On the Tuesday, a further canvass was made and a sum of £4 9s. 6d. collected ; Jabez notes :

> " I applied to J. Crowther he read my brother's case with much care and attention. Said he would give nothing at present till he had spoke to a few friends and would get what he could among them. ' If they gave nothing I promise ' says he ' to do something handsome myself.' We thanked him kindly, thinking it an act of great kindness."

My readers will, I think, agree that Salendine Nook came out well. £22 8s. 6d. and a promise was a very handsome help indeed, and may be taken as a testimony to the great respect that the name of Stutterd carried with it in the church and district.

From the time when the Colne meeting house had been erected, Thomas had been urging upon his brother to undertake an extensive begging expedition in the Midland counties. He had impressed upon him that he had many influential friends amongst both Pastors and laymen there, and could be of much use to him. For a considerable time John hung back, he shrank from the inconvenience and fatigue of a long journey from home, for he was never a man of affairs like his friend N. Smith of Barnoldswick, who in addition to being a Pastor, was a weaver, malt merchant and schoolmaster, and who, attired in swallow-tailed coat, velvet knee-breeches and buckled shoes, would probably welcome his visit to London as a congenial experience.

At last, however, John consented to the undertaking, and Thomas, with the most unsparing, disinterested labour, planned out John's itinerary. Every inch of his journey was mapped out for him—whom he was to see and how he was to get from one place to another. Page after page of closely written matter evidence the trouble Thomas took to prepare the way

for his brother; he had been taking preliminary steps for years and the last of his letters gives his final instructions, and concludes with these words (it being noticed that provision is made for a new suit of clothes) :

"I expect Bro. Jabez has sent you the Raven Cloth and that you have received it. Your own prudence together with the advice of your friends will influence you in the necessary preparations for your journey. I would not advise you to overload yourself with cloathes. You must have a great coat, the lighter it is and the more easy to carry. A pair of boot stockings, 2 shirts, 2 cravats and stocks and 2 pocket handkerchiefs will be linen enough, and 2 pair of socks (You may think when you set forth you can carry this that or other things, but you must remember the length of the journey, your luggage will feel heavier at Elland than at Widdop). You will have one set on, and another off. You may get things washed at any town you come at, in a few hours, and you will find it convenient to endeavour, as much as you can, to get them washed soon after they are soiled—They will be ready—Shirt and Shave often. Cleanliness will be absolutely necessary for your good acceptance among genteel people. When you stop in towns you must take pains to appear as neat and clean as your cloaths will possibly admit. Much notice is taken of outward appearances. Always take care to have your linen well aired at ye fire before you put it on and beware of damp beds. Always get a strange bed warmed.

"I am sensible you will meet with a good deal of fatigue upon the journey without a horse, but a horse would be very expensive and you must take the coach on the roads when they travel, and I believe you may sometimes be able to save yourself on other roads by taking pains in enquiring for a returned chaise and at a very easy expense.

"I have now said as much as this letter will hold and must conclude by wishing the Lord will protect, prosper and bless you.

I am still your loving and unworthy brother,

Tho. Stutterd.

Northampton,
June 3rd, 1792."

It was evident that John found the journey a great task for we have another letter to him on July 19th, 1792 :

" Huddersfield.

My dear Brother,

I duly received your letter of the 18th ulto from Nottingham before I left the neighbourhood of Ludlow. I was very glad to hear of your health and success. I got home on ye 5th inst. after a long and disagreeable journey. I have been very anxious to hear from you since, and sometimes very uneasy fearing some accident had prevented your writing, especially before last Sunday evening, when I had the pleasure to find four letters from you to W. Lonsdale at Colne. I was much affected with your fatigue and lowness of spirit. I suppose W. Lonsdale has owned the receipt of £60 from you. He wrote to Banbury on the 11th inst. Your wife was well and seems very still and patient in your absence.

" I understand that your pulpit will be expected to be filled at Colne on ye 22nd July from Colenhill, 29th by N. Smith. August 5th by Wm. Brigg.

" From date of July 5th at Northamp', I have supposed that this will be likely to meet you at Bourton except you change my plan. Wm. Lonsdale desired me to press upon you to return by way of Birmingham and endeavour to beg there. It is the nearest way from Oxford, and the most convenient way for coaches. If there is any money you leave behind you at Nottingham etc. I will take care of it so that you need not wish to return that way.

" Our people at Nook have spoke to me on your a/c and wish to help you on your return so that you must come from Birmingham per coach by way of Sheffield to Huddersfield. It is, I believe, nearer than by Manchester —And our people wish to know as soon as you can inform them the time viz. the Sabbath you can spend at Nook that notice may be given of it.

" Therefore set your head to work in calculating and be sure to give yourself time enough that you may be able to spend a few days with us prior to your Sabbath at Nook.

" Do let me persuade you to take time with your work. I mean sufficient time to enable you to get through with it with ease. And endeavour to keep up your spirits. I am sensible your business is not very pleasant, it is galling and mortifying to the pride of your corrupt mind. Yet

there is nothing illegal or really dishonourable in it. Therefore be of good cheer remember that you are engaged in the cause of God, His truth and His people and although you are 200 miles from home you are not yet out of the dominion of the King of Israel. You are not beyond the care of your Almighty Shepherd. You are as immediately under His notice in Gloucestershire and Oxfordshire as in Coln Lane.

"Be so good as to write to me.

"Your wife, W. Lonsdale etc. desire their love to you. My wife and Bro. Jabez also join me in respects. I don't recollect that I have any particular news to tell you. The best news that ever I heard in my life is that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners.

I conclude, subscribing myself,

Your loving Bro.

THOS. STUTTERD."

John Stutterd's mission was extremely successful, thanks to his brother more than anything else, nearly £150 was collected, the debt remaining on the Colne meeting house was discharged, and the application to London withdrawn.

Thomas' efforts for his brother were remembered for a long time amongst the churches in the North, as evidenced by the following letter received from John Pilling of Goodshaw. It is to be hoped that service was rendered to the people at Goodshaw, for it will not be forgotten how kind they had been to Colne in 1789.

"Goodshaw,

Dear Brother,

I have sent 12 cases as was mentioned when I was with you. They are all signed by Hirst, Fawcett and Langdon. I humbly hope you will take them with you when you go into the South, and I hope you will not fail to use your influence and say all you can in my favour. A line from you when you return will greatly oblige me. I am certain, Brother, that your offer to lend me assistance in your journey to the South, is directed by Providence. I will tell you some circumstances about it. Before I came to Saladine Nook I was informed of your kindness to your

Brother in Colne. When I set out from home to your place it was my earnest desire and prayer that God would give me a place in your affections, in the very thing that is now come round. When you met me on the Sabbath Day, and invited me to your house upon the Monday evening it gave me very great hope, that all would be well, every circumstance that I marked until the business was approved, seemed to me to bid fair for success. I hope brother it is of God and will succeed. The cases are scarce little different from that I read at your place, but when I see you I will give you all the satisfaction needful respecting it. I just mention one circumstance that since the subscription took place some of the subscribers have failed and others so reduced, that they have left the country, so that I think £20 will be lost which will reduce the sum subscribed to £130. You will see the manner in which the cases are addressed, and think if you would be kind enough when you deliver them, to write on the blank side of the sheet in the following manner :—' This case is humbly recommended to the Particular Baptised Church of Christ.....under the pastorate of Rev.....'

" Brother I am unworthy of your notice or any favour I have received from you.

" I conclude wishing that the Lord may bless you and yours, and that you may enjoy His blessed presence wherever you may be. Give my kind love to your dear companion and all the family.

" I am in the Bonds of Christian love your unworthy Brother in the Kingdom of Christ.

John Pilling.

July 26th, 1798."

Mr. Pilling came to Nook on July 8th, 1798 and collected £8 10s. 0d. for his chapel.

It would have been of more interest to my readers if I had been recording the raising of money by Salendine Nook instead of Colne but there is no reason to believe that Salendine Nook Church has ever been " A Case."

The 1689 meeting place was one of Morton's barns.

The 1713 first specially designed meeting house was provided by the Mortons.

The 1739 second meeting house was built also by the Mortons and transferred to trustees for a sum of 5s. the circumstances manifestly not calling for outside help.

The 1803 third meeting house was built by subscription, but I can find no reference to an appeal for outside help. Thomas Stutterd notes in one of his letters 12/2/03. "A subscription is opened for a new meeting house at Nook, it is already more than £400 and I think will reach £500 but there are some difficulties in the way respecting having more land. The owner will not sell excepting all the croft and the old houses in front." There is a pencil note in the church minute book to the following effect : "This great and honourable design undertaken entirely at the expense of this church excepting a few individuals who have contributed a little."

The 1843 fourth meeting house. The two notices which appear in the Baptist Magazine make it quite clear that this (not the third as therein stated) was paid for by the exertions of Nook people.

Extract from "The Baptist Magazine" May 1843.

NEW CHAPEL.

Salendine Nook.

On Easter Monday the 17th ultimo, the foundation stone of a new and enlarged chapel at Salendine Nook, near Huddersfield, was laid by John Brook, Esq., of Marsh House. The day being fine, a large concourse of persons attended to witness the interesting ceremony.

In the introductory observations by the Rev. J. Macpherson, the minister, it was stated that a Baptist congregation had existed in the above place for one hundred and

twelve years and that the intended place of worship was the third chapel which it had been found necessary to erect, all on the same site, each an enlargement of the former one. Besides which it was stated that four or five chapels, within the circle of a few miles, had originated through the exertions of individuals who had at different periods belonged to the church.

A very appropriate and impressive address was delivered by the Rev. H. Dowson of Bradford. The devotional services were conducted by the Rev. W. Walton of Lockwood, and the Rev. W. H. Holmes of Pole Moor. The cost of the chapel, exclusive of the old materials, is estimated at about one thousand pounds, which will be defrayed by the members of the church and congregation.

Extract from "The Baptist Magazine" December 1843.

SALENDINE NOOK.

"The new and enlarged chapel at Salendine Nook, near Huddersfield, was opened on Wednesday the 1st. The Lord's day the 5th November, sermons were preached on the occasion by the Rev. Messrs. Dowson of Bradford, Burchell of Rochdale, Acworth of Bradford, and Gray of Northampton. The collection amounted to the very liberal sum of three hundred and eleven pounds; which, with the previous subscriptions of the congregation, will nearly defray the entire cost of the erection, being about sixteen hundred pounds. The chapel will seat from eight hundred to nine hundred persons and has a remarkably chaste and elegant appearance. Commodious vestries and school-room which were much wanted, are now provided; and a separate children's gallery, which will accommodate four hundred children, above the school-room, opens to the chapel behind the pulpit by a fine arch.

"It is hoped that this large and important interest will advance, under the divine blessing, with increased and distinguished prosperity; and that the enlarged house which the benevolent zeal of the people has raised, may be filled with worshippers, and become the birth-place of many souls."

CHAPTER 52.

Annual Meetings.

It is pleasant to contemplate the old Annual Association Meetings, those two days at Whitsuntide which the old time Pastors and leaders anticipated with a zest it is perhaps difficult for those who live in these days of many affairs to appreciate fully.

One matter for wonder is how the small chapels could accommodate such large gatherings as often assembled at these Association meetings. We read that sometimes neighbouring churches—particularly the Independents—would lend their buildings, but this did not always meet the necessities of the occasion. (Note in breviates of the Association assembling at Olney, Bucks, on May 28th and 29th, 1776.)

> "After further time spent in prayer, we adjurned till 10 o'clock when the public meeting was to have begun, but was delayed for some time till a place could be fixed upon to assemble, as the meeting house could not contain one half the people. We met in a friend's orchard not far from the meeting house, where convenience being soon made for the ministers to stand and seats for many of the people (tho many hundreds could not be seated) we began public worship before 11 o'clock. After singing and prayer Brother Evans preached....."

My MSS. have frequent references to quarterly gatherings of the Pastors of the churches in the Lancashire and Yorkshire Association, which were pleasant opportunities for joint worship and friendly intercourse, but these were in no way to be compared in importance with the annual meetings at Whitsuntide.

I give the breviates for those held for the first time at Salendine Nook in 1791, the Associated Churches at that time being Accrington, Bacup, Barnoldswick, Blackburn, Cloughfold, Colne, Cowling Hill, Gildersome, Halifax, Hebden Bridge, Leeds,

Preston, Rawdon, Rochdale, Salendine Nook, Sutton and Wainsgate, seventeen in all.

"Wednesday June 15th, met at 2 o'clock. Mr. Oddy began the service with prayer. Mr. Hartley preached from 1 Thes. 1-4. Mr. Ashworth prayed and preached from Romans 2-30 and concluded with prayer. At six o'clock met again. Mr. Wood was chosen moderator. Mr. Langdon prayed. The letters from the Churches and the general letter drawn up by Mr. Langdon were read and the moderator concluded with prayer."

"Thursday morning met at 10 o'clock. Mr. Langdon opened the meeting with prayer. Mr. Fawcett preached from Acts 3.36. Mr. Hirst preached from Eph. 4-1, and concluded the public service with prayer."

"Agreed to hold the next Association at Cowling Hill on Wednesday and Thursday in Whitsun week the service to begin on the Wednesday precisely at 2. Messrs. Hirst, Littlewood and Ashworth to preach and in case of failure Messrs. Wade, Fawcett and Wood. Mr. Wood to prepare the circular letter. Put up at the Bay Horse.

"In the Associated Churches the last year there were

Baptised	47	Dead	13
		Excluded	23
		Net increase	11
	47		47

N.B. The accounts we have received from some of the churches are pleasing and we are happy to find that there has been a small increase in our numbers ; but we cannot hear of the state of vital godliness in several of our societies without being deeply affected. And we beg leave to request the members of the Associated Churches to observe the first Thursday in September as a day of humiliation and prayer to God for the revival of religion amongst us. The effectual fervent prayer of the righteous avail much."

Mr. Langdon's circular letter was on Christian Benevolence. There is nothing of particular interest in this letter, except perhaps its condemnation of the Slave Trade, which was then a burning question among the churches, and a protest against Religious Bigotry.

The subjects for the sermons preached are found in Joshua Wood's letter to John Stutterd given on a previous page. The text from which Mr. Fawcett preached could not have been Acts 3.36 as the 3rd chapter of Acts has only twenty-six verses. This is evidently a printer's error.

One point about this Salendine Nook function is that, unlike others, no intimation is given as to where the representatives are to "put up." This is disappointing, we should have been much interested to know.

The programme for the Salendine Nook meetings does not seem exciting. The reading of the letters from the churches, four sermons, a circular letter, which was nothing more than another long sermon, and arrangements for the next year, fail to appear very attractive to us to-day. At most Association meetings they had some singing, but there is no mention even of a hymn at Salendine Nook in 1791. Must we take that as uncomplimentary to the musical capacities of our forebears ?

That a certain amount of unofficial business was transacted is certain. People needing supplies for their pulpits would come for them as a matter of course. There is one omission in all the many records which is greatly to be regretted, viz., the account of what passed when all the preaching, reading of letters from the churches, and circular letter were over and the Pastors and messengers met around the supper table in, say, the "Bay Horse," for the two or three hours of friendly heart to heart talk. Thomas Stutterd never lifts the curtain on this period although he was frequently found attending Association meetings and wrote much about them.

Dr. Whitley in his "*History of British Baptists*" speaking on the Slave Trade states :—

"A letter was sent to the American Baptists urging them to consider similar action and a deputation was sent from the Union to follow this up. But in the triennial convention the Southern Slave holders were strongly represented and the matter was ruled out of order. The kindly interest however was reciprocated and the Americans soon called British attention to the scandals connected with drink and urged that they be lessened. In this particular matter it was still customary for Associations to put up at taverns and for Ministers to consume plenty of beer at ordinations and other meetings. And however ready Englishmen have been to reprove others, accepting a reproof is quite another thing."

However unattractive these annual gatherings may appear to us, one is inclined to wonder if they were not what really saved the situation. The Pastors and messengers of the isolated and scattered units could forget for a few hours at least their isolation ; the heartening influence of the presence of, and intercourse with, a man like Dr. Fawcett would be felt all through the year ; the occasional visit of some leader from the South would bring home to these out-post Pastors that their Bethel was not the Baptist Denomination.

The preparation of a circular letter (those pathetic attempts on the part of some of the divines of the day to be profound) would be an occasion for many hours happy preparation, for it would be sent far and wide ; to send to a friend one of their own particular Association circular letters was an act of courtesy very much as is the sending of a Christmas card to-day.

I have given the breviates of the Association Meetings held at Salendine Nook in 1791. In 1805, 1819 and 1832 Salendine Nook was similarly honoured. As 1832 was the last of those within the period I have made my particular study I give the breviates for that year. The subject of the circular letter was

"The Marriage of Believers with Unbelievers" written by Lister of Liverpool.

Robert Hyde wrote the following circular letters :

1804. "The Christian's Love to the Word of God."

1819. "Communion with God."

1830. "Differences between the Operation of Conscience without Divine Influence and the Impression of the Holy Spirit."

MINUTES.

Salendine Nook, June 13, 1832.

Wednesday, Two p.m. Brother Hyde chosen Moderator. Brother Dyer commenced in prayer. The letters from the Churches were read. Brother Edwards concluded in prayer.

Half-past Six. Brother Godwin began in prayer. Brother Fisher preached, from Rom. xiii. 11. A Collection was made for the Itinerant Societies of Yorkshire and Lancashire. Brother Lister read the Circular Letter, and concluded the Service.

Thursday, Seven a.m. Brother Dyer presided. Brethren Spooner, Rigby, Ashworth, and Yeadon engaged in prayer. Money collected for the Circular Letters.

Half-past Ten. Brother Jackson introduced the Service. Brother Saunders preached from Ephes. iv. 26, and Dr. Steadman from 2 Cor. ii. 14. Collection was made for the Itinerant Society. Dr. Boothroyd concluded.

Two p.m. The Ministers and Messengers met again. The two Churches of Chapelford and Slack Lane were received into the Association.

The Circular Letter, prepared and read by Brother Lister, was adopted.

The next Association was fixed for Rochdale, on Wednesday and Thursday in Whitsunweek, 1833. Brethren Steadman, Ackworth, and Larom to preach; in case of failure, Brethren Fisher, Whitewood, and Yeadon.

The subject of the next Circular Letter, "The Principles of Dissent," to be prepared by Brother Saunders, of Liverpool.

The subject of Temperance Societies, and their claims for support on the Members of Churches, recommended to be taken into serious consideration by our Churches.

This Association would express their deep sympathy with their persecuted brethren in Jamaica, and call on the Pastors and Churches to pray that they may be supported and comforted, and that their sufferings may turn out for the furtherance of the Gospel in Jamaica, and may contribute to hasten the emancipation of the slaves in all our Colonies.

The Collections for the Association Fund, to be distributed among poor Ministers, were then paid to Mr. Henry Kelsall, Treasurer. They amounted to £35 4*s*. 11*d*.

The examples of these Churches will be followed, it is hoped, by all the others connected with the Association.

Applications on behalf of poor Ministers to be made during the year to the Secretary, and distribution made at next Association.

STATE OF THE CHURCHES SINCE THE LAST ASSOCIATION.

No.	CHURCHES	PASTORS	Added			Lost by			Number of Members	Collected for the Association Fund		
			Baptism	Letter	Restored	Death	Dismission	Exclusion		£	s.	d.
1	*Accrington	Harbottle	1		1			2	125			
2	Bacup, 1st Church	Edwards	7			3	3	2	143			
3	Do. 2d Church	Dyer				1						
4	Barnoldswick					2		1	29			
5	Bolton	Frazer	3						41			
6	Bradford, 1st Church	Steadman	15	3	1	12	5	5	295	6	0	7½
7	Do. 2d Church	Godwin	12		1	4	3	8	131	2	6	0
8	Bramley	Colcroft	29		1	3			129			
9	Burnley	Griffiths	3	1				2	38			
10	Cloughford	Heyworth	1						41			
11	Colne	W. Scott	7	2		5		2	102			
12	Cowling-Hill	Walton	1			2	4		41			
13	Earby	Wilkinson						1	36	0	18	6
14	Farsley	Foster	8		1	3	1	3	84	2	3	6
15	†Gildersome	Scarlet										
16	Halifax	Whitewood	6	4	2			2	87	4	5	5
17	Haslingden	Starkie										
18	Haworth, 2d Church	M. Saunders	2			2		1	57			
19	Heaton	Spooner				1		1	59	1	2	6
20	Hebden Bridge		6	1	1	5		4	107			
21	Horsforth	Yeadon	12						64	2	1	6
22	Idle	Frearson				1			61	0	10	0
23	Inskip	Blakey										
24	Keighley	Nicholls	2	1	1	1	2		70			
25	Leeds	Acworth	14	3		6	1	1	179			
26	Liverpool, Byrom-street	S. Saunders	4	4		3	3	1	153			
27	Do. Lime-street	Lister	9	3		6	2	3	200			
28	Do. Cockspur-st.	Fisher				4			100			
29	Lumb	Ashworth	8			1		1	39			
30	Manchester, George-st.	Aldis	16	4				1	84			
31	Masborough	Welsh				1		9	31			
32	Meltham	Thomas	3					1	34			
33	Millwood		6			1	1		24			
34	Mirfield	Albrecht	6	3					35			
35	Ogden	Allison	2			1	2	2		0	13	0
36	Oldham	T. Jordan	13			2	1	3	85			
37	Pole Moor	Holmes	4	1		1		2	74			
38	Pendle-Hill					1	1		38			
39	Preston		1					5	38	1	11	0
40	Rawden	Hughes	2	1		4		1	46			
41	Rishworth	Mellor	2						38	1	1	6
42	Rochdale	Stephens	5	2		1			92	3	11	4½
43	Salendine Nook	Hyde	3		1	1	2	2	157	4	2	0
44	Sheffield	Larom	6	1		4	4	1	143			
45	Shipley	P. Scott	10			4	2	3	140			
46	Staley Bridge	Morrell										
47	Steep-lane	Shaw				1			51	1	0	0
48	Sutton		2			1		1	45	1	0	0
49	Wainsgate	Holroyd				1	2		46	1	7	6
50	Wigan, 1st Church	Crooke	3						39			
51	Do. 2d Church	Millard	1	1		1		1	27	0	10	6
			235	35	10	90	39	72	3678	£35	4	11

* Called to the Ministry. † Gildersome, Haslingden, Inskip, and Staley-Bridge, no Letter.

Increase 280
Decrease 201
79

The above has been reproduced without any attempt to correct addition, spelling or anything else.

CHAPTER 53.

Prophecy by my Fire.

In Renfrew's "*Modern Developments of Methodism*," dealing with John Wesley's attitude to the Church of England, appears this passage :—

> "It was perhaps his highest desire to do in a frank and evangelical sense and spirit for the Church of England, a work resembling what Loyola had organised with such marvellous success for the Church of Rome. The practical outcome was, that he was involved in a lifelong contradiction. Dr. Beaumont compared him to a boatman on the Thames, with his eyes fixed on St. Paul's Cathedral, while every stroke of his oars took him further away from it."

In a record of the Northern Association Meetings for 1795 we find the following :

> "Then the minister who began, addressed the assembly on the nature and design of Associations, as intended to strengthen the communion of the Church. Concerning the Northern Association. Its commencement in the last century. Its interruptions, and their present design to revive it. After this he brought forward two resolutions respecting
>
> The Independence of the Churches.
> Their duty to Associate
>
> which passed unanimously."

When I began to interest myself in the matters dealt with in this book, I, in common perhaps with a great proportion of Baptist laymen, had an absolutely blank mind as regards general Baptist history ; I had no preconceived ideas whatever. As I read into the life of the early years I found myself thinking about that simile of John Wesley and the boatman, and the impression fixed itself in my mind that, in spite of frequent references to the doctrine of the independence of the individual church, there was in the hearts of the people a very real yearning for

something other than independence, and that their aspirations more nearly spelt the word "Connection." Whilst their eyes were fixed on independence their oars were continually taking them away from it. Further, that throughout Baptist history there had apparently been a continually increasing tendency towards the ideal of connection rather than independence. I give these remarks as the impressions of a merely superficial student, and for what they are worth as such.

My fire has been very useful to me in calling up scenes of the past. I am calling upon it to take up a new rôle to-night and to prophesy what further developments might possibly follow from this spirit of association or the ideal of connection rather than independence amongst Baptist churches.

I live in a village about six miles from the City of Leeds. The only Nonconformist place of worship in the village is a Methodist chapel. The first building (now the Sunday School) was erected at the beginning of the nineteenth century ; services have been carried on ever since. The church is in a Leeds circuit, and the nine centres in the circuit are divided amongst three Ministers for pastoral oversight. The pulpit in our village is supplied mostly by local preachers, but receives a visit from one of the stated Ministers on an average about every three weeks, and once a fortnight a week-night service is presided over by one of the three. The congregations are not large, about fifteen at the morning service, and thirty to forty in the evening. At one of the nine chapels services are held every Sunday afternoon and the congregation will not exceed five.

I have been greatly impressed with the advantages of connectional methods since I have had practical acquaintance with the Methodist system in my own village.

The assessment of our village chapel to the Circuit Fund is forty pounds a year and for that is obtained all the advantages of accredited supplies for the pulpit, the pastoral oversight by one of the stated Ministers, and frequent help, when occasion calls for it, from a large and influential circuit.

I fail to recognise any other system which would provide so adequately for the needs of our little community. Under a strictly independent church order, the cause would probably have ceased to exist long ago.

For a considerable period and until increasing years deterred me, I took part in the various activities of the church and found that for all practical purposes, there was as much freedom from outside interference as was desirable.

One of the Ministers called on me a few Sundays ago, and I had a most instructive and interesting conversation of some hours with him on Methodist matters, more particularly the present day problem facing the Nonconformist Minister.

He told me of the multitude of calls a Pastor to-day has upon his time and energies, that for a month ahead of him he had not one free evening, meetings and classes of one kind or another demanded not only his time but his active participation and leadership.

He mentioned with regret that he found it impossible to concentrate on any serious reading, for a man with only occasional odd hours to spare could not settle down for what required steady mental application. I pointed out to him that according to the preachers' plan which I had, there was not in the whole quarter an occasion where he had to preach twice in the same pulpit on the same Sunday, that a Baptist Minister had just as many calls upon his time and energies as he had, including in some cases

the conducting of two or three Yorkshire funerals every week, and was expected to preach two and even three times to the same congregation every Sunday. Moreover he was not a travelling preacher, and that as a rule he remained in the one church for a great many more than three years. How did he think the Baptist Minister could do justice to himself under such circumstances ?

It is instructive to remember that some of the most popular and successful preachers have been men of few sermons. Renfrew states :—

> " Robert Newton was the popular preacher. He is said to have preached on more than 14,000 special occasions, and wherever he went the crowds were overwhelming. His whole stock consisted of very few sermons. Some of them were preached hundreds of times during a period of 30 years."

There was a very noted preacher some years ago whom I once heard. I mentioned the fact to Mr. Jenkins and with a smile he asked which of three sermons I had heard, quoting three texts. One of them " Out of the depths have I cried to Thee O Lord " was the one I had heard. Mr. Jenkins told me that he went to hear this Minister once and when he went into the vestry after the service to shake hands with him, he was met with the remark, " Jenkins, you have upset my arrangements this morning. I was going to preach from such and such a text but when I saw you in the chapel, I knew you had had that sermon and had to change it at the last moment." Mr. Jenkins said " You need not have troubled brother, for I had heard you preach your sermon of this morning just as I had heard the other."

There has undoubtedly been a steady development going on for many years in two directions ;

a higher standard of preaching expected from the preacher ;

a continual encroachment on the time and opportunity necessary to enable him to meet this demand.

Respectfully I suggest to my readers that the churches of the congregational order should recognise facts, and attempt to modify their methods by a still further development of the ideal of connection or association.

My fire prophesies three things :

1st. That the Baptists will have the same appreciation of good preaching in the future as they have to-day, and that the twenty minutes essay with one leading thought will no more be acceptable to future generations, than to ours.

2nd. That in place of the two or three sermons expected each Sunday from the stated Minister of the church, one only will be the maximum.

3rd. That to carry on the services, the denomination will follow the example of the Methodists and

Pool the services of the Ministers.

Increase greatly the exercising by their laity.

There are at least ten Baptist chapels within three miles of Salendine Nook. In connection with each is a Minister who will have all the demands on his time that I have before mentioned, and who will be required to face his congregation at least twice each Sunday with a sermon which is expected to interest and edify them. How long it will be before the waste of time and labour involved in doing this, is recognised I do not know, but my fire prophesies most emphatically that it will be some day.

I have spoken about the eagerness displayed by the old-time Pastors and people for the interchange

of pulpits. I suggest there would be an even greater willingness to-day. Whereas this was not possible in the old days to any great extent—the isolation of the churches prevented it—to-day it would be an easy thing for a great many centres to arrange an interchange of pulpits for every Sunday morning in the year.

I conceive that some day a plan for the services of the ten chapels I have referred to will be drawn up and that the preacher for the Sunday mornings, except on special occasions when the interchange might take place in the evening, will be someone other than the stated Minister of the church.

In the short history of the Weston by Weedon church, Northants, recently published, I notice the following passage :—

> "Under the scheme the six Churches of Weston, Helmdon, Sulgrave, Culworth, Moreton-Pinkney, and Woodend, are recognised as autonomous, each church managing its own local affairs and being responsible for its own working expenses, but all share in the pastoral supervision and ministry of the Minister. Each church contributes its due share towards the maintenance of the ministry ; and the Pastor is assisted in the conduct of the Sunday services by students from Spurgeon's College, several retired ministers resident in the locality, and a worthy band of lay preachers. A quarterly plan of the services is printed ; a group council, representative of all the churches deals with all matters of common interest."

My fire prophesies that with this interchange of pulpits there would be an increasing tendency to the interchange of many other things. My readers will perhaps forgive me if I am presumptuous enough to suggest that a certain amount of narrowness and even selfishness is inherent in congregationism, a tendency to make what should be only the means into the end, to make into the first consideration that which should be only the second or third.

If, however, by the development of the ideal of Association is necessarily involved that of management by committees, my fire wants none of it.

My fire prophesies also, that some day the Nonconformist churches will wake up to the fact that the present government by committees is neither scriptural nor common sense.

Some Nonconformist churches of to-day are smothered by their committees. A Minister speaking on this matter told me he had paid a visit to a church whose members were very proud of their organisation and who had innumerable committees. He listened attentively to all they told him, just mentioning at the end that there was one thing only, where they appeared to be wanting. If they would form a separate committee to watch the interests of each one of the Ten Commandments he thought they would be complete.

My dear old friends of the 18th century give me much pleasure in this respect. I cannot find the word committee mentioned in my papers.

I hardly think the Apostle Paul had a committee in his mind when he wrote

"Having then gifts differing according to the grace that is given to us, whether prophecy, let us prophesy according to the proportion of faith;
"Or ministry, let us wait on our ministering; or he that teacheth, on teaching;
"Or he that exhorteth, on exhortation: he that giveth, let him do it with simplicity; he that ruleth, with diligence; he that sheweth mercy, with cheerfulness."

No man in his senses would attempt to conduct his secular business nor would any Nation that went to war conduct a campaign in the way many Nonconformist churches of to-day manage their affairs.

Some day in the future my fire assures me the churches will appoint their officers once a year and leave to each the conduct of his or her own particular task, reviewing the position at the end of the year or at any time they choose during the year, and either continuing or cancelling the appointment as they may judge necessary, but during the term of office grant to these officers a freedom altogether unknown at the present time.

" Committees of management " are the mutilators of enthusiasm and initiative, and the refuge of the inefficient ; they have almost killed the ideal of leaders and leadership.

A democracy which consists of men free to make choice of their leaders is one thing ; a democracy which repudiates the idea of leaders and leadership and puts in their place a committee, is a thing offensive to common sense and every-day experience.

There is I submit, as much need for the personal pastoral relationship between the lay leader and his following as between the Minister of a church and his people. The ideal Sunday School Superintendent will recognise his pastoral relationship to every teacher and scholar in his school. I fail to see any difference in principle in this matter between the obligations of Minister and layman. It seems to me that the doctrine of " The Priesthood of all Believers " necessarily involves " The Pastoral Obligations of all Believers," at least such as take upon themselves leadership in a christian church. I submit that anyone who accepts in any way the spiritual oversight of his fellows without responding to the full extent of his opportunities to this call for the pastoral relationship, fails as surely in his obligations as a Minister who imagines he has done all that could be expected from him if he preaches good sermons on the Sunday and

presides efficiently over the church meeting on the weekday.

