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The Apocalyptic of Jesus and the Church.

FOR most English readers Sanday's *Life of Christ in Recent Research* was the first intimation of the rise of a new school of historical criticism which found in the apocalyptic passages in the gospels the true key to an understanding of Jesus. Since then, mainly through the controversies associated with the names of Loisy, Tyrrell, and Schweitzer on the one side, and the definitely constructive work of Hogg, Cairns, Scott, Moffatt, and Manson, on the other, most have become familiar with its chief contention. Apart from extravagancies, it is that Jesus shared to the full the apocalyptic expectations of His age, that He announced the imminence of the Last Tribulation, the final Judgment, and the End of the World, and that He anticipated His own speedy return after death and on the clouds of heaven to reign in eternal glory. It was the nearness of these great events that was the "good news of the Kingdom" to a world in the last stages of dissolution; and as the ethical teaching of Jesus was based on this expectation, it was only provisional, an "interim ethic."

It needs hardly to be said that, though the exclusive emphasis laid upon the apocalyptic element in the gospels by this school is modern, the presence of that element has not been overlooked by scholars in the past. And if men like Welhausen would eliminate it as a foreign element intruded by the primitive Jewish Church, others, like that great master Keim long ago, have recognized its authenticity, and in various ways have attempted to explain it. Even when allowance is made for probable and even certain expansion and heightening in transmission, the apocalyptic utterances of our Lord are too integral to the gospels to be torn out, and they are not confined to such a passage as Mark xiii., but pervade the whole. And as Burkitt says, "Whatever we may think of Dr. Schweitzer's solution, or that of his opponents, we too have to reckon with the Son of Man who was expected to come before the apostles had gone over the cities of Israel, the Son of Man who would come in His kingdom before some

that heard our Lord should taste death, the Son of Man who came to give His life a ransom for many, whom they would see hereafter coming with the clouds of heaven."¹

The Eschatologists have done good service in compelling fresh consideration of such words, and in proving, as against a purely humanitarian liberalism, that Jesus did regard Himself as more and greater than a prophet and teacher who was no part of His own gospel. Yet it is not possible to recognize in their portrait of the Master anything but a distorted picture. It is not only or even mainly that there are many words of His concerning the Kingdom that are incompatible with the apocalyptic thesis, and that some of His greatest utterances such as the parables of the Prodigal Son, the Good Samaritan, and the Publican and the Pharisee in the Temple, have nothing to do with it. His actual work was on another plane. He said, "The Son of Man came to seek and to save the lost," but, except for the occasion, He need not have said it. It was the passion of His earthly ministry. His Messiahship was a secret reserved for a select circle, but His strength was devoted to preaching and healing among the masses of the people. He proclaimed the grace of the heavenly Father, and the dynamics of divine forgiveness and love. It was not the thunder-girt and stormy Jesus of the Eschatologists whose message was only of imminent and inevitable catastrophe, who impressed men with His serene wisdom, who had leisure for little children, who was so genial that outcasts and sinners were won by His warm friendliness, who so redeemed the lost by His presence and love that they washed His feet with their tears, and who gave to His disciples as He has given to the world a new vision of God. Apocalyptic was not the main interest of such a Jesus, and if His Messiahship is to be interpreted by His life and works, it was Saviourhood. And it is not irrelevant to note that, although it is clear that the primitive church was inspired by apocalyptic hopes, the gradual fading of those hopes and their displacement by another and more spiritual outlook, did not mean and has not meant the loss of faith in Jesus or any diminution of His power, but rather the exaltation in the love and worship of His people.

Nevertheless, however it is to be explained, apocalyptic is so inwoven into the texture of the gospels as to be indubitably authentic. The phrases most often on our Lord's lips, "Kingdom of God," and "Son of Man," are both apocalyptic, and were not original with Him. They were taken over by Him from the apocalyptic of His time. Indeed,

¹ Preface to *Quest of Historical Jesus*, by Schweitzer, p. vi.

it is the attention that has been paid during recent years to the apocalyptic literature that has resulted in the eschatological interpretation of the gospels. It is seen that these particular utterances of Jesus do not stand alone, but attach themselves in form and contents to a mass of writings produced during the preceding two centuries, and extending into the first century of the Christian era. The great parable of the Son of Man coming in His glory to judge the nations, for example, though it is very different in spirit and motive, cannot be dissociated from the account of judgment given in the Book of Enoch, some of the very phrases of which it echoes.² And New Testament apocalyptic generally is not, and cannot be, isolated from its context in the abundant apocalyptic output of the period.

