

**THE SOCIAL CONSCIENCE OF ENGLISH BAPTISTS IN THE LATER  
NINETEENTH CENTURY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE  
WORK OF DR. JOHN CLIFFORD**

by  
**Philip R. Hart**

**1962**

**Submitted in partial fulfilment of the  
requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy**

**POST-GRADUATE SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY  
UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH**



## PREFACE

Social progress is the result not only of what men do in a particular period of history, but how those of later generations build upon the labor of their fathers. As John Clifford desired that he and his contemporaries should fulfil the dream of their Baptist forbears for a Christian society, so men of my generation search for solutions to the current social problems.

A study of the social conscience among English Baptists in the later nineteenth century should help to clarify the role of the Church in society in the mid-twentieth century which faces problems similar to those of a century ago. What is the Church's responsibility for solving social problems? Must she aid men in their adjustment to life as it is, or must she awaken a slothful society to the perils of its own weaknesses? How can the Church make her contribution to the world in which she lives? What insight can the Church in the mid-twentieth century gain from the English Baptists of three quarters of a century ago?

This paper does not attempt to prove any preconceived hypotheses, but to present the material in such a way that the English Baptists can speak according to the social conscience which was among them. "Social conscience" is understood to be the sensitiveness to weaknesses within the social order; the compulsion to warn, to accuse,

and to reproach man for his immoral treatment of another man; and the ability to speak and to act according to convictions.

The limitations for specific study have been set at 1870 and 1906 for various reasons. This period defined "later nineteenth century" and, at the same time, allowed me to study the continuation of nineteenth century ideas for a brief time in the twentieth century, especially as seen in F. B. Meyer, George White, and William Willis. Of course, John Clifford was studied to the end of his life in 1923.

Furthermore, from about 1870 to the end of the century, many social changes took place rapidly. The survey in Chapter One gives a sketch of some of these changes. By 1907 Nonconformists had an intense interest in the social conditions of the people, and the "social gospel" had obtained widespread support among them, although it was not, as yet, anything like a party among them. After this date, Nonconformist churches began to abandon their nineteenth century individualism,<sup>1</sup> and substantial changes were noticeable in Baptist social thinking.<sup>2</sup> Extension of the research to 1906 carried the study to a mid-point between the turn of the century and the beginning of World War I, which marked a new era.

I am indebted to earlier students of John Clifford's life for their quotations from primary materials which are now unavailable.

---

<sup>1</sup>John W. Grant, Free Churchmanship in England, 1870-1940 (London: The Independent Press, Ltd., 1955), p. 170.

<sup>2</sup>J. T. Forbes, The Social System Compared with the Principles and Ideals of the Kingdom of God (London: Kingsgate Press, 1908), p. 2.

Numerous items have been lost, including Clifford's diaries, letters, and autobiographical notes.

Many persons and institutions have assisted me in the research and writing of this paper. I should like to acknowledge the guidance given to me by my advisors at New College, the Rev. Professor William S. Tindal, D. D., and the Rev. Principal Charles S. Duthie, D. D. I am also grateful to the Rev. Dr. Ernest A. Payne, General Secretary of the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland, for his suggestions and for the use of the Baptist Union Library; to the Rev. Edward S. Starr, Curator of the American Baptist Historical Society, for the use of the Society's Library; to the Rev. Robert E. Cooper, former pastor of the Westbourne Park Baptist Church, for the use of the records at the Westbourne Park Church; and to the staffs of the New College Library and the National Library of Scotland in Edinburgh and of the Virginia Baptist Historical Library at the University of Richmond, Virginia.

I should like to express my appreciation to Dr. George M. Modlin, president of the University of Richmond, and to the Board of Trustees of the University for a leave of absence, enabling me to complete this study, and to my colleagues in the Department of Bible and Religion of the University of Richmond for their generous assistance during those months. Also, I am grateful to the Research Council of the University Center in Virginia, Incorporated, for grants of money which enabled me to proceed with the research for this paper.

I wish to extend my appreciation to Mr. John H. McKay, Mrs. Joseph E. Nettles, Mrs. W. M. Kellogg, and Miss Dorothy Rountree who assisted me in the preparation of this paper for presentation.

Lastly, I am most grateful to my wife and to our two sons for their understanding, assistance, and encouragement.

My resources for spelling, grammar, diction, and form have been American references; namely, (1) The Winston Simplified Dictionary; College Edition, published by The John C. Winston Company of Philadelphia in 1938; (2) Prentice-Hall Handbook for Writers, (2nd ed.), by Glenn Leggett, David Mead, and William Charvat and published by Prentice-Hall in 1954; and (3) A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations, (rev. ed.), by Kate L. Turabian and published by The University of Chicago Press in 1955.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
PREFACE . . . . .	ii
INTRODUCTION. . . . .	1
CHAPTER	
I. A SURVEY OF THE PERIOD, 1870-1906 . . . . .	5
The Social Situation in England	
The Land System	
Labor	
Public Health	
Drunkenness	
Education	
Home and Family Life	
Children	
Status of Women	
Social Theory Among Baptists	
Opposition to Collectivism	
Opposition to Individualism	
The Christian Ethic and the Social System	
The Responsibility of the Church to Society	
Baptist Participation in the Political Life of the Nation	
II. JOHN CLIFFORD, A SOCIAL REFORMER IN THE PASTORATE . . . .	58
An Analysis of His Social Philosophy	
Some Requirements for Social Progress	
The Goal of Social Reform	
His Conception of Society	
The Role of Christianity in Social Reform	
The Church as an Agent of Social Reform	
Socialism and Social Reform	

## II. (Cont'd.)

## His Work at Westbourne Park Chapel

The Pastor  
 The Preacher  
 The Leader of the Congregation

## His Work with Movements for Social Reform

The Minister's Union  
 The Christian Socialist League  
 The Christian Social Brotherhood  
 The Fabian Society  
 The Christian Union for Social Service  
 The Labor Movement  
 The Brotherhood Movement

## III. THE CONCERN OF BAPTISTS FOR THE PROBLEMS OF LABOR . . . . 127

## General Attitude Toward the Problems of Labor

The Industrial Problem  
 Brotherhood in Industry  
 Flexibility in the Search for Settlement

## Interest in the Working Man

The Pleasant Sunday Afternoon Movement  
 The Improvement of Worship Services  
 The Institutional Church

## Hours, Wages, and Working Conditions

Working Hours  
 Wages  
 Sweated Labor and Shop Life  
 Agricultural Laborers  
 Safety of Employees

## Strikes and Lockouts

The Right to Strike  
 Criticism of Strike Action  
 Suggestions for Avoiding Strikes  
 Personal Involvement in Strikes

## Women and Children

The Right to Work  
 Working Conditions  
 Irresponsible Treatment of Children

III. (Cont'd.)

Unemployment

- Suggestions for Relief
- An Experiment at Lingfield
- The Responsibility of the State

Industrial Partnership

- John Clifford on Cooperative Industry
- The Bushills and Profit-sharing

IV. THE CONCERN OF BAPTISTS FOR PROBLEMS OF THE LAND AND AND THE POOR. . . . . 174

The Land

- The Baptist Press and Land Law Reform
- The Nationalization of Land

The Poor

- The Gospel and the Poor
- The Causes and Cures of Poverty
- Efforts Toward Alleviating Misery Among the Poor

V. THE CONCERN OF BAPTISTS FOR THE PROBLEMS OF EDUCATION AND RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL EQUALITY. . . . . 205

Education

- Baptist Perspectives of Public Education
- Legislation on Education
- Baptist Reaction to Legislation on Education
- The Social Dimension of Baptist Concern

Religious and Political Equality

- The Baptist Position
- The Social Dimension of Baptist Opposition to the Establishment
- The Franchise

VI. THE CONCERN OF BAPTISTS FOR PROBLEMS OF SOCIAL BEHAVIOR AND INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT. . . . . 240

Social Behavior

- Drunkenness
- Sexual Immorality
- Gambling



VI. (cont'd,)

International Conflict

- Colonial Policy
- Slave Trade and Atrocities
- War

CONCLUSION. . . . . 275

BIBLIOGRAPHY. . . . . 282

COTTON-CONTENT  
EZEKIAH  
MILLERS PATTS

## INTRODUCTION

In the later nineteenth century English society was still struggling to make a satisfactory adjustment to the changes thrust upon it by the Industrial Revolution. Social problems were serious. Health and housing conditions were acute; educational opportunities were limited; laborers were exploited; and poverty was widespread. John Turland Brown, a Baptist clergyman, gave this description:

Within our rich material civilisation there is a festering leprosy of vulgar vice; with our famous institutions, our noble political life and social order, there is a tyranny of evil and an intensity of class feeling that splits our unity, embitters life, and sometimes turns the processes of industry into an unseemly fight between masters and men. If we consider our palaces and count our towers let us not fail to look closely at our miserable homes, the degradation of habits, the internal sources of weakness, and the destroying powers at work among the people. No foreigner comes to our secure shores to slay us; our destruction is in the form of social suicide; we fall by the hand of our own intemperance and lust.<sup>1</sup>

The current popular conception seems to be that, in spite of this condition, there was little or no social conscience among English Baptists of the later nineteenth century. They were concerned only about preaching the Gospel and preparing men for heaven, where they would receive compensation for the wounds and injustices which they had suffered in their earthly lives. Surely this conception needs to be examined.

---

<sup>1</sup>J. T. Brown, Ministry of the Church in Relation to the People (London: Yates and Alexander, 1877), p. 7.

The last three decades of the century was a period of numerous social movements for reform. The Guild of St. Matthew, founded in 1877, was led by Stewart Headlam, a curate of the Church of England, to express a socialist interpretation of Christianity. Henry M. Hyndman, influenced by Karl Marx, led in founding the Democratic Federation in 1881, which later became the Social Democratic Federation. There were also the Labor Emancipation League, the Socialist League, the Clifton and Bristol Christian Socialists, the Christian Social Union, the Christian Socialist Society, the New Fellowship, the Fabian Society, and the Independent Labor Party. This was the period of Sidney and Beatrice Webb, George Bernard Shaw, William Morris, Keir Hardie, Tom Mann, and John Burns. There were three groups of socialist thinkers: (1) those who prepared for revolution; (2) those who sought change by education, agitation, and legislation; and (3) those who sought to permeate all parties with socialist thinking.<sup>1</sup>

Few Baptists, however, belonged to either of these three schools of socialism or to any of the movements for social reform. They, like other Nonconformists, traditionally adhered to a creed of individualism--Laissez-faire--which led to a diagnosis of social evils; such as drunkenness, gambling, and thriftlessness, as the cause of misery and degradation of the poor, rather than bad housing, unemployment, and terrible working conditions.<sup>2</sup> The stress upon individual conscience

---

<sup>1</sup>G. D. H. Cole, British Working Class Politics, 1832-1914 (London: George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., 1941), p. 92.

<sup>2</sup>H. F. L. Cocks, The Nonconformist Conscience (London: Independent Press, n.d.), p. 43.

and private judgment among Protestants generally concealed the fact that there were problems in an industrialized society with which the individual conscience was unable to cope, and upon which private judgment was seldom prepared to express an opinion.<sup>1</sup>

There was a growing Nonconformist concern, however, and this found strong and influential expression in the latter part of the century. Nonconformists had not been insensitive to grievances of the working men or to the condition of the poor. Representatives from Nonconformity were leaders in Sunday and day schools, generous supporters of charity, distributors of inexpensive literature, and supporters of adult education. As dissenters won places on town and county councils, on school boards, and even in Parliament, they expressed a concern for the health of the community which came to be known as the Nonconformist Conscience. This participation in civic affairs was, no doubt, the point at which Nonconformists began to turn from individual to social thinking. The Nonconformist Conscience had a social dimension because it was founded on a concern for justice and on faith in the dignity of man.

Exponents of the Nonconformist Conscience were found in various places. In Birmingham there were Joseph Chamberlain, the reformer-mayor, and R. W. Dale, a Congregationalist clergyman who almost shared the leadership of the city with Chamberlain. John Brown Paton, minister to a Congregational Chapel in Nottingham, was ahead of his day in social

---

<sup>1</sup>Maurice B. Reckitt, Faith and Society (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1932), p. 94.

conscience. George White, a Baptist layman and a member of Parliament from Norwich, had one of the keenest social consciences of his day. In Bristol, J. Moffat Logan, a Baptist clergyman, worked for social reform and pacifism. In London several clergymen were widely known for their social concern. Among them were Hugh Price Hughes, Methodist; Silvester Horne, Congregationalist; and John Clifford, F. B. Meyer, and John C. Carlile, Baptist.

Since Baptists shared in the development and in the expression of the Nonconformist Conscience on social questions, there was evidence that they were concerned about the temporal conditions of men. In the pages which follow, we will examine the nature, direction, and intensity of this concern.

## CHAPTER I

### A SURVEY OF THE PERIOD, 1870-1906

#### The Social Situation in England

Certain general characteristics of the period stand out prominently. There was no war fought on English soil nor was there any great fear of foreign intervention. It was a period of intense interest in religious questions, influenced by seriousness of thought, self-discipline of character, and modern theories of geology and anthropology. Furthermore, it was a period when the State was rapidly undertaking new social functions in an effort to make an adjustment to the new industrial conditions. Basic in the development of the period was a self-reliant, independent attitude. Self-help was a basic philosophy of the times.

Progress seemed to be the result of individual effort, just as capital seemed to be the result of individual saving. Progress was that which brought the greatest good to the greatest number<sup>1</sup> as seen in the enlarging railway system, the growth of the electric telegraph, the building of ocean-going iron and steel steamships around the middle of the century. Trade Unions and Cooperatives helped to distribute

---

<sup>1</sup>British Broadcasting Corporation, Ideas and Beliefs of the Victorians; an Historic Reevaluation of the Victorian Age (London: Sylvan Press Ltd., 1949), p. 61.

the growing national dividend a little more easily, a dividend which was increased sizably by increased trade due to the discoveries of gold in California and Australia. "In 1870 the volume of external trade of the United Kingdom exceeded that of France, Germany and Italy together and was between three and four times that of the United States."<sup>1</sup>

The influence of the various governments of the period upon the social conditions was felt in many areas. After Palmerston's death, Russell was the chief of the Whig-Liberal party, and he favored the extension of the franchise and the development of the party out of aristocratic Whigism into democratic Liberalism. When Russell became too old for leadership, Gladstone took the reins of government, making an alliance with John Bright who was leading a movement for the vote of town artisans and of the lower middle class. It so happened that the victory of the North in the American civil war had an influence on the voting progress in England, and the issue was brought straight to the forefront in British politics.

During Gladstone's first ministry, beginning in 1868, the Universities were opened to all creeds; a national system of elementary education was established; army reform was begun; civil service was opened to all qualified persons based on competitive examinations; the Ballot Act and a Criminal Law Amendment Act were passed.

---

<sup>1</sup>George M. Trevelyan, English Social History; a Survey of Six Centuries, Chaucer to Queen Victoria (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1942), p. 534.

Under Disraeli (1874-1880), a conservative government passed a Public Health Act and an Artisans Dwelling Act. Gladstone's Criminal Law Amendment Act was repealed. When Gladstone returned to lead the government, he was successful in extending household suffrage to the county constituencies through the Third Reform Bill, 1884-85.

The last two decades of Victoria's reign were marked by "municipal socialism"; such as, wash-houses, baths, museums, public libraries, parks, gardens, open spaces, allotments, and lodging houses for the working classes set up from the rates. Trams, gas, electricity, and water were municipalized in many places. It was a period of voluntary "settlements" like Toynbee Hall and an awakening of all classes to the danger of slums. Advocacy of old age pensions; the social side of the Salvation Army work and church work; civic patriotism of new London; the work of the Webbs, Henry George, and Hyndman; and the extension of Trade Union activity indicate that social problems were still present.

Town life was a dreary heritage for the twentieth century. Cities were unplanned and without form or feature, lacking the appeal of the old English village life or of the city life of ancient and medieval Europe. Civic pride and rivalry was purely materialistic, not aesthetic. There was too much smoke and smut. The towns were built by landlords to increase their personal gain without thought of amenity or public welfare. In vast areas of large cities there were no open spaces within reach of children who were forced to use the hard, ugly



street. Divorce from nature was complete. Imagination was stifled and personality was gradually standardized.<sup>1</sup>

#### The land system

The system of land ownership constituted a basic barrier to social progress. The landlord system preserved oppressive semi-feudal laws. Farmers and agricultural laborers were dependent upon the system and were seriously oppressed by it. Game laws deprived the tenant and the laborers of the right to hunt. The farmer had to pay the tithe himself as late as 1890.

#### Labor

Nor was the agricultural laborer's counterpart in the city free from oppression. Conditions of labor created numerous problems for him also. Chief among them were financial insecurity, excessive working hours, struggles for legal protection of Trade Unions, protection for unskilled and unorganized labor, safety of the laborer, and unemployment. Employers strengthened their position by federations and effectively used the lockout to force men to work on their terms. During these years, the mildest requests were refused.<sup>2</sup>

Financial insecurity was the result of fluctuations in the vitality of business and of Trade Unionism. Periods of prosperity were

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 578-79.

<sup>2</sup>Sidney and Beatrice Webb, History of Trade Unionism (rev. ed. extended to 1920; London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1920), pp. 525-26.

followed by periods of depression, and Trade Union membership similarly rose and fell. In the eighties, Trade Unions lost their struggle for a legal minimum Standard of Life, having to accept the principle of "sliding scales" for wages. Wages, then, were subject to the rapid changes in the economy of the period. This financial insecurity led to frustration and extreme poverty among the people. Charles Booth calculated that at the end of the eighties there were one and a quarter million people in London living below the "poverty line."<sup>1</sup>

Excessive hours of labor was the companion to inadequate and uncertain wages. Although the work day was shortened, men suffered unfairly throughout the period until the eight hour day was achieved in 1908.

The closing years of the century were perilous ones for Trade Unionism. Although the Trade Union Act of 1871 legalized unions and gave protection for funds, the Criminal Law Amendment Act prohibited striking and picketing and repealed the Act of 1859 which had legalized peaceable persuasion to join legal combinations. In effect, unions lost recognition, and laborers suffered innumerable criminal sentences while employers were protected in their use of the boycott, blacklists, and character notes. Following the victory of the Tories in 1874, the Criminal Law Amendment Act was repealed, and the Master and Servant Act of 1867 was replaced by the Employers and Workman Act. Unions now had the right of collective bargaining, even to strike.

---

<sup>1</sup>Charles Booth (ed.), Labour and Life of the People of London, Vol. II. (London: Williams and Norgate, 1891), p. 21.

During the period industrialists held varying points of view. Some progressives saw that unions increased the self respect of workers and brought something of value to the whole community. They found that increasing profits in some way other than depression of the standard of living of employees was more beneficial to industry. On the other hand, conservative industrialists accepted neither this progressive point of view nor even the legislated freedom of unions. Unskilled workers, especially, were victims of the conservative point of view which retarded the growth and influence of organized labor among them.<sup>1</sup>

As late as the last decade of the century, working men were not legally secure to dispose of their labor as they chose, while employers were protected in their unjust dealing with employees. It was not until the Trades Dispute Act of 1906 that Unions received satisfactory immunity against civil action in respect to any wrongful act committed by or on behalf of a Union.

As drear as the plight of organized labor was, conditions among the unskilled and unorganized laborers were even worse. Ninety percent of workers were unskilled and unorganized,<sup>2</sup> and it was not until the late eighties that they were allowed to join unions hitherto for skilled labor. This great body of workers, hardly known to the "decent poor" or to the skilled artisans, lived in misery and semi-starvation.

---

<sup>1</sup>Francis Williams, Magnificent Journey: the Rise of Trade Unions (London: Odhams Press Ltd., 1954), p. 143.

<sup>2</sup>Francis Williams, Fifty Years March: the Rise of the Labour Party (London: Odhams Press Ltd., 1949), p. 38.

Women and children came in this category of unskilled and unorganized laborers. They received low wages and worked under hazardous conditions. The best legislation on working hours for women that could be achieved in 1875 was a fifty-six and a half hour week. Women were not generally admitted to union membership until after 1890.

Protection of employees against accidents was also a long contested struggle. Year after year the House of Commons refused to pass bills to protect them. Finally in 1880 a partial reform was obtained, in spite of great opposition, and for the first time, Parliament recognized the employer's responsibility to insure his workmen against risks. However, the doctrine of "common employment" and "contracting out" persisted, and the struggle for a complete Employer's Liability Bill went on until 1896.

#### Public health

Public health was a serious problem in slum areas. Poverty, long hours of labor and little leisure time, inadequate and crowded housing, and poor sanitation as well as inadequate medical facilities contributed to the unhealthy conditions. Although Parliament had passed the first Public Health laws in 1848, on the occasion of an epidemic of cholera, they were not carried out for twenty years. The central board of health was abolished in 1858. Then, due to the cholera alarm of 1865-66, local authorities appointed sanitary inspectors to provide sewers, water supply and refuse disposal.

Some meaningful progress was made in the seventies by the establishment of the Local Government Board to enforce the Public Health

Act of 1848. The rise of Joseph Chamberlain, mayor of Birmingham, gave strong leadership to reform. However, "not till the end of the Century was sanitation in English cities at all what it should have been."<sup>1</sup>

### Drunkenness

Drunkenness was one of the major evils of city life. Those who hung around the public houses became an easy prey for public disorders. Wages often being inadequate to begin with, families had even less money to meet demands after excessive expenditure for drink was made. Drunkenness, therefore, was a chief cause of crime and family disaster. However, a relaxing in the hardships and monotony of life, increased opportunity for various interests, and the movement of teetotalism brought a change in drinking habits.<sup>2</sup>

### Education

The rise of a new middle class and an industrial proletariat, resulting from the industrial revolution, brought on the need for a new means of education. Not until 1870 was this need dealt with adequately. The Government began in 1833 to contribute £20,000 annually to Voluntary Schools which were, in the main, conducted on church principles. Founded by the (Anglican) National Society, they were called National Schools. Only after the Reform Act of 1867 did politicians see the necessity for education of the masses.

---

<sup>1</sup>Trevelyan, English Social History, p. 529.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 569-70.

However, Public Schools were developed for the well-to-do, and sons of the upper, upper-middle, and professional families attended. This created a further social segregation of people, especially in cities, where certain residential sections were rather limited to certain classes of people. By this time the Academies and the Grammar schools had been discontinued. Because the fees in Public School were so high, education of women was sacrificed so that the sons could be educated.

The Forster Education Bill which was passed by Parliament in 1870 doubled the grant to Church Schools and to Roman Catholic schools and provided State Schools in those areas where there was neither of the former. These new schools were to be financed from the local rates and governed by elected School Boards. As a result of this law, between 1870 and 1890 the average school attendance rose from one and a quarter million to four and a quarter millions, and money for each child was doubled. A universal system of elementary education was thus established, attendance by children up to thirteen years of age being required and fees of education being remitted for poor parents.

Secondary education still received little aid from the State. In 1899, public money spent per head on secondary education in England was three farthings, compared with one shilling and a penny three farthings in Switzerland at the same time.<sup>1</sup> In addition, there was not adequate opportunity for the ablest children of the elementary schools to reach the university. Only in 1902, through the Balfour Education

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 581.

Act, were measures passed to care for secondary education from public funds.

Higher education was limited by religious tests which enabled only Anglicans to attend Oxford and Cambridge until 1871 when the tests were abolished.

In addition to the struggle for more adequate provision for education, there were social problems inherent in the education laws. Intense struggles resulted from the varying points of view held by religious leaders who were concerned not only for non-denominational teaching but also for education of higher quality.

#### Home and family life

Stable home life was characteristic of the period. Elliott-Binns says, "The home was one of the most typical elements in the social life and system of the era; with its ordered serenity it was a kind of miniature of the outer world to whose ideals it stood as a kind of stronghold and power house."<sup>1</sup> Such homes produced persons of culture, varied interests, and good character. Many parents insisted on "Sunday reading." Classical literature such as The Bible, Pilgrim's Progress, and Paradise Lost was generally read. Daily Bible reading and prayers were common family practices until near the end of the century. There were weaknesses, of course, in the pattern of home life and child rearing. There were excessive restrictions and unnatural reticences.

---

<sup>1</sup>Leonard E. Elliott-Binns, Religion in the Victorian Era (London: The Lutterworth Press, 1936), p. 415.

Usually discipline was too harsh, spontaneity of children was suppressed, and childhood feelings and fears were ignored. Nurseries were often kept by uneducated, old women, some a blessing and others a curse.<sup>1</sup>

There were usually large families in the seventies and eighties among the professional, business, and working classes. However, in the nineties, first among the middle and professional classes and then among the better-to-do artisans, smaller families became customary. This was due largely to difficulty in paying the high Public School fees. As a rule, the working class was slow to accept birth control and smaller families. The proud and dominant position of family life was deteriorating as the century ended. Increased wealth and leisure time with opportunities for outside amusement became rival attractions for home life, and parental authority became less influential.

### Children

In the lower and working class families, neglect and ill-usage of children died hard. The streets of slums were still the only playground for most city children, few of whom went to school until 1870. Boy chimney-sweeps were used until 1875. The depressive situation was alleviated somewhat by a growing volume of children's literature including Grimm's and Anderson's fairy tales. The Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children was founded in 1884, and there was a gradual disuse of cruel flogging of boys.

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.



### Status of women

The status of women was one of contrast and submission. In upper and middle class families, idleness was a virtue, while in lower class families, the women were heavily burdened with household duties and often with the lowest type of employment. Because of economic fear, men retarded the employment of women as clerks in occupations alongside themselves, even though female clerks had been established as civil servants in 1870. However, women were employed in factories, and by the end of Queen Victoria's reign, they were largely free to work in a variety of jobs.

Education for women was limited. Although the Forster Act of 1870 provided for universal elementary education, it was not compulsory until 1880 and not free until 1891. The first college for women was founded in 1848, and the first Public School was opened in 1869,<sup>1</sup> but a London season for the daughter of wealthy parents was a substitute for the University.<sup>2</sup> The example of Florence Nightingale encouraged women of the upper and middle classes to train for work.

Economic freedom and legal protection came slowly. A Married Women's Property Act and a supplement were passed in 1870 and in 1882, protecting a woman's right to her own money. Legal protection necessitated acts of Parliament as late as 1878. Women did not receive the franchise until 1918.

---

<sup>1</sup>British Broadcasting Corporation, Ideas and Beliefs of Victorians, pp. 256-57.

<sup>2</sup>Elliott-Binns, Religion in the Victorian Era, p. 413.

By the end of Victoria's reign, the social situation had greatly improved. Substantial progress had been made, but grave social problems still existed, and there was still a great deal of social unrest. There was an increasing sense that all was not well with the social system and conditions of life. The decay of agriculture in England and the decrease of her industrial lead over other nations were serious problems for her. Intense fear of unemployment and sickness and old age problems still plagued the people. Working class housing and living conditions in general were still bad. Labor Unions were still fighting for fully accepted legal status and protection.

#### Social Theory Among Baptists

During the period, a basic socio-economic struggle was being waged between the opposing forces of individualism and collectivism. The forces were variously named socialism, communism or collectivism and commercialism, capitalism or individualism. Among Baptists there was no one generally accepted social theory, but there were representatives of not only the individualist and the collectivist schools of thought, but also of a moderate position. The sense of individual responsibility for one's own behavior and the desire to regulate the pressures of society on the individual met in conflict. This divergence of opinion was evident in the discussion which followed an address to the Baptist Union by John C. Carlile, entitled, "Labour Problems in the Light of the Gospel."<sup>1</sup> Whereas Carlile claimed to be neither a

---

<sup>1</sup>The Freeman, May 5, 1893, pp. 294-95.

collectivist nor an individualist, men of both positions entered the two hour discussion of the address, giving their views for and against socialism, the labor movement, and the "cooperative state."

#### Opposition to collectivism

John Douglas of Nottingham spoke against socialism, saying, "The result of the socialism of the first Christians was that the church of Jerusalem became a church of paupers."<sup>1</sup> R. Harris of Newcastle-on-Tyne and J. K. Archer of Peterborough argued that socialism was not the answer to poverty, but thrift and temperance were the needed virtues. W. Payne of Clapton argued that labor was not an item which could be divided equally among laborers and that aristocracy was the natural system for society. Richard Glover objected to socialism, saying that it had always been a curse to people. Samuel Woods, M. P., despaired of a socialism which looked to the State for the solution of all of the problems of society. He believed that a change in the land laws was needed, and that a readjustment between employer and employee must be made.<sup>2</sup>

On the other hand, J. E. Bennett of Lincoln affirmed that socialism with Christ in it was the solution to the problem of poverty among the people. John Clifford, an ardent collectivist, expressed his approval of Carlyle's emphasis on the need for Trade Unionism, the "Co-operative State," and profit-sharing. "Christianity is the great

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 295.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

solution of the problems of the time, but it is Christianity incarnate as justice, as love, as sympathy, as effort."<sup>1</sup>

It was significant that this problem was discussed by the Baptist Union. It indicated the Union's awareness of the critical social problems of the day and its willingness to give program time for dealing with these problems in the light of the Christian faith. This discussion brought the issues before the people, encouraging more general concern for the problems.

The Freeman stated its opposition to socialist theory. It agreed that the "sole parent of wealth" was labor, but it would not accept the conclusion that "the dominion of wealth belongs to the labourer." The surplus which labor produced had its own properties and rights as well as labor. It became property and as such had obligations and rights which it carried to its new possessor. The original owner lost his power over it, and the acquiring owner had as much a right to the rights of the property as the original owner. Capital and labor were the same known by different names.<sup>2</sup>

The Freeman also rejected the communist theory that the State should assume all of the functions of the social life. Children must not be deprived of family rearing. The development of industry and towns called for some legislative interferences, but they should be limited. "God has not created man for the State, but has ordained the State for man."<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 296.

<sup>2</sup>"Notes and Comments," Freeman, June 30, 1871, p. 310.

<sup>3</sup>"Notes and Comments," Freeman, July 7, 1871, p. 322.

Clifford condemned the method of communism as he spoke to the annual assembly of the General Baptist Convention in 1872.

It exaggerates social interests at the expense of the individual, and pulls down personal and domestic life in order to build up society. Its aims are benevolent; but its method is false, and leads human energy along lines that never can yield any high and abiding success. It destroys one chief stimulus to industry. It tries to slay avarice by giving a prosperous life to indolence, to uphold law by license, and promote purity by unlimited indulgence. It pulls down the home, degrades marriage, overturns the family; and sets up in their stead a public meeting, a "free love," and a market place.<sup>1</sup>

In his presidential address to the Baptist Union in 1894, George Short commented:

I need not say we reject such as the expropriation of landlords; the nationalisation of banks and railways, and means of production; the abolition of private property; and the obliteration of the individual in favour of a general collectivism. Such schemes seem to us "to please not God, and to be contrary to all men." Injustice, whether in peasant or peer shall always meet with our reprobation.<sup>2</sup>

J. G. Greenhough, a council member of the Nonconformist Anti-Socialist Union, condemned socialism and held that Baptists favored neither individualism nor socialism. Christianity was neither. It was both, for Christ dealt with each person's interest as well as with society. The redemption of society would result from personal redemption and not personal redemption from an imposed exterior social order.

---

<sup>1</sup>John Clifford, Jesus Christ and Modern Social Life (London: E. Marlborough and Co., 1872), p. 19.

<sup>2</sup>George Short, "Baptists in Relation to Other Christians and to Some of the Special Questions of the Day," Freeman, April 27, 1894, p. 266.

Christianity did not deny that environment was a determining factor in the morality of society. It was a Christian duty to help in the re-shaping of the environment. But Baptists had "no faith in a moral salvation which is to be accomplished by a State adjustment of material conditions, or by any similar adjustment."<sup>1</sup>

He objected to socialism, furthermore, because he found it to be unbiblical. The Jewish commonwealth was based on private possession of land and the right of man to have it. The New Testament ignored questions which concerned the economic and political aspects of socialism. The community of goods related in Acts was not socialistic, not coercive, but it was voluntary. Jesus was not a socialist, but he preached and ministered to all alike.<sup>2</sup>

Greenhough condemned socialism's antagonism and opposition to religion. It was openly critical to religion in Europe, but in England where religious tradition was strong, socialists were less condemning. Christian socialists were sincere and generous; however, they failed to combine the teachings of Marx and of Jesus very well. He felt that the purposes of Christian Socialism and the Church were the same, although they varied in methods and in economic principles.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>J. G. Greenhough, Individualism and Socialism (London: Alexander and Shephard, 1891), pp. 11-12.

<sup>2</sup>J. G. Greenhough, Socialism and Christianity (London: The Non-conformist Anti-Socialist Union, n.d.), pp. 8-10.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 3-5.

Socialism would eliminate competition, and competition was a great factor in preserving and developing the manhood of England. State socialism would destroy this manhood and would make men dependent upon the state. He did not support the Independent Labour Party nor the old age pension schemes. He was opposed to any plan whereby the thriftless and lazy would receive from the State the same as the industrious and the careful.<sup>1</sup> This was a rather general argument against socialism.

Socialism would not be workable except in a regenerated society, and there it would not be necessary. Even though Greenhough personally had seen the success of a socialist community in Iowa in the United States, he rejected the idea that it could work universally. He pointed out that only a person of good character was accepted into that community, and should he slip into immorality or laziness, he would be expelled. He saw that as the community was becoming wealthier, it was growing more reluctant to accept new members.<sup>2</sup>

He rejected the "vain dreams" of the socialists that only a rearrangement of social conditions was necessary to affect the redemption of society. Society needed more than science and sanitation, more than satisfaction of bodily cravings, more than brighter material surroundings to achieve the golden age. The social gospel was inadequate to lead men or society to well-being.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>"The President of the Baptist Union," The British Weekly, April 25, 1895, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup>"Socialism Working," The Baptist Union Magazine, II (October, 1895), 153.

<sup>3</sup>"Individualism and Socialism," The Baptist Handbook, 1892, p. 70.

Fundamental to this opposition to collectivism was the belief that the difficulty with society was not social, but personal. The problem was not environment, but sin. Society did not need reformation but did need regeneration. Christ had sought to win men, not society. Thomas Morris agreed with this position, but he discouraged an unnatural and exaggerated individualism, for men were to strive for good jointly. The significance of the Church would be seen in what it did for mankind. Christians should be ready to assist in any good work, remembering, however, that they had a special mission as representatives of Christ.<sup>1</sup>

#### Opposition to individualism

The foregoing arguments against collectivism were met, on the other hand, by condemnation of the law of supply and demand and of the evils of commercialism. In his presidential address to the General Baptist Convention in 1885, W. Evans opposed the political economy of supply and demand. The gulf between the rich and the poor would continue as long as such a system was maintained. The ideal state of society was a Commonwealth in which everyone contributed his best to the good of all. Christianity provided for this and tended to bring it about through liberty, equality, and fraternity. This equality must be consistent with liberty. Since there must be differences in social position, equal distribution of property was impossible. It would have to be done repeatedly every day! Accumulation in limits was good and helped society,

---

<sup>1</sup>Thomas M. Morris, Our Proper Work (London: Veale, Chifferiel and Co., 1893), pp. 19-20.



but hoarding when money was needed for the poor was evil. When society held its wealth in common, the individual grew but not at the expense of society.<sup>1</sup> In that same year, Samuel G. Green spoke to the Baptist Union along a similar line, condemning human selfishness in commerce.<sup>2</sup>

Carlile said that the commercial ideal was the lowest of all. He condemned both the man whose only motive was to get rich and the respectability that was given to a wealthy man without regard for his methods. He might have been a "sweater." Likewise, he condemned the practice of accumulation so that members of a family would not be required to work.<sup>3</sup>

Carlile affirmed that wages were a problem not only of economics, but of religion, and condemned religious principles which would allow "saints to be thieves in the countinghouse." Living wages should replace competition wages so that the multitudes in London who were in poverty could be helped. In order to correct the evils of commercialism, he endorsed: trade unionism, cooperative movements, profit sharing, technical education, and training for the unemployed which would lead to an equitable distribution of wealth. Unrestricted individualism was a curse both to the capitalist and the laborer.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>W. Evans, "What Is To Be the Social Life of the Future?" The General Baptist Yearbook, 1885 (London: E. Marlborough and Co.), pp. 3-8.

<sup>2</sup>Samuel G. Green, The Kingdom of Christ (London: Alexander and Shephard, 1885), p. 30.

<sup>3</sup>John C. Carlile, "Ideals and Their Use," The Christian Weekly and Religious Bits, September 30, 1893, p. 267.

<sup>4</sup>"Labour Problems in the Light of the Gospel," Freeman, May 5, 1893, pp. 294-95.

A transition from industrial war to an equitable distribution of wealth could be peaceful. Carlyle felt that the Church had an opportunity to assist in the transition before the foes became too hardened to change the situation. The Christian Gospel was relevant to the redemption of society, for the foundations of a new society would be justice, brotherhood, and righteousness.<sup>1</sup>

In addressing the Baptist Union in 1906, F. B. Meyer spoke on the evils of commercialism.

It has led to endless disputes between capital and labour as to the division of the spoils. It has arranged Society in two great camps: to lock-outs on the part of master, to strikes on the part of men. It has produced combines, corners, rings, trusts, the sweater's den and the life of shame. The craving for fresh markets, the jealousy which competition breeds, the incessant struggle to secure commercial treaties, fresh outlets for products, and most-favoured-nation clauses, have led to some of the bitterest jealousies and bloodiest wars in history.<sup>2</sup>

It was clear to Meyer that commercialism must not continue to be the basis of society.

The leading English Baptist exponent of collectivism in the later nineteenth century was John Clifford. He felt that capitalism was a transitional stage to a better and a higher order, and that it must be replaced. It created a few millionaires, but it meant destruction of the masses. The inevitable value of man and the recognition

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 295.

<sup>2</sup> F. B. Meyer, "The Opportunity of the Church," Baptist Handbook, 1907, p. 225.

that the accumulated wealth of the world was the inheritance of all of God's children necessitated a change in the system. Collectivism was the advance the world was seeking.<sup>1</sup>

Clifford held that part of the Baptist heritage was the belief in "collective" redemption. Their forefathers saw that the gospel was more than an individual good and that it was for the renewal of all of society. They believed in the Kingdom of God and expected it to come on earth. They were concerned with the victory of righteousness over evil and also with the protection of the weak, the deliverance of the oppressed and the opening of the prison doors.<sup>2</sup> "They felt the severity of the conflict between the antagonistic forces of individualism and collectivism, and had the courage to attempt their reconciliation."<sup>3</sup> Clifford longed for Baptist understanding of their obligation to repeat the social message of their forefathers and to complete the work that they had begun.

How was this to be accomplished? Clifford believed that freedom was a condition of human development.<sup>4</sup> The social machinery did not have to be broken up in order to bring in socialism, for the fulcrum for new action was the present state of social conditions. The great

---

<sup>1</sup>"Dr. Clifford on Principal Forsyth's Address," Westbourne Park Chapel Monthly Record, 4th Series, XIII (May, 1905), p. 128.

<sup>2</sup>John Clifford, The Place of Baptists in the Progress of the Kingdom of God (London: Veale, Chifferiel and Co., 1901), p. 15.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 16.

<sup>4</sup>John Clifford, Socialism and Personal Character (London: Veale, Chifferiel and Co., n.d.), p. 10.

lever by which the world was to be lifted was the hope of a better time coming, another advent of Christ so that what was wrong in society would be transformed by His coming. Christ must be man's inspiration. "The soul of Christian Socialism is the Saviour of the world. Collectivism will give us the system. He will give us life, and give it abundantly, to work it."<sup>1</sup> As illustrations of Christian Socialism at work, Clifford cited the Post Office system, public transportation, and public education. They did not feed the passion of accumulation as a competitive system did, but they tended to give leisure for thought, for personal culture, and for building character.<sup>2</sup> The question of the future would be socialism, but this must be based on Christian principles in order to avoid the wrecking of the State and the destruction of individual personality.<sup>3</sup>

Land was probably the most important area to work in, Clifford said, for ownership of land was the source of British problems. It should be nationalized, and then let out to citizens by the State. A new conception of property was needed.

Property is not the right to talk about certain things as your own. Property is that which we turn into utilities. We simply have that which we can employ, which we can use; we have that which we can use, either for realising our personal ends, or the ends of the State. It is only in such a conception of property that we shall return to a new State and a new idea.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>John Clifford, "Is Christian Socialism Practicable?" Westbourne Park Record, XV (January, 1907), p. 7.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 5-6.

<sup>3</sup>Clifford, Socialism and Personal Character, p. 15.

<sup>4</sup>John Clifford, "Is Christian Socialism Practicable?" Westbourne Park Record, XV (January, 1907), p. 6.

lever by which the world was to be lifted was the hope of a better time coming, another advent of Christ so that what was wrong in society would be transformed by His coming. Christ must be man's inspiration. "The soul of Christian Socialism is the Saviour of the world. Collectivism will give us the system. He will give us life, and give it abundantly, to work it."<sup>1</sup> As illustrations of Christian Socialism at work, Clifford cited the Post Office system, public transportation, and public education. They did not feed the passion of accumulation as a competitive system did, but they tended to give leisure for thought, for personal culture, and for building character.<sup>2</sup> The question of the future would be socialism, but this must be based on Christian principles in order to avoid the wrecking of the State and the destruction of individual personality.<sup>3</sup>

Land was probably the most important area to work in, Clifford said, for ownership of land was the source of British problems. It should be nationalized, and then let out to citizens by the State. A new conception of property was needed.

Property is not the right to talk about certain things as your own. Property is that which we turn into utilities. We simply have that which we can employ, which we can use; we have that which we can use, either for realizing our personal ends, or the ends of the State. It is only in such a conception of property that we shall return to a new State and a new idea.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>John Clifford, "Is Christian Socialism Practicable?" Westbourne Park Record, XV (January, 1907), p. 7.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 5-6.

<sup>3</sup>Clifford, Socialism and Personal Character, p. 15.

<sup>4</sup>John Clifford, "Is Christian Socialism Practical?" Westbourne Park Record, XV (January, 1907), p. 6.

Nor was property to be so used that it separated those who had and those who had not. God meant (for) property to be a means of communion and fellowship between man, not of division and separation. With a new concept of property, land could be nationalized and a great number of problems could be solved.<sup>1</sup>

Christian Socialism should also affect the care of pauper children and criminals. Foster homes for the children should replace the work-houses. The shameful treatment of criminals should be ameliorated, and some provision made for rehabilitating prisoners.<sup>2</sup>

It was incredible to Clifford that churches of Jesus Christ should be fiercely antagonistic to socialism. However, they were beginning to see that the social struggle was a great hour for them and that there was no incompatibility between a "full spiritual life and the effort to reconstruct society on a Christian basis." Churches, he felt, were beginning to see that if they were going to save a man from sin, they must save the whole man. The substitution of a new economic system for an old one was a gigantic task, but the churches could not stand aloof. "It is of God, part of His plan, and they [the churches] must accept it; fall in with it; and face it with courage, and hope and do their best."<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 7.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>John Clifford, Socialism and the Churches (London: The Fabian Society, 1908), pp. 8-10.

The Christian ethic and the social system

Whereas, both individualism and collectivism had their champions and their foes among English Baptists of the period, there was also the conviction among them that neither of the systems was within itself adequate for the problems of the social order. The Christian ethic was the foundation of any healthy society.

As already stated, Greenhough saw Christian principles in both individualism and socialism but contended that neither was a complete system. Society depended upon personal redemption for its renewal. E. Hall Jackson addressed the Midland Baptist Union in 1874, proposing that "the political economy of Christ" was the need of the nation and insisting that the ethic of Christ was the means to a successful social system. "Christ alone can re-adjust society with security to all; and any political economy without Him must fatally break down at some point in its practical application."<sup>1</sup>

The method of Christ was neither collectivism nor the principle of supply and demand. It was love and concern for others. That was the only power that could save the social system. It would lift the weak and the poor, but would not crush the strong and the rich. It preached brotherhood, not equality. With Him would come reformation, not revolution; brotherhood, not communism; harmonious common law, not unrestrained democracy.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>E. Hall Jackson, "The Political Economy of Christ: a Need of the Nation and the Hour," The General Baptist Magazine (March, 1875), p. 87.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 87-88.

The Freeman, although not antagonistic toward Christian Socialism, contended that individualism provided proper motivation for socialism. The masses were individuals, and whenever one contacted another, he was in touch with the masses.<sup>1</sup> The Baptist Times and Freeman also expressed this point of view.

It is only through [this] ministry of personal love, [this] life touching life, and heart meeting heart, that the divisions between class and class can be bridged over. I believe it is only so that the Kingdom of God can come into dark hearts and dark homes. Wise and large schemes, backed by great wealth may be organized; but unless there are living, loving hearts to work them, there can be no real success. It is men and women that God wants.<sup>2</sup>

J. M. Logan proposed that there was a sphere for both socialism and individualism and a blend of the two was needed. The good of the community and of the individual must run side by side. To achieve this good, the help of God was necessary. A scheme was all right, but men needed a power to move the sacrificial in themselves. "If men would only sit at Jesus' feet, they would never dare to sit at ease in their riches where poverty prevails."<sup>3</sup> To have an ideal state, it was necessary to have ideal laws, ideal legislators, ideal voters, ideal thoughts, ideal hearts. Men must be "made white in the blood of the Lamb."<sup>4</sup> Good men make good institutions, Thomas Morris agreed. If

---

<sup>1</sup>"The Masses," Freeman, February 21, 1890, p. 113.

<sup>2</sup>"Our London Poor: How and Where They Live," The Baptist Times and Freeman, October 19, 1900, p. 840.

<sup>3</sup>J. M. Logan, "Working Men's Meeting," Freeman, October 7, 1898, p. 600.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.



society was to be improved, the beginning must be made at the center which was man. Wherever the Christian gospel had been applied, it had saved men from "the tyranny of an exaggerated and ill-directed individualism on the one hand, and from what is equally mischievous and hard to bear, the tyranny of an exaggerated and ill-directed socialism on the other."<sup>1</sup>

John Clifford agreed that the needs of both an individual and of society must be met, and he believed that religion was the force to bring the aims of individualism and socialism into harmony. It was "the one harmonizer of the antagonistic forces now at work in our social system."<sup>2</sup>

Christ spoke to men of all stations and conditions in life. To the rich and well-to-do, he would say, "Social kings are social workers." To the criminals and the vicious, he said, "'I am not come to call the righteous, but sinners.'" In the artisans, the mechanics, and the laborers, he created and nourished "an insatiable hunger for holiness in all the commercial, civic, and social relations of life." He was the foe of that which made men poor as well as of the crushing and degrading influence of poverty.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Thomas M. Morris, Our Proper Work, pp. 4-5.

<sup>2</sup>"Evolution and Sociology," Westbourne Park Record, 3rd Series, I (March, 1894), p. 19.

<sup>3</sup>John Clifford, The Christian Conception of Society (London: Alexander and Shephard, 1891), pp. 10-12.

To Clifford a Christian society would free men from the struggle for material needs so that they could pursue higher and spiritual aims. Manhood would be developed. "Man is made for work and by work. But the conditions of labour must be so arranged that there may be a man left when the work is done, and not a mere 'hand'--an appendix to a machine."<sup>1</sup>

Through the postal system, public education, public transportation, public utilities, and Trade Unions, Clifford had seen how men had received some freedom for higher pursuits. From further accomplishments of collectivism, he expected more complete freedom for men. In Christian Socialism he saw the aims of individualism being accomplished more perfectly than in individualism itself.

#### The responsibility of the Church to society

In opposition to the general feeling that Baptists of the period were concerned only with "preparing souls for heaven," there is evidence that many of them were concerned with suffering humanity on the earth. The recorded resolutions <sup>of</sup> and committees of the Baptist Union and other x Baptist groups; sermons, addresses, and work of individual Baptists; work of local congregations; and support given by Baptists to societies for social progress indicated something of the responsibility they felt. Thomas Morris, in an address before the Baptist Union in 1893, repudiated the charge that the Church was so concerned with soul welfare that it had "little time and less inclination" to deal with great social questions.

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 14-15.

He said that those who were most interested in souls were the ones most interested in man's material and social welfare. The organizations for social improvement outside the Church would not have existed had it not been for the inspiration of the Cross. The Church, therefore, could not be rebuked for social inactivity.<sup>1</sup>

The Baptists did not share a common approach to social problems, nor did they agree in their sense of responsibility. The emphasis placed upon the liberty of the individual person to hold and to express his convictions prohibited their stating any opinion as the official Baptist position. The General Baptist Convention did have a Committee on Public Questions in the seventies, but there was no Social Life Commission nor any permanent committee to study social problems or to express an opinion on the solution of them. This did not, however, deter individuals from expressing their concern nor from demanding that the Church fulfil its responsibility to society.

Opinions ranged from the position that the Church was only to "preach the gospel" to the position that the Church must permeate society with the leaven of social reform. Statements by J. G. Greenhough would indicate the mixed sentiment which even individuals held. In 1879 in addressing the assembly of the Baptist Union, he condemned the Church for being afraid "to beard the great and protect the poor, and denounce immoral wars, and proclaim the rights of peoples, and defend their common brotherhood." The Church must reassert her claims and not leave

---

<sup>1</sup> Morris, Our Proper Work, pp. 4-5.

her responsibilities to the Comtists, Millites, and Socialists.<sup>1</sup> Seventeen years later, when the "social gospel" had become wide-spread, Greenhough said that "if Christ were to come again He would come as He came before, to deliver men from the bondage of the devil and to save people from their sins." The Church must not preach any other gospel. Its work was moral, not political. Its weapons were spiritual, not carnal.<sup>2</sup>

Such a divergence of opinion is found throughout the writings of Baptists of the later nineteenth century, representing two main schools of thought concerning the responsibility of the Church to society. One school held that the mission of the Church was to preach the gospel, to convert the unsaved, and to promote philanthropy. The other school believed that the Church had a responsibility to denounce social evils and to employ all Christian means at their disposal for eradicating them.

Foremost in the first school of thought were Alexander MacLaren and Charles Haddon Spurgeon who placed greater emphasis on biblical preaching than on social reform. Although they were interested in certain types of social and political activity, they concentrated on expository and evangelistic preaching to the neglect of broader fields of work. They did not encourage the Church to become involved in the struggle for social change.

---

<sup>1</sup>"The Pulpit and Politics," The Baptist (Supplement) October 17, 1879, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup>J. G. Greenhough, Baptist Handbook, 1896, p. 70.

Spurgeon spent little time in advocating schemes for social improvement, and although he was a Liberal with radical leanings for many years, he took little part in Parliamentary elections. He believed that preaching for personal commitment to Christ was his major task. To students for the gospel ministry, he said,

My brethren, preach Christ, always and evermore. He is the whole gospel. His person, offices, and work must be our one great, all-comprehending theme. . . . More and more am I jealous lest any views upon prophecy, church government, politics, or even systematic theology, should withdraw one of us from glorying in the cross of Christ.<sup>1</sup>

The gospel was not a social gospel, but that conviction did not preclude his interest in many forms of social work. Spurgeon and his congregation at the Metropolitan Tabernacle in London supported numerous missions and projects for the improvement of society with special emphasis on orphanages and almshouses. His theory was that a changed life would transform the circumstances of life. Carlile said of him, "Spurgeon's practical mind rejected what he called a 'duty-faith salvation,' but insisted upon the duty of the faithful to follow the example of their Lord in doing good."<sup>2</sup>

MaLaren also was mainly a pulpiteer and an expositor of the scripture. In his earlier years in Southampton, he had shown great

---

<sup>1</sup> Charles H. Spurgeon, Lectures to My Students (1st Series; London: Passmore and Alabaster, 1875), pp. 82-83.