A young man of twenty who is teacher to a class of boys of eleven years of age and who becomes their friend and hero, in other words their real lay Pastor, has the opportunity of exercising an influence never equalled in any relationship he may assume with his fellows in his after life.

I leave to my readers to decide what sort of pastoral relationship an ultra modern church looks for and secures from its innumerable "Committees of Management."

In my old happy days at Jagger Green we bothered little with committees, I never remember one. If a man had a bee in his bonnet—and a bee is not altogether an unfitting emblem of activity—it was encouraged to get on with its buzzing. The futility of a minute in committee is a poor substitute, I prefer the old bee and its buzz.

Section 12.

SALENDINE NOOK AND SISTER AND DAUGHTER CHURCHES.

Final words on the Special Period 1780/1830.

Sister Churches ... ... Chapter 55.

Daughter Churches :

Elland ... ... Chapter 56.

Pole Moor ... ... Chapter 57.

Blackley ... ... Chapter 58.

Lockwood and Meltham ... ... Chapter 59.

A Summary ... ... Chapter 60.

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A Picture in the Fire... ... ... Chapter 62.

CHAPTER 55.

Sister Churches.

It is emphasised throughout the pages of this book

(1) That the principal value of my MSS. consists in their extensive portrayal of certain churches, Pastors and laymen. If my readers can gather accurate impressions of these they can in a great measure understand the churches, Pastors and laymen of the seventeen communities in the Lancashire and Yorkshire Association during the latter years of the eighteenth century. In the MSS. are letters from nearly all the Pastors of Salendine Nook's sister churches in this Association ; notes of the condition and affairs of such churches collected to send to Dr. Rippon for the purposes of his registers ; a series of letters from Dr. Rippon about these notes and about the disposal of his hymn books and other publications ; a number of letters to the annual Whitsuntide Association meetings ; communications from Pastors and laymen in the Midlands of great interest to their respective peoples—in one of the Northampton chapels will be found one of these letters framed and hung up in the vestry—and a great many other papers dealing intimately with the religious life of the denomination in general, as well as that of the church at Salendine Nook. With all this material available it would have been a pleasure to me if I could have made much fuller reference to Salendine Nook's sister churches than the limits of this book will allow. The MSS. however can always be consulted by those interested.

(2) That although the Lancashire and Yorkshire churches were far away from the more influential

Baptist centres in the South and therefore necessarily compelled to a large extent to work out their own salvation, Thomas Stutterd did an invaluable work in his day by bringing Salendine Nook to some extent into touch with these centres. He did the same, in a less degree, by bringing Salendine Nook's sister churches into similar touch.

(3) That the adherents of the Baptist churches in the North were almost entirely of the working class and were mostly poor. A hand-loom weaver like Robert Hyde would probably earn twelve shillings a week, and twenty shillings might be considered a good wage for a skilled operative in a woollen mill.

The cotton operatives were better paid as is evidenced by the following extract :—

> 21/7/1802.
> I observe that your wife in the families where she visits, hears much of the great terms which are earned at present by cotton weaving. Indeed the accounts are extraordinary. I should be glad to hear more of sobriety and frugality. The daughters of my sister Mary weave cotton, they have eight shillings for weaving a piece and say they have sometimes woven half a piece in one day.

(4) That the Pastors were promoted from the ranks and many had little more education than their followers. To be able to read in those days would seem to have raised a man above the majority of his fellows, and to be able to write correctly considered almost equal to a "liberal education." As stated in the preface, the MSS. quotations have been reproduced without any attempt to correct errors of any kind. I might however remind my readers that it does not follow that all that would be errors to-day were so in the old days.

Thomas Stutterd, when addressing a single individual, not infrequently uses the words "you was." This was almost universal from the 16th to the 18th centuries and inasmuch as the users include such as Horace Walpole, Fielding, and Jane Austin, we should be doing injustice to Thomas Stutterd for whose literary reputation I have, I confess, a jealous regard, to conclude he is at fault in the use of these words.

(5) That although there were opportunities for reading,—the London Fund in addition to granting money to augment the stipends of the Pastors of the poorer churches, granted sums of money for their purchase of books ; and some at least of the Pastors were members of lending libraries,—the religious books available were largely devotional treatises of one kind. There was little of the broadening, stimulating influence of the literature available to modern readers.

(6) That the outstanding feature of this early period is the marvellous capacity of our forefathers for "carrying on," in spite of discouragements and disadvantages.

The letters from the churches to the Association in 1787, 1793 and 1799 present this picture of simply holding on and marking time. An extract from the letter from the Colne church in 1799 reads as follows :—

> "Tho' of late few of us have attended with you yet we pray for you. Ye day of small things with us. Yet we trust ye Lord thinketh on us. Ye Lord trieth the Righteous and hope it is for our good—We wait for ye Lord. He has promised to be with two or three. This has supported us and we hope He will yet revive us. Thanks for religious opportunity—No additions. One excluded. Pray for us."

It was, as Colne said, a day of small things among the churches generally, but they "carried on."

Sometimes a mere handful of people held together by the personality of one man, perhaps socially a little higher than his fellows, sometimes without this central figure, sometimes with meeting places in barns and dwelling houses, or in a small out-of-the-way and inconvenient hired room, sometimes without a single addition to their membership for years, sometimes with a pulpit as often vacant as occupied, generally stationed miles away from the nearest church of their own faith and order, always with a type of preaching and a dull monotony of service which would not be tolerated for a day in modern times, they kept their flag flying and "carried on."

The following is an extract from one of Thomas Stutterd's letters to his brother, Nov. 28th, 1798:

"Bingley, is a Baptist Church. No pastor. How supplied I cannot say.

"Blackley, four miles from Halifax, one from Salendine Nook, about thirty members. Rigby pastor was settled 1st Wednesday in October. Hartley gave the charge. Hyde addressed the people and Bamford the deacons. Congregation but slender.

"Bramley, is supplied by a young man from Leeds. He was raised from Ebenezer Chapel.

"Driffield, a few months ago Mr. Ross informed me that Brother Jabez supplied them.

"Elland, three miles from Halifax. The meeting house is used by the Methodists. Two or three years ago Mr. Ashworth informed me that himself, his sister and one Thornton were in connection as a church, but I think that Thornton is a member at Blackley and now chosen deacon.

"Salendine Nook, three miles from Huddersfield. Pastor Robert Hyde. Ninety-eight members well attended.

"Steep Lane, one mile from Sowerby and four miles from Halifax. Wrathall is gone to Bolton. Is supplied by a young man from the North, was a soldier, his discharge bought by a lady. He is now at school with Mr. Fawcett.

"Wainsgate, Jno. Brearley pastor, was ordained last Wednesday in September. Hirst asked questions and pronounced ordinance prayer. Wade gave the charge.

Fawcett addressed the people. Altho its circumstances low yet certainly it claims a place in your list.

"Cloughfold, supplied once a fortnight by W. Ecroyd, about forty members, congregation rather declined.

"Halifax, Wade pastor, declining—some of the members imbibed Sabellianism.

"Bacup, J. Hirst pastor, about one hundred and eight members, large congregation.

"Goodshaw Chapel, Jno. Pilling pastor, well attended—Meeting house lately enlarged and yet too little.

"Ogden, five miles from Rochdale. J. Hargreave minister, but few members, about fifteen Congregation increasing. (In another letter Thomas Stutterd describes Mr. Hargreave as a sprightly little man.)

"Gildersome, no minister. Ward leaving or has left, declining.

"Lockwood, one mile from Huddersfield. W. Hartley pastor fifty members, well attended.

"Pole, six miles from Huddersfield, three from Salendine Nook. C. Bamford pastor, good congregation and increasing. The old man is very popular. As Jno. Sutcliff of Olney observed to me some time ago he was never so before.

"Village preaching. I do not know that there are any more exertions than usual in this country. There are but few villages in this neighbourhood without preaching either by Methodists or Dissenters, and some both, and this has been the case for some time, so that we do not altogether need those steps which have been taken in many parts of the Kingdom—Yet I could wish something more done by our denomination. There has been some talk about it but nothing fixed."

The following is a letter from J. Shuttleworth on the same lines :—

"Cowling Hill, Nov. 27th, 1798.

"Dear Brother,

"When I reseved youer letter I was going to write to Bingley and as I was Ignrant of the state of the Church there I requested Mr. Nickls to send a few lines to you or to me with speed. I wated and have reseved none as yet so I think best to rite to you without wating aney longer.

"I am ignorant of the state of the churches of which you inquire as such can say nothing with sertainty, as

to the state of ouer selves there is little alteration, we are forty-five members well attended in general. But had no additions for more than a year.

"As to village preaching I have attended to it more this year than formerley and as to success I only can say that it seems to be a means of keeping up ouer congregation. People attend pretty well in the neighbouring viliges and maney com to heare that before neglected that duty on Lord's dayes. But I have not any prspect of aney as yet coming forward to joyen us. I have reseved the register and shall God willing supply for you on the 6th Jann. Leave an account with youer wife, what I am indebted to you for register, &c. Wishing you all peas and prosperity.

I remane,

Youer etc.,

James Shuttleworth."

The Rev. James Shuttleworth was Pastor of the Cowling Hill church from 1788 to 1826, and a joiner and undertaker. He was a type of a number of the contemporary Baptist Pastors.

I give the record of the circumstances attending the formation of the first five daughter churches of Salendine Nook, and as these will be of special interest to our people I have dealt much more fully with them than I have been able to do with others.

CHAPTER 56.

Elland Church.

The short lived church at Elland presents a picture almost tragic. It started under the most favourable circumstances and had every promise of success; there are several references to this church in my papers. We read from one of Jabez Stutterd's letters that in 1789 the chapel was built at the sole expense of Mr. James Ashworth and contained two hundred and fifty sittings which were being let at two shillings

each per annum. One hundred had already been taken.

The following are extracts from my papers :—

1789. Nov. 23rd. Self and wife at Elland.
"Opening of Mr. Ashworth's new chapel. About ¼ past 11, Mr. Fawcett mounted the pulpit, read the 132 Psalm and led out the 182 Psalm, prayed, and took for a text Matt. 18-20. For where two or three etc. Mr. Crabtree Luke 7. 5. For he loveth our nation and he hath built us a synagogue—concluding remarks —'What a mercy we live under a government who lets us build them, and that God disposed some to contribute largely to them.'"

Dr. Fawcett of Hebden Bridge drew up a list of supplies for their pulpit for the first half of 1790, on which the names of practically all the Pastors of the Associated churches appear. A further list for the second half is found in my papers :

1792. May 4th. "The time appointed for the settlement of Mr. H. as pastor over the church at Elland is on Wednesday the 9th of this month. Messrs. Fawcett, Littlewood, Ashworth and Hirst are invited to come and engage in the solemn contract."

Elland was taken into Association at the Whitsuntide meetings May 30th and 31st, 1792, at Cowling Hill. Mr. Hindle was appointed to write the circular letter for the next Association meetings at Masborough on "The Cross of Christ," this letter, however, was not eventually written by Mr. Hindle but by Dr. Fawcett. Elland appears on the list of Associated churches up to and including 1796.

1792. September 22nd. "I am very much concerned respecting our situation at Elland. The people are in an uproar. Mr. Hindle is leaving us, going to Blackley. All the members except

one or two is for going with him. Mr. Cartlege has offered great things.
The reason of the affair arose from some of the members and Mr. H. wishing Mr. A. to settle the chapel etc. and Mr. A. not appearing willing. The people who lived in the towns pressed Mr. H. to go to Blackley. What the end will be who can tell."

Thomas Stutterd notes Nov. 4/1792 :

"I hear that Mr. Cartlege agrees to give Mr. Hindle fifty pounds for one year besides what ye people are to give him."

The end was that this once promising opening became a derelict. Nearly all the congregation migrated with Hindle to Blackley ; the church never recovered.

We have accounts of Baptisms in their early days of two, four and six candidates for membership, Jabez Stutterd in 1790 amongst them, but in 1798 the chapel was used by the Methodists. It has in recent years been demolished to make place for street improvements but the burial ground still remains.

A considerable amount of trouble occurred over this unhappy incident not only amongst those immediately concerned, but in several other churches. Huddersfield district had indeed reason to look upon the advent of J. Hindle as an unqualified misfortune. The following letter was sent to J. Gledhill by Jabez Stutterd. I give it not only to show what strong feelings were engendered, but also as a truly delightful example of a mixture of piety and vituperation.

I need hardly say that it is quite impossible to conceive of Thomas Stutterd writing such a letter.

"I sit down to write to you as a friend and brother, a traveller to the same country, an heir of the same inheritance, a subject of manifest infirmities with myself. My ears have these last few days past been often saluted with horrid and repeated vollies of invictices which you

have emitted against Mr. A. and his adherents at Elland. Dear Sir it is an admitted truth that ye tongue is an unruly member and is set on fire of hell and I think the truth is evidenced in none more than you, a professor of religion, of knowledge, and of learning—Only by the bye I remark that the deportment, procedure, and conduct of too many, prove that they are degraded, misguided, enthusiatic, mischievous children of the devil, and am very sorry that my utmost charity constraineth me to think, that notwithstanding you appear a full bladder, yet one pin of contradiction proves the matter only wind. You came to my house like some lordly monarch and wanted to know if I had not got enough of Arminianism—give me leave to tell you I think yourself incapable of judging, computing my opinions and not have occasion for you to dictate to me what tenets I must embrace—Astonishing this Mr. J. G. a professor of religion, he is a railer and murderer of characters, the neighbourhood resounds with his fame in these matters—every one that does not say, do, and think as he himself, is anathemised with.

"My motive Sir in spending my time, talents, pen, ink and paper, is for your good—Wishing you would evidence yourself to be a Xtian, and not resemble so much a roaring lion by name Abaddon, because if you should devour Mr. A. and his adherents, you will not gain much by the repast. There was a time when you had different views of Mr. A., from what you have now —Admitting Mr. A. to be wrong in not complying with your present demands immediately, if you was a Xtian, you would pray for him, and if his name was written in the Lambs Book of Life from everlasting, it is not you nor all his enemies can erase the same. I have learnt that you have been pouring out your spleen against a person, what the other day told you what he thought. For shame, is this religion. No! No! the very spawn of the bottomless pit. I believe Mr. Hindle to be a good, pious, God fearing man, does and ever shall esteem him, but am sorry he admits such friends as you to take part in his affairs. You keep nothing. All the country knows what you know. I expect to hear some rancour and malice from you on account of these few lines but may God change your heart and bring you and me to heaven with our runaway pastor J. Hindle where all

contentions will be for ever at an end, where divisions will be no more, and we all heartily join in singing the song of Moses and the Lamb. So pray your friend and well wisher.

Jabez Stutterd.

Longwood House,
Oct. 9th 1792.
N.B.—Be assured I have as great regard for the Gospel as you have—the truths of God are dear to me—All I have said is out of a tender regard for you. Think twice before you speak once."

Before it finally disbanded the position of Elland church as disclosed by Thomas Stutterd was indeed an unhappy one.

The services almost entirely deserted ; the church a source of trouble and heartburning ; the membership reduced to the founder, his sister and one other and this other subsequently a deserter. It is not pleasant to contemplate Mr. Ashworth's feelings, alone in his forsaken chapel amidst the wreck of all his dreams of a flourishing church with himself as the central figure and benefactor—a pathetic figure, Mr. Ashworth of Elland.

The whole of the trouble at Elland can be justly laid to the account of Mr. J. Hindle, who as previously stated was of an unhappy disposition and made discord everywhere.

It was unreasonable to suppose that within a few months of his commencing his pastorate at Elland he should consider himself justified in dictating that a building which Mr. Ashworth alone had built and paid for should be taken out of the founder's control and transferred to others. Mr. Ashworth always said he would settle, but at his own not Mr. Hindle's pleasure.

Thomas Greenwood bought the property in 1711 on which the Stone Slack meeting house was registered in 1713 but he did not transfer this to trustees until 1737 when he was an old man.

It is evident that had the slightest consideration and tact been shown with Mr. Ashworth, Elland might have been a flourishing church to-day.

CHAPTER 57.

Pole Moor Church.

The first mention of the foundation of the Pole Moor church appears in a letter from Thomas Stutterd to his brother John, October 28th, 1787.

> "Our Slaithwaite friends brought a letter wishing the Church to recommend them to the Baptist Ministers for supplies. They have taken a room at Slaithwaite intending to set up a separate interest there. We thought the letter wrote in a very bad spirit and considering circumstances, their ignorance, poverty etc. most of us could not encourage them. Mr. Ingham seemed more favourable. Dissatisfied and left before conclusion of meeting. Jno. Ramsden moved to give them permission to take their names out of the Church book and a majority agreed, but there not being perfect unanimity and night coming on, the decision was postponed. I dread the consequences. A great affliction seems to hang over us. Of late we have been prosperous but I fear the enemy is sowing discord amongst us. O Lord, Thou head of the Church prevent confusion and override all for good."

A further note appears, November 11th, 1787 :

> "At Nook after Lord's Supper, eight of our members living near Slaithwaite erased their names out of Church book. I was glad to find the Church unanimous. They have liberty to apply to any Minister except Mr. Hindle."

The following is the entry in the Nook church minute book :

> "Nov. 11th 1787. The following eight persons who lived about Slaithwaite left us, the relation between the church and them being dissolved by mutual consent, viz. Elias Cock, Joseph Sykes, John and Alice Wood-

head, John and Ann Wilkinson, Mary Garside and Thomas Sykes."

For a few Sundays after November 11th, Slaithwaite was supplied by local Ministers and laymen. Dr. Fawcett and his son took November 18th and 25th but at an early date a list of supplies was drawn up for the period from March 2nd, 1788 to July 12th, 1789, in which most if not all the names of the Pastors of the churches in the Association appear.

Mr. Wood from Nook led off on March 2nd and appears on the list again on May 11th, September 21st and December 14th, 1788, and April 26th, 1789.

It is clear from this that Slaithwaite had been granted full recognition by the Nook and her neighbouring sister churches.

"*The History of Pole Moor Baptist Church*" by the Rev. W. Turpitt, B.A. gives full particulars of the difficulties attending the erection of their meeting house and the attitude of the Anglicans. The Earl of Dartmouth refused to grant facilities for building on land belonging to him, resulting in the people finally choosing the site at Pole Moor. There was not unanimity, however, in their choice of site. Some advocated building in Marsden as witness :

Thos. Stutterd 12/1/1789, to his brother John.

> "Yesterday was at Pole near Slaithwaite and found you are on the plan for May 3rd. An unhappy division has lately taken place amongst the people there. Jno. Woodhead and his wife and two Taylors pretend they are dissatisfied with the site of the intended meeting house and on Saturday were canvassing for subscriptions for another house at Marsden."

It has been mentioned that Pole Moor was the first of the Baptist meeting houses in the Huddersfield district to be built by public subscription. It became "A Case" in 1790. The following is a copy of their appeal :—

"To the Baptized Church of Jesus Christ at
under the Pastoral care of the

"Dear Brethren,

We, whose names are subscribed with others who unite with us, earnestly request your kind assistance to enable us to carry forward and finish a house for the worship of God, situated on Powl Moor near Slaighwaite. We have had the Gospel preached to us in hired houses for several years by neighbouring Ministers and lately in a stated way by Brother Bruce, but such were the inconveniences we laboured under, that after much deliberation and consultation with our friends, we determined to erect a place for Divine Worship. We are poor people, but we trust, regard for the Redeemer's interest has induced us to exert ourselves to the utmost of our ability. We do not engage in this design from a spirit of opposition to any denomination of christians. We hope our aim is that the Redeemer's Kingdom may be extended and that God may be glorified in the conversion and salvation of men, hitherto through Divine Mercy the Gospel has not been preached among us in vain, many flock to hear it, and we trust they do not hear it in vain.

"The place we are building is thirteen yards by ten, within the walls. Upwards of one hundred and twenty pounds has been paid already and yet we are near one hundred pounds in debt, and not a pew in the place.

"We therefore most humbly and earnestly beg that you would take our case into consideration and lend us some little assistance, for the love of Him who died for our sins and who has ordained that the poor shall have the Gospel preached to them. Whatever you are pleased to contribute shall be thankfully received and duly acknowledged by your unworthy petitioners.
Signed at our Church Meeting
Nov. 26th 1790.

Elias Cock
Wm. Dransfield
his
John X Wilkinson
mark
John France

These on behalf of the whole.

Mr. Bruce was the first Pole Moor Minister (although apparently he was never ordained) and the history of the church before mentioned gives his period from 1790 to 1793, but there is a record that

"The Ministers met in Association at Cowling Hill, May 30th and 31st, 1792, unanimously resolved,—if their friends should consent,—to supply the Pole Moor people" and further there is a list of such supplies from July 1st, 1792 to February 4th, 1793, so that it seems certain that Mr. Bruce's ministry had terminated before May, 1792, and it would seem from what follows, that he had commenced his connection with the church some time in 1789.

T. Stutterd. 1/11/1789.

"Mr. Bruce is come to live at Pole. They agree to give him £10 a year."

T. Stutterd. 11/1/1790.

"I heard yesterday that Mr. Bruce frequently walked from Leeds to Pole, preached twice and returned same night. It is near forty miles. He has walked from Leeds and preached fasting."

Wm. Brigg's letter, 1/9/1791.

"I was at Pole the last Sabbath save two. Mr. Bruce is gone to Birmingham on his begging business. He called upon me when he set out and told me was in want of supplies for two days, viz. the first and fifth of those days he thought of being absent. I promised that I would engage for the first myself, thought you would not have much against taking the fifth, which will be the next but one. As you have not been there lately and you know variety is a pleasure of the day."

Mr. Turpitt's history states, and my papers confirm that Mr. Bruce was very successful in his begging efforts.

The little cloud which threatened the relationship of Pole with her mother church when the first separation with her eight members occurred, soon dispersed, and no feeling but good-will and cordiality remained between the mother and daughter. We find many records of co-operation and friendliness.

Jabez Stutterd's letter, 15/6/1790.

> "I hear that on Thursday next some persons are to be baptised at Pole. They say there are twenty-four. G. Brook says Mr. Wood (Nook) is to preach on Baptism and Mr. Langdon (Leeds) to baptise.
>
> "Mr. Wood says there are about twelve to whom the ordinance is to be administered."

Pole Moor in her early days frequently needed supplies and, as I have before emphasised, the good-will shown in coming to the help of a destitute sister church was one of the most pleasing features of the period. Pole Moor seems to have been Salendine Nook's favoured child.

CHAPTER 58.

Blackley Church.

James Cartlege was one of the leading laymen, probably until the building of his own meeting house at Blackley, the leading layman of his day at Nook.

His name is found amongst the new trustees appointed in 1760 and he was a frequent supply when Joshua Wood was absent.

Thomas Stutterd's letter, 5/7/1786.

> "Yesterday morning I reached Nook rather late. A great many people out of doors. I wondered the service was not begun. Mr. Ingham left the crowd and met me. Informed me that Mr. Wood was gone to Leeds and that Mr. Cartlege was expected according to appointment, but did not come, and if he did not come soon, insisted on me going up. I was taken by surprise and told him I could not, having nothing ready. In awhile the old gentleman came and you may be assured was a welcome guest to me."

In the "*Baptists of Yorkshire and North West*" it is stated :

> "Mr. James Cartlege who was developing the coal mines in the district made a vow that if God prospered him

he would build Him a house. In this way the first meeting house at Blackley was secured with its vestries and burial ground and the church formed in 1789 (?)"

It must be recorded, however, that it was felt a hardship by Mr. Wood and the Nook people generally that another Baptist church should be established so close to their own, and some considerable amount of heartburning followed.

The circumstances attending the appointment of Mr. Hindle, who was by no means on cordial terms with the Nook, also militated against much co-operation and good-will. This apparently remained until 1794, when we find the following in one of Wm. Brigg's letters to Thomas Stutterd, November, 1794 :

"I send this to inform you that our church meeting will be on Thursday and to desire your attendance, as I am informed matters of importance are then to be agitated or brought forward, such as Blackley affair and the reception of Mr. Hindle into open friendship. Some think we have thrown ourselves out of favour with the Ministers and an agreement with him is to regain it ....."

It would appear that the church was formed in 1791, at least I find this item in my papers :

"December 16/1791. There have been—I think—nine persons baptised at Blackley and were lately formed into a church by Mr. Dracup (then of Steep Lane). Two of ours have gone to them—ye congregation promising."

Mr. Cartlege died in 1793, and from the following extract from one of Jno. Stutterd's letters, 12/8/1793, before the settlement of the chapel was completed :

"I am sorry to observe confirmation of Mr. Cartlege's death—More particulars respecting this afflicting providence would be very acceptable. Suppose Dr. C. settle the chapel, will it fulfil the whole of the good old gentleman's designs ? Did not he purpose assigning a portion of land or a farm to the cause as something considerable towards the support of the ministry there ?"

I have no knowledge of the exact date of Mr. Hindle's leaving Blackley. The "*Baptists of Yorkshire and North West*" gives his pastorate as 1791/3 but as he conducted his last service at Elland on September 23rd, 1792, it is presumed he would officiate at Blackley the next Sunday and he had not removed from Blackley in November, 1794. On March 31st, 1793, J. Stutterd notes part of new gallery is up, and on the 24th that the collection for Minister amounted to seven pounds.

When Mr. Hindle left Blackley he became Pastor at Salthouse Lane, Hull, and the Huddersfield district had reason to breathe more freely.

We find the Blackley pulpit not infrequently occupied by Nook laymen after Mr. Hindle's departure and it will be noticed that when the Rev. J. Rigby was settled in October 1798, Robert Hyde was one of the officiating Ministers and gave the charge to the people, so we may justly suppose that any lack of cordiality between the mother and daughter disappeared with Mr. Hindle's disturbing personality.

CHAPTER 59.

Lockwood and Meltham Churches.

Mr. Benj. Ingham was a well-to-do cloth merchant. His sister-in-law, a daughter of Dr. Evans of the Bristol College, was largely instrumental in forming the first Baptist church at Mirfield in 1816.

Mr. Ingham had been one of Mr. Venn's disciples, whilst Venn was Vicar of Huddersfield Parish Church and when Mr. Venn removed, attached himself to the Salendine Nook church, being baptised Decr. 25th, 1770. He was for some years Mr. Wood's generous and hospitable host and it was not long before Mr.

Ingham became one of the important leaders of his community. Thomas Stutterd records with special gratification that after one of his exercises, Mr. Ingham had complimented him. Being in an extensive business he had a large room which he utilised for services until 1792 when at his own expense he built the first Lockwood meeting house 51½ feet in length, by 41½ feet in breadth.

Extracts from letters :

T.S. 16/12/1791.

"I fear our community at Nook is on the eve of an extensive affliction arising from Mr. Ingham's determination to build a chapel at Lockwood. He will make his proposal next Church Meeting. He wishes to keep his connection with us. Lockwood to be a branch."

Jan. 30/1792.

"I hear that Mr. Ingham has let his chapel to build."

Sept. 23/92.

"I hear that Lockwood chapel is to be opened tomorrow." (?)

Feb. 28/1802.

"Mr. Hartley is now at Liverpool for 6 weeks. For the sake of his family, I shall be glad if he receives an invitation from them to serve them. The interest at Lockwood seems to dwindle. When he came there at first his salary was £70. Some time back it was reduced to £50 and now he is going on at £40. His w—— is said to injure him."

Extract by T. Stutterd, from the Nook letter to Association, 1793 :

"In our last informed you that our fourth swarm was about to settle at Lockwood. Meeting House opened 25th December last, pastor assisted, still good congregation in afternoon. If keep together may still live as a church."

The preachers for the opening services were J. Wood and Dr. Fawcett.

It will be seen from the copy of letter from Nook to Association in May 1795 that nine members from

the mother church had been dismissed to form the nucleus of the church at Lockwood, so the idea that Lockwood should be a branch to Nook did not materialise. Lockwood church was formed on January 1st, 1795, of thirteen members.

Although naturally a source of regret to the Nook church to lose so many of her most useful members, the relationship of Lockwood with Salendine Nook was never anything but cordial and happy and much intercourse between the two occurred from the commencement. Lockwood pulpit was frequently occupied by both Thomas Stutterd and Wm. Brigg, for there is evidence that Mr. Ingham had at times much difficulty in getting the supplies he needed. I cannot find that Mr. Ingham himself preached or at least that he was ever "thrust out" by Nook.

The date of the formation of the Meltham church comes within the special period dealt with by this book, but as there is no reference to its establishment amongst my MSS., I must satisfy myself by giving a short extract from "*Baptists in Yorkshire*" as to its origin :

> "The Meltham Church was constituted in 1813, when five persons were baptised in a neighbouring stream, and were united, with three members from Lockwood in Church fellowship. This was the result of work undertaken two years before by Salendine Nook where a house had been licensed for worship. For three years their home was a cottage until a gift of land inspired them to build and open a chapel in 1817....."

CHAPTER 60.

A Summary.

In a review of the whole history of the Salendine Nook church, five great epochs can be recognised. The first in 1689 when the Mortons and their follow-

ing came within the Rossendale Confederacy. The chapel anniversary is held on the second Sunday in October each year ; this is historically the correct date, I trust it will never be altered, for it was on October 10th, 1689, that Michael Morton came back from Wakefield with that scrap of paper which was his charter of liberty for the public worship of God. Whatever meetings had been held before then, had necessarily been held in secret, in the dark, and with locked doors, but with the possession of that little piece of paper, the private meetings gave place to public worship and all the potentialities of that which has followed. Further, it was in October, 1713, that the community entered into their first specially designed meeting house or chapel.

In a great many of the big Public Schools in this country, which were founded long years ago, there is observed each year one day which they call their "Founders' Day" in honour of their "pious ancestors and founders." Absorbed as the present generation is in the multiplicity of interests crowding into every-day life, would it be amiss for the Nook thus to devote one day in the year to the special honoring of those who have been her founders? Our old friends of the past had a great horror of boasting about anything, their rôle was to depreciate themselves ; they would probably turn in their graves if they thought their descendants were making a boast of them and their doings. We need not mind, we have good reason to be proud of our ancestry in spite of all that may be said about their doctrines and outlook.

It should never be forgotten that it would be a misnomer to speak about our early fathers as "old-fashioned" and bound up in soul-clouding

devotion to the ideal of the " Faith once delivered to the Saints."

Michael Morton when he went to Wakefield to get his certificate in 1689 was by no manner of means old-fashioned. He was a " Red," a revolutionary of a pronounced type. If he and his following had been old-fashioned they would not have been found holding services in their barn, they would have been going down the hills to the Parish Churches at Huddersfield or Elland. They had a new vision of their God and His relationship to mankind and were true to that vision even if it involved much sacrifice.

Each age has its vision, and it is up to each age to respond to such vision. Michael Morton's vision would be old-fashioned to us, but it was the very newest fashion to him.

The second was the coming of Henry Clayton in 1731 to undertake the oversight of the community. 1731 gave to Salendine Nook a Minister for although Mr. Clayton was not ordained Pastor till 1743, he was to all intents and purposes Minister in 1731. It was also a definite commitment to the Baptist faith and order. The influence of the Presbyterian Mortons had doubtless caused delay, but in 1731 with the acceptance of Henry Clayton the die was cast and the future made practically certain.

From 1689 every tendency had been towards that issue. For eighteen years at least, Salendine Nook had been an outlying station of Rodhill-End and Stone Slack (which was definitely Baptist) and had been under the pastoral oversight of Thomas Greenwood, but it was not until 1731 the final and practically irrevocable step was taken.

The third was the identification of the church with the Sunday School movement in or about the year

1820; the introduction of a leaven into the ideals and outlook of the church which was bound to have far-reaching effects. I submit that the recognition of the child in her midst will be felt in future years in an ever increasing degree, and that A.D. 2,000 will show this to an extent unthought of to-day.

The fourth was the coming of the Rev. John Thomas to the pastorate in 1885. It has been pointed out that the coming of Mr. Thomas meant a new pulpit. The old type of doctrinal preaching ceased, and it is safe to say, will never be received again with any degree of acceptance.

The fifth was the introduction of more modern outlook, aspirations and methods under the inspiration of Mr. Jenkins' personality.

Very many milestones have been passed during the two hundred and forty-three years that the Nook has lived her life and carried on her mission, but these five were more than milestones. They were dominating stages in the development of the church. Although I am briefly carrying the history up to the present date I had not proposed when I commenced this book to deal with more than the early days, not only because the latter part of the 18th century and the early years of the 19th constitute the period dealt with by my MSS., but also because they appear to be by far the most interesting of the whole.

I have referred to the foundation building of the Plymouth Breakwater. There were two stages in these foundations.