Apocalyptic was the last, and in some respects the highest form taken by the Jewish hope of a great Kingdom of God. In its earliest shape that hope was not only purely national, but materialistic, being little more than the expectation that God would raise up from the House of David a king who would rule justly and whose reign would bring unbounded prosperity to the people. Even so far back as Amos, his reference to the "Day of the Lord" proves that the idea that God by some mighty act would exalt and glorify Israel had long been familiar, though he gives the expectation a new turn by announcing that the Day would be a Day of Judgment not only for Israel's foes, but for Israel itself. In the course of its history this expectation in the minds of the prophets took various forms. Sometimes the coming kingdom was associated with a Messiah and sometimes not. Sometimes it narrowed to a mere vindication of the Jews, and sometimes it widened to a universal brotherhood among men, and endless peace on an earth from which every shadow of pain and trouble had been banished. But through their whole history, and especially after the return from exile, and whether the Hope took high forms or low, the Jews looked forward to a great Day of the Lord, a divine intervention, a time when God would vindicate their faith before the world and establish His own Kingdom in the earth.

But in the second century before Christ, when prolonged disappointment and heavy oppression had worn down the hopes of the people, apocalyptic, of which there had been some anticipations even in the older prophecy, suddenly sprang into vigorous life. The chief characteristic of the new

² Enoch lxii.; and compare *Testament of XII. Patriarchs*—"I was alone, and God comforted me: I was sick, and the Lord visited me: I was in prison, and my God showed favour unto me," etc., *Test. Jos.* i. 6.

apocalyptic is that it abandons once for all the old expectation of a Kingdom of God on this present earth.³ If these writers speak at all of an earthly kingdom it is as having only a temporary duration (three generations; 400; 1,000 years, etc.), and therefore not as being the kingdom of God which in their view is eternal. But this temporal kingdom is but a concession to the older tradition. The great and controlling conviction of the apocalyptists is that the material order is hastening to its dissolution, and that the world is so evil that nothing but immediate judgment awaits it. As the *Apocalypse of Baruch* expresses it—

For the youth of the world is past,
 And the strength of the creation is already exhausted,
 And the advent of the times is very short,
 Yea, they have passed by:
 And the pitcher is near to the cistern,
 And the ship to the port.

—LXXXV. 10.

There will be a fierce tribulation for the righteous for a little while, and then God will put forth His power suddenly, the heavens and the earth will pass away like smoke, and there will be a new and supernatural order in which the righteous in Israel will be immortal and blessed for ever. It will be a spiritual creation in which there are spiritual abodes for the approved of God, while the wicked remain in or are doomed to Sheol. Nothing that man can do will hasten the coming of this New Creation. Men can but wait, and by obedience to the Law of God prepare themselves for it. But that the time is short is the message of these writers from *Daniel* onwards. Some of them are intensely Jewish in their outlook, but others extend the mercies of the Age to Come to the worthy among the Gentiles. It is evident that such conceptions as these mark a significant advance on the older prophetic visions of the future.

Not all of these writers speak of a Messiah in connection with these hopes, for obvious reasons. Of those who do, some adhere to the old tradition of a Son of David, and some, under the influence of the Maccabean victories, declare he will be of the tribe of Levi. A late writer of this school says that he will reign in the temporal kingdom and will die at the end of it.⁴ But a bold and original thinker, one of the writers of the Book of Enoch, takes the "Son of Man" of Daniel, who in that book is not a person but a symbol of the righteous com-

³ Charles—*Eschatology, Hebrew, Jewish, and Christian*, p. 247ff.

⁴ 2 Esdras vii. 29.

munity, and speaks of him as the Messiah who waits in heaven for his manifestation at the approaching end of the world. He has been from the beginning with God. Says this writer, and the free use of figures is noteworthy and characteristic of apocalyptic—

“And in that place I saw the fountain of righteousness which was inexhaustible: and around it were many fountains of wisdom. And all the thirsty drank of them, and were filled with wisdom, and their dwellings were with the righteous and holy and elect. And at that hour that Son of Man was named in the presence of the Lord of Spirits, and his name before the Head of Days. Yea, before the sun and the signs were created, before the stars of heaven were made, his name was named before the Lord of Spirits. He shall be a staff to the righteous whereon to stay themselves and not fall, and he shall be the light of the Gentiles, and the hope of those who are troubled of heart. . . . And for this reason hath he been chosen and hidden before Him, before the creation of the world and for evermore.”⁵

It is this Son of Man who is to sit on the throne of his glory and judge the kings and the mighty and the exalted of the earth, and reward the righteous with “garments of glory.”