<sup>2</sup> John C. Carlile, C. H. Spurgeon: An Interpretive Biography (London: Religious Tract Society and Kingsgate Press, 1933), p. 151.

interest in the problems of poverty, housing, intemperance, and sexual immorality, but his interest seemed to give way to the demands of expository preaching. Concerning the gospel, he said that it was "social" second and "personal" first. The love of God in Christ would take men out of the slums fast enough.<sup>1</sup> Although his congregation in Manchester sponsored missions in the working class districts and had the usual societies and organizations, MacLaren did not work actively in them.<sup>2</sup>

In his later years, he felt "the importance of Christian men taking their due share in public life." Because of scandals in Manchester city affairs he took special interest in elections for the city council, speaking for certain candidates who were seeking to lift the civic life. Although he hesitated to express his political views publicly, he did speak out on matters of education and temperance.<sup>3</sup>

There were Baptists, however, who sought to lead the Church to a deeper social conscience and a more dynamic sense of responsibility to the society in which they lived. Foremost in this group was John Clifford of London. Others who were sensitive to the Church's responsibility included John Carlile, F. B. Meyer, Charles Williams, Samuel G. Green, George White, William Willis, and the editors of The Freeman, The Baptist, and The Baptist Times and Freeman.

<sup>1</sup>John C. Carlile, Alexander MacLaren D.D., The Man and His Message (London: S. W. Partridge and Co., 1901), p. 68.

<sup>2</sup>David Williamson, The Life of Alexander MacLaren (London: James Clarke and Co., and the Baptist Union Publication Dept., n.d.), pp. 41-42.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 47.

The application of the gospel toward social progress was a major emphasis of John Clifford's ministry. Clifford can easily be considered the Baptist of the period who had the most energetic and significant social conscience. Born in a working man's family and having gone to work himself in a factory at the age of nine years, he had a concern of existential dimension for the poor, the working man, and the uneducated. His own educational background in the arts, sciences, and law gave him a breadth of viewpoint which was uncommon among his Baptist contemporaries. He was a member of the Fabian Society, the president of the Christian Socialist League, the leader of the Passive Resistance Movement, and an avid writer and speaker on social and political subjects. In later life, he was an international figure in the Brotherhood Movement.

There is no mistaking his position on the responsibility of the Church to society. He believed that the Christian faith applied to social and political problems as well as to personal salvation and that the Church must strive to crush injustice and bring the wealth of the Commonwealth to all. "If the churches are so fortunate as to understand their opportunity, they will give this social application of the Gospel of the Son of Man a primary place in their faith and thought, their prayers and toil."<sup>1</sup>

Preaching must be practical, he said. It must be complete--for the body as well as for the soul. He regretted that too often the fiery

---

<sup>1</sup>John Clifford, The Great Awakening in 1900 (London: Parlett, 1901), p. 25.

and eloquent preacher raved above the candle lighted by a match made by one at such a low wage that she had to supplement her earnings by prostitution. The gospel must not only convert the sweated laborer; it must relieve him.<sup>1</sup>

Clifford passed this spirit on to his congregation. It was a body concerned about the Church's responsibility for society. It supported Clifford in his prophetic ministry and aided in the propagation of his message. They were willing to receive criticism for their expression of social concern. For instance, when Richard Mudie-Smith, a columnist in Dr. Clifford's Westbourne Park Record, was criticized for his partisan views in his column, he replied that church affairs could not be conducted without partisan views and that a Christian must be a radical.<sup>2</sup>

Carlile was also of the social-minded school. He became aware of and personally involved in social problems while he was a student at Spurgeon's College. As a pastor in East London, he came to know the problems of working men and their inability to cope with them. He exhibited his interest and was soon accepted as a friend to the working classes. He was called on to intervene in certain small labor-management disputes in Bermondsey, but his great contribution was made during the important Dock Strike of 1889. He was a member of the New Fellowship and of the Christian Socialist League,<sup>3</sup> and for a brief time in the nineties, he edited The Christian Weekly.

---

<sup>1</sup>"Religion for the Masses," Christian Weekly and Religious Bits, July 1, 1893, pp. 11-12.

<sup>2</sup>"Our London Letter," Westbourne Park Record XIV (March, 1906), p. 44.

<sup>3</sup>See p. 105.



The New Fellowship, founded in 1882 and dissolved in 1898, was an organization which considered itself the "soul" of the movement for social equality. Its faith was not in a new social mechanism, but in the power of new moral and religious inspiration.<sup>1</sup> "The Fabian Society was the brain, the Democratic Federation the mouth, but the New Fellowship was the soul; it stood for ideals."<sup>2</sup> Its purpose was to supply the moral energy necessary for the overthrow of the commercial conception of life and to bring about an economic reform.<sup>3</sup>

It pursued the ideal of highest manhood which could be achieved only through social equality. Its immediate goal, then, was the understanding and acceptance of man as an end and not as a means to someone else's pleasure and profit.<sup>4</sup> It pressed for the recognition of the responsibility of shareholders for the conditions of work of all the employees of companies in which they had money invested. It advocated Trade Union rates of wages.<sup>5</sup> The drive for material things would recede, and the idea of competition would be crushed.

Thomas Davidson was the leader of the New Fellowship, and Frank Podmore and Edward R. Pease, later the secretary to the Fabian Society,

---

<sup>1</sup>The New Fellowship (London: New Fellowship Press, n.d.), p. 14.

<sup>2</sup>John C. Carlile, My Life's Little Day (London: Blackie and Son, Ltd., 1935), p. 39.

<sup>3</sup>The New Fellowship, pp. 4-6.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 7-8.

<sup>5</sup>Carlile, My Life's Little Day, pp. 40-41.

shared the leadership with him. J. Ramsay MacDonald and Caroline D. Martyn were members of the Fellowship.<sup>1</sup> Association with these persons, no doubt, influenced Carlile greatly during the last two decades of the century. Membership in the Fellowship indicated his sense of a churchman's responsibility for social reform.

The Christian Weekly was an independent newspaper of religious news whose proprietor wished to turn into an organ of Christian Socialism. Carlile's sub-editor was Caroline D. Martyn, a Fabian as well as a member of the New Fellowship. Graham Wallace, Will Reason, Fleming Williams, Tom Mann, J. H. Belcher, and C. L. Marson, social reform and labor leaders, contributed to the first number.<sup>2</sup>

The paper was not successful, however, either as a religious weekly or as a socialist journal. "There were not enough Christians interested in our Socialism, and Socialists were not concerned about the Churches; they wanted something far more full-blooded and revolutionary than we could supply."<sup>3</sup> Carlile thought of himself as a socialist, but he was not a revolutionist.<sup>4</sup>

Early in his ministry, Carlile saw that the responsibility of the Church to society lay in action as well as conversion. "Christianity has won the battle in the study; now it must face the battle in the slums."<sup>5</sup> He agreed that sometimes the best way to correct darkness was to shine. Holiness would convict sin of ugliness, but that was not

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.    <sup>2</sup>Ibid.    <sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 119.    <sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 123.

<sup>5</sup>Christian Weekly and Religious Bits, June 24, 1893, p. iv.

enough. The Church must accomplish more than giving alms; it must change character.<sup>1</sup>

Likewise, F. B. Meyer challenged the Church to see its responsibility for the reconstruction of society. His social conscience penetrated the surface of social problems to look at the basic causes of them. He was aware of the oneness of life and had no inclination to divide life into the sacred and the secular. He not only preached the salvation of men from the pulpit, but he sought it through the improvement of physical conditions and the elimination of those ills which corrupted the life of man. In his pastorates in Leicester and in London, he worked through the Church and the societies of the community to help working men, the poor and lonely, and the delinquent youth. In addition to an effective program in his churches, he was associated with the National Pleasant Sunday Afternoon Brotherhood Council, the National Young Life Campaign, the Shaftesbury Society, the National Children's Home and Orphanage, Dr. Barnardo's Homes, the Purity, Rescue and Temperance Work of the Central South London Free Church Council, and was a member of the Borough Council.

In an address to the Baptist Union in 1906, he stated his conviction that the Church had a work to do.

To you and me, and men like ourselves, is committed in these anxious days, that which is at once an awful responsibility and a splendid destiny--to transform the modern world into a Christian society; to change the socialism, which is based on the assumption of clashing interests, into a socialism which is based on the sense of spiritual union.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Christian Weekly and Religious Bits, July 12, 1893, p. 66.

<sup>2</sup>"The Opportunity of the Church," Baptist Handbook, 1907, p. 221.

Civilisation today has been compared to the camp of a vast unorganized and undisciplined army, without visible leadership or apparent method. It is for the Church to inspire the movement with Christian suggestions, and comfort men's hearts by the assurance that Christ is in their midst; for the thought that Christ is imminent in human history is the only clue to a right understanding of the world.<sup>1</sup>

He condemned the idea that the mission of the Church was restricted to the "saving of souls." It must work toward the redemption of society from "selfishness, from the lust of money, from the oppression of the weak by the strong, from the lazy indolence which drifts easily through existence, keen only on 'having a good time.'"<sup>2</sup> He also condemned the Church for being, on the whole, more eager to build churches, to lengthen church rolls, and to raise funds than to secure the solution of the great moral and social questions.<sup>3</sup>

The Church had a responsibility to support the cause of the poor. It must encourage society to deal with the causes of crime rather than its fruits--must not be content to give doles, but must guarantee justice. Every man had the right to be free and to provide a decent living for himself and his family. The Church must vindicate this right. Ministers must be true to these ideals. They must not be partisans to party politics in their pulpits, but must tell the strong to do no violence, the workmen to work well, and the rich to share. Members in the congregations must be loyal to their ministers when they speak for justice in social issues. The new age would bring liberty, equality and brotherhood.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 226.    <sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 232-34.    <sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 229.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 236-38.

J. Moffat Logan, pastor of the Old King Street Baptist Chapel in Bristol, was concerned with the responsibility of the Church to society. He was in sympathy with socialist ideals, preferring socialism, as a system and a method, to capitalist competition.<sup>1</sup> He was actively associated with pacifist movements and was personally intimate with leaders in socialist groups in Bristol. On Sunday afternoons, toward the end of the century, he held mass Bible classes which were a feature of Sunday life among thoughtful young shop assistants and artisans of Bristol, particularly those in lodgings. The class meetings consisted of an address by Logan, or his associate, followed by discussion of the address. Most of the subjects were on social problems to which Logan strived to lead his students to apply the tenets of the Christian faith. Among those who attended the classes was Ernest Bevin, who became a leader in the discussions. Encouraged by leaders in the church, he became a lay preacher, and his favorite pulpit was the Poulton Baptist Chapel.<sup>2</sup> He remained an active Baptist until 1925.<sup>3</sup>

Bevin's social conscience, however, was not satisfied by the social complacency of the Baptist and Methodist chapels that he knew. In 1907 he became the first secretary of the Right-to-Work Committee in Bristol. He organized the working men, built up funds, spoke on street

---

<sup>1</sup>"Working Men's Meeting," Freeman, October 7, 1898, p. 599.

<sup>2</sup>Trevor Evans, Bevin (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1946), pp. 38-39.

<sup>3</sup>Francis Williams, Ernest Bevin (London: Hutchinson, 1952), p. 25.

corners, conferred with industrial and civic leaders, and staged a dramatic demonstration in the old Cathedral Church. By 1909 Bevin was a socialist,<sup>1</sup> destined to become a national figure in the British labor movement. Logan's sense of the responsibility of the Church to society contributed to the development of an outstanding labor leader.

Ministers of religion were not alone in their awareness of the Church's responsibility. Outstanding laymen in the denomination called upon the Church to direct its ministry toward the needs of society. George White, M. P. for Norwich, who was known as one of the keenest social thinkers of his day, felt that the responsibility of the Church exceeded being an example. In his presidential address to the Baptist Union in 1903, he said,

As citizens we should strive to have the best things common to all. This is not a question of dividing money or property, but of equality of opportunity, of destroying privilege, and placing within reach of the people "without money and without price" the advancement and the best spiritual influences.<sup>2</sup>

Christians shared in the blame for the state of social conditions, and they should be the "first in the field against all wrong."<sup>3</sup>

Likewise, Judge William Willis spoke to the Baptist Union two years later, discussing the relationship between the "Gospel of the

<sup>1</sup>Evans, Bevin, pp. 45-49.

<sup>2</sup>"The Nonconformist Conscience in Its Relation to Our National Life," Baptist Handbook, 1904, p. 104.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 108.

Kingdom" and the amelioration of social ills. Christian love was not "to be confined to the members of Christ's Kingdom," but Christians must love all men, of every race and creed. Therefore, Christians must seek the welfare and happiness of all persons and should take part in social and political reform.<sup>1</sup>

The Freeman and The Baptist, which were recognized exponents of the English Baptists, purposed to be instruments of social, political, national, and international affairs. A look at their columns in almost any issue will demonstrate a sensitivity to problems in those fields. The editors and correspondents of these papers were aware of the perplexing problems of their day and were anxious to express opinions concerning the solution of them. The Freeman was aware of a need for a strong relationship between the Church and social movements. Those movements needed the influence of Christian leadership, and they, at the same time, could help the Church to apply the social aspects of the gospel. If necessary, the Church could sacrifice forms in order to make progress.<sup>2</sup>

#### Participation in the political life of the nation

Participation in the political life of the nation was a logical consequence of an awareness of social responsibility. Although there

---

<sup>1</sup>"The Kingdom of Christ upon Earth," Baptist Handbook, 1906, pp. 230-31.

<sup>2</sup>"Christianity and the Social Forces of the Present Day," Freeman, pp. 201-02.

were persons who took the position that one's Christian duty was to avoid any thought of political life and warned against a church's becoming politically involved,<sup>1</sup> a sense of Christian responsibility for participation in the political life of the nation was expressed increasingly by Baptists during the period. There were two reasons for this participation; namely, to fulfil obligations as citizens and to affect social legislation. It is significant that in 1869 the Circular Letter of the Northampton Baptist Association dealt with the subject. Anticipating the forthcoming General Election, in which thousands of people would be able to vote for the first time, the Association chose this subject. They felt that the Church should assist its members in discharging this new political duty faithfully.<sup>2</sup>

That there were men who might consider this subject unworthy of a Circular Letter was indicated by the introductory remarks. "You are not of those who deem politics a pursuit so utterly worldly as to be unworthy of being made the subject of Christian exhortation, and almost unfit for the meddling of Christian men."<sup>3</sup> It seems that the author was attempting to justify the subject of the Letter. He defined politics as "one great and momentous department of truth, of life, of duty."

---

<sup>1</sup>General Baptist Yearbook, 1878, p. 70. See J. G. Greenhough, "Individualism and Socialism," Baptist Handbook, 1896, pp. 70-71, and Morris, Our Proper Work, pp. 4-6.

<sup>2</sup>Thomas G. Rose, The Duties and Responsibilities of Christian Citizens (Stony Stratford: B. Bridgman, 1869), p. 3.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 4.



It was a duty as solemn and as real as those of ordinary social and domestic life. In fact, the two could not be separated.

Concerning corruption in politics, he said, "Christian citizens! It is yours to rescue politics from this disgrace, your country from this calamity. You have no right to stand aloof from the great struggles of your time; to withhold your contribution of counsel and effort from the common weal."<sup>1</sup> He called on Christians to show that they need not forsake their consciences when they entered politics any more than when they conducted their daily business. In order to bring Christian principles and motives to bear on political action, the Christian "must take a thoughtful interest in political questions, and exercise an intelligent judgment respecting them."<sup>2</sup>

Dawson Burns discussed the attitude of early Christian leaders to the responsibility of citizenship in an Associational Letter in 1878. He held that Paul was ready to suffer and to die for Christ, but he did not fail to rely upon citizenship for proper treatment and for a hearing before the Emperor of the Roman Empire. Also, Paul and Peter pronounced the magistrate to be God's minister. God was the source of political privilege to enjoy and of political power to use. Burns saw no more cause for condemnation of association with political men than with men in social and commercial circles. "The sphere of life consists of many departments, one of which is political."<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 7.

<sup>3</sup>General Baptist Yearbook, 1878, p. 70.

Furthermore, vileness was not a necessary element or outcome of political life, but because it was present, Christians were called upon to make their influence felt in order to redeem politics. "To feel disgust at political knavery may be a sign of piety, but to confront and fight it is evidence of a piety more lofty and robust."<sup>1</sup> Christians must not abandon politics to worldly men, but must be Christian politicians.

In 1881, as President of the Baptist Union, William Brock said that it was the bounden duty of Christians to take part in politics. It was his business to do so. "We who are ministers resent, and rightly resent, any attempt to close our mouths or tie our hands on the great public questions of the day."<sup>2</sup>

Something of this same view was expressed by Samuel Green in his presidential address, "The Kingdom of Christ," in 1885.

In the fulfillment of our high calling, as witnesses to Christ's kingdom, let us remember that all human interests are Divine, that the highest principles can be brought to bear on human relations, and that we who hold and profess those principles are especially bound to concern ourselves with all that belongs to the welfare of mankind.<sup>3</sup>

T. G. James of Tydu spoke out in 1894, saying that it was the obligation of a Christian minister to "interfere with politics." "If he

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>"Christian Liberty in Its Relation to Modern Life," Baptist Handbook, 1882, p. 82.

<sup>3</sup>Baptist Handbook, 1886, p. 49.

is entrusted with the task of preparing souls for heaven--a work of eternal consequence--surely he can be allowed to defend the worldly interest of his flock and others. The minister has influence, force of character, knowledge, and the interest of God's work at heart."<sup>1</sup>

Meyer pointed to the sacredness of all of life. "God is sure in all human life. His spirit is breathing through all the spheres of human activity." He saw the presence of God in the work of the State--in the "buzz and murmur of the exchange," in political gatherings, and in the election of a member to Parliament.

Christians, then, must answer the call of politics. Expulsion of God from the party was atheism. Amid all the ignorance, prejudice, and clash of party passion He is working out His eternal plans, and His appeal is for our human help.<sup>2</sup>

Meyer ardently worked for the Liberal victory in 1905. His Keswick associates wondered about his political activity, and many of the followers of his devotional interests were repelled. He did not become a thoroughgoing politician, but he personified the Nonconformist Conscience on matters affecting the moral health of the public.<sup>3</sup>

George White called on members of the Baptist Union to take responsibility in the Government. Conscience at work there counted.

---

<sup>1</sup>T. G. James, "Should a Christian Minister Interfere With Politics?" Freeman, p. 131.

<sup>2</sup>"The Opportunity of the Church," Baptist Handbook, 1907, p. 232.

<sup>3</sup>Ernest H. Jeffs, Princes of the Modern Pulpit (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co., 1931), p. 120.

Baptists have not escaped the indifference, the decay of public spirit and laxity of principle so characteristic of the materialistic age. We must have a great deal more, and not less of the influence of Christian men in our public life. . . .<sup>1</sup>

White showed that the land question would not be settled by a landowner's House of Commons; thus the laborer was without hope. The housing problem, both in city and in country, the drink trade, and other problems demanded that nonconformists take positions of responsibility in the government.<sup>2</sup>

The obligation incumbent upon Christians to affect legislative decisions was a matter for conscience. The Baptist press was an important channel for expressing this sense of responsibility. The Freeman called on the government repeatedly for action against social evils. It condemned Parliament for being influenced by brewers, publicans and others with "vested interests" who brought pressure against temperance legislation. The Tory view, it said, was to "let the people be drunk, so that Liberals lose the credit of passing an important social Bill." He condemned such political faction which contributed to continued ignorance and vice among the masses.<sup>3</sup>

The Freeman condemned Parliament for maintaining an army officer system of purchased commissions.

<sup>1</sup>George White, "The Nonconformist Conscience in Its Relation to Our National Life," Baptist Handbook, p. 113.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 110-112.

<sup>3</sup>"Political Faction and Social Vice," Freeman, August 25, 1871, p. 406.

It is a purely class vote . . . regarded as a vote to keep the army as a preserve for aristocracy and wealth . . . and to sacrifice the safety of the country in war to the most unworthy class jealousy of merit without birth or money.<sup>1</sup>

The Queen should end the system, and Commons should repay officers at regulation prices.<sup>2</sup>

Again, in the winter of 1878 when trade was poor, when tens of thousands were without work, when the rate of wages was reduced, when strikes, bankruptcy and sales of furniture and clothes were common, The Baptist spoke out in condemnation of the government. The editor recognized that the economic stress was partially due to causes beyond the control of the government, but stated that he could not forget that "a Conservative regime is too frequently associated with stagnant trade and increased taxation."<sup>3</sup> He criticized the government for a lack of recent legislation to cope with the problem and echoed the message of the Hebrew prophets, saying that the government had been too involved in foreign affairs to attend to matters at home.<sup>4</sup>

Furthermore, he criticized the government for its lack of integrity in leadership, for picking "a Quarrel with a petty potentate" in order to seize territory, and for a double standard of justice in dealing with the strong and the weak. In true prophetic style, he wrote, "God has a controversy with this nation."<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>"Crisis," Freeman, July 21, 1871, p. 346.    <sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>"Social Distress and Political Immorality," Baptist, December 27, 1877, p. 378.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.



Both The Freeman and The Baptist criticized the continuance of the House of Lords and called for <sup>its</sup> elimination (of it). The former paper held that it was not a vital part of the nation, but a "parasite," worthless since the first reform bill,<sup>1</sup> and a simple nuisance.<sup>2</sup> The Baptist asked, "Is it just that large pension should still be paid to descendants of the illegitimate offspring of a licentious king who lived in the seventeenth century?"<sup>3</sup>

In 1879 The Baptist criticized the then current government whose policy had been "a travesty upon our Christianity rather than in any sense its representative or its result. . . ."<sup>4</sup> The Zululand War was immoral and unnecessary, and the Afghanistan War was the result of former injustice. The Baptist called on the Baptist Union to bring its influence to bear upon Parliament so that it could help set the principle of how the country was to be run. Baptists could let it be known that they disapprove of action of the government and vote against returning the same government to power.<sup>5</sup>

The Freeman stated the position forcefully, "Given a man who is at once a Christian, a Dissenter, and a Baptist, then such a man must

<sup>1</sup>"Crisis," Freeman, July 21, 1871, p. 346.

<sup>2</sup>"Summary," Ibid., p. 350.

<sup>3</sup>"The Mark of Democracy," Baptist, March 12, 1886, p. 164.

<sup>4</sup>"The Baptist Union and Politics," Baptist, October 3, 1879, p. 211.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

be false to his best self if he is not a righteous politician, if he is not patriotic, independent, and frank."<sup>1</sup>

Clifford entered the field of political activity with an understanding of legislative procedures to match his zeal for social reform. At the University of London, he had taken a degree in law. He became a familiar figure around the House of Commons, and his opinion on legislative issues was sought by the press and by members of the House. From his "stump" in Hyde Park and other public platforms, from his pulpit, and through the press, he encouraged citizens to vote and to participate actively in the political life of the nation.

God does not despise politics if we do. He does not pass by as unimportant the measures that influence and determine the conditions of three hundred millions of people in India, or ignore the legislation that cripples or frees, saves from wrong or dooms to misery and wretchedness, the forty-five millions of Great Britain and Ireland. No, far from it! He guides and controls the forces that are so fateful to His children, and inspires the personalities that lead the life of the world. . . .<sup>2</sup>

We dare not let politics alone. They are a part of our religion. We should be disloyal to the King of kings if we failed in our duty to the State. The State is dear to us as the God-ordered instrument for the promotion of His rule of justice and peace, and brotherhood, and it is one of our duties first, to make the Parliament through which it acts, really adequate for its work, and, next, to use it so that the work may be well and faithfully done.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>"The Political Baptist," Freeman, January 31, 1890, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup>John Clifford, The Gospel of Gladness, and Its Meaning for Us. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1912), pp. 5-6.

<sup>3</sup>John Clifford, The Christ of the Coming Century. (London: Veale, Chifferiel and Co., 1899), p. 34.

Next to preaching Christ's gospel, and building up men in righteousness, there is no work, in our judgment, more human, more sacred, or more Christian, than that of seeking to penetrate legislation with the principles of liberty, equality, and justice. To us it is an unutterable shame to slink out of the ranks of politics into a prayer-meeting, and leave the nation to hasten on its journey to universal mischief. A nonpolitical Christian is at all times a blunder; and in these times a flagrant wrong.<sup>1</sup>

The absence of agreement among Baptists on these questions hampered whatever efforts that they made for social reform. It weakened the influence of those who were more sensitive to the demands upon them and tended to limit the impact of their strivings for social improvement.

One point of view which was common to Baptists was the necessity of Christian faith for a healthy society. A person disassociated from God could not be a good citizen. "It is undoubtedly true that one of the master evils of our day is unbelief, which prevents people from taking hold of that social and political good which would otherwise be within their reach."<sup>2</sup> This conviction provided the basis for social concern among the Baptists. Clifford said that the Church must keep on preaching and teaching the gospel--its primary work. The Church must enable individuals to appropriate the social gospel of their day, and at the same time it must not let socialism be economic only. It must "insist upon and secure the spiritual quality of Socialism."

---

<sup>1</sup>John Clifford, "Scraps from the Editor's Wastebasket," General Baptist Magazine, LXXI (April, 1879), p. 188.

<sup>2</sup>"Dangerous Development of Evil," Baptist, February 10, 1886, p. 120.



Owen and Marx have affirmed the economic element. The Fabian Society has illuminated and enforced the historical, and made clear that we cannot bury the old order and start as from creation's dawn. H. G. Wells and others have contended for the national and ethical element; the churches must give the most important of all, the spiritual. . . . It is this we can give. It is this we must give. Not apart from the economists, but with them; not apart from the evolutionary Socialists of the Sidney Webb school, but with them and through them.<sup>1</sup>

This survey of the social theory among Baptists of the period suggests that socialism and individualism along with the responsibility of the Church and of Christians to society were discussed by numerous Baptists of the period and that the Baptist Union, as well as the Baptist press, was concerned with these questions. However, being steeped in the tradition of English family life and of personal initiative and responsibility, the Baptists could not readily accept socialist theories. This position was defensible. On the other hand, their confidence in personal redemption as the instrument to redeem society exposed the failure among them to take into account the barriers which the poor living and working conditions of the period placed in the way of personal redemption. Man could hardly be expected to search for the highest things of life if his total energies were expended in gaining the barest necessities of life.

Greenhough's argument that socialism was unbiblical was a rather weak position in light of the difficulty of establishing biblical support for the cruel consequences of harsh individualism. It is easy to reject any idea as unbiblical in some aspect and to defend another idea which is equally unbiblical in another aspect.

---

<sup>1</sup>Clifford, Socialism and The Churches, pp. 10-11.

There was also considerable opposition to individualism, and it was significant that this opposition should be expressed by elected leaders of the denomination. The condemnation of commercialism by Evans, Green, Carlile, and others was forcefully stated. Carlile's contention that commerce was not just a matter of economics, but a religious matter as well was supported by Meyer and Clifford. They stood out in contrast to those who would restrict the influence of religion to the needs of individual persons.

Clifford forsook the shelter of conservatism when he called for a replacement of capitalism by collectivism. His call for a new concept of property and his ultra-liberal support of the nationalization of land could hardly have been more in contrast to the thought of his times, yet they indicated his strong insistence that a change in the economic system was necessary. The thought that such reform was possible without a social and political revolution made Clifford an idealist of the first order, but it also showed that he was struggling with the core of the social problem.

The tendency of ministers who opposed socialism was to make pious claims that Christ, and not a rearrangement of the outward conditions of men, would change the social order. Clifford thought beyond this. The manhood of man must be respected or there would be no man to change.

This concept led Clifford and others to see that the Church had an inescapable responsibility to society. Almost half of this first chapter has been given to describing this sense of responsibility. In a

period when congregations numbering into the thousands were attracted by the individual-oriented preaching of Spurgeon and MacLaren, it was significant that other leading Baptists were discontent to remain quiet concerning the social demands of the gospel. Clifford, Carlile, Meyer, Logan, George White, and others enunciated the Church's responsibility for society. The gospel must not only change men; it must revolutionize relations between men. These Baptist leaders stood out like the Hebrew prophets of old because there were few who stood with them.

## CHAPTER II

### JOHN CLIFFORD, A SOCIAL REFORMER IN THE PASTORATE

#### An Analysis of His Social Philosophy

As a pastor, Clifford was concerned with people, their problems and their joys, and was therefore able to speak to the social problems which they encountered. Any theory of social reform would be held in tension with conditions as they were and with a strong faith in the primary importance of men.

No doubt the development of his social philosophy began when he was a child laborer, getting up before dawn and entering into a hard day's work. As a young man and later as a minister of the gospel, he saw with sensitive eyes the need for social reform. He apprehended the breadth of this need. Bull-fights in Spain must go. Brutalities in amusements must cease. Drunkenness must be eliminated. Penal processes need to be converted into means to recover lost mankind. Labor must be put on just foundations. Churches must be freed from the rule of Parliament.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Clifford, The Christ of the Coming Century, p. 38.

Some requirements for social progress

For social progress, he said, there must be "sane, strong, and clear thinking." Since there were a variety of meanings of "socialism," misrepresentation was commonplace. It was necessary to have a clear understanding of social facts and how to handle them if society was going to be spared mistaken interpretations of social phenomena and the adoption of temporary and inadequate methods of solving problems.<sup>1</sup>

Conscience must be aroused so that knowledge would be transformed into conviction and conviction lead to obedience to duty.<sup>2</sup> He cited persons who

blame "sweaters," and spend their money so as to support their trade; denounce papers that nourish the gambling vice of the country, and send them the advertisements by which they live; lament the bad work of the factories and buy cheap clothing, without any solicitude as to how it was made and paid for. . . . Silence is wrong, wrong to the present generation and wrong to the unborn race.<sup>3</sup>

A clear conception of the goal must be maintained. Method and goal must not be mixed as in the case of socialism where, at times, the two had come together. Socialism was not the ideal, but a method. Socialists had come to see that "the goal of all economic and social

---

<sup>1</sup>John Clifford, Primary Condition of Social Progress (London: The Social Progress Society, 1907), p. 4.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 7.

<sup>3</sup>John Clifford, The New City of God or the Primitive Christian Faith as a Social Gospel (London: Alexander and Shephard, 1888), p. 35.

methods is a new man, a regenerated man, a man built up in such a form as that he shall get the best out of his social relationships, and use them for the noblest ends."<sup>1</sup>

The forces of society for the building up of man must be understood and used. Legislative action was needed to protect young lives against the "trade in drink" or late shopping habits or mistreatment by landlords. Future experiments should be made along the lines of collectivism.<sup>2</sup> It was man's character, after all, that guaranteed social progress. Material conditions did have an influence on progress, and a changed environment was often accompanied by a quickened moral conscience, but "character goes farther to determine condition than condition to make character."<sup>3</sup>

#### The goal of social reform

The goal of sincere, unselfish social reformers was

an Ideal Commonwealth, reign of liberty, equality, and fraternity, a republic of goodness, a kingdom of righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost, in which the power of man to hurt his neighbour is reduced to the lowest minimum, and the fullest, highest, and most enduring welfare of each member of the communities of mankind shall be assured by the best discoverable guarantees.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Clifford, Primary Condition of Social Progress, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 12-13.

<sup>3</sup>Clifford, The New City of God, p. 33.

<sup>4</sup>John Clifford, Christianity: The True Socialism (London: E. Marlborough and Co., 1885), p. 23.

Clifford saw a relationship between social conditions and the spiritual life of people. "Injustices breed irreligion. Bad laws help to make bad or weak men."<sup>1</sup> However, he condemned working for a new social order primarily to fill the churches. "Let us work for a new social order, for the sake of the good the social order will affect; not for the sake of filling churches and chapels."<sup>2</sup>

### His conception of society

Society is of God, Clifford said. It is God's creation for the building up of man and for the development of righteousness. Man, however, was socially lost, and the current social structure tended to increase his plight. As the structure of Jewish society originally provided for a recurrent salvation through the Jubilee Year, the Church believed that God had planned "an acceptable year" and that in the coming of Jesus of Nazareth, that year had come. The arrival of the Kingdom of God in Christ meant the redemption of society.

Nearly all that Jesus said, at least until His ministry approached its close, was concerning this earth. He spoke continually about a Kingdom of God which was to be established and enjoyed in this visible sphere; of a blessed social condition which men might realize in this present time, if they would love God and their brother, and keep

---

<sup>1</sup>John Clifford, Religious Life in the Rural Districts of England (London: Yates and Alexander, 1876), p. 20.

<sup>2</sup>"Christianity and the Social Order," Westbourne Park Record, XVI (May, 1908), 81.

those sayings of His. . . . The Kingdom of which He spoke was emphatically an earthly Kingdom, though not after the fashion of this world.<sup>1</sup>

In fact, although Jesus taught of the Father who loved each child of His creation, the teaching of the Kingdom was central. The social order was the burden of His teaching. "To miss it is like missing the place and power of 'faith' and 'grace' in the teaching of Paul."<sup>2</sup> Man cannot be known in his separateness, for he is not complete in himself, but is part of the whole.<sup>3</sup> It was society, then, and not just the individual in society, that was the focus of Christ's ministry. In the sacrifice of Christ the redemption of society was made possible.

This extension of the center of focus of the gospel from the individual to society, demanded that the Church rethink the gospel in terms of the industrial and democratic revolution. The revolution had brought benefits, but great injustices also.

It has wrecked lives, depleted health, exploited labour, and brought untold misery to millions. It has violated the rights of men. Children and women and men have been the victims of sweated labour, and are still. The toiler has been the last to get a fair measure of reward for his work.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Clifford, The Christian Conception of Society (London: Alexander and Shephard, 1891), p. 6.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 7.

<sup>4</sup>John Clifford, The Living Message of the Church for Today (London: National Council of the Evangelical Free Churches, n.d.), p. 14.



This was damning--especially in a day of unmeasured extravagance by some who lived on the sweated labor of others.

In a Christian society all men had equal rights. According to Christian teaching all men were equal before the law, which meant the equality of all men in making the law also. Clifford favored the popular vote, for it would destroy monopolies, lift the agricultural worker, open opportunities to women, and weaken all social and political institutions built on wrong and force.<sup>1</sup>

He was an optimist, believing that Christian society was advancing.

As the nineteenth century has voiced the passion for accumulation and for progress, . . . so the twentieth will express the deeper and nobler sentiment of the just distribution of the stock of the world's good. . . . Collectivism is one of the commonplaces of our time, one of the presuppositions of our municipal and legislative activity. The world is not going to end in universal selfishness; but in the equal and loving enjoyment of the results of the past ages of toil and struggle, the actual partnership of the "good things" of the Lord; and property itself shall become a means of communion with God and men. The Kingdom of God must come here; the golden age is in the future, not in the past.<sup>2</sup>

#### The role of Christianity in social reform

He ranked Christianity over other religions as a social force. In defending this position, Clifford pointed out that Christianity destroyed slavery, exalted women, promoted trade, and inspired social

---

<sup>1</sup>Clifford, The New City of God, pp. 8-9.

<sup>2</sup>John Clifford, The Demands of the Twentieth Century (London: Veale, Chifferiel and Co., Ltd., 1900), pp. 24-25.

progress. Jesus was the source of liberty, equality, and fraternity. His doctrine of man contained His doctrine of liberty and brotherhood-- "One is your master and all ye are brothers." (Matthew 23:8) His doctrine of God, as Father, destroyed the idea of personal treasure for selfish pleasure. Men are brothers and possessions are not to separate them. To use wealth for self and not for society is subordination of God's will.<sup>1</sup> "If better guarantees for the ultimate religion can be found than those which appear in the social principles of the Religion of Jesus, I do not know them."<sup>2</sup>

Christianity was at home in dealing with social problems, for they were, by nature, spiritual problems.

All social problems are spiritual at heart, pierce to the throbbing nerve of souls, concern shattered ambitions and broken hearts, defeated energies and maimed lives, wasted efforts and blighted hopes, starving children and crushed old age, agonised women learning at death's door how they should have lived, and men educated in theft as if it were an accomplishment, and trained in vice as the readiest means of living; bitter despairs breeding weakness and wickedness and keen miseries that make darkness more welcome than light, and the grave the only gospel of rest.<sup>3</sup>

Sins and sorrows, anxieties and agonies resulting from the monopoly of land, exactions of landlords, overcrowding in town and city, and the fierce race for riches constituted spiritual problems.

---

<sup>1</sup>John Clifford, The Ultimate Problems of Christianity (London: The Kingsgate Press, 1906), p. 339.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 341.

<sup>3</sup>Clifford, The New City of God, pp. 5-6.

Social problems were not new, for civilization was a story of man's facing and overcoming, or being overcome, by such problems. The new element was Christian motivation to face problems calmly, patiently, and thoughtfully, determined to know how they could be solved.<sup>1</sup> Clifford called on mankind to give free play to Christ's gospel.

We keep him out of our politics, and go on in wrong; out of our trade, and make bad paper, bad clothes, bad buildings; out of our social life, and grind the poor and stop our ears with cottonwool so that the cries of agony and misery may not disturb us, and we let drink and harlotry flourish; out of our pleasures, and allow them to debase and sensualise our fellows; out of our churches, and so perish of our conventionalisms and respectabilities. The incarnation of the Christ of the Cross is the one thing needful; . . . the Christ of Galilee and Gethsemane, the street preacher, the comrade of the working man, the friend of the fallen woman, brought into actual touch with the real life of the dwellers in the cities and villages.<sup>2</sup>

His gospel had been known as the key to personal problems, now it must be accepted as the answer to the great problems of society. "Social redemption is in Him, . . . for neither is there any other name under heaven, that is given among men, whereby society must be saved."<sup>3</sup> The world's need for the power to love could be found in Jesus, for the gospel of Christ was the power of God at work for social salvation.

Not only the Cross, but also the Incarnation of God in Christ gave theological support to the relevance of Christ's ministry to social

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 7.

<sup>2</sup>G. W. Byrt, John Clifford, a Fighting Free Churchman (London: Kingsgate Press, 1947), pp. 128-29.

<sup>3</sup>Clifford, The New City of God, p. 12.

problems. "God in history" was "the central, universal and indestructible life of Society."<sup>1</sup>

God is in it the world for evermore, fills it at every moment, makes it, is the life of all its movement, the ejection of its evil, the correction of its faults, its salvation and its goal. . . . "The Eternal Life" was manifested here, on our planet, in our life, seen, felt, and experienced in the soul of society, hushing its discords, evoking its harmonies, directing its forces and inspiring its work. It is not a merely human citizen showing us the way we should take; it is God Himself in civic and social conditions, incarnating Himself that He may be the Saviour of the world as of the individual.<sup>2</sup>

The gospel would still deal with the inner life of man, for it was there that the issues existed. Man must be regenerated from within. Legislation could be helpful but not the cure. The jubilee arrangements in ancient Israel were designed to assure justice and to distribute material possessions equitably, but they passed into misuse and decay, for they ceased to bring change within men.

Nor would mere competition promote the welfare of society. It was a "poor panacea for a sore and bruised and bleeding world; only a little better than the policy of a universal almshouse."<sup>3</sup> Industry must be permeated by a spirit of social duty. "Men must do their business for Christ and in Christ's Spirit, and not solely or mainly for themselves."<sup>4</sup> The spirit of man must be strengthened, for the real wealth of a nation was not its material wealth and power, but its citizens. The standard

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 18.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 18-19.

<sup>3</sup>Clifford, Daily Strength for Daily Living, pp. 94-95.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 95.

for Christian citizenship was Christ Jesus who was probably "the ideal citizen."<sup>1</sup>

The emphasis on the value and integrity of man was a major element in the role of Christianity for social reform. "The vitality and progress of states are determined by their ideas and convictions concerning God and man."<sup>2</sup> The Christian idea begins with its fresh concept of God and is completed and crowned by its revelation of man. When Jesus asked, "'How much better is a man than a sheep,'" He sowed the seed of revolution.

At once Christ penetrates to the core of the question of man's nature, and lays bare the unspeakable possibilities of the human spirit as the offspring of the eternal Father, dowered with capacities for finest moral issues, susceptible of the keenest wretchedness and misery, and yet the heir of immortality, and the object of Infinite Love.<sup>3</sup>

This was a question that man must ponder. It would lead to changes in his ideas and relationships with other men. Only God knows the real substance of man's being.<sup>4</sup>

Man is a living whole. He must not be parceled out among the metaphysicians, the theologians, the novelists, the physicians, the economists, the Positivists. The low concept of the unity of man was one of the worst features of the schemes of State-Socialists. Man is superior to the industrial system, was here before it, and will be here when it is gone.

---

<sup>1</sup>Clifford, The New City of God, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 21.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 22.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 21-23.

Actually, man is a many-sided being and Christianity takes this into account.<sup>1</sup> "The Key to all our social problems lies in the Christian conception of man."<sup>2</sup>

Although Clifford recognized the solidarity of humanity; hence the dependence of man on man as a fact of social existence, he warned that this fact must not be allowed to deny the freedom of the individual. "The integrity of man is sacred, and every other man must respect it. The strong must not be permitted to suppress the weak in the wild wantonness of his power, but in justice to the right of souls must bear their infirmities."<sup>3</sup>

This demand for the respect and freedom of man lifted the position of the individual and thereby provided for a stronger social order. It prohibited the adoption of social theories for the relief of society which, at the same time, would destroy man's free and independent action. Justice must always be done. "A socialist without righteousness may be very kind-hearted; but he is not the less a real foe to his country and his race, by so much as he is dishonest and untrue."<sup>4</sup>

The Church should demand justice. Human worth and happiness must precede material possessions. The fierce scramble for money should be checked. Legislation must guarantee a minimum wage. The Church must declare:

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 23-24. <sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 24. <sup>3</sup>Ibid. pp. 26-27.

<sup>4</sup>Clifford, Daily Strength for Daily Living, p. 94.

- (1) A man is never merely a means to an end, he is always an end;
- (2) Every man counts for one, and no man counts for more than one;
- (3) Property is always secondary to souls;
- (4) The primary purpose of civilised society is not to make money but to make men; not to win empires, but to stop the wastage of the resources of souls, and to create an environment that shall minister to sober thinking, mental growth, good habits, and noble character.<sup>1</sup>

Christianity in spirit and in principle declared that the purpose of commerce was to do far more than to provide a meager living for men or to honor those who devoted themselves only to material gain. Commerce must minister to the moral development of man.<sup>2</sup>

Christianity was opposed to that which made men poor as well as the crushing and degrading influence of poverty itself. It sought to free men from struggle for physical survival so that they could pursue higher ends in the struggle with spiritual foes. A man whose life was "sweated" out of him for fourteen to sixteen hours a day for a minimum wage could hardly be expected to give sufficient thought to spiritual development.<sup>3</sup> Clifford called on the Baptist Union to defend those who suffered unjustly under the current industrial system and to work for justice. "No appeal for justice should be made to us in vain. No crusaders against wrong should have the start of us. No blow against oppression should fall swifter and heavier than ours. Shame on us! If we do not burn with

---

<sup>1</sup>Clifford, The Living Message of the Church, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup>John Clifford, Jesus Christ and Modern Social Life, p. 38.

<sup>3</sup>Clifford, The Christian Conception of Society, pp. 13-15.

the enthusiasm of holiness.<sup>1</sup> The Church must recognize that "Christ seeks the social residuum." He goes out to it Himself, the Church must be His agent.<sup>2</sup>

#### The Church as agent of social reform

Clifford defined the Church in sociological terms. It was a "company," the "stock" of which consisted of the "needs of the brotherhood." Distribution was made to "the necessities of the saints" who were the "shareholders." Individual need, then, was common stock, and all were partners. He felt that this idea would come to rule the world, setting the style for building cities, states, and empires, gradually bringing in the "Commonwealth of God."<sup>3</sup>

He thought of the Church in non-theological terms. "We are ourselves 'social settlements,' communities of brothers and sisters of Jesus, willing to go into an uninteresting obscurity for the sake of men lost in the dark regions of Slumdon, or to ascend into the highest realms of culture for the sake of spiritualising the entire life through the intellect."<sup>4</sup> On such concepts as these he developed a philosophy of the role of the Church in reform.

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 15. The Westbourne Park Record says that Clifford's address at the Baptist Union was received with much enthusiasm but a "note of dissent was heard" also: ("Dr. Clifford on Socialism," Westbourne Park Record, IV, [November, 1891], 99.)

<sup>2</sup>Clifford, The Christian Conception of Society, p. 17.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>4</sup>Clifford, The Demands of the 20th Century, p. 26.



In the past, the Church had been "like the priest and the levite, . . . narcotised by the world."<sup>1</sup> It had passed by on the other side of the road. The Church was guilty of not understanding and defining its purpose and mission of social salvation. A widespread distrust of the churches had arisen, due most largely, probably, to the fact that labor considered the Church to be inseparably linked with capitalism and the prevailing industrial order. Although the Church accepted the social order and sought to cure its ills, working men felt that the churches were so bound with the social order that they could not affect change.

Clifford, however, saw the dilemma of the Church. The social and industrial revolution had changed the whole scheme of things. It was as though the Church of the last century had been sent into a foreign country and among a strange people. The ease of blaming the Church for indifference and inactivity must be held in tension with a careful estimate of the difficulty of the situation. The churches faced a complicated problem and did not know what to do. They were bewildered by the newness and vastness of the task, and were not equipped in ideas, methods, or power.

They had yet to learn the immense social energies of the Gospel of Christ. For more than three centuries men had held and taught that it was the Church's one and only function to "save the soul"; and when they dealt with the miseries of social life, it was through a long-established and consecrated ministry of alms-giving. Protestantism had dug up the lost and buried individual man, proclaimed his infinite possibilities, reasserted Christ's revelation of the incomputable value of each

---

<sup>1</sup>John Clifford, "The Sphere of the Church in the Coming Social Regeneration," (Article extracted from a periodical and preserved in the personal collection of John Clifford, n.d.), p. 440.

human soul, and insisted, against all comers, that man is more than institutions or hierarchies, creeds or churches. It was a glorious, and eternal truth; but the reformers did not conceive it as to include Christ's social ideal, and their successors regarded their work as finished when they had saved that fraction of the man they called "the soul" and had saved that for eternity rather than for time.<sup>1</sup>

The Church, however, had a new vision, for young men had "caught sight of a high and glorious social ideal." Jesus had been made ruler "over the great social realms of human activity, of industry and commerce, property and administration, home and nation."<sup>2</sup> These young churchmen were enthusiastic about social service, believed in equality of opportunity, rejected exclusive ownership of land, rejected the idea that capital was to grind men down, held that labor was to be elevated, called for an end to overcrowding in the cities, and felt responsible for society of which they were a part.<sup>3</sup> The old questions of theology and worship, of polity and service, were given a new expression in terms of "relations with one another, of fraternity and fellowship, equality and righteousness." Clifford welcomed this change and said that it must be studied and applied with ardor and enthusiasm.<sup>4</sup>

The Church was receiving a larger conception of its vocation. It was beginning to see that it must proclaim Christ's right to dominate in the collective realms of life as in the life of an individual. The Church must learn the social teachings of Jesus and apply them to the social and economic affairs of life. Christians could no longer appease

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 441.    <sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 440.    <sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Clifford, The New City of God, pp. 10-11.

suffering mankind by promises of rewards which were laid up in heaven.<sup>1</sup>

The great business of the Church was to eliminate those things which brought divisions among men and to strive for a regenerated social order.<sup>2</sup> The "spiritual work" of the Church was not to be deprecated; in fact, the swiftest and surest way of improving the social condition would be to make men Christian. However, to evangelize men, social reform was necessary, and this would not be accomplished by "the casual impulse of an individual," or by "the haphazard impact of those who are outside the churches." If reform was to come, the churches by design must do it, by establishing right relations between men as it had between God and men.<sup>3</sup>

In spite of the distrust of the churches by the masses, Clifford felt that it was necessary to maintain the churches, for they possessed the ideas which would be effective in securing a new social order. They must be "adapted, altered, fashioned, reconstructed," but kept in society.

His apologetic for the place of the Church in society was as follows: first, the world in which we live has a new social conscience based on the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. The will of man must be socialized up to the level of this conscience. The basic ideas of the Church are from Jesus. Jesus is still highly respected by

<sup>1</sup>Clifford, "The Sphere of the Church," p. 439.

<sup>2</sup>John Clifford, "Dr. Clifford on the Social Order," The Times (London), December 27, 1909, p. 8.

<sup>3</sup>Clifford, "The Sphere of the Church," p. 442.

labor leaders, and he is the source of ideas of labor leaders. Labor feels that Jesus is with them.

Secondly, churches supply the necessary moral quality for the new social order. There must be self-sacrifice, passion for justice, liberty, and noble character in order to stir men's charitable spirits and to show them defects in the competitive system. Churches are the training ground for this moral quality. Legislation lags due to the absence of a moral consciousness among the people. The churches can and do supply this character development.

Thirdly, the Church must be the faithful remnant. Progress is not steady, but comes after decline. The remnant, as in Israel, must be prepared to take the leadership when the time comes. The Church must be maintained in order to sustain the advance of the new social order. It must be a society of social servants, knights to take the responsibility of the order.<sup>1</sup>

In 1867, he had said,

Cooperative industry is but a subordinate agency in the work of blessing the world, along whose fibres the life that is in Christ must play if society is to be healed by it of its divisions, and cured of its self-idolatry. The best sails are useless without wind. . . . It is a social machinery which the evil in men may soon bring to a dead lock, if the "powers of the world to come" are withdrawn. Our motive and model in readjusting the relations of master and servants must come from our Master "who is our peace."<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>John Clifford, "The Christian Church of Tomorrow; or What Can the Churches Give to the New Social Order," Westbourne Park Record, XVI (April, 1908), 53-55.

<sup>2</sup>John Clifford, "Cooperative Industry," The Baptist Messenger, (August, 1867), p. 208.