The first stage was when stones were being sunk out of sight, the second, when stones began to appear above the surface of the water and the workmen could see something for all their toil. Their labour was hard and rough, the handling of great blocks of stone was no child's play nor a work of art and beauty,

and often the storms that arose whilst these foundations were being laid, seemed to undo in a night what had taken months to effect. From the time of the advent of Mr. Clayton, or even before, when the 1713 meeting house was secured, the foundations of Salendine Nook church were no longer hidden and out of sight, the work was still foundation building, but seen and appraised, the results were becoming visible.

CHAPTER 61.

An Appreciation.

" All roads lead to Rome " and to Salendine Nook. The chapel itself stands near a highway, at a junction of roads, and the purpose of this book has been to tell of those who for many past generations have traversed these roads from North, South, East and West to meet together for fellowship and worship in connection with what is now, and has been since 1743, the Salendine Nook Baptist Church.

Many have come from considerable distances. One of the many pictures graven on the writer's memory is that of a little company of men and women who came each Sunday from Stainland and Holywell Green, the menfolk in a little group to themselves in front, and their wives dutifully some little distance behind.

And many have come from scattered and isolated hamlets and solitary farmhouses and cottages, where life has necessarily meant much solitude and even loneliness and to whom (especially in the distant past) the Sunday's services were almost the only occasions which brought them into intimate touch with the wider world outside their homes.

And many have come on a pilgrimage of sorrow, for

the burial ground is ancient and has been for many years extensive. The Nook has been hallowed to many as the last resting place of all they loved the most, and has been to a great number the scene of their supreme sorrow as it has also been the occasion of their greatest happiness.

H. Clarke, in his "*History of English Nonconformity*," lays down as the real essential "Spirit of Nonconformity," the principle that "Life" comes first and organisation follows, rather than that the life follows and is dependent on organisation.

There may be a "Spirit of Nonconformity." There may be a "Spirit of Baptist Nonconformity," but no less will there be a "Spirit" of the individual church, and Salendine Nook has had unique opportunities for creating such a "Spirit" of her own.

She has a long history, as a community of Protestant Dissenters going back almost to the beginning of Nonconformity.

As a Church of the Independent order she has had untrammelled opportunity to work out a Spirit of her own.

She has been a country church with a far more stable and continuing following than is found in most city churches. Children have succeeded fathers and their fathers' fathers. On the membership roll of the church to-day are lineal descendants of those who were the founders of the christian community of nearly two and a half centuries ago which developed into the Baptist church of later years.

It is inconceivable that Salendine Nook under such circumstances should not have established a "Spirit" peculiar to herself, not in the matter of organisation or creed—for in these things she has been like other churches of her order—but in the

working out of this organisation and this creed in her communal life.

It is not easy to put into words such a subtle thing as "Tone," "Spirit." It has been said, and especially by those who have had to leave the church and live elsewhere, that Salendine Nook is different from every other place in the world. But it is doubtful if anyone has ever tried to give an explanation of wherein the difference lies.

Dr. Fawcett in a reference to H. Clayton said he was a plain, steady, upright man. The church book adds the word 'amiable.' Perhaps to some extent at least these words could justly be used in a description of the Salendine Nook Church.

"Plain," disliking superficial show and ostentation. There have been few churches where ostentation has been more at a discount than at Salendine Nook. Every right-minded christian will freely admit that all men are equal in the sight of God, but to carry out that principle to the full in church life is not always the same thing. Salendine Nook has always been a democratic church and it is difficult to conceive of a democracy more complete than has prevailed there.

"Steady," persistent, avoiding extremes—evenly balanced. The man of whom this word was spoken came over to preach at Salendine Nook from Wainsgate for forty-five years. His forebears carried on a steady, continuous work for forty-two years and the church has continued much on the same lines until this day.

The capacity of our fathers for "carrying on," as will be seen by those who read this book, is the most outstanding feature of the church's history. Salendine Nook has been slow to change. Its pulpit and its pews have enjoyed long leases. The church has never been fond of extremes

in either doctrine or practice, she has never been "hyper" Calvinist or "hyper" anything else but on the other hand she has never been a place where purely emotional revivals have flourished.

"Upright." It should never be forgotten that Salendine Nook passed through the period when Antinomianism was a very real danger to the Calvinist churches. To her credit, the "spirit of Antinomianism or anything even approaching it, has never been anything but a conception of the devil to Salendine Nook people. The pages of the church book with their record of exclusion testify to that. Dr. Stock was unquestionably the most pronounced Calvinist of all those who have filled the Nook pastorate, but nothing more utterly opposed to his ideas than Antinomianism can be conceived. Salendine Nook has always had a correct ideal of the consistency required as a condition of church membership and I remember with appreciation the utterances of some of the old folk of my early days, of strong Calvinistic tendencies, on this very subject.

"Amiable." Worthy of love and capable of inspiring love. Few churches have been more faithfully and more lovingly served than the old church at Salendine Nook. It has been one of the purposes of this book to bring home to the present generation, that in this respect they have indeed a high standard to maintain.

These four characteristics, all blended together to form a consistent and persistent whole, form the nearest approach to what is in my mind when I write about the "Spirit" or "Tone" of Salendine Nook.

Who can estimate the influence that this old church set upon the hills, has exercised during the long years in which she has lived and moved and had her being ?

Life has many tendencies to an isolation which spells selfishness—in the very old troublous times men, to live in any degree of security, had to ally themselves with their fellows for mutual protection. They perforce became members of communities formed for mutual assistance in times of danger, but this gave place to a condition of life where the influences were largely the other way, and anything (if it be simply harmless) which helps to bring a man unto fellowship with his fellow-men, which extends his interest and takes him out of himself into a wider circle, is wholesome. The schoolmaster recognises this. In the sports of the playfield, the boy is taught to join in a team, to lose his individuality in the success of his side, to seek the honour of his school rather than his own distinction. To many men their association with Nook church has been the most powerful of the broadening influences of their lives, and with some it has been almost the only such influence they have known. To be a member of a church, to be even a recognised adherent of a church, to be closely allied to others in a common interest, to share in the activities of a community, has meant much to many of those who have made Salendine Nook their home.

The majority of those who have come to Salendine Nook throughout the ages have lived lives of toil. From morning till night in the monotony of the daily task in the factory or home, their lives have been spent. There have been few, if any, of the idle rich, or even the leisured classes, amongst the Nook people. Only on the Sunday have many been able to put away manual labour, the earning of their bread, and to devote the day to the cultivation of their minds. But on that one day of the week it has been possible to forget the thought of money making or wage earning, to

come into a new atmosphere, to become intimately acquainted with the Scriptures—the grandest literature the world has ever known, to have those Scriptures expounded by trained and able men, to hear music and to have a part in the rendering of such music. All has been the entrance to a new life, a life of art and intellect. It has been almost a university training, the only university training the majority of the Nook people have ever had.

One of the insistent demands of human life is for the opportunity of self-expression.

Often in speech, sometimes in action, there may be some diffident souls to whom this does not apply but they are few indeed.

The Nook church has provided means to gratify this natural instinct, she has offered scope for the activity of her children. She soon sent out her lay ministers and after her Sunday Schools were once established there was always opportunity for those who had the will. This has been a great boon. It is difficult to estimate the interest this has added to the lives of many of her people, and more than ever so in the olden times when opportunity for this self-expression was so curtailed as compared with the present day.

We have all known good men whose gifts of utterance were limited to the occasional leading of their brethren in prayer. During the time I was Sunday School Superintendent at Jagger Green I had for one of my teachers my dear old friend, John Stott. Probably during the whole of his life, although a deacon, he never made a speech. He taught the senior class of girls and only once was he ever known to make the slightest approach to an exposition or elaboration of his subject. One day when he was reading out of the 3rd chapter of Genesis dealing with the fall

of Adam and came to that passage "And they sewed fig leaves together, and made themselves aprons," he startled his class by ejaculating "And I have always wondered where they found their needle and thread." He was, however, always willing to pray and as it was evident he was very pleased to do so it became an invariable custom that John Stott on his teaching day opened the afternoon school with prayer. Who can tell how much that meant to John Stott to get on his feet and amongst his fellows to "express himself" if only in the simple exercise of prayer? It would have been almost an act of cruelty to deprive him of this one little opportunity. A little thing to spend five minutes in leading the devotion of a few people, but to the man to whom that little was his all, it perhaps meant very much.

In all the many activities of social work, undertaken in later years, in functions which have not been primarily religious, in the musical services from the point of view of the music only, in the many endeavours to bring recreation into the lives of the young,—a President of the Free Church Council recently said that the man who caused an honest laugh ought to have a memorial raised to his memory—this church has been a means of grace, for religion is a matter of daily life and has its relation to the whole of life.

Is this all that has to be said of the part that Salendine Nook and her sister churches have had in the lives of their people? The things that have been mentioned are not little things, and had the churches done no more, they had fully justified their existence. It would have been worth while for Salendine Nook and others of her age, to have lived even had they no more than these to their credit.

CHAPTER 62.

A Picture in the Fire.

Salendine Nook is sacred ground. Every yard of the eight and a half acres which now form the church estate, each stone in the chapel building or the walls which encircle its burial ground, even the blades of grass that grow within its boundaries have been consecrated, not perhaps by any formal service of consecration, but by consistent lives of a long succession of good and honest men and women, who have kept alive the church's mission through the two hundred and forty-three years of her history. Every page in such history is a record of this consecration, and not the least honourable are those which deal with the one hundred and fifty years which it has been the purpose of the preceding pages of this book to portray.

It may always be a matter of excusable pride and unfailing inspiration to remember that the origin of the church goes right back to the persecuting days of the Stuart Kings, that the first foundations were laid on an earth still red with the blood of the martyred saints, and that the flag was kept flying throughout the century and a half when bare toleration and open contumely and contempt fell to the lot of those who called themselves Protestant Dissenters.

I have for many months been living in those one hundred and fifty years. I have gone with our forefathers to those early meetings in Morton's barn. I have a little buffet in my room. I do not intend ever to part with it, it is the one I have always taken with me in my vision. I am conscious that I shall never again enter a barn without an attempt to visualise it as a meeting place under the Toleration Act, I shall find myself planning how to seat the congregation to the best advantage. I have listened to the singing of those old metrical Psalms, parcelled out

two lines at a time. I have heard the preaching of the Rossendale men who came over the Pennines with their message, few of them except Mitchel and Crosley ever attempting a conventional sermon with divisions and subdivisions, and certainly there were none who preached from notes, hardly one of them could write; their favourite and usual sermon being a long rambling retelling of some of the Bible stories, with spiritual and practical exhortations occurring at odd times. I have heard conversations which passed between Jacob and his mother as she packed up her son's little bundle before he left on his journey to Padan-Aram. I have heard petulant Jonah's remarks when he found himself within the belly of the whale. I have been told how Daniel felt in the lions' den with the hot breath of the beasts clouding the foul atmosphere of the pit. But Joseph was the most popular Old Testament character with our old folk, how often the story of Joseph was recounted in Morton's barn I know not.

Just now and then the preacher would leave his story and relate some experience of his own, and sometimes these passages would be startling in their evidence of deep spiritual insight.

I have seen pictures in my fire of Thomas Greenwood of Everitt Shaw in the parish of Heptonstall, yeoman, one of William Mitchel's own converts, another fitting representative of those old days and dominated by the same consecrated devotion so characteristic of the age. For over forty years Thomas Greenwood held the Rodhill-End and Stone Slack church together, and was the first " Father in Israel " that the little community at Salendine Nook knew. He gave to Stone Slack their first meeting house and probably did more in influencing the Mortons to build the 1739 Salendine Nook chapel than has ever before been imagined.

My fire protests that for so many years Thomas Greenwood's part in the foundations of Salendine Nook has been so little known or appreciated.

I have not been happy when I have tried to follow our old folk into their 1713 meeting house, for I have not known where it was or what it was, whether it was an upper chamber set apart in the pottery, or farm buildings, or a modest shed built for the purpose, but I have recognised what a red letter month was October, 1713, to the Rodhill-End and Stone Slack people, for that month witnessed the opening services of two specially designed meeting houses for their little flock, the one at Stone Slack and the other at Salendine Nook—the first of the foundation stones at each place to be seen above the face of the waters.

The pictures my fire has shown to me of Henry Clayton—a farmer like Thomas Greenwood, and his friend and not very distant neighbour—have been many and varied. I have heard the two men talking earnestly and often together about the little field of labour presented by the few who met together at Salendine Nook. I have heard Greenwood often urging upon Clayton the task he subsequently undertook and I have shared in Greenwood's joy when Henry Clayton at last consented to do what was pressed upon him.

My fire has shown me pictures of Henry Clayton when as a young man full of health and vigour he commenced those regular Sunday journeys to Salendine Nook but the majority of the pictures that my fire has persisted in showing me have been of a man grown old and feeble. I have watched Henry Clayton struggling up that long hill from Luddendenfoot to Wainsgate when the roads were frost bound, and my heart has stood still as I have seen his horse stumbling and slipping over the snow and ice. I have stood at the door of his farm house on a winter's afternoon and with his wife have waited, in the gathering

darkness for his return, and my ears have been strained like hers to catch the first sound of his horse's feet in the distance.

I have often sought for pictures of Joshua Wood, that lonely and often wearied and ailing man, but my fire has respected his love of solitude and seclusion, and has left me knowing no more of Joshua Wood than has been set forth in the preceding pages of this book.

My fire has never tired of showing me pictures of the 1739 meeting house, and of all that it witnessed from the great day of its opening till its dismantling in 1803. The most sacred of all my visions of that old house have been of the ground floor vestry where Robert Hyde, in his all-night vigils, wrestled with his God for some message to give to his people on the following day. I have uncovered my head and "put off the shoes from my feet" when, even in a vision, I have followed Robert Hyde into that vestry on the Saturday evening. When I have thought of Robert Hyde there, I have found my mind travelling back to Peniel and the story of Jacob's wrestling, and have wondered if the impediment which Robert had, so that he slightly halted in his speech, had any significance when I read of the halting Jacob had in his walk.

I have seen him in his chair, with the Bible on the table before him, and sometimes, when the message he sought tarried on its way, praying and wrestling with all the intensity of his being for the inspiration he needed. Be assured that the preaching which followed from such preparation was no cold, formal essay; the inspiration which comes to a man when on his knees and in the silence of the night, and which is passed on by him to his hearers in the service on the following day, will be no vain imagination or dreary platitude.

We can better understand Robert Hyde's great

influence as the Pastor of the Nook church if we recognise the overwhelming sense he had of the importance and responsibility of his pastoral office. In all the letters which came from him preserved amongst my papers, we see a man bowed down with this sense of his own insufficiency for the greatness of the work he had undertaken. If he did not love to preach the terrible doctrines of his age it is certain he accepted them at least intellectually, and the vital issues of religion were ever before him. He loved his people, their welfare was his continual thought and the Salendine Nook vestry became to him a Peniel, "A face of God," for when he pleaded for the salvation of his flock in that vestry, his God came very near to Robert Hyde.

I ask my readers to follow me in my vision of Robert Hyde in his vestry, on the night of August 1/2, 1801. He had had a church meeting on the previous Thursday at which he had preached, and which had occupied his thoughts during all the early part of the week. The sermon on the following Sunday afternoon was required to be a funeral sermon for M. Lunn, an honoured and useful member of the church, who had passed to his rest a few days before. For the morning sermon he had chosen a text from Psalm 84-10.

> "For a day in thy courts is better than a thousand."

This was the sort of text that he loved, and his thoughts came happily, and, for Robert easily, and he finished it all in the very early morning.

There was then the afternoon's funeral sermon for M. Lunn.

Funeral sermons were always a trial to Robert Hyde, and he had had many to preach during the previous twelve months. M. Lunn had for years been a good and consistent church member. Robert rejoiced

to think that there was no doubt about his friend's happiness, but death, and all that it meant of bereavement and loss to those who were left behind, weighed heavily upon his mind. It was a warm night, he felt the room oppressive. The dawn was just beginning to break over Castle Hill and he stepped outside, meaning to walk about for awhile and seek inspiration in the fresh air in the open. There had been a little shower during the previous evening, and the drops of rain were commencing to glisten in the grass, like pearls in an emerald setting, the strong sweet air came refreshingly to him, sparrows were beginning to twitter in the eaves of the chapel building, all the promise of a glorious summer day was surrounding him.

He was walking amongst the graves of his departed friends, and had been thinking of Darkness, and Night, and Death, and Life's Ending.

He was " compassed about with " all that spoke of
Light, and Day, and Life, and a new Day's
Beginning.

Robert was a man of simple but unfaltering faith and spiritual perception.

He had received his inspiration. He had seen his vision. He had found his text.

His sermon that afternoon should be from Prov. 14-32.

" But the righteous hath hope in his death."

He would pass on to his people all the vision of Hope that had come to him in the breaking of day, on that summer morning.

Is it not suggestive that in the text from the prophecy of Joel, which the Apostle Peter quoted to the multitude gathered together on the day of Pentecost, there is closely linked together the ability to prophesy with the capacity to dream dreams and to see visions ? Is it not that when the dreams and visions cease, the prophecy fails ?

I have ventured to recite, in a previous page, some of the services that Nook Church has rendered to her children, in the broadening of their interests, in the cultivation of their minds, in the opportunity for self-expression and in the many activities of social work and wholesome recreation. I have asked the question if this has been all, or even the principal mission of the Church, throughout the ages.

"Where there is no vision, the people perish."

"And it shall come to pass afterward, that I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions."

The true prophets of Salendine Nook Church have been men who have dreamed dreams and seen visions, and in the degree that they have enabled the people to whom they ministered to follow them in their dreams and visions, has been the measure of their success as Prophets and Pastors.

"Where there is no vision the people perish." Salendine Nook Church has not perished. She remains a virile active Church of God to-day, for she has had a vision throughout the ages, and in much that is really essential the vision of to-day is the vision that came to our fathers.

The same "Kindly Light," of which Newman sang in later years, led the Rossendale man "O'er moor and fen o'er crag and torrent," with his burning message of Salvation.

Old Henry Clayton (God rest his soul) dreamed his dream, but be assured that Henry Clayton had many dreams, and saw many visions other than the one recorded in this book.

To Joshua Wood in his solitary study, living his austere and secluded life, came the vision of some Holy Grail, a conception of a pure and consistent living Church, the seeking of which dominated his

whole life and to the attainment of which he consecrated his all. Joshua Wood's vision was as real to him as was that of the Holy Grail to Sir Galahad.

Cannot we find in the Apostle John in his island of Patmos, seeing those mighty visions of the Apocalypse, some resemblance to the loving, warm-hearted Robert Hyde in his vestry ?

It may be objected that much of the doctrinal creed of our fathers was not altogether conducive to a Vision of Hope, but I draw a very clear distinction between a "Creed," to which a man may give his intellectual assent, and a " Vision," which goes right down to his heart and soul, enters into his subconsciousness, sways the whole outlook of his life and steers his vessel over life's troublous seas.

With the large majority of the old folk, many doctrines which entered into their creeds, I submit, never forced their way through the barriers which stood sentinel over the path to their heart and soul.

God as a Father, Christ as a Redeemer and Friend, the next world as a Home of Ineffable Bliss, formed, I am convinced, the " Vision " of our fathers. " For as he thinketh in his heart so is he."

I am persuaded that the dominating "Vision" of the old days was the Hope that came to Robert Hyde on that early morning in the Nook grave-yard, the vision of the rainbow not the storm. Were it not for the vast difference between the creed of a man's mind and the vision of his soul, I am convinced that many in the old days would have shrunk from the responsibility of fatherhood. I find it difficult to conceive how any good man who loved his children more than life itself, as many of our forefathers did, or any one who really loved his fellow man, could have remained sane, had the terrible creed of his time been a living vision to him.

Their old creeds might lead our fathers up the

precipitous heights of Mount Sinai, to grope amidst its clouds and smoke, whilst in the vision of their hearts they might all the while be wandering amidst green pastures and lying down beside the still waters.

In their creeds they might hear, as on Horeb's mountain, the rush of the wind, the tumult of the earthquake, the crashing of the fire, but in the vision of their hearts they were listening to the whispers of some still small voice which spoke of peace, and love, and forgiveness.

When they preached Calvinism it was the election to salvation they had in their hearts. In the doctrines of future rewards and punishments it was the blessedness of the redeemed they loved to dwell upon.

Whilst fulminating on the total depravity of human nature they were treasuring and gloating over some of the many stories of man's goodness.

Here is one of those many stories our fathers loved to dwell upon :

> "Mr. Birt Baptist Minister of Portsmouth and a Mr. W. being very intimate, disagreed and Mr. W. sent Mr. B. an angry letter.
>
> "They met at an Association. Mr. B. says 'I'll be revenged on you for your angry letter this day.' When the committee sat upon the distribution of the fund Mr. W.'s name came up and he was put down so much. All this time Mr. W. sat at a distance expecting to be cut off from the list, but Mr. Birt said 'Do make Mr. W. something handsome, he was set down 1 guinea more. He has a large family, eight children, stretch one more if you can.' It was done.
>
> "Afterwards, Mr. W. came to Mr. B. in tears—'Your goodness has broken my heart'—Mr. B. 'Did I not tell you I would be revenged on you ?'"

The Church of Christ to-day has her vision as surely as she had in the days of our fathers. I venture to submit that nearly all that our fathers had in their vision (as distinct from their creeds) remains in that of 1932, and that even in their creeds, most of what is really essential remains.

It is in all that has been added since our fathers' time, that the vision of to-day differs so greatly from that of the past.

The child has come in to-day's vision, and with the child has come so much. In 1932 the Nook Church is younger than she was in 1752. The child has saved her from the infirmities of age. The church to-day renews her youth each generation. In 1752 she was young in years, in 1932 she is young in spirit.

There has come a broadening of her vision. She has largely gone back to early days in her conception of her mission. When the Master sent out His first disciples, His command was

"And as ye go, preach, saying, The kingdom of heaven is at hand.

Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead, cast out devils—freely ye have received, freely give."

Six duties, and only one of them the commission to preach. A preaching church was pre-eminently the ideal of our forefathers, they had a tendency to ignore the rest. To-day, the vision of the christian is much more one of deeds than of creeds. The preaching came first in our Lord's command and may not be neglected, but much more is looked for and received from the Church of Christ in 1932 than the preaching of the Gospel. Although there are still some who fail to respond to this call for service, and do not wholly sympathise with this wider mission of healing, cleansing, service rendering and giving, the outlook of the Church to-day is unquestionably far broader and more comprehensive than it was in the early days.

In a recent message from the Bishop of Ripon to a company of the Boys' Brigade, I find this verse :

"The mystery, dimly understood,
That love of God, is love of good,
And to be saved is simply this,
Salvation from our selfishness."

In its attitude to the world in which we live, an altogether new vision has been added.

The good men of the past concentrated their hopes on the life beyond the grave, and in order perhaps to enhance the happiness of the Paradise above they depreciated the life below. Any "promise of the life that now is" in their creed was an empty, hollow unreality. One can understand such an attitude in the early christian, to whom the promise of the life that now is, meant the executioner's sword in the dungeon, or the wild beast in the arena, but our early fathers never seemed to get beyond those days, it pleased them to picture themselves as the persecuted saints even when active persecution had long since ceased. It would appear that they considered that the surest passport to the joys of the future was to be as miserable as possible in the present. They had undoubtedly a good deal to contend with, to which those of the present day are strangers, but they showed apparently no inclination to make the best, but rather the worst, of the world in which they lived.

The vision of the Church of Christ as an inspiration to song and gladness was not given to them. It would have been repudiated as a snare of the Evil One.

Should this book be read by any one connected with Salendine Nook's sister churches, I ask them to take to themselves any kindly sympathetic words I have written about our own church as applying to the whole family of which they were members, and if there should be anything to which they take exception, to leave that part out, as having no application to the church to which they belong.

Family ties are often strongest where in the early years the children have shared experiences of poverty and hardship, patiently borne and bravely overcome. The children in later life may get on in the world; they may become prosperous and rich, but the days

of their early struggles, when they were partners in privation, are remembered with an affection which is not always given to the days of their prosperity.

Salendine Nook and the sixteen other churches which in 1791 formed the Lancashire and Yorkshire family and met for their annual Association meetings at Salendine Nook have "got on in the world." The days of their privation are in the past, they are affluent and influential. I ask to be allowed on behalf of our own church, with an ever abiding memory of "auld lang syne," to offer to these sisters of ours, affectionate greetings. I would remind them of the days when they and we climbed the hill together. It was a steep hill, but it is pleasant to remember and inspiring to retell how one helped another over the rough places, how those who were a little stronger than the others helped the weaker up the steeper slopes. Darkness and gloom were at the foot of the hill but a radiant light at the summit, and that light penetrated through the darkness and shone always on the faces of the climbers.

We were all poor together but it was an honourable poverty, and we extended to each other the proverbial kindness of the poor to the poor.

We were all churches with one talent, but it is good to remember that the one talent was not buried or wrapped in a napkin. Such as it was, it was always at our sisters' service.

We were separated from each other by distances which the difficulties of access in those days made long, but we visited each other often and the welcomes we gave and received were always warm and grateful.

To-day we rejoice in each other's prosperity as sincerely as, in other days, we sympathised and supported one another in times of difficulty and struggle.

Section 13.

LATER HISTORY BUT ONLY IN BRIEF.

Ministers from 1838 to Present Date ... ... Chapter 63.

Dr. Stock ... ... Chapter 64.

A Picture. My Mother ... ... Chapter 65.

Summary of Salendine Nook Pastors.

There is every reason to believe that the Salendine Nook community came under the pastoral oversight of Thomas Greenwood of the Rodhill-End and Stone Slack church some time before 1713 and continued thus until the advent of Mr. Henry Clayton.

Rev. Henry Clayton	...	1731 - 1776.
Rev. Joshua Wood	...	1776 - 1794.
Rev. Robert Hyde	...	1795 - 1838.
Rev. James Macpherson	...	1838 - 1844.
Rev. Thomas Lomas	...	1844 - 1847.
Rev. John Stock	...	1848 - 1857.
Rev. David Crompton	...	1857 - 1865.
Rev. James Parker	...	1865 - 1870.
Rev. John Stock, LL.D.	...	1872 - 1884.
Rev. John Thomas	...	1887 - 1893.
Rev. D. Witton Jenkins	...	1895 - 1920.
Rev. David J. John, A.T.S.		1921

CHAPTER 63.

Ministers from 1838 to Present Date.

On the death of the Rev. Robert Hyde in 1838 the Rev. James Macpherson was appointed sole Pastor and remained so until 1844 when he removed to the church at Bramley, subsequently becoming the travelling agent and secretary of the Port of Hull Society for the relief of sailors and orphans. It is evident that during the period from June 10th, 1837, to May 14th, 1838, he had been on most affectionate terms with his chief, for on the latter's death he composed some verses which evidence the high regard he had for Mr. Hyde. During the pastorate of Mr. Macpherson the 1843 chapel, which has been referred to in previous pages, was built. Mr. Macpherson was a modest and diffident man for it is stated that when the new chapel was opened he said " that now that the people had a fine chapel they would want a fine Minister."

He left behind him a pleasant memory as of a good man.

Mr. Macpherson was followed by the Rev. Thomas Lomas the first of the Nook Pastors with a college training. He came from Bradford College, but remained only three years, removing to a church in Charles Street, Leicester, where he ministered for twenty-three years and then passed away somewhat suddenly in 1870.

The Rev. John Stock succeeded him, removing from his first church at Chatham to Salendine Nook in May 1848, and remaining there until April 1857, when threatened lung trouble rendered necessary his residence in the South, where he occupied the pulpit of a very old Baptist church in Morice Square, Devonport. He remained at Devonport for fifteen and a half years.

When Mr. Stock left Salendine Nook it would appear that the church numbered two hundred and thirty members. He is referred to at length in subsequent pages.

The Rev. David Crompton who came from a church at Oswestry, Salop, succeeded. He commenced his pastoral office at Nook on September 13th, 1857, continuing until March 1st, 1865, on which date he resigned. He eventually became the Pastor of a small Baptist church in London where he remained until a year before his death when growing infirmities compelled his resignation. He died August 18th, 1874, in his sixty-third year. When he removed, the church numbered two hundred and seventy-five members.

During his pastorate the first and only serious trouble which has ever occurred at Nook resulted in a withdrawal in 1864 of thirty-six members who formed a separate church at Oakes. Nothing but the most cordial and affectionate relationship has existed for many years between the mother and daughter churches, but the separation at the time was undoubtedly an unhappy experience.

The Rev. James Parker filled the pulpit vacant by the resignation of Mr. Crompton. His official connection with the church commenced on Nov. 19th, 1865. His stay was short, for he removed to Trinity Road Baptist church, Halifax, October 23rd, 1870.

The Rev. John Stock then LL.D., of Madison University, U.S.A., commenced his second pastorate at Nook on October 1st, 1872, and this pastorate continued until May 3rd, 1884, when he died suddenly in London.

I insert a copy of one of the old plans for the week-night services held in the three schoolrooms during the early part of 1880, there being, it will be remembered, no evening services then held in the chapel.

It will be seen from this list what a large number of accredited speakers the Nook had at that time.

SUNDAY EVENING SERVICES.

The following persons will (D.V.) Conduct Services of Religious Worship as arranged by this Plan.

1880.	SALENDINE NOOK.	LONGWOOD.	JAGGER GREEN.
Jan. 4.	JOHN OXLEY JOHN BAILEY	WALKER WRIGLEY ROBERT MAC. SHAW	JOAH HANSON EDWIN WILLIAMS
„ 11.	WILLIAM LUMB ARTHUR BEAUMONT	DAN BROOK HYDE HOLROYD	JOHN WILLIAM SHAW JOHN DYSON
„ 18.	TITUS SCHOFIELD JOHN ARMITAGE	GEORGE WALKER	JOSEPH W. SHAW FRED FITTON
„ 25.	THOMAS BROOK SAMUEL HINCHLIFFE	ENOCH MORTON GEORGE BICKERDYKE	SIDNEY SMITH EDWIN BEAUMONT
Feb. 1.	DR. STOCK WM. DALE SHAW	JOSEPH SMITH ROBERT BROOK	JOHN DAWSON EZRA SMITH
„ 8.	JOAH HANSON EDWIN WILLIAMS	J. COOKE	WALKER WRIGLEY ROBERT MAC. SHAW
„ 15.	JOSEPH W. SHAW FRED FITTON	WILLIAM LUMB ARTHUR BEAUMONT	DAN BROOK HYDE HOLROYD
„ 22.	JOHN WILLIAM SHAW JOHN DYSON	TITUS SCHOFIELD JOHN ARMITAGE	THOMAS PARKINSON CHARLES BEAUMONT
„ 29.	SIDNEY SMITH EDWIN BEAUMONT	THOMAS BROOK SAMUEL HINCHLIFFE	ENOCH MORTON GEORGE BICKERDYKE
March 7.	JOHN DAWSON EZRA SMITH	DR. STOCK WM. DALE SHAW	JOSEPH SMITH ROBERT BROOK
„ 14.	WALKER WRIGLEY ROBERT MAC. SHAW	JOAH HANSON EDWIN WILLIAMS	JOHN OXLEY JOHN BAILEY
„ 21.	DAN BROOK HYDE HOLROYD	J. S. BOLTON	WILLIAM LUMB ARTHUR BEAUMONT
„ 28.	THOMAS PARKINSON CHARLES BEAUMONT	JOHN WILLIAM SHAW JOHN DYSON	TITUS SCHOFIELD JOHN ARMITAGE

SERVICES TO COMMENCE AT SIX O'CLOCK.

The Rev. John Thomas commenced his pastorate in November, 1887, and was ordained on February 29th, 1888.

Many will remember the change that came to Nook preaching with the advent of Mr. Thomas; they will probably admit that never before had they heard such preaching. To sit under Mr. Thomas when he was at his best, was an intellectual treat never forgotten.

I can remember much that I heard from Mr.

Thomas, but one sermon I remember above all others.

He had been preaching on the text "For what is your life? It is even a vapour that appeareth for a little time and then vanisheth away." Those who remember Mr. Thomas' preaching will recognise that on such a text he would be at his best.

At the close of his sermon he pictured the passing of a man who had lived an evil life as the going down of the sun on a stormy day.

The very atmosphere of the chapel seemed to grow dark and sombre and in keeping with the picture he drew.

Mr. Thomas did not stay long. He accepted a call to the Myrtle Street church, Liverpool, and left the Nook in January, 1893.