“The Lord of Spirits will abide over them, and with that Son of Man shall they eat and lie down and rise up for ever and ever.”

It is impossible to make a harmonious whole of all the varied anticipations and visions of these sometimes beautiful but, to us, always strange books; and it is impossible to say how far these ideas were general in the time of Christ. Probably the masses of the people still adhered to the national and earthly hope of deliverance from foreign oppression and supremacy over other nations. But the number of these books and fragments of them that have survived itself witnesses to their wide diffusion. There is no doubt of their popularity in many devout circles, and their great influence on the early church which preserved them. And there is equally no doubt that our Lord was familiar with the apocalyptic movement, and deliberately attached His message to this—the last form taken by the ancient expectation, as it voiced itself not in a book but in a man, John the Baptist.

Nor is it very difficult to see why He should do so, apart from His recognition of the divine calling of John.

1. In the first place, in this way, He associated His mission and work with the past. He set Himself in line with

⁵ Enoch xlvi. 1—6 (Charles).

the great process of revelation as the culmination and goal of it all. He announced by His very adoption of apocalyptic that He had not come to destroy but to fulfil. His point of attachment to the age-long hope of His people was in the apocalyptic in which that hope had already been transmuted into a higher expectation.

2. In the second place, as the interests of apocalyptic were spiritual and not material, its conception of the Kingdom of God as a heavenly order was infinitely nearer to His thought than the merely national kingdom of popular expectation. And it is well to realize that when Jesus spoke of the Kingdom He did not mean a new social adjustment and order to be brought about merely by human effort and policy, but a supernatural kingdom, the reign of God over a redeemed humanity.

3. In the third place, the Son of Man of *Daniel* as individualised by *Enoch* was nearer to His own consciousness of a unique relationship to the Father than the "Son of David" who was to restore the fortunes of Israel. There were no earthly and political associations round the conception of the "Son of Man," but there was the suggestion of divine origin and authority.

4. In the fourth place, apocalyptic contained the idea of crisis, and of the need of alertness in view of unforeseen movements of God. The watchword of apocalyptic was Be ready, with your loins girt! And the God of Jesus was dynamic and not static, not a God merely *in* the historic process, but *over* it, a God who did things by the exercise of His free power. Upon this, in its own way, apocalyptic laid immense emphasis.

5. And lastly, the ethic of apocalyptic, simply because it was based on the conviction of the transiency of earthly things, tended to, and at its best was, an absolute ethic. There are more anticipations of Christ's teaching, on mutual forgiveness, for example, in some of these writings than in the Old Testament.⁶ And this is natural. A true ethic must be transcendental. Its sanctions and inspirations cannot be in the world of sense and experience, but in the unseen. And apocalyptic, breaking away as it did from the world-order, found them there as did Christ Himself.

It is in our Lord's references to the future that we naturally look for and find His apocalyptic teaching, for it is with the future that apocalyptic is concerned. And it may be conveniently and briefly associated with three groups of sayings.

⁶ cp. Charles *Between the Old and New Testaments*, p. 153.

(a). There is first the discourse on Last Things recorded in Mark xiii. and parallels in Matthew and Luke. After referring, in answer to a question, to the destruction of the Temple, He passes on to warn His disciples of coming persecutions and against false Christs, and bids them hold themselves in readiness for the sudden coming of their Lord, which would take place in that generation, though the actual Day and Hour was unknown even to the Son Himself. In connection with this discourse it should be said that a great and increasing majority of scholars find in it a brief interpolated Jewish-Christian apocalypse consisting of (in Mark) vv. 7-8, 14-20, 24-26. These verses come away easily, not only without disturbing, but with gain to the context, leaving a straightforward, unconfusing, and characteristic utterance.

(b). In the second place there is a group of parables which emphasise the necessity of watchfulness in view of the sudden return of the Master or Bridegroom.