He had great confidence in the Church as a force for social reform and set her goals high. She must get doles and charity as means to solving social problems out of her mind. She must alter the land laws in order to end overcrowding; get rid of the bars in order to develop a sober populace; eliminate the principle of competition and substitute that of cooperation in industry in order to extinguish pauperism. She must produce men who will study problems, get to the roots of them and then give time to cure them. She must be a training ground for civic and county councillors in the service of God. She must organize forces and direct combined energies.<sup>1</sup> She must realize that the processes for the regeneration of the individual and for society are not antagonistic but complementary.<sup>2</sup>

As a means to this end, the Church must train its leaders for spiritual and ethical leadership in the total area of human life. The college should make provision for the instruction of candidates for the ministry in the field of Sociology, for actual contact with men in their homes and avocations, and for an internship under the supervision of an experienced pastor. He wrote to a friend concerning a young student, "Social problems are in the ascendant, and the preacher who has no clear and intelligent message about them will fail in doing all he ought. I

---

<sup>1</sup>Clifford, "The Sphere of the Church," p. 444.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 443.

therefore want him to go in for political economy, the study of Socialism and the like."<sup>1</sup>

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, Clifford held that the failure of the Church to cope with problems of the century was the sign of the need of Christ. His Spirit would be the source enabling society to build up industries on a collective basis. A clear insight into His ideas would enable men to "suppress the passions that feed our individualistic system and sweep away the accumulated evils which have gathered round it, and at the same time to advance to perfection the Collectivist methods already operative in profit-sharing, in co-operative labour, and in Municipal and State industries."<sup>2</sup>

#### Socialism and social reform

It has been stated that Clifford's social philosophy was built upon his belief in the dignity of man and on his faith that Christianity was the way of life for the good of mankind. It must be added that his respect for labor and economics was also a foundation stone of this philosophy. Far from being a curse, labor was normal for man, whose capacities required work for his development. Work was a divine institution, and the industrial element was "the one most conspicuous in the life of man."<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Charles T. Bateman, John Clifford: Free Church Leader and Preacher, (London: National Council of the Evangelical Free Churches, 1904), p. 128.

<sup>2</sup>John Clifford, Socialism and the Teaching of Christ (London: The Fabian Society, 1897), p. 11.

<sup>3</sup>John Clifford, "Evolution and Sociology," Westbourne Park Record, 3rd Series, (March, 1894), 19.

Likewise, trade was divine, and carried with it a noble dignity. It was second only to religion in its influence over man. A business vocation should be respected almost as highly as that of the ministry of the gospel. Commerce is "of God, and is to do His work, to enrich and complete life, to be a means of brother helping brother in the service of humanity."<sup>1</sup>

Yet, the industrial system was further from the ideal and teachings of Jesus than any other social institution.

It burdens some with excessive wealth, and worries others with excessive want. It cripples where it ought to help, fetters where it ought to free. It substitutes luxury for simplicity, and slavery to things for the mastery of them. It robs us of the control of our own life, and makes us the victims of blinding conventions so that we fail to see and feel the charms of the gracious kingdom of God. It makes property a source of division and strife, whilst God means it to be a magnet to communion and a help to brotherhood. It creates classes, builds up castes, crowds the poor into rooms where chastity is almost impossible, and the joy of living is never felt.

In some cases, moreover, it inflicts positive injuries on men. . . . It delivers itself from moral obligations by reducing work to the merest routine, then organizes it into vast syndicates and trusts, and reduces mankind to the condition of a predatory horde.<sup>2</sup>

Clifford was opposed to a system which allowed and encouraged some persons to profit at the expense of other persons. There were moral limits to accumulation, for big dividends to some meant poor wages for others.

---

<sup>1</sup>Clifford, Jesus Christ and Modern Social Life, pp. 37-38.

<sup>2</sup>Clifford, The Christ of the Coming Century, pp. 29-30.

Industry must be reorganized as a means to realizing the brotherhood of mankind.<sup>1</sup>

England needed a new ideal, he said. Individualism was "partial, hollow, unreal and disastrous." It fostered caste feelings and divisions in society; caused hatred and ill will; and provided scorn and contempt. "The ideal we need and must have is in the unity of English life, in the recognition that man is complete in the State, at once a member of society and of the Government-- . . . an ideal that is the soul at once of Collectivism and of the revelation of the brotherhood of men in Jesus Christ."<sup>2</sup>

Clifford, then, was a collectivist. Although he saw some advantages in capitalism,<sup>3</sup> he was aware of its weaknesses. It left selfish desires unmolested. It provided for self-assertion and not for self-restraint. It inspired competition and the thrusting aside of rivals. It took advantage of women and children. It gave advantages to the strong and none to the weak.<sup>4</sup>

Likewise, he rejected communism.<sup>5</sup> Nor was "state mechanism" alone the answer to the social problems. Good laws and careful administrative procedures were necessary; however, citizens could not expect the government to award impossible benefits. "Good legislation requires

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 30-32.

<sup>2</sup>Clifford, Socialism and the Teaching of Christ, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 7.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>See p. 20.



good legislators, and in a representative parliament good legislators can only come from a good people."<sup>1</sup> If the controlling portion of British society were guided by the principles of Jesus Christ, citizens could expect helpful legislation. However, this was only a partial approach to the problem.<sup>2</sup>

Clifford said that he had always been a socialist,<sup>3</sup> a term which he used interchangeably with "collectivist." John Carlile, however, said that Clifford was not a socialist, but a social reformer.<sup>4</sup> This disagreement was probably due to their varying concepts of socialism. What, then, did Clifford mean by the term? He defined socialism as a movement, not a collection of theories and ideas. It was a "tendency, a pushing forward of the inner soul of humanity towards its destined goal." The most important element of the movement was its spirit, a spirit of justice and charity, of "broad sympathies and general good will, of universal amity and benevolence, of service to others and not of getting for self." It was "a great intellectual process," but more than that-- it was "an ethical and religious effort."<sup>5</sup> It was the collective ownership of the means of production by a self-governing community where the profits were equitably shared by all.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Clifford, Jesus Christ and Modern Social Life, pp. 27-28.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 27-28.

<sup>3</sup>"The Free Church Council," Times (London), March 11, 1909, p. 9.

<sup>4</sup>Carlile, My Life's Little Day, p. 48.

<sup>5</sup>John Clifford, Socialism and the Churches, p. 3. <sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

Socialism was not the absorption of the individual by the State, nor the suppression of the family,<sup>1</sup> nor the total extinction of private property, nor the direction of literature, art, and religion by the State, nor the sudden overthrow of the machinery of industrial life. The collectivist state was only for industry and public services.<sup>2</sup>

Collectivism was a

war against the tyranny of matter over mind. It is a movement on the outward for the sake of the inward. It would end the battle for bread, and make the toil for it natural as breathing; and so set the man free for the fight with ignorance, with inexact thought, with vulgar tastes, with low aims, and with base ideals.<sup>3</sup>

In defending socialism, he enlarged on his concept of it. It was constructive, sane, and universal. It was constructive because it would correct the blunders which England had made, bringing misery and cruelty to many and wealth for a few. All would be served by socialism, for it would leave nothing to reckless chance.<sup>4</sup>

It was sane because it was "balanced, statesmanlike, scientific, and trustworthy." The impracticable and implacable theorist was not representative of current socialistic thought.<sup>5</sup> He disassociated current

---

<sup>1</sup>John Clifford, The Effect of Socialism on Personal Character (Leicester : Leicester Christian Socialist Society, 1893), p. 4.

<sup>2</sup>Clifford, Socialism and the Teaching of Christ, pp. 5-6.

<sup>3</sup>Clifford, The Effect of Socialism on Personal Character, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup>Clifford, Socialism and the Churches, p. 5.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 5-6.

socialism from that of St. Simon and Fourier in France, Robert Owen in England, and numerous experiments in America.<sup>1</sup>

Again, socialism was universal, not a class movement. Labor was in it--so were scientists, men on the streets, students, agnostics and orthodox Christians. "Quietly and slowly, but inevitably, the sway of social duty rises and rules so that this twentieth century is sure to be the century of a conquering and beneficent socialism."<sup>2</sup>

He believed in the divinity of the movement. It was the plan of God who was working through it for the redemption of mankind. God had His plan in each generation, and socialism was the plan for that age. It was political, for it had to work through Parliament. It was civic, for it took place in society. It was international, for it sought to drive out enmity and to bring in amity of nations. It was literary and artistic, for it used forces that healed and helped races. But it was essentially spiritual and religious. It was not necessarily the final, but it was the next, the necessary, the saving movement.<sup>3</sup>

In the truest sense God is the first Socialist; the Creator and Inspirer of the social spirit; the Creator and Inspirer of those powerful personalities who have evoked, directed, and partly satisfied that spirit by a free, healthy, and beneficial development; the Revealer of the laws on which a genuine Socialism may be based, and the methods by which it may be attained; and the Author of that gospel which

---

<sup>1</sup>Clifford, Jesus Christ and Modern Social Life, p. 20.

<sup>2</sup>Clifford, Socialism and the Churches, p. 7.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 7-8.

has done more to create motive and inspire practical enthusiasm for the real welfare of men, than all other systems and agencies and persons put together.<sup>1</sup>

His support of socialism was sevenfold. In the first place history taught that one should look for help toward building personal character by a switch from competitive industry to collective industry.<sup>2</sup> This was a superior ideal which was akin to that of Christ. In it each man was a worker, but not for himself. He worked to share with all.<sup>3</sup> To steal and to lie would become useless. Crimes against property would diminish. Opportunities for obtaining a manly life would be increased.<sup>4</sup> The hoarding of wealth would be unnecessary and inconvenient. Charity, which came from fortunes made often from grinding the poor, would not be necessary. Collectivism would eliminate poverty, would enable families to provide for their needs, and would care for the aged poor and the sick.<sup>5</sup>

Secondly, socialism was just. Because society was where one's individual productive ability was of significance, society had a just right to be heard as to the ownership and the control of the instruments and the results of labor. Furthermore, "collectivism approximates more

---

<sup>1</sup>Clifford, Daily Strength for Daily Living, p. 84.

<sup>2</sup>Clifford, The Effect of Socialism on Personal Character, pp. 1-2.

<sup>3</sup>Clifford, Socialism and the Teaching of Christ, p. 10.

<sup>4</sup>John Clifford, Making Anglicans at the Cost of the Ratepayers (London: National Passive Resistance Committee, n.d.), pp. 3-8.

<sup>5</sup>Clifford, Socialism and the Teaching of Christ, pp. 9-10.

closely to universal justice than the wage-system. That system is or may be legal; yet it is not equitable."<sup>1</sup>

Thirdly, socialism would encourage men to work. Actually, he argued, normal men like to work, but it was the depressed citizen of the slum that worked only for gold. Collectivism would bring about improved social conditions which, in turn, would help to advance the quality of man. The need for bread was not the only force that had produced great men. Man had not really been discovered, for man was capable of much more than was known. When the clamor of lower hungers were cared for, man would seek to satisfy higher ones--thought, art, books.<sup>2</sup>

Again, socialism would provide economic freedom for all people, for every man would own or control the necessary instruments of production.

Collectivism is necessary to crown the edifice of economic freedom which has been rising higher and higher during the last fifty years. . . . Man needs to be free to find and use himself. His story is the long struggle for the ownership of himself, of his thoughts and speech, of his conscience and will, of his economic forces.<sup>3</sup>

Again, also socialism would give new meaning to life. Commercialism forces many to think of life as a curse, he said. Others selfishly strive for results and progress. Collectivism would cause men to see life as a school, but, greater, as an opportunity to serve family, city, state, and church.<sup>4</sup> It would not eliminate combat, but

---

<sup>1</sup>Clifford, The Effect of Socialism on Personal Character, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

it would raise the struggle of life into the worthiest spheres by reducing it to a minimum in the lower, survival areas, and leave man free for the higher pursuit of the mind and heart. No more would the struggle for existence be an individual struggle. Leisure for development of mind and body would be natural.<sup>1</sup>

In the sixth place, socialism was in harmony with the gospel of Christ. It would eliminate conditions which promoted many of the evils in society. It offered an environment which would be congenial to the development of Christian understanding of wealth and brotherhood. It fostered higher ideals of the value of man and of the well-being of society.<sup>2</sup>

Clifford rejected the position that Christianity had no direct concern with socialism when it dealt with political and economic matters. This was pagan and unchristian, misleading and delusive, having come from men of "leisured and comfortably placed" Christian positions.<sup>3</sup> Actually, there was nothing in Christianity to refute the change to collective industrialism, he said. There was the awareness in churches that individual and personal selfishness and wrongs were unchristian. Some persons were beginning to feel that the medieval interpretation of "the poor ye have with you always" as providing for an exercise of Christian charity was mistaken. Many Christians were admitting that

---

<sup>1</sup>Clifford, Socialism and the Teaching of Christ, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 6-7.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 3.

there was a social question and that they must do something about it-- if only to talk and to denounce it.<sup>1</sup>

In fact, Christian Socialism was quite a proper term, for Christianity was related to socialism. The Incarnation was the revelation of man's obligation to his brother-man and the widening of the definition of sin so that the transgressions of the community, of the nation, and of all mankind were included. Those who had accepted this idea of social responsibility were shaping the future of labor and of the life of the world.<sup>2</sup>

Finally, Clifford contended that socialism was possible. The capitalist system was young and there was no assurance or reason that it was perfect or complete. Government direction of education, public services and utilities, parks, museums, hospitals and others indicated that state-industrialism was a probability.<sup>3</sup> When it was argued that society was not ready for collectivism, his reaction was: Of course not. Were we ever ready for change?<sup>4</sup>

Clifford could not accept the reduction of a man to an object to be manipulated for the profit of another man, either as the will of God or as rational action. The gospel was given for the brotherhood as well as for the individual. Christ was foe of all who made wealth at the expense of others.<sup>5</sup> It was the primary duty, then, of Christians to share in the efforts of collectivism and to see that justice was done.

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 3-4.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>"Dr. Clifford on Principal Forsyth's Address," Westbourne Park Record, 4th Series, XIII (May, 1905), 128.

<sup>5</sup>Clifford, The Christ of the Coming Century, p. 30.

### His Work at Westbourne Park Chapel

When Clifford came to London as a young pastor in 1858, he came to minister to a small and rather insignificant congregation worshipping in Praed Street. Most of its members were poor and lowly. With concern, sympathy, and Christian courtesy, the new pastor went into their homes, and he soon became known in the courts and alleys of Paddington. He was concerned not only for their "souls" but also about the injustice and exploitation that they were enduring.

In 1877, the congregation moved to Porchester Road and became known as the Westbourne Park Baptist Chapel. The congregation continued to respond to his keen social interest and supported him in his concern for social reform. It gave him freedom of the pulpit and supported him in his political and community leadership.

#### The pastor

In turn, he always gave priority to the responsibility of his pastorate; in fact, pastoral work was the basis of his ministry. He never lost the passion for preaching the Christian Gospel nor for witnessing to those who were without Christ and a knowledge of His redeeming love. He was always "'Clifford of Westbourne Park,'" and it was in that role that his life was most influential. "There was never any suspicion that he neglected his church to serve popular causes."<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>G. O. Griffith, "Dr. Clifford," The Watchman-Examiner, August 7, 1924, p. 986.



His concern for social progress began with his concern for people. "We must begin where Christ did--with the life of the individual. What can a man give in exchange for that! That is first and last. It is the better man, the best man who is wanted, and will be wanted. . . ."<sup>1</sup> This "better man" would be both the product and the instrument of the Church. The Church must "liberate men and women into full spiritual freedom and power. . . which would enable them to live worthily of their heritage," and concurrently, it must "rally them against every injustice, tyranny, and inequality" which robbed them of their heritage.<sup>2</sup>

It was the association of these "better men" forming Christian Churches that Clifford saw as a prerequisite to social progress. They would provide a higher quality of leadership for the world of thought and literature, of politics and art, of commerce and science, of the entire life of the world.<sup>3</sup> He was convinced that

when we credit the forces of social life, according to their positive contribution to the sweetness and strength and purity of the world, we shall be compelled to give primary rank to those simple and free societies of Christian men, shorn of all ecclesiastical dignity and worldly pomps, but glowing in brotherly love to one another, and selfforgetting service to the world.<sup>4</sup>

He called on people to join the Church, then, as they would the army--to work for a cause, not just to have their emotions satisfied or

<sup>1</sup>Clifford, The Demands of the Twentieth Century, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup>Jeffs, Princes of the Modern Pulpit, pp. 190-91.

<sup>3</sup>Clifford, The Demands of the Twentieth Century, p. 25.

<sup>4</sup>Clifford, Christianity: The True Socialism, p. 25.

to have their names on a church roll.<sup>1</sup> He was dedicated to his pastoral leadership in the Church.

### The preacher

Clifford was a famous preacher and was sought to speak on many occasions within his own church and for larger gatherings. He was heard at denominational and Free Church meetings, at various temperance society meetings, at college assemblies, at Passive Resistance meetings, at the Liberation Society, at the Christian Socialist League, at political rallies, and even in Hyde Park.

In his sermons and addresses at religious meetings he often addressed himself to social and political topics of the day, showing the relevance of religion to them. For example, in his New Year's address at Westbourne Park in 1909, he discussed the following subjects: old age pensions, the children's charter, protection of men, planning for peace, the education settlement breakdown, the regeneration of Turkey, progress in Russia, peace-making in India, the democratic current, the suffragettes, the House of Lords, and advances toward Brotherhood.<sup>2</sup>

On other occasions, he spoke on "The Religion of the Budget," "The Spiritual Groundwork of the Temperance Reformation," "Primary Condition of Social Progress," "The War and the Churches," "The Political Situation," "The New World After the War," and "Shop Life: Its Condition and Problems."

---

<sup>1</sup>John Clifford, "The Christian Church of Tomorrow; or What Can the Churches Give to the New Social Order," Westbourne Park Record, XVI (April, 1908), 55.

<sup>2</sup>John Clifford, "The Surprises of 1908," Westbourne Park Record, XVII (February, 1909), 34.

In addressing the Baptist Union and other church bodies, he often spoke on social and political subjects. Some famous titles were: "Jesus Christ and Modern Social Life," given before the General Baptist Convention in 1872; "The Christian Conception of Society," read at the Baptist Union in 1891; "The Housing of the Poor," read at the National Council of the Evangelical Free Churches in 1902; "The New City of God," given from the chair of the Baptist Union in 1888; "Socialism and the Teaching of Christ," delivered at the annual meeting of the Socialist League at Westbourne Park Chapel in 1895; "Socialism and the Churches," addressed to the London Baptist Association in 1908.

Clifford felt that the pulpit was an instrument for moralizing and spiritualizing all of life, a tool of the preacher who had responsibility for the social and political health of the nation.

"The latest social and political applications of the true Christian faith have yet to be brought out and definitely made. . . . If the churches are so fortunate as to understand their opportunity, they will give this social application of the Gospel . . . a primary place in their faith and thought, their prayers and toil."<sup>1</sup>

Politics was not a game or a conflict of parties. It was a struggle for the rule of God in all of life--for freedom, for justice, and for truth. He regarded politics as sacred.<sup>2</sup> He encouraged people to vote and to enter politics, and at election time, he clarified the

---

<sup>1</sup>John Clifford, New Year's Address (1899), quoted in Byrt, John Clifford, pp. 85-86.

<sup>2</sup>Clifford, New Year's Address (1895), quoted in Byrt, John Clifford, p. 128.

issues of the campaign. He encouraged people to go to the polls as to a prayer room.<sup>1</sup>

He was critical of those who would keep religion out of politics, for Christ meant that religion was to be applied to life. Christianity was the religion of the Good Samaritan, not of the "escaping priest or the absorbed Levite."<sup>2</sup> The State must be fashioned by men according to the mind of Christ. Civic affairs must be the concern of Christians and not treated as if they were affairs of the devil.

Some were inclined to accuse Clifford of preaching "party political sermons." In answer to these critics, he said, "No man can very well expound, and apply to life, the teaching of the Bible without preaching 'political sermons'; whereas I hold no one is justified in using the occasions of public worship for purposes of party propaganda."<sup>3</sup> In another letter to The Times, he agreed that he had expounded the Bible, not shunning its teaching on injustice and wrong in business, in social conditions, in politics and in the life of the times, but he insisted that he had never preached a "party political sermon."<sup>4</sup> The British Weekly upheld Dr. Clifford in his stand of innocence, claiming

<sup>1</sup>Denis Crane, John Clifford, God's Soldier and the People's Tribune (London: Edwin Dalton, 1908), p. 119.

<sup>2</sup>John Clifford, "The Religion of the Budget," Westbourne Park Record, XVII (June, 1909), 96.

<sup>3</sup>John Clifford, "Party Political Sermons," Times (London), January 1, 1912, p. 13.

<sup>4</sup>John Clifford, "Party Political Sermons," Times (London), December 28, 1911, p. 6.

that his political preaching was not by a party man for party purposes but for the good of society.<sup>1</sup>

To fellow ministers who criticized his preaching on political problems, he said,

"If the prevalent conception of the State is debased and worldly, Christian men must heighten and purify it; for the 'powers that be are ordained of God.' Government is His will. The State is as really a divine creation as the Church; and if men are blind to its divinity, and treat it as though it were the offspring of Satan and the fit tool for his work, then it is our business as sons of God to witness for Him and His ideals in the corporate life of man, and work at and in the State until it is made the effective organ for the establishment of His Kingdom of righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost upon the earth."<sup>2</sup>

No criticism would have discouraged Clifford from preaching on social and political problems. He continued to encourage the Church to teach socialistic ideas,<sup>3</sup> and to work in politics. Realizing the errors that could easily be made, however, he made the following suggestions concerning this preaching: (1) The sermon must not be a newspaper leader or a political speech. The tone and atmosphere must be different. (2) Do not use elaborate statistics nor details of particular facts. (3) Violent attacks on persons must be avoided. Preaching is part of worship. (4) Direct feeling rather than simply excite it. Infuse devotion to principle.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>"Ministerial Miniature," British Weekly, May 28, 1891, p. 74.

<sup>2</sup>Bateman, John Clifford, p. 188.

<sup>3</sup>Clifford, The Effect of Socialism on Personal Character, p. 4.

<sup>4</sup>John Clifford, "A Word from the Pulpit," General Baptist Magazine, (September, 1879), pp. 393-94.

The leader of the congregation

What the churches could do for social reform was a compelling question for him. His personal answer began with the presentation of Christ as one who cared for men. Social problems were His problems. Also, "spiritual work" must include the "removal of areas of pestilence, the abolition of public-houses, the housing of people under conditions that make decency and purity possible, the protection of the imperilled and homeless, and the work of education." The concept of work's being divided into categories of secular and spiritual was a medieval idea and essentially anti-Christian. Thirdly, churches must preach that "our business is to rearrange the machinery of society until it is possible for the Spirit of Christ to express itself thereby."<sup>1</sup>

This answer constituted a sort of charter for Westbourne Park Chapel. It was stated in the report of the first year of Clifford's pastorate.<sup>2</sup> On the occasion of laying the memorial stone at Westbourne Park Chapel, he said:

We are not rearing this edifice merely for "the public worship of almighty God" during two or three hours a week; or chiefly for the "administration" of the ordinances of Baptism and the Lord's Supper instituted by our King; but mainly, and in the first instance, as the meeting place, drill ground, and working centre of a community of men "whose hearts the Lord had touched" and who will be better themselves as Christian men and citizens,

---

<sup>1</sup>Clifford, "The Sphere of the Church in the Coming Social Regeneration," p. 444.

<sup>2</sup>James Marchant, Dr. John Clifford, C. H. --Life, Letters and Reminiscences (London: Cassell and Co., 1924), p. 40.

and do better work in the world by means of their fellowship in the gospel of Christ.<sup>1</sup>

Clifford preached the social gospel at a time when the churches strongly opposed it and when "social gossellers" were regarded as hot-headed revolutionists. He felt that Christ was not "gratified" by philosophical or theological statements, but by a church's ministering to the social needs of the community.<sup>2</sup>

Bosworth Hall in Kensal New Town was one expression of the social concern of Clifford and his congregation. In this heavily populated section of London, the congregation began a ministry to the poor in 1877 soon after it moved to its new location in Westbourne Park. A Deaconess of the Chapel, Sister Ruth Dearle, directed Bosworth from 1893 until 1925. Others succeeded her in leadership until in about 1936, another Deaconess, Sister Rose, was appointed to direct it.<sup>3</sup> The program included numerous clubs for the social, physical, and financial improvement of the citizens as well as opportunities for worship and religious education.

Clifford's Inn, a Public House without an intoxicating drink, was associated with Bosworth Hall. Its objectives were:

<sup>1</sup>John Clifford, A New Testament Church in Its Relation to the Needs and Tendencies of the Age (London: Yates and Alexander, 1876), p. 5.

<sup>2</sup>John Clifford, The Message of 1894 to Young Men (London: James Clarke and Co., 1895), p. 13. Clifford is criticized by John W. Grant for the weakness of his theological position. (Free Churchmanship in England, 1870-1940, p. 180.)

<sup>3</sup>"Bosworth Hall and Clifford's Inn," Westbourne Park Record, XLIV (October, 1936), 21.

- (1) By provision of wholesome food at prices within the reach of the poorest classes to lessen that desire for alcoholic stimulants which is the natural result of bad food and overcrowding.
- (2) By the provision of newspapers and rooms for Clubs and Friendly Meetings, to give opportunities of social intercourse, without the mischief-making association with alcoholic drinks.
- (3) By presenting these advantages in the midst of cheerful surroundings to increase the desire for better homes, the additional cost of which can generally be defrayed where the scanty earnings are not wasted upon intoxicants.<sup>1</sup>

The Inn offered a billiard room with three tables, a Men's Club with a subscription of one shilling a week, and a Christmas Club.<sup>2</sup>

The congregation provided many other opportunities for its membership to develop a social conscience and to work for social progress. A Sunday Afternoon Conference was begun in 1878. With a zeal for social reform, the Conference engaged such men as Ben Tillett and Sydney Webb to address it. This Conference was succeeded in 1902 by a Pleasant Sunday Afternoon Brotherhood where political and social questions, rather than traditional religious ones, were discussed. Editors, members of Parliament, and borough councillors usually addressed the meetings.<sup>3</sup>

In 1885 the Chapel formed a "Committee of the Church upon Social Questions." Three sub-committees were appointed; namely, a "Westbourne

<sup>1</sup>Yesterday--To-Day--and To-Morrow (A booklet in connection with the Jubilee Services to commemorate Clifford's fifty years' pastorate at Westbourne Park, 1908), p. 23.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Crane, John Clifford, pp. 106-07.



Park Vigilance Sub-Committee," a "House of Rest for Young Women Out of Employment Committee," and a "Social Purity Training Among the Young Committee."<sup>1</sup> A Home for Young Women was opened in March, 1886, to girls of good character who were without a respectable home because of the loss of a job. The Home was located at 49 Porchester Road, Paddington, with sixteen beds available.<sup>2</sup> By 1908, 4,621 boarders had been received.<sup>3</sup> A Registry Office was opened in December, 1885,<sup>4</sup> and a Labour Bureau was established by the Chapel in 1889.<sup>5</sup>

In 1886 the Westbourne Park Permanent Building Society was founded on the premises of the Chapel with Clifford as the first President. There were two hundred members in the first year, and by 1908 the membership had grown to almost 6,000.<sup>6</sup> Still in operation, the Society has continued to serve its original purpose of encouraging thrifty young people in their efforts to overcome housing problems.

The Westbourne Park Institute was a major contribution that the congregation made to the educational, literary, and social life of the community. In 1858 Clifford had begun classes in Butler's Analogy of

<sup>1</sup>Minutes of the Committee of the Church upon Social Questions, Westbourne Park Baptist Chapel, September 21, 1885.

<sup>2</sup>Crane, John Clifford, p. 105.

<sup>3</sup>"Our Work for Young Women," Westbourne Park Record, XVII (April, 1909), 63.

<sup>4</sup>Minutes of the Committee of the Church upon Social Questions, December 9, 1885.

<sup>5</sup>Crane, John Clifford, p. 105.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 102.

Religion, in logic, and in Greek, meeting at six o'clock in the morning, but after ten years there was little interest in continuing them.<sup>1</sup> Soon after the congregation moved to Westbourne Park, it established an Institute to "promote the mental, moral, physical and social well-being of its members, and to encourage the formation of Societies and Clubs having such objects in view."<sup>2</sup>

By 1889 there were five main divisions of the Institute: (1) Classes, (2) Gymnasium with instructors, (3) Library and Reading Room, (4) Lecturers and entertainments, (5) Literary and Debating Society.<sup>3</sup> Classes were conducted in the following fields: arithmetic, geometry, chemistry, biology, botany, physics, physiology, hygiene, geology, agriculture, building construction, mechanics, shorthand, bookkeeping, French, Latin, German, Italian, English composition, English grammar, English literature, elocution, voice, and violin.<sup>4</sup>

In addition, Clifford revived his class in 1886, lecturing on Ruskin. His students wrote papers on such subjects as: (1) Restraint of excesses in competition, (2) The raising of wages by artificial means, (3) Cooperation and the principles of hired labor, (4) The necessity of

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 89.

<sup>2</sup>"Westbourne Park Institute," Westbourne Park Record, XVI (May, 1908), 78.

<sup>3</sup>"The Institute," Westbourne Park Record, II (August, September, October, 1889), 83.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

a "labouring class."<sup>1</sup> The interest in these classes, no doubt, led to the formation of a Ruskin Club with Clifford as the leader.<sup>2</sup>

Some of the guest lecturers in the Institute were: Henry Morley, author; Justin McCarthy, journalist and author; Sir Henry Stanley, explorer; Sir Robert Ball, astronomer and mathematician; Max O'Rell, French author; Benjamin Kidd, sociologist; Sir Edmund Gosse, literary critic and poet; Jerome K. Jerome, humorist; the Dean of Westminster; Joseph Parker, clergyman; Conan Doyle, writer; Professor John Stuart Blackie; George DuMaurier, artist and novelist; and Professor Sir Hubert von Herkomer, painter.<sup>3</sup>

A variety of activities; such as, Saturday socials, a Cyclists Club, a Ramblers group, a Choral Society, and a Cricket Club, were developed by the Institute. For many years, beginning in 1891, industrial exhibitions were held in the church in which members of the Institute and others could enter exhibits.<sup>4</sup>

Membership in the Institute grew to nearly 1300,<sup>5</sup> and for many years it was the only intellectual center in Paddington. Its contribution to the city was so highly valued that the Science and Art Department of

<sup>1</sup>Crane, John Clifford, p. 89.

<sup>2</sup>"Key-notes--Ruskin's Social Teaching," Westbourne Park Record, New Series, I (February, 1892), 26.

<sup>3</sup>Crane, John Clifford, p. 91.

<sup>4</sup>"Third Annual Industrial Exhibition," Westbourne Park Record, New Series, II (October, 1893), 131-33.

<sup>5</sup>John Clifford, "Our New Departure," Westbourne Park Record, 4th Series, X (August, September, 1903), 62.

South Kensington and the London County Council made grants to it.<sup>1</sup> However, in 1903 the London County Council organized the Paddington Polytechnic Institute, and most of the classes were transferred to it. In 1906, because of "'rating' and other questions," the remaining lectures were abandoned. The Institute then concentrated on recreational, social progress, and literary activities.<sup>2</sup>

During the last decade of the century, a number of other groups were formed to combat various social problems. The Anti-Betting and Anti-Gambling League sought to "secure abstinence from all kinds of betting and gambling, but also to inspire and maintain a vigorous crusade against these evils."<sup>3</sup> Clifford wanted to extend the work of this League to a study of the sanitary conditions of poorer class housing in the neighborhood in order to exert some influence on local authorities.<sup>4</sup>

He favored the organization of a Social Purity Society at Westbourne Park and presided over a public meeting in the Chapel in the interest of the movement. Such a society, he said, would work toward meeting several needs; namely, (1) equal position of men and women before the law; (2) improvement in industrial conditions, for poverty and overcrowding led to impurity; and (3) establishment of high moral character as a qualification for office in the government.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Yesterday--To-Day--and To-Morrow, p. 8.      <sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 15.

<sup>3</sup>"Westbourne Park Anti-Betting and Anti-Gambling League," Westbourne Park Record, III (March, 1890) 34.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., III (August, September, and October, 1890), 95.

<sup>5</sup>"Social Purity," Westbourne Park Record, New Series, II (June, 1893), 80-81.

In the same year a branch of the London Reform Union was established at the Chapel. A public meeting was held in which Clifford, Sidney Webb, Tom Mann, F. C. Frye, and others participated. This Union sought to aid in the reform of numerous evils in London, to awaken interest in public welfare, and to get better administration of laws.<sup>1</sup>

Clifford felt that there was also a need for union in the fight against intemperance, and for further legislation to restrict the sale of "drink." A Temperance Crusade was carried on along the general lines which he had suggested. Tracts were issued. Public meetings were held to encourage Parliament to pass legislation. Members of Parliament spoke at these meetings. The Crusade succeeded in securing a candidate to run for the London County Council on a Progressive and Temperance platform.<sup>2</sup> The Crusade worked for local option by direct vote, Sunday closing, and abolition of Grocers' Licenses. Clifford urged members not to vote for candidates who would not support these measures.<sup>3</sup>

In 1900, he proposed that a Temperance House be established in connection with Bosworth Hall. Such a house was legally constituted in 1901 and became known as "Clifford's Inn."<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>"The London Reform Union," Westbourne Park Record, New Series, II (February, 1893), 31.

<sup>2</sup>"Westbourne Park Temperance Crusade," Westbourne Park Record, New Series, I (March, 1892), 43-44.

<sup>3</sup>John Clifford, "Westbourne Park Temperance Crusade," Westbourne Park Record, New Series, I (July, 1892), 100.

<sup>4</sup>"Clifford's Inn", Westbourne Park Record, 4th Series, XII (May, 1904), 34.

There is no doubt that Clifford was a "fighter." In addition to all of the organization and work of the Chapel already studied, he suggested that intending reformers needed to get to work! The Record endorsed the idea, saying, "It is time the rank and file at Westbourne Park seriously took up the work of reform in borough, civil, and national affairs."<sup>1</sup> The paper instituted a "Get to Work" column for notes of civic, political, and social interest.

In a letter to this column, J. H. Radford suggested that the Chapel should organize a society to study and to discuss sociological issues.<sup>2</sup> Attempts had been made in 1904 to establish a "Citizens Guild," but they had failed. The new movement was more successful and organized under the name of "The Social Progress Society" with Clifford as President and Radford as Honorary Secretary.<sup>3</sup>

The objectives of this new society were "to quicken the public conscience on social problems, and to foster the study of all matters relating to an enlightened citizenship."<sup>4</sup> It offered study groups, public lectures, essays and printed lectures, bibliographical materials, social gatherings for the interchange of ideas, public meetings and demonstrations to call attention to matters affecting religious, moral,

<sup>1</sup>"Get to Work," Westbourne Park Record, XV (April, 1907), 53.

<sup>2</sup>"Get to Work," Westbourne Park Record, XV (June, 1907), 100.

<sup>3</sup>"The Social Progress Society," Westbourne Park Record, XV (August, 1907), 127.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

and social well-being of the community.<sup>1</sup> It was intended that the Society should spread to other churches.<sup>2</sup>

The founding of the Society was recognized by Robertson Nicoll, Philip Snowden, M. P., Benjamin Kidd, J. B. Paton, and G. B. Shaw who wrote letters of congratulations.<sup>3</sup> Shaw wrote, "You could not possibly start anything that is worse wanted in your district than a Social Progress Society."<sup>4</sup> According to The Record, some of the problems studied during 1907 and 1908 were: housing, rural depopulation, emigration, unemployment, the Garden City Movement, the progress of socialism in France, socialism and the middle classes, modern Christianity and modern socialism, social evils, the industrial revolution and social problems, the Renaissance and social problems, the Puritan Revolution and social problems, and nationalization of medicine. Among the speakers were: George Bernard Shaw; Ebenezer Howard, founder of Garden City; Col. D. C. Lamb of the Salvation Army; C. F. G. Masterman, M. P.; R. A. Roberts of the Fabian Society; and Dr. F. Lawson Dodd, M. R. C. S.

The Institutional Church, providing lectures, concerts, socials, and recreational activities was a popular approach of the Free Churches in the later nineteenth century; however, the work of Westbourne Park

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>"Social Progress Society," Westbourne Park Record, XV (September, 1907), 141.

<sup>3</sup>Crane, John Clifford, p. 104.

<sup>4</sup>"Mr. Bernard Shaw and the Social Progress Society," Westbourne Park Record, XV (November, 1907), 175.

was unusual. Clifford intended that the church should be an agent for developing a social conscience among the people and for fostering reform of society. Churches had suffered for refusing to allow the "social spirit" to enter their work, he said.<sup>1</sup> He sought to employ this "spirit" at Westbourne Park. When he came to Praed Street Chapel, the only organization was a Dorcas Society. There was no effort to engage the thought or to stir the social sympathies of the people.<sup>2</sup> By the end of the century, the Dorcas Society was joined by a host of groups for the study of social problems and for the improvement of society. Even the Bible classes were studying cooperative profit-sharing and socialism.<sup>3</sup>

The organization and work for social reform was clearly the work of a large number of people with the support of the congregation of Westbourne Park. It is, moreover, clear that John Clifford was the personification of the "social spirit" that motivated the congregation to its outstanding work.

#### His Work with Movements for Social Reform

The work of social reform required, however, a broader base than the local church. We have already discussed something of Clifford's efforts through the political life of the nation where he exerted considerable influence. He also contributed to the work of several movements for social reform, independent of the Government.

---

<sup>1</sup>"Our Fortnightly London Letter," Baptist Times and Freeman, June 4, 1909, p. 403.

<sup>2</sup>"The Extension of the Church and the Rating of Chapels," Westbourne Park Record, XIV (May, 1906), 76.

<sup>3</sup>"The Gymnasium," Westbourne Park Record, II (January, 1899), 9.



### The Minister's Union

One of these was the Minister's Union. In March, 1893, a number of London ministers gathered in the Albion Hotel in New Bridge Street to form a union "to promote a mutual encouragement of thought, and to arrange an interchange of pulpits amongst Ministers who feel that the Gospel has a Social message today."<sup>1</sup> Among the first members were John Clifford; J. H. Belcher of St. Thomas Chapel, Hackney; Percy Alden, Will Reason, and J. C. Kenworthy of the Mansfield House Settlement; and J. Bruce Wallace of the Southgate Road Brotherhood Chapel.<sup>2</sup> John C. Carlile later joined the membership. Clifford was elected to be the first chairman.<sup>3</sup>

The reading of a paper by one of the members was a regular part of each meeting. Subjects of some of those papers were: (1) "Religion as a Social Force," (2) "Revival and Socialism," (3) "Religion for the Masses," (4) "Christ's Teaching on Wealth," (5) "Christ and Labour Problems," and (6) "The Gospel of Self-help." The members were prepared to deliver such addresses throughout the country without charge.<sup>4</sup>

In the fall of that year, the Union held its first public meeting at Westbourne Park Chapel with John Clifford in the chair and Tom Mann as the speaker. The discussion at the meeting indicated that the Union favored socialism in the coal mining industry, in public transportation,

<sup>1</sup>"A Sign of the Times," Religious Bits, March 25, 1893, p. iii.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>"The Minister's Union," Religious Bits, April 15, 1893, p. 275.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

and in the distribution of gas and water. Will Reason moved a resolution expressing sympathy with the coal miners then involved in a lock-out. In a discussion of a name for the Union, Clifford favored "Christian Socialist."<sup>1</sup>

Clifford's interest in using the term "Christian Socialist" probably stemmed from his appreciation of the Christian Socialist movement of an earlier day under the leadership of F. D. Maurice. In May of 1902 Clifford preached a sermon on Maurice, defending his Christian Socialist views and his efforts toward helping the toiling masses. He said that Maurice and Charles H. Spurgeon were the two outstanding figures in the national life when he came to London in 1858.<sup>2</sup>

#### The Christian Socialist League

At any rate, the Minister's Union became The Christian Socialist League with Clifford as the first president. Tom Mann and Professor H. C. Shuttleworth of St. Nicholas Cole Abbey were on the executive committee. J. Bruce Wallace was the vice-chairman, and John H. Belcher was the secretary.<sup>3</sup> The objective of the League was "to assist in the reconstruction of Society upon the principles of Jesus Christ, by means of: (a) Lectures and Sermons; (b) Publications; (c) Civic, personal, and other efforts."<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>"The Minister's Union," Christian Weekly, October 7, 1893, p. 286.

<sup>2</sup>John Clifford, "Party Political Sermons," Times (London), December 28, 1911, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup>"Minister's Union," Christian Weekly, March 10, 1894, p. 717.

<sup>4</sup>Clifford, Socialism and Personal Character, p. 2.

Axioms relative to industry which were included in the League's original statement of aims were as follows:

"The governing motive of all industry and commerce shall be service of the community.

"No man has the right to an income without effort in accordance with his capacity.

"Payment taken for no equivalent given is immoral.

"Any competition should be subordinated to social service, and a deliberate attempt to beggar a business competitor is immoral.

"All natural resources and every privilege which owes its value to the public, such as land or any other monopoly, should be paid for by the user to the State or the trustees of the public. The value of such privileges should not in any case remain in private hands.

"Every individual man and woman is of supreme value, and human labour cannot be regarded as a commodity, therefore, every industry must be organized to provide:

- "1. A wage sufficient to maintain in reasonable comfort, as a first charge.
- "2. Reasonable maintenance for any particular unemployment to which it is liable (this is in addition to any State provision for ordinary unemployment).
- "3. Superannuation (also in addition to any general State provision).
- "4. Absolutely healthy conditions for its workers.
- "5. Opportunities for development of personality, talents and self-expression.

"The individual must render the best possible work."<sup>1</sup>

The Declaration which was to be signed by all members read as follows:

---

<sup>1</sup>Carlile, My Life's Little Day, pp. 49-50.

"This country cannot accurately be called Christian so long as the people in their collective arrangements, practically deny the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of men. The members of the Christian Socialist League believe that the principles of Jesus Christ are directly applicable to all social and economic questions, and that such application to the conditions of our time demands the re-construction of society upon a basis of association and fraternity."<sup>1</sup>

The League held lectures in an old chapel at Dockhead mainly for the dockers. Among the speakers were Keir Hardie, William Morris, Tom Mann, R. F. Horton, Stewart Headlam, and Percy Dearmer.<sup>2</sup>

The League discussed and promoted many social improvements. Among them were: (1) national education, (2) old age pensions, (3) unemployment insurance.<sup>3</sup>

#### Christian Social Brotherhood

When the Christian Social Brotherhood succeeded the Christian Socialist League at the end of the century, Clifford became its first president.<sup>4</sup> The records of the Brotherhood are inadequate for any study of its work; however, among the Free Churches it served a similar purpose to that of the Christian Social Union of the Anglican Church. According to Bateman,

---

<sup>1</sup>Clifford, Socialism and Personal Character, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup>Carlile, My Life's Little Day, p. 51.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>"What Members Are Doing." Fabian News, VIII (August, 1898),

The keynote of the Brotherhood is the belief that the Christian life is more than working for one's personal good. Rather is it working with God for the regeneration of the world. This service distinctly appeals to Dr. Clifford, and he rarely misses an opportunity of enforcing its truths before large assemblies when social questions are under discussion.<sup>1</sup>

### The Fabian Society

About this time, Clifford became a member of the Fabian Society, having attended meetings of the Society several years before he joined it.<sup>2</sup> While preparing for a world trip in 1897, he corresponded with the Society to obtain a list of its societies throughout the world and a statement of the conditions of joining the Society.<sup>3</sup> In the spring of that year, George Bernard Shaw and Percy Dearmer proposed Clifford's name for membership in the Society.<sup>4</sup> His name first appeared in the list of members for September, 1897.

The records do not show the extent to which he was a leader in the Society; however, his obituary in the Fabian News states that he was a "steady and consistent supporter" from the time of his joining and that he spoke "occasionally" on behalf of the Society.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Bateman, John Clifford, pp. 179-80.

<sup>2</sup>Marchant, John Clifford, p. 79.

<sup>3</sup>Letter from Clifford to B. R. Pease, Fabian Society, January 28, 1897.

<sup>4</sup>"Candidates for Election," Fabian News, VII (March, 1897), 4.

<sup>5</sup>"Obituary," Fabian News, XXXIV (December, 1923), 47.

Clifford was the author of two Fabian tracts: "Socialism and the Teaching of Christ" and "Socialism and the Churches," both of them being translated into Welsh. "Socialism and the Teaching of Christ" was included in a publication of a Fabian Socialist Series, entitled, Socialism and Religion, along with papers by Stewart D. Headlam, Percy Dearmer, and John Woolman.

He was not always in accord with decisions or points of view of the Society. On at least two important issues he was in opposition. He strongly objected to the support of the Society for the Education Acts of 1902-3.<sup>1</sup> He also stood opposed to the majority of the Society which voted against making an official pronouncement on imperialism in relation to the Boer War. Along with others, Clifford had signed a circular to members urging them to vote for a statement. When the Society voted against it, several members, including Mrs. Ramsay MacDonald, who worshipped at Westbourne Park and was a personal friend of Dr. and Mrs. Clifford, resigned from the Society. Clifford, however, remained a member until his death.<sup>2</sup>

It can be concluded from this that he was fully in agreement with the basic purposes of the Society. Edward R. Pease said that the Society consisted of socialists who aimed at the reorganization of society. They were in favor of the emancipation of land and industrial capital from individual and class ownership so that they could be controlled by the

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Edward R. Pease, The History of the Fabian Society (London: The Fabian Society and George Allen and Unwin, 1925), pp. 130-31.

community for the benefit of all. Rents and minerals were to be the possession of the community. Private property was to be owned by the community without compensation to the former owners, "though not without such relief to expropriated individuals as may seem fit to the community."<sup>1</sup> As a consequence of this rearrangement, rent and interest would be added to wages. The idle class would disappear, and practical equality of opportunity would be maintained by spontaneous action of economic forces with less interference with personal liberty than in the capitalist system.<sup>2</sup> The Fabians believed in permeation rather than revolution as the means to change the world. (Marx and Engels were not regarded as great sociologists.) Although the Fabians were socialists, they did not seek to establish a Socialist Party, but to permeate the Labor Party with their ideas. Clifford's membership in the Fabian Society indicated his deep concern for social reform through peaceful, legislative methods.

#### The Christian Union for Social Service

Another movement of the later nineteenth century which interested Clifford was the Christian Union for Social Service founded in 1895. The main work of this Union was to establish a farm for the employment of unemployed persons, especially handicapped persons, and a colony for epileptic children. These were established at Lingfield in Surrey. John

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 284.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

B. Paton, a Congregationalist clergyman, and F. B. Meyer were the leading figures in the movement, and several other church leaders were on the council. Among them were: the Bishop of Hereford, Canon Moore Ede, T. C. Fry, R. F. Horton, Hugh Price Hughes, John C. Carlile, and John Clifford.<sup>1</sup>

### The Labor Movement

In politics Clifford was a staunch Liberal. He freely criticized the Tories and challenged the Liberals to fight as patriots that their principles might be upheld. "We must fight for the victory of Liberalism. No duty at this moment takes precedence of it."<sup>2</sup> In local politics, he was a leader among the Progressives. Calling the party the "People's Party," he urged the populace to support its candidates.<sup>3</sup> The Social Progress Society of Westbourne Park was "Progressive" rather than "Labour."<sup>4</sup>

Clifford remained a Liberal throughout his life, yet he made a significant contribution to the Labor Movement. He was in sympathy with its cause. On occasions he campaigned for its candidates for public office. He maintained constructive relationships with some of its leaders who respected and appreciated him. His personal attitude and

<sup>1</sup> Carlile, My Life's Little Day, pp. 52-53.

<sup>2</sup> "The Political Crisis," General Baptist Magazine, LXXXII (April, 1880), 124.

<sup>3</sup> Clifford, The Message of 1894 to Young Men, p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> "Social Progress Society," Westbourne Park Record, XVI (April, 1908), 79.



his Christian work were typical of the influence that prevented the Labor Movement from becoming anti-religious. He felt that Labor and Liberalism were "one in principle, in spirit, and in aim, and they should act as one."<sup>1</sup> Since the Tory party was the historical foe of equal rights for all, Labor and Liberalism must fight it in order to crush monopoly and privilege, to lift the poor and the needy, and to assure justice. In an open letter to his congregation he encouraged them to work hard for the election of a parliament which would represent the people.<sup>2</sup>

He personally campaigned for the election of certain Labor candidates. During the nineties and at the beginning of the twentieth century, he supported John Burns and shared campaign platforms with him.<sup>3</sup> In the General Election of 1922, he spoke on behalf of the Labor Party Candidates,<sup>4</sup> believing that the Liberal and Labor parties would make a progressive force to prepare the way for the "triumph of righteousness and justice, equality of opportunity, the reconciliation and cooperation of capital and labor, the establishment of international peace, the completion of the league of nations, and the reign of universal brotherhood."<sup>5</sup> Due to

---

<sup>1</sup>"The General Election," Westbourne Park Record, XIV (January, 1906), 3.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>William Kent, John Burns: Labour's Lost Leader (London: Williams and Norgate, 1950), pp. 63, 103, 120.

<sup>4</sup>Interview with Ernest A. Payne, General Secretary of the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland, June, 1956.

<sup>5</sup>Clifford, "The General Election," The Baptist (Chicago), December 16, 1922, p. 1431.

the great increase in the number of Labor members elected, he said, "This election is a call to our legislators to apply the principles of the Christian Gospel to the solution of the problems of poverty and of industry, of just taxation and of improved conditions for the whole of the toiling masses of our countrymen."<sup>1</sup> By the turn of the century Clifford felt that the Liberal Party was becoming too conservative and that if it were to advance, it must purge itself of the pseudo-liberals and bring into the party some of the level-headed socialists. The Independent Labor Wing of the Socialist party and the Liberals needed to come together. "We have to come together, and work together. Our ideas are the same. Our principles are the same. Our spirit is the same. Unity of method will make us triumphant."<sup>2</sup> Clifford was personally associated with several of the labor leaders and felt a kinship with them. Their ideas harmonized with democratic Baptist principles, he said.<sup>3</sup> In 1889 he shared significantly with them in the leadership of the great dockers' strike.<sup>4</sup> The Christian Socialist League, of which he was the president, held several

---

<sup>1</sup>Letter from Clifford to James Fairbank, November 20, 1922, quoted in Marchant, John Clifford, p. 267.

<sup>2</sup>Letter from Clifford, n.d., quoted in Marchant, John Clifford, p. 147.

<sup>3</sup>George W. Coleman, "Dr. Clifford, London Fog and German Bombs," Watchman-Examiner, March 21, 1918, p. 375.

<sup>4</sup>See p. 157.

public meetings later among the dockers, presenting some of the outstanding labor leaders as speakers.<sup>1</sup> Tom Mann worked with Clifford on the executive committee of The Christian Socialist League.<sup>2</sup>

Accounts in the Westbourne Park Record indicate that a number of labor leaders spoke for various meetings at the Chapel. Included among them were: Sidney Webb, Tom Mann, Ben Tillett, and John Trevor.<sup>3</sup>

Clifford was well-known and appreciated by Keir Hardie. They met for the first time at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Ramsay MacDonald on the occasion of the dedication of Alister MacDonald.<sup>4</sup> Hardie spoke on behalf of the Christian Socialist League several times.<sup>5</sup> In appreciation of Clifford's fight for the abolition of the House of Lords, Hardie wrote him the following letter:

" House of Commons  
" 22.10.08

"Dear Dr. Clifford,

" It is twenty years since I first heard you speak of political and social action. I think Robert Burns best expressed my feelings concerning you:--

---

<sup>1</sup>See p. 106.