During the interval between Mr. Thomas' leaving and the advent of Mr. Jenkins, extensive renovations were carried out in the chapel, the inside being entirely reconstructed, a new front wing added and the vestries enlarged. The large field by the side of the main road was also bought and the grave-yard extended and walled in. The five thousand pounds which represented the cost was raised in two years.

In January 1895, the Rev. D. W. Jenkins accepted the call of the church and in April commenced a pastorate which lasted for twenty-five years.

Mr. Jenkins was a man of exceptional ability. As a preacher he fully maintained the high standard set by his immediate predecessor; he was in fact too good a preacher and did not recognise the limitations of his hearers. I went not infrequently to Nook when he was in the pulpit. It was not a question of his being at his best, he seemed to be always at his best, but I was conscious that it involved a mental strain to keep up with him which might be positively exhausting to those who "sat under him" regularly.

The last time I heard him, he preached three sermons ; as I came away from the chapel I confess my head positively ached with the strain of following him. I ventured to say, evidently very much to his surprise, that he had given us some good stuff that day, but that the best of all three sermons was the one he gave us in the afternoon—Num. 2-3 "Toward the rising of the sun." "Man alive," said he, "that was nothing, cost me no trouble at all, I am not expected to do much in the afternoon service." Nevertheless if simple it was a real gem, and I told him that his people had probably gained more good from that sermon than from either of the others. I do not suppose he would take much notice of what I said, he was not built that way, but I begged him to go slow with his preaching and remember that we could not in forty minutes assimilate all that he had been maturing in his mind for forty days.

He was not only a brilliant preacher but he was a virile, brainy, restlessly active man, the best of company in social circles, and with human sympathy and interest in all the ordinary affairs of life.

During his pastorate I was frequently camping at Windermere with a Boys' Brigade Company which subsequently developed into an independent corps under the name of "The Boys' Rifle Brigade."

The camps were conducted on military lines and a considerable amount of field work was carried out by the sixty or seventy officers and boys who made up the strength of the company. Mr. Jenkins served with us as chaplain more than once, and a most delightful and efficient officer he proved himself to be. I made one mistake with him, however, which I did not repeat.

A great part of our field-work consisted of sham fights of one kind or another in the forenoons, but once when he was with us certain operations were

THE REV. D. WITTON JENKINS AS B.B. CHAPLAIN.

arranged for the evening, and I asked the chaplain if he would like to be attached to the staff of one of the contending parties. He would—most emphatically he would.

Nearly all our sham fights ended in uncertainty, both sides claiming the advantage, but in this one the result was singularly conclusive. It was acknowledged even by those defeated that Mr. Jenkins' party had been ambushed, hopelessly smashed up, and annihilated.

As soon as the pow-wow at the end was over, and the parties had broken up, Mr. Jenkins came to me fuming with indignation and contempt for the tactics of the officer in command of his detachment.

"I told him what would happen if he did so and so. The man would not take any notice of what I told him. I urged him to do this and that."

I can picture him now, striding up and down and pouring out the vials of his wrath on the devoted head of the young man who had, in his opinion, so wantonly led him and his party to destruction. Being a very old hand at the game it will be easily understood I only laughed, but there was no doubt about it, he was in deadly earnest over this his first military sham fight. When it came to eleven o'clock and the officers were turning in to their tents for the night I had forgotten all about the incident, but, noticing Mr. Jenkins still walking about, I went to him to remind him that it was time all well conducted chaplains went to bed and to sleep—He replied,

"Sleep. Man alive! I shall need to walk about for hours before I can go to sleep. Why didn't that incompetent officer of yours do as I advised him, and save that mess up in the woods? If only he had done as I had wanted him to do....."

I said,

"Mr. Jenkins, you are not at this moment my Minister, you are merely my obedient, subordinate officer, and you are going to bed and to sleep just now or I shall be having you ill. You are the first Minister of the Gospel I have ever brought into a sham fight and, please God, you are going to be the last, it is clear to me that a sham fight is no place for a man of peace."

In looking back over the whole of the church's history may we not recognise that four of the Pastors more than others, have been the conspicuous personalities of the past two hundred years :—Henry Clayton, Robert Hyde, John Stock, D. W. Jenkins ?

Each one was a fitting representative of an age. They all remained long enough to leave an impression on that age ; others came and went and filled up their places acceptably and usefully, but these four have been the outstanding apostles of the church at Salendine Nook.

In some respects Mr. Jenkins had the most difficult task of all. He came with modern ideas and aspirations, and whatever is progressive in outlook of the church to-day compared with what it was in 1894 is, I venture to claim, largely due to the inspiration of his never tiring energy and broader outlook. He was by nature somewhat impatient and not always philosophic enough to bear with those who could not keep up to his pace, but he did a very great work for the church, if only in giving the coup de grâce to that ogre of a slogan,

"It has never been done at Nook afore."

Mr. Jenkins was my friend and Minister. I am glad to have this opportunity of offering my tribute to his sterling worth, exceptional abilities and abiding influence in the establishment of the church as we know it to-day.

The present Minister, the Rev. David J. John, A.T.S., accepted the Nook pastorate in November, 1921, coming from the Baptist church at Yarmouth.

. . . . . .

"*Wherefore seeing we also are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses,*"
"*let us run with patience.*"

No one can read through the last section of this book and fail to be impressed with the far-reaching obligations and responsibilities falling to the lot of the present day Nook Pastor.

I should be glad to be allowed to take this opportunity of offering to Mr. John my earnest and most sincere good wishes for his prosperity and happiness.

I would, moreover, claim the privilege of offering him these good wishes not only on my own account, but also on behalf of the ministry and laity of the past who constitute Salendine Nook's "great cloud of witnesses," for

"we also are compassed about."

In their name I wish him Godspeed and every success in the work in which he is engaged.

CHAPTER 64.

Dr. Stock.

It will probably be agreed that the Rev. John Stock, LL.D., was the most widely known of all the Pastors who have in the past occupied the Nook pulpit. He was my father and I lived at home with him until his death, when I was twenty-five years old.

Some of my readers will remember Dr. Stock,

many more will have heard much about him, and all will perhaps welcome a fuller reference to him than has been accorded to others, if only for the fact that he was so entirely representative of the best type of the old Puritan divines.

On his death in 1884 a short account of his life was printed and this is before me as I write. I do not propose to repeat all the details found in this pamphlet.

He was born in London in December, 1817. His father was exactly the man that those who knew the son would have expected him to be, a man of strong and dominating personality. Like another Dick Whittington he walked into London, when a young man as a journeyman tailor, and prospered sufficiently well to become one of the first lessees of the Regent Street shops, where he had a business as a tailor and woollen draper.

John Stock when fourteen years old was apprenticed to a draper, but religion and its mission soon occupied his thoughts almost to the exclusion of everything else. He joined a Baptist church at the age of eighteen, but had been teaching in a Sunday School and delivering religious addresses from the age of sixteen. He began writing very early. In the introduction to his booklet on "*Mode and Subjects of Christian Baptism*" published in 1844, and embodying previous issues, he states, speaking of himself and in the third person—

> "In the year 1839, he was called upon to assist at the first administration of believers' Baptism within the memory of man, in the town of Windsor. He prepared with some care, two lectures, which he read on the occasion; and which seemed to produce a deep impression at the time of delivery. At the request of many christian friends, a large edition of these lectures was published for circulation in the town and neighbourhood of Windsor."

It will thus be seen that at twenty-two years of age he was an author. In 1842 he published several distinctly Calvinistic pamphlets, and in 1846 he wrote an essay on Peace, which won him the first prize of ten guineas offered by the Newcastle-on-Tyne Peace Society.

In April, 1842, when twenty-five years old, he accepted the pastorate of Zion Baptist church, Chatham, where he remained for six years.

In 1848 he commenced his first pastorate at Nook. In 1857 for reasons of health he removed to Morice Square church, Devonport, remaining until 1872 when he returned to Salendine Nook and there commenced a second pastorate which continued until 1884, when he died suddenly at a railway station in the suburbs of London.

I propose to deal with what I have to say about Dr. Stock under three headings,

1st. In his private and unofficial capacity.

2nd. As a preacher, politician, and social leader.

3rd. As a Pastor.

1st. Dr. Stock had a certain sporting instinct, which, although kept well within the bounds seemly to his calling, showed itself all through his life and prevented him from ever becoming fossilised or out of touch with his fellowmen. When in Devonport his favourite recreation was fishing. He had a well-to-do friend who, having private trout fishing, gave Mr. Stock the run of his river. In his desk were life-sized outlines of some of the biggest fish he caught and he loved to tell the story of one of them, a salmon, which he landed when fishing for trout and which he ought to have put back—as he had no salmon licence—but didn't. Although it is nearly fifty years since his death and it must be much more

than fifty years since I last heard him tell the story of how he caught that salmon, I never recognised before how fortunate it was that he did not put it back. I am anxious to make my portrait essentially human. What chance should I have of being believed if truth compelled me to record that he had put that salmon—which had taken him an hour to land—back into the water simply because it was poaching to bring it away ? The Mohammedans have this legend with respect to a certain dropping well. Allah once heard two of his angels talking together about mankind and expressing their amazement and abhorrence at the follies and wickedness of human beings. Allah called them to him and asked if they thought they could do better if they were sent to the earth. They were sure of it and went, only to succumb before long to temptation of a certain kind. They were condemned to be hung up by the heels in the centre of a mountain, and to shed tears of repentance until the last great day of judgment, and the dropping well represents the tears of these erring angels.

A great many men have been stronger than Allah's angels, and have resisted all the temptations to which they succumbed, but neither history nor legend of men or angels has any record of an ardent fisherman so virtuous—however unlawful the retention of the fish might be—as to put back into the water a four pound salmon which he had hooked on a slender trout tackle and had landed only after an hour's struggle.

I am unfeignedly glad to be able to record that Mr. Stock did not put back his poached salmon. He brought it away with him, and gloated over it, and never once expressed any sense of repentance for his misdeed to his dying day.

When living at Salendine Nook the Doctor kept poultry. There were a number of other fowls which came about the yard used by his birds, and it exceedingly vexed his righteous and—notwithwithstanding his prize essays on peace (I have always smiled when I have pictured my father writing peace essays)—essentially combative soul to see his cock bird, at that time, a cowardly creature of no spirit, chivied about by his neighbours' cock birds. My brother—who entirely represented the family in the matter—having much sympathy with his feeling, made the Doctor a present of a really beautiful, fully dubbed, well bred game-cock, which, to the great delight of the good man, soon put that matter on a much sounder basis.

I remember that a short time after this game-cock had first been released and was engaged in this pleasing task of putting things straight, the Doctor and I had some occasion to go into the yard, and I called to him to accompany me. He said with a pleased and expectant look in his eyes "Sh! Just wait a few minutes—I believe my game-cock is having to attend to a little matter outside and I mustn't be seen watching. I will go with you shortly."

When we did go out some fifteen minutes later this game-cock was on the wall crowing for all he was worth, but the other cock birds were nowhere to be seen and the Doctor was exceedingly happy.

I have not the slightest doubt he would preach with great liberty on the following Sunday as a result of this experience, for the late Mr. Wm. Dale Shaw told that one Saturday a big boat race was rowed in which the Doctor was greatly interested. Living in a somewhat isolated situation at Nook

he had not on the Sunday morning heard the result, but just as he was passing to the pulpit to conduct the morning service he met Mr. Shaw and told him in an apologetic way that he had not heard the result of the boat race, could he tell him? When he was assured that his particular crew had won, his remark was, "Thank God, now I shall preach ever so much better this morning for knowing that."

The Doctor had little opportunity for fishing after he came to Nook in 1872. He found his relaxation in his garden and in the interest he took in cricket. He had always had a keenness in his sons' school cricket, but in his later years cricket became the principal recreation of his life.

For some years he spent many of his Saturday afternoons at the Cliffe End Cricket Club, but gave up attending because of some unkind things said about him and his interest in this club by the then local Conservative newspaper. He became a devoted follower of the Yorkshire County Team. Whenever it was possible he attended the county matches and was known personally to all the members of the eleven. He followed with intense eagerness the fortunes of his county in their struggles each year for the championship, and would descant on the form of the respective players whenever he found a sympathetic listener.

He was a delightful conversationalist and had a fund of stories. During the year of his Presidency of the Yorkshire Baptist Association, his eldest son was private tutor to some boys at Tadcaster, and the father of these boys was a leading layman in the Anglican church there. Some extensive renovations had been made to the church and the Archbishop of York and many clergymen of the diocese were at the reopening. My brother's em-

ployer was a thorough gentleman, and invited Dr. Stock to be one of his guests. He accepted, and, after the morning service in the church, a large party including my father lunched at the house of my brother's employer.

After lunch they gathered together in one of the large rooms, and Dr. Stock, in one corner, began talking and telling his stories and soon had around him a circle of clergymen listening and laughing.

The Archbishop, who was in another part of the room talking to his host, noticed this circle, and being puzzled asked "Who is that delightful old clergyman talking there in the corner? I thought I knew all the clergy in my diocese but I don't seem to recognise him." He was told that it was the President of the Yorkshire Association of Baptist Churches and, being also a very proper gentleman, joined the group and made himself particularly pleasant, saying laughingly to the Doctor,

"Licet per hostem discere"

(It is lawful to learn from an enemy)

doubtless to test the Doctor's claim to scholarship. But being quite equal to that little matter, the reply came quickly—

"Surely not an enemy but a friend and fellow worker."

Dr. Stock with his stories was as successful amongst children as he was with his brother Ministers. If I were to state in one word the outstanding characteristic of his temperament which affected every phase of his life it would be "intensity." He lived an intense life. He was in intense earnestness in everything, even in telling a story to a child, and that was a great asset; every one who knows anything about story telling

to children recognises it as the first requisite for success. His tales of wolves in the back woods of America gave the same impression of entire conviction as when he was preaching on the " Final perseverance of the Saints " in the Nook pulpit, and this was no pose. He was transparently sincere in everything, he never tried to appear different from what he really was. He would have made the worst actor that ever appeared on any stage—he did not know the A.B.C. of the art.

It hardly seems necessary to offer my testimony to the fact that he was an honest and straight dealing man in every possible relationship of life, even when it came to filling up his income tax returns. There was nothing mean or underhand in his nature, nobody ever heard him utter an uncharitable word or show any petty jealousy, he was never little or paltry. In the lean years of our life in Devonport he bore his full share of the straitness of our circumstances, allowed himself no luxuries, and carried through owing no man anything.

He was generally supposed to be fond of children but I never could understand on what ground. He had a genuine altruistic desire for the welfare and happiness of mankind—men, women and children —but to say that he was fond of children, judged from any standpoint of the present day, is not correct. The basis of easy comradeship on which the present day relationship between the young and old is so often found practicable was not possible to him.

Dr. Stock always claimed to have the old Puritan outlook, and in his attitude to children he was no less Puritan than any of his contemporaries, for children in my young days were expected to think

and believe as their fathers thought and believed, and my father entirely concurred in this, so-considered, wholesome training of the young.

I think that it is a pity that it was so, because very many boys in those days grew up with no sense whatever of companionship with their fathers. I do not think that throughout my life, even when grown up, I ventured to enter into any kind of discussion with my father on matters where my views were in the least likely to conflict with his. I learnt very early to keep silent.

Nothing to-day gives me greater pleasure than to watch the training and development of the young in some of the homes I visit, homes verily with little children in the midst of them and where these children are trained according to the highest of the much more beautiful ideals of the twentieth century.

2nd. In dealing with Dr. Stock as a preacher, politician and social leader, there are three points to be recognised.

1st. He never sat on a fence.

In all matters that called for a definite opinion he probably never occupied many minutes in coming to a decision. The careful, laborious and long-continued weighing up of the evidence on both sides of a question was not his method. He began public life at a very early age and there is every reason to believe that, before he had commenced those addresses at sixteen, he had all his religious and political opinions tabulated and pigeon-holed.

2nd. When he had once decided on which side of the fence he would take his place there was to him no other side, the other side of the fence for all practical purposes had for him

no existence. He had an unbounded confidence in his own judgment and could not recognise anything which conflicted with this judgment. This again was no pose on his part, he was absolutely sincere in his certainty, he intensely believed what he did believe, and could not conceive of any other belief which was worth his serious consideration.

3rd. He was by natural temperament, a conservative of a very uncompromising nature. I have never known anyone who changed as little, or who moreover absolutely resented change in matters which really affected him, as much as he did. In the personal habits he formed, in the affairs of his domestic life, in his political outlook and in his religious creed, Dr. Stock at sixty-six had, I am convinced, the same outlook as John Stock the youth of eighteen. It has often occurred to me that if we want to find a real Conservative we must look out for a Puritan Nonconformist.

I submit that in these respects he was largely characteristic of his age and brethren, and that in the unbounded confidence the old Puritan divines had of their ability to settle all the problems that faced them, lay much of their power. They spoke, preached and wrote as those having authority, and the great bulk of their followers were more than willing to accept them on this basis. Such a method would not be welcomed in these critical times but then the present is different from the past in many ways.

In the present day in the majority of cases the Pastor of a church has had five years in a divinity college, and, whilst there, learns a great many things other than homiletics and the classics. He

finds himself amongst fellow students and has a good deal of any over-confidence rubbed off by contact on equal terms with those who are by no means prepared to accept him as a heaven-sent prophet.

When my brother Alfred was at Regent's Park College I met him in London once and he greeted me with the remark—

"Well old man, and how is the mortal portion of your compound being?"

I naturally asked him whence he had got that, and he explained that it was the custom for the students in turn to preach before the house, Dr. Angus presiding, it being understood that the preacher's fellow students did not listen for edification, but for criticism, and such criticism was undoubtedly on most occasions painful and free. The phrase he used had appeared in one of these students' sermons, had caught on, and been the cause of much leg-pulling in the college,—surely a most effectual means of grace in the training of a young Minister of the Gospel and of more practical value to him than all the Hebrew and Greek he learns from his professors.

I remember a testimony paid to the late Dr. J. H. Shakespeare, M.A. Mr. Shakespeare was a fellow student with my brother and it had fallen to his turn to preach before the house. He preached a most exquisitely beautiful sermon, so much so that when he had finished, instead of the bantering criticism usual on such occasions, there was perfect silence. Not a word was spoken. Dr. Angus rose and said he thought he was expressing the feeling of the house if they omitted on this occasion the usual discussion and closed the service with the benediction. I have yet to hear of any testimonial

to a preacher which conveyed a higher compliment.

Dr. Stock never had the great advantage of having his sermons at the age of twenty submitted to the tender mercies of fellow students ; comparatively few of his contemporaries had ; they went straight into a pulpit to minister to people, presumably with the same views as their own, and throughout their lives they were meeting in close association those who thought and believed as they thought and believed. If they found themselves in any way at variance with their people they resigned and chose another church where such differences would not arise.

Although professedly a Liberal in politics it really was not difficult for him in the days in which he was living to lead a life consistent with his conservative temperament, if the real definition of conservative is a reluctance for change. Disestablishment, Education, Temperance and Franchise Reform were the burning questions which seem to me, from my memory of those times, to have come up almost unaltered at election after election.

Dr. Stock almost invariably appeared and spoke in the Huddersfield Town Hall at the big political meetings of his day, and Disestablishment was the subject he made particularly his own. He was a hard hitter on a platform, too hard some thought for his calling. He did not mince words when giving his candid opinion of the Right Hon. Benj. Disraeli, M.P.

In religious matters it was exactly the same. The reverence he paid to the ideal of the " Faith once delivered to the Saints " was Henry Clayton's standard also. For one hundred and fifty years it does not seem that the religious outlook of the

Nook people altered in the least, nor did really their methods and policy ; precedent was held as sacred at Salendine Nook as in the affairs of the British Constitution. A most interesting question is how Dr. Stock would have responded to the kaleidoscopic changes in the region of politics and religion incident to the last fifty years, had it been possible for him to have lived through those years. My firm conviction is that he would have fought for his old Puritan Doctrines, as set out so uncompromisingly in his " Handbook of Revealed Theology," to the last ditch. I do not see how he could have done otherwise.

He could not have remained unaffected by the political changes, but, knowing him as I did, I feel glad that he had not to face all the revolutionary upheaval of the last half century.

He was a voluminous writer, and responsible for far more printed matter than all the other Nook Pastors put together. His books and pamphlets were almost entirely on religious subjects and were written in strict accord with his Puritan doctrines and his confident intellectual outlook, not one of them was of a nature to be read by later generations. His " Handbook of Revealed Theology " which was his chief work was at one time a text book at Spurgeon's College, but it is probably never read by anyone nowadays. I believe there are still some unbound copies in the printer's hands, but it has not been enquired for during the last twenty years.

However unconvincing his writings may be to a man of to-day, it will probably be admitted that the Doctor had at least said all that could be said on his side of his subject, and had moreover said it well. His preaching was characteristic of himself

and his age. He was considered a good preacher by his contemporaries but such preaching would not be popular to-day. He was methodical in the arrangement of his matter and had an easy and pleasant delivery without mannerisms of any kind.

My own feeling has always been that his influence would have gained much if he had not had that intense devotion to the doctrines of Calvinism which dominated his outlook all through his life.

In the historical pamphlet which has before been referred to, occurs this passage,—"Many were struck by the manner in which his character sweetened towards the end of his life." Much the same was written of the Rev. Joshua Wood in Dr. Fawcett's obituary notice. It has often been thus.

3rd. It is with pleasure that I enter on the task of writing about Dr. Stock in his capacity as Pastor because it is my firm conviction that no man who has ever filled the Nook or any other pastorate excelled him in this relationship.

He left an abiding memory behind him. His name is mentioned with respect and reverence, even to-day, by those who knew him. I am persuaded that it was as the Pastor he endeared himself so greatly to those who thus remember him.

It will not be disputed that the people are proud of a Minister who is a well-known and accepted leader in a wider circle than that of his own church, and that a man who is acknowledged as an author of repute brings an amount of kudos to the church to which he is attached. But I am convinced that it is not as a preacher, an intellectual leader, or an author, that his kingdom was won in the hearts and memories of the Salendine Nook people. It is in his relationship with them as a friend and Pastor.

It would be the greatest mistake to suppose that Calvinism ever formed a substitute with him for the christian virtues of kindness and good-will towards men.

I have a large size photograph of my father in my office. It looks down at me as I sit in my chair. I am conscious that, although I have written many things for which he would sit upon me quite heavily, for all the emphasis I have laid on the need for kindly good-will towards our fellow-man I should get an approving pat on the shoulder. This photograph has frowned upon me quite often during the last twelve months, and very severe these frowns have been at times, but I assure my readers that there have been many smiles as well as frowns.

I have already said that Dr. Stock combined the dual relationship of friend and Pastor in a wonderful degree ; the one never overshadowed the other, he was a great personality in a sick room, but it would be a mistake to suppose that it was only in a sick room he impressed this personality on his people, he met them in every phase of life. Towards the end he was physically unfit for much walking and his pastoral visitations inevitably suffered, but he had a personality which would cause one single visit of an hour to leave behind an impression that would be remembered and talked about for a life-time.

Dr. Stock verily looked his part. He retained to the end a full head of hair, it became perfectly white and of a glistening, silver whiteness. As he stood in the pulpit during the afternoon service, the sun, streaming through the south windows of the chapel, made the appearance of the preacher a beautiful sight, with all the impression as of a

saintly halo around his head. He was greatly favoured in the men who formed the diaconate in his time. If there is one vision which I think dwells more vividly than any other with those whose memories go back to the old days, it is that of the Minister amongst his deacons in the communion pew on the days when the church sat down together.

Robert Mac Shaw, Joseph Whiteley Shaw, George Shaw, Titus Schofield, John Stott, Chas. Beaumont —all fine and venerable looking men—with Dr. Stock presiding, presented a picture which I know still dwells with some of the old Nook folk.

CHAPTER 65.

A Picture. My Mother.

In all the many histories of Baptist churches I have read, there has been a conspicuous omission. These histories contain the fullest description obtainable of the Pastors of the respective churches, but apparently in not one instance has it been thought necessary to say anything about the wives of these Pastors in spite of the fact, recognised and appreciated by every one who knows anything of the inner life of a Nonconformist church, that the Pastor's wife has almost as much to do with the success of a Pastorate as the Pastor himself.

I remember the late Mr. Wm. Dale Shaw saying, during Mr. Jenkins' pastorate, that he did not consider that Nook had much to complain about in the Ministers they had had, but that it was quite certain that they had been exceptionally fortunate in having had some of the best Ministers' wives that any church had ever been blessed with, and that Mrs. Parker, Mrs. Stock, and Mrs. Jenkins, who had been at Nook during his time, were his ideals of all that such wives should be.

The history of a Baptist church written by and from the standpoint of a Minister's wife, would indeed be novel and interesting reading. Doctrines, and many other trifles her men folk make such a fuss about, would doubtless give place to matters of, in her opinion, much more human and practical interest.

In many churches a very large share of the real pastoral work is guided or accomplished directly or indirectly by the Pastor's wife, and it can be confidently affirmed of any Minister of the Gospel, that though he

> speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and has the gift of prophecy, and understands all mysteries, and all knowledge and has all faith so that he could remove mountains, and though he bestow all his goods to feed the poor, and give his body to be burned,

if he has a tactless and indiscreet wife, it profiteth him nothing. Men nowadays are sent to college for a five years' training. The good God amongst His many beneficent gifts to mankind has so endowed the opposite sex, that very many take up all the duties, obligations and responsibilities incident to Ministers' wives, and without any such special training go through a long life as though to the manner born.

There never was a Minister who needed more the tactful, practical co-operation of a good wife than my father, and there never was one who was more blessed in getting what he needed.

My Mother never questioned the Doctor's theological or intellectual opinions, but in the personal, practical, domestic issues of the church, she had a much larger part in the guiding and determining of his attitude than probably anyone supposed. My father used to say that he could always with safety rely on my Mother's first intuitions. He was not always so sure if the matter passed to the stage of discussion and argument, but her first impressions were almost always correct.

I have spoken of my father's photograph in my office with its frowns and smiles. When I came into the office this morning after having written so far, I was conscious I was in for a good time. There was no doubt about it that my father was all smiles, and that in this matter, at least, he most emphatically approved of all I had written.

We know very little indeed of the wives of the Pastors during my period of the church's early life.

Mrs. Clayton living at Wainsgate could have little to do with the church at Salendine Nook, her presence at Nook would not be frequent. From the entry of her name in the church minute book in 1743, it is obvious she could not write.

Joshua Wood was never married.

Robert Hyde's wife apparently was also unable to write. She is referred to affectionately all through Robert's letters, and there is every reason to believe she was a good wife to him, and brought up a large family, on narrow means, respectably and well, and this, it will be agreed, is no little testimonial to any woman.

I want one of the last "pictures" in this book to be a tribute to my Mother. One of those three ideal Ministers' wives mentioned by Mr. Shaw, not only because my Mother will still be remembered kindly by many of my readers, but also because I am anxious to pay a tribute, through her, to the great part the women folk have taken in the work of Salendine Nook church all through the ages.

In my old days when I was frequently speaking to mixed congregations of women and girls, and men and boys, I was once reproached at the close of one of our meetings by one of my audience; she said that she and some other of the young women had been saying that, whenever I spoke, they knew I had only the men and boys in my mind; they were conscious that, although there were always more women and girls in the congregation than men and boys, they were really forgotten; they were not really in the mind of the speaker, and they felt they were entitled to be thought of sometimes.

I made the best excuse I could. I said, "Mary, in the building of houses in this district two kinds of material are used, stones and bricks. The stones coming fresh from the quarry need all sorts of labour

on them before they can be fitted for their purposes, the bricks come from the brickyard all perfect and ready to be put into place without any such hammering or chiselling. We are trying to build characters in this school, and the boys and men are like the stones needing all sorts of knocking about to make them any bit like, whereas the women and girls, God bless them, are like the bricks, all nice and ready for their job and not needing any such rough work."

She replied that was all very well, but they would like to be able to think they were in the speaker's mind sometimes.

I have thought of that reproach many times for I am conscious that it was a just one. I have heard many Sunday School addresses since then, addresses given to mixed audiences, and have listened with the memory of this criticism. I think I am right in stating that with three out of every four the same reproach would justly apply. I have written what is supposed to be a history of a church, and dozens of others have done the same thing, and they are all subject to the same censure, for no one can possibly dispute that without the work of the women folk neither Salendine Nook nor any other church would be as we know them to-day.

Will any Nook lady who is good enough to read this book accept this chapter as my—perhaps belated —testimony to the part that she and her sisters have had in the establishment of Salendine Nook church ?

We have a picture of my Mother when she was married. The most captious critic will not fail to admit her exceeding good looks. She married my father soon after he first settled at Nook and shared with him nearly all this first pastorate and all his Devonport and second Nook pastorates.

No one ever heard a rough word pass between my parents throughout their long partnership. My

Mother always said that if even a word of impatience was uttered, a look from her would bring my father in a moment to the penitent form.

My people had a hard struggle when at Devonport. Mother had seven of her children born during the fifteen and a half years we were there. In addition to the care of this large family of little children, she had all the duties of a Minister's wife to perform, and for several years, to make both ends meet, she kept a boys' preparatory school.

The church was not a rich one, and, although my father always spoke kindly about the people and said they did what they could, I have often wondered how my parents managed to carry on.

My Mother once said to us " I know that you are not having the pleasures your companions are having but there is one thing I want you to remember, " you can go through the streets and look anybody in the face, for your Mother owes no man a penny piece."

My first recognition of the fact that there was a church at Salendine Nook carries with it not the least kindly of my associations with that church. During the Devonport pastorate the Morice Square people entered upon what was, to them, the big undertaking of building a new Sunday School costing £1,000, and to raise the necessary funds a three days bazaar was held in the Town Hall. Bazaars were not as common in those days as in these, and the event was a very memorable one to us. My Mother had a stall, and my father wrote to a number of the people at Salendine Nook for help. I can well remember the excitement occasioned to us all, by the morning's post when the cheques began coming through in response to my father's appeal. Dr. Stock had a childlike love of surprises. If he went fishing and brought back a basket of fish the big ones would always be hidden at the very bottom of his basket, only to be produced

at the last moment and after he had done his best to make us believe that the little ones at the top were all he had caught. He kept quiet about the money he was receiving, and only at the last minute of the bazaar, when the stall holders thought they could estimate the best that could be hoped for, did he throw in the £80 he had received from the Nook people.

It was a moment of great triumph for my Mother, probably one of the red letter moments in her life. She had not many at Devonport. I do not need to look into my fire to call to memory the picture of my Mother with the flush of pleasure on her face, and the tears of happiness in her eyes as she sat and listened to the little speeches of appreciation which followed, for that picture has lived with me ever since. I have often wanted to express my thanks to Salendine Nook for that flush and those tears. I do so now. Thank you ! Thank you ! Like that half-crown and those two rabbits referred to in a previous page, that incident has been one of the memories I have treasured all my life.

I can appreciate better my Mother's part in church life by my recollections of Dr. Stock's second pastorate at Nook, for I was thirteen years old when we moved from Devonport and I was thus of an age to be able to notice and understand. I have mentioned that I am anxious that this chapter should be a tribute not only to my Mother but to all the women folk of the church, and I suggest that my Mother's work was characteristic of the work the women of Salendine Nook have done throughout. It was almost all behind the scenes, and every one knows that in behind-the-scenes church work, women will beat the men three times out of four. My Mother for many years conducted in one of the vestries a young women's Bible class on the Sunday between the morning and

afternoon services, and this class is affectionately remembered by several members of it still living. But she never appeared on platforms or in pulpits or made speeches. Few indeed of her sisters at Nook have done so.

It will be recognised that adequately to place on record all that is of value when dealing with work that is done behind the scenes is not easy. It would not be behind-the-scenes work if it could be so recorded. It is safe to say that my Mother knew all that was passing and her tactful influence and willing co-operation formed one of the assets of the church.

On the morning of Saturday May 3rd, 1884, I received a telegram from my brother in London informing me of my father's death and placing upon me the duty of breaking the news to his widow. It is my earnest prayer that God in His mercy may spare me from another such duty.

My Mother lived till she was over eighty-one years of age. She retained all her interest in the Nook till her death. For some years before she died she had been living at a house in Twyford, Berks., which belonged to her, but she always insisted that she should be buried by her husband's side in the Nook grave-yard.

When my father died we were living in the manse at Salendine Nook and there being an interregnum of over three years between my father's death and the advent of Mr. Thomas, it was arranged that our house should entertain the "supplies" for the pulpit. One Minister came for a week-end, some twelve months after my father's death, a Mr. N..... I just remember him although I had never seen him before nor have I done since. My Mother in a weak moment told us a story which she was destined never to be allowed to forget.