(c). And in the third place there are a number of sayings which raise the problem in an acute form. "When they persecute you in this city, flee into the next; for verily I say unto you, Ye shall not have gone through the cities of Israel, till the Son of Man be come" (Matt. x. 23). "And He said unto them, Verily I say unto you, There be some here, of them that stand by, which shall in no wise taste of death, till they see the Kingdom of God come with power" (Mark ix. 1). "Verily I say unto you, that ye which have followed me, in the regeneration when the Son of Man shall sit on the throne of His glory, ye shall also sit upon twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel" (Matt. xix. 28). Then there is His word to Caiaphas, "Henceforth ye shall see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of Power, and coming on the clouds of heaven" (Matt. xxvi. 64); to which can be added His words to the disciples at the Last Supper, "I will not drink from henceforth of the fruit of the vine, until the Kingdom of God shall come" (Luke xxii. 18). All these are apocalyptic sayings, and even when allowance is made for poetic form, as in the last quotation, and for a probably pregnant force in the "henceforth" of the declaration before Caiaphas, they do suggest that our Lord looked forward to a future and speedy coming of the Kingdom of God in true apocalyptic fashion, and that He connected this with His own more or less immediate return in glory. The end might come at any moment, but would certainly be within the lifetime of His disciples, or of some of them.

If stress is to be laid on the letter of these announcements and they are to be interpreted solely through the

current apocalyptic, then we are shut up to the conclusion that our Lord shared the mistaken hope of His time, for nothing of this kind took place. But even if it were so, such an acknowledgment would not affect our faith in Jesus as the Son of God, the ground of our hope, and the object of our worship. We should see in it only part of the conditions of human limitation inseparable from a real Incarnation. Says Keim, "If it is possible for us to discover that the very idea of the impending decisive judgments of God, which took possession of His soul with fresh strength, steeled His human courage, and heightened His self-renouncing devotion, by instigating Him to save from Judgment whatever could by any means be saved, we gladly surrender our minds to the narrowed conception as the good will of God, who could only in such a way uphold the sinking human energies of His instrument, and secure the fruits of His campaign in violently shaken and vanquished human souls."⁷

And yet before we acquiesce in this explanation there are many weighty considerations to which justice must be done.

1. Our Lord's conception of God, except that it also was dynamic, was not the apocalyptic conception. There is scarcely anything in common between the absent God of the apocalyptists who will intervene only at the end of the world, and the very present God of Jesus who feeds the birds of the air, clothes the lilies of the field, and is the forgiving and loving Father of men. Jesus sees the earth of the present as the scene of divine and gracious activities, and the familiar petition, "Thy kingdom come: Thy will be done on earth as it is done in heaven," though it is apocalyptic in form is not one which any thorough-going apocalyptist could offer.

2. Though He adopted the Enochic title of "Son of Man," with its suggestion of supernatural origin and authority, a study of the many passages in which it occurs shows that He fused it with the Suffering Servant of II. Isaiah, which in effect transformed it out of all recognition.

3. The Kingdom of God, whatever He said of the future, was a present reality to Him. It had already come in His own consciousness of spiritual relationship to the Father, and the proof to others of the presence of the Kingdom in the midst of men was the mighty deeds of mercy that accompanied His ministry. The mere transference of the Kingdom from the future into the present was a revolution in apocalyptic, as great as was an earthly career for the "Son of Man."

4. There is His own hint of what He called the

⁷ *Jesus of Nazara*, vol. IV., p. 105 (Eng. Trans.).

"mystery of the kingdom," which of itself suggested that there was something original in His message and work; and the immense wealth and variety of His parabolic teaching is a comment on His words.

5. There is His habitual reserve on eschatological matters, His refusal, for example, to discuss the common apocalyptic problem as to the number of the saved.⁸ And there is His identification of John the Baptist with the expected Elijah, an identification which would have astonished that lonely prophet, but which does suggest the freedom with which our Lord could treat apocalyptic conceptions.

6. Our Lord's ethical teaching, though it is transcendental, is not apocalyptic. It is based not on the imminence of a supernatural invasion and the destruction of the world, but on men's present relations to God. It is because God is of the nature Jesus discloses that men are to be pure and meek and unselfish and forgiving. They are to be perfect as their Father in heaven is perfect. Such an ethic is not hedonistic or utilitarian, and our Lord made no secret of the hardship and suffering it would involve in the present order. On the contrary He trod the path of suffering Himself, and called upon His followers to take up the Cross. It is only by such an ethic that the present world can be redeemed, and there is nothing transitory or provisional in its basis in the character of God.

7. And above all, as we have already seen, there was the genius of His ministry, His passion for souls, the special work of saving the lost which He declared was the work He came to do. His first miracle was connected by Himself with His power to forgive sins, and He went to His death as the Saviour of men. Nor can we imagine that His identification of Himself with the Suffering Servant was an afterthought. It was clearly to fulfil this vocation that He came forth from Galilee and began His ministry.