<sup>2</sup>See p. 104.

<sup>3</sup>"The London Reform Union," New Series, II (February, 1893), 31; "The Worker as a Politician," New Series, II (August, 1893) 105; "The New Labour Church," New Series, I (November, 1892), 167.

<sup>4</sup>Marchant, John Clifford, p. 130 (footnote).

<sup>5</sup>Carlile, My Life's Little Day, p. 51.

"May never wicked fortune touzle him!  
 May never wicked men bamboozle him!  
 Until a pow as auld's Methusalem  
     He canty claw!  
 Then to the blessed New Jerusalem  
     Fleet wing awa'!"

"Yours sincerely,

"J. Keir Hardie."<sup>1</sup>

Clifford also had deep respect for Hardie. Of him he wrote,

"Jesus Christ was the most real person he had known or knew . . . so at least it seemed. He read human life through Christ's teaching--felt the compassion of Christ for those who were in any way wronged by others. Social injustice was an injustice to Jesus and to the men whom He loved. He could not bear it. He was pained by the excessive care which the Churches showed for the 'respectable,' and what seemed to him their cruel indifference to the oppressed and the poor."<sup>2</sup>

Clifford and Ramsay MacDonald knew each other well and were frequently in contact with each other. Dr. John Hall Gladstone, the father-in-law of MacDonald, and his family were active in the life of Westbourne Park Chapel. Clifford conducted the funeral services for MacDonald's youngest son in 1910 and for Mrs. MacDonald a year later.<sup>3</sup> He solemnized the marriage of their son, Alister MacDonald, in the Westbourne Park

---

<sup>1</sup>Marchant, John Clifford, p. 130.

<sup>2</sup>Unpublished autobiographical notes, quoted in Marchant, John Clifford, p. 130 (footnote).

<sup>3</sup>"Mrs. Ramsay MacDonald," Westbourne Park Record, XIX (October, 1911), clxvi.

Chapel.<sup>1</sup> He was also associated with Mr. and Mrs. MacDonald in the Fabian Society.<sup>2</sup> Mr. MacDonald sometimes sought the counsel of Clifford on political matters.<sup>3</sup>

Clifford was also "friendly to Arthur Henderson,"<sup>4</sup> who was elected as chairman of the Labor Party in 1908 and who was a member of the first and second Labor Governments.<sup>5</sup>

Although Clifford considered the Labor Movement to be, in essence, a religious movement, and although he highly regarded John Trevor of Manchester, he was opposed to the Labor Church. He felt that it would destroy the unity of the labor movement. He warned of the dangers of creating another class church and of putting labor first--before religion. "If the Labour Church is only going to save itself, it will lose itself," he said.<sup>6</sup>

#### The Brotherhood Movement

Clifford saw the potential in the Brotherhood Movement for social reform, and in the later years of his life, he gave significant leadership to it. He was elected president of the National Brotherhood Council in 1916 and of the World Brotherhood Federation in 1919.

<sup>1</sup>Marchant, John Clifford, p. 130.

<sup>2</sup>Pease, History of the Fabian Society, p. 133.

<sup>3</sup>Henry J. Cowell, John Clifford as I Knew Him (London: Baptist Union Publication Department, 1936), p. 14.

<sup>4</sup>Interview with Ernest A. Payne, June, 1956.

<sup>5</sup>Encyclopedia Americana, XIV, 1953, p. 93.

<sup>6</sup>"The New Labour Church," Westbourne Park Record, New Series, I (November, 1892), 168.

The Brotherhood was a "league of service," a supplement to the work of the Church. It was not limited to a particular creed or to a specific body of faith; therefore, it had a universal appeal. Clifford said, "We go into the world at every part of its manifold life, to understand it, to cleanse it of its falsehood and banish its follies, to fight its hoary evils, and make an end of its sins and to bring in an everlasting righteousness."<sup>1</sup> Because the Brotherhood sought first the Kingdom of God and His justice, it trained men

for the campaign against filth, waste, germs, of disease, bad housing, sweated labour, gambling, impurity, drink, coarsening and brutalising material conditions; and seeks to fit its members for helping the weak, healing the wounded, raising the fallen, and rescuing the perishing, promoting thrift and advancing social welfare in all its forms and varied aspects.<sup>2</sup>

In the idea of brotherhood, there were energies that would bring about a social and political revolution. If it were set to work in the market, in society, in states and churches, it would bring a better era for humanity than most people dreamed of.<sup>3</sup>

Clifford cited three bases for the Brotherhood Movement: (1) the example of the early Christian Church; (2) the supreme value of man as taught in the Christian Gospel; and (3) the social character of the Christian faith. In the early Christian community one's duty to his

<sup>1</sup> John Clifford, Brotherhood in Ideal and in Action, (London: The Brotherhood Publishing House, 1916), p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> "Brotherhood and the League," Times (London), September 16, 1919, p. 12.

neighbor was placed alongside his duty to love God. That primitive society

witnessed for the solidarity, unity, mutual love, cooperation and equalisation of conditions by giving up possessions; and on the other side it condemned luxury, pride, class distinctions and covetousness.<sup>1</sup>

It was not, however, a denial of the right of private property. Barnabas retained his property and used it for the good of the fellowship. Some members of the community chose to sell their property and bring the receipts into the common treasury of the community, but Peter told Ananias that he could have done whatever he desired to do with his own property.<sup>2</sup>

The second basis for the Brotherhood Movement was the Christian concept of man. He must be revered because of his humanity--what he was and what he could become. Man was endowed with the right of personal freedom. Man had a just claim for the equality of opportunity. Man had the right to give himself in sacrificing service.<sup>3</sup>

Jesus sharply discriminated between the world of things and the world of men. Although He did not despise wealth, He knew that life was more than material possessions. There was a moral limit to the accumulation of property, and the possession of it was a trust to be used for the

---

<sup>1</sup>Clifford, The Gospel of World Brotherhood According to Jesus, p. 136.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 135-36.

<sup>3</sup>Clifford, The Gospel of World Brotherhood, pp. 58-61.

help of others.<sup>1</sup> On the basis of Christ's teachings, Clifford condemned laws of property which ran counter to the welfare of men and, also, the theory that men were tools for the increase of property.<sup>2</sup>

The third basis for the Brotherhood Movement was the social character of Christianity. Christianity was strongly individualistic in that it provided for personal salvation, but that was only a part of it. Since man was a social being, Christianity was strongly social also. Man could not be thought of as an isolated unit only.

Christianity itself asserts that the salvation of the individual only advances to completeness when the regenerate man is placed in the Christian society, shares the life of the brotherhood of dedicated men, and thereby trains himself for realising God's ideal of him, in all the relations he sustains to his fellows.<sup>3</sup>

The social order of the Kingdom of God was based on the principle of brotherhood.<sup>4</sup> The vitality of a church was tested by its influence on the brotherhood of mankind.<sup>5</sup>

Clifford challenged the Brotherhood Movement to work for social reform in a number of areas. In the area of industry, it must strive to prevent the return of pre-war conditions in which both the childhood and the manhood of the land were degraded. Labor must regain its rights conceded for the war effort. Disputes between capital and labor must be settled in brotherhood rather than through strikes and lockouts. "The

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 126-32.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 132.

<sup>3</sup>Clifford, The Christ of the Coming Century, p. 14.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 15.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 27.



partners in industry must meet together and must find in labour not only a means of maintaining the physical basis of life, but the education and development of personal character."<sup>1</sup>

Clifford called on industry to help in the education of the world which would bring in a better era for working men and for all mankind. Life, he said, derived its meaning from human morality and from the service that men were able to give to the community. Labor must be "moralised" so that the character and the desire to serve might be carefully developed among working men. Education would elevate the desires and would develop the abilities of men, making their work more efficient and productive. Man's deepest happiness came from his creative activities rather than from the money that he earned. Capital and labor must be true to their essential solidarity and work together for the education of the world.<sup>2</sup>

The ideal of brotherhood also spoke to problems of human relations. Clifford considered the Boer War to be a struggle between races, but that the growing sense of brotherhood around the world would make consideration and justice the determining forces in the settlement of that conflict. The "Colour Bar" was superficial, for the human race was one.<sup>3</sup> Clifford himself was not bound by racial or religious prejudice. He invited persons of various religious faiths to speak at Westbourne Park Chapel. When Rabbi

<sup>1</sup>"Brotherhood and the League," Times (London), September 16, 1919, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup>John Clifford, The Industrial Future in the Light of the Brotherhood Ideal (London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1919), pp. 8-13.

<sup>3</sup>John Clifford, Brotherhood and the War in South Africa (London: Parlett, 1900), pp. 9-10.

A. A. Green of Hampstead Synagogue spoke, he extolled the virtues of toleration. In responding to the address, Clifford asked why should the rabbi ask for toleration. Toleration, he said, implied that the one who was tolerated was inferior!<sup>1</sup>

Brotherhood was an instrument to fight disease, bad housing, gambling, impurity, intemperance, and poverty. It would eliminate the greed for material wealth. It stood for personal liberty for all men.<sup>2</sup> It had the task of "communalisation of the land."<sup>3</sup>

Finally, brotherhood could lead to the solution of some of the international problems. The consciousness of the principle of brotherhood had brought the evaluation of English thought on the subject of war to a crisis, especially to its use in extending the Empire. That development of conviction, Clifford felt, was making the English people ashamed of their participation in the Boer War. He saw great unrest and a deep feeling of revolt against war even among those who defended it.<sup>4</sup>

The idea of brotherhood was the death of narrow individualism. The day of patriotism was over, and international life had become the dominating conception. The world must be made safe for the League of

<sup>1</sup>Christian Weekly and Religious Bits, May 20, 1893, p. 367.

<sup>2</sup>Clifford, Brotherhood in Ideal and in Action, pp. 18-19.

<sup>3</sup>"Brotherhood and the League," Times (London) September 16, 1919, p. 12.

<sup>4</sup>Clifford, Brotherhood and the War in South Africa, pp. 12-13.

Nations, for it was the great hope of the world--the "greatest fact recorded in history."<sup>1</sup>

The ideal of brotherhood led Clifford to criticize national measures which decreased international harmony. He pointed to the refusal of the United States to accept the treaty after World War I readily; to her refusal to endorse an international code for labor; and to the spirit of isolationism with which she defended the Monroe Doctrine. He condemned the British Aliens Act and the pleas for tariffs against other nations. Internationalism was the moving force of the day.<sup>2</sup> "The chief and most exacting fight is for the practical obedience to the law of universal brotherhood."<sup>3</sup>

Clifford's work for social reform was recognized and appreciated by his contemporaries--Nonconformists, Churchmen, and government leaders. The Baptist Union spoke of "'his love of freedom, which inspired his action . . . for fairness and liberty in social and religious life; his passion for social righteousness, which made him the friend of the poor and the oppressed and drew his sympathy for every good cause."<sup>4</sup> J. H. Rushbrooke praised him for his able service to society. He understood the

---

<sup>1</sup>"Brotherhood and the League," Times (London) September 16, 1919, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup>Clifford, The Gospel of World Brotherhood, pp. 100-101.

<sup>3</sup>Clifford, The Message of 1894 to Young Men, p. 14.

<sup>4</sup>Resolution of the Baptist Union Assembly, April 27, 1936, quoted in Cowell, John Clifford as I Knew Him, p. 14.

laboring masses of men but never saw man as a mass. "With all his social enthusiasm he was a great individualist."<sup>1</sup>

Even before his death, his contemporaries eulogized him. Carlile said,

London learned to know his worth, and now regards him as the Luther of social reform. He is acknowledged to be the great exponent of the civic gospel and the foremost advocate of equality of opportunity for the poor man's child.<sup>2</sup>

More than one Liberal candidate has acknowledged that Dr. Clifford was the chief factor in the victory at the polls.<sup>3</sup>

It would be possible to write the history of social reform in England during the last forty years in the biography of John Clifford.<sup>4</sup>

Robertson Nicoll acclaimed Clifford as the undisputed leader of Non-conformity.<sup>5</sup>

In an editorial, Progress proposed that if Clifford had chosen a parliamentary career, he would have been an outstanding parliamentarian. "Mr. Chamberlain would have found in him more than his match, and in many respects he would have been comparable to Mr. Gladstone himself. As it is, he is easily the greatest influence in London politics at the present time."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Cowell, John Clifford, p. 14. (Foreword by Rushbrooke.)

<sup>2</sup>John C. Carlile, The Story of the English Baptists (London: James Clarke and Co., 1905), p. 276.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 278.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 280.

<sup>5</sup>"After the Verdict," Westbourne Park Record, XIV (February, 1906), p. 29.

<sup>6</sup>"Our Pastor as Politician and Social Reformer," Westbourne Park Record, VIII (July, 1901), p. 50.

In order to recognize his leadership in the cause of religious and political freedom and to every movement for the welfare of his fellow-men, a representative group of men planned a testimonial for him. Among them were R. J. Campbell, A. M. Fairbairn, David Lloyd George, Robert F. Horton, Thomas Law, Robertson Nicoll, C. S. Horne, and several Baptists.<sup>1</sup> At the gathering the Chairman of the London County Council described him as "the Progressive leader of England," and in reference to his leadership in education, Horne said, "No other living man has done such a life-work for England." Over 6,000 was given for the Testimonial Fund.<sup>2</sup>

Lloyd George, Ramsay MacDonald, Herbert Asquith, and William Gladstone sought Clifford's counsel.<sup>3</sup> George said that Clifford was an inspiration to him. "There is no man in England upon whose conscience I would sooner ring a coin than John Clifford's."<sup>4</sup>

Upon Clifford's death, The Westbourne Park Record published a special number to preserve the various expressions of sympathy given by his friends. J. Scott Lidgett conducted a memorial service for him at City Temple. His Majesty, King George V, sent a message to the family. Ramsay MacDonald sent a telegram of sympathy. The Daily Chronicle called him "the conspicuous leader of Nonconformity in the cause of social reform and Liberal progress for a generation." The Church Times lauded

<sup>1</sup>"Proposed Testimonial for Dr. Clifford," British Weekly, June 21, 1906, p. 266.

<sup>2</sup>"The Testimonial to Dr. Clifford," British Weekly, February 28, 1907, p. 567.

<sup>3</sup>Cowell, John Clifford, p. 14.

<sup>4</sup>Jeffs, Princes of the Modern Pulpit, p. 187.

him for his opposition to the Boer War and to the persecutions of Christians in the East. J. Herbert Hunter of the London County Council called him "the great Radical Nonconformist."<sup>1</sup>

Stanley Baldwin also paid tribute to Clifford.

'Not once or twice in the course of public controversy was Dr. Clifford described as the greatest Protestant since Cromwell. . . . He was the sworn foe of privilege and monopoly, especially clerical privilege and monopoly in the means of grace. But if he insisted on liberty and equality he did not forget the third member of the trinity--fraternity."<sup>2</sup>

An outstanding aspect of Clifford's social philosophy was his concern for man and his awareness of the intrinsic value, the integrity, and the unity of human personality. Clifford was not willing that man should be sacrificed in the process of building up society. Manhood was the goal toward which all of society must strive, and socialism was only a means toward that end. The integrity of man and personal character were superior to any method of achieving them. Clifford's social concern was founded upon the implications of the Incarnation whereby God manifested His evaluation of and concern for His creation. God in history was the central life of society. God thereby showed Himself that He might be the Savior of society and of man. The Incarnation revealed man's obligation to his brother-man. No man lives to himself, but is bound up with the problems and progress of the race.

---

<sup>1</sup>"John Clifford," Westbourne Park Record, XXXI (December, 1923), pp. 18-27.

<sup>2</sup>John Clifford Lecture, 1930, quoted by Westbourne Park Record, XLIV (October, 1936), p. 30.

A second contribution of merit which Clifford made to social progress was his conception of society as an instrument of God for the building up of man. This helped to decrease the dichotomy of social and spiritual problems, and to unify the efforts for redeeming man and society. He thus helped the Church to see that the injustices of the social and industrial system were its concern as was the spiritual decadence of man.

A third contribution that Clifford made was his opposition to naive social thinking. Although he was a thorough-going optimist, he was not naive. He knew that wages could not be fixed by philanthropy nor the prices of goods by kindness. Christianity did not ignore political economy, but infused "its spirit into those who deal with it."

Yet, it must be said that Clifford's confidence in socialism's ability to produce mature manhood was extremely idealistic. Socialism would cause each man to be a worker, not for self, but for all, he said. There would be no lying, stealing, or crimes against property. Man would rise above the struggle for the basic needs of life and would be able to enjoy the higher aspects of his culture. The weakness in his idealism was that the virtues which he claimed would result from socialism were the same as those which would be required to establish socialism. Since Clifford was opposed to socialism by revolution, a mature, unselfish society would be required to establish it. The aim of socialism and that which brought it into being could not logically be the same.

Clifford did not deal adequately with the process of overcoming man's natural urge to private ownership and the basic incentive in man for personal accomplishment. His contribution would have been more lasting

had he brought greater influence to bear upon private management in a movement of profit-sharing and the sale of stock to employees.

Through his congregation and certain movements for social reform, Clifford was outstanding in his efforts to educate and to train the social conscience of the community. His "low churchmanship," his de-emphasis of theological speculations, and his conception of the Church as a band of social servants tended to isolate him from large sections of conservative Christian leaders. This, no doubt, restricted his influence upon those leaders regarding social questions. Those who defended orthodox theology held to a conservative social philosophy also. Nevertheless, Clifford reached beyond the limits of conservatism and spoke a message that was heard throughout the nation.



## CHAPTER III

### THE CONCERN OF BAPTISTS FOR THE PROBLEMS OF LABOR

In an earlier chapter we saw that a century after the Industrial Revolution the working classes were still striving for security, justice, and a better standard of living. Our question now is: what conscience did Baptists have concerning their plight and what role did Baptists play in the labor struggle?

#### General Attitude Toward Problems of Labor

It can hardly be questioned that Baptists were concerned with the serious labor problems arising from the industrial structure. Baptist chapels had drawn most of their members from the working classes, and there was still a feeling of kinship with them. Correspondence in The Times would indicate that Baptist chapels were still more attractive to the masses of East London than Anglican churches were.<sup>1</sup> Problems of labor were native to Baptists, and some outstanding Baptist leaders dealt constructively with them.

#### The industrial problem

Clifford described the industrial problem as "the positive, open, and declared war between the captains and soldiers of industry."<sup>2</sup> He saw

---

<sup>1</sup>Times (London), June 5, 1878, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup>Clifford, Jesus Christ and Modern Social Life, p. 12.

the breadth of this problem as it extended from the miners of the north to the spinners and weavers of the midlands and to the agricultural workers of the south and west. Considering it to be an extremely important problem, he said,

Than this struggle there is nothing more momentous on the earth; nor has there been; not decisive Waterloo; not even still more decisive Sudan; and the way in which it shall terminate, the spirit in which it shall be conducted, and the conditions of final adjustment, are vital to the future of England and the world.<sup>1</sup>

The Freeman was alarmed that a caste system was growing in labor and that men were losing their identity as individuals. "Capital calls labour by number and orders it about."<sup>2</sup> Gradations of society were being lost, for the middleman was being eliminated, and only two levels were left--capitalist and laborer. This was a serious problem, for society was strongest when its many elements were firmly united by common interests and loyalty.<sup>3</sup>

The industrial problem was brought right to the floor of the Baptist Union in 1889 when the president, John Thomas Wigner, addressed the assembly on "Christian Citizenship." He declared that a Christian citizen was bound to consider the conflict between capital and labor.

God forbid that any of us should put the doctrine of the Cross into the background; but are we not under obligations to proclaim also the lessons of the "Sermon on the Mount," carry them

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 13.

<sup>2</sup>"Master and Men," Freeman, July 12, 1872, p. 333.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

into daily practice, and to let these toilers know that we drink into the Spirit of Him who said, "As ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them?" It surely cannot be that our "Father in Heaven" wills, that in a land enriched by His constant bounty, thousands of honest toilers and their dependents should be starving, whilst yet working. . . .<sup>1</sup>

Wigner recognized that there were a few places where the laborer and his employer were on good terms, but felt that the chasm between capital and labor was too wide for Christians to relax in ease without resolving to do whatever lay in their power to decrease it. Christians must disown and condemn every form and feature of oppression, remaining in sympathy with every form of human need and doing whatever they could to meet it.<sup>2</sup>

#### Brotherhood in industry

Along with Clifford, Baptists generally did not look to revolution as a means of social reform, but to the spirit of brotherhood. The Freeman did not hold that men were created to be equal, but that men were to be brothers living in amity and working with mutual respect for one another.<sup>3</sup> This position was based on The Freeman's doctrine of man.

A man is something more than a producer of labour. A master is something more than a provider of capital. Political economy must be modified by humanity and tempered by the Gospel of Christ. Paul's conception of the Church--one body, one

---

<sup>1</sup> John Thomas Wigner, "Christian Citizenship," Baptist Handbook, 1890, p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 54-55.

<sup>3</sup> "Master and Man," Freeman, July 12, 1872, p. 333.

spirit, many members linked and serving one another in various gifts--is the ideal picture of a perfect society. And the Gospel declares that the highest and the lowest are not irrevocably sundered. For when we were enemies, we were reconciled into God in Christ and called into cooperative service with him. Let this spirit be embraced and fostered, and our social discontents shall be lost in mutual interest, and mutual interest be sustained in the hearty cooperation of employers and employed.<sup>1</sup>

This same spirit was expressed by The Baptist Magazine later in the period. Although it considered legislation to be a means of dealing effectively with labor-management problems, it nevertheless expected "far more from the growth of just and kindly feelings between masters and men, from the deeper sense of human brotherhood and of Christian respect than from even the wisest legislation."<sup>2</sup>

Wigner pointed out in his address to the Baptist Union in 1889 that the best interests of both the employer and the employee were one; therefore, a relationship of mutual benefit should exist between them. The poor will always be in the land but should win the respect and confidence of the rich. The rich should be just and kind and generous to the poor.<sup>3</sup>

#### Flexibility in the search for settlement

The Baptist journals were not willing to leave the question here, however. It was as if they were saying that while brotherhood was a means

<sup>1</sup>"Master and Men," Freeman, July 12, 1872, pp. 333-34.

<sup>2</sup>"Notes and Comments," Baptist Magazine, LXXXII (April, 1890), 186-87.

<sup>3</sup>Wigner, "Christian Citizenship," Baptist Handbook, 1890, p. 54.

toward industrial peace and understanding, there must be some means for harnessing this brotherhood. In the last decade of the century, when the case for socialism was growing more powerful, the Baptist press, although it felt that the teaching of Christian principles would, in the end, have to correct the evils created by socialism, took a positive attitude toward exploring the possibilities of this movement. For example, The Baptist Magazine supported British participation in labor conferences. It felt that the German Emperor William was wise in proposing an international conference on labor, and it praised the British government for sending representatives to the conference. "Whether we like it or not, socialism is in the air, and it is a force which must, in a continually increasing degree, be reckoned with."<sup>1</sup> The Freeman also endorsed the idea of an international conference on labor. "Whatever brings us nearer to a righteous and peaceful settlement of the labour question is worth unspeakably more than it costs."<sup>2</sup>

The sanctity of the current social order was being openly questioned and even challenged by some leaders in Baptist circles. Thomas Phillips said,

The working man was brought up with a poor education. His surroundings were very often debasing, and his home was poor and uncomfortable. The average wage was nineteen shillings a week.

---

<sup>1</sup>"Notes and Comments," The Baptist Magazine, LXXXII (April, 1890), 186.

<sup>2</sup>"The Emperor William and the Labour Question," Freeman, February 14, 1890, p. 108.

There was something out of joint in their social order to permit that.<sup>1</sup>

John Carlile had participated in the London dock strike in 1889 because he felt that it was the beginning of a social regeneration in England, "the first chapter in the history of the Socialist State."<sup>2</sup> Clifford preached the social gospel throughout the period and advocated such schemes as nationalization of land, extension of municipal socialism, and cooperative industry.

#### Interest in the Working Man

The working man and his family were the focal point of Baptist concern. It was there that hardship and suffering was seen, and as yet, there were few who dealt with the larger issues such as the economic system itself. By and large, Christians of the later nineteenth century did not attack the system directly, but rather the consequences of the system. Thus, the Baptist social conscience, with exceptions, was concerned primarily with individuals.

The first area of concern was the spiritual need of the working classes. Baptists studied this problem, and denominational leaders sought to regain contact with the masses. They were convinced that personal salvation was basic to the social well-being of individuals and of society. Three of the important approaches which they made to meet spiritual needs

---

<sup>1</sup>"The Baptist Total Abstinence Association," Baptist Times and Freeman, May 11, 1900, p. 384.

<sup>2</sup>Carlile, My Life's Little Day, p. 100.

were: (1) public addresses, (2) improvement of religious services, (3) the enlargement of the church program.

The Pleasant Sunday Afternoon movement

Public addresses were given to attract persons who had lost interest in attending religious services. These addresses were given on a wide range of subjects in the language of the street. The movement, known as "The Pleasant Sunday Afternoon," was inaugurated by two Baptist ministers, Hugh Stowell Brown of Liverpool and Arthur Mursell of Birmingham, who were inspired by Nathaniel Caine, a deacon in the Liverpool congregation. In the 1850's Caine had been engaging the Concert Hall in Liverpool for Saturday evening entertainments and came to feel that he should use it also on Sunday for a program that would keep people from the public houses, and, at the same time, give moral instruction.<sup>1</sup> Brown, who was also concerned with the indifference of working men to Christianity, became the speaker at these Sunday afternoon meetings. The audiences grew from about two hundred in the beginning to more than two thousand. The enthusiasm was such that by 2:30 P.M., the Hall was usually filled for a 3:15 P.M. address. Nearly all of the audience were working men.<sup>2</sup> Brown admittedly tried to win them to Christ and to encourage them to live good lives.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Carlile, The Story of the English Baptists, p. 265.

<sup>2</sup>H. S. Brown, Hugh Stowell Brown, ed. W. S. Caine (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1887), pp. 529-31.

<sup>3</sup>Carlile, The Story of the English Baptists, p. 266.

Mursell felt that if Baptists were going to meet the spiritual needs of working men, ministers must understand these men. In one of his Sunday lectures he said, "Our gospel is the right prescription, and the only right one, but our dispensing is at fault; and there is a little reform required at our hands before we scold you very much for not swelling our congregations by your presence."<sup>1</sup> Ministers needed to give attention to the working man not as a "religious doctor," but as a "human brother." Harassment by ministers was inadequate, even harmful.

The Pleasant Sunday Afternoon became a popular movement, and thousands of working men and their families attended. Baptist ministers participated in the movement extensively.

#### The improvement of worship services

However, many clergymen felt that the working men needed the blessings of corporate worship of God and not just a gathering for an address on some socio-religious subject. Therefore the Pleasant Sunday Afternoon was criticized rather sharply. The Baptist Magazine saw a danger of this movement's becoming secular--or a new sect--and doing harm to the Church. Some lectures had come to be mere entertainment, and in some cases persons were substituting the lecture for worship, thus destroying one of its purposes. In an open letter, F. B. Meyer, A. H. Byles, and others who endorsed the movement pointed out certain dangers in it and warned that it must be kept within the Church.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Arthur Mursell, Sunday Addresses to Working People (Manchester: John Heywood, 1880), p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> "Notes and Comments," Baptist Magazine, LXXXVI (June, 1894), 38-39.



Stowell Brown, himself, changed his opinion about the validity of the movement and came to feel that the entire congregation should come together for public worship rather than separate into groups according to social classes. The services of worship, however, should be adapted to the needs of all the people, including the working classes.<sup>1</sup> The Baptist Magazine suggested that services should be bright, interesting, and instructive in order to attract and to meet the needs of the toiling masses.<sup>2</sup> Clifford recommended that a minister should use variety and freshness of method. He should eliminate the use of obsolete words and the instruction of doctrine in a hard, dry, and abstract manner. Also, congregations must not propagate the caste spirit.<sup>3</sup>

#### The institutional church

Thirdly, Baptists sought to meet the needs of the masses through missions in working class districts and various institutions, organizations, and societies within the local churches. The numerous societies and clubs, concerts, and lectures provided for a variety of interests and needs. Although there was strong opposition raised to any program which could be classified as entertainment,<sup>4</sup> churches continued this sincere effort to meet the spiritual, social, and cultural needs of their communities.

---

<sup>1</sup> Brown, Hugh Stowell Brown, p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> Baptist Magazine, LXXXIV (December, 1892), 576.

<sup>3</sup> "Scraps from the Editor's Waste-Basket," General Baptist Magazine, LXXXV, (July, 1883), pp. 306-307.

<sup>4</sup> Archibald G. Brown, The Devil's Mission of Amusement (22d ed.; London: Morgan and Scott, n. d.).

### Hours, Wages, and Working Conditions

Having seen that Baptists sought spiritual reform as a step toward social reform, we need to discover what support they gave to working men in the labor struggle. We will not find a single policy of helping to alleviate the woes of the working classes, but we do find comments and opinions, supplemented by an occasional dramatic involvement by some cleric, which indicate the nature of the social conscience.

#### Working hours

The Baptist press had mixed feelings on the subject of working hours. On the one hand, The Freeman feared the shortening of hours, for working men were known to use their leisure time in degrading pleasures rather than those which would improve their minds.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, The Freeman believed in shorter hours of work, holding that under such regulations men did better work. It desired that all workers should have "the shortest hours compatible with the exigencies of each kind of work."<sup>2</sup> In a later issue, pleasure was expressed that some five thousand employees of the London and North Western Railway Company had received a nine hour day,<sup>3</sup> and still later, The Freeman expressed the feeling that miners had a strong right to plead for shorter hours and hoped that they were able

---

<sup>1</sup>Summary," Freeman, August 16, 1872, p. 399.

<sup>2</sup>"Summary," Ibid., September 15, 1871, p. 446.

<sup>3</sup>"Summary," Ibid., November 18, 1871, p. 554.

to obtain a nine hour day.<sup>1</sup> In 1890 The Freeman in reporting the Trades Union Congress in Liverpool was pro-labor, showing sympathy for the efforts of the Congress to obtain a forty-eight hour week.<sup>2</sup>

Carlisle supported the workers' demand for an eight hour day. This would help men to live like men and not as "hands." It would ease the intemperance problem and would decrease unemployment. He deplored the fact that there were thousands of women and children not protected by the Factories Acts and that a large proportion of them were working from ten to sixteen hours a day.<sup>3</sup>

#### Wages

Concerning wages, also, we find only scattered comments; however, these do form the picture. That picture includes shades of objectivity in dealing with the problem. For example, in 1878 when business had taken a decline, the masters in the Lancashire cotton mills wanted to cut wages ten per cent until business increased again, but the workers would not agree to it. The Baptist supported the masters, taking the position that when business declined it was just for the laborers to share the burden of financial misfortunes.<sup>4</sup> The Baptist held to this position also in discussing the recession of 1885-86. It accepted the

<sup>1</sup>"Summary," Ibid., December 15, 1871, p. 604.

<sup>2</sup>"The Trade Union Congress," Freeman, September 5, 1890, p. 588.

<sup>3</sup>The Daily News, April 28, 1893, p. 2.

<sup>4</sup>"The Troubles in Lancashire," Baptist, May 31, 1878, pp. 339-40.

idea that high wages were the cause for the recession, and that the remedy was a lower rate of wages.<sup>1</sup>

A "living wage" became a slogan for social reformers, but The Freeman advocated a "fair wage." It held that some men were not worth a living wage until they reformed. Lazy and inferior laborers should not receive pay equal to that of industrious men. Trade unions should not protect poor or lazy workmen but should assure good work.<sup>2</sup>

The subject was discussed by George White when he addressed the Baptist Union in 1903. Having declared that employers should be fair in their relationship with those whom they employed, he discussed certain difficulties which employers faced in the system under which they had to operate.

Our difficulties in the face of modern competition are not always sufficiently considered by our divines who, rightfully stirred in spirit by the poverty and misery around them, preach at us theories which are at present impossible of realisation. The wages of any given industry are controlled by laws which appear to be practically inexorable, and to exceed these wages, say by five or ten per cent, would mean failure to the employer and still greater poverty to the employed. . . .

This objective approach to the problem was followed by a statement of personal conviction of the need to improve the lot of the working

---

<sup>1</sup>"Will Spring Bring Relief?" Baptist, February 19, 1886, p. 115.

<sup>2</sup>"The Living Wage," Freeman, December 8, 1893, pp. 817-18.

<sup>3</sup>"The Nonconformist Conscience in Its Relation to our National Life," Baptist Handbook, 1904, pp. 108-09.

man and an appeal to the ministers to continue in their prophetic role of calling for it.

But there is no reason why, other changes working in conjunction, a proper subsistence level for the whole people should not be reached, and the scandal of some thirty per cent of the population living below that level be quickly removed. Therefore I beg you to continue to cry aloud and spare not--a mistaken message is better than culpable silence and the ideals you keep before us are sadly needed in this age of materialism and wealth seeking.<sup>1</sup>

Carlile dramatized this prophetic message when he framed his platform for election to the London School Board in 1891. One of the main planks was direct employment of labor wherever possible and payment of trade union rates by firms who did work for the Board.<sup>2</sup> He criticized church members who paid their employees unfair wages. In addressing the Baptist Union, he said that he would have nothing to do with a religion that let its "saints" be thieves in the counting house. The wage rate was not simply a matter of economics, but one of ethics as well.<sup>3</sup>

Clifford viewed the problem of wages with the long look, knowing that there was a more fundamental problem and a more sensible solution to it than just increased wages. He saw the need for some method to "inspire selfhelp, increase individual interest in trade, develop a sense of responsibility, and foster the return of the old personal relations, not by gifts, but by wise and just arrangements, affording the workmen some share

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 109.

<sup>2</sup>Carlile, My Life's Little Day, p. 102.

<sup>3</sup>Daily News, April 28, 1893, p. 2.

even, though small, in the property which is partly produced by their own labour."<sup>1</sup>

Sweated labor and shop life

There was also concern for the sweated laborers. The Freeman commended a report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords, for bringing problems of "sweating" to light. It went on to state that the causes of "the sweating abomination" were low wages, long hours, unhealthy home life, immigration, and, chiefly, the existence of the large numbers of low grade workers.<sup>2</sup>

Carlile wrote that

the churches, generally, were sympathetic with the victims of sweated labour, but they were doubtful whether their ministers should take any part in the crusade for better conditions. Ministers who went into the Labour Movement usually became preachers of politics; they lost their passion for the Evangel, and found religious services very flat and tame in comparison with demonstrations for higher wages and better social conditions.<sup>3</sup>

Certain ministers were nevertheless constrained to crusade for better working conditions. In its fall assembly, 1898, the Baptist Union passed a resolution brought by Carlile and C. W. Vick which recognized that working conditions in shops were injurious to mind and body. It also called for early closing and other movements to help; such as shorter

<sup>1</sup>Clifford, Jesus Christ and Modern Social Life, p. 102.

<sup>2</sup>"The Sweating Abomination" Freeman, June 6, 1890, pp. 379-80.

<sup>3</sup>Carlile, My Life's Little Day, p. 93.

hours, half day holiday, adequate meal time, efficient sanitary arrangements, and sitting accommodation for young women in shops. It urged "comforts and liberties of home" for assistants who lived in shops. It expressed the opinion that, where voluntary efforts did not achieve better conditions, legislation should be passed to enforce them.<sup>1</sup>

In a sermon at Westbourne Park, Clifford maintained that the churches must recognize their responsibility to eliminate the practice of sweated labor. They had to supply the sympathy, enthusiasm, and passion by which remedial measures would be passed by Parliament.<sup>2</sup> He supported the work of the National Anti-Sweating League. The only way to eliminate sweating would be to eliminate the competitive system, he said.<sup>3</sup>

Clifford also criticized the system of "living in." It was unjust to the employees. It was a deterrent to the development of good character. It was a detriment to the health of body and mind. It imperilled personal freedom and social purity of the workers.

He had a deep interest in shop workers. In 1858 he had begun early morning classes for them, for that was the only time that they could attend them. His church was open to meetings of the Voluntary Early Closing Association. He urged customers not to "shop around," wasting attendants' time and energy, and insisted that Parliament should protect the workers

<sup>1</sup>Baptist Handbook, 1899, p. 150.

<sup>2</sup>"Dr. Clifford on Citizen Sunday," Times (London), October 26, 1908, p. 8.

<sup>3</sup>Crane, John Clifford, p. 122.

by legislation.<sup>1</sup> Clifford was one of the first ministers to call attention to the evils of the "living in" system.

Although domestic servants were not usually considered sweated laborers, their plight was not forgotten. J. E. Shephard pointed out in The Freeman that these workers were far too often badly treated, overworked, and uncared for in old age. They were fired at will. They were required to work long hours, at the call of the whole family. They had little private life, and living conditions were bad. Shephard called for more protection and respect for these workers, for recreation time, limited hours, and an opportunity for thoughts of the inner life.<sup>2</sup>

At the end of the period, Meyer, out of the passion for social righteousness which had motivated his service to the community for many years, made the following statement to the Baptist Union.

It seems as though the prophet's voice were needed to address to the professing Church a new edition of Isaiah's old appeal: "To what purpose are your costly and beautiful places of worship lifting their crosses above the city's smoke? Your great convocations and munificent benefactions are a trouble to me. As for your revised creeds, your countless committees, your renowned preachers, I am weary to bear them. Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil, learn to do well; seek judgment, i.e., make the sweater's den illegal; relieve the oppressed, i.e., see to the condition of Chinese coolies; judge the fatherless, i.e., give local option; plead for the widow, let there be some system of national insurance."<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>John Clifford, Shop Life: Its Conditions and Problems (London: E. Marlborough and Co., 1898), pp. 7-21.

<sup>2</sup>"Domestic Servants," The Freeman, January 10, 1890, p. 17.

<sup>3</sup>"The Opportunity of the Church," Baptist Handbook, 1907, p. 231.



Agricultural laborers

Another group of working men who were under great duress during this period were the agricultural laborers. The Freeman informed its readers about the plight of these men in order to arouse public opinion and to aid in reform. It presented their plight as that of serfdom. The parson, the squire, and the farmer collaborated to retain serfdom even though it had disappeared formally more than three centuries before.

Obviously the major part of these labourers are what the Church of England has made them. The same is true of their employers. . . . Despotism, oftentimes mixed with kindness, on the one hand, and listless dependence on the other, are the outcome of the reign of parsondom over the bucolic mind. Ignorance prevails to a frightful extent.<sup>1</sup>

It described the intolerable home conditions, the scarcity and tastelessness of food, the frequent eviction from cottages,<sup>2</sup> the inhumane work of children, the gang system for adults, and the insecurity of aged and disabled men.<sup>3</sup> If the farmers needed support for their own protection, The Freeman was ready to lend it, but it did not hesitate to criticize the farmer when he oppressed the agricultural laborer.<sup>4</sup>

The Freeman called on Baptists to take some positive action pertaining to these problems. It recognized that Baptists had read papers

---

<sup>1</sup>"The Rural Poor and the Clergy," Freeman, April 5, 1872, p. 158.

<sup>2</sup>"Notes and Comments," Freeman, November 22, 1872, pp. 567-68.

<sup>3</sup>"The Farmer and His Labourers," Freeman, December 13, 1872, p. 602.

<sup>4</sup>See the note on the "wild" action of the Oxford Farmers' Association, "Notes and Comments," Freeman, July 26, 1872, p. 358.

and written letters and editorials on the subject, and that Associations had done some good work, but that there was a need for more concerted and influential action. It suggested that all of the rural churches combine to bring some pressure to bear on the problem. The Baptist Union should master its resources to train and to help rural church leaders.<sup>1</sup>

When the Warwickshire laborers struck in 1874 under the leadership of Joseph Arch, a Methodist clergyman, Spurgeon spoke forthrightly in his approval of their action. He rejoiced that they had been encouraged to strike and wondered why they had not struck before. He had little sympathy for the landlords, for they were wealthy and could afford a "little squeezing." He felt that "negro slavery was nothing to the treatment of the labourers, and it ought to be denounced by every honest man and earnest tongue."<sup>2</sup> Some of Spurgeon's friends criticized him for his favorable attitude toward the strike and intimated that they would discontinue their subscriptions to The Sword and The Trowel. Spurgeon replied, "'We shall always have a tongue for the oppressed, so long as we are able to speak. If the ministers of God are ashamed to take up the cause of the poor, what is the good of them?'"<sup>3</sup>

The Freeman wished to see the laborer less dependent on charity, receiving a money wage which would be adequate for his needs and for some of the comforts of life. "The labourer is worthy of his hire, and that

---

<sup>1</sup>"The Rural Poor and the Clergy," Freeman, April 5, 1872, p. 158.

<sup>2</sup>"Mr. Spurgeon on the Agricultural Landowners Strike," Freeman, April 12, 1872, p. 173.

<sup>3</sup>"Summary," Freeman, May 3, 1872, p. 215.

hire ought to be sufficient to provide food and raiment for the labourer and his family."<sup>1</sup>

The Baptist Union, although sympathetic with the laborers and their efforts for a more equitable share of production, was hesitant to take strong, direct action. The Union received a letter in 1876 from the National Agricultural Labourer's Union, requesting the village churches to allow the Union to meet in their buildings, for oftentimes they were driven into the street or public house where they were sometimes disturbed and criticized. The Baptist Union did not pass any resolution for action by the churches, but it did vote that its executive committee "bring the influence of the Union to bear on improvement of the condition of the agricultural labourer." A sub-committee was authorized to inquire into the religious conditions of the agricultural counties.<sup>2</sup>

The laborers, however, were not without a strong advocate at this meeting. Clifford gave an address on the "Religious Life in Rural Districts of England" in which he dealt with the economic situation. He said that the condition of the rural laborer would be improved

not by giving him bacon and blankets, but by taking the fetters off his industry--not merely by increasing his wage, but by giving him motives for thrift--not by teaching him to be contented with his present lot, but by making it possible for him to become his own landlord, and take a share in his country's work.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>"Notes and Comments," Freeman, October 4, 1872, p. 479.

<sup>2</sup>Baptist Handbook, 1877-78, pp. 89-91.

<sup>3</sup>John Clifford, Religious Life in the Rural Districts of England (London: Yates and Alexander, 1876), p. 22.

Clifford appealed to the Baptist Union for help for the laborers.

Let us help them, and the farmer who suffer with them, to carry out the programme of "Free Land"; to secure a fair representation in Parliament; to diminish the number of public houses; to transfer their club and other meetings from drinking establishments to halls and schoolrooms; to liberate the education of their children from the exasperating influence of clericalism, and we shall effectually prepare the soil for the seed of God's truth, and hasten a harvest of national sobriety, goodness, and righteousness.<sup>1</sup>

In 1905, Judge William Willis, president of the Baptist Union, spoke on behalf of the protection of the "material interests of the agricultural labourers by opposing every policy which, by chance, may increase their cost of living or in any way diminish their comfort."<sup>2</sup> He opposed any tax on bread or any increase in the cost of living, for it would be "criminal" to force them to enter a struggle for better wages. The Baptist Union should resist such increases.<sup>3</sup>

#### Safety of employees

Accidents and deaths occurring to men while on the job was an expressed concern of Baptists. There was sharp criticism of the continuing mining tragedies, but the area in which leadership of Baptists was most outstanding was the reform of seamen's safety. The Freeman called for legislation to force a revision of signalling in order to avoid further

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., pp. 22-23.

<sup>2</sup> Baptist Handbook, 1906, p. 232.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 233.

collisions at sea, and for punishment for careless collisions and "run-away-pilots."<sup>1</sup>

Many lives were also lost at sea due to companies' sending out unworthy or overloaded ships. Sixty-two ships in the grain and lumber business were lost in the closing months of 1872 between the United States and the United Kingdom. Samuel Plimsoll, a Baptist, worked industriously for enforcing the regulations against sending unseaworthy ships to sea. He moved the Board of Trade to take action against Parga which had been declared unseaworthy. On March 4, 1873, he moved in the House of Commons for a Royal Commission to investigate the conditions of the mercantile marine of the United Kingdom.<sup>2</sup>

At his request, George Howell, the labor leader, formed a committee to support the movement. Howell secured the following committee members: Lord Shaftesbury, Chairman; Thomas Hughes, Vice-Chairman; Howell, Secretary; Sir W. R. Farquhar, Treasurer. Called the Plimsoll Committee, these men held a public meeting on behalf of seamen's safety and appealed for funds. The cause gained great momentum throughout the country with support from the press, theater, music hall, pulpit, and public platform.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>"The Sinking of the Northfleet," Freeman, January 31, 1873, p. 57.

<sup>2</sup>Samuel Plimsoll, An Appeal on Behalf of Our Seamen (London: Virtue and Co., 1873), pp. 17-18.

<sup>3</sup>George Howell, Labour Legislation, Labour Movements and Labour Leaders (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1902), p. 269.

Plimsoll and others brought a bill before Parliament to provide for the survey of certain shipping and to prevent overloadings. He wrote a book, entitled Our Seamen, in which he comprehensively presented his case with recommendations for correcting the dangers. He appealed to the press and to working men for support. Trade Union support of the movement contributed largely to the success of Plimsoll's legislation.<sup>1</sup> The Plimsoll marks still used to indicate the load on a ship are a monument to the work of Samuel Plimsoll.

The Baptist Union gave strong support to Plimsoll in his efforts to reform this criminal practice of overloading. It passed a motion expressing its sympathy with him in his "arduous, self-denying, and humane efforts to promote the safety of our seamen," strongly urging the churches throughout the country to petition Parliament to pass his bill, and to enact that no overloaded vessel or vessel needing repair should be allowed to sail.<sup>2</sup> The Union also voted to appoint a committee to wait upon Mr. Gladstone about the matter. Those on the committee were E. B. Underhill, William Brock, Joseph Angus, C. H. Spurgeon, C. M. Birrell and others.<sup>3</sup>

#### Strikes and Lockouts

The efforts to achieve higher wages and shorter hours brought working men into union for greater strength. Did Baptists uphold working

---

<sup>1</sup>Webb, History of Trade Unionism, p. 370.

<sup>2</sup>Baptist Handbook, 1873-74, p. 44.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

men in their efforts to improve themselves through strike action? What was their attitude toward such legislation as the Criminal Law Amendment Act?

### The right to strike

It can fairly be said that Baptists sympathized with the working men and held to their right to strike. The Freeman in speaking of miners on strike for increased wages said, "There can be no question that the masters have been making profits so exorbitant as naturally to provoke new demands from the men."<sup>1</sup> The Freeman likewise supported the strikers in the gas stokers' strike in London in 1873 when they had been tried and severely sentenced under the Criminal Law Amendment Act. Its critical comment was,

That a law should exist under which it may become a penal offence to organize a strike, is an utter anachronism which ought to be swept away in the next session of Parliament. That honest and intelligent workmen should be liable to be sent to prison for a whole year for an attempt to raise the rate of wages, savours rather of Russia in her worst day than of England.<sup>2</sup>

The stokers were justified in their "display of disaffection," and the directors of the gas companies needed to be reprimanded for their selfish use of the monopoly put into their hands.

### Criticism of strike action

Baptists were not oblivious, however, to some of the unwise uses of the right to strike, and numerous Baptists advanced suggestions for

<sup>1</sup>"Summary," Freeman, July 26, 1872, p. 363.

<sup>2</sup>"The Gas Stoker's Agitation," Freeman, January 10, 1873, p. 18.

more successful strike action. The Freeman was critical of unauthorized strikes. Using the Southampton dockers strike as an example, the paper said, "The lesson of the . . . strike is an old one, that in a civilised country law is stronger than lawlessness, and that they who defy cannot possibly succeed against those who defend individuals against the mob and uphold the civil power in maintaining order."<sup>1</sup>

The Freeman also opposed the closed shop. The employee had a right to demand what he pleased for his labor, and the employer had the right to purchase or not. Men had the right to agree together on how they would deal, but physical force or intimidation against the free sale of labor--the closed shop--was not right. "Trade unionists have a legal right to say with whom they will work, but they have no right to prevent any man from working for anyone who is willing to employ him."<sup>2</sup>

Arthur Mursell spoke against terrorism and intimidation in connection with strikes. He was thoroughly convinced that labor had the right to organize and to strike for the defense of its interests, but he deplored the "terrorism and intimidation" which they often used to enforce their propaganda. Unions should definitely discourage such methods, for never to deprecate them was actually approving them. Mursell also criticized the "too ready assumption" by labor organizers that depression was due to harshness of employers, rather than to laws of production. Wage reductions were sometimes caused by a "stern, inevitable necessity"

---

<sup>1</sup>"The Southampton Strike," Freeman, September 19, 1890, p. 620.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.



beyond the master's control, and it would be better, at times, to work for reduced wages than to strike. Labor leaders had the responsibility to educate their men in order to make them better workers. Improved workers would produce more and help in making the country better competitors for trade. Oftentimes strikes were not beneficial, either to the nation or to the individual.<sup>1</sup>

Suggestions for avoiding strikes

To prevent strikes, then, would be helping the individual worker as well as the national economy. Clifford suggested that cooperative industry would eliminate the source of conflict between master and men, therefore uniting them in a partnership of common interests. The purpose for strikes would then be eliminated.<sup>2</sup>

The Freeman approved experiments in industrial partnership but knew that this type of arrangement would not become general for years. Other approaches to preventing strikes which it suggested were: education, councils of arbitration, and the spirit of unselfishness.<sup>3</sup> It should not be so "difficult to tell when the master should raise the rate of wages, and under what circumstances workmen should be content to wait for better times."<sup>4</sup> This goal could be reached by educating the

---

<sup>1</sup>Mursell, Sunday Address to Working People, pp. 5-7.

<sup>2</sup>John Clifford, "Cooperative Industry," Baptist Messenger, (August, 1867), pp. 207-208.

<sup>3</sup>"Notes and Comments," Freeman, September 8, 1871, p. 431.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

working men concerning the problems of management, for Englishmen, even working men, had a good sense of fairness, and if they could be convinced that masters were not making more than a fair profit, they would be satisfied. The editor proceeded to suggest how this could be done. Realizing that the masters could not profitably open up their books to all the working men, he endorsed the plans which A. J. Mundella had proposed--that boards of delegates from both classes be established for this purpose. "The boards are at least cognizant of the variations of the average amount of profit in a trade, and seem to settle, for that reason, a rise or fall of wages without bad feelings on either side."<sup>1</sup>

Arbitration was a second technique which The Freeman favored for preventing strikes. When, in the spring of 1872, a lockout of 25,000 men in the building trade occurred in London, this paper held that both masters and men had acted hastily, and that the questions should have been referred to arbitration.<sup>2</sup> Similarly in 1898, The Freeman called for a court of arbitration to deal with mining disputes.

Whether employers or employed are right is a question which outsiders cannot, perhaps, justly settle. But we are concerned about a deeper and larger question. Is it not possible, by conciliation courts or reference to arbitration to avert these fratricidal struggles between capitalists and labourers?<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>"Summary," Freeman, October 13, 1871, p. 494.