Some few days after his preaching engagement he wrote to my Mother and asked for an interview. She always said she could not imagine why—if it had been any one else I might have had my doubts—but she replied and fixed a time for his coming. She told us she happened to be looking out of the window and when she saw him coming up the garden, so spruce and well groomed, her heart sank. She suddenly and for the first time apprehended what she had let herself in for. The good man had come to make her an offer of marriage.

In writing about affairs of this sort I am from my inexperience admittedly not entitled to consider myself as any sort of an authority, but, from the details given us of the interview that followed, I must confess that I do not think the good man made much of a job of it. In spite of my inexperience I really think I could have done better myself.

Although I have never read a text book on the subject no one can have perused some of the multitudinous love stories which have been written without having formed certain opinions as to the orthodox way of going about such business. Mr. N. adopted a new and I suggest entirely unorthodox procedure.

He said he was "a widower with a little money and a little furniture." Did Mrs. Stock know any lady amongst the Nook people "with a little money and a little furniture" who in short would be willing to combine money and furniture etc., etc. Now our friend had not the remotest chance, however he went about it, but I put it to my lady readers if anything more utterly impossible than Mr. N.'s cold-blooded "money and furniture" way of tackling the job could be imagined!

My Mother was never allowed to forget that incident and I discovered very soon she was quite pleased to be reminded of it, for it gave her the opportunity

of saying, as indeed she did many scores of times, "I have had one good husband and I will never have another." That was how she invariably began, but she did not stop there, she would go on for quite a long time recalling the good points of the husband she had had. I am convinced that many times she was calling to mind the day the two stood together at the marriage altar, and that in speaking as she did, she was renewing again the vows she had made so many years before.

Some little time before she went to live in the South, when I had been calling at the house and had been teasing on the usual lines, I had a letter from my sister asking me to drop this teasing. She thought it upset my Mother. I believed I knew better, but there was only one thing to be done, and for the next few visits I conducted myself strictly on the honoured parent and dutiful son basis. My Mother was troubled. She told my sister that she was greatly distressed, I was so different, she felt sure I must have been offended at something. When she gathered what really had happened there was verily a storm in the house. "How dare you interfere between a Mother and her son. I would not have had it happen for worlds. Never you dare to do such a thing again....."

I had a speedy S.O.S. letter from my sister begging me to come up again as soon as possible and on exactly the old terms, which needless to say I did, and continued to do to the end.

When Mother moved to Twyford I had not the opportunity of seeing her often, but I was fortunate to visit her only a short time before her death. On the morning of my departure for the North I went to say good-bye to her as she lay in bed, and because I knew it would have been a bitter disappointment to her had I missed the old banter, I began in the old

way, "Well, Mother, you will let me know in good time when you decide to accept that man with his little money and his little furniture, I shall want time to save up for a wedding present." She took it quite seriously as indeed she always did, even when over eighty, and I can hear again, even after all the years that have passed since then, her reply, "I have had one good husband and I will never have another."

Nothing seems more likely to me than that my Mother would be found uttering these words as she passed through the pearly gates, to rejoin the one to whose memory she had been so faithful for so many years.

Section 14.

THE SALENDINE NOOK CHURCH IN 1932.

Report by Church Secretary ... ... Chapter 66.

A Picture in the Fire ... ... Chapter 67.

CHAPTER 66.

The Church To-day.

In attempting to visualise the church to-day with her organised activities, it seems necessary to begin by having a glimpse of the surroundings of the chapel, for changes there during recent years have been such as to influence greatly the activities of the church and to determine the lines on which some of those activities proceed. In saying this, it is not of course suggested that the changes referred to have brought about a radical alteration in the aim and witness of the church. These are unmistakably as lofty and beneficent and as needful as ever. The alteration effected is in the scope and number of activities rather than in their quality and aim.

Could now some old-time resident, long absent from the district, return to his former haunts, he would be quick to notice some at least of the changes which have taken place. He would have a thrill of pleasure doubtless, did his visit fall on some bright clear day, as nearing the old place and looking southward, he saw again the fine and far stretching view. He would observe however, that as he walked along he could not as in other days feast his eyes uninterruptedly upon the prospect, for the hands of builders have been busy, and it is only through openings between buildings which here and there line the main road up from town, that he now can mark the pleasing contour of the distant hills. Looking westward too, what buildings there are between Laund Road and the Potteries, on the one hand, and the main (New Hey) road on the other ! Thanks largely to housing schemes adopted by the Corporation of the town, the neighbourhood has undergone a veritable transform-

ation. No longer is it just an open stretch of fields with a small cluster of houses near the Potteries, but a populous locality.

Making rapid note of these things, our pilgrim friend would gaze at length on the commodious chapel, the well laid-out and extensive grave yard, and the school. Not only would he mark the additions and improvements made to each of these, but he would realise in vivid manner how this old church has had brought to its very doors, new and far reaching opportunities, the like of which once seemed most remote. As he reflected on these developments, questions like the following would perhaps occur ; what is the old church doing in these vastly altered circumstances ?...is there determination to seize the opportunities presented, or is there a disposition to be complacently content with past achievements, letting others meet the needs and challenge of the day ?... are there signs at last of decrepitude and decay ?

What follows in this chapter may be taken as in some way answering these questions, showing at the same time something of the church's outlook and what she is doing to-day.

He would be bold indeed who claimed infallibility in gauging the mind and will of a church of some four hundred members, and all the more when as in the case of Salendine Nook, some sixty or seventy of these reside away from the Huddersfield district. So far however as the writer can judge, the predominant disposition is, in the various situations which from time to time arise, to do according to the best traditions of the past. It may be that in this, members are animated by something like "*esprit de corps*," certainly a factor which frequently operates in decisions and service alike, is a regard for the high honour of the church. There is common agreement as to the witness and work of the church, and that in these,

first things shall be first. Advantages and rights attaching to the "independency" of the church are, it may be said, neither individually nor collectively forgotten but they are held so as not to become exclusive and rigidly self centred, a spirit obtaining of consideration and regard for other churches, with a cordial readiness to co-operate with them. Hence association is maintained not only with churches of the same denomination locally and in the county, but with other Free Churches, notably by representation on the District Free Church Council and by participation with neighbouring churches in frequent open-air services on Sunday evenings during the summer months.

No survey of the regular and ordinary activities would give a true idea of things which failed to show what thought is given and provision made for the young. In this the church at Salendine Nook is perhaps not exceptional, yet great strides in organisation for the young folks' special interest and benefit have been made in recent years. Apart altogether from the improvements effected in the schools, particularly in that at Salendine Nook, making conditions for both teachers and scholars more convenient and pleasant, solicitude is shown for youthful interests and well-being during the week. A Band of Hope is held each week, alternately at Longwood and Salendine Nook, the gatherings held at the first mentioned school having attained their Jubilee. A Young People's Society of Christian Endeavour has meetings too in the Longwood school week by week, and has a Junior as well as a Senior section. At Salendine Nook a Girls' Auxiliary holds fortnightly meetings, and serving both Salendine Nook and Longwood are organisations for boys and girls, Scouts and a Girls' Life Brigade. With an abundance of young life in and about the church, the three schools and the

agencies already indicated — the school registers record five hundred names—there is surely a bright and hopeful outlook, which scarcely suggests decrepitude and decay.

Organised activities there are besides those above mentioned which provide for other necessities. Among these, one may be expected to include the regular Sunday and Mid-week Services, particularly valuable help being given in the former—and on other special occasions—by the choir. There is yet another class of gatherings, best described perhaps as seasonal, such as the "Women's Hour" held fortnightly except in summer, and the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Society which meets every second week also but has a vacation stretching from early spring to late autumn.

Still with the foregoing, the catalogue of activities is incomplete, for in the background, so to speak, there are several business groups which meet periodically with special interests and purposes, such as Teachers, Trustees, Finance, Missionary, Sewing and so forth, from which it is abundantly clear that in connection with the place, there is indeed a great company of devoted helpers who give unstintedly of their time, their talents and their means to make the entire work effective, and obviously it would in such a case be inadvisable to begin and mention names.

No reference, it will be observed, has so far been made to what is really a very important side of activities, namely visitation. No explanation surely will be needed that the shepherding of so large a flock —drawn from such an extensive area—is beyond any one man's power to do ideally, even had he at his beck and call motor car and aeroplane. An attempt however has been made to meet the situation, by dividing the neighbourhood into smaller compact

areas, in each of which assistance is given by visitors appointed by the church.

To all this work and service there are two sides, the financial and the social, to which perhaps it is desirable that more definite allusion should be made. Regarding the former, whatever ideas onlookers generally may have, those actually engaged in church activities are well enough aware that they cannot be carried on without cost. Expenditure there must be, not only of personal time and thought and energy, but of money as well, for buildings in which most of the work is done have needs both external and internal, some of them constant and some occasional, the last mentioned proving, as a rule particularly expensive. Then there are claims for the support of other and deserving causes, those responded to year by year at Salendine Nook including Home, Colonial, Continental and Foreign Missions, Student Training, Infirmary and Social Relief, a list which, incomplete as it is, is enough to show that the church has motives higher and worthier than mere self-interest.

There is no need here to tabulate and compare items which make up the full annual expenditure. Apart from one or two particulars, these vary from year to year, as may be expected. Yet while the total is by no means inconsiderable, there is cause for gratitude and satisfaction, that hitherto the income, comprising as it does, collections, pew-rents and the proceeds of an annual Sale of Work has been approximately what has been required.

Turning now to the other side above mentioned, this feature of a church's work cannot be regarded as anything but incidental or secondary to what is supremely its spiritual and evangelical mission, but that is not to say it is either negligible or unimportant. Assuredly it has more to do with the success of a

church, even in the most exalted sphere of her operations, than is commonly supposed. Obviously, a church—if indeed one of the kind exists—the members of which show no manner of friendliness, either towards each other or to "outsiders" as they are sometimes termed, cannot by any stretch of imagination be expected to make headway in the world. No amount of orthodoxy in her teaching, or length and glamour of her history, can make up for lack of friendliness and sociability. Without reality and warmth of fellowship, any church must lose her attractive power and fail most grievously even in her highest aims.

That the truth of this is realised in the different concerns of the church and schools at Salendine Nook is shown by quite a number of events in the course of a twelvemonth, and some of these may here be mentioned. They are not of course such affairs as concerts and entertainments, which for the most part are arranged with a view of raising money, but rather those which more definitely and directly promote and maintain that spirit of happy friendliness so greatly to be desired.

A venture which very clearly falls within the category of such arrangements is the "Friendly Hour" which, in that half of the year when nights are longest, is held once a month in the schoolroom at Salendine Nook immediately after the Sunday evening service. In this, a short and well varied programme is provided, consisting of vocal and instrumental music and recitations, with a homely word or two of cheer and greeting from the one appointed to the chair. Enjoyable as all these items are, it is no disparagement to say that a very important provision is the interval, usually planned to come midway in the proceedings, when friends may seek out and converse with those who, but for these occasions

might seldom be seen or met. This venture, it should be said, is only of recent institution—it is in its second season—yet so much appreciated is it, that it bids fair to become a permanent feature of the year's arrangements. Another gathering which most decidedly has gained for itself a place in general favour is the Annual Social, to which all members of the church and congregation are invited. This is held early in November, the choir being called upon for service, as also departmental staffs in the schools for the serving of refreshments, the programme including again an important interval and short addresses from the chairman and the Pastor.

For many years it has been the custom at each school for the superintendents to entertain leaders and teachers in all the departments, together with the senior scholars to a social evening, a practice which in turn is followed by the leaders and teachers themselves in respect of their scholars, these interesting and happy functions taking place fitly enough, during the season when the festive spirit is abroad.

Other occasions there are too when, into the still friendlier and more intimate circle of their own homes, superintendents and teachers will invite some smaller group of scholars to spend a time of pleasant and mutually helpful intercourse.

It is not however, solely in the period of long winter evenings that gatherings of a distinctly social character are held. Provision is made for them also in summer, albeit they are planned on different lines, to give opportunity for enjoying seasonal delights in some picturesque and popular resort. It is quite impossible to indicate in this chapter with any detail all arrangements of the kind made by one section or another. Some of these take the form of a ramble or picnic, such being held at different times by the

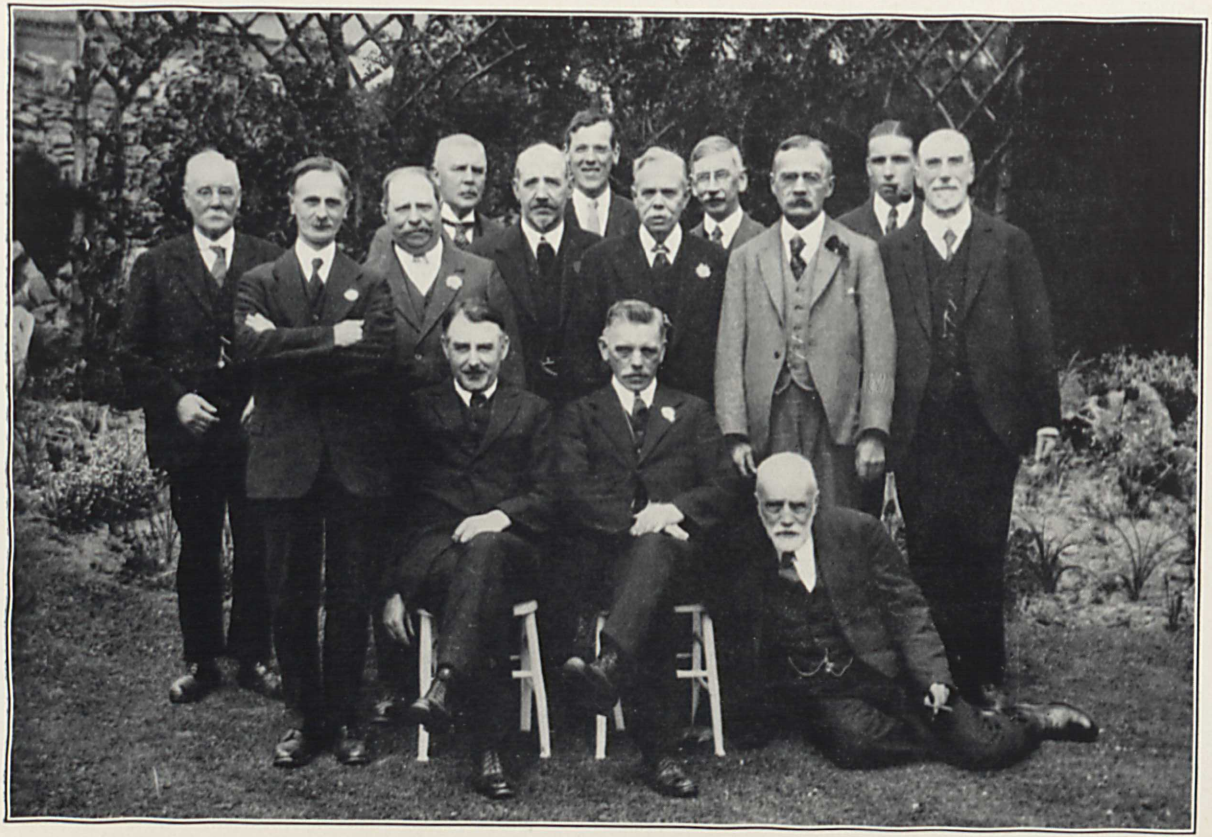
Endeavour Society, the Girls' Auxiliary, the Girls' Life Brigade and by one or other of the departments in the schools. Camping is in vogue with the Scouts of course. Further arrangements annually made by other sections include day outings by train or motor coach, of the Choir, the Sewing Meeting, the Women's Hour, and the Teachers and Scholars of Jagger Green.

There remains another event of the kind, which, because it is in all probability unique, calls for more than just a mention. This is the yearly outing of Minister and Deacons. Some playfully minded friend, on first learning of this, would doubtless feign surprise that those holding high office in a church should have such a day of relaxation, and go on with well simulated severity to recall the Apostle's warning that "deacons must be grave." But when the mood for pleasantry was over, he would, especially after making further enquiries, have for it nothing but the heartiest of commendations, and hail it as a custom which could by others be followed with advantage. Viewed merely as relaxation, this outing might be held to be very desirable as a yearly event, yet entirely delightful as it is from such a standpoint, it is much more, being invariably such a time of happy fellowship and helpful conference as to be afterwards invested with pleasantest remembrances. The programme begins with a motor run—taken by the entire party, which includes the host and one or more of his specially invited friends,—by some well chosen route to a centre previously selected for its natural beauty or historic interest. From this place following lunch and a time of more or less leisured inspection, return is made, not however by ways direct to Huddersfield, but by other ways to the host's own home, some distance away. Recourse thither, it should be added, is a condition to this outing which partakes of the nature of the "laws and the Medes and Persians,"

and it is one moreover which none of the visiting party would have disturbed, for while it gratifies the generous friend who so hospitably welcomes Minister and deacons to his home, it adds for his guests, one and all, still greater charm to the enjoyment and profit of the day. Here tea is partaken of and, before the final leaves are taken, time is spent in conference on various matters, including a subject introduced by one of the deacons, having reference direct or indirect to the well-being and progress of the church.

The review thus given of various happenings of a social sort, may throw for some, an interesting light on the work carried on at Salendine Nook, but in any case enough perhaps has now been written to show that this old church is in these days alive to her obligations and opportunities and is amply justifying her existence by the highest helpful and untiring service. May she continue to be as hitherto, a centre of happy and inspiring fellowship and may her future service surpass in extent and enriching accomplishment the best which has yet been done.

DENISON WEBSTER.



THE MINISTER AND DEACONS AND THEIR HOSTS ON THEIR ANNUAL OUTING, GRASSINGTON, 1927.

CHAPTER 67.

A Picture in the Fire.

And who is my neighbour?

The day had hardly dawned
When through the gates of old Jerusalem
There passes forth a traveller, poor and meanly clad.
Some urgent business brooking no delay
To Jericho had bidden him, and fervently he prays
That ere the night shall add its further risk
To all the well-known dangers of the dreaded road
His feet shall reach their destination,
And his wearied limbs shall gain
Their longed-for haven and repose.

In passing Golgotha—without the city wall—
He starts and shudders, for he sees
Some wretched dying thieves, on crosses bound.
A superscription tells to those who pass
That these are malefactors, who had wrought
On that same road that he must tread
A cruel death to travellers such as he.
A prayer he mutters hurriedly, and hastens trembling on.

Behind, he leaves the strong security
Of all the massive towers and walls
Of Judah's capital, whilst before him lies for miles
This road of peril, which, with all its fears,
His feet must traverse ere the night shall come.
Within the first few miles he meets
An endless stream of villagers, who throng the ways
Which lead to every city gate;
Some farmers bring the produce of their fields for sale;
Some drive the victims for the daily sacrifice;
A glad and happy father proudly brings
His first-born son, a boy of twelve,
To be presented to the great High Priest
Of Israel's God, and all the wondering
And excited cries of the delighted child
Sound pleasant to the old and lonely man,
And he relives the day, full sixty summers gone,
When he, a village boy, had with his parents come
And for his earliest time had seen Jerusalem.

Our traveller bravely gives to each
A friendly greeting word,
And closely looks if he may find
Some journeying friends, to bear him company;
But there are none to share his risk,
He sees not one he knows.
Some few who ride soon distance him,
And some are young, and these are ill-inclined
To check their pace to his slow speed,
And they soon pass, and leave him far behind.

For just awhile, the murmuring sounds of wakening life
In the receding city on the sacred hill
Come o'er the valley, like the throbbing pulse
Of a great nation's life, and the inspiring sound
Makes his old eyes to glisten and his frail stride
To gain an added strength, as he recalls
The glories of Jerusalem, his people's heritage.

And so his journey lengthens, and ere long
He leaves behind all signs of habitation.
Now Mount Zion's lofty dome, which like a beacon
Had for miles remained in view, is lost to sight.
The road becomes more lonely
And the passers-by more few.
The country grows more wild, until at length
The solitude and silence grow upon him,
The loneliness and isolation prey upon his nerves,
And shadows startle, even nature's sounds
Affright him. A bandit's signal dread he hears
In every robin's call. The rustling fall of leaves
Seems to his strained senses as the stealthy tread
Of those who lurk and creep to spring upon him.

The traveller now draws near the most forbidding spot
Of the whole road, for here large rocks and stones,
Long loosened by the storms of countless years,
And rolling down the hills in myriad heaps,
Have formed a cover and a hiding place
For many bands of thieves. On either side,
The hills contain the caves, which it is known
Are the accustomed haunts of those he fears.
Beyond this pass, he thinks that he perhaps
May view his destination, and all perchance be well
If he can win this point, but his faint heart
Misgives him as he looks around and sees

The dangers of the place. A sudden sense
Of an approaching evil smites him,
And all at once he feels disaster near,
And even hesitates and wonders if 'twere best
To turn him back and wait awhile,
Until some friendly help were passing by.
He stays to think, but while he thinks
He but recalls the urgency that bade him start,
And he moreover sees that to go back
Might mean more risk than to go on.
And then one might have heard
The silence broken by a voice
As of a soul in mortal dread, so that at first
The words are hard to tell, and the old melody
You may not quickly trace.
The old man tries to sing :

Up to the hills abiding, those glorious hills that stand
Like battlements eternal of heaven our Father-land;
Mine eyes are now uplifted, my heart is raised to Thee,
Thou Lord of hill and mountain, of earth and sky and sea.

My help from Thee descendeth, Thou everlasting Lord,
My foot unmoved remaineth, if Thou Thine aid afford,
My God, my guide and helper, shall slumber not nor sleep,
But ever at my right hand a guardian shade shall keep.

So that the sun's fierce glances, or else the moon's pale light,
Shall smite me not by noontide, nor harm me thro' the night.
The Lord from fearsome evil my soul preserveth still;
My coming and my going from all that bringeth ill.
From this time forth for ever, my God my stay shall be;
My refuge and my fortress, in my extremity.

And this Psalm, which had been the song of his people in times of trouble for ages past, restores to the man something of his courage, and he again takes up his journey as he thus sings.

But then his eye catches something moving there! behind that rock ! something moving there too ! and there ! and there !— Great God of Abraham ! there are men on either side of him, all around him, great fierce men, streaming down the hill, leaping over rocks and bushes, with knives and clubs in their hands, and murder in their looks. Uttering loud cries for help and gathering his cloak around him, the traveller flees for dear life. Alas ! poor old man, tired with his long day's journey, helpless as a lamb amongst wolves, but a few yards

and all his strength is gone, and he stops and trembles, and his knees fail him, and the scene all around him melts and hill and road and sky and robbers become one—.

And now the robbers are upon him, and though he begs for mercy, all unheeding his cries and laughing at his supplications they strip off all his clothing and find his little store of money, although they break his wrist and arm before they can unclasp the fingers that hold it, and then Barabbas himself strikes him to the earth, and sobbing, crying, praying, cursing, bleeding, our traveller slips away into dark unconsciousness.

Disappointed at the poorness of their booty and the poverty of their victim, the robbers deal despitefully with the old man's helpless person, and leaving him naked, unconscious and half dead, they turn away and seek again their lair amongst the hills, whilst he lies prone in the road for full an hour and knows it not.

When the mind of the bruised and battered and still delirious man begins to live again, his lips begin to move, and with piteous broken words he babbles of the days long past and of those he knew and lost long years ago.

The old man is a boy again,
And with parents from a village home
Is journeying to Jerusalem
To be presented 'neath the Temple's sacred dome ;
And in this dream it seems
His father chides his haste, and bids him stay,
And a strong hand holds him back,
And though he tries, he cannot break away.

And then he part awakens,
And the glow of setting sun
Becomes Mount Zion's golden dome,
And in his still delirium
The Jordans waters distant,
As they chafe 'gainst banks of stone,
Become the great Temple's chanting
In a solemn measured tone ;
And he laughs in a helpless fashion,
And claps his hands for joy,
For he thinks he arrives at the Temple
And he is once more a boy ;
And his voice breaks out into singing,
If singing indeed it be :
A Psalm he had learned long years ago
As a child, at his mother's knee.

But the sound is so harsh and discordant,
The tone is so full of woe,
That it awakes him at last in earnest,
And with glances above and below
He remembers the journey's disaster,
The robbers, Barabbas, the blow,
Which stretched him unconscious, helpless,
Which made his own life blood flow ;
He feels the pain of his bruises,
The shame for his limbs so bare,
The agony of bones distorted,
The horror of his lying there,
The chill of the day's declining,
The dirt and the road's hard bed,
The weakness and faintness following
On all the blood he had shed.
His throat is all parched and burning ;
His thirst is like a fierce fire ;
His limbs are all battered and bruised ;
His beard is all clotted with mire.
He cries aloud in his anguish,
Though his lips are scarce able to breathe,
Oh God of my fathers in heaven,
Look down on Thy child here beneath.

As though his prayer were heard and answered
From far there comes the sound
Of stirrup chain and horses' tread ;
And round the road's quick bend
There comes a cavalcade of men.
The old man too o'erjoyed to cry for help
Still moves his lips in urgent prayer ;
His body on one hand but partly raised,
He peers out eagerly, of his deliverance sure.

And so the cavalcade draws near
And one—a Priest—rides first,
In day-dreams all intent,
His eye scarce rests on earth ;
And so it haps, his horse's vision sudden meets
The prostrate form of him who rescue seeks,
Its Arab blood for haste
Too quick to find a call, springs suddenly
And nearly costs the unready Priest a fall.
The haughty blood quick mounting to his face,

One glance at the poor wretch is cast,
And then with muttered curse and look of scorn
This Priest spurs quickly past ;
And those who follow him, Priests, servants, all afraid,
Because that night is drawing nigh,
When none would be delayed, ride also past,
With looks all unconcerned and brief ;
Whilst he poor man with blank dismay and bitter grief
Sinks back again to earth, and sobs that now indeed
Is he forsaken, since from all his urgent need
His God's High Priest unmoved has turned away his face,
And he is left alone to die in this dread, lonely place.

A Levite heads a troop, whose coming now is heard :
A man of sumptuous presence and in luxury reared,
A noble of old Hebrew blood and pure patrician breed,
Who talks with those with whom he rides of Judah's need ;
And of some long expected Prince, and how that he
Should drive the Roman back into the distant sea ;
With ever conquering flag which wide should be unfurled,
Should win Judea's freedom and should subjugate the world.
The Levite speaks of noble and heroic deeds which then
Judah would ask for from her sons devoted—when
There comes a sudden ceasing of their talk, for lo !
A voice is heard as from the ground below.
The party quickly halts, for all well know the road
To be a robbers' lurking place and oft abode.
The Levite seeking to enquire the cause, sees there
The traveller, who begins this piteous, broken prayer,

"Have pity pity Prince,
Have mercy on a poor old man.
Oh take me up from this dread place,
For sure my Lord, the God you serve,
Will give you richly the reward
Such kindly service shall deserve,
So that when you death's valley dark
Shall lonely tread, His angels sure . . . . ."

He finished short his prayer, for all the while
The Levite's look had been of deep disgust,
This dreadful sight disturbed the calm
And nice precision of his ordered life,
And gave his cultured eye and ear
Unwelcome shock ; the thing was quite obscene,
This blood-bespattered naked man !

The traveller sees the look,
And though so great his need, he sudden stops.
The glance of that disgust and scorn
Goes through his soul as though a knife once more
Had pierced his vitals, and with helpless moan
He falls back once again and finds himself alone,
For rapidly the Levite's band rides past,
And not one look do they behind them cast.

Then passes day and twilight comes,
The bats fly out, and all the many sounds
Of night's approach come to his ears :
The hiss of snake, the snarl of wolf,
The whine of leopard, and the hoot of owl,
The flap of wing, the prowl of unseen brute,
The scream of victim of some beast of prey ;
And then round moving balls of fire
Come nearer to him, and he knows the wolf
And leopard soon will smell him out,
And bring an end to his long agony.
And so he gasps and trembles, praying still
That at the end his passing may be swift.
Once more, faint sounds are in the distance heard,
And soon the forms of horses, men, appear
As trees that move.
Once more, although far spent and near despair
The old man's urgent, pleading prayer ;
For now his doubts loud speak, the while he cries,
Why look for help, which God's own Priest denies ?
The Priest and Levite heeded not thy cry,
Why look for aid which all will thus deny ?

The sounds keep coming nearer, and then cease ;
Slowly dismounts a man from off his beast ;
Gazing with horror at this broken man,
There stands a hated and despised Samaritan.

Few moments only pass, but in that space
The stranger's mind recalls long years
Of insult offered to his name and race.
But the next instant to his thoughts comes swift,
The memory of the Christ he saw that day
Sit wearied at the well by Sychar's gate ;
And surging up within his soul,
As some stray wave of distant music sweet,

Or like an old love song of long ago,
Comes also memory of His gracious speech.
Then to the wounded man he quickly stoops,
Kneels down beside him on the dusty road,
And with all tenderness as with a woman's hand
Binds up his wounds and pours in oil and wine.
With his own cloak from off his back enfolds
The naked, shivering, tortured limbs ;
With bush and grass and bracken fern
Soft bed he makes on which the man may lie.
Most gently on his own beast's back he raises him,
And slowly thus once more resumes his way.
And as the road is rough and steep,
His servants hold each side a rein,
Whilst he stays at the side, and with strong arm
Holds the man safe, and so it haps
That ofttimes in that journey dark,
The old Jew's head in all unconsciousness,
Lies helpless on the strong, broad breast
Of the despised Samaritan.

. . . . . .

" Which now of these three, thinkest thou, was neighbour unto him that fell among the thieves ?
And he said, He that shewed mercy on him. Then said Jesus unto him ;

Go, and do thou likewise."

APPENDIX.

Thomas Stutterd's Letters.

Thomas Stutterd's letter to his brother John with diary notes following which were enclosed :

Allison Dyke, 18th Feby. 1788.

Dear Brother,

These leave us pretty well, wife is better. Hope yourself and family are well, shall be glad to hear of sister Betty having a better state of health. Our mother has been but indifferently of late, yet not so as to prevent her from stirring about. She has had a toe cut to the quick which has been painful, but she told me last night that she was a good deal better. She is affected with the thoughts of leaving the old habitation. I find you are in the Slaithwaite plan at 30th March. If you come hope you will stay a few days with us. I am much pleased with your plans of sermons and thank you for them. My respects to Bro. Sugden's family, am glad to hear of Sister Mary. I should be happy to hear that she has chosen that good part which will issue in Eternal Glory, remember me to all enquiring friends. I find much opposition to that which is good, yet I trust that I have a governing aim, to glorify God both in my civil and religious concerns.

I remain my dear Bro., Yours I trust in double bonds.

Thos. Stutterd.

I hope to write sooner in future.

My respects to A. Bingley and should be very much obliged to him for something in the short hand way.

1787.

Dec. 9th. Dropt a letter into the Northampton Post Office for brother John Stutterd.

Dec. 15th. At Banbury. This afternoon I was far from being well, my dinner did not agree with me. Evg. I sent a line to Mr. Green informing him that I feared that I should not be able to reach Middleton tomorrow (I have engaged to preach for him in morning).

Dec. 16th. Not well. Stopt in the house all day. Evg. was prevailed upon to attempt a discourse from Acts 4, 12. Neither is there salvation in any other &c., a respectable congregation. I spent too much time in describing salvation cut the remr of my plan short, apologised and broke off without improvement. Mr. Green said it seems yt short sermons are become fashionable. Mr. Robinson preached twenty minutes at Abingdon and made an apology.

Dec. 17th. To Chipping Norton, thirteen miles, a pretty market town not so large as Colne. A cold situation. Here is a Baptist meeting, an antient interest but rather at a low ebb—one Purdon is Minister. Mr. Palmer, draper, spent evg. with me. The Palmer family is of the Baptist persuasion. Mr. Sutcliff lives with one branch of it at Olney. This young man's father is a pillar of the flourishing church at Bourton on the Water in Gloucestershire. Beddome the Minister is a near relation. One of his brothers assists in carrying on a meeting at Bourton on Sabbath mgs. by reading the substance of the sermons of the preceding Lords-day.

Dec. 18th. To Witney fourteen miles, exceeding bad road. One Wills is Minister of a mixed communion there, not a popular preacher, and the interest has been low, but they are in hopes of a revival. Mr. W. has begun a Sabbath evg. lecture which is well attended—Wesley's followers are much upon the increase here. Witney is a pretty large market town and populous, is famous for the manufacturing of blankets.