So we have these two things side by side in the words of Jesus, and it is possible that it is beyond our power to reconcile them. Dowden, in his classic book on Shakespeare, speaking of Hamlet, says, "It must not be supposed then that any *idea*, any magic phrase will solve the difficulties presented by the play, or suddenly illuminate everything in it which is obscure. The obscurity itself is a vital part of the work of art which deals not with a problem but with a life."⁹ A more recent writer, dealing with Robertson's solution of the difficulties of this play by a theory of unassimilated portions

⁸ cp. 2 *Esdras* viii. 3; *Ap. Bar.* xx. 11.

⁹ *Shakespeare—His Mind and Art*, p. 127.

of an older play, suggests more reasonably that the obscurity is due to the inferiority of our minds to Shakespeare's, in that he in his greatness was able to combine in inner harmony ideas and emotions which are beyond our power to reconcile. It need not surprise us, then, if in the consciousness of our Lord, and in a mind so vastly greater than any other that has appeared on earth, there should be perfect harmony between all these, to us, so different and discordant conceptions. Most certainly, there is nowhere any sign in Him of inward contradiction, of difficulty or confusion. It may be that it is the very greatness of Jesus that baffles us here as in so many ways.

And yet we are no more compelled to this conclusion than we are to the admission that our Lord was fundamentally mistaken. If we approach the problem by way of the actual sequel to our Lord's death and resurrection, we do have a measure of light. In the experience of the early church as that experience throbs in the New Testament we find that, in spite of the persistence of apocalyptic hopes, there is the joyous consciousness of a present and supernatural life in Christ, and of a Kingdom of God into which believers had already been introduced. "God has delivered us from the power of darkness, and translated us into the Kingdom of the Son of His love." And we are entitled to say with Moffatt, "If the primitive theology of the Church succeeded in penetrating to some consciousness of the present kingdom, it is an inversion of probabilities to deny that the mind of Jesus was unequal to such a range and depth of insight."¹⁰ But this is to suggest that our Lord may have anticipated something of what actually happened, and that this underlies His apocalyptic language. What He had to express, it must be remembered, was not the mere triumph of His cause, or of His ideas and influence, as though He were a rejected prophet sure of ultimate vindication, but the coming of a Kingdom of which He was the embodiment and Lord, and which was so identified with Himself and His redeeming work that it would ever depend on His presence and power. How except in symbols of some kind could that be expressed while it was yet in the future? The very use of symbols suggests, as does the Lord's Supper, a reality beyond the power of prose to describe. In other connections we have seen how our Lord transmuted apocalyptic conceptions, changing the lead to gold; can we not believe that His use of apocalyptic language was always to the same purpose? In the fourth gospel, as in great parts of the New Testament, apocalyptic is transcended, and the apocalyptic words of Jesus are translated

¹⁰ *Theology of the Gospels*, p. 83.

into the language of spiritual experience. The very phrase, "Kingdom of God" almost disappears, and "Eternal Life" takes its place, and the two instances in which it occurs are connected with the spiritual birth. The Judgment ceases to be spectacular and reserved unto the close of the world, it is a process proceeding during the earthly life of Jesus and continuing as the Holy Spirit convinces the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment. If there is one great Day of Judgment it is past, for it was the day when Christ judged and dethroned the Prince of this World on the Cross. "Now is the judgment of this world, now is the Prince of this world cast out." The hour in which the Son is glorified is the same hour in which He glorified the Father in triumph of obedience. And instead of an apocalyptic coming of Jesus with the clouds of heaven, we have in John His coming in the power of the Spirit to abide with and in His people. The second advent has taken place, and continues in increasing power, and the existence and experience of the church is the proof of it. Dare we say that the Evangelist has mistaken the mind of Jesus on all these matters, and has given us a Jesus greater because more spiritual than the Jesus of history? Is it not reasonable to hold that his is the true interpretation, and that our Lord did look forward to a spiritual event, even such a personal coming in the Spirit as actually came to pass? It was inevitable, under the conditions of His earthly life, that this glory and power of the future should be formulated and expressed in symbols, and these symbols lay to His hand. And the more we realize our Lord's greatness and His sovereign freedom in the use of apocalyptic language and ideas, the less shall we be disposed to believe that His horizon was really bounded by its form.