<sup>2</sup>"Summary," Ibid., June 21, 1872, p. 303.

<sup>3</sup>"Another Labour Dispute," Freeman, April 15, 1898, p. 185.

The Baptist Magazine encouraged conciliation led by the Government. A coal strike had gone on for three months and many families were destitute. Mayors and representatives of both sides had formulated a compromise, but the masters and some labor leaders had not accepted it. This magazine said,

But has not the point also been reached when the Government should take the matter in hand? . . . We have no faith in Government by commission when commissions are a screen for legislative inactivity. . . . No theories as to Free or Fair Trade can justify the neglect of this governmental duty.<sup>1</sup>

Later, when this strike was settled by conciliation led by Mr. Gladstone and Lord Roseberry, The Baptist Magazine expressed great hope that the Board of Conciliation which was established to carry on deliberations for a year, would become a permanent institution.<sup>2</sup>

Baptists believed that the spirit of unselfishness was basic to solving these labor problems. They believed that Christianity was basic to good relations between master and men. The Freeman said, "And they will be (settled amicably) when the religion of Jesus Christ becomes a real power in the office and in the pit, and all the week through, regulating work and wages no less than faith and worship."<sup>3</sup>

#### Personal involvement in strikes

The foregoing material deals with theory, ideas, and opinions, which were helpful, of course, but very different from personal involvement

---

<sup>1</sup>"Notes and Comments," Baptist Magazine, LXXXV (November, 1893), 585.

<sup>2</sup>"Notes and Comments," Baptist Magazine, LXXXV (December, 1893), 629.

<sup>3</sup>"Another Labour Dispute," Freeman, April 15, 1898, p. 185.

with working men in their problems. A few Baptist ministers actually entered into the battlefield.

The London dockers strike of 1889, one of the most outstanding strikes of the period, serves as a good example to study. The proportions of this strike were so large that Carlile spoke of it as "one of the greatest upheavals of the industrial life of England." Over a hundred thousand men were on strike for higher wages, and it looked as if blood would flow. Two hundred and fifty thousand people were being fed by relief committees.<sup>1</sup>

The British Weekly expressed regret that Spurgeon, William Cuff, and Archibald Brown had not spoken out for the oppressed and poor dockers.<sup>2</sup> Brown replied that he was almost too weary to keep on struggling for the poor. He pointed out that he and his missionaries had given hours of labor in research for the publication of The Bitter Cry of Outcast London and Cruel Cheapness and for gathering evidence for Lord Dunraven's Committee of Inquiry on the Sweating System. He had worked among the poor for ten years.<sup>3</sup>

In a public meeting on behalf of the strikers in the City Temple Clifford expressed regret that Nonconformist ministers played only a secondary part in the strike. Hugh Price Hughes frankly admitted that Nonconformists had been "caught napping."<sup>4</sup> Being interviewed by the press,

---

<sup>1</sup>Carlile, My Life's Little Day, pp. 88-89.

<sup>2</sup>"Notes of the Week," British Weekly, September 6, 1889, p. 305.

<sup>3</sup>"Mr. Archibald Brown in the Strikes," British Weekly, September 13, 1889, p. 320.

<sup>4</sup>"Notes of the Week," British Weekly, September 20, 1889, p. 337.

Ben Tillett and John Burns said that Archibald Brown had done "nothing." Nonconformists generally had been lukewarm and dictatorial, but John Clifford and a few others were "'all very well.'"<sup>1</sup>

Carlile and Clifford were exceptions because of their identification with the dockers. Carlile became associated with the movement through some of the men in his church and soon entered into various phases of the strike. He became a member of the strike committee on the south side of the Thames and spoke to meetings morning after morning. He often presided at large meetings in the Bermondsey Town Hall when John Burns and Thomas Mann spoke. He was instrumental in forming a relief committee, including people from churches and labor organizations. The committee was efficiently organized to handle large sums of money which came from far and wide. Food and coal were distributed. He became a joint trustee with F. N. Charrington and John Burns in the Dockers' Union which developed into the biggest trade union in the country.<sup>2</sup> With Cardinal Manning, he organized a Mediation Committee.<sup>3</sup>

The strikers recognized a champion in Carlile and paid great respect to him. A branch of the Dockers' Union was named in his honor, and working men paid the entire expenses of his two campaigns for a place on the London School Board. He was welcomed by the trades councils all over the country.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>"The Strike Leaders and the Nonconformists," British Weekly, September 27, 1889, p. 352.

<sup>2</sup>Carlile, My Life's Little Day, pp. 80-82.

<sup>3</sup>"John C. Carlile," Who Was Who, IV (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1952), p. 190.

<sup>4</sup>A. Adamson, "Rev. John C. Carlile," Baptist Magazine, XC (September, 1898), 410.

In his own estimation, the dockers' strike was a great success. In addition to monetary improvements, the men had learned the lesson of real union. However, he became disillusioned about the far-reaching results. He had believed that the strike would be the beginning of a social regeneration of England, "the first chapter in the history of the Socialist State." But he came to feel that it was not so successful. "It succeeded in obtaining better conditions and higher rates of pay, but there it stopped."<sup>1</sup> Actually, the great Dock, Wharf, Riverside and General Labourers' Union became infested with intrigue and jealousy with the result that it lost its original character. Carlile, after being a trustee for a number of years, withdrew because he came to the conclusion that "we were engaged at the wrong end; we were attempting social regeneration for which the individuals were unfit."<sup>2</sup>

Nonconformists were shocked that a minister would be part of a committee whose actions in striking were holding up the labor of the country. The Baptist Union secretary said that Carlile's action was "compromising other ministers," and suggested that he resign from the strike committee.<sup>3</sup> Spurgeon was also concerned about Carlile's official connection with the strike and conferred with him to see if he was going to leave the ministry. When he was reassured that Carlile had no personal political ambitions, but felt that this work was a Christian duty, he concluded that Carlile was correct in his support of the dockers' action.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Carlile, My Life's Little Day, p. 100.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 93.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 95.

Adamson, on the other hand, five years later said, "He became, with Cardinal Manning, a sort of dockers' conscience. To the efforts of these two ministers we owe it that London was saved from riot."<sup>1</sup>

Clifford also was deeply concerned about the Dock Strike. His addresses and editorial work supporting the strike brought forth a scathing attack from The Globe which said that he should study political economy a little more closely! It accused him, and leaders of various denominations, of supporting the dockers in order to win the working men for their churches.<sup>2</sup> In a sermon at Westbourne Park, Clifford preached on the dockers' strike, expressing pleasure that the strike had aroused the attention of the country to the problems of unskilled labor. In this sermon his interest went beyond those on strike at the moment to the thousands of unskilled laborers who would still be unemployed when the strike was over.<sup>3</sup>

Clifford also supported the Hull Dock strikers in 1893 and sent a subscription to them with an expression of his sympathy.<sup>4</sup> At the end of the century he spoke on behalf of the striking Bethesda quarrymen and took an offering of over 40 for them.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Adamson, "Rev. John C. Carlile," Baptist Magazine, XC (September, 1898), 410.

<sup>2</sup>"The Lessons of the Strike," The Globe, September 4, 1889, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup>"Notes of the Editor," Westbourne Park Record, (August-October, 1889), pp. 77-78.

<sup>4</sup>Christian Weekly and Religious Bits, May 13, 1893, p. 347.

<sup>5</sup>Crane, John Clifford, pp. 120-21.

Women and children

The first stage in the struggle for justice to women workers was winning the right to work. In the early part of the period the Baptist press shared the viewpoint of its day which restricted women to the home. The Freeman deplored the necessity for teaching trades and professions to women and suggested that preparation for early marriage was the proper training for them.<sup>1</sup> "We would rather see our women wives than surgeons, chemists, signallers, or accountants. Our creed is, let men be the breadwinner and women the housekeeper."<sup>2</sup>

William Landels championed the cause of women in this area. Even though he felt that the proper place of women was the home, he realized that some women were not suitable for that role. She should, therefore, have the opportunity of other work. However, an adjustment should be made in jobs, so that she could have the lighter, less strenuous work. When she did the same work as men, and as well, she should be paid at a similar rate.<sup>3</sup>

Women were freer to work as unskilled laborers, and by the late eighties, Baptists were taking a milder view of women's working outside the home generally. The Baptist condemned jealousy and criticism by men and suggested that they themselves should show more initiative and industry.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>"Notes and Comments," Freeman, August 18, 1871, p. 394.

<sup>2</sup>"Summary," Freeman, September 22, 1871, p. 458.

<sup>3</sup>William Landels, Woman: Her Position and Power (London: Cassel, Petler, and Galpin, 1870), pp. 108-10.

<sup>4</sup>"Women's Influence," Baptist, January 15, 1886, pp. 40-41.



By the end of the period, female labor was more readily accepted as a part of modern society, but certain problems had accompanied this development. One of these was inadequate wages. In reference to the sweaters' den and other respectable work, Meyer said, "There is probably no wrong in our civilisation in more urgent need of righting than the absolute inadequacy of women's wage."<sup>1</sup> Ten shillings a week was a "miserable pittance," as well as a cause for leading women into prostitution. He suggested that the Church must do something to correct the condition, especially when Christian people were drawing dividends from companies that were involved.

Let the church instruct Christian masters to make their voices heard in shareholder's meetings. Let them urge on Christian ladies to resist temptation to ransack the shops for a cheap line of goods, and to restrict their purchases to tradesmen who may be trusted to give an adequate living wage. Let us remind employers that they have no right to pay wages that expose their employees to nameless wrongs. Let us teach society to realise that we are our sisters' keepers.<sup>2</sup>

Unless the Church could give public opinion a more Christian standard, women should organize a world-wide Trades Union for themselves.<sup>3</sup>

Although child labor had been declared illegal it was still practiced even this late in the century. It was a problem which aroused the criticism of Baptists. Spurgeon, who had a deep interest in children, and who labored to provide better opportunities for them, used the pages

---

<sup>1</sup>"The Opportunity of the Church," Baptist Handbook, 1907, p. 230.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 230.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

of The Sword and The Trowel to awaken the consciences of his readers to the irresponsible treatment of children.

It is terrible to think that in the nineteenth century, when according to our modern seers we ought to be verging on the Millenium, a bare living cannot be earned in certain trades except by excessive labour; but this unhappy fact reaches its climax of sadness when the . . . toiler is a sweet little creature of four years of age. Can it be really needful that babes under four years of age should be called upon to bear the yoke of labour? Is it not disgraceful that even the nursling, scarce out of his mother's arms should be required to stick sand paper on the [match] boxes?<sup>1</sup>

Spurgeon was highly critical of the ignorance, weariness, and horrible disease among the children, saying that death was the least of disastrous results.<sup>2</sup> He also attacked the conditions in the brickyards of Staffordshire and the Midland counties where large numbers of children under ten years of age were employed to carry clay from the heap to the brickmaker. He complained that boys at five years of age were "broken in" for the work and at eleven they were carrying fourteen pounds on their heads walking eight miles a day, six days a week. Twenty to thirty thousand children from three and four up to sixteen and seventeen years of age were working in the brick yards. He opposed the exploitation in these yards of cheap female labor, two thirds of them being girls twelve years and under.<sup>3</sup> "The present system is a prolific source of immorality and vicious habits that leave their traces indelibly behind."<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>"The Little Matchbox Workers," Sword and the Trowel (August, 1870), p. 338.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 340.

<sup>3</sup>"The Little Brickmakers," Ibid., (August, 1871), pp. 365-66.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 367.

Spurgeon called for legislation to prohibit this exploitation.

The evils to be witnessed in brickyards are so palpable, and the type of character formed in early life so degrading, that some severe remedy should be applied by the Legislature. The law prohibits child labour in other pursuits. Why should it allow young girls to work in the brickyards? <sup>1</sup>

He called for the end of the employment of girls for unsuited and demoralizing labor and for shortened working hours for boys. The Freeman also called on local ministers and reformers to take some action against these conditions. <sup>2</sup>

Carlile figured prominently in certain child labor disputes in his South London parish. On one occasion, compositors in a printing company called on him to represent them in a dispute over the employment of boys to do the work of men. Carlile had conferences with the managing director and successfully worked out the problem. He also helped to solve a problem of the girls in a Bermondsey firm of biscuit manufacturers. <sup>3</sup>

The Baptist Union showed its concern for this and other problems of child life by inviting Benjamin Waugh, a Congregationalist minister, who was an active member of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, to address it in assembly in 1889, on "Child Life in England." <sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>"Notes and Comments," Freeman, June 18, 1871, p. 286.

<sup>3</sup>Carlile, My Life's Little Day, pp. 100-101.

<sup>4</sup>Benjamin Waugh, Some Conditions of Child Life in England (London: Alexander and Shephard, n.d.), pp. 1-12.

## Unemployment

Suggestions for relief

The problem of unemployment rested heavily on the consciences of certain Baptists. Their several suggestions for dealing with this problem ranged from an appeal to the public that work for the unemployed be found<sup>1</sup> to an appeal that the government assist in moving surplus labor out of the country to the colonies.<sup>2</sup>

Between these extremes came suggestions from Meyer, Carlile, Clifford, and others. Meyer took a personal approach to the problem by creating jobs. In Leicester, he organized and equipped a window cleaning brigade, a firewood factory, and a message brigade to employ men until they could locate better jobs.<sup>3</sup> The Freeman called on Parliament to organize relief works for the unemployed.<sup>4</sup>

Carlile dealt with the question in a paper on the causes and cures of the problem. Analyzing the causes to be: (1) harmful expenditures on useless and unproductive consumption; such as liquor, war, the stock exchange, and gambling; (2) insufficient production of necessities; (3) long hours of labor; (4) inefficiency of laborers, he suggested that money should be used for employment of men rather than

<sup>1</sup>"Notes," Sword and the Trowel (February, 1887), p. 91.

<sup>2</sup>"The Unemployed of London," Baptist, March 10, 1882, pp. 152-53.

<sup>3</sup>Jennie Street, F. B. Meyer, His Life and Work (London: S. W. Partridge and Co., 1902), pp. 62-66.

<sup>4</sup>"Blighted Potatoes," Freeman, September 5, 1890, pp. 587-88.

for useless habits; that men should work shorter hours so that labor could be divided among more men; and that the unskilled laborer should be trained. The Church could help in the unemployment problem by: (1) quickening the collective conscience of the community to the responsibility of justice and stewardship; (2) elevating the ideals of life and the dignity of municipal and parliamentary work; (3) securing the education of the young on a rational basis; such as instruction in trades; (4) and urging public bodies to undertake useful works in unprosperous times.<sup>1</sup>

Clifford found it difficult to know how to apply the gospel to unemployment, and he really expected little to be done by the churches themselves.<sup>2</sup> However, he did make definite suggestions for dealing with the problem. For immediate relief, he recommended the establishment of employment registries in churches; such as had been done at Westbourne Park, and emigration to other lands. For permanent correction of unemployment, he suggested: (1) better home training, (2) temperance, (3) cooperative methods, (4) profit sharing, (5) a confident hope in God.<sup>3</sup> Later in a sermon at Westbourne Park, he discussed workmen's colonies, vocational training, and national works.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>J. C. Carlile, "How the Church Can Help the Unemployed," Christian Weekly, January 6, 1894, pp. 544-45.

<sup>2</sup>John Clifford, "How the Church Can Help the Unemployed," Christian Weekly, January 27, 1894, p. 598.

<sup>3</sup>"Notes of the Editor," Westbourne Park Record, (August-October, 1889), p. 78.

<sup>4</sup>"Notes of the Editor," Westbourne Park Record, XIV, (January, 1906), p. 2.

Clifford attended and spoke at a demonstration on unemployment in February, 1909, which was held in Trafalgar Square by the Church Socialist League, with Stewart Headlam presiding. Clifford's statement was that the ultimate cure of unemployment was dependent upon the alteration of the industrial system. In the meantime, the Government should compel the Local Government Board to distribute the money voted for the relief of the unemployed. The question of work or maintenance and training of the unemployed should be the first business of the new session of Parliament. Land should be nationalized, and boys should be trained for manual work.<sup>1</sup>

Resettlement was supported as a means of easing unemployment. The Baptist endorsed the request of a delegation of the unemployed to the Lord Mayor of London for help in the matter of resettlement in the colonies. It challenged its readers to be interested in this problem and to support the sending of persons overseas.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, Archibald Brown held that a "well-directed system of State-directed emigration" would aid in relieving the congested labor market.<sup>3</sup> Clifford and others also saw this as a means of temporary relief.

The Baptist hoped for resettlement on reclaimed waste lands.

<sup>1</sup>"Demonstration in Trafalgar Square," Times (London), February 15, 1909, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup>"The Unemployed of London," Baptist, March 10, 1882, pp. 152-53.

<sup>3</sup>Godfrey Holden Pike, The Life and Work of Archibald G. Brown, Preacher and Philanthropist (London: Passmore and Alabaster, 1892), p. 91.

The starving unemployed population of our great towns on the one hand, and the vast areas of the land in the country lying virtually uncultivated on the other, show plainly enough what is wrong, and they suggest, too, the kind of remedy which the Legislature will need to apply to existing evils. There is truly need of immediate action, for acute distress such as is now afflicting a large proportion of the industrial population is alone a strong incentive to revolution.<sup>1</sup>

#### Experiment at Lingfield

Clifford, Meyer, and Carlile shared in the work of the Christian Social Service Union which sought to deal with the problem of unemployment at the turn of the century. This Union included men from both the Church of England and the Free Churches, with John B. Paton, Congregationalist, as Chairman of the Executive Committee. Farm and labor colonies were established at Lingfield, Surrey, where men were brought from the street and workhouses to be rehabilitated.

Meyer was a leading figure in the initial work of the Lingfield colony. He and J. F. B. Tirling, a Congregationalist minister, conferred with Miss Julie Sutter, who knew of similar work going on in Westphalia, and secured her to speak to Free Church ministers on the subject in February, 1894. Meyer was appointed as Chairman of a committee to begin such a program in England. With the invaluable leadership of Paton, the colony was established in 1895.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>"The Labour Demonstration," Baptist, January 22, 1886, pp. 51-52.

<sup>2</sup>J. Lewis Paton, John Brown Paton (London: Hodder and Stroughton, 1914), pp. 246-48.

### The responsibility of the State

Although many Baptists were interested in helping the unemployed, there was a general feeling that this was a problem much too large for the resources of the churches alone. Clifford and Carlile made it plain that they placed the final responsibility upon the shoulders of the State. Clifford asked, "What machinery, save that of the City and State, can grapple with the difficulties of this vast problem; engage the workers themselves in tasks useful for the people at large, such as the reclamation of waste lands; and by the application of collectivist principles secure a wider and more just distribution of the reward of our common toil?"<sup>1</sup>

### Industrial Partnership

Numerous cooperative schemes were developing during the period, and Baptists were interested in them as a means of solving many industrial problems. The Freeman endorsed profit-sharing and industrial partnership.<sup>2</sup> Carlile saw great value in cooperation. The time would come, he thought, when the State would be a large partnership in which each man would have a fair reward for his work.<sup>3</sup>

In 1885 when Edward Robinson, a Baptist layman of Bristol, became a partner in his father's paper business, he showed a definite interest

---

<sup>1</sup>Clifford, The Message of 1894 to Young Men, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup>"Notes and Comments," Freeman, January 1, 1872, p. 15.

<sup>3</sup>Daily News, April 28, 1893, p. 2.



in the welfare of the employees. He instituted schemes for a week's holiday with pay for them, which was a progressive principle in the industrial world, and for a pension fund for old and disabled employees. These led to a profit-sharing plan in 1912.<sup>1</sup>

#### John Clifford on cooperative industry

Clifford strongly advocated cooperative industry. He considered it to be the most important phase in the development of industry.<sup>2</sup> Certain weaknesses of the movement were natural, but he was convinced that the advantages of it were strong enough to make it an important development. The liabilities which he enumerated were: (1) the exaggeration of its importance, the proclamation of it as a new gospel, and the anticipation of the impossible accomplishments expounded by some advocates; (2) misconception of its nature and its objectives; (3) failure of it in some attempts; and (4) temporary losses in some cases, self-sacrifice in others. There was necessary and inevitable suffering in all social and moral movements.<sup>3</sup>

Clifford discussed four assets of cooperative industry. In the first place, it prompted efficiency of labor.

---

<sup>1</sup>H. L. Taylor, Edward Robinson, J. P. (London: The Carey Press, 1942), p. 5.

<sup>2</sup>John Clifford, "Cooperative Industry," General Baptist Magazine, LXXV (May, 1873), 115.

<sup>3</sup>John Clifford, "Cooperative Industry," Baptist Messenger, (August, 1867), p. 206.

It is certain that the fraternal association of labourers on equal terms, collectively owning the capital with which they work, is immensely promotive of the efficiency of labour. . . . Cooperative societies assist in attaining this end, because they are based on the simple principle, that the more thoroughly men consent to help one another, the better off they all find themselves. The aggregate productiveness of labour is multiplied incalculably.<sup>1</sup>

This increased production raised the standard of living and brought encouragement to the working men. The dull and dark monotony of daily toil was replaced by a life crowned with gladness.<sup>2</sup>

Secondly, an advantage of cooperative industry was its moral results. Prudence, economy, and self-government were stimulated by it. Skill in management was developed, and a sense of responsibility grew. Competition was assuaged and healthy and beneficial rivalry replaced it. Temptations to fraud and deception were, in many cases, removed, and in others they were weakened. The conflict between buyer and seller, master and servant was gone, and along with this went "the temptations to adulteration, false weights and measures, 'eye service,' and the uncounted host of the tricks and sins of trade."<sup>3</sup>

The third advantage of cooperative industry was the removal of strikes. He recognized that every man was looking out for his own welfare, but that

it is manifest that the long-standing feud must be healed before there can be any solid progress of society. So long as this violent conflict of classes, struggling for opposite interests endures, the workman getting the barest pittance for his labour, and therefore seeking by any means to increase his pay, or to

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 206-207.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 207.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

give as little as possible for it; and the capitalist, finding plenty of labourers, and taking the one who will work for the lowest sum, we shall certainly not have any harmonious adjustment of the claims of labour and capital.<sup>1</sup>

Cooperative industry was the method for healing these wounds. "Modifying the relations between master and men, it removes the fuel which fed the fire of discord and ill-will, unites them together in work, advantage, and hope, and promotes of all an ardent concern in the general good of all mankind."<sup>2</sup>

Fourthly, Clifford felt that he was speaking from a biblical point of view. The New Testament was basic in commanding men "to look not every one on his own things, but also on the things of others." The estimate of the gospel as valuable only for saving men's lives at the end of life and leaving one "unhelped and unbefriended in the difficulties of this life" was inadequate. Self-interest was the central motivation for life, and to destroy this would be impossible, and insane, yet there was a point of view more complete. "It is plain to every student of the gospel that he is commanded to exercise a large, careful, sympathetic, and self-denying consideration of the conditions of others, along with a just regard for his own."<sup>3</sup>

#### The Bushills and profit-sharing

In 1888, T. W. Bushill, a Baptist layman, initiated a profit-sharing scheme in his boxmaking factory in Coventry. So successful was the scheme that Bushill could report increasing profits and a higher

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 207-208.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 208.

quality of workmanship. In 1889 the Baptist Union invited him to address it on "The Relationship of Employer and Employed in Light of the Social Gospel." He was also asked to present the plan before a Royal Commission on Labor in 1892. His book, Profit-Sharing and the Labour Question, was published in 1893. Clifford showed enthusiasm for the plan and commended him highly.

"I have read your report with the utmost satisfaction. It is an eloquent and potent witness to the practical efficiency of a principle as essentially Christian as it is socially beneficent.

"It will do more good than argument. It is fact, successful fact, that tells. Moralising does not convince. Men shelter themselves behind difficulties, and refuse to attempt their deliverance from the tyranny of custom.

"I rejoice in your high tone and bright prospects."<sup>1</sup>

Others who wrote letters of commendation included: the Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Sedley Taylor of Cambridge University and author of Profit Sharing, Thomas Hughes, and G. J. Holyoake of the Cooperative Union.<sup>2</sup>

The Bushill business operated on a fifty-hour week, five hours under the Trade Union rate. The average man's wage was twenty-eight shillings per week with seven pence extra per hour for overtime. All profits above a fixed reserve fund for management salaries and for payment for risk of investment were divided between the firm and the employees.

---

<sup>1</sup>T. W. Bushill, Profit-Sharing and the Labour Question (London: Methuen and Co., 1893), p. 109.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 108-10.

One-third of the employee's share was paid to him through the savings bank, and the other was invested in a provident fund.<sup>1</sup>

The employees were pleased with the plan. They liked the provident fund and had a feeling of brotherhood and mutual helpfulness in the business. The Bushills saw that progress was being made in many ways through the plan. There was less need for supervision, for the men took more responsibility. Employment was steadier, and the men took more initiative. Practically no working time was lost due to intemperance, and there were no more applications for recommendations for doles.<sup>2</sup>

Bushill did not consider profit-sharing to be the panacea for industrial problems, but he felt that it was a good scheme. It was immediately practicable, and it allowed for individualism as well as a socializing influence. It gave additional income to the employees and provided some security for the future.<sup>3</sup> It did not replace the need for the trade union, which was able to guarantee a minimum wage, and Bushill did not prohibit his employees from belonging to it.<sup>4</sup>

This movement by the Bushill industry was based on a rather unusual philosophy for an employer. He should live simply and keep the chasm between himself and his men as narrow as possible. He should not think of the employee as an object, but as a human being with noble qualities. He should study industrial problems and seek to understand the thinking of working men. His attitude toward unions must be improved,

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 24-26.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 30-42.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 146.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 136-37.

for they were seeking to gain a fair share of the profits of industry for the working population. Labor had suffered through the years; so they were naturally getting all that they could. Mass fortunes made from other people's industry should be condemned.<sup>1</sup>

The concern of Baptists for the problems of labor was extensive, but unorganized. Although this indicated personal concern, it lacked the forcefulness necessary to affect any great change in the condition of labor. There was still a conviction among many Baptists that the conflict between labor and management was outside the sphere of the Church's ministry. Consequently, there was a stigma against a clergyman's becoming involved in the problem. There was also the fear that a clergyman might forsake his vocation and enter labor union leadership or politics.

Many Baptists did support the labor union movement, however, and it was significant that Clifford and Carlile, particularly, became personally identified with it. They also advocated an alteration in the industrial system, supporting cooperative industry and State ownership of the means of production. The social conscience of Bushill of Coventry and Robinson of Bristol illustrated that the concern for the working man extended beyond the clergy.

There was a general conviction that the working man had suffered unduly. One senses that there was more sympathy among Baptists with the problems of labor than was shown by their action. What action they should

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 174-180.

take was their dilemma. The strongest efforts were made toward providing opportunities for developing the spiritual life among the laboring classes, for Baptists were convinced that Christian character was basic to social progress.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE CONCERN OF BAPTISTS FOR PROBLEMS OF THE LAND AND THE POOR

#### The Land

Fundamental in any society, of course, is the ownership and productivity of the land. William Edwards recognized this when he called for the Church to secure legislation in aid of rural laborers. He held that the land laws were a source of unhappiness for agricultural laborers, causing many of them to forsake their jobs for the more alluring town and city life. This simply complicated the already complex urban problem. Edwards maintained that social reform depended on the laborer's being happy in his rural home. He hoped that the mantle of Maurice and Kingsley and the Earl of Shaftesbury would fall on many others in the Church.<sup>1</sup>

#### The Baptist press and land law reform

A great deal of attention was given to this subject by the Baptist press. The Baptist asserted that the problem rested in the land laws which upheld the ownership of land by a few and the requirement of the tithe. These conditions were maintained, it contended, to support the

---

<sup>1</sup>William Edwards, The Answer of the Church to the Bitter Cry of the Poor (London: Alexander and Shephard, 1885), pp. 21-23.



landowners and would remain static until a demand strong enough to change them was made.<sup>1</sup> Editorially it defined the land abuses as being "in the shape of oppressive semi-feudal laws."<sup>2</sup>

The Baptist said that the results of these laws had become disastrous. The English laborer had suffered so much that he had deteriorated as a workman and as a citizen. Whole districts were pauperized. Peasants were illiterate, had developed habits of dependence, and had lost habits of thrift and initiative.<sup>3</sup> The restrictive laws had retarded progress in the nation's economic and social health. They were a cause of agricultural depression and the vast movement from the farms. The economic growth of the country would have been exceedingly higher if agriculture had been allowed the freedom of development along with other industry.<sup>4</sup>

Consequently, The Baptist called for legislation to free the nation of the restrictive land laws and to stabilize agriculture. It endorsed the idea that waste lands should be reclaimed for farming and that agricultural laborers should be encouraged to return to the farms.<sup>5</sup>

Both The Baptist and The Freeman preferred small land holdings to the landlord system.<sup>6</sup> The Baptist held that experimentation in small

<sup>1</sup>"The Land and the People," Baptist, April 16, 1886, p. 244.

<sup>2</sup>"Free Land League," Baptist, January 29, 1886, p. 67.

<sup>3</sup>"The Land and the People," Baptist, April 16, 1886, p. 244.

<sup>4</sup>"Free Land League," Baptist, January 29, 1886, p. 67.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., pp. 67-68 and "Our Rural Population," Freeman, March 23, 1870, p. 233.

land holdings had not been fairly tried. It was in favor of the extension of the allotment system and argued that the system could work satisfactorily, for between 1873 and 1886 the number of allotments had increased by 150,000.<sup>1</sup>

These Baptist papers also pointed out objectionable aspects of the tithe requirement. The Baptist said that the tithes were doing for that generation what the poor-rate had done before. Vast areas of land were uncultivated because the tithe was so burdensome. It was an injustice which robbed the poor of their inheritance and thwarted the industry of agriculture. It was a mark of the "galling thralldom of ecclesiasticism." "How long is this injustice to remain. . . . ?"<sup>2</sup> The Freeman argued that the tithe should be required of the landlord, rather than of the tenant.<sup>3</sup>

The game laws were another injustice which pricked the conscience of The Freeman. They should be abolished and the tenant should have the right to hunt on his land.<sup>4</sup> The Baptist called the game laws "oppressive,"<sup>5</sup> and deplored the rigid enclosure laws which extended the preservation of game for the enjoyment of the rich.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>"At Home and Abroad," Baptist, November 26, 1886, p. 339.

<sup>2</sup>"The Land and the People," Baptist, April 16, 1886, p. 244.

<sup>3</sup>"A Tithers Bill Under Pressure," Freeman, January 10, 1890, p. 17.

<sup>4</sup>"Farmer Against Game," Freeman, February 4, 1870, pp. 93-94.

<sup>5</sup>"Free Land League," Baptist, January 29, 1886, p. 67.

<sup>6</sup>"The Land and the People," Baptist, April 16, 1886, p. 244.

The Baptist concluded,

The land question is thus becoming a pressing one, and we hope it will become growingly so in proportion as the people appreciate the fact that our present land laws are peculiar to ourselves, and are of a nature that no other great nation would tolerate. It will not be safe to attempt to maintain the present order of things for an indefinite period.<sup>1</sup>

#### The nationalization of land

Several Baptists were members of the Land Nationalization Society which was founded in 1881. Alderman Alexander W. Payne of London served on the executive committee for a number of years beginning at least as early as 1891. He was also on the Parliamentary sub-committee whose duty it was to examine the measures before Parliament which had to do with land in order to recommend measures that the Society should support or oppose.<sup>2</sup> In 1895 Payne was the treasurer of the Society,<sup>3</sup> and in 1910, he was deputy chairman of the executive committee.<sup>4</sup> He was probably the treasurer of the Society for a number of years, for he was in this office also in 1899.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>The Land Nationalisation Society, Report of the Land Nationalisation Society, 1891-92 (London: The Land Nationalisation Society, 1892), pp. 7-10.

<sup>3</sup>The Land Nationalisation Society, Report of the Land Nationalisation Society, 1894-95 (London: The Land Nationalisation Society, 1895), p. 2.

<sup>4</sup>The Land Nationalisation Society, Twenty-ninth Annual Report of the Land Nationalisation Society (London: The Land Nationalisation Society, 1910), p. 12.

<sup>5</sup>Dougald Macfadyen, Sir Ebenezer Howard and the Town Planning Movement (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1933), p. 37.

Clifford was active in the Society, serving as vice-president in 1895, in 1910, and probably for several other years. George White also was a vice-president in 1910. Other officers and council members included: Tom Mann, Ben Tillett, Bruce Wallace, Henry Boardhurst, John Burns, Ramsay MacDonald, and Philip Snowden.<sup>1</sup>

The Society contended that the low wages, the wide breach between the poor and the rich, the depopulation of the country, and the overcrowding of towns were not "inevitable accidents of healthy progress," nor the results of bad social arrangements which required a complete social revolution, but were consequences of wrong land ownership--the monopoly of land. It recognized that inequalities would always exist, but it was opposed to the inequality of rights, especially the right to earn a living. Luxuries at the cost of others were not legitimate.<sup>2</sup>

The great evil of the age was the monopoly of land. The Society did not object to private ownership of land when it was limited to what one family could personally use. It held to the basic principle "that the legitimate use of the land is as an instrument of production, not as a means of extortion, and its possession is to be permitted to secure to its possessor the fruits of his own labour, not the fruits of other people's."<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>The Land Nationalisation Society, Report of the Land Nationalisation Society, 1894-95, pp. 2-3, and The Land Nationalisation Society, Twenty-ninth Annual Report of the Land Nationalisation Society, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup>A. J. Ogilvy, Land Nationalisation (London: The Land Nationalisation Society, 1892), p. 3.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 4-5.

The Society proposed that local bodies, elected by the public, be established throughout the country with power to acquire land through compulsion on behalf of the State for small holdings according to the applications that were made for these holdings. Such land would be owned by the State. Payment would be made to the landlord in State bonds, transferable.

The land would be let with a fixity of tenure, each renter being allotted enough for his own purposes, but not enough to demand that others be hired to work it. The fixity of tenure would assure the renter that he would be allowed to get return for his investment in the land.<sup>1</sup> There would be three types of allotments: (1) building lots for private homes, (2) places for homes and gardens from which produce could be sold, and (3) small farms for those who wished to change their occupations and become small farmers.<sup>2</sup>

Clifford strongly supported the nationalization of land. "Let the Government compel landlords to cease 'holding up' land. They have no absolute right to it either by the laws of God or man."<sup>3</sup> Rents on land should go to the people rather than to "pockets already full to bursting."

The agricultural laborer should have the opportunity of owning a small plot of land where he could build a house and plant a vegetable

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 17-18.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 20-21.

<sup>3</sup>John Clifford, The Housing of the Poor (London: National Council of the Evangelical Free Churches, 1902), p. 13.

garden. This would raise his manhood and enable him to provide more adequately for his family.<sup>1</sup> For Clifford, the heightening of manhood was the supreme goal of social reform.

### The Poor

Baptists struggled with poverty probably more than any other social problem, for it was so close to them. They felt that there was a definite ministry of the gospel of Christ to the poor, and that Christians must seek to alleviate poverty and suffering.

#### The gospel and the poor

The answer of the Church to the "bitter cry of the poor" was the subject of the presidential address to the Baptist Union in 1885. Edwards dealt at length with causes and cures of the poverty. He saw political economy and socialism as helpless to meet the problem and called upon the Church to act. The Church must oppose the system that made men poor. It must press for legislation to improve housing, to give free education, to restrict working hours, to curtail the liquor traffic, and to improve conditions of labor. The Church must also implant a higher law of life in the hearts of the people, preach a gospel of decency, teach principles of good homelife, create ambition, and develop a spirit and love of independence rather than of serfdom.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Clifford, Religious Life in the Rural Districts of England, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup>Edwards, The Answer of the Church to the Bitter Cry of the Poor, pp. 13-24.

Hugh Stowell Brown held that a Christian was constrained to minister to the poor. The gospel was the poor man's friend; indeed, it was the gospel of a poor man. In reporting Brown's address to a public meeting of the Baptist Union, The Freeman said,

The gospel was specially adapted to raise people out of the miseries of extreme poverty. . . . He [Brown] believed that almost all poverty, and the wretchedness arising from it, resulted from some form of misconduct. Sin was at the bottom of nearly all of it--idleness, extravagance, untruthfulness, or intemperance; and from those evils the gospel was designed to save mankind.<sup>1</sup>

Brown felt that the work of the gospel was to: (1) implant new principles, (2) form new character, and (3) encourage new practices which would aid in preventing poverty and distress. Evangelization was a means to eliminate the beggars from the streets, tramps from the road, and casuals from the vagrant shed and workhouses. The gospel was the poor man's friend.<sup>2</sup>

The Baptist pointed out that there was a ministry of the gospel to the poor in the area of consolation. It complimented Mr. Gladstone on an address which he had made to a workhouse in which he argued that all men were not equal, and never could be, in possession of goods, education, or external refinement, but that one should not forget the dignity given to poverty by the fact that Christ and his elected disciples were poor. Nor should one lose sight of happier days ahead when he would be free of all earthly cares. The Baptist commented that "England ought

---

<sup>1</sup>"Public Meeting at the Guildhall," Freeman, September 30, 1870, p. 773.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

to be thankful when her greatest living statesman can use such words as these!"<sup>1</sup> The editor, however, failed to criticize the appalling conditions which made the workhouse necessary.

The Baptist Magazine published a sermon by James Stuart in which he held that Christ was a friend of the poor. He voluntarily became a poor man, and he chose his companions and closest friends from among the poor. Christ's message to the poor was: (1) Neither poverty nor riches were necessarily good or evil; (2) Aim at renewal of character rather than at ease of condition; (3) Train yourself in habits which conquer poverty and keep you from worse ills; and (4) Look to the better life.<sup>2</sup>

William Birch wrote that Christians were constrained by the gospel to attend to the poor.

Christians say, in excuse for their apathy, "The poor we are always to have with us." True, but not poverty! It is a far different thing for a man to be poor and for him to suffer poverty. Poverty is not God's will; it is the will of selfish men.<sup>3</sup>

The world was large enough and blessed with enough wealth for all men to be properly supported, and it was a disgrace to the nation that poverty was endured. The churches should be aroused. "O how the churches twaddle and dispute about doctrine for the souls of men, whilst they forget their bodies!"<sup>4</sup> Jesus of Nazareth was still instructing Christians to care for

<sup>1</sup>"The Gospel and the Poor," Baptist, August 29, 1879, p. 131.

<sup>2</sup>"Christ, the Friend of the Poor," Baptist Magazine, LXXXIII (December, 1891), pp. 557-60.

<sup>3</sup>William Birch, Jr., Practical Christianity Illustrated (Manchester: A. Ireland and Co., 1873), p. 229.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 231.



the poor. Such instructions were: clothe the naked; be a friend to widows; invite those to the feast who cannot return the invitation.<sup>1</sup>

Clifford was a champion of the idea that Christ ministered to men and that, therefore, there was a compelling relationship between the gospel and the needs of men. Clifford believed in the salvation of the total man.

No phase of human suffering, no form of human misery is outside His broad sympathy or beyond His loving patience and curative skill. In accord with that fundamental law of all redeeming work, He begins with the lowest and nearest, with the mocking ills and wearying and worrying sicknesses of the flesh; but He seeks and saves all that which is lost, the physical and the moral, the spiritual and the social, the lost health and the lost soul, the lost house and the lost city, the lost man and the lost nation.<sup>2</sup>

#### The causes and cures of poverty

Baptists were rather free in stating their conclusions as to the causes of the poverty among them. The causes fell in several categories, low moral standards dominating the scene. Intemperance, licentiousness, selfishness, infidelity, and sensuality were causes most often given. Others were: unbelief, the overcrowded labor market, public relief, the lack of industry and self-mastery, poor housing, the large number of middle men between the laborer and the manufacturer, the lack of thrift, the increase of population, a series of depressions, and the land

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> John Clifford, Christianity: the True Socialism (London: E. Marlborough and Co., 1885), p. 12.

laws.<sup>1</sup> The Freeman said that pauperism was not just accidental, but was passed on from generation to generation. The milieu was a determining factor.<sup>2</sup> Carlile considered intemperance and thriftlessness to be results of poverty as well as causes.<sup>3</sup>

It is significant that Baptists were not satisfied simply to place blame in various areas for the conditions of poverty, but that they were constrained to seek remedies and to work toward these solutions. Baptist leaders from several areas of church life spoke out.

The Freeman suggested many possible solutions to poverty. One of its radical suggestions was the legal placement of pauper children in better homes.<sup>4</sup> It disparaged the possibility of emigration, because it felt that new countries did not want idlers as immigrants.<sup>5</sup> The Freeman called for the repeal of primogeniture and poor rates, feeling that this would motivate industry among men.<sup>6</sup> Law could also be a means to help poor idlers by providing and encouraging work. In the area of intemperance, the law could help by decreasing the number of public houses. Ignorance

<sup>1</sup>Golden H. Pike, "The Bitter Cry of London," Sword and the Trowel, (January, 1885), pp. 19-20; "Our Pauperism," Freeman, June 24, 1870, pp. 492-93; "The Gospel and the Poor," Freeman, June 9, 1871, p. 274; and Edwards, The Answer of the Church to the Bitter Cry of the Poor, pp. 4-11.

<sup>2</sup>"Political Economy," Freeman, June 17, 1870, p. 473.

<sup>3</sup>Daily News, April 28, 1893, p. 2.

<sup>4</sup>"Political Economy," Freeman, June 17, 1870, p. 473.

<sup>5</sup>"Immigration," Freeman, March 24, 1871, p. 134.

<sup>6</sup>"The Gospel and the Poor," Freeman, June 9, 1871, p. 274.

could be decreased by an extension of the Board school system. More technical and industrial schools should be established. Health could be improved by better housing. Christians shared in the responsibility to secure legislation for this reform.

Would that statesmen and politicians would turn their attention to the removal of the causes of poverty! They will, when a strong public opinion shall demand it, and this public opinion all Christians and philanthropists and patriots should do their utmost to create.<sup>1</sup>

The Freeman believed also in the gospel itself as a cure for poverty. The gospel made one "rich" who otherwise was balefully poor, it said. Such enriched people eliminated their poverty through a renewed purpose in life and the subsequent rebirth of industry. The Church needed ministers especially trained to minister to the poor, ministers who would understand the unique problems and viewpoints of the poor and thereby be able to expound the gospel meaningfully to them.<sup>2</sup>

Probably the basic attitude of The Freeman was expressed in its warning to the churches that they should not search for a sweeping reform.<sup>3</sup> Poverty was a complex problem, and there was no single solution to it. Feeling that little could be done to correct the existent poverty, The Freeman called for measures to prevent it in the future. Rural village

---

<sup>1</sup>"The Causes of Poverty," Freeman, October 24, 1890, p. 716.

<sup>2</sup>"The Gospel and the Poor," Freeman, June 9, 1871, p. 274.

<sup>3</sup>"The Problem of the Poor," Freeman, November 2, 1883, p. 723.

pastors should discourage the movement of people to the cities except when a job was certain.<sup>1</sup>

William Birch considered the elimination of poverty as a practical expression of Christianity. The first condition of solution, then, was acceptance of the gospel of Jesus. Secondly, he recommended that the liquor traffic be eliminated, and in the third place that the surplus labor of the large towns be drafted to cultivate the waste lands. Lastly, institutions under official authority and protection must be formed to care for widows and children.<sup>2</sup>

Looking far into the future, Birch suggested a three point plan for the prevention of poverty: (1) Every family should train one child for emigration through preparation for a trade that he could ply anywhere; (2) All children should be educated; and (3) All men should work together for the common good. Money must not be spent in the beerhouse, but used for capital. To working men he said, "You have served others long enough. Become partners in works of honest industry! Think and invent! Read and obtain knowledge! It is by these means that you shall lift your heads as men."<sup>3</sup> In an effort to decrease the number of pauper orphans, Birch called on working men to provide for their families through insurance.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>"The Problem of the Poor," Freeman, November 30, 1883, p. 787.

<sup>2</sup>Birch, Practical Christianity Illustrated, pp. 232-34.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 238.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 269-70.

Clifford's suggestions revealed the depth at which he saw the problem. A cure demanded more than the mere administration of relief. To leave the poor dependent upon parish charity had demoralized the poor and fostered indolence. Clifford did not deprecate the care of the immediate needs of the poor, but he suggested that the way to help the poverty-stricken man was: "to refine his imagination, purify his tastes, make him loathe dirt, open his eyes to God, to 'save his soul.'" In order to eliminate poverty from society, the poor must be brought to the highest condition of manhood.<sup>1</sup> This would require a change in the industrial system so that the working man could share more equitably in the profits. The agricultural laborer must have the opportunity of tilling his own soil, thus escaping his dependence upon the landlord.

#### Efforts toward alleviating misery among the poor

It was evident that poverty was a complex social problem and that there was no simple solution to it. Cleansing society of this stain would require the concerted effort and harmonious work of "the temperance advocate, the wages student, the municipal reformer, the sanitary inspector, the gospel missionary."<sup>2</sup> In the meantime, Baptists sought to alleviate misery among the poor.

One approach to the problem was the institutional church which sought to provide a diversified program that would reach into the community and meet the needs of a wide cross section of people.

---

<sup>1</sup>Clifford, Jesus Christ and Modern Social Life, pp. 35-37.

<sup>2</sup>Golden H. Pike, "The Bitter Cry of the Poor," Sword and the Trowel, January, 1885, p. 20.

By 1863, Bloomsbury Baptist Chapel, London, had established a series of religious institutions for extending its ministry to the poor. The church employed a missionary who visited among the poor and sick women and children. A great deal of ignorance, vice, and misery was discovered and exposed. The church sponsored the Penny Bank which sought to develop habits of thrift among the people. There was a Sick Poor Relief Society with the pastor, William Brock, as the president. During 1863 this society distributed 1,518 pounds of meat, 606 loaves of bread, nine and a half tons of coal, plus tea, sugar, and other foods to the poor. There was a Cheap Clothing Society, of which Mrs. Brock was the president. Also there was a Maternal Society through which fifty-six poor women were assisted during the year. There were Day Schools for boys and girls which purposed to prepare them for occupations which they would probably follow. Sunday schools gave instruction in basic courses as well as in Christianity. There were four Ragged Schools, and in association with these schools there were Mothers' Meetings, services for the poor, popular lectures, a Benefit Club, Penny Banks, a Youths' Institute, and a Band of Hope. The church also sponsored a Refuge for Homeless and Destitute Boys and a Girls' Refuge. There was a Young Men's Society for the Relief of the Poor. During 1863 it recorded eighty-one cases in which money and gifts were given. Three hundred and fifty tickets for bread, meat, and coal were given. Christmas dinners were provided for twenty-six poor families. Services were held and tracts

given. A savings bank was established into which the poor deposited over sixty-one pounds.<sup>1</sup>

The work among the poor by the Metropolitan Tabernacle, London, under the leadership of Charles Haddon Spurgeon is well known. There was a Benefit Society as far back as 1858. The Dorcas Society, the Help-in-Need Society, and the Clothing Society served the poor well. Most notable of all were the almshouses and the Stockwell Orphanages.<sup>2</sup> No problem aroused Spurgeon's conscience like that of the poor.

The program at the East London Tabernacle served as a good example of a church's work among the poor. It was said in 1887 by Toby of Toby's Topics that what A. G. Brown's church had done for the poor could stand well in contrast with all the work by charity organizations in London and its suburbs. In 1886 relief had been given to 10,000 cases, including about 3,323 sick cases. A large number of garments were given away. Three hundred pounds were spent on emigration. A gift given by the church to Brown for a trip to the Holy Land was put into a trust fund, and the interest given annually to some widow.<sup>3</sup> A soup kitchen served the needs of the community, selling a good bowl at a penny.<sup>4</sup> The church extension program included an orphanage, founded in 1880, a Girls

---

<sup>1</sup>Bloomsbury Baptist Chapel, Annual Reports of the Religious Institutions Connected with Bloomsbury Chapel (January, 1864), pp. 26-53.

<sup>2</sup>"The Rev. C. H. Spurgeon's Jubilee," Freeman, June 20, 1884, (Supplement), p. 428.

<sup>3</sup>Pike, The Life and Work of Archibald G. Brown, Preacher and Philanthropist, pp. 74-75.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 30.

Home, a Seaside Home, and the "Christian Buildings." This last effort consisted of twenty-four inexpensive houses, each with three rooms and a washhouse, renting at two shillings a week.<sup>1</sup>

Brown, himself, along with nine paid missionaries and numerous volunteer workers, carried on an extensive personal ministry among the poor. He also sought to arouse the public conscience with the publication of Cruel Cheapness, The Bitter Cry of Outcast London, and The Poor and What the Word Says About Them. Concerning Brown, Golden Pike said, "The poor of London have no better friend working among them."<sup>2</sup> Carlile said, "A conservative by training and convictions, he was a Socialist by instinct and practice."<sup>3</sup>

William Cuff was also well-known for his outstanding ministry in Shoreditch, one of the poorest and most thickly populated districts of London.<sup>4</sup>

Melbourne Hall, Leicester, under F. B. Meyer, uniquely extended its ministry to the poor. Meyer worked among released prisoners to rehabilitate them. He founded "Providence House" and refuges for homeless boys. It was in Leicester that Meyer began the window cleaning and wood-chopping brigades to provide employment among the poor.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 67-70.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 30.

<sup>3</sup>Carlile, My Life's Little Day, p. 33.

<sup>4</sup>See The Rev. William Cuff in Shoreditch (London: James Clarke and Co., 1878), p. 138.

<sup>5</sup>Street, F. B. Meyer, pp. 62-66.



Christ Church and the South London district provided Meyer with further opportunity to work among the poor. The Pleasant Sunday Afternoon, the Brotherhood, the Women's at Home, the Thursday and Saturday evening meetings, the Lads Institute and the Girls Institute provided significant social and educational opportunities to the poor of the district. Meyer was highly successful among the men. Sisters of the church did rescue work among factory girls and children of costermongers. There were camps and recreation for young people. A refreshment bar in the church was ever open for tea. A savings bank and a thrift club helped poor families in handling finances.<sup>1</sup>

Carlile's Bermondsey church provided two deaconesses to visit among its poor and to care for their needs as they could. The church had a Society for Clothing Fatherless Children; a School Dinner Society to give free dinners for five hundred children per week; a Saturday Half-holiday Club; and other societies.<sup>2</sup>

In 1861 the Westbourne Park congregation, under the leadership of Clifford established the Mutual Economical Benefit Society which received four pence per week from its members and paid them twelve shillings a week along with medical attention when they were sick.<sup>3</sup> In 1885 a committee of the church on social questions led in the founding of a home

---

<sup>1</sup>Carlile, The Story of the English Baptists, pp. 282-83, and A. Chester Mann (Philip Roberts), F. B. Meyer: Preacher, Teacher, Man of God. (New York: F. H. Revell, 1929), p. 60.

<sup>2</sup>A. Adamson, "The Rev. John C. Carlile," Baptist Magazine, XC (September, 1898), p. 410.

<sup>3</sup>Marchant, John Clifford, p. 42.

for stranded servant girls and a registry for the unemployed.<sup>1</sup> The larger work of the church was done through its missions located in poor working class districts.