Dec. 19th. To Oxford, ten miles good road, and indeed should be for it cost me four pence in turnpikes. This is a large place, has twelve or thirteen churches, but not so populous by much as manufacturing towns. The colleges are the chief support of the city. There are many parsons made here, yet I think it is one of the most notoriously wicked places that I know. Those abominable sister vices drunkenness and uncleanness do predominate exceedingly at Oxford. One Hinton a native of Buckingham just come from Bristol accad^{y} preaches to a mixd com^{n} here. Oxford is improved of late as a town, streets widened &c.

Dec. 20th. To Abingdon six miles good road. It was nearly dark when I left Oxon, was not very fond of going through Badger Wood, but was pleased to meet with company going out of the town. Abingdon is a moderate large town, has two churches. A large market for corn, particularly flour. There is not much employ here for the poor, besides farming business, only a sack trade which yields but indifferent wages, a young woman told me she could not earn more than 18d. or 20d. per week by spinning hemp. The assizes ended here to day. I met the judge going to Oxford. We do business here with one house (R. Petty & Sons, dissenters) tailors and salesmen. The old man began with nothing about forty years ago. Mr. Whitacre asked him for an order. Petty objected, saying

he was very poor. W. answered I'll promise you I will not make you poorer.

They do a great deal of business selling ready made clothes by wholesale to shops and are very rich. Mr. Turner is pastor of the Baptists. They are a very rich people, all the partners in Abingdon bank are Baptists and the most opulent men in the neighbourhood. They have this year enlarged and improved their meeting house, have worshipped with the Independents during the time of the house being down.

Mr. Turner I am told, is an old man, has an assistant, the former reads the whole of his sermons and the latter is unpopular, there has not been an instance of the assistant's preaching being owned to the conversion, or edifying of one single person since he came, which is ab[t] two or three years.

I am pretty intimate with Petty's oldest son, he tells me he now has his fourth wife, tho' not more than forty years old. He has children by the first three wives.

Dec. 21st. To Wallingford ab[t] fifteen miles, bad road. There are four parishes here. Four church-yards and three churches. Tho' now it is but an inconsiderable town and a very slender market it is certain that it once was a very large town—There is a manufactory of blankets here —It is situate upon the river Thames.

Wallingford has for some time been favoured with the Gospel in one of the churches. Mr. Penticross has been made useful to many. About two years ago part of his congregation judging he had changed his sentiments to Arminianism set up a meeting and have had Lady Huntingdon's preachers since, and I am informed are upon the increase. Yet I have been told by several of Mr. Penticross' friends that he is still a Calvinist but has thought proper to insist more upon practical religion and be more general in his addresses to sinners.

Dec. 22nd. To Reading sixteen miles very good road, very cold day. In the summer season this is a most agreeable ride, for most part of the way there is the river on the left, green steep hills and pleasant woods on the right. I have heard travellers say that this is the most pleasant stage in the kingdom. Part of the road is made with chalk and flint which is in plenty hereabouts.

Reading is a very large town. Three churches, one Baptist meeting, one Independ[t], one Lady Huntingdon's, one Sandimonian, one Methodist and one Quakers'.

Dec. 23rd. A cold day. Morning heard Mr. Davis at Baptist meeting Matt. 8, 27. Ship, the Church; pilot, Jesus Christ; compass, the Word of God; danger, of robbers; anchor, hope; cable, faith; sails, the Grace of God; ballast, troubles; sea, this world on acc^{t} of its instability, oppression in it, sport ye devil makes in it; No. of inhabitants. Dead fish go down with stream to hell. Living fish to up ye stream ag^{t} wind and tide. Learn, need not always look for calm weather; your troubles are by allotmt of H^{r} Father.

Afternoon 2 Sam. 24, 14. Sin brings into straits; external, internal and eternal. Adam, Cain, world before flood, Sodom and Gomor, angels in hell. Sins which bring into straits; covetousness, pride, drunkenness, fornication, lying, disobedience to God, despising the message of God, breach of ye Sabbath.

Straits external. Famine, sword, pestilence, destruction of Jerusalem, afflictions in families.
Internal, despair, Judas, David, Cain.
Eternal. Hell.

Mr. Davis has a very respectable congregation. He is a zealous preacher and very entertaining. He seems to aim at plainness more than sublimity in his style. He used some expressions which extorted a smile from me and I observed some others. Instance, when speaking of Haman's wife's conduct to him, said "Much the way of the women tho' dear heart alive."

Evg. at St. Giles church. Dr. Cadogan. "Justified in the Spirit" a good sermon. His voice is very thick and his exertion is so great that his delivery is harsh and disagreeable. He has been a very useful preacher—an exceeding large congregation.

Dec. 24th. Afternoon set out for Watlington sixteen miles cross country road. A good fall of snow on the ground found the lanes fill fast and the weather bitter. I stopt at Nettlebed (a large village where I cross the London road) five miles short of W., forty-three miles from London and about twenty from Oxford.

Dec. 25th. Morning at Nettlebed. A great fall of snow and the morng very bitter. It was utterly impossible to get to Watlington. It was very difficult to get on in the London road. I was obliged to drop attempting Watlington but must go to Thame which is seven miles behind Watlington but must go twenty-two instead of twelve miles to it, round the turnpike road. Accordingly out ab^{t}

half past ten, had a bitter, difficult journey to a village called Shilling, eight miles. In some places the snow very deep. I pass'd a coach which had just broke down but none hurt, some parts of the road were filled, had to brake out into the fields. At Shilling I met with a very good dinner and civil treatment. I was afraid the worst was to come as I now left the great road and turned off to Thame, a road altho turnpike but little used and my host discouraged me by telling me the boy had been five miles on the road to Newington with letter for Mr. Whitely (Clerk to the House of Commons) and y^{t} the snow was very deep. However I had the resolution to venture and the afternoon turned out calm. I reached Thame much better than I expected, but in the evg. found myself much fatigued and out of order.

Thame is a market town of inconsiderable trade and I am afraid less religion. The Countess of Huntingdon has built a small meeting house but has as yet very few friends. One Broadbelt a Gospel Minister, has attempted to get the afternoon lectureship in the church but his friends are too few and feeble.

Dec. 26th. To Aylesbury ten miles—had an exceedingly disagreeable journey, cold, and the snow very deep I could not get on, was much starved on my feet. I find the most snow here. I had frequently to break out into the fields. This evening thaws a little. I find myself not well, fatigued and inactive.

Dec. 27th. To Winslow ten and Buckingham seven miles. Bad riding to-day, the snow keeps slipping under the horse's feet. Winslow markets, there seems to be but little to do. The butchers being snow balling one another. Clean, fine and frosty evening. Mrs. Goode's shopman Harrison spent the evening with me at Buck^{n}—His father a Baptist in Kent I think at Tunbridge Wells. This young man hears Independent Birkitt at Buck^{m}.

Dec. 28th. A cold and frosty morning. To Bicester from Buckingham abt fourteen miles. No getting the nearest way for snow. A fine clear day but very cold riding. Bicester is an irregular town I think nearly as large as Colne. Has a very good market for corn. The shops here do an amazing quantity of business. There is not another market town nearer than ten or eleven miles.

The roads are very bad to it on all sides in winter. It is no thorough-fare. There is a slender congregation of Independents here. Mr. Bannett of Heckmondwike

left this people when he came into Yorkshire. I have been told that a considerable time ago there was a large congregation of Presbyterians at Bicester.

To Banbury fifteen miles but had to go eighteen on acc^{t} of the snow. Bad riding, a long tedious stage, was fatigued and not very well.

Dec. 30th. Sunday a soft day. I was not very well. Stopt in the house at Banbury forenoon & aft. Evg. Mr. Green wished me to preach for him but I declined it and heard him from Psalms 1, 6. "For the Lord knoweth the way of the righteous." 1st Character of the righteous, made righteous in God's sight by Christ's righteousness being imputed to them, believers in Christ's righteousness, and righteous in life and conversation in good degree. 2nd Their way. Faith, Holiness and Perseverance. 3rd The Lord knows their way as he approves, assists and rewards. I esteemed it a very useful good plain sermon.

Dec. 31st. To Daventry this morning, 18 miles, thaws, snow goes fast, met the waggon and sold some goods.

1788.

Jan. 1st. To Banbury and stopt there till the fifth, morning, when I came to Lutterworth thirty-six miles. Sunday. To Lester, fourteen miles by nine o'clock. Forenoon, heard Mr. Blackshaw the Particular Baptist from "The night is far spent, the day is at hand" considered this world or this life as intended by night, and eternity by day. The exhortation postponed. An entertaining and judicious sermon not much animation in the delivery.

A decent congregation not large. Having been so long from home and wishing to reach by market day I immediately came out from Lester intend^{g} to reach Loughbro by afternoon service, eleven miles, but found the road bad, and my horse dull was too late. Came fourteen miles more to Nottingham' and reached in time to hear part of Mr. Hopper's lecture.

To Rotherham and the 8th. Home. Found my wife but very poorly. Home is worth coming to, there is the greatest composure and satisfaction. Surely I am bound by the most powerful motives to bless the Lord for his goodness.

Jan. 13th. Sunday. This morning my wife bring^{g} Tommy down stairs. Her foot slip'd and she fell down three or four steps to the bottom—was hurt complains of her side. I was obliged to stop at home.

Jan. 20th. At Nook. Frosty morning fair day but soft afternoon. Mr. Wood preached forenoon and aft. from Luke 6, 43. "For a good tree bringeth not forth corrupt fruit. I hear R. Hide is at Slaithwaite to day. Evg. Deighton Matt. 5, 6, ab^{t} one hundred and twenty hearers. Had not thought much upon the subject, yet found my mind much engaged, and had some liberty. On coming down, the man who entertains the Methodists at Deighton, accosted me very freely and mentioned a former promise I had made him to send him word when I would go to his house, I told him that I thought he was mistaken and mentioned my brother, he rather hesitated yet gave me a pressing invitation to go, accordingly we appointed next Thursday evening.

Jan. 21st. Recd. a letter from Bro. J.S. containing much instruction and entertainment. My wife says she is rather better to day, she has been very poorly for some time back.

Jan. 22nd. This day a girl from Littletown came to live as servant with us. At the Conversation Society, Folly. Question which of the three affections in man is most prevalent, that to our earthly parents, Christian friends, or the fair sex? Answer the fair sex with men in general.

Jan. 24th. Evg. at Deighton 1 Cor. 3, 11. For other foundation can no man lay etc. A very wet and boisterous night, but few people yet very attentive and seemed affected.

Jan. 29th. I hear that the Methodists have given Richardson's of Deighton a very sharp reprimand for having me to preach at their house.

Folly, question, whether prosperity or adversity be the greater blessing to mankind. Answer prosperity—by a majority of about two to one.

Bro. Jabez was the only advocate for adversity. I hear the same question at Huddersfield was answered adversity. Macauley the short hand writer's son was the only advocate for prosperity.

Feb. 6th. Folly. Question which of the four following temporal blessings are most valuable. Health of body. Preservation from danger. Freedom from creditors. Liberty of conscience. Answer. Liberty of conscience. A great majority, a useful and warm debate.

J. Stutterd & G. Brook pleaded for the first. J. Gledhill the third & T. S. the last.

At Huddersfield. Jan. 30th. What is true and disinterested friendship. Answer a generous and human disposition arising from love. Unanimous very little debate.

Feb. 10th. Mr. Wood. Forenoon Matt 6, 34. Take therefore no thought for the morrow.

Afternoon Rev. 12, 1. And there appeared a great wonder in heaven; a woman &c. T.S. Evg. at John Syke's, Oaks Green, an Independent 1 Pet. 4, 18. And if the righteous &c. Many hearers, a straitened preacher. Brother Jabez heard W. Hartley at Slaithwaite "Who are kept by the power of God through faith &c."

Feb. 12. Questions. Folly, whether Money, Learning or Friends be most valuable. Answer money! an animated yet friendly debate. T.S. president. Took the sense of the society respecting the admission of females a majority for it.

Feb. 14th. In the last night our neighbour and friend W. Archer, draper, had pieces stole out of his shop worth twenty pounds or upwards.

Feb. 17th. Bro. Jabez heard Mr. Bowser at Slaithwaite. Text. "My grace is sufficient for thee."

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Thomas Stutterd's letter to his brother John:

Height, 28th Feb. 1802.

"Dear Brother,

Coming over Lindley Moor this day Jn. Waterhouse informed me that he purposed being at Colne in about a week—and as I intend leaving home for London tomorrow think it proper to write a line to send you by him. In Nov. last I recd. a line from you desiring cloth for coat, waistcoat, & breeches, as you intended going to Liverpool on the 17th Dec. According we sent you on the 5th Dec. by Morton to Halifax as much black plain as we thought would do, with a bit of flanl and calico for lining, which I hope was duly recd. I have been expecting a line from you since your return with some acc^{t} of your journey but have been disappointed.

However I hope you and wife are well and shall be glad to receive a long letter from you by return—We are now all pretty well except myself having a very sore throat and I find myself exceedingly apt to take cold. Wife has been very poorly for three or four weeks, has sunk much, but, thank God, is now got pretty well. It has been a sickly, dying time this winter. I hear that two of our members now lay dead. We have been surrounded by fevers and it has been

much so in the South also. I went out a journey on the 10th Dec., I returned home again on the 20th Jan'y. & considering the severity of the season was pretty comfortable. I took son John up to Banbury and had some thoughts of taking him round the journey, but the expense induced me to send him back. I found Mr. Fuller unwell—Mr. Hopper breaks considerably, cannot preach three times a day—Mr. Purdue of Chip Norton is still unable to preach—Old Mr. Petty lay on his death bed rejoicing in the prospect of Eternal Life. Mr. Marriott of Witney enquired very kindly after you and many others did the same.

God willing, I propose stopping in London about five or six days. Meet Jabez at Northampton on 10 March, to Davy and Banbury till the 14th. I then return home abt the 16th.

Thomas is at Mr. Fawcett's.

Begin[g] of last month recd. a letter from Tattersall but no money, altho I am informed he had sold nearly all his goods last spring. He says "I now sell all sorts of goods. I can dress a-Laidy or gentlemon from head to foot." It is painful to observe that his letter seems to be dictated by defiance and vain glory.

Mr. Hartley is now at Liverpool for six weeks. For the sake of his family I shall be glad if he receives an invitation from them to serve them. The interest at Lockwood seems to dwindle. When he came there at first his salary was seventy, some time back it was reduced to fifty and now he is going on at forty. His W—— is said to injure him.

It is matter of thankfulness that corn is got much lower in price, but trade here does not get brisk, work is scarce and the suspense respecting the treaty of peace phaps increases. But the cotton business seems to flourish and is making rapid advances towards us, not only in Saddleworth, but also in Slaithwaite and Golcar.

I remain, Your Loving Bro. Thos. Stutterd."

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Thomas Stutterd's letter to his wife with copy of diary notes :

Oxford, 3rd June 1813.

The weather is now very hot. Yesterday it affected me considerably. You will easily conceive that I sweat when I tell you that I have walked thirteen miles. I only intended walking nine but one coach being quite full could not take me therefore was obliged to jog on four miles farther. I hope

I am in some degree thankful for the health and strength to enable me to go on. It is very remarkable that the increased number of coaches should be so crowded with passengers. I have been disappointed and delayed several times by this circumstance.

It revives my spirit to behold in almost every direction the blooming hedges and the grass and corn so plenteously covering the smiling fields.

Your relations at Banbury are well. Being at Josh. Gardners at tea on Sunday. I observed Mary Ann there and asked if John was there. No said the grandfather, John seldom comes here, he does not like him he is sometimes rather rude and does not like me to curb him.

I hope to reach Banbury perhaps on Sunday morning and hope to meet Jabez there. I have heard of him at several places this journey where I was behind him only two or three days.

When you see Benj. Whitehead please to desire my respects to him say that I have not met with the united requisites of writing to him viz. opportunity and resolution, and now the journey is so far gone that I fear I should not receive his answer as I have to leave Banbury for home by Birmingham on Wed. morning and hope to see your bed of tulips by the fourteenth if not gone by. The flower of life is quickly gone but there is a life to come which will be of longer duration. My soul upon what is thy hope founded of enjoying that life ? I am well persuaded you would not ask me as Mrs. Watson did her husband. Have you a conscience void of offence ? Being on the top of a coach the other day reading a book, a labouring man who sat near me said pray sir which is the way to heaven ? I am no scholar. By Jesus Christ, He came into the world to save sinners, He said I am the way, the truth and the life. But how am I to get to it ?—by believing in Christ—prayer and confession of sin—no former goodness required in a way of merit—Christ has died for sin.

This poor man seemed very ignorant altho he said he attended as oft as he could at the Independent meeting, Newbury. He was a hostler of coach horses there.

I am Dear Wife, Thine,

Thomas Stutterd.

1813.

May 14th, Friday. Set out on a journey per coach. Had a Mrs. Binns landlady of the Granby Head, Horbury, a

passenger part of the day. She mentioned some particulars relative to the town which were new to me. A Mr. Taylor has been vicar near fifty years. Altho' the living is good, worth perhaps five hundred a year yet he does all the duty himself—a very old man. The church which is a most noble building of very fine stone and excellent workmanship is very much deserted. On Sunday morning lately thirteen were counted. Of the population of Horbury we may form some idea from there being five hundred Sunday scholars from the age of five to fourteen. There is a very large Methodist meeting which is much crowded whilst many complain of the increase of Methodists and dissenters is it to be wondered at. A man from a distance in the country having been at church and calling at the Granby Head said—he made a good sermon if one could understand him.

From Wakefield to Sheffield I rode outside and was shown the place where the coach was overturned on Wednesday evening. The marks in the grass where the passengers were thrown into a field. One man had a leg broken in two places. What a mercy I was not there.

May 15th Saturday. Frequent heavy showers. Many Quakers going up to London to yearly meeting by our coach, two of them very much advanced in life—I suppose not less than seventy—The man outside. His wife inside. Never saw stronger marks of conjugal affection than in this couple. At every stoppage he was either calling out or getting down to ask, Hannah how dost thou do ? Art thou well ? Dost thee feel comfortable ? etc.

May 16th Sunday morning. Mr. Hall paraphrased 1 Thes. 2, 17 to end, chap 3 to 8. Satan the devil—No plural. He must be the chief or prince of the fallen angels. The tempter. The enemy not figurative language as some say but real. Hope, the reward of Ministers, when the good seed grows it produce joy. At the coming of Christ it will be a day of manifestation will show who are real saints. Doubtful till then. The grand end of preaching and hearing the Gospel is for Eternity. What we sow now shall then reap. Sowing is preparatory to the harvest. Here is the great excellency of religion. A motive to growth and compared with earthly things. The ordinary temptations of life now not to be compared with the fiery trial of primitive christians. The best are apt to overrate their own. There will be opposition from ye world, but what is the world in comparison of glory. We should be

more diligent as we have the temptations to struggle with. We should stand fast, cleave to Christ, v. 6, 7 & 8. Attending to their steadfastness—Your desire to see us is a proof of etc. They had the Ministers in affectionate remembrance. A good sign. The first mark of apostacy is a declining former serious society. It is a strong proof of Christianity that men are brought to a more steady profession of it. There were only a few exceptions. Simon Magus etc. The first saints were highly esteemed which might tend to the rise of the worship of images. Let us love all christians at the greatest distance from us. All that love Christ wherever they are.

Aft. Mr. Hall. 1 Thes. 3, 8. For now we live, if ye stand fast in the Lord. So crowded that I could not write any. Stand fast in profession etc. etc. Motives to it. He prayed copiously and fervently for Mr. Mitchell ye Independent Minister who is unwell. I was told the meeting has been more crowded since the death of Mr. Robinson at St. Mary's. I heard part of a sermon by Mitchell the new vicar. I thought he affected the manner of his predecessor but fell far short. This evening no lecture at Bapt. or Indep. I was not very well, did not go out to church but went to bed early after finishing the reading of Luke 17.

Monday. Per coach to Harbro met with young Andrews of Olney. He said he had been at Mr. Hall's that morning and stopped till Mr. H. smoked three pipes of tobacco, p'haps he had more amusement in his pipe than the conversation of such a frothing, trifling young man as he appears to be.

May 19th. Wed. evening. Mr. Blundell, Northampton, Jno. 14, 21. He that hath my commandments, and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me. This command of Christ his sayings—not the whole of his ministry but his laws or commands, two grand commands.

1. Faith in him v. 1. Believe also in Me. A daily and constant faith in him, live by faith. Walk by faith v. 11. Believe Me that I am in the Father, not temporal but reaches to you, believe in my promises grace and all that I command you.
2. Afterwards that they love one another, to this there is a special reference. A new command that ye love one another by this shall all men know ye are My disciples, called his because He so frequently inculcated

them and by Him principally, not so fully by the prophets. They are the sum and substance of religion. The sum of duty. By keeping them—more than knowing them. True we must know them but should not rest in knowing them. We must do them. You will assent to all this.

Again tis more than intending to keep them. Many came to Christ with strong resolutions. I will follow Thee but we do not find they did. But it is actually doing them. Faith and love will be shown in the life and conduct. How to keep them. (1) Universally, all is to be learned and obeyed. A constant dependence on Christ and genuinely to the brethren. If thy Bro. is in affliction pray for him and compassionate his troubles and communicate to him according to thy ability and his need. If in temptation encourage and strengthen him. If in a fault admonish him and endeavour to reclaim him in meekness. If remiss in duty you will exhort him to attend to it and instruct him. Thus are brothers to prove their love to Christ. This is a grand mark of grace. Some rest in other things. They have been convicted. This not a true criterion nor are transport and raptures in the service of God. The man who does these commands gives a stronger proof. To obtain a stronger evidence of our Christianity let us ask ourselves. Do we keep his commands ? This will give us some proof and an increase, a stronger evidence. Love his people more keep his commands more. This will increase your comfort and usefulness. Do you love them ? Do you feel an attraction to them ? A proper affection manifested by proper dispositions towards them v. 15. If ye love me, keep my commandments. This is not only a profitable way but it is the only way. Case of a servant who may profess to serve you but is reluctant to do what you order him. When we consider how kind Christ is to us surely we should obey him.

May 23rd. Sunday. Banbury. A Mr. Sanderson, first day, a supply for five weeks Eph. 5, 2. And walk in love etc.

(1) On Christ's love. Eternal in its rise. Discriminating in its choice. No merit in its objects. Everlasting in its duration.

(2) The consequences. Giving of himself as a display of his munificence. He left the world of glory and came

to die for sinners, gave himself truly to redeem us from the curse. It was efficacious in its end. A sweet smiling savour. Gen. 8. The Lord smelt a sweet savour. It bro't down all the blessings a God in covenant can give.

(3) Our love to one another should be disinterested fervent and perpetual. Mr. Sanderson lately returned from residence, thirteen months at St. John, Newfoundland, a young man perhaps twenty-seven/twenty-eight, animated in his delivery and in my opinion a good deal of propriety in his sentiment, arrangement of language.

May 25th evg. Left Banbury per coach to Oxford, very wet. I got inside most of the way. I think it has rained every day since I left home.

May 26th Wedy. evg. I walked from Henly to Reading six miles after eight o'clock.

May 27th, 28th & 29th. Weather fine."

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Political Conditions during the Period.

Were it not that I have already exceeded the space I had proposed to allow myself in the writing of this book I would have included a section dealing specially with political affairs during my period—particularly

(1) The seething unrest of the people. Thomas Stutterd and his friends it will be seen, sympathised to some extent with this unrest.

(2) The efforts of the Nonconformists to secure religious freedom, and more especially the repeal of the Corporation and Tests Acts. I must content myself with reproducing

Two letters from George Dyson, one of Thomas Stutterd's fellow employees in the firm of Whitacre. A letter from James Gledhill from York Castle where he was then confined for seditious talk. It will be remembered that many of the North country dissenters were incarcerated in York Castle for offences under the Conventicle Acts.

A copy of a circular issued in 1790. The efforts of the Nonconformists were not successful at that time

for the obnoxious Acts were not repealed until many years later.

" March 9th, 1794.

Dear Sir,

I take my pen to write to you but I am very weary and much tired, we are kept briskly at work, we pack and take up pcs. every day or nearly so and has done ever since you left us. T.B. and myself, we have a great deal to be in the warehouse, the dressers will not come to pack or take up pcs. as they should, the work must be done by someone and it is no matter who if it be done we have to help to make up trusses or they might be undone for anything the dressers cares and nobody says wrong they do. What news have you in the South, are you quiet or republicanism begins again to lift up her head ? In our parts I believe things are growing very serious. I wish we may have peace in the land but I think we shall not long have, there has been an express from Edinburgh at the different societies for parliamentary reform and from some hints which he dropped and from other things which we hear it is generally believed the Nation will rise up in arms in the same hour. I mean England and Scotland and that period is not far off. A person told me some matters lately which quite astonished me. I did not think the half was going forward which is. He showed me a ticket belonging one of the societies. On it there was the portrait of a woman, what she represented I dont know, holding the cap of liberty upon the top of a rod and trampling under her feet the chains of slavery with this inscription upon the ticket. Man knows no master save creating heaven or such as choice and common good ordains. There is something of secrecy in the societies going forward which very few even of the Members know of, save the principal or leading men. I heard of a person in our neighbourhood who had an order for fifty stands of arms but he declined executing it. I know it to be a fact. On the fast day at Sheffield they had a meeting and passed a many resolutions a copy of which I send you.

Sheffield Feb. 28, 94. At a public meeting of the friends of peace and reform in an open piece of ground in West Street in Sheffield consisting of at least 5,000 persons called by public advertisement to attend the delivery of a serious lecture, to sing a hymn composed for the occasion and to conclude with the passing of such resolutions as the present juncture of affairs seem to call for, Will Camage being called to the

chair, the following resolutions were passed without a dissenting voice.

(1) That war the wretched artifice of courts is a system of rapine and blood unworthy of rational beings and utterly repugnant to the mild and benevolent principles of the christian religion.

(2) That if the present war be a war of combined Kings against the people of France to overthrow that liberty which they are struggling to establish, it is in our opinion of the diabolical kind.

(3) Then when public fasts and humiliations are ordered with the same breath which commands the shedding of oceans of human blood, however they may answer the proposes of state policy, they are solemn prostitutions of religion.

(4) That the landing Hessian troops in this country a ferocious and unprincipled horde of butchers without consent of parliament has a suspicious and alarming appearance, is contrary to the spirit of our constitution and deserving of the marked indignation of every Englishman.

(5) That it is high time to be upon our guard since these armed monsters may in a moment be let loose upon us, particularly as the erection of barracks throughout the Kingdom may only be an introductory measure to the filling them with foreign mercenaries.

(6) That the high and freeborn minds of Britons revolt at the idea of a slavish system and cannot be so far broken as to kiss the hand which would chain them to its will.

(7) That peace and liberty are the offspring of heaven and that life without them is a burden.

(8) That the thanks of this meeting are due to Earl Stanhope for his motion and spirited speech for acknowledging the French Republic and restoring peace to our distracted country. For his motion and able speech on behalf of the persecuted and suffering patriots Messrs. Maur, Palmer, Skirving and Margotall in which he nobly stood alone and also for the whole of his truly animated and benevolent exertions in support of the injured rights of the people.

(9) That the thanks of this meeting be also given to Mr. Sheridan for his nervous and eloquent speech as in Parliament in support of the constitution and also to every other member who has nobly stood forward in this important crisis in support of the liberties of Englishmen.

(10) That if anything had been necessary to have convinced us of the total inefficasy of argument against a ministerial

majority, the decisions which have lately taken place in parliament would have fully confirmed our opinions.

(11) That therefore the people have no remedy for their grievances but reform in parliament a measure which we determine never to relinquish tho' we follow our brethren in the same glorious cause to Botany Bay.

Mr. Camage Chairman.

May you and I be prepared to meet every event of providence and may we at last arrive safe at the haven of eternal repose. Your family are all well. Your wife desires her respects to you, was glad to hear you was well. Will Bolton is gone to America.

I remain,
Yours etc.,
Geo. Dyson.

Woodhouse,

. . . . . .

June 1794.

Dear Sir,

What entertainment may a few lines be to you. I know not at a time when things look so very dark and gloomy, how it is with you I know not but in our part of the world we are in a political ferment. Mr. Beaumont of Whitley Hall has been informed that we at Longwood House distribute Sheffield papers what he means I suppose is seditious pamphlets, and I understood was very near sending to take me up. Mr. Whitacre mentioned this circumstance to Thomas B. and asked him if anything of the kind had ever existed, but he told him he knew nothing of the matter. He has not mentioned it to any other of us. Yesterday Monday 9th instant Mr. W. went to Huddersfield to attend a meeting that they had appointed for persons to attend who meant to enrol themselves as volunteers for Infantry. I suppose about eighty-eight persons entered their names. Mr. W., Mr. Holroyd and Sir Geo. Armitage was distinguished for loyalty in taking off their hats and shouting and singing God save the King Hazzaing and the like, would Mr. W. W. have done so think you. At Halifax a company of volunteers was drinking and the first toast was Damnation to all dissenters and Methodists. The second toast. Down with all their meeting houses, chapels and conventicles, it almost makes me tremble to hear of the spirit of persecution which prevails in all the nation. It seems as if it only wanted vent or only wanted some cause to break

forth and then a general massacre thro' all the land, happy will be that man who is prepared to meet death and happy will be that man who has noticed the impending storm and flown to a land of peace and liberty, America. On Friday last the 6th instant Mr. Beaumont ordered the Sheffield News man to be taken up and they took him somewhere about Honley, they handcuffed him and sent him to York Castle. I don't know what his crime was but suppose it was for selling seditious pamphlets. I hear Mr. Gales of Sheffield has advertised his stock in trade to be sold. About sixteen or seventeen of us have subscribed for the English Chronicle.

I have heard to-day that the French convention have passed a decree to give no quarter to Englishmen, if so how dreadful is the idea, what a dreadful calamity is war. On the 22 ulto no less than twenty thousand souls hurried into eternity in one day, on both sides, how shocking ! how dreadful ! What a meloncholy reflection. Oh war how insatiable is thy appetite ! May God avert His judgements and spare this guilty land.

We have got the small-pox in our neighbourhood. Jno. Leach's child is dead of them. Sarah Colbeck's likewise. Jo. Rhodes has a child just begun so that we may expect them at Woodhouse soon.

Since writing the above Mr. W. has spoke to me respecting the papers alluded to, Mr. Beaumont told him he had heard that two of his bookkeepers had attended the meeting at Sheffield on the Monday before Easter and had brought seditious papers with them and distributed them in the neighbourhood and Colonel Bernard had been told the same by a cartman upon the road. Mr. W. asked me, when you and I was at Sheffield when we came home the last journey ? I told him on the Saturday and that we had heard so and so respecting the meeting, he asked me likewise if I knew anything of any seditious papers ? I told him I knew nothing of any seditious papers or of any being distributed, I further told him we had bought Dr. Priestley's farewell sermon and his sermon on the fast day and that I had bought Mr. Winterbotham's trial and you another trial but did not recollect whose it was, respecting the other small things which we bought, I did not mention as I thought I had no right to be mine own accuser, if it was a crime to buy them, but I thought it was not. I really wish Mr. W. would not harass my mind so much. I begin to be almost disgusted at one thing and another. We are now at a horrible pass in this country, people must not talk nor read nor write but there

is one passage open, a person may think but perhaps they would get some of the witches and wizards of the day, if any, to discern man's thoughts if they could, but they are fast there. We have had Mr. F. Smith and he bought forty-two pcs. amount £302 15s. 0d. Mr. W. & Mrs. W. went to Rotherham on Wednesday last suppose Mr. W. returns on Saturday. We have had ringing at Huddersfield all day to-day, Friday on a/c of the victory gained by Lord Howe over the French fleet. I suppose you have heard the same.

We had a watch night last night in Geo. Dyson's barn a many people attended strangers and neighbours. Mr. Macpherson preached we had no other preacher, people prayed and amongst the rest our J. Dixon used his eloquence and tried his lungs what they were made of. If I can get time or anything more to say I will write at Banbury but perhaps I shall date my letter from the Bastile and if I do you may quake for fear on your return home, our T.B. is also accused of preaching sedition but he says he knows nothing of the matter. I tell him Mr. Winterbotham was the same and he is in prison.

I am very much out of humour respecting our affair. I could say a great deal to you upon the subject but I forbear at present. God be merciful unto us what a world do we live in. I believe your family are all well, we also at Longwood Ho'. Hope this will find you so.

I remain, Yours sincerely,

George Dyson.

P.S. Could wish you to send me a line by J. Fox or Jos. Bower. What think you is it wisdom for you to keep your papers at large ? law there is none and if a search warrant is issued there will be no alternative but to prison, innocence is of no avail. Mine I have destroyed."

. . . . . .