It is unnecessary to deal in any detail with the later apocalyptic of the New Testament. It was entirely natural that the primitive Jewish Church, inheriting the whole apocalyptic tradition of the age, should understand literally these utterances of Christ, and be dominated by the expectation of His visible return, either to restore the Kingdom of David or to fulfil the apocalyptic programme. The apostle Paul, in his early ministry appears to have been strongly apocalyptic, though the peculiarities of his expectation concerning the prior appearance of the "Man of Sin" derive not from Jesus but from the Pharisaic circles from whence he came. In his later ministry, however, his apocalyptic became blanched, even to vanishing away, as the Person of Christ grew upon him in its soteriological and cosmic significance. After his experiences at Ephesus, when he "despaired even of

life," and between the two epistles to the Corinthians, there is a marked change of tone and personal outlook. His hope had been to see Christ descending from heaven, now and henceforth it was that he should depart and be with the Lord. In the letter of Jude, "Enoch" is quoted as inspired scripture not only with reference to the apocalyptic coming of Christ, but to the fall of the angels. In the Book of Revelation, with its large quotations from Jewish apocalypses, we have a sudden and brilliant blazing of the apocalyptic faith, but in a comparatively brief time the Book became an enigma to a church that was moving rapidly away from these ideas. In the fourth gospel, as we have seen, they were spiritualised; and in the first Johannine epistle, though we still feel the vibrations of apocalyptic thought, even the Antichrist has become a symbol of false teachers. The Church had taken another and a higher road, though there have seldom been wanting, and more especially in times of crisis, some who have strayed into the thickets that cover the forsaken path.

It only remains to ask whether there is still any value in the apocalyptic which, as such, we have left behind. And surely there is.

In the first place, the Church cannot live without hope. It cannot, without falsity to its faith in Jesus, acquiesce in the present condition of the world. It is bound to believe in its redemption. And apocalyptic does fix our attention on the future, a future in which the divine purpose shall be fulfilled. There is the "one far off divine event to which the whole creation moves." If we say with Cairns, "The principle . . . that the true meaning of the Parousia discourses is the symbolical and poetic presentation of the future victory of Christ in His Kingdom," then we must go on to say with him, "This whole view of the future necessarily carries the disciple beyond religious individualism. It is a practical assertion that the entire domain of human life belongs to Christ, not only that inner world in which each disciple walks alone with his God, but also the great outward world of human society in all its varied forms."¹¹ It is, after all, a *Kingdom* that we have in view, and that kingdom the goal of all history. It is a wide and inspiring prospect that is spread before us, not the mere salvation of isolated souls, but the redemption of humanity. Apocalyptic bids us lift up our eyes to the future; and the Church perishes when it loses the vision.

In the second place, by its stress on the power of God, it is a permanent reminder of the futility of all efforts to save the world by mere human policies and arrangements. What

¹¹ *Christianity in the Modern World*, p. 208.

is often spoken of as the "Kingdom of God," the social betterment which is to be the issue of programmes and acts of Parliament and international understandings, is scarcely even a parody of the Kingdom of God according to the gospels. Such ends may be legitimate objects of Christian activities, and part of the duty we owe to God and man. But the service of the Kingdom is other than this. It involves the ethic of Jesus, the renunciation of the world for the sake of the world, the bearing of love's cross along the path He went, in the conviction that it is the pathway of the redeeming energies of God. For the Kingdom of God comes not with observation, but by the power of God working in and through human hearts consciously surrendered to Him. And it is ever coming, and never to be fully manifested in this world of time and space which has an end. It involves a redeemed humanity, and not merely a more happily situated humanity. And it was part of the message of Jesus that the power of God to accomplish wonders of redemption is at the service of His love, when men have faith enough to believe in it, and venture themselves for and upon Him. It is this value of apocalyptic that is rightly emphasised by Professor Hogg in his suggestive book, *Christ's Message of the Kingdom*.

And in the third place apocalyptic insists on the element of crisis and surprise in the life of the world and of the individual. It contradicts the fatal belief in inevitable and mechanical progress, which cuts the nerve of effort and deceives men to their undoing. Says Dr. Galloway in his book on *The Idea of Immortality*,¹² "The presence of sin in the world makes progress a hard and bitter conflict, and the good can only grow in the individual and society as the fruit of struggle and earnest endeavour. Life for man is a long series of tests. Hence human progress is not an inflexible movement in a pre-determined line, but a spiritual task, and so human experience is a discipline and an education." In its own way, and by its demand for watchfulness, apocalyptic stresses the same truth. It emphasises the incalculable element in history and life, and the necessity of the wakeful mind and readiness for the Great Hour. There are some to whom the concrete images of apocalyptic are still so helpful that their spiritual vigilance seems to them to depend upon belief in the very letter, just as there are some ancient souls to whom heaven itself is inconceivable apart from the golden pavement and the orient pearl. But we are not living in a two-storied universe; the heavens have become astronomical, and it is not possible for those who see apocalyptic in historical perspective and realize