A mission was an expression of social conscience. To be sure, it was an agency of the church for the evangelization of the masses, but it was more than a starting point for reaching the heavenly home. It was an instrument to meet the social as well as the spiritual needs of the poor.

In London two of the most famous were the St. Giles' Christian Mission and the Golden Lane Mission. The St. Giles' Mission had been founded in 1860 by young men of Bloomsbury Chapel of which William Brock was pastor. Gathering to talk about the low moral and spiritual condition of St. Giles, they founded a society for the visitation and relief of the poor. Beginning in small ways they enlarged the work time and time again.

In 1877 a prisoners' branch was opened. Jobs were found for the former prisoners. Visits were made to thieves' kitchens, and the workers decided to do something for them. A supper was held for them, and about 150 came. A Home was opened to house those who showed interest. Then the workers began meeting prisoners upon their discharge and bringing them to the Home where they could begin their rehabilitation in the workshops for bootmaking, tailoring, and other trades. Forty men could be cared for at a time.

---

<sup>1</sup>See pp. 94-95.

In 1879 the mission opened a Boys' Home for "first offenders" who had been put under the care of the Prisoners' Home Superintendent, William Wheatley. Situations were provided for them, and they had a new start in life. By 1900 there were five such homes, and five hundred new boys were served each year.

In 1888 a program for street women was begun. A house in Drury Lane was secured, and many women were cared for there.

A summary of twenty-two years work of the Prisoners' Branch showed that: (1) 361,000 had received free breakfasts; (2) 92,000 had been assisted with tools, money, or employment; (3) 83,000 had signed temperance pledges; (4) 400 had been contacted annually upon discharge; (5) about 500 juvenile offenders had been received into the five homes each year; (6) about 500 had entered the home for women and girls each year; (7) and suffering wives and children of prisoners had been cared for. Some results of the prisoner work could be seen in the rapid decrease in crime. In the twenty-two years, five metropolitan prisons had been pulled down or used for something else, no new jails replacing them. The number of prisoners diminished each year. Needless to say, judges, magistrates, police, and Home Office officials held the mission in great respect.

All during these years, the general work of the mission went on. There was preaching; visitation of the sick and dying; a Sunday School with more than a thousand children; Bands of Hope; coal clubs; mothers' meetings; and the general uplifting of the fallen. At Maldon, Essex, a

children's holiday home, an orphanage, and a convalescent home for the poor were being maintained.<sup>1</sup>

Bloomsbury Chapel also supported a mission in Moor Street, which for some time was operated by William Harrison. He carried on a program which helped unemployed families, distributed food and clothing, served meals to children in inclement weather and to adults, as well, at Christmas.<sup>2</sup>

The Golden Lane Mission, under W. J. Orsman, one of Spurgeon's earliest London converts, had a similar program for the poor of the community. On the opening day of the New Hall at the Golden Lane Mission, the Earl of Shaftesbury wrote to Orsman the following letter:

"Dear Orsman,

"Most heartily do I approve of your . . . engagement of the Foresters' Hall for evangelistic services every Sunday. I know not what would befall our great city of London if it were not for . . . missions such as yours to my brother costers. Much do I wish that I could join you some Sunday evening. Tell me some day when you will go the round of your district; I should like to go with you as I did once before. God be with you.

"Shaftesbury" <sup>3</sup>

Later, the Earl visited the social work of Spurgeon and Orsman, and recognized the passion of these two men for helping others.<sup>4</sup> The

---

<sup>1</sup>"These Forty Years: The Story of St. Giles' Christian Mission," Baptist Magazine, XCII (December, 1900), 550-57.

<sup>2</sup>"The Poor of St. Giles's," Baptist, December 13, 1878, p. 343.

<sup>3</sup>Baptist, March 7, 1879, p. 155.

<sup>4</sup>"The Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury and the Baptists," Baptist, December 31, 1886, p. 425.

Metropolitan Tabernacle supported Golden Lane and several other missions.

The most important of the missions sponsored by Westbourne Park was Bosworth Hall which served a community of over 13,000 persons, half of whom were listed as living below the poverty line.<sup>1</sup> This institution had the usual societies and services including a Fathers' Club, which offered a substitute attraction for the public house. For some time, twice a week, one hundred and fifty children of the poorest families were given half-penny breakfasts. Legal advice was made available to the poor families of the community.<sup>2</sup>

Associated with Bosworth Hall was the Bosworth Temperance Club, Limited, founded in 1900. Its purpose was to provide a pleasant club for men, serving food and non-alcoholic beverages, and offering club and game rooms. This was a definite effort to provide wholesome social life for the poor and to keep them out of the public house, thus lifting the social health of the community.<sup>3</sup> In 1906-07 the church sold shares in the club at one pound each to finance a building. This was a part of the celebration of Clifford's pastoral jubilee. The club came to be known as "Clifford's Inn."<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>"Opening of Clifford's Inn," Westbourne Park Record, XV (September, 1907), p. 141.

<sup>2</sup>Westbourne Park Record, XIV (January, 1906), pp. 8-9.

<sup>3</sup>"The Work of the Church of the Future," Westbourne Park Record, XIV (April, 1906), p. 71.

<sup>4</sup>"Our Pastor's Jubilee," Westbourne Park Record, XV (February, 1907), p. 28.

Poor housing constituted one of the social dilemmas of the late nineteenth century. In describing housing conditions, Stowell Brown said, "The wretched conditions of the dens in which many of the people drag on their miserable existence and the alarming prevalence of disease and death in our large towns, have awakened many to the conviction that something must be done to improve the habitations of the poor."<sup>1</sup> He condemned landlords who made profits on indecent property. "To let a cellar or a house that is unhealthy is as great a crime as to sell putrid meat," he said.<sup>2</sup>

Norfolk Baptists were concerned about the poorer population that was crowded into insanitary courts and yards. George Gould of St. Mary's Church in Norwich, was one of the first men to attack the problem of the poorly ventilated and lighted courts. One of his deacons, John Willis, began a campaign to improve conditions through municipal action. In 1874 he was elected to the City Council, and in 1876 he moved that the Council enforce an Artisan's Dwellings Act. He was made chairman of the committee and succeeded in clearing many slum tenements and replacing them with neat cottages. He recommended a scheme for more and better housing, but did not get it through. He was the father of modern good housing in Norwich.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Brown, Hugh Stowell Brown, p. 206.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 535-36.

<sup>3</sup>Charles B. Jewson, The Baptists of Norfolk (London: The Carey Kingsgate Press, Ltd., 1957), pp. 108-10.

The project of the East London Tabernacle which provided a block of cheap housing to the poor was a practical expression of the social conscience. The tenements were called "Christian Buildings."<sup>1</sup>

Presidents of the Baptist Union showed concern for the problem of housing and brought it to the attention of the Union repeatedly. In 1885 William Edwards called upon the Church to speak and to deal with the problems as a part of its answer to "the bitter cry of the poor." The Church must press for legislation.<sup>2</sup>

Alexander Payne was interested in the Garden City Association begun by Ebenezer Howard in 1899. The meeting to form the Association was held in Payne's offices in London, and he was elected as the Honorary Treasurer protem. With Howard, Joseph Johnson, and Francis Steeve, Payne was elected to serve on the committee to form the rules for the Association.<sup>3</sup>

F. B. Meyer, aware of the Church's responsibility to advocate fair dealing and justice, called upon landlords to offer land voluntarily to corporations at a fair price for the replacement of slum houses. He saw the land and housing problem as a possible cause for revolution among the people.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>"The Church's Social Work," Christian Weekly, July 29, 1893, p. 100.

<sup>2</sup>See p. 180.

<sup>3</sup>George Howell, Labour Leaders (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1902), pp. 24-25.

<sup>4</sup>Meyer, "The Opportunity of the Church," Baptist Handbook, 1907, pp. 230-31.

In 1902 Clifford addressed the National Council of Evangelical Free Churches on the subject of housing. He considered this to be an extremely serious problem with many far-reaching consequences. "The housing of the poor is . . . one of the most fundamental and formative of our social facts, going to the very roots of our well-being as individuals, of our efficiency as industrial workers, of our practice of Christianity, and of our stability and progress as a nation."<sup>1</sup> He was gravely concerned about the disease, permanent injury, and death which were the results of overcrowding. He saw grave dangers for the education and training of children and for the character and conduct of people herded into inadequate housing. He argued that bad housing contributed to the increase of poverty, and the deficiency of workmen. Since working men were the main element in the national economy, the nation at large suffered from poor housing. The worst result of the evil was the destruction of man. Since poor housing bred "immorality, vice, crime, irreligion, ignorance of God, alienation from the churches," it destroyed all that was distinctive of man as man. He marveled that the law cared for property but allowed people to be thrown away.<sup>2</sup>

Clifford then analyzed what the churches were doing about the problem. He recognized that they were praying, teaching, and preaching, but he looked for something that was being done directly to alleviate the housing conditions of the poor. "'Hold prayer meetings by all means,

---

<sup>1</sup> Clifford, The Housing of the Poor, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 4-6.



but don't forget to build artisan dwellings as well," he said.<sup>1</sup> Individuals had done something, but churches, generally, were apathetic and unaware of the conditions. They were deaf to the cry of the poor, thinking that they were doing their jobs when they preached "the message." Clifford called for action by the churches and especially by church members who owned rental property in the slums.<sup>2</sup>

Since there was no single cause underlying overcrowding, there was no single solution to it; therefore Clifford made several suggestions for dealing with the problem. Overcrowding and intemperance caused each other. Overcrowding and immorality caused each other. Treatment must be given to the various problems. His first suggestion concerned the people themselves. People in the slums must be converted and led to use their own power. They must move out of the slums, decreasing the demand for housing, therefore decreasing the rental charges. Men must have a civic conscience and an enthusiasm for the improvement of society. Secondly, men must train to do social work as a vocation. Councillors and businessmen must become aware of their responsibilities for solving social problems.

A third suggestion was that factories and workshops should be moved out of the congested areas into open spaces, and that garden cities with plenty of light, air and water should be built. City councils should build more and better housing, applying their sanitation authority rigorously.

---

<sup>1</sup>Bateman, John Clifford, p. 179.

<sup>2</sup>Clifford, The Housing of the Poor, pp. 9-10.

The most important of his suggestions was the nationalization of the land. "The rent of the land, with all its advantages, must go to the people. Then, and not till then, shall we deal with the overcrowding difficulty so as to master it."<sup>1</sup>

Clifford preached from his pulpit to arouse the conscience of his people on this problem. He realized that the city council must provide the money for housing reform, but he challenged his congregation to interest themselves in the problem, to help the man in the street to vote for the right man, and to work for the redemption of men. Redemption of individuals and the environment went together.<sup>2</sup>

Numerous attempts were made by the Baptists to help poor people to save something of their wages for the future. Penny Banks, Mutual Economical Benefit Associations, Goose Clubs, and other savings plans developed rather generally in the churches. Stowell Brown in Liverpool supported the establishment of a Workman's Bank in 1861, and by 1877 there were three thousand depositors, mostly from the working classes.<sup>3</sup> In 1886 Clifford led his congregation in founding the Westbourne Park Permanent Building Society, providing a plan for saving money and for improving housing at the same time.

Baptists encouraged the government to establish a national plan for pensions to aged and retired working men. Bushill insisted that it

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 10-13. See pp. 178-80, supra.

<sup>2</sup>John Clifford, "A Crusade Against Dirt, Degradation, Disease and Death," Westbourne Park Record, XV (September, 1907), pp. 146-47.

<sup>3</sup>Brown, Hugh Stowell Brown, p. 91.

should be a national plan, for that would safeguard the mobility of labor, a benefit both for the laborer and for the employer.<sup>1</sup> The Baptist Times and Freeman said that aged men should not be dependent upon their own thriftlessness or their lack of investment knowledge nor should they be unprepared for misfortune or changing economic conditions. The government should establish a method whereby citizens could systematically contribute to a pension fund so that payments could be made to them later from their own wage savings rather than from the rates.<sup>2</sup>

The Freeman repeatedly suggested a plan for old age pensions. Persons above sixty-five years of age who were unable to work any longer should be eligible for a pension of five shillings a week from the State.<sup>3</sup> The Freeman was disappointed in the summer of 1898 when a Parliamentary committee did not recommend any scheme for old age pensions. The committee's references to "'thrift and self-denial'" indicated that it did not understand the conditions of the poor. They were discouraged from saving for there was no adequate means to insure their savings and because, even if they had saved money, emergencies often required their savings before old age. The Freeman suggested that the Post Office should take charge of small savings and hold them for the depositors until their old age.<sup>4</sup> An experiment of paying pensions to persons over eighty years of age should be made.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Bushill, Profit-Sharing and the Labour Question, pp. 159-60.

<sup>2</sup>"National Pensions," Baptist Times and Freeman, April 10, 1891, p. 225.

<sup>3</sup>"Old Age Pensions," Freeman, November 2, 1894, pp. 694-95.

<sup>4</sup>"Old Age Pensions," Freeman, July 16, 1898, pp. 388-89.

<sup>5</sup>"Old Age Pensions," Freeman, July 22, 1898, p. 405.

Clifford sanctioned the State's entering the area of old age pensions.

"The State, from the inspiration and impact of the Churches, is discharging the duties of the Churches, and discharging them in a far more effective way than the Churches did. . . . The State is becoming altruistic. It grows less and less ecclesiastical and more and more really religious."<sup>1</sup>

He supported the Insurance Act of Lloyd George as a move toward driving poverty out of the land.<sup>2</sup>

The death rate among the poor was high, and the resultant problem of homeless children became increasingly heavy upon the conscience of society. Numerous Baptists responded to the problem, including F. B. Meyer, Sir Morton Peto, William Brock, William Birch, C. H. Spurgeon, Archibald Brown, and George Mueller who did significant work in the care of homeless children.

Most famous among the Baptists in this field was C. H. Spurgeon. In August, 1866, The Sword and the Trowel called for the care of homeless children in schools and orphanages. Mrs. Anne Hillyard, widow of an Anglican clergyman, read the article and offered twenty thousand pounds to Spurgeon to build an orphanage. This was the beginning of the Stockwell Orphanage.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>John Clifford, New Year's Address (1914) quoted in Jeffs, Princes of the Modern Pulpit, p. 197.

<sup>2</sup>"Dr. Clifford's New Year Address," Times (London), January 2, 1912, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup>Carlile, C. H. Spurgeon: An Interpretive Biography, p. 223.

The principles and operation of this orphanage indicated something of the concern of Spurgeon for the persons who needed its care. Although the orphanage was essentially a part of the Metropolitan Tabernacle with Spurgeon as president and the deacons of the church as trustees, there was no requirement that children must be from Baptist homes to be admitted. Necessity was the first and most important consideration. Humane principles were employed in caring for the boys, and a home atmosphere was maintained. No regimental uniform was required, and, also, individual hair styles were permitted. Good education was provided, with excellent work even in music and art, and aid in adjustment to work was given to the boys when they left the home.<sup>1</sup>

Similarly, Metropolitan Tabernacle sought to provide places for old people rather than to send them to the workhouses. The church owned six almshouses when Spurgeon came to it, and under his leadership the church sold property and built seventeen additional almshouses. For years, Spurgeon personally paid the gas, heat, and other expenses for the houses.<sup>2</sup>

It is well attested, then, that Baptists keenly felt their responsibilities for helping the poor. Through their press, their sermons, and their life in the church, they demonstrated their sense of Christian duty. The awareness that their work was being done for Christ's sake permeated their thinking. Once when Joseph Parker of the City Temple

---

<sup>1</sup>John Clifford and J. Colebrook, "The Bright Side of London," General Baptist Magazine, LXXVI (April, 1874), pp. 130-34.

<sup>2</sup>Carlile, C. H. Spurgeon, pp. 224-25.

suggested that soup kitchens should be closed in order to eliminate giving food to the unworthy, The Baptist objected, feeling that "a better theologian than Dr. Parker is ever likely to be, gave food to the hungry by miracle when the dependent were His enemies and even has taught us to do good to the evil disposed."<sup>1</sup> The concern for social well-being and for spiritual health were intertwined. Along with the drive to help the poor with food and clothing was the sense of mission to evangelize them.

The greatest weakness in Baptist thought concerning poverty was that it was the result of low moral standards. Intemperance, gambling, and infidelity to family responsibility did cause suffering in many homes, but the conditions of poverty were rooted in much more serious problems of the socio-economic system. The solution of these problems was retarded by the absence of serious attention to them by the churches. Energies which Baptists and other Nonconformists spent on assisting individuals and their families were well spent, to be sure, but the deeper problems persisted with only a few to attack them.

A minority of Baptists saw these problems. Legislation to ease the existent poverty was called for, although it meant only temporary relief. It is significant that among the Baptists there were strong voices proposing radical changes in both the industrial system and the ownership of land.

---

<sup>1</sup>Baptist, January 10, 1879, p. 25.

## CHAPTER V

### THE CONCERN OF BAPTISTS FOR THE PROBLEMS OF EDUCATION AND RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL EQUALITY

#### Education

In the nineteenth century, efforts among Baptists in the area of education were negligible. They even failed to train their own Sunday School teachers properly.<sup>1</sup> Until late in the century they held to the principle of the voluntary school, but they had no clear policy concerning education. The Sunday School Society and the British and Foreign School Society were supported by Baptists; however, that support was small compared with the need. There were no secondary schools operated solely by Baptists. Free Church leaders generally were more concerned about opposing Anglican domination of the schools than they were about developing a constructive policy of education themselves.<sup>2</sup>

#### Baptist perspectives of public education

Late in the century, some Baptists were still opposed to public education, holding that it was not a proper function of the State. The report of the General Baptist Annual Conference of 1870 pointed out that

---

<sup>1</sup>W. T. Whitley, A History of British Baptists (London: Charles Griffin and Co., 1923), p. 291.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 324-25.

only religious men could properly educate and that, therefore, education was out of the province of government.<sup>1</sup>

In addressing the Baptist Union in 1872, President T. Thomas said that there were certain fallacies in the principle of State education; namely, that "it is the right and duty of the civil government to educate the people" and that "the Government, or the State is competent to educate the nation." The work of civil government was to protect the citizen, his liberty, and his property. Interference into education brought it into discredit. It tended to undermine the sense of parental duty and affection. It served to pauperize the masses and to impair their self-reliance and independence. It was unfavorable to civil liberty. It would extinguish the spirit of life and benevolence and substitute officialdom.<sup>2</sup> The Baptist Union itself had revoked a former commendation of the British and Foreign School Society because it had accepted a government grant for a normal school.<sup>3</sup>

This point of view, however, was not the dominant opinion among Baptists of the period. They were aware of the need for public education and encouraged the establishment of a national system. The Freeman editorially stated that the only means of education consistent with Non-conformity was secular education. The older men who held voluntaryism in high esteem were those who had fought for that privilege twenty-five

---

<sup>1</sup>Freeman, July 1, 1870, p. 505.

<sup>2</sup>Baptist Handbook, 1873-74, pp. 29-30.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 28.



years before. One thing was settled, it said, "There must be an increase of State education in England."<sup>1</sup>

At the time that the Forster Bill was before the House of Commons, The Baptist Magazine wrote, "Though we have the vanity to boast that we are the foremost of civilised nations, we have allowed ourselves to fall behind most of the other nations of Europe in the matter of public education, till the social condition of England has become a scandal to modern civilisation."<sup>2</sup> Voluntary efforts had been inadequate, and instruction had been defective. The remaining ignorance and crime threatened society.<sup>3</sup>

The Sword and the Trowel felt this keenly, saying that instruction of the "rising generation of the poor is a necessary precaution to revolutionary crises. Opulent classes are likely to become their victims otherwise."<sup>4</sup>

Hugh S. Brown saw education as a means to decrease pauperism and crime and to increase the productive ability of England. British parents should be compelled to send their children to school, for ignorance was threatening destruction.<sup>5</sup>

Charles H. Spurgeon supported the public education movement. In June, 1870, he presided over a public meeting of the Working Men's Educational Committee which discussed the need in this area. The Freeman

<sup>1</sup>Freeman, January 28, 1870, p. 61.

<sup>2</sup>Baptist Magazine, LXII (April, 1870), 231.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 231.

<sup>4</sup>Sword and the Trowel, (July, 1872), p. 312.

<sup>5</sup>Freeman, February 11, 1870, pp. 104-05.

stated that all agreed that the country wanted a bill of national education, feeling that tens of thousands of waifs could be saved to virtue and religion if educated. Ragged schools were good, but something better was needed. Every child should be compelled to go to school.<sup>1</sup>

No one supported public education more strongly than Clifford, who said that ignorance

is feeding the full rivers of pauperism and intensifying the contest between muscle and money, brains and backbones. Myriads are growing up in such dense darkness, mental and spiritual . . . as not only forces them to make a bad start in the race of life, but cuts them off from the purer sources of enjoyment, exposes them to the glittering fascinations of coarse animal pleasures, and effectually prepares them for deep-seated dissatisfaction with our social institutions.<sup>2</sup>

These persons were interested not only in the amount of education, but also the quality. This was a basic factor in the long educational struggle in England during this period. "Popular education," said The Freeman, "next to religion in its most direct operation, is the mightiest force at work among us in promoting the moral and social elevation of the people, and in the production of its wonderful results its quality has an importance not inferior to its quantity."<sup>3</sup>

The Baptist Union passed a resolution in 1889 in which it expressed regret that so little was being done to improve the character and the quality of elementary education in England. The resolution was highly

---

<sup>1</sup>Freeman, June 17, 1870, p. 476.

<sup>2</sup>Clifford, Jesus Christ and Modern Social Life, pp. 13-14.

<sup>3</sup>Freeman, August 15, 1890, p. 529.

critical of the "weak, inefficient, and ill-equipped school of which there are so many, especially in rural districts."<sup>1</sup>

In many areas of the Baptist denomination there was the conviction that education should be extended. The Freeman called for an extended elementary education. The community was responsible for pointing up the interests and the ability of the child, requiring six or eight years of education. If children left school able only to draw and to write, they had gone in vain. Compulsory education was required to meet the demands of universal education. It was poor business, The Freeman said, to keep children ignorant in order to support the family.<sup>2</sup>

In 1892 the Baptist Union passed a resolution, presented by Joseph Angus and seconded by Clifford, which called for evening classes and other types of secondary and higher education.<sup>3</sup> In spite of the financial problems involved, several notable efforts were made toward the education of adults, especially working men. In 1883 Mrs. J. H. Shakespeare began a Night School in St. Mary's Church in Norwich. Men were canvassed from the alleys and the pubs. Sixteen came that first year, but in 1890 there were a hundred, and eight years later there were two hundred and twenty-five.

In 1887, George White of Norwich began the first day school for working men, meeting at 9:00 A.M. on Sunday. The purpose of the school

---

<sup>1</sup>Baptist Handbook, 1890, p. 46.

<sup>2</sup>Freeman, February 17, 1871, p. 73.

<sup>3</sup>Baptist Handbook, 1893, p. 57.

was to provide an opportunity for basic education. White led this school until his death in 1912.<sup>1</sup> Spurgeon established an evening school in the Metropolitan Tabernacle in London. It was planned for young men who desired to improve their education, many of them being working men.<sup>2</sup>

In 1877, Westbourne Park Baptist Chapel began its Institute which offered a broad curriculum in the arts, sciences, and business subjects.<sup>3</sup> Clifford advocated the continuance of free evening classes in Evening Continuation Schools. Many of those who needed such classes could not afford to pay tuition for them. The expenditure of such money from the rates was justified, for education was less expensive than other social institutions such as poorhouses, prisons, and punitive legislation.<sup>4</sup> The importance of University education was expressed by Clifford.

"University College was to me one of the highest stars in the great city. I expected great things for the education of the upper stratum of the middle classes; through its influence a House of Commons would cease to be a mere 'talking shop' and begin to achieve great things for the nation. Its existence was a protest against the narrow caste influence of Oxford and Cambridge and a message of good cheer for all who yearned for the advance of the Kingdom."<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Jewson, The Baptists of Norfolk, pp. 106-107.

<sup>2</sup>Carlile, The Story of the English Baptists, p. 240.

<sup>3</sup>See pp. 96-97.

<sup>4</sup>John Clifford, "The London School Board Election," British Weekly, November 22, 1900, p. 139.

<sup>5</sup>Marchant, John Clifford, p. 43.

Legislation on public education

This discussion of public education among Baptists was a part of the growing national concern for education and partly in response to the Elementary Education Act of 1870. During the period of this study, a series of important education bills came before Parliament which provided for extensive improvement in the public education processes of the country.

The Act of 1870 was a turning point in public education in England. It provided for an elementary school system composed of Board schools and inclusive of voluntary schools. The Board schools were supported by Parliamentary grants, fees in some cases, and the rates, and the voluntary schools were supported by Parliamentary grants, fees, and voluntary subscription. Local Boards were to provide Board Schools in areas where the voluntary schools were inadequate. Attendance was compulsory until the age of ten.

Voluntary schools remained under private management, but in order to receive the government grant, they were obliged to operate under a "Conscience Clause," to be open to the government inspection, and to abide by government regulations. Government grants for new buildings could be requested as late as the end of 1870.

The Board schools were subject to the "Cowper-Temple" clause which provided that no distinctive denominational doctrines would be taught. This was a compromise between sectarian teaching and Bible reading without any comment. No grant was given for religious instruction in either type of school. No government inspection of religious instruction was

required for either school, nor were pupils required to attend Sunday School, public worship, or religious exercises at school.<sup>1</sup>

In the last decade of the century, the English Church Union under the leadership of Athelstan Riley and other High Churchmen sought to amend the Education Act of 1870. Among the changes that this party wished to provide for were sectarian teaching in elementary schools and religious tests for teachers. It provided for a special grant to be administered by county educational authorities, which were to exist along side the school boards.<sup>2</sup> Due to forceful opposition led by Clifford and others this bill was withdrawn.

The Acts of 1902-1903 provided for one comprehensive system of education, including elementary, secondary, commercial, and technical schools. All the schools were to be treated on similar lines and subjected to uniform control. The School Boards of the Act of 1870 were abolished and their authority and resources given to County and County Borough Councils. These councils were responsible for providing money from the rates for all public elementary schools, state and voluntary. Managers were responsible for the details of the schools. For the provided (state) schools, managers were appointed by the Local Education Authority (LEA), but for the non-provided (voluntary) schools, four of

---

<sup>1</sup>C. A. Montague Barlow, "Education," Encyclopaedia of the Laws of England With Forms and Precedents by the Most Eminent Legal Authorities (2d ed.; London: Sweet and Maxwell, Ltd., 1907), V, 59-65.

<sup>2</sup>"History of National [Education] Systems: England to the Education Act, 1902," Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1958, Vol. 7, p. 974.

the six managers were privately appointed and known as "foundation managers," and two others were appointed by the LEA and the minor local authority. Managers in the non-provided schools had control of religious instruction which was to be denominational, but a conscience clause was provided.<sup>1</sup>

#### Baptist reaction to educational legislation

Baptists generally supported the establishment of a national system of education, and they welcomed the school board system as provided for in the Education Act of 1870. Although The Baptist was against this legislation in 1870, by 1879 it considered the law a success. The paper commented that it had done more than anything else recently to advance popular education.<sup>2</sup> The Baptist Magazine commented that the Board system offered better teachers and better school buildings, and that its schools promoted physical and mental alertness of the children.<sup>3</sup> Clifford was a champion of popular, Board schools, and he fought to keep them under the control of the people.<sup>4</sup>

Several Baptist leaders served on the School Boards. Joseph Angus was an original member of the London Board and remained an active member all of his life.<sup>5</sup> George Gould was elected to the Board in Norwich in

---

<sup>1</sup>Barlow, "Education," Encyclopaedia of the Laws of England, pp. 65-69.

<sup>2</sup>Baptist, November 21, 1879, p. 323.

<sup>3</sup>Baptist Magazine, XCI (April, 1899), p. 201.

<sup>4</sup>Baptist Times and Freeman, November 16, 1900, p. 921.

<sup>5</sup>Carlile, The Story of the English Baptists, pp. 271-272.

1874, and a few years later, he became the chairman. A deacon of his church, Joseph De Carle Smith, was vice-chairman. George White was also on the Norwich Board and served as chairman from 1885 for several years.<sup>1</sup> John Carlile was elected to the London Board in 1891.<sup>2</sup>

After the election of 1894, there were four Baptists out of six Nonconformists on the London Board. They were Carlile, W. Hamilton, J. Wilson and Angus. Clifford did not run for the Board, but diligently worked for fellow Baptists.<sup>3</sup> The clearest indication that Baptists supported the Board system was their defense of it toward the end of the century when Commons was considering new bills designed to amend the Act of 1870.<sup>4</sup>

However, Baptists were opposed to some other aspects of the law. A resolution by the Baptist Union in 1871, introduced by J. Jenkyn Brown, protested the clauses which empowered School Boards to give religious instruction in rate-supported schools and also the provision for paying fees of children in sectarian schools. It called for the withdrawal of grants from the Consolidated Fund to sectarian schools, for they felt that this retarded the establishment of a truly national system of education. The resolution protested the practice of Endowed Schools Commissioners of appointing only clergy of the Anglican Church as governors of schools. The resolution was adopted by acclamation.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jewson, The Baptists of Norfolk, pp. 105-106.

<sup>2</sup> Carlile, My Life's Little Day, p. 102.

<sup>3</sup> Baptist Magazine, XXXVI (December, 1894), p. 621.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 217.

<sup>5</sup> Baptist Handbook, 1871-72, p. 41.



T. Harwood Pattison criticized the efforts of the State to teach religion through men qualified to teach secular subjects only.<sup>1</sup> T. W. Handford recommended "a vigorous resistance to the claims of School Boards and of State-paid teachers to provide and to give religious instruction to children at the expense of the public."<sup>2</sup>

Clifford, Angus, and other leaders were opposed to sectarian teaching in the publicly supported schools, but they upheld the Compromise of 1870. The ethical and moral teachings of the Bible must be included in the curriculum for efficient education. Clifford's position was that an educational system should give children a religious understanding of life as contained in the Bible; training for citizenship based on the teachings of the Bible should be given; but the State was not qualified to teach religious dogma. The Church must accept that task.<sup>3</sup>

It was not the Baptists who raised the controversy in Parliament concerning the school system of 1870, but it was the Priestly party of the Anglican Church. During the eighteen-nineties this party renewed the fight for sectarian teaching in the Board Schools. Baptists actually defended the Education Act of 1870 and the Board Schools. Clifford said that religious teaching in London and in other large towns had been

---

<sup>1</sup>T. Harwood Pattison, Two Sermons on Education (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: J. M. Carr, 1870), p. 14.

<sup>2</sup>T. W. Handford, "Concerning the Peace Question," (Circular Letter, Lancashire and Cheshire Association of Baptist Churches, June, 1872), p. 24.

<sup>3</sup>Clifford, Jesus Christ and Modern Social Life, pp. 40-41.

successful.<sup>1</sup> "Board schools are changing the face of the country. They are giving the people a sense of unity, of belonging to the country, and the country a sense of belonging to them."<sup>2</sup> He led a movement for the preservation of the School Boards.

The occasion of this movement was the election of the London School Board members in 1894. Through the public press, magazine articles, sermons, and public addresses, Clifford worked for the election of progressive candidates. He served as Honorary Secretary of a large organization of London Progressives who were working against any changes in the Law of 1870.<sup>3</sup> He encouraged the members of his congregation to vote for the Progressive candidates in order to have efficient education and to maintain religious liberty.<sup>4</sup>

When the Progressives won the election, Clifford assumed that the people were in favor of retaining the Board Schools and the 1870 Compromise on religious teaching. "They have rejected the policy of theological definition in national education. A nonsectarian interpretation of religion has been carried to victory."<sup>5</sup> However, he encouraged the public to be vigilant if they wanted to maintain an efficient school system, for reactionaries would continue their attacks on the Board System.

<sup>1</sup> John Clifford, Religious Teaching in Board Schools (London: Veale, Chifferiel and Co., 1894), p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Bateman, John Clifford, p. 246.

<sup>4</sup> "The London School Board Election," Westbourne Park Record, I (November, 1894), p. 82.

<sup>5</sup> Clifford, The Message of 1894 to Young Men, p. 13.

As he predicted, this struggle was renewed in Commons in 1896. Clifford called on the Free Church Council to resist the subtle and powerful attacks currently being made against them by "sacerdotal friends," who were seeking control of the Board Schools. The Act of 1870 was intolerable to the Priestly party and they wanted to annex the Board schools to the State Church.<sup>1</sup> To the Free Churchmen, he said,

Religion is attacked. . . . An imposition worse than the old "Church rate" threatens us. Education is imperilled. Our liberty is at stake. It is for us to fight for freedom, for a real education of young England, for the English principle that taxation and representation shall go together, and . . . for the future progress of men!<sup>2</sup>

The Baptist Union was opposed to the education bill of 1896. Clifford's resolution, which passed unanimously, claimed that the Bill would lower the standard and efficiency of education in the elementary schools; would degrade, weaken, and prevent the extension of Board Schools; would introduce creeds; would take direct authority from the people and deposit it in a committee appointed by county or county borough councils; and would secure money for denominational schools without public management.<sup>3</sup> When the Baptists faced the danger of losing public control of schools, they sought to protect the School Board system, the Compromise of 1870 included.

---

<sup>1</sup>John Clifford, The Call of the New Century to Temperance Workers (London: W. Walker, n.d.), pp. 14-15.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 15.

<sup>3</sup>"The New Education Bill," Westbourne Park Record, III (May, 1896), p. 38.

Not only were Baptists opposed to sectarian teaching in State-supported schools, but they were diametrically opposed to the support of sectarian schools from the rate as well. The Freeman said, "Our present course is clear. It is to work for the separation of all State-aided education from sectarian patronage and control."<sup>1</sup> Clifford held that State education was a matter of citizenship, not churchmanship.<sup>2</sup> He was chairman of the National Education League of the Evangelical Free Churches, the purpose of which was to safeguard School Board education, to oppose public grants for schools under clerical or irresponsible control, and to demand the extension of the Board School system. Other Baptists in the league were John T. Brown and J. Jenkyn Brown.<sup>3</sup>

The Moderator of the Northamptonshire Baptist Association in 1891, T. Collings, stated the case for Nonconformists rather comprehensively. Nonconformists were interested in a national system of education more than any other political question. Education should be compulsory and free. They were opposed to the current system of voluntary schools on subsidy from the government. "The present educational system is maintained in the interests of the Established Church, and to prop up a system of ecclesiastical ascendancy which has too long stood in the way of religious, social, and political progress."<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>"Education by the Nation for the Nation," Freeman, March 14, 1890, p. 161.

<sup>2</sup>Clifford, Jesus Christ and Modern Social Life, pp. 40-41.

<sup>3</sup>"Correspondence," Freeman, January 17, 1896, p. 33. (Hugh Price Hughes and Guinness Rogers were also in the league.)

<sup>4</sup>T. Collings, "Nonconformists and the Education of the People," (Circular Letter, Northampton Baptist Association), p. 6.

He listed some of the grievances against the influence of the Established Church on education in the various communities. In many parishes, he said, no money came from voluntary subscriptions for the Church schools, yet the country clergy operated the schools without any representation from the ratepayers at all.<sup>1</sup>

In nearly all of the agricultural villages, the only schools which were accessible were the Church schools. Consequently, under compulsory education, children of Nonconformists were forced to attend an Anglican school "at the most susceptible period of their lives."<sup>2</sup> The Conscience Clause was not much help; in fact, it was rarely used. Parents generally desired for their children to have religious teaching in school and preferred Anglican rather than none. To exercise the Conscience Clause would make children liable to disfavor in school and parents liable in the community to various forms of social persecution. Parents objected to using the Clause, for it compelled them in a free land to assert their conscientious dissent which they considered to be a violation of religious freedom. These grievances were especially acute in rural areas where people were rather dependent on the good will of the clergy, farmer, and landowner.<sup>3</sup>

Nonconformists believed that the Church was active in education for its own sake and its own position. The Church School Society was founded, Collings said, to control Joseph Lancaster's system of unsectarian education and to promote the interests of the Church. The Church feared that an educated populace would reject it.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 6.    <sup>2</sup>Ibid.    <sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 6-7.    <sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 7-8.

The Nonconformists desired free schools, unsectarian religious teaching, and popular control in every community. In 1890 the Baptist Union passed a resolution stating that an

unsectarian public elementary school should be placed within reach of every family in England and Wales, inasmuch as it is impossible by any conscience clause to secure equal and impartial treatment of the children of Nonconformists and others in denominational day school, and therefore, that a School Board should be established in every district of the country. . . . The time has fully come for the abolition of scholar's fee in public elementary schools.<sup>1</sup>

It also called for the elimination of grants to schools other than those under control and management of representatives of ratepayers.

The climax of Baptist reaction to educational legislation followed the passage of the Education Act of 1902 which actually eliminated school boards by bringing the function of elementary and secondary education under the authority of county or county borough councils and which authorized the support of voluntary schools from the rates. A large section of the populace was opposed to this legislation.<sup>2</sup>

Before the bill was passed, George White, who was leading the Free Church opposition in Commons, recommended that Nonconformists bind themselves together and refuse to pay the rate.<sup>3</sup> Other Nonconformists agreed with him, and the Passive Resistance Movement came into existence.

---

<sup>1</sup>Baptist Handbook, 1891, p. 59.

<sup>2</sup>The Annual Register: A Review of Public Events at Home and Abroad for the Year 1902 (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1903), pp. 108-109.

<sup>3</sup>"The New Duty of Nonconformists," British Weekly, April 3, 1902, p. 625.

Clifford was elected as its first chairman, and F. B. Meyer and White were members of the original committee.<sup>1</sup> Richard Glover and John Carlile were opposed to the movement, for they thought that it was dangerous; however, Carlile joined in with it.<sup>2</sup> Alexander MacLaren, who seldom publicly supported any social or political issues, endorsed the Passive Resistance Movement and spoke for it.<sup>3</sup> The Baptist Union supported the movement and passed a resolution in 1903 in favor of it.

This assembly rejoices at the uprising and rapid advance of the Passive Resistance Movement; expresses its sympathy with all who have suffered the spoiling of their goods for conscience' sake in the struggle for religious equality, and urges the consideration of the movement on the attention of all the members of the churches on the ground that the Education Act directly conflicts with liberty of conscience and menaces the true interests of the country by placing Romanism and sacerdotalism generally upon the rates.<sup>4</sup>

Carlile said that the Baptist Union was the first great religious body to announce formally that it would not submit to the injustices of the Act.<sup>5</sup>

By 1905, the Movement had grown to the extent that there were 600 Passive Resistance Leagues in the country, thirty-eight of them being in London.<sup>6</sup> In 1909 the Movement was organized nationally with local,

<sup>1</sup>John Clifford, "National Passive Resistance Committee," British Weekly, January 15, 1903, p. 383.

<sup>2</sup>Carlile, My Life's Little Day, p. 113.

<sup>3</sup>Williamson, The Life of Alexander MacLaren, p. 174.

<sup>4</sup>Baptist Handbook, 1904, pp. 153-54.

<sup>5</sup>Carlile, The Story of the English Baptists, p. 310.

<sup>6</sup>John Clifford, Rome on the Rates (London: National Council of the Evangelical Free Churches, 1903), p. 16.

district and national committees. Clifford was still the President, and other Baptists in the national organization were Meyer, White, and J. H. Shakespeare.<sup>1</sup> Hugh Price Hughes and Joseph Parker were also among the Nonconformists supporters.<sup>2</sup> Clifford was the dominant figure in the Movement from beginning to end. He travelled throughout the country to lecture and to attend meetings associated with the Movement. The British Weekly said that Nonconformists owed more to Clifford in this controversy than "all the rest put together."<sup>3</sup>

Resisters throughout the country were insulted and fined unreasonably for their refusal to pay the rates. Confiscation of goods and jail sentences were imposed on those who could not pay. Men were economically oppressed, and government officials were threatened with ruin for withholding the rate. During the first year of the Movement, there were 21,871 summonses issued to coerce payment of rates, and 971 sales of confiscated goods took place. Twenty-two men were imprisoned.<sup>4</sup> Clifford mused, "And this is in 1904 and in Free England!"<sup>5</sup>

He personally participated in the consequences of the Movement, sharing with the resisters in their hardships. He set a pattern by

---

<sup>1</sup>John Clifford, Is England to be Converted to Rome? (London: William Walker, 1910), p. 16.

<sup>2</sup>The Annual Register: 1902, p. 108.

<sup>3</sup>"Notes of the Week," British Weekly, January 19, 1905, p. 399.

<sup>4</sup>John Clifford, The Report of the First Year's Sales in Aid of the New Church Rate (London: Daily News Office, 1904), p. 1.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 3.



attending the first "sale" of confiscated goods. Informed of the sale after midnight on June 26, 1903, he rode the newspaper train from London to Wirksworth to see the event at nine o'clock and to attend the meeting which followed in the marketplace.<sup>1</sup>

Clifford lost some of his own goods. It became a regular event for an officer to appear at the Clifford home to collect treasure in lieu of rates. Mrs. Clifford would collect several pieces for the officer to choose from. Later he transferred his belongings to his wife in order to force his arrest and imprisonment.<sup>2</sup> He made fifty-seven appearances before the Paddington magistrates for refusing to pay the rates,<sup>3</sup> but the officials avoided arresting him.<sup>4</sup>

The situation grew worse although the injustice of the Education Act was generally confessed. King Edward VII, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and others had sought to bring peace, but they had failed. The veto of the House of Lords and the strength of the Church of England blocked any correction of the situation.<sup>5</sup> In 1911 the veto of the House of Lords was abolished, but this did not bring about the desired repeal. In 1911-12 imprisonments still took place in large numbers.<sup>6</sup> Clifford encouraged

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 1.

<sup>2</sup>"Notes of the Week," British Weekly, January 19, 1905, p. 399.

<sup>3</sup>John Clifford, "The General Election," Baptist, Chicago, December 16, 1922, p. 1634.

<sup>4</sup>"Notes of the Week," British Weekly, January 19, 1905, p. 399.

<sup>5</sup>Clifford, Is England to be Converted to Rome? pp. 10-12.

<sup>6</sup>John Clifford, Clericalism in State Education (London: William Walker, 1912), pp. 6-7.

resisters to continue the Movement during World War I,<sup>1</sup> hoping that the post war period would provide opportunity for restudy and reform of the educational system.<sup>2</sup>

The enthusiasm of the Movement waned after the Liberal victory in 1906, but Clifford continued his resistance to the last years of his life. He was not resisting a party but the law. The struggle was for a principle on the ground of conscience and for a better school system. He made his fifty-seventh appearance before the Paddington magistrates about a year before his death.<sup>3</sup>

Clifford's argument against the Acts of 1902-1903 fall into four main parts. In the first place, they brought the entire cost of Church schools onto the rates. The Act of 1870 had provided only for secular education in the Church schools. The State had no right to teach religious dogma, yet through the Acts of 1902-1903, it provided for teaching dogma which were not only opposed to Christ's teaching, but which were detrimental to the well-being of the child and to the happiness and prosperity of the nation. This compelled men to pay that their children be taught that the Free Churches were heretical and that their teachings were false.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>John Clifford, The Great War and Passive Resisters (London: William Walker, 1915), pp. 4-5.

<sup>2</sup>John Clifford, State Education After the War (London: William Walker, 1916), p. 10.

<sup>3</sup>John Clifford, "The General Election," Baptist, December 16, 1922, Chicago: Northern Baptist Convention, p. 1634.

<sup>4</sup>National Passive Resistance Committee, Dr. Clifford as a Passive Resister (London: National Passive Resistance Committee, July 1, 1904), pp. 1-2.

Secondly, Clifford objected to the new legislation because it was retrogression. The 1870 law was a partial reform to lead to full reform, but the compromise of 1870 had been "ruthlessly broken by the Clericalists." The national principle had been forsaken and the denominational principle had been restrengthened. The reform movement, then, had been reversed.<sup>1</sup>

In the third place, Nonconformity should not be required to pay increasingly for the support of voluntary schools which they did not control.<sup>2</sup> The requirement that Free Church people should share in the cost and upkeep of Roman Catholic and Anglican schools was "unjust and immoral." In the interest of justice, good citizenship, and the national well-being, that requirement should be eliminated. "Rome on the rates means oppression, persecution, individual and national decay."<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, he complained that Anglican school endowments, which by the Education Act of 1903 were to be paid to the local education authority, were being withheld and rate payers would have to supply that money.<sup>4</sup>

Fourthly, the Act of 1902 was passed in an unconstitutional manner.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>John Clifford, Why Refuse the Rate Seeing You Have Paid the Tax? (London: National Passive Resistance Committee, 1903), pp. 2-4.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>3</sup>Clifford, Rome on the Rates, p. 4.

<sup>4</sup>"Dr. Clifford Again 'Protests,'" Westbourne Park Record, XVII (March, 1909), p. 54.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

(1) The majority which made the Act effective were asked for and obtained exclusively on khaki grounds. (2) Express promises were given that the majority should not be used for settling domestic controversial issues. (3) The election took place in a war panic, and was pushed through by means admittedly flagitious on the part of the Government. (4) The reason alleged by Mr. Balfour for introducing a Bill dealing with elementary education was illusory and unreal. . . . (5) In every case when the people have had the opportunity of expressing their judgment they have given unequivocal and decided testimony that the Act is directly in the teeth of the popular will. (6) The guillotine was introduced for the first time to carry an English measure, and a measure introduced in this unconstitutional way. (7) After the Bill was closed in compartments, clauses were craftily inserted of revolutionary significance and passed by the guillotine, without debate. (8) "The wear and tear" bishops resorted to "shabby tricks" in the House of Lords, whose condemnation is written in letters of inextinguishable fire.<sup>1</sup>

"Nothing so discreditable has been done in Parliament for more than half a century."<sup>2</sup> The Government had nothing to support its action, and it was, therefore, the duty of citizens to refuse to pay the rate. Submission would have been a blow at the stability and integrity of the country.<sup>3</sup>

Clifford was striving for a truly national system of education, financed and governed by the people. He resisted the idea of all denominations having schools supported by the State, for that would further divide society.<sup>4</sup> He worked for a unified administration of elementary and

---

<sup>1</sup>John Clifford, Is It Unconstitutional to Refuse the Rate? (London: National Passive Resistance Committee, 1903), pp. 1-2.

<sup>2</sup>John Clifford, "Mr. Balfour's Defense of the Education Act of 1902," New Liberal Review, V (January, 1903), 777.

<sup>3</sup>Clifford, Is It Unconstitutional to Refuse the Rate?, p. 2.

<sup>4</sup>John Clifford, The Fight Against the Education Bill: What Is at Stake? (Manchester, National Reform Union, 1902), p. 19.

secondary education, suggesting that the State should buy or rent church schools for public education.<sup>1</sup> The Board School system must be maintained, including the "Cowper-Temple" clause. Teachers must be protected from ecclesiastical tests and from parish work. They must be guaranteed reasonable security of tenure and freedom from the parson.<sup>2</sup>

### The social dimension of Baptist concern

Whitley's statement that Free Church leaders were more concerned about opposing ecclesiastical domination of education than about establishing a policy of education<sup>3</sup> and the evidence of that opposition among Baptists which is presented in this chapter must be held in tension with the evidence of the social dimension to Baptist concern for State-supported education. This protestation was more than a matter of ecclesiastical differences. Social problems were deeply involved.

Clifford said that the Education Acts of 1902-1903 were "destructive of educational efficiency."<sup>4</sup> The Board schools were more efficient than the voluntary schools, he felt, but by coming under the local management which was influenced by vested interests and the Church, they would be lowered to the level of voluntary schools. The inefficiency of voluntary schools was notorious and pathetic, he said.<sup>5</sup> The Church was not

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 33.

<sup>2</sup>John Clifford, "Primary Education and the State," (Printer's proof in Clifford's Personal Collection), pp. 9-10.

<sup>3</sup>See p. 205.

<sup>4</sup>John Clifford, Passive Resistance in England and Wales (London: William Walker, 1905), p. 13.

<sup>5</sup>Clifford, The Fight Against the Education Bill, p. 27.

interested in the Board schools for the sake of education, but for the sake of guarding its own schools. "It is the State Church that stands in the way of the most thorough training of the younger citizens of England, and prevents them taking their true place in the competitive markets of the world."<sup>1</sup>

Clifford had studied the County and County Borough Councils and found that they were reactionary. They knew little and cared less about education. They would not put on heavy rates for education but would seek to protect the ratepayers. Tories, who formed a large proportion of Council memberships, would seek to check the advance of education.<sup>2</sup>

Furthermore, ecclesiastical tests for teachers contributed to the lack of qualified teachers, for they kept some of the most capable and promising persons out of the profession. One who was not an Anglican could not obtain any but a subordinate position in the 11,731 State schools, except by special favor of the managers. A non-Anglican could not become a headmaster in any of the schools. Free Church teachers were excluded from 16,410 head-teacher departments in English Church schools.<sup>3</sup> This prevented those Nonconformists teachers who could have given superior leadership to the educational system from developing and exercising their potential.

---

<sup>1</sup>John Clifford, A Call to Free Churchmen (London: Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Patronage and Control, 1898), p. 3.

<sup>2</sup>"The New Duty of Nonconformists," British Weekly, April 10, 1902, p. 655.

<sup>3</sup>John Clifford, The Teaching Profession and the Education Act, 1902 (London: National Passive Resistance Committee, 1903), p. 1.

The efficiency of denominational schools was lowered also because their buildings were inadequate. Even with the aid of the rates, the buildings did not have proper facilities. Several of the schools had no playground or otherwise adequate provision for exercise and recreation. There were many structural defects, and lighting, ventilation, and sanitation were poor.<sup>1</sup> This was written in 1915, but apparently the inadequacy of facilities had carried over from pre-war days.

A second social problem was the injustice of the legislation.<sup>2</sup> Nonconformists were required to pay the expenses of denominational schools where two-thirds of the managers were clerical and where the religious instruction and the religious atmosphere were offensive to their beliefs. Clifford also voiced concern that Anglican children were forced into Roman Catholic schools just as Nonconformist children were forced to attend Anglican schools.<sup>3</sup>

Furthermore, since Free Church members had little opportunity to advance in the teaching profession commensurate with their ability, they suffered unjustly. The Law was a "re-imposition of the Test Act in the Civil Service" and a "bribe" to enter the Church of England.<sup>4</sup> The Church of England struggled for the control of the schools so that it could

<sup>1</sup>Clifford, The Great War and Passive Resisters, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup>Clifford, Passive Resistance in England and Wales, p. 13.

<sup>3</sup>John Clifford, "Our Fortnightly London Letter," Baptist Times and Freeman, March 12, 1909, p. 185.

<sup>4</sup>Clifford, The Teaching Profession and the Education Act, 1902 pp. 2-3.