" Dear Sir,

I hope you duly received my last. I still continue in a tolerable state of health, happiness and fraternity may always attend you and yours is my sincere desire. A judge has daily been trying cases here for nearly a fortnight, first days excepted. Many poor depraved wretches have received their several sentences viz confinement in this castle. Imprisonment in the several houses of correction, transportation and fifteen have received sentence of death, one has been executed and

it is said that six others will inevitably suffer. How shall I write you. My mind is pressed with terror. I have just now returned from prayer where I have seen the poor mind and for a moment recommended the crucified Jesus to them. O! that I might be allowed to spend much of my time with them, O! that the great Jehovah would wipe bigotry and superstition from the earth. Five of them from Bradford maintain their innocency and talk sensibly indeed, be it as it may, the Judge of all the earth will do right. Some have been acquitted, no bill being found against them. In this manner I hope with the rest of God's elect children to stand acquitted at the bar of God for I know that our God is the justifier of the ungodly and that our Christ has made an atonement for sin. How did the poor young men rejoice when their chains were knocked from them and they were set at liberty, so do I now feel compassed about with many infirmities but when I awake up after my Saviour's likeness I shall rejoice more abundantly, yea I shall rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory. In my last I said I should be most glad to receive another epistle from you. I continue to say so. I am perfectly content in my situation being more and more convinced that while saints are bound by the ties of Christianity to be subject to the higher powers yet are they as much bound to cry against tyranny, cruelty and oppression and to mourn by their actions over the effusion of human blood. Again I present the affectionate respects of a christian brother to Mrs. Stutterd and that the Divine blessing may ever dwell with you and yours is the sincere desire and prayer of

Yours most affectionately,

JAS. GLEDHILL.

York Castle 4th 4th Month, 1795."

. . . . . .

"At a *Meeting* of DEPUTIES from the Congregations of PROTESTANT DISSENTERS, in the Counties of LANCASTER and CHESTER, held at the Red Lion Inn, in WARRINGTON, on Thurfday the fourth Day of *February* 1790,

THOMAS COOPER ESQ. in the CHAIR.

Refolved, THAT all Votes be given, in the Proceedings of this Meeting, *congregationally*, the Reprefentatives of each Congregation having, together, only a fingle vote.

Refolved, That the general views with which this Meeting is affembled be expreffed in the following DECLARATION, viz.

We the DEPUTIES from the *Congregations* of PROTESTANT DISSENTERS, in the Counties of LANCASTER and CHESTER, *declare* to

our fellow-citizens the *Principles* by which we are diftinguifhed, and the particular *Views* with which we are at prefent affembled.

We venerate that *civil Conftitution* which has been the admiration of *foreign* Nations, and the boaft of our *own*, and profefs our attachment to thofe principles of *civil freedom* in fupport of which our Anceftors generoufly ftruggled againft the *claims* of *arbitrary* power; which they pioufly tranfmitted to their children; and which have finally raifed the Houfe of Brunfwick to the Throne of thefe Kingdoms. But, though the Conftitution of this Country commands our efteem for the wifdom of its *general* Principles, we lament that it is at prefent difgraced by fome Laws which violate the moft obvious maxims of *Reafon* and *Juftice*. We confider the objects of *Religion* and *civil Government* as totally feparate, and that doctrine which connects *political diftinctions* with religious *Profeffion* as having no foundation either in *Reafon* or *Scripture*: We therefore hold it, not only a matter of right, but of religious obligation, to attempt the abolition of any Laws which impute that to us as a *Crime* which a higher authority has commanded as a *Duty*. We rejoice to behold the manly fpirit which has taken poffeffion of our Diffenting Brethren in every part of England, and that, although *divided* in fome *religious* opinions, we are *united* in afferting the claims of *Confcience*, and in feeking the reftitution of our *Rights*: and, whilft we venerate the liberality of thofe Members of the eftablifhed Church who have expreffed themfelves friendly to our caufe, we cannot but entreat Diffenters to make every candid allowance for the mifconceptions of thofe who are ftanding forth in *oppofition* to us; and to ufe every means in their power to rectify their miftakes, and to enlarge their views.

Senfible that the independent efforts of particular men, or diftinct Societies, cannot be fo effectual as when regulated by a general confent, and directed by the wifdom of the whole body, we cordially adopt the Plan which aims at forming a well connected *Union* of *Proteftant Diffenters* throughout the whole Kingdom, by a chain of Intercourfe and Communion, advancing in order, through fucceffive gradations, to a reprefentation of the whole body, in a general or national meeting at London.

We are perfuaded that the eftablifhment of fuch an *Union* will prevent difcordant modes of conduct, will give dignity and weight to our Remonftrances with the Legiflature, and keep alive a manly, active fpirit; will prepare us for the profecution of any object of importance to the Body, and facilitate our future exertions for the fupport of our common caufe.

In adopting this Plan, we are influenced only by a juft and honourable purpofe of promoting wifdom in our Deliberations, and unanimity in our Proceedings. We are confcious of the purity of our motives in this refpect, and declare that we have no views herein which we are afhamed to profefs: and we believe that, while, by firm and temperate meafures, we endeavour to fupport our juft *Rights* as citizens, to remove an undeferved *Stigma* from our *Profeffion*, and to wipe away a national *Reproach*, we are difcharging our duty to our *Country*, to our *Profperity*, and our *God*.

Refolved, That in profecution of the Plan of union and reprefentation, mentioned in the above Declaration, we acknowledge Thomas Cooper Efq. of Manchefter as our Delegate, to conduct, in our behalf, fuch conftitutional Meafures as may be requifite to obtain a Repeal of the Laws which require the Sacramental Teft as a qualification for civil and military offices.

Refolved, That we defire our Delegate to join the Committee in London without any unneceffary delay, and to lofe no time in waiting upon thofe Members of the Houfe of Commons with whom we are feverally connected, requefting, in the name of thofe Diffenters who are their Conftituents, their attendance and fupport in Parliament, when the Queftion concerning the Repeal of the Teft Laws fhall again be agitated.

Refolved, That we are, with a *calm* and *difpaffionate* firmnefs, determined to *perfevere* in every peaceable and conftitutional exertion, till we fhall have obtained thofe *equal rights* to which all *good* Citizens are entitled.

Refolved, That it be recommended to the Diffenters through the Kingdom to fhow a particular regard to the caufe of *Liberty* at the enfuing general Election.

Refolved, That the following Gentlemen, viz. the Rev. Mr. Yates, Rev. Mr. Smith, Rev. Mr. Lewin, Rev. Mr. Chidlow, Rev. Mr. Holland, Mr. James Darbyfhire, Dr. Percival, Dr. Mitchell, Mr. William Rigby Jun., Mr. George Philips, Mr. Ellis Bent, Mr. Samuel Gafkell, Rev. Mr. Bealey, Mr. Parker, and Mr. John White, conftitute a Committee to correfpond with the Committee of Proteftant Diffenters in London, with the feveral District Committees in Lancafhire and Chefhire, and all other fimilar Affociations.

Refolved, That the Committee above-mentioned be empowered to fummon a Provincial Meeting whenever they think proper.

Refolved, That the Rev. Mr. BEALEY be requefted to act as Secretary to the faid Committee ; and that all Correfpondence be directed to him at Warrington.

Refolved, That ELLIS BENT Efq. be requefted to act as Treafurer to this Meeting.

Refolved, That thefe *Refolutions* be inferted in the General Evening Poft, in one Manchefter, one Liverpool, and one Chefter Paper, and that Copies of them be alfo fent to every Proteftant Diffenting Congregation in Lancafhire and Chefhire, and to the Chairmen of the Diftrict and Provincial Meetings throughout the Kingdom.

Refolved, That the thanks of this Meeting be given to THOMAS COOPER Efq. for his polite acceptance of the Chair, and for the *Candour*, *Steadinefs* and *Ability* with which he has concluded the bufinefs of this Day.

Refolved, That this Meeting be adjourned, fubject to the call of the Committee.

THOMAS COOPER, CHAIRMAN."

. . . . . .

Sermon preached by the Rev. Joshua Wood.

From Notes in Thomas Stutterd's papers.

"Nov. 30th, 1788.

"Text—'The Fear of the Lord is his treasure.' Isaiah 33-6.

1st.—WHAT THIS FEAR IS.

(1) It does not mean a Fear of His wrath.
Sinners ought to fear His wrath (Roms. 13, 4 ; James 2, 19). This kind of fear often goes before a gracious fear.

(2) It is a fear arising from God's goodness in Christ (Psalm 130, 4 ; Hos. 3, 5).

It is a childlike fear. Before the sinner has this he is destitute of knowledge (Psalm 34, 9).

2nd.—Some of its Attendants.

(1) A hatred of sin for the vileness of its nature (Prov. 8, 13).

(2) A keeping from evil speaking (Psalm 34, 11 and 13).

(3) A keeping from flattery and deceit.

(4) A keeping from enmity against those who have prospered in the world.

Those who act thus have not the fear of the Lord in them (Prov. 23, 17).

For a time saints may feel this enmity (Psalm 73) but this fear restrains them in their dealings with others (Neh. 5, 15).

(5) A willingness to give up the nearest and dearest object when God requires it (Gen. 22, 12).

(6) A constant observance of prayer and other religious duties. The wicked forget prayer (Job. 15, 4).

3rd.—What sort of a Treasure the Fear of the Lord is.

(1) It is a treasure produced by the agency of the Holy Spirit. Man by nature is destitute of this fear (Rom. 3). The Holy Spirit bestows it (Isaiah 11, 2).

(2) It is a treasure God bestows upon us as a free gift.
It is not bestowed because of any goodness on man, for as faith is the gift of God, so is this fear. God gives earthly riches to some and not to others, so some are partakers of this treasure and some (such as heathens and many in our own land) are not and God in this respect cannot be blamed any more than a person is blamed for not giving another a sum of money which he never owed him. God says : " May I not do what I like with my own."

(3) It is a treasure often bestowed upon sinners in the hearing of His word and meditating thereon (Psalm 19, 9).

(4) It is a lasting treasure.
Earthly treasures are uncertain (Tim. 1, 6), but this treasure is abiding (Jer. 32, 39). The devil and the wicked men may threaten this Treasure, but cannot destroy it.

(5) It is an evidence of God's special love and mercy.
Temporal riches do not evidence this. Witness Esau and Pharaoh (Psalm 73).

(6) It has joined with it temporal deliverance (Psalm 34, 7).

(7) It is a Treasure that has contentment connected with it (Psalm 19).

(8) It is a Treasure that hath enjoined with it an improvement of real holiness (Mal. 4, 2).

(9) It has joined with it everlasting life.
Neither riches nor poverty proves a man a saint, but the possession of this treasure does.
(10) Without this Treasure we shall be everlastingly miserable.

TO CONCLUDE.

1st.—To you that are void of this treasure, it concerns you to use the means which God blesses to enable you to secure it.

2nd.—To young people be diligent in your search for this treasure. Obadiah feared the Lord from his youth and he got this treasure.

3rd.—To those who possess this treasure. Bless God for it and trust Him for its continuance.

Sermon preached by Joshua Wood.

From notes in Thomas Stutterd's papers.

"Text St. John 6, 47—'Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that believeth on me hath everlasting life.'

1st.—WHAT THIS FAITH IS, WHICH HATH ETERNAL LIFE CONNECTED WITH IT, AND SOME OBSERVATIONS ON IT.
Not that common faith which men in general have, who are born in Christian countries. Nor a bare belief in Christ's death as the ground of salvation. Faith is an affectionate believing in Christ's blood and righteousness as the ground of pardon and life and dependance upon it for salvation—and is wrought in the soul by the operation of the Holy Spirit.

(1) Has for its object the blood of Christ or his death as the ground of pardon and acceptance with God.
(2) An affectionate believing in his blood and righteousness as the ground of pardon and life.
(3) Attended with a dependence on his right to say that it is mine—quoted Joseph.
(4) Is wrought by divine grace in hearts of men.
Observation. Often before God works this faith they are full of terror. Ordinarily wrought by ministry of Word. Peculiar to God's elect. Sinners embrace Christ. Believers see what God hath done for you.

2nd.—EFFECTS IN EVIDENCE OF THIS FAITH.
(1) Peace of soul in some degree.
(2) Love to God.
(3) Seeketh the honor that cometh from God.
(4) Love to saints.
(5) A confessing Christ before men whatever danger be in the way and a being willing to suffer affliction for his sake if need requires.
(6) A hating and keeping from notorious sins as offensive to God.
(7) An observance of prayer, hearing word, etc.

3rd.—IN WHAT SENSE A BELIEVER IN CHRIST MAY BE SAID TO HAVE EVERLASTING LIFE.
(1) As he has the nature of this life in his own soul at present.
(2) As he has the hope of eternal life.
(3) Has a meekness for it and a title to it.

(4) And principally shall enjoy it as if he were already in the enjoyment of it.
This faith is not an enemy to good works.
How is it with you? Address to sinners."

Sermon preached by William Brigg.

Notes taken by John Stutterd (son of Thomas).

Sept. 6th 1802. Afternoon.

"Text Prov. 22, 6.—'Train up a child in the way in which he should go: and when he is old, he will not depart from it.'

1st.—ILLUSTRATE THIS EXHORTATION.

(1) It ought to be attended to early, when, or as soon as, reason begins to dawn, here I have to do with mothers and nurses.
(2) The child ought to have an imitable example set before it. Not to show their passionate language etc.
(3) They ought to be trained up in the knowledge of the precepts of justice, to know what is right and what is wrong. Gen. 18, 19.
(4) They ought to be trained up in the knowledge of God. Deut. 6, 7.
(5) Parents and Guardians should be careful both of the bodies and souls of those committed to their care, food and clothing. Not puff up the minds of their children with clothes, telling them they are so fine. They ought to inform them which is the right way. What duties are required of them such as honoring their parents, the aged etc., and encourage them with the promises annexed to such duties. They should be careful what company their charge keeps. They should bring them under the sound of the Gospel and instruct them for what ends they come etc. This duty should be attended to constantly and steadily whatever may be the success, or whatever may oppose.
It ought to be accompanied with prayer both with, and for, the child or children.
(6) They should be trained up with proper advice, suitable reproof and when other means fail with correction not in a hot and fiery manner but with coolness and consideration and labour to make it appear that you correct them for their own good and not to please yourselves.
(7) Parents ought to be careful what they say to their children whether in promise or in threatening, and be punctual to what they do say to perform it, or else they will lose their authority. The children will be careless and not mind what you say.

2nd.—THE NECESSITY OF THIS DUTY.

(1) It will appear if we consider the state in which the infant is brought into the world, its helplessness.
(2) If we consider the command of God.
(3) If we consider the good of the child.
(4) If we consider the good of society in general and the glory of God.
(5) It will appear from the propriety of the duty itself.

3rd.—THE ADVANTAGE WHICH ATTENDS THIS DUTY viz. :—When he is old, he will not depart from it.

(1) Impressions made in youth are more abiding than those made in after years. When impressions are made in youth the subjects of them are more likely to be useful and honorable in their day than when made in old age. Youth is a time of improvements.
This duty when blessed of God will endear the mind of the child to the parents.
From what has been said we may see the importance of the charge which parents have committed unto them. They are as stewards who are required to be faithful.
They will have to give account at the judgment seat of Christ of their stewardship. Then what manner of men ought we to be in all holiness etc."

Sermons preached by Robert Hyde.

From notes by Jno. Stutterd (son of Thomas).

April 11th 1802. Morning.

" Text Prov. 3, 6—' In all thy ways acknowledge him, and he shall direct thy paths.'

Religion should accompany us in all our actions.

It ought to have the chief of our affections and attention. It ought to guide us in every transaction, nor should we ashamed of it, but let our light so shine that men seeing our good works may glorify the Father which is in heaven. It is an honor to us and will tend to our good, even in this life.

What should we acknowledge of God or let us consider *who* it is that we should acknowledge. His perfections. His providence and His authority.

(1) He is a god of infinite knowledge. He is ever present with us, is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart. We ought to act as always in His sight. Thou God seeth me.
(2) He is a God of Almighty power. He is the creator and presider of all things. He is able to save and to destroy. Let our actions be guided by these thoughts.
(3) He is a God of wisdom.
(4) He is good and we ought to acknowledge it both in Providence and in particular in the manifestation of His free grace and favour in and thro Jesus Christ. O let not a day pass without returning thanks for redeeming love.
(5) We ought to acknowledge His authority by obeying all His precepts. This I think is the meaning of the text.

Who is this exhortation addressed to. God's people in particular but it is the duty of all men.

But they who are ignorant of God, cannot be expected to acknowledge Him in all their ways.

It implied that they must know Him, who acknowledge Him, in the sense of the text.

Nor those who do not believe on Him, for they are under the power of the God of this world, who has blinded the minds of them which believe not. So it implied that he who acknowledges God is possessed of faith.

Nor can those who are disaffected to God, or who hate Him, acknowledge God for the carnal mind is enmity against God, and is not reconciled unto Him. Without love to God we cannot acknowledge him in the sense of the text."

Afternoon.

"It highly becomes all men and especially christians to live dependent upon God. We are at His mercy, even our lives, health, ease, reason and riches and every other favour, we derive from Him and He may take them away at His pleasure. *What* is connected with this conduct which Solomon here advises us to attend to.

1st.—He that constantly acknowledges God in all his way, will act with deliberation, and caution, will weight the propriety of things before he acts. He will be submissive to the will of God. He will be prepared for enduring trials without murmuring. This conduct will lead him to be constant in making his request known unto God. Will be seeking daily for wisdom and direction in the way of duty. Strength against temptation and such was the conduct of David. He will be careful to avoid any occasion of temptation. He will not run into seen dangers. What shall I who have ardently prayed to God to keep me from sin run into the place of danger where I shall be exposed to it. This conduct will bring glory and honour to God. This man honors His providence, His word by trusting and depending upon and taking heed unto his way thereby. This is walking in the footsteps of the flock, imitating ancient saints following them who thro' faith and patience are now inheriting the promises.

2nd.—CONSIDER THE PROMISE—I WILL DIRECT THY PATH.

(1) The Lord in doing this, does that for men which they cannot do for themselves, every good man is sensible in some measure of his own insufficiency. Jer. 10, 23.

(2) This is a special and distinguishing favour. 'Tis not for any obedience done by man but entirely of free grace, tho' it is in the way of obedience that the Lord is pleased to bestow it.

(3) This promise will certainly be accomplished, tis spoken by God and He cannot lie. Instance Jacob who received a promise that God would not leave him at Bethel. Yet he met with many trials after this and I dare say was often wondering how it could be accomplished considering his many afflictions in the family of Laban, from his brother Esau, when Joseph and Simeon were lost and they were going to take Benj. also, he cries all these things are against me. Yet Jacob was brought to see that all these things were for his good afterwards.

And you my Christian friends, have you never experienced that the Lord has in many instances guided and directed you. Tho' you might not at the time perceive any danger yet afterwards you have seen that the Lord has preserved you from many evils many temptations etc.

O trust in the Lord at all times.

From this subject may be drawn comfort to the christian who is walking in the path of duty. The Lord is your guide.

Reproof to those who are out of the way of duty who are acknowledging their lusts for their Lord. Let us examine ourselves. Am I acknowledging the Lord in all my ways or am I not ? "

Sermon preached by Robert Hyde.

From notes taken by John Stutterd (son of Thomas).

Aug. 1st 1802. Afternoon.

" Text St. John 14, 2—' In my Father's house are many mansions ; if it were not so, I would have told you. I go to prepare a place for you.'

The Blessed Redeemer by coming into ye world and suffering and dying for sinners has brought life and immortality to Light, i.e. it is more clearly revealed.

1st.—THE NATURE OF THESE MANSIONS.

(1) They are lucid ones.
There is no night there neither in a literal or a metaphorical sense ; for their sun shall not go down. God will be their sun. They will have all darkness and ignorance dispelled from their mind. They will know even as they are known.

(2) They are wealthy ones. There is a treasure there where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, nor thieves break thro nor steal.

(3) They are healthy mansions. No pains nor sickness. All sin will be done away with and consequently all consequences thereof.

(4) They are peaceful ones. No dissentions nor disputes, all at peace there they shall see eye to eye.

(5) They are joyful ones. In ye presence of God there is a fulness of joy and pleasures for ever more.

(6) They are durable, everlasting etc.

2nd.—FOR WHOM ARE THESE GLORIOUS MANSIONS PREPARED.

(1) For ye wise. Those who are taught by God. Taught what they are by nature. Ye way of salvation etc. Ye wise shall inherit glory.

(2) For ye just. The new Jerusalem is inhabited by ye spirits of ye just made perfect.

(3) For sons, not by creation but by grace, except we be born again we cannot enter into ye Kingdom of heaven.

(4) For servants, those who keep His commandments.

(5) For ye humble, those that are poor and low in their own eyes. Matt. 5, 3.

(6) For those that persevere in the way of duty, that hold on their way tis he that endureth to the end, even to death, that shall receive the crown.

From ye description of these mansions we may say that they are desirable but do we answer to ye character ? Are we wise etc. ? "

THE REV. JOSHUA WOOD'S CIRCULAR LETTER ON CHRISTIAN ZEAL.

THE
MINISTERS
of the Denomination, called,
PARTICULAR BAPTISTS,

Being met in ASSOCIATION, at Cowling-Hill, May the 30th, 31st, 1792, send their CHRISTIAN SALUTATION to the several CHURCHES, with whom they stand connected.

MEETING AT

Gildersome,	Hebden-Bridge,	Preston,
Leeds,	Rochdale,	Colne,
Rawden,	Bacup,	Barnoldswick,
Halifax,	Clough-Fold,	Cowling-Hill.
Salendine-Nook,	Ackrington,	Sutton,
Wainsgate,	Blackburn,	Elland.

"DEAR BRETHREN,

It is, we trust, from love to our common Lord, and with a view to your spiritual welfare, that we have annually, for several years past, addressed you on various subjects, which we would have you to consider, not as mere objects of speculation, but as tending to holy practice, and that you are no farther edified by them, than your real holiness is increased; or your hearts and lives more extensively correspond with the nature of sacred truths. Our last year's letter was on the important topic of CHRISTIAN BENEVOLENCE, we would now present you with a few hints on CHRISTIAN ZEAL, a subject nearly akin to the former, both as to its nature and worth.

The ZEAL, which is the subject of this letter, has the epithet Christian given it, to distinguish it from all other kinds of Zeal, or to signify that it is not any sort of zeal which is meant; but that only which is peculiar to a real christian, a true saint.

Though CHRISTIAN ZEAL may have something in it, which may be in the zeal of the sinner; yet taken in its whole compass, or with respect to all its properties, it is really distinct, or quite different from all that zeal which ever was found in the heart of the natural man. As CHRISTIAN FAITH, CHRISTIAN BENEVOLENCE, CHRISTIAN FEAR, &c., mean holy exercises of soul, entirely different from any thing which carnal men enjoy, and hence, real christians are

said to be new creatures, and not to be of the world (2 Cor. v. 1, John xv. 19, and xvii. 16). So CHRISTIAN ZEAL is that which is peculiar to real Christians, or to those, who, in the Scripture, are stiled believers, spiritual persons, saints, &c. —We may as well expect to find grapes springing from thorns —figs from thistles—or the spontaneous growth of a fine tulip from a barren rock, as to find CHRISTIAN ZEAL in unconverted persons, however polite, learned, and externally regular they may be: Holy Zeal cannot be found in the hearts of those, who have no spiritually good thing in them.

Zeal, considered as a natural passion, may be defined to be, a strong love to a thing, attended with indignation against what is supposed to be hurtful to it, and CHRISTIAN ZEAL seems to be an ardent love to divine things, to God, his word, &c.—with indignation, or keen resentment against what opposes, or is contrary to them: Zeal includes an ardent love; we do not say that a man is zealous for an object, if he have only a little love to it, or be not much concerned about it; but that HE has zeal for it, who greatly loves, and is devoted to it: thus, some of the Galatians were zealously affected to corrupt teachers, and their evil tenets, as they loved them greatly—(Gal. iv. 17). Now, though this zeal in the Galatians was wrong, it being placed on improper objects; yet it shews that zeal includes strong love to an object, so that CHRISTIAN ZEAL contains ardent love to God, &c.

Besides, CHRISTIAN ZEAL stands opposed in the scripture, to a lukewarm frame in christians, respecting divine things:—the Laodicean Church was in this detestable state of soul, and in opposition to it, our Lord requires of them holy zeal (Rev. iii. 15, 16, 19).

Farther, holy zeal seems also to include indignation, or keen resentment against things which appear contrary to those divine objects that a saint vehemently loves; when Phineas slew a great man in Israel, and the Midianitish woman for their idolatry, and audacious uncleanness;—this is called his zeal for the Lord, as it was an expression of his indignation against their sin, as well as of vigorous love to God, and his honour (Num. xxv. 7, 8, 13)—and though we have no divine commission, as he had, to slay the perpetrators of evil; yet his inward indignation against sin, is what belongs to our zeal, if we have any of this sacred flame,—and indeed, this is inseparably connected with fervent love to divine things, for when we fervently love any object, we must proportionately resent what tends to hurt, to obscure, and injure it.

Moreover, this account of zeal, as consisting in fervent love to divine things, with keen resentment to what is contrary to them, may be strengthened by the sense of the word zeal, when applied to God: it signifies his flaming love to his people (Isa. ix. 6, lxiii. 15, and other places) and it also denotes his anger against his and their enemies (Isa. xlii. 13). THE LORD SHALL STIR UP JEALOUSY (or zeal) LIKE A MAN OF WAR; HE SHALL CRY; YEA, ROAR; HE SHALL PREVAIL AGAINST HIS ENEMIES—See also Zech. viii. 2.

It was necessary to give you a definition of what, in the general, we mean by CHRISTIAN ZEAL; for without this, all that might be said upon it, would be a mere sound of words, without any pertinent ideas;—a shooting in the dark, or at random,—and from this account of CHRISTIAN ZEAL, it appears, that it stands opposed to a neutral spirit in religious matters, to a halting betwixt God and Baal, and to a Lukewarm temper.

It may now be proper to make a few observations respecting this CHRISTIAN ZEAL; to mention a few things, in which it shews itself:—an advantage or two connected with it, and a few motives to its exercise.*

*We might then give a direction or two to those who have declined in their holy zeal; in order to the revival of it, but there will be no room for this.

The first observation is, that the object of this zeal is not any sentiment or practice, that is contrary, or not agreeable to the word of God; to be zealous in what is wrong, is certainly no amiable disposition, and so cannot be that zeal which has God's approbation affixed to it:—we should take care that what we are zealous for, is not some error or sin, for if it be, our zeal concerning it will be sinful, and very far from the nature of holy zeal. Saul in his zeal for the Israelites, sought to slay the Gibeonites; he had, or at least professed to have a strong affection for Israel and Judah, and in indignation against the Gibeonites who, as he supposed, were injurious to the former, and so he rashly slew them, though Israel had sworn to preserve their lives, and were in a just league with them. Saul's zeal was therefore exercised in a bad cause, and so could not be holy zeal (2 Sam. 1, 2 to the 14th inclusive).

This spurious kind of zeal Paul was guilty of before his conversion;—he was exceedingly zealous of the traditions of his Fathers (Gal. i. 14)—which do not mean divinely written

truths ; but those oral traditions, which the Jews, when our Lord was on earth, were such stricklers for, and by which, they made void the commandment of God ; (Matt. xv. 2, 3 & Mark vii.)—this unlawful zeal also appeared in Paul's persecution of the saints, prior to his change of heart. He then thought that he ought to do many things contrary to the name of Jesus of Nazareth, and from a strong love to error (which yet he supposed to be the truth), he had a flaming indignation against the disciples of Jesus, concerning zeal, he persecuted the church of God (Phil. iii. 6). The vile popes, and their deluded votaries, have shewn the same horrid spirit against those whom they were pleased to stile heretics, but who, in reality, were the excellent of the earth, the precious saints of the most high. The papal whore has been drunk with the blood of the saints and martyrs of Jesus (Rev. xvii. 16). In like manner, all that zeal must be sinful, which heathens, or jews, who have acted the part of heathens, have shewn to their fictitious gods, in their idolatrous worship, such as Baal's priests performed, when they cried so earnestly to him, from morning till noon, cutting themselves with knives and lancets, till the blood gushed out (1 Kings xviii. 26, &c.), and such zeal as Demetrius, and the idolatrous Ephesians expressed for Diana (Acts xix. 24, 28). God is a jealous God, and cannot bear that any should be religiously worshipped, except himself,—cannot admit of any competitor, and whatever may be the particular motive to zeal, for idolatry, it is zeal in a bad cause,—and may we not say also, that the zeal of many nominal christians, for their own works, as the foundation of justification with God, is sinful ?—Yes, it is true, that works which are good, as to the matter of them, should be done,—but to consider them, and to be zealous for them, as the ground of a title to life, is certainly sinful, seeing it makes Christ's righteousness a needless and vain thing, and is contrary to the very nature of salvation by him (Gal. ii. 21, iii. 21, 22). This is that zeal which the apostle says, is not according to knowledge, and which his blind country-men had, who submitted not to that righteousness of Jesus, which was the contrivance of the Father and wrought out by the Son, who was God as well as man (Rom. x. 2, 3, 4). In short, no human inventions in the worship of God,—no errors,—no immoralities,—nothing contrary to the sacred scriptures, can be the object of holy zeal, except so far as it respects indignation against them : the more men love such things, and resent the opposite truths, the greater is their sin.

The second observation is, that the objects of CHRISTIAN ZEAL, are God, the gospel, &c.—this has been barely mentioned before ; but it is now repeated with a view to a little enlargement. If we should be zealous for, or fervently love any object, surely God claims our first regard ;—zeal for things respecting him, is called, a zeal for the Lord, as it centres in him, and supposes a vigorous affection to him. Every real christian loves God above all earthy enjoyments, as to his habitual frame, and when he thus loves him in an extensive degree, then he may be said to have zeal towards God. Asaph, from an ennlarged view of God's goodness and excellence, in his gracious dealings with him, and of an interest in his special favour, loved him fervently, saying, Whom have I in heaven but thee ? and there is none upon earth that I desire besides (or with) thee (Psalm lxxiii. 25). David also had fervent love to his God, when he stiled him his exceeding joy ;—and when saints have this warm affection, then they are zealous for him.

The truths of the gospel are also the objects of their zeal, —as the atonement of Christ,—justification by his righteousness, the free, great, and sovereign love of God, in sending his Son to die &c. " It is good to be zealously affected always in a good thing " (Gal. iv. 18)—and surely the doctrines of the gospel are good things,—glad tidings of good things to miserable, ruined sinners, and zeal for them contains an ardent love to them, such a like one as Paul had, when he esteemed the gospel of the grace of God so, as to be very willing to part with his life, if need should require, for its advancement (Acts xx. 24).

The commands of God are likewise the objects of holy zeal ; there, a zealous Christian fervently loves, so far as his knowledge of them extends :—he highly esteems the commands of loving and serving God, of justice and mercy to men ;—" Fervent in spirit, serving the Lord " (Rom. xii. 11). He labours fervently in prayer for himself and others (Col. iv. 12). The psalmist's language is his,—I love thy testimonies exceedingly (Ps. cxix. 167).

The positive institutions of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, are also the objects of holy zeal : though in some sense, they may be allowed not to be of equal importance with love to God, and duties purely moral ; yet having the stamp of divine authority upon them, they ought to be highly esteemed, and not to be accounted indifferent and trifling things. There were various posittive institutions that belonged to the Old Testament, and to these, as well as to moral duties, God exhorted

Israel to take heed, to observe and do, without addition to, or substraction from them (Deut. xii. 13, 30, 31, 32). It had like to have cost Moses his life, as holy a man as he was, for neglecting the positive ceremony of circumcision (Exod. iv. 24), and are not the positive institutions under the New Testament, as precious and deserving of regard, as those under the Old Dispensation ?—certainly they are ;—David highly valued ceremonial worship, as well as merely moral duties, and every zealous christian who is acquainted with, or believes the truth of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, greatly loves them.

Again, the cause of Christ, or the spread of the gospel, the increase of his spiritual subjects, and the edification of those who are already converted, may be considered as an object of CHRISTIAN ZEAL. If we love Christ fervently, my dear Brethren, we cannot but ardently love the prosperity of his interest in the world ; zealous Paul, esteemed the cause of Christ so dearly, that he was willing to encounter great difficulties for the promotion of it, not only to be bound, but to die at Jerusalem for the name of the Lord Jesus (Acts xxi. 13). The cause of Christ is a good cause, and so we should be zealous in promoting it.