¹² p. 226.

its origin, development, and final transmutation, to use it in this artless way. It is the more important that we should not miss its essential truth. We do live in a universe of immeasurable possibilities, and in a world in which the will of God and man are realities. In such a world the attitude of alertness, of watchfulness against sudden temptation, of readiness for unlooked-for tests, of promptness to seize the swift and precious opportunity, and of expectation of fresh movements of the Spirit of God, is the only reasonable attitude. In crises of the world and of life, in visions that come and go like lightning that shines from one end of heaven to the other, in unheralded events that swell with destiny, and in the day of death—the apocalypse of the soul, it is still true that the Son of Man cometh in an hour we know not, and blessed is he whom his Lord finds ready.

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the Rev. B. Nightingale, M.A., Litt.D. 64 pages. Memorial
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A careful and well-informed historian can often sum up great periods well. Dr. Nightingale here tells briefly the home mission work of 1790-1825. The background is terrible; the county of Worcester, with 160,546 inhabitants, "has been termed the Garden of England, but in a moral light it may be regarded as a waste, howling wilderness": and detailed evidence is given as to Lancashire. It is shown that in one generation, twenty-two County Unions were formed, pastors were stirred to new efforts, and itinerant evangelists were employed. Very striking is the summary that while 295 Congregational churches date from 1662, and 243 were founded next century, no fewer than 577 arose in this Heroic Age. From the Baptist standpoint, we note that this was an echo of what had occurred among us. The Leicestershire movement started with 1745, pastors were widening out to the villages in a score of years, the B.M.S. of 1792 undertook Home Mission work within four years, while our Associations had been doing this work, albeit fitfully, right from their foundation in the seventeenth century. Our Heroic Age was that of Milton and Bunyan.

Students and the Church.

PUNCH, it is well known, was never as good as it used to be.

And Dr. Clifford has recently been pointing out that the cry of the failure of the Churches is no new thing. Whether or not the Churches have really lost ground in their influence upon the national life in the last hundred or fifty years would be an interesting and not unprofitable subject to discuss. But however that may be, it will hardly be disputed that there is to-day a widespread alienation of young people from the Churches. Though definite figures might be hard to give, only a small proportion even of those who pass through our Sunday schools remain in any effective touch with organised religion in later years. And among those who are outside the Churches are not a few who are sincerely devoted to Jesus Christ and care intensely for His Kingdom.

A few years ago we were all "criticising the churches," and parsons were not behindhand in taking their share. To-day, however, there seems to be rather a tendency to self-congratulation again, and references from the platform to ministers who "foul their own nests" by criticising the churches are received with applause. No doubt much recent criticism has been unfair, but surely the way to meet criticism is not simply to get tired of listening to it, but to try to understand its causes and to remove them—so far as the criticism is valid. I believe the tide of organised religion is turning, that we are witnessing now what Neville Talbot has called "the returning tide of faith," and no longer hearing only "the melancholy, long withdrawing roar" of "Dover Beach." I believe the case for the Christian Church in history and in the present is far stronger than is commonly allowed, and that to-day there are signs of a genuine awakening in its life, far more profound than mere revivalism. But whitewash is a poor expedient for strengthening a wall that needs repairs, and there is much to be done before we in the churches are at all adequately meeting the needs of to-day.

My convictions both as to the strength of the case for the Church, and as to the validity of much current criticism have been powerfully reinforced by my experiences during the

last two years. For some time the Student Christian Movement has been growingly concerned at the attitude of students to the Churches, and the reluctance or refusal of many of the best men to enter the ministry. Successive student generations in the Movement have been troubled on this score for the last fifteen or twenty years. In 1913 the S.C.M. set on foot an inquiry in Scotland, but the war put a stop to it before anything definite emerged. Since the war the same issues have arisen, and the General Committee of the Movement appointed in September 1921 a commission, whose terms of reference, broadly speaking, were to investigate the attitude of students to the Church, and to advise as to the future policy of the Movement in this matter. The commission was composed of twenty men and women, graduates of as many different colleges, and representative of various denominations. All had been in close contact with student opinion since graduation, as Student Movement secretaries and in other ways, for periods ranging from two to twenty-five years. The commission met five times for long sessions. To supplement its own knowledge of the situation it issued questionnaires to secure further evidence, to which replies were received from 130 individuals or groups all over the college field. The commission further had the great advantage of the advice of a number of ministers and laymen and women of several denominations. Their report has now been published under the title of *Students and the Church* (S.C.M., 1/6).