"keep the nation in subjection." To "capture the child" was the chief way of maintaining its undemocratic hold over the country.<sup>1</sup>

The prime injustice of the Acts was their intrusion into the realm of personal conscience by the State.<sup>2</sup> This endangered both the liberty and integrity of men. "Man is fully aware, even in his weakest compliance with circumstance, that he is made for something nobler and more heroic, and he is sure that a fully-informed and ever active conscience is as necessary for the soul of him as breathing is for his body."<sup>3</sup> The highest prerogative of man was "the right to the full and free use of his own soul."<sup>4</sup> The State must not intrude into this private domain of man. Actually, more was involved than just the consciences of private citizens. The conscience of the nation was eclipsed. Clifford said,

It is the indescribable damage this measure will do the truest life of the British Commonwealth that afflicts me. It puts a false conception of the power and prosperity of one social institution of the country before truth and justice, fair play and equality. It "treats conscience as a thing of mean value." It darkens the realm which never had too much light, and shakes the moral foundations of society. It de-  
praves, and tends increasingly to deprave, the national conscience.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> John Clifford, "Clericalism and the State Church," Westbourne Park Record, XIV (December, 1906), p. 193.

<sup>2</sup> Clifford, Passive Resistance in England and Wales, p. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Clifford, The Fight Against the Education Bill, p. 12.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> John Clifford, "Mr. Balfour's Defense of the Education Act of 1902," New Liberal Review, V, February, 1903, p. 32.



Clifford was convinced that far more was involved than just the struggle between denominations. He listed the following as being at stake:

1. The primary rights of the people to control their own life, directly and freely, in the indescribably important department of elementary and secondary education.
2. The enjoyment and exercise of full liberty of conscience.
3. The maintenance of constitutional law in the procedure of Government.
4. The efficiency and adequacy of education, sustained by the funds of the people, in what are known as denominational schools.
5. The continuance and extension of the people's school, and the progressive realisation of the true ideal of State Education.
6. The complete equipment of the teaching profession, its full deliverance from theological and ecclesiastical tests, and the opening of its doors as a Profession, and of the Training Schools of the nation, to ability, industry, willingness to serve, and citizenship, irrespective of Church relationship and creeds.
7. The exclusion of women from the ranks of those who may be freely and directly chosen to serve in the administration of national education.
8. The . . . serviceableness of the English Church.
9. The stability and growth of our Empire.<sup>1</sup>

#### Religious Equality

Denominational control of public education was but a symptom of the real issue. Baptists were opposed to the religious establishment both as dissenters and as citizens with a concern for the social welfare of the nation. From their beginning, English Baptists were Separatists and for many years had suffered as a minority group. In the later nineteenth century they continued their struggle for a free church and a free government.

---

<sup>1</sup>Clifford, Fight Against the Education Bill, p. 59.

Baptists gave able leadership to The Liberation Society and to the National Council of the Evangelical Free Churches. Clifford served as president of both of the organizations and was generally known as the leader of Nonconformity. Four of his pamphlets were published by the Liberation Society; namely, (1) An Appeal to Young England, (2) A Call to Free Churchmen, (3) What Hinders National Education?, and (4) Imprisonment by the Bishop. The Society held its annual meetings in the Metropolitan Tabernacle in London for a number of years. Spurgeon usually attended them.<sup>1</sup>

#### The Baptist position

Baptists believed that the State must be free of the control of the Church. Clifford said, "Clericalism in politics is one of the most disturbing factors of the modern world."<sup>2</sup> Citizens must refuse the claims of any and all religious institutions which would invade the domain of the State. Churches had no right to "subordinate the machinery and resources of the State to their own ends, be they Baptist or Romanist, Methodist or Mormon, Presbyterian or Anglican."<sup>3</sup>

Likewise, as art, science, the press, speech, and Parliament must be free to exercise their functions, so must the churches. If the churches

---

<sup>1</sup>Ernest A. Payne, The Baptist Union: A Short History (London: Carey Kingsgate Press, 1959), p. 119.

<sup>2</sup>John Clifford, Clericalism in British Politics (London: National Council of the Evangelical Free Churches, 1902), p. 6.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

were going to fulfil their responsibility to the State, they must be at liberty

to breathe into all its legislation the health-bringing winds of justice; to sustain it in the maintenance of an even hand amongst all its citizens; to repress the native instincts to tyrannise over the weak; to fetter the movements of a rapacious greed upon the scanty treasures and scantier self-control of the poor and ignorant burdened with the fatal past; to make it difficult to do wrong and easy to do right; to minister its life for the ransom of many.<sup>1</sup>

To secure this liberty, both for themselves and for other churches, was the primary purpose of the Free Churches.

#### The social dimension to Baptist opposition to the Establishment

As dissenters, the Baptists were opposed to the State Church, but in addition to this, they felt that all of society suffered from the Establishment. It divided society. It destroyed personal liberty. It fostered injustice.

In the first place, the Establishment divided society. Alexander MacLaren said that "The Establishment . . . is the direct occasion of the deepest crack that runs through English life."<sup>2</sup> That "crack" had tended to cause malice, envy, and uncharitableness on both sides.<sup>3</sup>

The Baptist criticized the patronage of the Church of England, saying that it dealt with the parishioners as though they were "slaves"

<sup>1</sup>John Clifford, Jesus Christ and State-Churches (London: James Clark and Co., 1893), pp. 12-13.

<sup>2</sup>"Religious Equality in its Connection with National and Religious Life," Freeman, November 24, 1871, p. 569.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 570.

while the great families received financial gain from the estate of society as it was and that they would not think of changing it.

The Establishment is the Church of the rich, who make a gain of its ample revenues; it is the Church of rectors who hold fat livings, the pretends who occupy golden cathedral stalls. It is not a Church for impoverished curates and needy peasants; they are but as cattle in its fold, who minister to the luxury of superior beings.<sup>1</sup>

Clifford agreed with this position, of course, saying that exclusive use of universal privileges was a hindrance to reconstruction and social progress. The State in its favoritism to one church was nourishing an unjust social system, the domination of one class over another. Feudal institutions were being maintained.<sup>2</sup>

The Baptist accused the Established Church of using its influence against the cause of popular progress. Churchmen and clergy resisted humanization of the criminal code. They did not protest war, but fostered it. The majority of the clergy resisted social reform and trained peasants, as slaves, to oppose reform. Some churchmen still criticized education as a departure from the "time-honoured customs of former days."<sup>3</sup>

This problem was so grave that Clifford took the opportunity of the national unity during World War I to call for unity in peace. This would mean disestablishment, he said, for the favoritism of the State

<sup>1</sup>"The Poor Man's Church and Social Slavery," Baptist, May 11, 1877, p. 296.

<sup>2</sup>Clifford, Jesus Christ and State-Churches, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup>"The Poor Man's Church and Social Slavery," Baptist, May 11, 1877, p. 296.

to one church divides society and does injury to it. Only when churches and State are separated can there be true cooperation between citizens for the noblest ends of communal life.<sup>1</sup>

Another objection to the presence of a State Church was that it destroyed personal liberty. This was true especially of the rural poor who were subject to the parson and the local squire.

There is no slavery like the bondage of those who are slaves without knowing it; and for generation after generation this had been the lot of poor peasants in rural parishes whose end in life was supposed to be answered if they toiled from sunrise to sunset, fared hard, and revered the parson and the squire. Nor did this social slavery end with the common people; for farmers and shopkeepers have times without number conformed for the sake of peace or for the sake of bread. Mere politicians have often spoken about the dignity attached to the government of freemen; but this coalition of squires and parsons which in rural districts goes by the name of the Church of England, has been content to govern slaves.<sup>2</sup>

The Church had "bartered her own liberty in exchange for the loaves and fishes of the State. In bondage herself, she had refused to accord freedom to others."<sup>3</sup>

Even in the twentieth century, Baptists opposed the Establishment because it endangered the liberties of the people. Clifford said that one of the lessons of history was "liberty is never so seriously in peril as when it is left to the tender mercies of Churches, and especially of

---

<sup>1</sup>John Clifford, An Appeal to Young England (London: The Liberation Society, 1919), pp. 1-2.

<sup>2</sup>"The Poor Man's Church and Social Slavery," Baptist, May 11, 1877, p. 296.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

State Churches."<sup>1</sup> The free churches believed in the supremacy of the citizen as citizen in the civic and political life of the nation. "The Citizen must rule and not the priest."<sup>2</sup> The true ideal of civic virtue has not been realized until just relations between Church and State have been achieved, said Clifford. Therefore the relations between the churches and the nation must obey the law of individual freedom in order to protect the sacred rights of the individual conscience and the liberty of man's soul.<sup>3</sup>

A third objection to the State Church was that it fostered injustice. The Establishment was founded on injustice.<sup>4</sup> It was unjust for the State to favor certain citizens over others solely on the ground of church opinion and associations.<sup>5</sup> In some areas one's vocational opportunities were dependent upon his being an Anglican. Justice, or religious equality, was what free churchmen wanted. W. Robinson wrote,

I have never yet met with an Episcopalian who could face the inquiry, "Do you admit my right to stand civilly on a perfect equality with yourself?" and that question comprises all we ask. Such a course may subject us to some years of injustice, discouragement and weakness. If so, we can wait patiently for the issue. . . . We ask for equality only.<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>John Clifford, "Clericalism and the State Church," Westbourne Park Record, XIV (December, 1906), p. 191.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 193.

<sup>3</sup>Clifford, Jesus Christ and State-Churches, pp. 3-7.

<sup>4</sup>"The Poor Man's Church and Social Slavery," Baptist, May 11, 1877, p. 296.

<sup>5</sup>Clifford, An Appeal to Young England, p. 2.

<sup>6</sup>W. Robinson, "On the Education Question," Freeman, (May 3, 1872), p. 209.

Clifford extended this idea when he said,

It is not a question of equality in society. We do not care for that. We would not lift a finger for it. . . . What we ask for is equality before the law--equality before the nation--a measure of intrinsic justice to all the citizens of the State. We have nearly attained equality before the law of franchise; we are approaching by slow but sure steps equality before the law of taxation; we hope some day to get equality before the laws of education; and we must have equality in the presence of the State laws about religion.<sup>1</sup>

They asked for this in the name of humanity, of Christ, of the churches, and of the Empire.<sup>2</sup>

#### The franchise

During the last three decades, the Baptist press repeatedly called for the extension of the franchise to agricultural laborers and to women. "The main breadth of the country is still governed by a class who maintain their power by repressing the voice of the people."<sup>3</sup> Even after the franchise was extended to agricultural laborers in 1885, their freedom was restricted. Numbers of them were dismissed because they voted counter to the opinions of their employers. "There is nothing meaner in the political world than Toryism in rural districts," said The Baptist.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Macfadyen, Sir Ebenezer Howard and the Town Planning Movement, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>"The Franchise," Baptist, May 25, 1877, p. 329.

<sup>4</sup>"The Labour Demonstration," January 22, 1886, p. 51.

Although some Baptists still protested the extension of the franchise to women, The Baptist and The Freeman sought to eliminate the double standard in voting. If women had the right to vote, they could also secure equality in the areas of ownership of property, divorce, and higher education.<sup>1</sup> "It is her right. We do not think she would abuse it."<sup>2</sup>

Clifford maintained that citizenship, regardless of property or sex, carried with it the right and the responsibility of voting.<sup>3</sup> The extension of the franchise would lift the masses, would open the way to greater opportunities for women, and would strengthen social and political institutions.<sup>4</sup>

Baptists generally rejected the idea that the State was "a father or a schoolmaster"<sup>5</sup> and thought of it as a "policeman," protecting the people--their liberty and their property. Even in the eighteen seventies, there was strong opposition to State education. Baptists had not developed the concept of the State as a power ordained of God. The State was secular. How could it teach the mind or train in personal character? No doubt, the persecution of Baptists as dissenters had blocked their consideration of the State as an instrument of God.

<sup>1</sup>"The Ballot and the Ladies," Freeman, May 12, 1871, p. 91.

<sup>2</sup>"Summary," Freeman, February 4, 1870, p. 91.

<sup>3</sup>"Dr. Clifford's New Year Address," Times (London), January 2, 1912, p. 4; Clifford, The Message of 1894 to Young Men, p. 6.

<sup>4</sup>Clifford, The New City of God, pp. 8-9.

<sup>5</sup>Alec R. Vidler, The Orb and the Cross (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1945), p. 73.



Some Baptists, however, saw beyond this clouded vision. Clifford and others believed that the State was moral--even that it was divine. There was a growing awareness among Baptists of the necessity for a state system of education, and they supported the Board school plan. However, they sternly opposed Anglican control of the Board schools and the appropriation of State funds for denominational schools. The Passive Resistance Movement was a dramatic demonstration of this opposition and of the will among Baptists and other Nonconformists to protect the quality of education and to assure justice to all citizens.

Baptists were opposed to the theory that the State should establish a specific religious denomination. Such action nourished an unjust social system. They rejected the idea that political unity demanded religious unity, believing that community would be accomplished through the separation of Church and State.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE CONCERN OF BAPTISTS FOR PROBLEMS OF SOCIAL BEHAVIOR AND INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT

#### Drunkenness

##### The problem

Baptists were extremely disturbed about the problem of drunkenness in England. The Freeman declared that the means to counteract it and to destroy it was their chief social problem.<sup>1</sup> "Not only is it [intemperance] the most fruitful of the causes of crime and pauperism and social wretchedness, but it diverts much industry and capital from channels in which they would be productive of unmixed good."<sup>2</sup> The Baptist Union considered that "the degraded condition" of the people was due largely to intemperance.<sup>3</sup>

Charles Williams saw the situation like this:

Drunkenness creates the pauperism which hangs like a millstone around the neck of our industry; prevents the wider spread of knowledge and a rapid growth of intelligence; corrupts public opinion, and makes our parliamentary and municipal elections a disgrace to the country; perpetuates the vices which

---

<sup>1</sup>"The Drink Traffic," Freeman, August 2, 1872, p. 369.

<sup>2</sup>"Notes and Comments," Freeman, September 1, 1871, p. 419.

<sup>3</sup>Baptist Handbook, 1871-72, p. 42.

exist among us, and is the cause of nine-tenths of the crime committed within this realm.<sup>1</sup>

Richard Glover stated that drunkenness was the "parent of crime and of disorder, of pauperism, of squalor and disease." There was nothing in home and foreign policy which compared with the importance of this problem.<sup>2</sup>

Clifford was concerned about the crippling effects of the problem.

It cripples the workman, wastes his work, and checks the progress of trade and commerce. It multiplies the miseries of slumdom, razes the home to its foundations, and blights our social life. It prevents political advancement, puts the workmen in pawn to the publican, and sends them trooping to their graves bowed down by traditions of folly and shame.<sup>3</sup>

#### Efforts toward reform

Numerous schemes were proposed for the elimination of this social problem, and great efforts were made to overcome its hold over the people. Some Baptists saw the responsibility of the Church to work for reform, while others were lethargic about attacking the problem. They were content to have evangelistic services! Glover told the Baptist Union that drunkenness had a claim on the Church of Christ, and that Christians must fight against it. "To the State a drunken life is an annoyance, to us it is a tragedy."<sup>4</sup> The Church could not look on this with apathy, said

---

<sup>1</sup>Charles Williams, "What the Churches Can Do to Prevent or Destroy the Sin of Drunkenness" (Circular Letter: Lancashire and Cheshire Association of Baptist Churches, June, 1871), p. 12.

<sup>2</sup>"The Work of the Church Today," Baptist Handbook, 1885, p. 84.

<sup>3</sup>Clifford, The Call of the New Century to Temperance Workers, pp. 5-6.

<sup>4</sup>"The Work of the Church Today," Baptist Handbook, p. 49.

Dawson Burns. She aided in amelioration; she must also confront the problem itself. She must stamp it out.<sup>1</sup>

Clifford saw this as a battle area of the Church, and he championed the cause from his college days to the very end of his life. Only the Church could kill it, he said. "At bottom all our problems are problems of the soul, and can only be solved by these divine forces that dwell deep, and move with conquering might, in the religious life of man."<sup>2</sup> Clifford urged men to recognize that there was a spiritual foundation to temperance reform. "God's grace is given us to be used . . . ; therefore, any trade, any movement, any custom, any habit of living or thinking which resists God in His most gracious manifestations, is to be fought against by us men to the uttermost."<sup>3</sup>

Churches had not done their duty, he said. Individuals were doing a great deal, and temperance organizations were active, but churches were not concentrating on the problem as they should. Its members must come out of the trade--must not be shareholders in brewing companies or dealers in liquor. Church papers must not accept liquor advertisement. The Church must take a positive stand against the traffic, must proclaim the evils of it, and must teach the people to condemn it. The Church had the major responsibility for temperance reform.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Dawson Burns, Christendom and the Drink Curse (London: Partridge and Co., 1875), pp. 115-116.

<sup>2</sup>John Clifford and Others, The Alcohol Question (London: Baptist Union Publication Department, 1917), pp. 6-7.

<sup>3</sup>John Clifford, The Spiritual Groundwork of the Temperance Reformation (London: National Temperance League Publication Depot, 1896), p. 7.

<sup>4</sup>John Clifford, Temperance Reform and the Ideal State (London: Macmillan Co., 1913), pp. 24-25.

How was the Church to proceed? Her first task was to secure the aid of legislation which would provide a favorable milieu wherein the Church could labor. Improved legislation was a main area in which Baptists worked for the reform of drunkenness. The reformers' task began with expelling the liquor business from lawful trade.<sup>1</sup>

Repeatedly, Baptists and the Baptist Union called for legislation on Sunday closing, for shortened hours of sale, for reform of the licensing laws, for a decrease in the number of public houses, for local option, for more authority to deal with habitual drunkards, and for prohibition. W. S. Caine, a member of Westbourne Park Baptist Chapel, and Keir Hardie appeared on the same platform on one occasion, advocating a local option law.<sup>2</sup> Clifford was elected president of the Paddington Local Option Union.<sup>3</sup>

Clifford recommended a Legislative Charter to aid the reform movement. It should prevent financially interested persons from holding membership on Watch Committees.<sup>4</sup> It should establish local control. The licensing authority should be transformed so that half of its members were chosen by the town or county council. The minimum age for purchasing liquor should be set at sixteen. The hours of sale on Sunday should be reduced, and authority should be given the licensing agency to restrict

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>2</sup>Religious Bits, April 8, 1893, p. 247.

<sup>3</sup>"Paddington Local Option Union," Westbourne Park Record, XII (May, 1904), 37.

<sup>4</sup>Watch Committees were proposed to resist the granting of new licenses.

them further. Pubs should be closed on election day. Admission by back doors to pubs should be abolished. The system of grocers' licenses should be destroyed.<sup>1</sup>

The State had a very definite responsibility for reform. Its function was to protect the feeble, to shield the tempted, and to build disciplined manhood. It must establish a plan for curing the alcoholic and for providing leisure for the working classes. Individuals and churches could do a great deal of good, but the State must take up where citizens had to stop.<sup>2</sup>

A second task of the Church was to foster a "living mass of conviction, belief and custom" out of which reform law could grow. The churches must take a serious view of their responsibilities to the rising generation and to the legislature.<sup>3</sup> They must inform the masses of the dangers of intemperance.

Many Baptist preachers discussed this problem from the pulpit. Clifford encouraged his young people in the fight.

Stand firm. Keep in step. Be bold, and again I say be bold. Fight with all your might. It is a fight for religion and humanity, for the oppressed, for God and for His glorious Gospel. Fight with a great and mighty hope. Fight with a victor's song in your hearts.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Clifford, The Call of the New Century to Temperance Workers, pp. 6-12.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 12-13.

<sup>3</sup>Clifford, Temperance Reform and the Ideal State, p. 24.

<sup>4</sup>John Clifford, The Emancipation of the Nation from the Tyranny of Drink (Manchester: United Kingdom Alliance, 1898), p. 11.

A resolution passed by the Baptist Union expressed its conviction that education, moral suasion, and the growing influence of Christian truth were remedies for intemperance.<sup>1</sup> The Baptist press repeatedly ran editorials and notes on the harm of drunkenness and the liquor traffic. The Freeman deplored the selfishness of those living on the traffic and condemned Charles Dickens for portraying that the happy and merry way was to be found in drinking.<sup>2</sup>

Many Baptists used the pen to educate the masses in the evils of drunkenness, Dawson Burns being the most prolific. Some of his titles were: (1) The Basis of the Temperance Reform, (2) Christendom and the Drink Curse, (3) Temperance History, two volumes, (4) Taxation and Drink Consumption, (5) Why Should Moderate Drinkers Become Total Abstainers, (6) Temperance Ballads for the Young, (7) The Temperance Bible Commentary (jointly with F. R. Lees), and (8) Pen Pictures of Temperance Notables. Burns was well-known for his temperance poems and songs.

Before an election, effort was made to bring printed materials to the voting populace which would inform them of the temperance issues involved. W. S. Caine, and Dawson Burns shared, along with William Hoyle, in writing Local Option just prior to a General Election which appealed for the first time to every householder in the United Kingdom. They sought to give guidance to the voters and to convince them that temperance was a subject which vitally affected the social and moral welfare of all

---

<sup>1</sup> Freeman, September 30, 1870, p. 170.

<sup>2</sup> "The Prevention of Drunkenness," August 18, 1871, pp. 393-94.

people. The book contained a great deal of information about local option resolutions in Parliament, about the licensing system, and about the costs to society of the liquor traffic.<sup>1</sup>

T. H. Evans wrote humorous dialogues on the temperance question. One of these was "The Bark Cure," dedicated to all who wished to avoid going to the dogs!

The Band of Hope was a further educational effort in which Baptists generally shared. It was usual for a Baptist church to have one of these Bands which taught children that liquor was harmful and that to drink it was evil. Stephen Shirley, a Baptist, founded the United Kingdom Band of Hope Union and was still its chairman in 1881. Another Baptist, J. H. Esterbrooke, was a leading figure in the London Band of Hope Movement.<sup>2</sup>

A third method that was used by many churches was to offer a substitute for the public house. Coffee houses; free libraries, concerts, and lectures; cheap evening classes; special classes for the unemployed; and other schemes were encouraged. Men's Clubs, Mother's Meetings, and Billiard Rooms attempted to provide recreation in order to counteract the influence of the public house. "Clifford's Inn" and numerous other mission movements were efforts of the churches in this direction.

The strongest united effort that Baptists made toward reform was through the Baptist Total Abstinence Association. Joseph Livesay, a

<sup>1</sup>W. S. Caine, William Hall and Dawson Burns, Local Option (London: Swan Sonnen schein, 1e Bas and Lowery, 1885).

<sup>2</sup>John Clifford, (ed.), The English Baptists, Who They Are, and What They Have Done (London: E. Marlborough and Co. 1881), p. 174.



Preston Baptist, originated the modern Teetotal Movement. Jabez Burns was the founder of the United Kingdom Alliance, and his son, Dawson Burns, was a forceful leader in the abstinence movement.<sup>1</sup>

However, all Baptists did not adhere to the principle of total abstinence. Some felt that it was the most effective method of reform while others felt that if it was not necessary as a means of control, a Christian should not be required to practice it. Arthur Mursell held to this latter position. He himself was not a teetotaler.<sup>2</sup> Likewise, William Brock and Thomas Nicholson had to be converted to teetotalism.<sup>3</sup> It is interesting that Thomas Cook, a Baptist layman and a well-known excursion manager, became a teetotaler in 1836 and remained an ardent reformer all of his life.<sup>4</sup> Clifford said, "Abstain always; totally. Be free of it; utterly and altogether free."<sup>5</sup>

In 1874 the Baptist Total Abstinence Association was founded.<sup>6</sup> The purpose of the Association was to bring the influence of the Baptist churches of Britain to bear directly on the problem of intemperance.

<sup>1</sup>Whitley, A History of the British Baptists, p. 363.

<sup>2</sup>Mursell, Sunday Addresses to Working People, pp. 9-12.

<sup>3</sup>Freeman, October 6, 1871, p. 487. Thomas Nicholson, Our Temperance Societies: Their Nature and Purpose (London: Hodder and Stroughton, 1878), pp. 4-5.

<sup>4</sup>"The Late Mr. Cook," Baptist Times and Freeman, July 22, 1892, p. 509.

<sup>5</sup>John Clifford, The Church's War with National Intemperance (London: Elliot Stock and Co., 1874), p. 11.

<sup>6</sup>John Clifford, "Baptists and the Baptist Total Abstinence Association," General Baptist Magazine, LXXXII (October, 1880), 421.

Its pledge was: "I hereby agree to abstain from all intoxicating drinks as a beverage, and to promote the practice of abstinence throughout the community."<sup>1</sup>

The Association had a healthy growth. In 1874 its membership was between two and three hundred.<sup>2</sup> In 1880 there was a membership of 1,879,<sup>3</sup> and by 1886, the majority of the Baptist ministers were members of the Association.<sup>4</sup> In 1900, The Baptist Times and Freeman said,

Our denomination possesses . . . a really 'live' Total Abstinence Association, which is leading the Free Church Temperance Organisations in a Twentieth Century Pledge Signing Crusade, in which all shall unite. Thus Baptists are again in the van of a great movement.<sup>5</sup>

The Association operated independently of the Baptist Union and of the General Baptist Association, but it was led by many men who were also leaders in those Baptist bodies. It functioned through the churches to organize local Associations. It was always ready to assist pastors and churches in temperance reform in their particular districts.

Clifford contributed a great deal to the temperance movement. He became a member of the United Kingdom Alliance in 1855,<sup>6</sup> and later served

<sup>1</sup>Clifford, The Church's War with National Intemperance, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>John Clifford, "Baptists and the Baptist Total Abstinence Association," General Baptist Magazine, p. 421.

<sup>4</sup>"Baptist Total Abstinence Association," Baptist, January 1, 1886, p. 3.

<sup>5</sup>"The Baptist Total Abstinence Association," May 11, 1900, p. 384.

<sup>6</sup>Clifford, The Emancipation of the Nation, p. 3.

as president of the Alliance.<sup>1</sup> In 1870 he began a Temperance Society at the Praed Street Chapel<sup>2</sup> and in 1873-74 served on the executive committee for forming the Baptist Total Abstinence Association.<sup>3</sup> Throughout his ministry he supported movements for the control of the liquor traffic and for reform of society which was enslaved to intemperance. Some of his outstanding temperance addresses included a speech at a Hyde Park demonstration in June of 1893; the annual temperance sermon of the Congregationalists in the City Temple in 1890; the annual sermon at the National Temperance League in 1895; and an address before the World's Temperance Congress in 1900.<sup>4</sup> He felt that he would be guilty of great sin if he did not serve with the reforming movement. It was a part of his duty of brotherly help—of his social responsibility.<sup>5</sup>

### Sexual Immorality

#### The problem

As in the case of drunkenness, Baptists were concerned with the problem of sexual immoralities, but they gave less attention to it than to drunkenness. The greater thought was given to intemperance, poverty, poor housing, and lack of interest in the Church, for these were considered to be the basic causes of the social immoralities of the period.

---

<sup>1</sup>Bateman, John Clifford, p. 176.

<sup>2</sup>Crane, John Clifford, p. 129.

<sup>3</sup>Freeman, January 16, 1874, p. 27.

<sup>4</sup>Crane, John Clifford, p. 129.

<sup>5</sup>Baptist, May 11, 1877, p. 294.

Also, probably ministers hesitated to speak or to write about this issue freely because of the social stigma attached to the discussion of it. Yet, in some cases there was a break through in the silence of propriety, and church members even organized to fight the evil.

Philip Williams in 1874 dealt with the matter in a paper which he read to the Clarendon and Manchester Baptist Association. He was particularly concerned about the widespread practice of concubinage, and he deplored the fact that a high percentage of young people become parents before they were married. This practice interrupted the good order of society. Parental self-respect was lost, and the children suffered.<sup>1</sup>

The other aspect of the problem was the illicit trade which was being practiced up and down the streets of the cities. The Baptist Union expressed its alarm at this social disorder and the inadequacy of the laws to prevent or to suppress the immorality.<sup>2</sup> The Baptist Union on at least three occasions discussed the Contagious Diseases Acts which Parliament had passed to deal with the problem. The Union was generally opposed to any State regulation of prostitution which would license it.<sup>3</sup>

#### Efforts toward reform

Williams suggested that the Church must realize the disgrace of the sin and take proper steps to guard against it. Parents must guard

---

<sup>1</sup>Philip Williams, Prevailing Evils, Their Cause and Cure (Kingston: Duncan, MacDougall and Co., 1874), p. 50.

<sup>2</sup>Baptist Handbook, 1895, p. 74.

<sup>3</sup>Baptist Handbook, 1871-72, p. 43.  
Baptist Handbook, 1898, pp. 127-28, 151.

both their daughters and their sons against the temptation to practice concubinage. Some went into that form of life because they inherited the tendency from their parents. Others entered it because they could not afford a wedding. Parents must remove the causes, and be firm with their children. Churches must be firm with their members who persist in the practice.<sup>1</sup>

E. Carrington wrote that the solution to social evils lay in the hand of the individual. Organization and schemes, acts of Parliament and declarations of corporations could do their part, but essentially it was a matter for the people to handle. They must be men. The citizen must be Christian. The Christian had an obligation to his neighbor to help him.<sup>2</sup>

A layman at Westbourne Park Chapel, J. Wallis Chapman, on the other hand, said, "It is as a Christian Church we have to act."<sup>3</sup> He saw the need for legal protection for women and children, for rescue work among the victims of the sex trade, and for preventive work to help young girls and to teach purity. He appealed to Westbourne Park Chapel, Praed Street Chapel, and Bosworth Hall to appoint a committee to see what was being done in the community by the YWCA and other agencies and then to determine how the Church could supplement it. The committee would also

---

<sup>1</sup>Williams, Prevailing Evils, p. 50.

<sup>2</sup>"Social Evils and Individual Responsibility," General Baptist Magazine, LXXXVI (June, 1894), 212-214.

<sup>3</sup>"The Duty of the Church in Regard to Social Purity," General Baptist Magazine, LXXXVII (October, 1885), 372.

be charged with establishing rules for a society which would combine the Purity Society, the Temperance Society, the Social League, and the Vigilance Committee of Westbourne Park.<sup>1</sup> No doubt this address of Chapman's before the congregation at Westbourne Park was a vital factor in the decision of the church to establish a Home for unemployed working girls.

F. B. Meyer made a significant contribution toward the reform of sexual immoralities. During his first pastorate at Christ Church in London, he attacked the problem of prostitution in the poor district of Lambeth. He was the president of the Central South London Council of Churches which sponsored a crusade against social evils. Nearly 400 houses of prostitution were closed as a result of the crusade. The Council of Churches also sponsored the formation of the Public Morals Council.<sup>2</sup>

The most dramatic effort of the period to correct the social immoralities was the purity crusade led by W. T. Stead, editor of the Pall Mall Gazette, during the middle eighties. Through the columns of his paper and in The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon, Stead exposed the legally permissible acts of crime which were being committed against women and children.

Churches hesitated to assist Stead in his crusade, but Clifford and his Methodist friend, Hugh Price Hughes, among others, supported him.<sup>3</sup> It was also significant that Charles H. Spurgeon encouraged Stead in his

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 371-72.

<sup>2</sup>Street, F. B. Meyer, His Life and Work, pp. 111-13.

<sup>3</sup>Dorothea Price Hughes, The Life of Hugh Price Hughes (London: Hodder and Stroughton, 1905), p. 179.

crusade.<sup>1</sup> Clifford accompanied Stead on some of his speaking tours through the country, pleading for the protection of the womanhood of England,<sup>2</sup> and he visited Stead when he was imprisoned three months on a charge of dealing in pornography.<sup>3</sup>

Clifford took this problem seriously. He felt that the suffering of Christ was related to the lostness of the degraded women and that the Church must express His concern for these women.<sup>4</sup> In addition to the Home for unemployed girls, his church founded a vigilance committee which was charged with locating areas of sexual crime so that action could be taken against it. Clifford opposed the Contagious Diseases Act. He was a member of the Council for the Promotion of Public Morality, of which the Bishop of London was the president.<sup>5</sup> His work with Stead in the Social Purity Crusade led to the passage of the Criminal Law Amendment Act.<sup>6</sup>

Crane states that there were four principles which Clifford worked for:

- (1) The necessity of equalising the position of men and women before the law;
- (2) The importance of improving industrial conditions, poverty and over-crowding being prolific causes of vice;
- (3) Insistence upon high moral character as an essential qualification for office, especially in our legislative councils; and
- (4) The cleansing power of work on behalf of others.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup>"Mr. Spurgeon and Mr. Stead," Pall Mall Gazette, December 29, 1885, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup>Crane, John Clifford, p. 128.

<sup>3</sup>Bateman, John Clifford, p. 178.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 179.

<sup>6</sup>Dorothea Hughes, The Life of Hugh Price Hughes, p. 179.

<sup>7</sup>Crane, John Clifford, p. 128.

## Gambling

Clifford's conscience flared again around the turn of the century because of the betting and gambling practices which he saw as a problem to society.

### The problem

Gambling caused men to waste their money, becoming the source of widespread impoverishment. It affected national production and lowered the English position in world trade. Gambling was a "pest" because of the damage that it did both to industry and to poor people. He condemned the bookmakers who thrived on the use of other people's money. He deplored the loss of character, the waywardness, and the destruction of friendships which were the results of gambling.<sup>1</sup>

### Efforts toward reform

In 1889 he founded the Anti-Betting and Anti-Gambling League which sought to prevent gambling in schools, businesses, and sports activities.<sup>2</sup> He sought the enactment of a law to prohibit the public press from printing racing results, feeling that the elimination of such printing would

---

<sup>1</sup>"Gambling: A Social Pest," Westbourne Park Record, XIV (November, 1906), 177-78.

<sup>2</sup>Crane, John Clifford, p. 130.



cripple the betting trade.<sup>1</sup> During the first year of the League, nearly 500 persons signed the pledge.<sup>2</sup>

In a sermon at Westbourne Park, Clifford asked the aid of his congregation in stamping out the problem. He made the following suggestions: (1) Recognize that gambling is essentially immoral. (2) Write to editors to get their help in condemning it. (3) Help to brighten the lives of the poor who live and work under conditions which cause them to search some excitement, "ready to put a bet on a horse." (4) Elevate and quicken public opinion against gambling.<sup>3</sup>

Toward the end of his life, he lifted his pen again to protest the government's issuing Premium Bonds. Such action, he said, would debase national ideas of thrift, economy, industry, honesty, self-restraint, and brotherhood. It would increase industrial unrest and decrease industrial output. It would penalize the poor to save taxation of the rich. The nation must resist the betting fever and protect its young.<sup>4</sup> At its Spring Assembly in 1923 the Baptist Union unanimously passed a resolution presented by Clifford, condemning a proposal that the government tax earnings on gambling. The tax would be harmful to the public as well as to the prosperity of the nation. Bookmakers should not have the status of a national institution.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>"The Doctor on the War Path," Westbourne Park Record, 3rd Series, I (July, 1894), 50.

<sup>2</sup>Crane, John Clifford, p. 130.

<sup>3</sup>"Gambling: A Social Pest," Westbourne Park Record, XIV (November, 1906), 180.

<sup>4</sup>Times (London), November 8, 1919, p. 8.

<sup>5</sup>"Baptists and a Tax on Bets," Times (London), April 24, 1923.

## International Conflict

While Great Britain was struggling with her social problems, nations beyond her shores were facing similar or equally serious problems of their own. Some of the undeveloped nations were suffering at the hand of the larger powers who were struggling for a superior financial or military position. In the light of this, Clifford said, "Interest in our immediate social problems must not blind us to the wider duties which belong to us as a people with obligations to the weak and imperilled all over the world, and with a religion whose cornerstone is the brotherhood of man."<sup>1</sup>

Colonial policy

The Freeman raised its voice against what it considered to be ill-treatment of the English colonies. It deplored the dying out of the native people in the colonies and condemned the exploitation of the more primitive races by the cruel, slavery tactics of the South Sea islanders in securing labor. Any experiments with tropical labor should have the strictest governmental supervision, and penalties should be given for unfairness and deception.<sup>2</sup>

The Baptist expressed a similar feeling about the manner in which the Government was treating the natives of South Africa and in other colonies. In most cases, it said, a colony was secured by force, and then force and greed continued. The Baptist was in favor of a Confederation

---

<sup>1</sup>"The Armenian Massacres," British Weekly, May 2, 1895, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup>"England and Aborigines," Freeman, April 21, 1871, p. 182.

in South Africa rather than a continuation of the "Rule Britannia" and Jingo spirit.<sup>1</sup>

The Baptist Union condemned the production and the sale of opium in the Indian Empire. It was a "terrible wrong to the millions of people who are under British rule in that vast land." The Union also disapproved of introducing the opium habit into British Burma.<sup>2</sup> Robert H. Roberts, President of the Baptist Union in 1892, said,

There are questions affecting inferior and subject races; moral and social problems connected with our rule in India, which clamour for immediate and courageous attention in the open light of day, and from the New Testament standpoint. There is the opium traffic. We forced that traffic by an unjust war on a reluctant people. We are maintaining it still by superior strength for the sake of our revenue in India. We nonconformists share the responsibility of the act. Let it not be possible to say, we acquiesce in the guilt of the crime.<sup>3</sup>

The Suffolk Baptists strongly opposed the imposition of the opium trade upon China in the interests of Indian revenue.<sup>4</sup> Also, the Baptists of Norfolk passed a resolution in 1884 against forcing China into the British Indian opium trade.<sup>5</sup> Likewise, F. B. Meyer, President of the

<sup>1</sup>"Our South African Policy. Mr. Chamberlain's Motion," Baptist, August 15, 1879, p. 99.

<sup>2</sup>Baptist Handbook, 1892, p. 47.

<sup>3</sup>Baptist Handbook, 1893, p. 75.

<sup>4</sup>A. J. Klaiber, The Story of the Suffolk Baptists (London: The Carey Kingsgate Press, 1932), p. 176.

<sup>5</sup>Jewson, The Baptists of Norfolk, p. 114.

Baptist Union in 1906, condemned Britain for allowing and fostering the opium business in China.<sup>1</sup>

All comment was not critical, however. The Baptist commended the British Government for eliminating the practice of suttee in India and called for further revision of the ancient and cruel marriage laws in that country.<sup>2</sup> Clifford was concerned that England should have a sense of the responsibility of imperialism. The Empire's duty was that of service to the weaker and backward races. Imperialism was based on, and must act only to promote, universal brotherhood.<sup>3</sup>

#### Slave trade and atrocities

Slavery had been abolished by the English in the 1830's, but in many other places around the world men were still being bought, sold, and traded. In the tradition of William Knibb, Howard Hinton, and Joseph Ivimey, English Baptists again raised their voices in protest. As they had condemned slavery in the United States earlier in the century, they now condemned it in other areas of the world.

The slave trading in East Africa was particularly heinous, carried on mostly among the Arabs who would sell their captives in Arabia, Turkey, Persia, and the Antipodes. The Freeman suggested that the British send a force to drive the Arab traders out. "Let justice be done to those who steal men, and then let the benefits of commerce and the blessings of Christianity

---

<sup>1</sup>Baptist Handbook, 1907, p. 231.

<sup>2</sup>Baptist, May 10, 1873, p. 9.

<sup>3</sup>Clifford, Brotherhood and the War in South Africa, p. 24.

be opened to long-oppressed and still down-trodden Africa."<sup>1</sup> The editors repeatedly commented on this problem, hoping to show the extent of the "abominable traffic" in order to prepare the people for united action against it when the matter came before Parliament.<sup>2</sup>

Twelve years later, The Freeman was still condemning the existence of slavery, especially in countries which were under the protection of the British flag.

So long as the British flag floats over a single slave we share the guilt if we are silent. We must arise and resolve we will allow no effort to be neglected till we, as an empire, are utterly clear from the accursed thing.<sup>3</sup>

The Baptist Union passed a strongly worded resolution against the slave trade in 1874.<sup>4</sup> Again in 1894 it recorded its "'abhorrence of the guilt and shame of slavery,'" and called upon the churches of the Union to support all lawful measures to secure the abolition of slavery in Africa. The resolution, introduced by G. H. James and seconded by T. Hodgkin, called for the appointment of a committee to take practical steps to promote the anti-slavery cause. The Baptist Union appointed a committee composed of J. G. Greenhough, J. Hulme, J. J. Brown, and A. Caulkin.<sup>5</sup> A further protest was made in 1897.<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>"Notes and Comments," Freeman, August 4, 1871, p. 371.

<sup>2</sup>"The Slave Trade," Freeman, November 8, 1872, p. 542.

<sup>3</sup>Freeman, October 19, 1894, p. 669.

<sup>4</sup>"We Baptists and the Anti-Slavery Cause," Freeman, October 5, 1894, p. 638.

<sup>5</sup>Baptist Handbook, 1895, p. 95.

<sup>6</sup>Baptist Handbook, 1898, p. 128.

Atrocities of other types against mankind also pricked the conscience of Baptists. In 1876 George Gould denounced the Turkish atrocities in Bulgaria and the Prime Minister's support of the Turks.<sup>1</sup> Through the report of the Committee on Public Questions, the General Baptist Association in 1877 publicly expressed appreciation to the Right Honorable W. E. Gladstone, M. P., for his exposure of the Turkish atrocities which probably prevented England from a policy of supporting the Ottoman Empire.<sup>2</sup>

Likewise, the Baptist Union condemned the Turks repeatedly for their atrocities against the Armenians and the Cretans.<sup>3</sup> Clifford, Richard Glover, T. H. Bennett, and F. E. Robinson were influential in bringing these resolutions before the Baptist Union. Clifford preached and spoke at public meetings on the Turkish atrocities in Armenia.<sup>4</sup> He was also concerned about the Stundists who were being persecuted in Russia--being driven to the freezing cold and the cruel mines of Siberia.<sup>5</sup>

In 1894 he supported a resolution brought before the Baptist Union by C. F. Aked which expressed "grief and horror" due to the wrongs done to Negroes in the southern part of the United States. It called on "all lovers of justice, of freedom and of brotherhood in the churches in the

<sup>1</sup>Jewson, The Baptists of Norfolk, p. 114.

<sup>2</sup>General Baptist Year Book, 1877, p. 31.

<sup>3</sup>Baptist Handbook, 1890, p. 74; 1896, p. 75; 1897, p. 83.

<sup>4</sup>"Armenia," Westbourne Park Record, 3rd Series, III (October, 1896), 67.

<sup>5</sup>John Clifford, The Free Churches of London: Their Faith and Their Future (London: James Clarke and Co., 1895), p. 15.

United States"" to demand a proper trial in court for every citizen of the country. The resolution was passed unanimously.<sup>1</sup>

In 1903 he brought a resolution before the Baptist Union protesting atrocities being committed in the Congo as a result of the administration of the Chartered Trading Companies. While passing this resolution, the Union also approved the effort of the Baptist Missionary Society to get the Belgium Government to intervene, and it also authorized the Council to appeal to the British Government to see that the provisions of the Berlin Act were kept which would prevent such atrocities.<sup>2</sup>

### War

The social conscience of Baptists was aroused by England's participation in war. There were times when war seemed to be the only reasonable procedure in the light of prevailing circumstances, but there was the constant awareness that it was unchristian and barbaric. The Freeman said, "War is anti-Christian and opposed to the spirit of Jesus."<sup>3</sup> J. G. Greenhough condemned war for its desolation, disease, and murder as well as for its effect on the morality of the nation.<sup>4</sup> Hugh S. Brown was opposed to the glorification of war heroes in school and pulpit in order to support war efforts.<sup>5</sup> Spurgeon wrote an open letter to Napoleon III and to William of

---

<sup>1</sup>Baptist Handbook, 1895, p. 75.

<sup>2</sup>Baptist Handbook, 1904, p. 127.

<sup>3</sup>"The Morality of War," Freeman, September 2, 1870, p. 682.

<sup>4</sup>"War and National Morals," Freeman, March 3, 1871, pp. 107-108.

<sup>5</sup>"The Peace Society," Freeman, May 20, 1870, pp. 396-97.

Prussia, accusing them of murder and awful guilt because of the war in which their nations were involved.<sup>1</sup>

The Norfolk and Norwich churches denounced the war with Zululand as an "outrage on humanity and righteousness."<sup>2</sup> The General Baptist Association encouraged its churches to oppose "the war spirit" at the time and to work for the implementation of the principles of peace.<sup>3</sup> The president, Solomon S. Allsop, commented,

It is sad indeed that as a nation we have been led--mised--without our knowledge and against our will into wars at once unjust, unnecessary, and unchristian. . . . Has not the time come, or ought it not by this time to have arrived, when wars among so-called Christian nations should be utterly impossible?<sup>4</sup>

John Clifford hated and opposed war.

It is anti-Christian, inhuman, wicked, devilish, a tool of savages and not of men. Never have I accepted the false doctrine, "My country--right or wrong." I reject it utterly and always.<sup>5</sup>

Christianity was opposed to war, for settling disputes by the sword was a denial of the truth of the Incarnation and of the belief that God has taken all men into fellowship with himself. War delayed the realization

<sup>1</sup>"John Ploughman's Letter on the War," Sword and the Trowel, (August, 1870), pp. 352-53.

<sup>2</sup>Jewson, The Baptists of Norfolk, p. 114.

<sup>3</sup>General Baptist Year Book, 1879, p. 34.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 82.

<sup>5</sup>John Clifford, The War and the Churches (London: James Clarke and Co., 1914), pp. 10-11.



of the brotherhood of men. "The final aim of Christianity is in fixed antagonism to the war spirit and the war system in all its forms."<sup>1</sup>

Clifford discounted the argument that war was justified because leadership and courage were developed in it. So were they in slave trading! He discounted the argument that progress was made through war, because the evil consequences of it outruled the good ones. He also discredited the inevitability of war. As courts of justice had become a means of reformation rather than of war, so a Court of International Justice could eliminate the need for war.<sup>2</sup>

Meanwhile, we must not say the unavoidable is of necessity right and Christian, and proceed to glorify war as though it were of God, and invoke His leadership in our battles for territory, for new markets, for racial superiority, or even for the opportunity of conferring on subject peoples what we are pleased to think the blessings of our superior rule.<sup>3</sup>

To Clifford, the goal and end of Christianity was a completely regenerated social order. The great business of the Church was to get rid of those things which divided man from man, that separated them into castes and classes and nations. God bestowed culture and learning that it might unite people into brotherhood. Property and wealth were to bring men together.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>John Clifford, "Does Christianity Forbid War?" British Weekly, January 10, 1890, p. 166.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>"Dr. Clifford on the Social Order," Times (London), December 27, 1909, p. 8.

Along with this condemnation of war on every hand, there were many calls for the nation to establish the policy of arbitration rather than of war as a means to settle international disputes. T. W. Handford in a Circular Letter in 1872 called on Christians to strive for pacific settlement of all national difficulties. "No man in his senses will deny that arbitration is on every hand better than war."<sup>1</sup> In accepting Handford's Letter, the Lancashire and Cheshire Association of Baptist Churches recorded its "fervent hope that an appeal to the wisdom and righteousness of arbitration may speedily and permanently be substituted for the appeal to the physical force of armies and navies, in international disputes."<sup>2</sup>

The Freeman held that war may have its uses, but matters were only temporarily settled by it. A substitute must be found, and arbitration was it. With civilization came law and courts. "Fighting for the settlement of doubtful claims is a practice natural to brutes."<sup>3</sup>

The Baptist Union repeatedly expressed its concern that the nation was increasing its armaments, and in 1894 the Union authorized its president to address a petition to the "several governments of the Christian nations of the world in favour of peaceful arbitration as a means of settling questions that arise between nations."<sup>4</sup> In 1905 the president

<sup>1</sup>T. W. Handford, "Concerning the Peace Question" (Circular Letter to the Lancashire and Cheshire Association of Baptist Churches, June, 1872), p. 21.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 23-24.

<sup>3</sup>"Arbitration Instead of War," Freeman, July 18, 1884, p. 486.

<sup>4</sup>Baptist Handbook, 1895, p. 74.

of the Union spoke against conscription and war. "Let us not only pray for peace and ask for arbitration as the best way of settling the disputes of nations; but let us use all means in our power to disband and disperse the standing armies of the world."<sup>1</sup>

In spite of all the efforts for peace, during the later nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, England fought several wars. On two occasions, she was involved in major wars, the Boer War and the first World War. What was the reaction of Baptists to the involvement of their country in these conflicts? James Stuart, of The Baptist Magazine, concluded that although the English had a "sincere and deep-seated hatred of war," the majority of them felt that England was right in the South African War. The war was for the purpose of securing equal rights for both the English and the Dutch, and only a British victory could assure a satisfying peace.<sup>2</sup>

Clifford saw the development among his countrymen of the idea that they were fighting for the emancipation of the natives from the Boers rather than for greater financial and political conquests. This was the answer to the British need for harmonizing war with the highest ideals. Clifford rejected this idea interpreting it as an effort "to displace passion by conscience, prejudice by philanthropy, and a wild frenzy by a reasoned self-defense."<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>William Willis, "Kingdom of Christ on Earth," Baptist Handbook, 1906, p. 234.

<sup>2</sup>Baptist Magazine, XCII (March, 1900), 134-35.

<sup>3</sup>Clifford, Brotherhood and the War in South Africa, p. 1.

We must be willing to take time to get at the facts; to look at them squarely, sift them thoroughly, riddle out of them the mischievous rumours, deceptive misrepresentations, and gilded lies, and see for ourselves what the truth really is. Measures involving the lives of thousands, and the well-being of generations, ought not to be based on a mistake. Men of "wild and whirling words," who substitute denunciation for diplomacy, and trickery for statesmanship, ought to be barred out of the direction of the affairs of the Empire.<sup>1</sup>

From the beginning to the end, Clifford was opposed to the Boer War. He would not accept the idea that the conflict was necessary to handle the South African problems. England had led the Boers into a mistake through her Colonial Secretary and then had taken advantage of the situation. She should seek to make amends.<sup>2</sup>

The depths of his conscience were stirred.

"This has been the saddest year of my life. . . . Oh, that England should have fallen so low! I can scarcely believe it. The worst aspect of this matter is the revelation it makes of the conditions of the country. When a nation blunders, as ours has done the last five years, it is evident there is a deterioration of moral fibre, a depraving of the conscience, a blinding of the judgment, that must lead to further doom. The cry of help for "the native" is felt to be as hypocritical and hollow as any that has ever led to mischief. John Bull will annex--i.e., he will steal again--and the churches will bless his theft. He will begin to talk about justly administering what he has unjustly taken."<sup>3</sup>

His position on the Boer War led to his election as chairman of a public committee to stop the war and to establish peace at the first opportunity. He was in favor of an immediate surrender of arms and of all

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 19.

<sup>3</sup>Byrt, John Clifford, pp. 138-39.

military organization. South Africa should be organized along the lines of Australia and Canada into the Federation of the States of South Africa. Self-government should be extended to each State, but without any diplomatic relations with foreign States, except through the Federation. Any military establishment should be under the control of the Parliament of the Federation. Equal rights should be guaranteed to all of the white race with the franchise being settled by the Federation. The natives should be protected, and their rights as laborers should be secured. Clifford wrote these ideas into a peace memorial and solicited signatures to it. Among those who signed it were: 1,100 Congregationalists, 1,000 Baptists, 950 Presbyterians, 800 Primitive Methodists, 500 Wesleyan Methodists.<sup>1</sup>

His point of view was exceedingly unpopular, however, and many of his former supporters parted company with him because of it. Many members left his church, causing financial loss and embarrassment, but he could not be untrue to his convictions. "Very rarely has a man of such tenderness repelled so many as John Clifford repelled by his prophetic passion for righteousness."<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to note that he stood along side the socialists in the Independent Labor Party and the Social Democratic Federation in opposition to the war.<sup>3</sup> The Christian Social Brotherhood agreed with him and promoted his plans for an immediate peace.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Bateman, John Clifford, pp. 195-96.