Also the rule of scripture, respecting the discipline of God's house, or the reception of persons into a gospel-church, and the exclusion of impenitent offenders, &c.—is what holy zeal is concerned about. The church at Jerusalem did not believe Paul to be a disciple, and so would not receive him, till convinced of his sincerity (Acts ix. 26, 27)—and the church at Ephesus could not bear them that were evil, though she had lost her first love. Once more, the ministers and people of Christ are an object of holy zeal, thus we read of the fervent mind, or zeal of the Corinthians to the apostles (2 Cor. vii. 7) —and of the great zeal of Epaphras to the Colossians.

As to the other thing included in CHRISTIAN ZEAL, that is, indignation against what opposes, or is contrary to the above mentioned objects ; it is certain, that if we love God fervently, we shall have a warm resentment against Sin, which is directly opposite to him ;—Do not I hate them, O Lord, that hate thee ? yea, I hate them with a perfect hatred, I count them mine enemies (Ps. cxxxix.).

Are the great doctrines of the Gospel dear to us ?—then we shall greatly dislike the contrary errors, and especially those which tend to overthrow the Deity of Christ,—his atoning sacrifice, &c.

Again, do we highly esteem the positive institutions under the New Testament ?—then shall we feel a proportionable resentment to what is contrary to them, whether maintained by Papists, or Protestants, and the same may be said with respect to the other particulars.

The third observation we would make is, that the holy indignation included in CHRISTIAN ZEAL, is not anger against the persons of men, but against their sins, and is accompanied with pity to their persons, and particularly with resentment against our own sins. It is not that ferocious temper towards those who sin, which tends to hurt them by angry words or actions, for a meek disposition is to be exercised to those that oppose themselves (2 Tim. ii. 11, 24, 25, & Gal. vi. 1).

We should beware of accounting bitterness, angry tempers, and a vindictive spirit, any part of holy zeal, lest we fall under the censure of Christ, who, when his disciples were for commanding fire from heaven upon the guilty Samaritans, said, "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of" (Luke ix. 54, 55). And the keen resentment included in holy zeal is accompanied with pity to the persons of men, as it was in Christ (Mark iii. 5)—and as Paul bewailed those that had sinned, as one that commiserated their case. Further, though those who sin may be our nearest relatives, according to the flesh, yet, if we are zealous christians, we shall resent their sinful conduct (Deut. xxxiii. 9, Gal. ii.)—and particularly, it is attended with indignation against our own sins ; —true zeal begins at home ;—some seem very zealous against the sins of others, as most pernicious things, as high misdemeaners ; but, alas ! they are blind in a great measure, to their own sins : when David by Nathan's parable, had heard the cruelty of a rich man against a poor traveller (not discerning that he was the very person intended) it is said, his anger was greatly kindled against the rich man, so that he affirmed that he should surely die, though he was not sensible, as he ought to have been, of his own great sin in slaying Uriah (2 Sam. xii., Gen. xxxviii. 24). Some perceive a mote in their brother's eye, while a beam in their own eye is unnoticed, not properly resented ; but this is not genuine zeal. Let us always endeavour to begin at home.

A fourth observation is, that CHRISTIAN ZEAL is uniform ; it is a zeal for the divine commands, for good works, as well as for the doctrines of grace. Who more zealous for the peculiar doctrines of the gospel, than Paul ? None—and

who more zealous for duty, or good works? His zeal for the gospel was attended with a proportionable regard for duty; —as to himself, he exercised a conscience void of offence towards God and men, and pressed with the great ardour after more holiness, and he warmly stimulated other saints to devote their whole persons to the service of God, and that too, from the considerations of gospel doctrines, in which there is so great a display of the special mercy of God (Rom. xii. 1). Some professors have a kind of zeal for the doctrines of the gospel, which is not approved by God; when they hear these they smile, hearken diligently, and are ready to say within themselves, O brave!—this IS preaching!—but when they hear duties strictly enforced from the divine authority, and from gospel motives, then they put on a frowning countenance, soon drop their attention, and say, this is poor legal stuff, and the preachers of it are half Arminians, if not altogether so; but the zeal of such persons is not genuine, and their wickedness in slighting duty is exceedingly vile, so that we are at a loss for a name fully to express its atrocious nature.

Again, true zeal is uniform, as to all known duties and sins;—"I esteem all thy presepts concerning all things to be right: and I hate every false way" (Psalm cxix. 128). If we are zealous for one duty and not for another, and against one known sin, and not another, our zeal seems spurious. Let us examine ourselves by the uniformity of our zeal, this is a criterion of it, which will not deceive us.

The fifth observation is, that true CHRISTIAN ZEAL, is more especially employed about the more important truths of God's word; though all duties are important; yet some are more so than others;—"Ye pay tithe of mint and anise and cummin, and have omitted the weightier matters of the law, Judgment, Mercy and Faith" (Matt. xxiii. 23). All sin is detestable, but some sins are more vile than others; and all the truths of the gospel are precious, and what we should be zealous for; and yet, as all must allow, some are more important than others. Now CHRISTIAN ZEAL which is always according to knowledge, is especially exercised in the most important things; some are very zealous about less matters, while the greater are neglected; they are so intent on the saddle as to lose sight of the horse. Once more Christian Zeal is attended with proportionable humility; false zeal is proud, full of boasting, "Come with me, and see my zeal for the Lord" (2 Kings x. 16)—but holy zeal is of an opposite nature.

We would now, secondly, as was proposed, mention a few things, in which Christian Zeal manifests itself. It does not appear in angry contentions about religious things, which are always hurtful, as well as contrary to the divine injunction; nor in curious and unnecessary questions and strifes about mere words, which produce envy, debates, evil tempers (1 Tim. vi. 4—2 Tim. ii. 23, 24). Nor in false representations of our opponents, and rash judging, in order to promote what we account truth; as in representing some as Arminians, merely because they assert the obligation of sinners to repent and believe, and on the other hand, a speaking of others as Antinomians, merely because they deny, that special repentance and faith are the duties of natural men; nor does Christian Zeal shew itself in courting danger by an inconsiderate rushing into trouble; nor by unnecessary familiarity with those who are known enemies to the Deity of Christ and by consequence, to his atonement, &c. For as unnecessary familiarity with immoral persons is to be avoided, lest we be defiled with their ways (Prov. xxii. 24, 25)—so by a parity of reason, needless friendship with men who are known enemies to what we account fundamentals in Christianity, should be avoided, lest we learn their evil tenets. Zeal, therefore, if well regulated, will keep from this intimacy; and yet at the same time, it will not be inimical to the above-mentioned persons—as men—as neighbours—as friends of civil and religious liberty, nor to any thing good in them as to the matter of it.

But first, Christian Zeal shews itself in extensive sorrow, when God, his word, and the objects of holy zeal are treated contrary to his law: "My zeal hath consumed me, because mine enemies have forgotten thy words," says David (Psalm cxix. 139). His warm love to God and his truths, and his resentment at a sinful conduct respecting divine things, gave him such pain as to affect and weaken his body (see also Acts xvii. 16). If we can, without deep concern, behold God dishonoured in the contempt shown to his gospel, his commands, cause, and people; it is certain that we are greatly defective as to holy zeal.

Secondly. This zeal also appears in an ardent desire for the glory of God in the spread of his truths, and the spiritual profit of others. Ardent desire is so closely joined with zeal, that to be zealous of spiritual gifts, is earnestly to desire them (1 Cor. xii. 31, compared with chap. xiv. 12)—when the Lord builds up his church, increases the number of believers, promotes their holiness, and so spreads his truths in the world,

then he appears in his glory, manifests his glorious power, goodness, and excellencies (Psalm cii. 16)—this is what saints in general desire ; their language is similar to that of David, "Do good in thy good pleasure unto Zion : built thou the walls of Jerusalem" (Psalm li. 18). But the zealous Christian earnestly desires this ; he wrestles for it at the throne of grace.

Thirdly. Another particular of this nature, is extensive joy, when God is honoured in the propagation of his gospel, laws, and ordinances. As Christian Zeal shews itself in earnest longing for this important event ; so it must appear in the exercise of great pleasure at the accomplishment of it (Prov. xiii. 19).

Fourthly. Another effect of holy zeal, is a diligent observance of duty :—thus Apollos being fervent in spirit, taught diligently the way of the Lord, and, by consequence, was diligent in all other known duties, for there is a connexion betwixt the observation of one, and of the other, as in the motion of the links of a chain ; and particularly Christian Zeal appears, in a cheerful and persevering observance of duty, in obedience to God's command, notwithstanding the obstruction and great difficulties that may be in the way. It is easy to continue in duty with pleasure, when few hindrances impede, like as a traveller goes on his way with ease, in fine weather and a good road ; but when the tempests of affliction befal a Christian, when, instead of being caressed by his spiritual friends, he is unjustly reproached, injuriously treated by them, as well as by a carnal world ; and yet, in obedience to God, moves with alacrity, and perseverance in the way of duty, then his holy zeal appears conspicuous, as it did in Paul, who counted not his life dear to him, so he might finish his course with joy &c. Also, holy zeal appears in a liberal distribution as to those who are of ability, to the poor and needy saints ; in a liberal support of the ministers of Christ ; in contending earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints, by suitable arguments, if they have sufficient knowledge for it, and prudence to manage a dispute ; though as to those who are babes in knowledge, it is best for them to avoid disputes, &c. &c.

The third thing proposed, was to mention an advantage or two which attend this holy zeal, and one particular of this nature is, that it is profitable to our fellow saints ; your zeal hath provoked very many, hath stirred them up to a like holy activity (2 Cor. ix. 2). Soldiers that are zealous for their king and country are an occasion of animating their comrades, of exciting the languid to an imitation of their zeal, and zealous christians are a means of exciting their brethren to holy

ardour ; by their example, advice, and fervent prayers, they promote, in a particular manner, when zealous, the love and spiritual profit of their brethren.

Secondly. The exercise of holy zeal renders a saint more capable of resisting the temptations of Satan, than otherwise he would be ; when he is zealous for divine things, he has more spiritual strength, than when he is in a more cool frame, and therefore he is better furnished to overcome temptation : it is the strength of love, and of inward purity which are adapted to conquer Satan—ye are strong, and have overcome the wicked one (1 Jo. ii. 14). Moreover, holy zeal tends to prevent real christians from distressing fear about the reality of their holiness, and certainty of their final happiness ; when their love to God and divine things is fervent, or when they are zealous for God, there is no room for distressing doubts and fears ; when the fire in the grate is a vehement flame, who can doubt whether there be real fire there ? So perfect love, or sincere love to God and his people when ardent, will not admit of a fear respecting the existence of true holiness in the heart, nor, consequently, of any doubt of future glory, as to those who believe the final perseverance of the saints ; perfect love casteth out fear (1 John iv. 18). It is when our love is little and almost covered with the ashes of inward sin, that distressing fears enter, and it is a great advantage to be free from such fears, especially in a dying hour,—we must all shortly die, and it is a very desirable thing to die with a gracious assurance of an admission to glory ; well, the way thus to die, is to live in the exercise of Christian Zeal.

We would now, as was proposed, in the fourth place, mention some motives to the exercise of this amiable disposition. The advantages connected with this zeal, which we have just mentioned, serve to excite us to it ; but besides these, we should consider, first, the vast importance of the things, concerning which we should be zealous,—if they were trifling matters, we might reasonably treat them with indifference ; but they are the great things of God's word—things more valuable than gold, yea, than much fine gold, sweeter also than honey, and the honeycomb (Psalm xix. 9, 10). God ! —the Gospel !—the Divine Commands ! O how precious are these objects ! and should we not then fervently love them, and have keen resentment against what evidently opposes them ?—certainly we ought. Do men love gold, so as to venture their lives for it, and waste their constitutions to acquire it ? and shall we be remiss in our zeal, for what is better than gold ? God forbid.

Second. The example of zealous saints recorded in scripture, is a motive to excite our holy zeal. Phineas was truly zealous for his God,—Elijah burned with this holy flame, I have been, says he, very jealous, or zealous for the Lord God of Hosts (1 Kings xix. 10, 14). David was a zealous saint, and we should not forget that champion in holy zeal, the apostle Paul ; stimulated by these eminent examples, we should be zealous for God,—particularly in the third place, we should remember the zeal of our Great Master Christ, who says, "The zeal of thine house hath eaten me up" (Psalm lxix. 9—John ii. 14, 17). His Father's glory lay near his heart, and he could not endure the dishonour done him, by those, who made his Father's house a place of merchandise. What eminent zeal did he shew in obeying his Father, notwithstanding the opposition he met with, and the fatigues and unparalleled sufferings which he bore ! and as his meekness and humility are a motive to excite us to a similar behaviour (Matthew xi.), so is his zeal.

Again, consider dear brethren, how zealous many are in a bad cause ; they compass sea and land to make one proselyte, and when he is made, he is worse than he was before (Matt. xxiii. 15), and how zealous for the service of Sin and Satan are drunkards, unclean persons, &c. ! and shall not we be zealous for our God, for his Gospel and Commands : Yes (Micah iv. 5). Farther, we should consider how pleasing holy zeal is to God, and how detestable a luke-warm frame is to him, and so we should exercise holy zeal. Moreover, zeal for good works (and so every other branch of zeal) was one great end, which Christ had in dying for us (Tit. ii. 14), and we should not forget that it will tend to our comfort. To be zealous for God and his Glory, is the road to much of that inward peace in this world, which will sweeten the calamities of life, make us submissively long for heaven, and alleviate the bitterness of death."

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"The NARRATIVE of the proceedings of the Elders and Messengers of the Baptised Congregations, in their General Assembly, met in LONDON on September 3/12/1689.

Whereas we the Pastors and Elders of the several churches in and about London, did meet together, and seriously take into our consideration the particular states of the baptized churches among ourselves ; and after a long persecution, finding the churches generally under great decays in the power of godliness, and defects of gifts for the ministry ; also fearing

that the same decays and defects might be among the churches of the same faith and profession throughout England and Wales, many of their Ministers being deceased, many having ended their days in prison, many scattered by persecution to other parts, far distant from the churches to which they did belong ; from a due sense of these things, did, by letter dated July 28, 1689, write to all the aforesaid churches throughout England and Wales to send their Messengers to a general meeting at London, the 3rd of the 7th month (i.e. Sept.), 1689. And being met together, the first day was spent in humbling ourselves before the Lord, and to seek of him the right way, to direct into the best means and method, to repair our breaches, and to recover ourselves into our former order, beauty and glory. In prosecution thereof, upon the 4th day of the same month, we, the Elders, Ministring Brethren, and Messengers of the churches in and about London ; and Elders, Ministring Brethren, and Messengers of the several churches from several parts of England and Wales hereafter mentioned ; being again come together, after first solemnly seeking the Lord by prayer, did conclude upon these following preliminaries, and lay them down as the foundation of this our assembly, and rules for our proceedings ; wherein all the Messengers of the churches aforesaid, in city and country, as well for the satisfaction of every particular church, as also to prevent all mistakes, misapprehensions and inconveniences that might arise in time to come concerning this general assembly, do solemnly and unanimously profess and declare :

1. That we disclaim all manner of superiority and superintendency over the churches, and that we have no authority or power to prescribe or impose any thing upon the faith or practice of any of the churches of Christ. Our whole intendment is to be helpers together of one another, by way of counsel and advice, in the right understanding of that perfect rule which our Lord Jesus, the Bishop of our souls, hath already prescribed and given to his churches in his word, and therefore do severally and jointly agree.

2. That in those things wherein one church differs from another church in their principles or practices, in point of communion, that we cannot, shall not impose upon any particular church therein, but leave every church to their own liberty to walk together as they have received from the Lord.

3. That if any particular offence doth arise betwixt one church and another, or betwixt one particular person and another, no offence shall be admitted to be debated among us, till the rule

Christ hath given, in this matter, be first answered, and the consent of both parties had, or sufficiently endeavoured.

4. That whatever is determined by us in any case, shall not be binding on any one church, till the consent of that church be first had, and they conclude the same among themselves.

5. That all things we offer by way of counsel and advice, be proved out of the word of God, and the Scriptures annexed.

6. That the Breviates of this meeting be transcribed, and sent to every particular church with a letter.

7. That the Messengers that come to this meeting, be recommended by a letter from the church (to which they belong), and that none be admitted to speak in this assembly unless by general consent.

The letters from several churches being read, the meeting was dismissed till next day, and concluded in prayer.

September 5, 1689.

After solemn seeking the Lord, all the Elders, Ministring Brethren, and Messengers aforesaid, considered, debated and concluded, that a public fund or stock was necessary, and came to a resolve in these three questions: 1. How to raise it. 2. To what uses it should be disposed of. 3. How to secure it.

Question 1. How or by what means this public fund or stock should be raised? Resolved.

1. That it should be raised by a free-will offering. That every person should communicate, for the uses hereafter mentioned, according to his ability, and as the Lord shall make him willing and enlarge his heart; and that the churches severally among themselves do order the collection of it with all convenient speed, that the ends proposed may be put into present practice.

2. That for the constant carrying it on, there be an annual collection made in the several churches, of a half-penny, penny, 2d., 3d., 4d., 6d. per week, more or less, as every person shall be willing; and that every congregation do agree among themselves to collect it, either weekly, monthly or quarterly, according to their own convenience; and that Ministers be desired to shew a good example herein. Exod. xxxv. 4, 5. 1 Chron. xxix. 14. Mal. iii. 10. Hag. i. 9. 2 Cor. viii. 11, 12.

3. That every particular church do appoint their deacons, or any other faithful brethren, to collect, and to acquaint the church with the sum collected, and remit it quarterly into the hands of such persons as are hereafter nominated and appointed to receive it at London; the first quarterly payment to be made on the 5th of December next.

4. That the persons appointed to receive all the aforesaid collections, be our honoured and well-beloved brethren, whose names we have sent you in a printed paper by itself, all living in and about London; and when any of these aforesaid brethren die, then the major part of the survivors of them shall nominate

and appoint another brother in his stead, to be confirmed or refused at the next general meeting of this Assembly. And that the said nine brethren shall disburse it from time to time, for the uses hereafter mentioned, according to the satisfaction they, or the major part of them, shall have from the information and testimony of any two churches in this Assembly, or from the testimony of any particular association of churches in the country, or from the satisfaction they shall have by another other means whatsoever.

Question 2. To what uses this fund or public stock shall be disposed of? Resolved.

1. To communnicate thereof to those churches that are not able to maintain their own ministry, and that their Ministers may be encouraged wholly to devote themselves to the great work of preaching the Gospel.

2. To send Ministers that are ordained, or at least solemnly called to preach, both in city and country, where the Gospel hath, or hath not yet been preached, and to visit the churches; and these to be chosen out of the churches in London, or in the country; which ministers are to be approved of, and sent forth by two churches at the least, but more if it may be.

The persons appointed to receive all the collections made in the respective congregations for the general fund or public stock, are our honoured and well-beloved brethren. Mr. William Kiffin, Mr. Robert Bristow, Mr. Morice King, Mr. John Leader sen., Mr. Isaac Marlow, Mr. John Skinner, Mr. Richard Hallowell, Mr. John Collet, and Mr. Edward Harrison.

Resolved, That the money be remitted from the country, to our beloved brother Mr. Edward Harrison (one of the nine brethren before mentioned), living at the sign of the Hen and Chickens, in Cheapside, London; with another letter signifying the same, to our beloved brother Mr. Morice King, living at the sign of the Mermaid in Lawrence Lane, Silkman, another of the nine brethren aforesaid.

We, whose names are subscribed, testify that the persons aforenamed were unanimously chosed by the whole Assembly, September 12, 1689.

Hansard Knollys,	William Hankins,	Charles Archer,
Robert Steed,	Edmond White,	James Hitt,
William Collins,	Daniel Finch,	Hercules Collins,
Andrew Gifford,	John Tomkins,	Leonard Harrison,
Thomas Vauxe,	Edward Man,	Edward Price,
John Harris,	James Webb,	William Facey,
Benjamin Keach,	Thomas Winnell,	Paul Frewin,
George Barrette,	Richard Adams,	Richard Sutton,
Samuel Buttall,	William Phips,	Robert Keate,
Christopher Price,	John Ball,	John Carter,
William Pritchard,	Richard Ring,	Robert Knight.

3. To assist those members that shall be found in any of the aforesaid churches that are disposed for study, have an inviting gift, and are sound in fundamentals in attaining to the knowledge and understanding of the languages, Latin, Greek and Hebrew.

These members to be represented to the nine Brethren in London, by any two of the churches that belong to this Assembly.

Resolved, The money collected be returned, as is expressed in a printed paper before mentioned, to one of the nine Brethren mentioned in the said paper.

Resolved and concluded, That every quarter of a year an account shall be taken by those nine Brethren in London, nominated in the printed paper aforesaid, of all the receipts and disbursements belonging to this aforesaid fund or stock: and an account signed by them or the major part of them shall be transmitted to one church in every country, and from that church be communicated to all the rest of the churches aforesaid within the same country with all convenient speed. The first account to be made, and sent the 5th of January next.

Resolved, That what charges soever the said nine Brethren are at in the service of this Assembly, shall be discharged out of the aforesaid stock.

The QUESTIONS proposed from the several churches debated, and resolved.

Q. Whether it be not expedient for churches that live near together, and consist of small numbers, and are not able to maintain their own Ministry, to join together for the better and more comfortable support of their ministry, and better edification one of another?

A. Concluded in the affirmative.

Q. Whether it is not the duty of every church of Christ to maintain such Ministers as are set apart by them, by allowing them a comfortable maintenance according to their ability?

A. Concluded in the affirmative, 1 Cor. ix. 9—14 Gal. vi. 6.

Q. Whether every church ought not to endeavour not only to provide themselves with an able Ministry for the preaching of the word, but also to set apart to office, and in solemn manner ordain such as are duly qualified for the same?

A. Concluded in the affirmative. Acts xiv. 23, Titus i. 5.

Q. Whether Baptized Believers are not at liberty to hear any sober and pious men of the Independent and Presbyterian persuasion, when they have no opportunity to attend upon the preaching of the word in their own Assembly, or have no other to preach unto them?

A. Concluded in the affirmative. Acts xviii. 24, 25, 26.

Q. Whether the continuing of gifted Brethren many years upon trial of Eldership, or any person for the office of a deacon, without ordaining them, although qualified for the same, be not an omission of an ordinance of God?

A. Concluded in the affirmative.

Q. What is the duty of church members when they are disposed to marry, with respect to their choice?

A. To observe the Apostle's rule, to marry only in the Lord. 1 Cor. vii. 39.

Q. Whether, when the church have agreed upon the keeping of one day, weekly, or monthly, besides the first day of the week, to worship God, and perform the necessary services of the church, they may not charge such persons with evil that neglect such meetings, and lay them under reproof, unless such members can shew good cause for such their absence?

A. Concluded in the affirmative. Heb. x. 25.

Q. What is to be done with those persons that will not communicate to the necessary expenses of the church whereof they are members, according to their ability?

A. Resolved, That upon clear proof, the persons so offending, as aforesaid, should be duly admonished; and if no reformation appears, the church ought to withdraw from them. Eph. v. 3, Matt. xxv. 42, 1 John iii. 17.

Q. What is to be done with those persons that withdraw themselves from the fellowship of that particular church, whereof they are members, and join themselves to the communion of the National Church?

A. To use all due means to reclaim them by instructions and admonition; and if not thereby reclaimed, to reject them. Matt. xviii. 17, Luke ix. 62, Heb. x. 38, Jude 19.

Resolved, That the like method be taken with those that wholly forsake the fellowship of that congregation to which they have solemnly given up themselves.

Q. Whether Believers were not actually reconciled to God, actually justified, and adopted, when Christ died?

A. That the reconciliation, justification and adoption of Believers, are infallibly secured by the gracious purpose of God, and merit of Jesus Christ. Yet none can be said to be actually reconciled, justified or adopted, until they are really implanted into Jesus Christ by faith; and so by virtue of this their union with him, have these fundamental benefits actually conveyed unto them. And this, we conceive, is fully evidenced, because the Scripture attributes all these benefits to faith as the instrumental cause of them. Rom. iii. 25, v. 1, 11; Gal. iii. 26. And gives such representation of the state of the elect before faith, as is altogether inconsistent with an actual right in them. Eph. ii. 1, 2, 3, 12.

Q. Whether it be not necessary for the Elders, Ministring Brethren and Messengers of the churches, to take into their serious consideration those excesses that are found among their members, men and women, with respect to their apparel?

A. In the affirmative. That it is a shame for men to wear long hair, or long periwigs, and especially Ministers. 1 Cor. xi. 14, or strange apparel, Zeph. i. 8. That the Lord reproves the daughters of Zion, for the bravery, haughtiness, and pride of their attire, walking with stretched-out necks, wanton eyes, mincing as they go, Isa. iii. 16. As if they affected tallness, as one observes upon their stretched-out necks; though some in these time seem, by their dresses, to out-do them in that respect. The Apostle Paul exhorts, in 1 Tim. ii. 9, 10, that "women adorn themselves in modest apparel, with shamefacedness and sobriety; not with broidered hair, or gold or pearls, or costly array; but with good works, as becometh women professing godliness." And, 1 Pet. iii. 3, 4, 5. "Whose adorning let it not be the outward adorning of plaiting the hair, and of wearing of gold, or of putting on of apparel; but the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, which is, in the sight of God, of great price: for after this (fashion, or) manner, in old time, the holy women who trusted in God adorned themselves." And therefore, we cannot but bewail it with much sorrow and grief of spirit, that those brethren and sisters who have solemnly professed in duty not to conform to this world, Rom. xii. 2, should so much

conform to the fashion of this world, and not reform themselves in those inclinations that their natures addicted them to in days of ignorance, 1 Pet. i. 14. From these considerations, we earnestly desire that men and women whose souls are committed to our charge, may be watched over in this matter, and that care be taken, and all just and due means used, for a reformation herein ; and that such who are guilty of this crying sin of pride, that abounds in the churches as well as in the nation, may be reproved ; especially considering what time and treasure is foolishly wasted in adorning the body, which would be better spent in a careful endeavour to adorn the soul ; and the charge laid out upon those superfluities, to relieve the necessities of the poor saints, and to promote the interest of Jesus Christ. And though we deny not but in some cases ornaments may be allowed, yet whatever ornaments in men and women are inconsistent with modesty, gravity, sobriety, and prove a scandal to religion opening the mouths of the ungodly, ought to be cast off, being truly no ornaments to believers, but rather a defilement ; and that those Ministers and Churches who do not endeavour after a reformation herein, are justly to be blamed.

Q. Whether it be not the duty of all Christians, and Churches of Christ, religiously to observe the Lord's day, or first day of the week, in the worship and service of God, both in public and private ?

A. It is concluded in the affirmative.—Because we find that day was set apart for the solemn worship of God, by our Lord Jesus, and his holy apostles, through the infallible inspiration of the Holy Spirit.

1st. Because it appears that the Son of God, who was manifested in the flesh, had authority to make a change of the solemn day of worship, being Lord of the Sabbath. Matth. xii. 8.

2nd. It is manifest that our blessed Lord and Saviour arose on that day, as having completed and confirmed the work of our redemption, Matt. xxviii. 1 ; Luke xxiv. 1 ; John xx. 1 ; whereby he laid the foundation of the observation of that day.

3rd. Our Lord Jesus did then, on that day, most plainly and solemnly appear to his disciples, teaching and instructing them, blessing them, and giving them their commission, breathing on them the Holy Ghost, Luke xxiv. 13, 27, 36 ; John xx. 19-23. Moreover, on the next first day of the week, he appeared to them again, giving them a further infallible proof of his glorious resurrection : and then convinced the apostle Thomas, who was absent the first day before, but was now with them, John xx. 26. Whereby it appears he sanctified and confirmed the religious observation of that day by his own example.

4th. Our Lord and Saviour remained with his disciples forty days after his resurrection, speaking to them of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God, Acts i. 3. And we question not but he then gave command about the observation of this day.

5th. For a further confirmation hereof, it appears that after his ascension, when his disciples or apostles were assembled together solemnly with one accord, on the day of Pentecost, which, by all computation, was the first day of the week ; recorded, Acts ii. 1, 2. He then poured out his Holy Spirit in a marvellous and an abundant measure upon them.

6th. Accordingly, afterwards, we find this day was solemnly observed by the churches, as appears, Acts xx. 7, where we have

the churches assembling on that day plainly asserted, with the solemn duties then performed, which were preaching and breaking of bread; and all this recorded as their usual custom, which could be from no other cause but divine and apostolic institution. And it is most remarkable, and worth the serious observation of all the Lord's people, that although the holy apostles, and others that were preachers of the gospel, took their opportunities to preach the word on the Jewish sabbath-day, and on other days of the week as they had convenient seasons afforded; yet we have no example of the churches then assembling together to celebrate all the ordinances of our Lord Jesus peculiar to them but on the first day of the week; which manifest practice of theirs is evidently as plain a demonstration of its being a day set apart for religious worship, by the will and command of our Lord Jesus, as if it had been expressed in the plainest words. Forasmuch as they did nothing in those purest primitive times in the sacred worship of God, either as to time and form, but by a divine warrant from the holy apostles, who were instructed by our Lord Jesus, and were guided in all those affairs by his faithful and infallible Holy Spirit.

7th. In like manner the solemn ordinance of collection for the necessities of the poor saints, was commanded to be performed on that day, 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2, by an apostolic ordination which, without question, by reason of their observing that day for their holy assembling and worship, was then required.

Lastly. It is asserted by all the considerate and able expositors of the holy scriptures, that the denomination or title of Lord's day, mentioned Rev. i. 10, was attributed to the first day of the week, as the usual distinguishing name given to that solemn day by the Christians, or churches, in the primitive times; and as being a day to be spent wholly in the service and worship of the Lord, and not in our own worldly and secular affairs, which are lawful to be attended unto on other days of the week.

From all which, laid together and considered, we are convinced, that it is our duty religiously to observe that holy day in the celebration of the worship of God.

Q. Whether the graces and gifts of the Holy Spirit be not sufficient to the making and continuing of an honourable ministry in the churches?

A. Resolved in the affirmative. Eph. iv. 8, 9; 1 Cor. xii. 7.

Q. Whether it be not advantageous for our brethren now in the ministry, or that may be in the ministry, to attain to a competent knowledge of the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin tongues, that they may be the better capable of defending the truth against opposers?

A. Resolved in the affirmative.

Q. Whether an Elder of one church may administer the Ordinance in other churches of the same faith?

A. That an Elder of one church, may administer the ordinance of the Lord's supper to another of the same faith, being called so to do by the said church; tho' not as their Pastor, but as a Minister, necessity only being considered in this case.

We the Ministers and Messengers of, and concerned for upwards of one hundred baptized congregations in England and Wales, denying arminianism, being met together in London

from the 3rd of the 7th month to the 11th of the same, 1689, to consider of some things that might be for the glory of God, and the good of these congregations ; have thought meet, for the satisfaction of all other Christians that differ from us in the point of Baptism, to recommend to their perusal the confession of our faith, which we own, as containing the doctrine of our faith and practice ; and do desire that the members of our churches respectively do furnish themselves therewith.

Moreover, this assembly do declare their approbation of a certain little book, lately recommended by divers Elders dwelling in and about the city of London, entitled, " The Ministers' Maintenance Vindicated." And it is their request, that the said treatise be dispersed among all our respective congregations ; and it is desired that some brethren of each church take care to dispose of the same accordingly.

The Elders and Messengers of the Assembly, in consequence of illiberal aspersions cast upon their connections, concluded the narrative of 1689, declaring their abhorrence of the late King's absolute and dispensing power, as well as their united and most hearty determination, " to venture their ALL for the Protestant religion, and the liberties of their native country." " And we do," say they, " with great thankfulness to God, acknowledge his special goodness to these nations, in raising up our present King William, to be a blessed instrument in his hand, to deliver us from Popery and arbitrary power ; and shall always, as in duty bound, pray that the Lord may continue him and his Royal Consort long to be a blessing to these kingdoms ; and shall always be ready, to the utmost of our ability, in our places, to join our hearts and hands, with the rest of our Protestant brethren, for the preservation of the Protestant religion, and the liberties of the nation.

" William Kiffin,	Benjamin Keach,	Thomas Winner,
Hanserd Knollys,	Samuel Buttall,	James Hitt,
Andrew Gifford,	Isaac Lamb,	Edward Price,
Robert Steed,	Christopher Price,	William Phips,
Thomas Vauxe,	Robert Keate,	William Facey,
John Tomkins,	Richard Tidmarsh,	John Ball,
Toby Wells,	James Webb,	William Hankins,
George Barret,	John Harris,	Paul Fruin."

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