<sup>2</sup>"Dr. Rushbrooke's Tribute to Doctor John Clifford," Baptist (Chicago) January 5, 1924, p. 1549.

<sup>3</sup>G. H. D. Cole, British Working Class Politics 1832-1914 (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1941), p. 158.

<sup>4</sup>Bateman, John Clifford, p. 195.

His position on the World War of 1914-18 was quite different. One month after the war started, he said,

"Were I a young man, I feel I should have to go. I never thought I should live to say anything like that, but there do come times when life must be sacrificed, if needful, for that which is better than life!"<sup>1</sup>

This illustrated his point of view well, for he was opposed to war in principle, and he had sought peace before the war began, yet he supported the ideals for which the war was being fought. When the war began, he was in Constance attending an international peace conference as a member of the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches. When all hope for neutrality was gone, Clifford saw that "the triumph of spiritual ideas over brutal ones, of moral ideas over immoral ones, of the principles of righteousness and justice over brute force and mere might" were at stake. He saw no alternative but to support Britain in her efforts to save the world for democracy and freedom.<sup>2</sup>

He explained his support of World War I, while having protested the Boer War, as being loyal to liberty, to the integrity of States, to justice, to public law, and to righteousness which exalted a nation. He had thought that England's course in Europe should be complete neutrality. At the peace conference in Constance he had written a letter for the press, pleading for neutrality, but when he returned to England on the day that war was declared and saw "what premeditation and action" that Germany

---

<sup>1</sup>Cowell, John Clifford as I Knew Him, p. 16.

<sup>2</sup>Baptist Times and Freeman, August 21, 1914, p. 656.

had engaged in and how it had developed, he kept his letter in hand.<sup>1</sup> England had been forced to take the step that she had taken. She had not sought war, but had worked for peace. Her place in the war was not of choice, but she was driven to defend "the most precious ideas and principles and possessions, not merely of British and European, but of human well-being."<sup>2</sup>

This was the will of God, and the noblest ideals of the human race supported it.

The idea that the end of the State is to make soldiers, and not happy and useful citizens must be destroyed. The democratic conception of the State must displace the notion that State and Army are co-terminous. The notion of war that blends primitive savagery, scientific resourcefulness, the obligation of the State to make incessant aggressions on weak communities; and treats war as a supreme test of a nation's right to exist, must be banished forever. Small States must be respected, their rights maintained, and their wrongs redressed.<sup>3</sup>

In spite of this evaluation, England was not free of the guilt of war. She could not free herself of helping to create the conditions which had led to the war. She had entered the comity of Europe and had maintained the doctrine of the maintenance of the "Balance of Power" by the sword.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>John Clifford, The War and the Churches, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup>John Clifford, "The European War as a Conflict of Ideas," Review and Expositor, XII (January, 1913) 18-19.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 11-12.

The question as to what the churches should do about war was asked, of course. Some Baptists would not commit the Church to definite action on such points of national morality as war, intemperance, and slavery. Their duty was to live so that such immoralities would disappear.<sup>1</sup> The general point of view among Baptists, however, was that the Church should oppose war whenever it threatened the peace of the land. Charles Williams said in 1871 that preachers should be faithful and outspoken relative to the wickedness of war. Silence in the pulpit was a cause for the nation's failure to stem the tide of public opinion and thus to check the "false thirst for military glory."<sup>2</sup> The next year, T. W. Handford said that the Church had a definite responsibility toward the elimination of war. She must declare that it was wicked. She must strive for peaceful settlement of national problems. She must make war a political issue and include arbitration in her election demands. She must use her influence for peace in every way that she could.<sup>3</sup> "The work before us in this direction is no child's play, no easy work of leisure hours."<sup>4</sup>

Clifford sought to show that the Church had a great responsibility not only for eliminating war as a means of settlement of international

<sup>1</sup>"The Peace Society," Freeman, May 31, 1872, p. 261.

<sup>2</sup>Charles Williams, "What Our Churches Can Do to Prevent or to Destroy the Sin of Drunkenness" (Circular Letter to Lancashire and Cheshire Association of Baptist Churches, 1871), p. 7.

<sup>3</sup>T. W. Handford, "Concerning the Peace Question," pp. 21-22.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 22.



problems, but also for supporting the war effort if the nation was involved in a just war. In the first place, churches must seek to understand the causes of a particular war.<sup>1</sup> He refused to join those who criticized the Church for failures in the crisis of the Boer War, for the churches like the nation as a whole could not accept the fact that war was imminent, and they were inadvertently caught in its snare. His own church had done all that it could to bring arbitration. The Baptist Union and other federations of Christians had spoken out clearly against the war. However, the Church was to blame for the conviction that the British were fighting for liberty for the slaves, for rights of the outlanders, for better conditions for the natives, and for the spread of Anglo-Saxon civilization throughout the world. These were not the causes and motives of the war.<sup>2</sup>

Secondly, the Church must define its role during a war "when the world seems to have lost its way, when the social order is breaking up, and the civilisation of centuries is blasted with death."<sup>3</sup> The Church must not give way to panic, alarm, and dread. It must lead the nation in the forgiveness of its enemies. It must minister to those who were suffering. It must hold to the doctrine of human solidarity. It must pray for those in need.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Clifford, The War and the Churches, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup>Clifford, Brotherhood and the War, pp. 21-23.

<sup>3</sup>Clifford, The War and the Churches, p. 5.

<sup>4</sup>Baptist Times and Freeman, August 21, 1914, p. 656.

Thirdly, the Church must demand a just peace so that humanity would not have to endure wars repeatedly.<sup>1</sup> Clifford was deeply concerned about the settlement of war. We have seen the peace plan he proposed during the Boer War. During World War I also he planned for the character of the peace to come. Men's thoughts and feelings must not be poisoned. Resentment must not develop. Hate and injustice must be avoided.

We entered the war with a clear conscience and clean hands, and we must come out of it without stains on either hands or conscience. No thought of national aggrandisement, or of new markets, or of imperial advantage led us to the field of battle, nor may we allow any such motive to possess us when we enter the Council Chamber for the re-making of the map of Europe.<sup>2</sup>

He looked for more than peace--for freedom from war, from brutal strength, from secret treaties and alliances, from the perils of "the Balance of Power."

The rule of Krupp and Armstrong must be ended. . . . The vocation of the soldier is out of date. It does not belong to an age of reason and brotherhood and good will, but to the period of the primeval savage. . . . We need disarmament. There is no going forward without it. An armed peace is a delusive peace. It creates fear. It loads with taxes.<sup>3</sup>

Freedom must be restored to the countries subdued by Germany, and national boundaries must be respected.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Clifford, The War and the Churches, pp. 5-6.

<sup>2</sup>John Clifford, "The War and Public Opinion," Contemporary Review (November, 1914), p. 623.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 624.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 626 .

The churches must see that the peoples of Europe were reorganized on a sure basis of peace. The ideals of Christ must be realized in the new map of Europe. The continent must be federated by international agreement, with international laws, a court, and a police force. This structure should be strong enough to force a nation by blockade or boycott. The churches must teach the idea of a community of nations. All peoples must have the freedom to decide their own fate.<sup>1</sup>

Clifford was a strong advocate of a league of nations. Such a federation of nations was the only way to eliminate war. Commerce would not do it. Abolishing governments was a policy of despair. Disarmament would not end war. An arbitration court could solve only those problems before it. A league of nations, administered by world law, based on the consent of the governed and supported by the will of mankind must be established.<sup>2</sup>

The league of nations that Clifford envisaged included four parts: (1) a World Congress composed of representatives chosen from the nations, each nation remaining independent except in matters given up to enter the Congress; (2) a Supreme Council which would sit continuously; (3) a High Court of Justice to be appointed by the Supreme Council; (4) a Court of Conciliation and Advice which would decide questions of honor, set boundaries and settle problems of expansion between states, serve as

---

<sup>1</sup>Clifford, The War and the Churches, pp. 18-20.

<sup>2</sup>John Clifford, The League of Free Nations: Facing the Facts (London: The League of Nations Union, 1918), p. 2.

trustees for undeveloped nations, prevent exploitation, and guard native rights to land.<sup>1</sup> He stressed that it was urgent to establish this type of Congress even before the war was over so that it could contribute to the peace.<sup>2</sup>

Clifford saw the new day that was dawning. Nationalism and patriotism must give way to internationalism and the world community. "World-helping cooperation, and not . . . life-destroying competition," demanded the attention of men. The churches must think of their social and international problems on the scale of a world order.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 4-5.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 7-8.

<sup>3</sup>"The Free Churches of England," Baptist (Chicago), January 31, 1920, p. 11.

## CONCLUSION

Among the Baptists of the later nineteenth century, there was a sensitiveness to the weaknesses within the social order. There was a compulsion to reproach men for their inhuman treatment of other men. Voices were raised to express these convictions. To a great extent, this social conscience was expressed at the personal level of alleviating hardship and suffering among individuals and groups of individuals rather than on the broader plane of social reform. Baptists focused their efforts largely on work which could be supervised by a local congregation and which would extend spiritual and moral help as well as physical and social assistance to those in need. Consequently, often only symptoms of social problems, rather than their causes, were treated.

There was no unanimity of opinion among Baptists concerning the causes and solutions of social problems. There was a general conviction that poverty, drunkenness, and unemployment were caused by perversity and sin, but this was not a unanimous opinion. Clifford, Carlile, and others held that such issues were the results of the social and economic system rather than the causes of social and economic problems. Consequently, in addition to personal ministries among the poor and suffering, some Baptists, constituting a rather vociferous minority, became involved in the struggle for social change.

Baptists knew that there was a social problem, but they did not, either by tradition or experience, know how to deal with it. As dissenters

they mistrusted government intrusion into areas of conscience or of personal welfare, and until the seventies, they were barred from the Universities and from civil service. They passed resolutions relative to social issues in their associational and general denominational meetings; they wrote editorials, letters, and sermons, protesting social evils as they saw them; and they sent delegations to representatives of the government to carry their protestations, but they did not generally support any movements for basic changes in the social order. Their general approach to the solution of social problems was twofold: (1) Lift the spiritual and moral level of man so that each man personally could affect society for good; and (2) Bring pressure to bear on Parliament for legislation which would assure justice to all citizens.

As a rule, social conscience among Baptists was founded on altruism rather than on a clearly defined social philosophy. They accepted no ideology which would have bound them together in a movement for social change. Generally, the social work which they did was band-aid therapy. It was spasmodic and erratic, often being applied without properly dressing the wound, thus allowing the infection to increase.

Theological viewpoints among Baptists were relevant more to personal salvation than to the redemption of the environment. Biblical interpretation was directed toward an individual's condition rather than toward the condition of society. Public worship was personal devotion, and, as a rule, the pulpit failed to communicate to the masses. There seemed to be no relevant Word of God for their current experiences, and the conventional ecclesiastical language was inadequate to express the meaning of the Christian gospel to them.

Nor was the concept of the mission of the Church socially oriented. Evangelism was not sufficiently involved in social issues. It was not concerned with the total man. Baptists failed to recognize that the current social conditioning of persons prevented them, to a great extent, from receiving the help which personal evangelism offered. The tendency was to restrict the ministry of the Church to so-called spiritual affairs to the end that the denomination played a minor role, directly, in the work of politics, economic, and international affairs.

Baptists had a low concept of the Church. They never sought to be more than a "gathered church," and they opposed the recognition of a particular church by the State. The authority of Christ, and not of the church, should be heeded by the State. Political and national unity were dependent upon separation of Church and State rather than upon a recognition of a particular church.

Nor did the Baptists develop a positive concept of the State upon which they could establish a Christian sociology or a Christian view of society. Only a few of them accepted W. E. Gladstone's high concept of the State as a "moral personality."<sup>1</sup> To them the State was secular, a society of persons bound together for the purpose of protection against a common enemy and for the regulation of conditions through which the physical needs of the society could be met. The State was not obliged to concern itself with the moral and spiritual welfare of the people. Nor

---

<sup>1</sup>For a statement of Gladstone's theory see W. E. Gladstone, The State in Its Relations with the Church, (Vol. I, 4th ed. rev; London: John Murray, 1841), pp. 108-112.

was it concerned with ultimate truth of ethical and theological doctrines. Consequently, there was a great deal of opposition among Baptists to the State's participation in matters which were in the realm of conscience, such as education and religion. Also, Christian leaders were often misunderstood and criticized when they participated in political or social affairs.

However, among a minority of Baptists, there was a distinct awareness of the responsibility of Christians and of the Church to affect social change. The intensity of the social conscience among them was seen by their work. Samuel Plimsoil, George White, and T. W. Bushill stalwartly struggled in their particular fields for the reform of social conditions. F. B. Meyer and John C. Carlile, although they concentrated on other interests in the twentieth century, were deeply concerned with social conditions in the later nineteenth century, meriting a prominent place among those who sought social reform. The editors of The Freeman and other Baptist periodicals continually sought to arouse the social conscience among their readers.

The leader for social reform among Baptists, and even among Nonconformists, however, was John Clifford. Clifford's radicalism stood out prominently beside the more placid attitude of the majority of his contemporaries. His legal knowledge, his compassion for men and society, his insight into the problems of society, his willingness to accept change, and his indomitable courage made him a diligent and consistent reformer. He was able to rise above the individualism and independency of his day. He was not consumed by a narrow sectarian view that would



have imprisoned him in the walls of Nonconformity. He possessed a Christian view of society and an understanding of sociology which enabled him to speak systematically and forthrightly concerning the need for a rebirth of society. Although he was a "low churchman," he saw the Church as more than an "ambulance" rushing out to meet emergencies, and he knew that personal evangelism which did not mold a social conscience would be inhibited in its efforts to save men. He was a radical and a crusader, and he was able to lead men in movements for justice and righteousness. He never forgot what his mother said to him when he left home for college: "'John, find out the teaching of Jesus, make yourself sure of that, then stick to it no matter what may come.'"<sup>1</sup>

The significance of the social conscience of Baptists lay in its support of the slow-moving process of social change. Progress in social reform was not the work of any one denomination, union, or society, but there were several forces which brought about a new social consciousness in industry, in Parliament, and in the Church. These forces included socialist societies, labor unions, the Independent Labor Party, churches, and various individuals. As a denomination, Baptist leadership for social reform was limited.

Her general contribution, however, was significant. In the first place, Baptists helped to educate the national conscience so that men could interpret their responsibilities of citizenship; so that capital and management could begin to understand their responsibilities to the working

---

<sup>1</sup>Marchant, John Clifford, p. 21.

men; and so that the government could understand its responsibility to all citizens. Through the press, from the pulpit and the platform, through the work of volunteer agencies, and through argument in Parliament, Baptists participated in the process of educating the national conscience.

Congregational government in Baptist chapels contributed to a sense of civic and social responsibility among the working and middle classes. The self-confidence and leadership ability which were developed in the congregations were appropriated later for leadership in civil service and political office. Ernest Bevin, for example, although he could not be satisfied in the conservative, complacent, personally-oriented worship and work of the Baptist fellowship which he knew in Bristol, found his discussions with Moffat Logan and the associations with Baptist congregations to be stepping stones toward significant leadership in the labor movement.

A third contribution made by the Baptists was assistance in the development of a community consciousness. In spite of the strong Nonconformist Conscience among Baptists, the concern that many of their leaders showed for social problems of the whole community promoted the transition from a competitive, independent spirit to a growing, cooperative community consciousness. The defence of state-supported and state-controlled education was not only for the purpose of raising the efficiency of education, but for increasing the solidarity of the community. The identification and support which Clifford, Carlile, and others gave to the Trade Union movement deepened the community's awareness of the existent injustices to working men.

Lastly, Baptists contributed to the work of social reform through their belief in the sacredness of work and in the dignity of man. Clifford and Meyer, particularly, spoke about the unity of life and the sacredness of labor. The dignity of man, fundamental to social reform, was a basic principle among Baptists. The orphanage, the school, the mission, the temperance crusade, and the work for reform in labor, land, and housing were founded on the belief in the intrinsic dignity of man.

That Baptists of the later nineteenth century were primarily concerned with the "souls" of men and that a great deal of their energy was spent in the defense of Nonconformity cannot be denied; however, it is evident that Baptists also struggled with the social problems of their day. At many points their leaders showed creative courage and took the initiative for the improvement of the social order. John Clifford was an outstanding prophet of social reform, unsurpassed in England during his day for his sensitivity to the social problems of his day and to the responsibility of the Christian Church for solving them.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### General References

- Binyon, Gilbert C. The Christian Socialist Movement in England. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1931.
- Booth, Charles (ed.). Labour and Life of the People of London. Vol. II. London: Williams and Norgate, 1891.
- British Broadcasting Corporation. Ideas and Beliefs of the Victorians; an Historic Revaluation of the Victorian Age. London: Sylvan Press, Ltd., 1949.
- The Christian Social Service Union. Further Results Achieved for Unemployables and Epileptics. London: The Christian Social Service Union, 1908.
- Cocks, H. F. L. The Nonconformist Conscience. London: Independent Press, Ltd., n.d.
- Cole, G. D. H. British Working Class Politics, 1832-1914. London: George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., 1941.
- \_\_\_\_\_. A History of the Labour Party from 1914. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1948.
- Dale, A. W. W. The Life of R. W. Dale of Birmingham. London: Hodder and Stroughton, 1902.
- Elliott-Binns, Leonard Elliott. The Development of English Theology in the Nineteenth Century. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1952.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Religion in the Victorian Era. London: The Lutterworth Press, 1936.
- Evans, Trevor. Bevin. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1946.
- Fay, Charles Ryle. Life and Labour in the Nineteenth Century. Cambridge: The University Press, 1920.
- Forsythe, Peter Taylor. Theology in Church and State. London: Hodder and Stroughton, 1915.

- Fremantle, Anne. This Little Band of Prophets: The British Fabians. New York: The New American Library, 1960.
- Gladstone, W. E. The State in Its Relations with the Church. 2 vols. 4th ed. revised. London: John Murray, 1841.
- Grant, John W. Free Churchmanship in England, 1870-1940. London: Independent Press, Ltd., 1955.
- Halevy, Elie. A History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century. Vol. IV: Victorian Years, 1841-1895. Translated from the French by Watkin, E. I. New York: Peter Smith, 1951.
- Horne, C. Silvester. The Ministry of the Modern Church. Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1907.
- x Horton, Davies. The English Free Churches. London: Oxford University Press, 1952.
- Howell, George. Labour Legislation, Labour Movements and Labour Leaders. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1902.
- Hughes, Dorothea Price. The Life of Hugh Price Hughes. London: Hodder and Stroughton, 1905.
- Hughes, Hugh Price. Social Christianity: Sermons. London: Hodder and Stroughton, 1890. (Sermons preached in St. James' Hall, London.)
- Jordan, E. K. H. Free Church Unity: History of the Free Church Council Movement, 1896-1941. London: Lutterworth Press, 1956.
- Kent, William. John Burns: Labour's Lost Leader. London: Williams and Norgate, 1950.
- Macfadyen, Dougald. Sir Ebenezer Howard and the Town Planning Movement. Manchester: University Press, 1933.
- The New Fellowship. The New Fellowship. London: New Fellowship Press, n.d.
- Nicoll, Robertson (ed.). C. H. Spurgeon, an All-Round Minister. London: Passmore and Alabaster, 1900.
- Ogilvy, A. J. Land Nationalisation. London: Land Nationalisation Society, 1892.
- Paton, J. Lewis. John Brown Paton. London: Hodder and Stroughton, 1914.
- Pease, Edward R. The History of the Fabian Society. London: The Fabian Society and George Allen and Unwin, 1925.

- Price, Seymour. From Queen to Queen: The Centenary Story of the Temperance Permanent Building Society, 1854-1954. London: Franey and Co., 1954.
- Raven, Charles B. Christian Socialism, 1848-1854. London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1920.
- Reckitt, Maurice B. and Hudson, Cyril E. The Church and the World. Vol. III. London: G. Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1938.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Faith and Society. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1932.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Maurice to Temple. London: Faber & Faber, 1947.
- Smith, H. L. and Nash, Vaughan. The Story of the Dockers' Strike, Told by Two East Londoners. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1899.
- Tawney, Richard H. Religion and the Rise of Capitalism. London: J. Murray, 1926.
- Trevelyan, George M. English Social History; a Survey of Six Centuries, Chaucer to Queen Victoria. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1942.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The History of England. London: Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd., 1926.
- Vidler, Alexander R. The Orb and the Cross. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1945.
- Troeltsch, Ernst. The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches. 2 Vols. New York: The MacMillan Co., 1931.
- Waugh, Benjamin. Some Conditions of Child Life in England. London: Alexander and Shephard, n.d. (Paper read before the Baptist Union, 1889).
- Webb, Sidney and Beatrice. History of Trade Unionism, (Revised edition extended to 1920.) London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1920.
- Wickham, E. R. Church and People in an Industrial City. London: Lutterworth Press, 1957.
- Williams, Francis. Ernest Bevin. London: Hutchinson, 1952.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Fifty Years March: the Rise of the Labour Party. London: Odhams Press, Ltd., 1949.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Magnificent Journey: The Rise of the Trade Unions. London: Odhams Press, Ltd., 1954.

Young, D. F. and Ashton, E. T. British Social Work in the Nineteenth Century. Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1956.

Young, Edward. Labor in Europe and America. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1875.

Baptist Biographies, Histories, Lectures, and Sermons

Books

The Baptists of Yorkshire: Being the Centenary Memorial Volume of Yorkshire Baptist Association. London: Kingsgate Press, 1912.

Bateman, Charles T. John Clifford: Free Church Leader and Preacher. London: National Council of the Evangelical Free Churches, 1904.

Birch, William, Jr. Practical Christianity Illustrated. Manchester: A. Ireland and Co., 1873.

Birrell, C. M. The Life of William Brock. London: James Nisbet and Co., 1878.

Brown, H. S. Hugh Stowell Brown. ed. W. S. Caine. London: George Routledge and Sons, 1887.

\_\_\_\_\_. Lectures to the Men of Liverpool. Liverpool: Thompson, 1860.

Brown, J. T. The Jubilee of the Rev. J. T. Brown--October 29-30, 1893. Northampton: Taylor and Son, 1894.

Burns, Dawson. Christendom and the Drink Curse. London: Partridge and Co., 1875.

Burns, George. Sermons on Daily Life and Duty. London: C. Kegan Paul and Co., 1878.

Bushill, T. W. Profit-Sharing and the Labour Question. London: Methuen and Co., 1893.

Byrt, G. W. John Clifford, a Fighting Free Churchman. London: Kingsgate Press, 1947.

Caine, W. S., Hall, William, and Burns, Dawson. Local Option. London: Swan Sonnenschein, Le Bas and Lowery, 1885.

Carlile, John C. Alexander Maclaren, D.D., The Man and His Message. London: S. W. Partridge and Co., 1901.

- \_\_\_\_\_ . C. H. Spurgeon: An Interpretive Biography. London: Religious Tract Society and Kingsgate Press, 1933.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . A Colony of Heaven. London: Hodder and Stroughton, Ltd., n.d.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . My Life's Little Day. London: Blackie and Son, Ltd., 1935.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . The Story of the English Baptists. London: James Clarke and Co., 1905.
- Carson, James C. L. Capitol Punishment Is Legalized Murder. London: Houlston and Sons, 1877.
- Clement, A. S. (ed.) Baptists Who Made History. London: The Carey Kingsgate Press Ltd., 1955.
- Clifford, John. Christian Certainties, Discourses and Addresses in Exposition and Defense of the Christian Faith. London: Isbister and Co., 1893.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Daily Strength for Daily Living: Twenty Sermons on Old Testament Themes. London: E. Marlborough and Co., 1885.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (ed.). The English Baptists, Who They Are, and What They Have Done. London: E. Marlborough and Co., 1881.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . God's Greater Britain: Letters and Addresses Describing a Tour Round the World in 1897. London: J. Clarke and Co., 1899.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . The Gospel of Gladness, and Its Meaning for Us. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clarke, 1912. (Sermons)
- \_\_\_\_\_ . The Gospel of World Brotherhood According to Jesus. London: Hodder and Stroughton, 1920.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . The Industrial Future in the Light of the Brotherhood Ideal. London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1919.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . The Inspiration and Authority of the Bible. London: James Clarke and Co., 1892.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . The Secret of Jesus: Sermons. London: S. C. Brown, Langham and Co., 1904.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Typical Christian Leaders. London: Horace Marshall and Son, 1898.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . The Ultimate Problems of Christianity. London: The Kingsgate Press, 1906. (Eight lectures delivered in 1906, at Regent's Park College, London.)



- Cooper, Thomas. The Life of Thomas Cooper. London: Hodder and Stroughton, 1872.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Thoughts at Four Score and Earlier. London: Hodder and Stroughton, 1885.
- Crane, Denis. John Clifford, God's Soldier and the People's Tribune. London: Edwin Dalton, 1908.
- Cuff, William. Fifty Years' Ministry, 1865-1915. Memories and Musings. London: Baptist Union Publication Department, 1915.
- Douglas, James. The Prince of Preachers. [C. H. Spurgeon] A Sketch, a Portraiture, and a Tribute. London: Morgan and Scott, [1893].
- Fullerton, William Y. C. H. Spurgeon, A Biography. London: Williams and Norgate, 1920.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Life of F. B. Meyer. London: Marshall, Morgan and Scott, Ltd., n.d.
- Howe, Ellic. Bushills, The Story of a Coventry Firm of Printers and Boxmakers, 1856-1956. Coventry: Thomas Bushill and Sons, Ltd., 1956.
- Jeffs, Ernest H. Princes of the Modern Pulpit. London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co., 1931.
- Jewson, Charles B. The Baptists of Norfolk. London: The Carey Kingsgate Press, Ltd., 1957.
- Klaiber, A. J. The Story of the Suffolk Baptists. London: Kingsgate Press, 1932.
- Landels, Thomas D. William Landels, a Memoir. London: Cassell and Co., Ltd., 1900.
- Landels, William. Woman: Her Position and Power. London: Cassell, Petter, and Galpin, 1870.
- Mann, A. Chester [Philip Roberts]. F. B. Meyer: Preacher, Teacher, Man of God. New York: F. H. Revell, 1929.
- Marchant, James. Dr. John Clifford, C. H., Life, Letters and Reminiscences. London: Cassell and Co., 1924.
- Meyer, F. B. Love, Courtship and Marriage. London: S. W. Partridge and Co., 1899.

- \_\_\_\_\_ . Reveries and Realities. London: Morgan and Scott, 1896.
- Sir Morton Peto. London: Elliot Stock, 1893.
- Mursell, Arthur. Sunday Addresses to Working People. Manchester: John Heywood, 1880.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Twenty-four Lectures to Working Men. Manchester: John Heywood, n.d.
- Noel, Baptist W. Freedom and Slavery in the United States of America. London: J. Nisbet and Co., 1863.
- Page, George E. Archibald G. Brown. London: Kingsgate Press, 1944.
- Payne, Ernest A. The Baptist Union: A Short History. London: Carey Kingsgate Press, 1959.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . The Free Church Tradition in the Life of England. 3d ed. revised. London: SCM Press, 1951.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Freedom in Jamaica. 2d ed. London: Carey Press, 1946.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . The Great Succession. London: Carey Press, 1938.
- Plimsoll, Samuel. Our Seamen. London: Virtue and Co., 1873.
- Pike, G. H. Charles Haddon Spurgeon. London: Funk and Wagnalls Co., 1892.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Golden Lane. London: James Clarke, 1876.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . The Life and Work of Archibald G. Brown, Preacher and Philanthropist. London: Passmore and Alabaster, 1892.
- Prestridge, J. N. Modern Heroes and Martyrs. Louisville: The World Press, 1911.
- Pudney, John. The Thomas Cook Story. London: Michael Joseph, 1953.
- Sermons of Rev. C. H. Spurgeon. 6th Series. New York: Sheldon and Co., 1871.
- Sermons of Rev. C. H. Spurgeon. 8th Series. New York: Sheldon and Co., 1870.
- Sermons of Rev. C. H. Spurgeon. 9th Series. New York: Sheldon and Co., 1872.

- Spurgeon, Mrs. C. H. and Principal Lee. C. H. Spurgeon's Autobiography. 4 Vols. London: Passmore and Alabaster, 1900.
- Spurgeon, C. H. Lectures to My Students. 1st series. London: Passmore and Alabaster, 1875.
- Street, Jennie. F. B. Meyer, His Life and Work. London: S. W. Partridge and Co., 1902.
- Underhill, Edward Bean. The Tragedy of Morant Bay. London: Alexander and Shephard, 1895.
- Underwood, A. C. A History of English Baptists. London: Kingsgate Press, 1947.
- Whitley, W. T. Baptists of Northwest England, 1649-1913. London: The Kingsgate Press, 1913.
- \_\_\_\_\_. A History of British Baptists. London: Charles Griffin and Co., 1923.
- Williamson, David. The Life of Alexander MacLaren. London: James Clarke and Co., and The Baptist Union Publication Dept., n.d.

#### Pamphlets

- Aldridge, Stephen Robinson. Work of the Church Amongst the Young. London: Alexander and Shephard, n.d. (Paper read before the Baptist Union, October 5, 1887.)
- Brewer, B. K. Duty of American Pastors in the Present Crisis. Leeds: n.p., 1861.
- Brown, Archibald G. The Devil's Mission of Amusement. 22d ed. London: Morgan and Scott, n.d.
- Brown, H. S. On the Best Method of Interesting the Working Classes in Religious Ordinances. Rockdale: E. Wrigley, n.d. (Circular Letter of the Lancashire and Cheshire Association of Baptist Churches, 1850.)
- \_\_\_\_\_. Woman's Work in the Church. London: Veale, Chifferiel and Co., 1893. (Paper read before the Baptist Union, 1867.)
- Brown, John T. Concerning Amusements. Welford: William Billson, 1871. (A Circular Letter of Northampton Baptist Association, May, 1871.)

- \_\_\_\_\_. Ministry of the Church in Relation to the People. London: Yates and Alexander, 1877. (Address to the Baptist Union, October, 1877.)
- Burns, Dawson. The Bible and Temperance Reform. London: Lees and Raper Memorial Trustees, n.d. (Address given October 25, 1906.)
- \_\_\_\_\_. England and Madagascar. London: Kegan Paul, French and Co., 1883.
- \_\_\_\_\_. National Sobriety Discussed in a Dialogue Between a Publican, a Clergyman, and a Physician. London: United Kingdom Alliance, n.d.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Why Should Moderate Drinkers Become Abstainers. London: National Temperance Publication Depot., n.d.
- Burton, John. War Irreconcilable with Christianity. London: John Snow, 1863.
- Chown, J. Leslie. Sir Samuel Morton Peto, Bart., M.P.: The Man Who Built the House of Parliament. London: Carey Press, n.d.
- Clifford, John. The Alcohol Question. London: Baptist Union Publication Dept., 1917.
- \_\_\_\_\_. An Appeal to Young England. London: The Liberation Society, 1919.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Battle at the General Election. London: National Passive Resistance Committee, 1906.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Bible or No Bible in State Schools. London: National Council of the Evangelical Free Churches, 1904.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Bishop of London's Great Hoax. London: National Council of the Evangelical Free Churches, n.d.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Board School Teaching: Is It Free or Not. London: National Council of the Evangelical Free Churches, n.d.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Brotherhood in Ideal and in Action. London: Brotherhood Publishing House, 1916. (Presidential address to the National Brotherhood Council, 1916.)
- \_\_\_\_\_. Brotherhood and the War in South Africa. London: Parlett, 1900.

- \_\_\_\_\_ . The Call of the New Century to Temperance Workers. London: William Walker, n.c. (An address to the World's Temperance Congress, June 15, 1900.)
- \_\_\_\_\_ . A Call to Free Churchmen. London: The Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Patronage and Control. (A letter to Mr. Carvell Williams, February 1, 1898.)
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Chief Sources of the Preacher's Power, a Study of Two Aspects of the Ministry of Christ. London: E. Marlborough and Co., 1888.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . The Christ of the Coming Century. London: Veale, Chifferiel and Co., 1899. (Presidential Address to the Baptist Union, 1899.)
- \_\_\_\_\_ . The Christian Conception of Society. London: Alexander and Shephard, n.d. (Paper read before the Baptist Union, 1891.)
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Christianity: The True Socialism. London: E. Marlborough and Co., 1885.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . The Church of Christ; its Work, Character and Message. London: E. Marlborough and Co., 1877.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Church's War with National Intemperance. London: Elliot Stock and Co., 1874. (Paper read before a conference of The British Total Abstinence Association, 1874.)
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Clericalism in British Politics. London: National Council of the Evangelical Free Churches, 1902.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Clericalism in State Education. London: William Walker, 1912.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . The Demands of the Twentieth Century. London: Veale, Chifferiel and Co., 1900. (Address to the Baptist Union, 1900.)
- \_\_\_\_\_ . The Education Act, 1902, and the Higher Life of the State. London: National Passive Resistance Committee, 1903.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . The Effect of Socialism on Personal Character. Leicester: The Leicester Christian Socialist Society, 1893.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . The Emancipation of the Nation from the Tyranny of Drink. Manchester: United Kingdom Alliance, n.d. (Address as Chairman of the Annual Meeting of the United Kingdom Alliance, 1898.)
- \_\_\_\_\_ . The Fight Against the Education Bill: What is at Stake? Manchester: National Reform Union, 1902. (Letters reprinted from Daily News.)

- \_\_\_\_\_ . The Free Churches of London: Their Faith and Their Future. London: James Clarke and Co., 1895.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . The Future of Christianity; or, Jesus Christ, the Eternal King of Men. London: Yates and Alexander, n.d. (Sermon to the Baptist Missionary Society, April 26, 1876.)
- \_\_\_\_\_ . The Great Awakening in 1900. London: Parlett, 1901.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . The Great War and Passive Resisters. London: William Walker, 1915.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Hold Fast That Which is Good. London: Sunday School Union, 1884.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . The Housing of the Poor. London: National Council of the Evangelical Free Churches, n.d. (Paper read at the National Council of the Evangelical Free Churches, 1902.)
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Imprisonment by the Bishops. London: Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Patronage and Control, 1903.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Is England to be Converted to Rome? London: William Walker, 1910.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Is It Unconstitutional to Refuse to Pay the Rate? London: National Passive Resistance Committee, 1903.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Jesus Christ and Modern Social Life. London: E. Marlborough and Co., 1872. (Inaugural address to the General Baptist Association, June 27, 1872.)
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Jesus Christ and State Churches. London: James Clarke and Co., 1893. (A sermon.)
- \_\_\_\_\_ . The League of Free Nations: Facing the Facts. London: The League of Nations Union, 1918.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . The Living Message of the Church for Today. London: National Council of the Evangelical Free Churches, n.d.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Making Anglicans at the Cost of the Ratepayers. London: National Passive Resistance Committee, 1903.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . The Message of 1894 to Young Men. London: James Clarke and Co., 1895. (Address to Young People's Conference at Westbourne Park, January 2, 1895.)

- \_\_\_\_\_ . A Ministry of Power: the Necessity of The Times. London: Alexander and Shephard, 1886.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . New City of God; or the Primitive Christian Faith as a Social Gospel. London: Alexander and Shephard, 1888. (Address to the Baptist Union, October 3, 1888.)
- \_\_\_\_\_ . The New Theosophy and Christian Teaching. [Colombo]: Ceylon Observer Press, [1894]. (A paper read before the Congregational Board of Ministers, 1892.)
- \_\_\_\_\_ . A New Testament Church in its Relation to the Needs and Tendencies of the Age. London: Yates and Alexander, 1876. (Paper read at Westbourne Park Baptist Chapel in connection with laying memorial stone.)
- \_\_\_\_\_ . The Old Testament in the Teaching of Jesus. London: James Clarke and Co., 1890. (A Sermon.)
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Our Fight for Belgium and What it Means. London: Hodder and Stroughton, 1918.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Our Churches and Colleges and the Ministry of the Future. Derby: Wilkins Printing Co., 1892. (Inaugural Address as Warden of the Midland Baptist College.)
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Passive Resistance in England and Wales. London: William Walker, 1905.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . The Peer's Vote Gone: What Next? London: William Walker, 1911.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Place of Baptists in the Progress of the Kingdom of God. London: Veale, Chifferiel and Co., 1901. (Address to Baptist Union, October 10, 1901.)
- \_\_\_\_\_ . The Political Crisis and Passive Resisters. London: William Walker, 1914.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . The Political Situation. London: James Clarke and Co., 1918.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Primary Condition of Social Progress. London: The Social Progress Society, n.d. (Address at Westbourne Park, 1907.)
- \_\_\_\_\_ . The Pulpit and Human Life; or, The Minister as the Interpreter and Spiritual Leader of Human Life. London: James Clarke and Co., 1890. (An address delivered to the students of the Lancashire Independent College, Manchester, June 19, 1890.)

- \_\_\_\_\_ . Religious Life in the Rural Districts of England. London: Yates and Alexander, 1876. (Paper read before the Baptist Union October, 1876.)
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Religious Life of England During the Reign of Queen Victoria. (Clipped from a newspaper and preserved in the personal collection of John Clifford.)
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Religious Teaching in Board Schools; a Reply to Athelstan Riley. London: Veale, Chifferiel and Co., 1894.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . The Renewal of Protestantism, A Message for the Times. London: James Clarke and Co., 1895.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Revival of Religion in the Churches. London: James Clarke and Co., 1904. (Paper read before the Baptist Union, October 6, 1904.)
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Romanism Judged and Condemned by Christ Jesus. London: E. Marlborough and Co., 1876.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Rome on the Rates. London: National Council of the Evangelical Free Churches, 1903.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . The Salvation Army: Its Genesis, Aims, and Principles, Methods and Results. London: Griffiths and Co., n.d.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Shop Life; Its Conditions and Problems. London: E. Marlborough and Co., 1898. (Sermon preached at Westbourne Park Chapel, June 26, 1898.)
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Socialism and Personal Character. London: Veale, Chifferiel and Co., n.d. (Christian Socialist League Tract.)
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Socialism and the Churches. London: The Fabian Society, 1908. (Address to the London Baptist Association, June 30, 1908.)
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Socialism and the Teaching of Christ. London: The Fabian Society, 1897. (Address before the Annual Meeting of the Christian Socialist League, Westbourne Park Chapel, February, 1895.)
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Spiritual Groundwork of the Temperance Reformation. London: National Temperance League Publication Depot, 1896. (Sermon preached in Westbourne Park Chapel, 1896.)
- \_\_\_\_\_ . State Education After the War. London: William Walker, 1916.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . The Story of the First Years' Sales in Aid of the New Church Rate. London: Daily News Office, 1904.



- \_\_\_\_\_ . The Teaching Profession and the Education Act, 1902. London: National Passive Resistance Committee, 1903.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Temperance, a Part of the Ideal Life. London: J. Clarke and Co., 1890. (Sermon in the City Temple on behalf of the Congregational Total Abstinence Association, May 12, 1890.)
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Temperance Reform and the Ideal State. London: MacMillan Co., 1913. (A Lees and Raper Lecture.)
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Ten Years of Protest Against the Intrusion of Churches Into State Schools. London: William Walker, 1913.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Thou Shalt Not Hide Thyself: An Argument and an Appeal to the Cure of Britain's Intemperance. London: W. Tweedle and Co., 1877. (Annual sermon on behalf of the National Temperance League.)
- \_\_\_\_\_ . The War and the Churches. London: James Clarke and Co., 1914. (A Sermon.)
- \_\_\_\_\_ . What Hinders National Education? London: The Liberation Society, 1903.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . What Passive Resisters Really Want. London: Central Passive Resisters Committee, 1909.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Why Refuse the Rate Seeing you Have Paid the Tax? London: National Passive Resistance Committee, 1903.
- Cowell, Henry J. John Clifford as I Knew Him. London: Baptist Union Publication Dept., 1936. (Commemorative Tribute.)
- Culross, James. Amusements: From the Christian Point of View. London: Morgan and Scott, 1873.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Home Duties and Home Influences. London: Morgan and Scott, 1874. (Address to mothers.)
- Edwards, William. The Answer of the Church to the Bitter Cry of the Poor. London: Alexander and Shephard, 1885. (Presidential address to Baptist Union.)
- Forbes, J. T. The Social System Compared with the Principles and Ideals of the Kingdom of God. London: Kingsgate Press, 1908.
- Glover, Richard. Work of the Church Today. London: Alexander and Shephard, 1884. (Address to the Baptist Union, 1884.)
- Green, Samuel G. Signs of Revival. London: Alexander and Shephard, 1885.

- \_\_\_\_\_ . The Kingdom of Christ. London: Alexander and Shephard, 1885.
- Greenhough, J. G. Individualism and Socialism. London: Alexander and Shephard, 1891. (Paper read before the Baptist Union, 1891.)
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Socialism and Christianity. London: Nonconformist Anti-Socialist Union, n.d.
- Landels, William. Parental Influence. London: Sunday School Union, 1871.
- M'Cree, George W. Facts and Figures for Social Reformers. London: W. Tweedie and Co., n.d.
- McMaster, R. P. The Working Classes and Public Worship. Bristol: 1867.
- Morris, Thomas M. Our Proper Work. London: Veale, Chifferiel and Co., 1893. (Address before the Baptist Union, 1893.)
- Mursell, James. Duties and Responsibilities of Christian Citizens. Stony Stratford: D. Bridgman, n.d. (Circular Letter of Northampton Baptist Association, May, 1869.)
- National Council of the Evangelical Free Churches. Dr. Clifford and Secular Education. London: National Council of the Evangelical Free Churches, 1906.
- National Passive Resistance Committee. Dr. Clifford as a Passive Resister. London: National Passive Resistance Committee, 1904. (Statement to the Paddington Magistrates, July 1, 1904.)
- Nicholson, Thomas. Our Temperance Societies: Their Nature and Purpose. London: Hodder and Stroughton, 1878. (Inaugural Address of Tottenham Court Chapel Temperance Society.)
- Pattison, T. Harwood. Two Sermons on Education. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: J. M. Carr, 1870.
- Payne, Ernest A. The Free Churches and the State. London: Carey Kingsgate Press, Ltd., 1952. (Lecture delivered to the Congregational Union Assembly on May 14, 1952.)
- Pike, E. C. Religious Education and the School Board System. London: Yates and Alexander, 1877.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Religious Education and the School Board System. London: Yates and Alexander, 1887.
- Plimsoll, Samuel. An Appeal on Behalf of Our Seamen. London: Virtue and Co., 1873.

- . A Bill to Provide for the Survey of Certain Shipping and to Prevent Overloading. London: Virtue and Co., 1873.
- Preece, B. Ragged Schools, The Mirror of the Nation. London: H. J. Tresidder, 1864.
- Rees, A. A. The Moral of the War. Sunderland: B. Williams, 1870.
- Rose, Thomas G. The Duties and Responsibilities of Christian Citizens. Stony Stratford: B. Bridgman, 1869. (A Circular Letter of Northampton Baptist Association, May, 1869.)
- Stevenson, George J. Pastor C. H. Spurgeon: His Life and Work to His Forty-Third Birthday. London: Passmore and Alabaster, 1877.
- Taylor, H. L. Edward Robinson, J. P. London: The Carey Press, 1942.
- Underhill, E. B. and Brown, J. T. Emancipation in the West Indies. London: British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 1861.
- White, George. The Nonconformist Conscience and Its Relation to Our National Life. London: Baptist Union Publication Dept., 1903.
- The Rev. William Cuff in Shoreditch. London: James Clarke and Co., 1878.
- Williams, Marquerite. Gleanings from J. C. Carlile. London: James Clarke and Co., n.d.
- Williams, Philip. Prevailing Evils, Their Cause and Cure. Kingston: Duncan MacDougall and Co., 1874. (Paper read to Clarendon and Manchester Baptist Association.)

#### Articles and Periodicals

- The Baptist. 1873-1906.
- The Baptist Magazine. 1870-1904.
- The Baptist Quarterly. 1922-25; 1932-33; 1942.
- The Baptist Times and Freeman. 1899-1906.
- The Baptist Union Magazine. 1892-1895.
- The British Weekly. 1886-1906.
- The Christian Weekly. January, 1894-April, 1894.

Clifford, John. "Brotherhood of Nations: A Plea for Peace," (n.d., extracted from a periodical and preserved in the personal collection of John Clifford.)

\_\_\_\_\_. "Cooperative Industry," The Baptist Messenger, (August, 1867), pp. 205-209.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Destruction of the School Board," Contemporary Review, (March 10, 1894, extracted and preserved in the personal collection of John Clifford.)

\_\_\_\_\_. "The European War as a Conflict of Ideas," The Review and Expositor, XII (January, 1915), 3-19.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The General Election," The Baptist (Chicago), December 16, 1922, p. 1634.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The London School Board Election," (1894, printer's proof preserved in the personal collection of John Clifford.)

\_\_\_\_\_. "Ought Passive Resistance to Go On?" The Baptist Times and Freeman, September 19, 1913, p. 108.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Primary Education and the State," Contemporary Review, (Printer's proof preserved in the personal collection of John Clifford) pp. 1-18.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Sphere of the Church in the Coming Social Regeneration," (n.d., extracted from a periodical and preserved in the personal collection of John Clifford.)

\_\_\_\_\_. "The War and The Churches." The Baptist Times and Freeman, August 21, 1914, p. 656.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The War and Public Opinion," Contemporary Review, (November, 1914, extracted and preserved in the personal collection of John Clifford.)

Coleman, George W. "Dr. Clifford, London Fog and German Bombs," The Watchman-Examiner, March 21, 1918, p. 375.

"Religion and Labour," The Daily News. April 28, 1893, p. 2.

Fabian News. January 1897-November 1914; and December, 1923.

"The Free Churches of England," The Baptist (Chicago), January 31, 1920, p. 11.

The Freeman. 1870-1899.

The General Baptist Magazine. 1870-1891.

Griffith, G. O. "Dr. Clifford," The Watchman-Examiner, August 2, 1923.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Dr. Clifford," The Watchman-Examiner, August 7, 1924.

The Hibbert Journal. October, 1902-July, 1925.

Holland, Henry Scott. "The Church of England; What Part Is She Capable of Playing Toward the New Social Legislation Which Will Come to the Front as soon as Industrialism Determines Politics," The Progressive Review. (January, 1897), pp. 319-26.

Landels, William. "English Slavery and Early Closing," The Pulpit, January 29, 1857, pp. 95-104.

"The Lessons of the Strike," The Globe, September 14, 1889, p. 5.

The New Liberal Review. February 1901-April 1904.

The Nonconformist. (Later The Nonconformist and the Independent; The Independent and Nonconformist; and The Independent; and The Examiner), 1870-1906.

Pall Mall Gazette. 1885; 1889.

Religious Bits (Later Christian Weekly and Religious Bits). 1892-1893.

"Dr. Rushbrooke's Tribute to Doctor John Clifford," The Baptist, January 5, 1924.

The Sword and the Trowel. 1865-1890; 1893-1897.

The Temperance Worker and Reciter, XIX (September, 1886.)

The Times (London) 1870-1923.

The Westbourne Park Chapel Monthly Record. 1880-1923; October, 1936.

#### Reports

Annual Reports of the Baptist Denomination. Vol. III, 1850-1855.

Annual Reports of the Baptist Denomination. Vol. IV, 1856-1859.

The Baptist Handbook. 1860-1923.

Baptist World Alliance. Record of Proceedings (Philadelphia, 1911.) New York: Harper and Brothers Co., 1911.

Bloomsbury Baptist Chapel. Annual Reports of the Religious Institutions Connected with Bloomsbury Chapel. January, 1864.

The Free Church Yearbook. London: National Council of the Evangelical Free Churches, 1904.

The General Baptist Yearbook. London: E. Marlborough and Co., 1877-79.

The General Baptist Yearbook. London: E. Marlborough and Co., 1885.

Proceedings of the General Baptist Association, 1865-1870.

Report of the Land Nationalisation Society, 1891-92. London: The Land Nationalisation Society, 1892.

Report of the Land Nationalisation Society, 1894-95. London: The Land Nationalisation Society, 1895.

Twenty-Ninth Annual Report of the Land Nationalisation Society. London: Land Nationalisation Society, 1910.

#### Encyclopedias and Dictionaries

The Annual Register: A Review of Public Events at Home and Abroad for the Year 1902. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1903.

"Arthur Henderson," Encyclopedia Americana, 1953, XIV, 93.

Barlow, C. A. Montague. "Education," Encyclopedia of the Laws of England with the Forms and Precedents by the Most Eminent Legal Authorities, 2d ed., Vol. V, 1907, 59-69.

The Right Honourable The Earl of Halsbury and Other Lawyers. The Laws of England, Being a Complete Statement of the Whole Law of England. XII, London: Butterworth and Co., 1910.

"History of National [Education] Systems: England to the Education Act, 1902," Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1958, Vol. 7, 970-75.

Rushbrooke, J. H. "John Clifford," Dictionary of National Biography, 1922-1930, pp. 188-90.

"John C. Carlile," Who Was Who, Vol. IV, London: Adam and Charles Black, 1952.

"Social Movements," Cambridge Modern History, Vol. XII, Chapter 23.

Unpublished and Other References

- African Aid Society. "Statement of Objects and Rules," n.d.
- "America, the Civil War and Slavery; a Letter Addressed to Christians in England." n.d.
- Best, William. "Baptists in Leeds." Leeds, 1871.
- Clifford, John. Letter to E. R. Pease, Fabian Society, January 28, 1897.
- Clifford, John and Others. "Speeches Delivered at the Inaugural Meeting of the British Council." London, 1911.
- Collings, T. "Nonconformists and the Education of the People." Circular Letter of the Northampton Baptist Association. n.d.
- Dawson, George. "Lecture on Life Assurance." London, 1875.
- "The Fabian Society: List of Members." 1891; 1892; 1894.
- Handford, T. W. "Concerning the Peace Question." Circular Letter of the Lancashire and Cheshire Association of Baptist Churches, June, 1872.
- Payne, Ernest A. General Secretary of the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland. Personal interview with Ernest A. Payne, June, 1956.
- Westbourne Park Baptist Chapel. Minutes of the Committee of the Church upon Social Questions, 1885. (Handwritten.)
- Westbourne Park Baptist Church. "Yesterday--To-Day--and To-Morrow," A booklet in connection with the Jubilee Services to commemorate Clifford's fifty years' pastorate at Westbourne Park, 1908.
- Williams, Charles. "What Our Churches Can Do to Prevent or Destroy the Sin of Drunkenness." Circular Letter of the Lancashire and Cheshire Association of Baptist Churches, June, 1871.