The arrogance of the young is proverbial. "I wish I felt as sure of anything as that young man is of everything," remarked a professor after meeting one of his students. And it is a famous saying that "we are none of us infallible, not even the youngest." It is not for me, as one of the commission, to decide how far we have avoided an irritating dogmatism. But I can claim that the report is an honest attempt at diagnosis, inspired by a genuine desire to be constructive and not merely critical. It is largely concerned with a consideration of the attitude of students, concerning which as a body I think we may claim to be well informed. Much of it consists of arguments and recommendations addressed to the student body. But we were obliged to go beyond this and not only to indicate how far student criticism of the Churches seemed to us to be justified, but also to offer suggestions to the responsible leaders of the Churches as to how the situation in our judgment might be met. We are acutely aware of the shortcomings of the report, but it deals with a subject of vital importance to the future of the Church, and we venture to claim that it should be seriously considered.

No one outside the colleges believes that the student is "the measure of all things," but no one who is likely to read this article will require convincing of the importance of the student class. But not only are students important in themselves, I believe that they differ from other young people chiefly in being somewhat more articulate, and that their difficulties and needs are much the same. I fancy that, with little alteration, the report might have been entitled "Young People and the Church."

The report is a document of 120 pages, and all I can hope to do in a short article is to outline its contents and to emphasise some of its main conclusions, in the hope that I may whet the appetite of the readers of this for the report itself. It should be explained, perhaps, that though much that is said would apply to other parts of the British Isles, the commission has confined its attention almost entirely to the situation in England. Not only does that situation differ in many important respects from that in Scotland, Wales, or Ireland, it also presents a condition of greater urgency and difficulty.

In an appendix is printed a summary of the answers to the questionnaires mentioned above, and it might be well for many readers of the report to read that first, as providing a background for its recommendations; but there is not space here to deal with it. The main lines should indeed be apparent implicitly in what follows.

A good deal of the difficulty is due to the lack of any clear idea in the minds of students as to the nature and function of the Church. The idea of the Church does not offer challenge and inspiration: it "does not stand as the champion of any large constructive social ideal. . . . To their untried enthusiasms and idealisms the Church seems rather to be giving a tame and slavish obedience to the standards of the past, than to be grappling heroically with the problems of the present and the future. With the world's social need for background its divisions seem to betoken blindness or indifference to what is most urgent and vital in the life of the day, whilst many of their disagreements seem to be due rather to narrowness and pedantry of mind than to strength of principle. The idea of the Church as a glorious thing is lost in the ingloriousness of the denominations."* However unfair that judgment may be, that is how matters seem to the students, and we can make no progress till we realize it.

The first section of the report is, therefore, an attempt to state in terms convincing to the student mind the ideal of

*This and following quotations are from the report.

the Church, its nature, and purpose. It is argued that one reason for the apparent failure of the Church is just the very bigness of its aim, "for it is working deep down to undermine and do away with those hidden sources of tragedy and trouble which lie in the human spirit, and which no other body on earth attempts or even aspires to remove."

For the realization of such an aim an organised body is necessary, though it is admitted that the expression of any idea in institutional form tends at the same time to obscure and cramp it. "The Church throughout history has been about the work of bringing human life in all its phases into harmony with the Christian ideal of universal love. And in this task it has been governed by two great and often conflicting—but not finally conflicting—necessities: the necessity of giving definite shape and embodiment to its ideas, beliefs, and activities, and the necessity of allowing for growth through free and autonomous response to the requirements of successive phases of its life in communion with the Spirit of God." Here there has been a great historic line of cleavage in the Church, and an attempt is made to outline the point of view of those who have held chiefly by "the ideal of freedom" and those who have held by "the ideal of order." These two complementary ideals have never yet found adequate expression in unity. The Catholic Church is "an unrealized goal"; its complete expression is "still ahead of the confused incompleteness of all the visible organizations."

Since then no denomination completely realizes the ideal, the Commission, while urging attachment to the organised life of the Church, and giving definite advice regarding it, recognizes that students "will be bound to measure the loyalty due from them to any part of the Church according to its practical devotion to the ideal of the Kingdom, its recognition of the claim of fidelity to truth, its readiness to live in fellowship with any parts of the Church which are outside itself."

The report then turns to consider in further detail "the way the Church functions or might function in the matter of worship, service, and teaching." A comparatively lengthy section deals with the worship of the Church, and the difficulties of students both in practice and theory in giving "their sincere and intelligent co-operation," and offers recommendations both to the students and to the Churches in meeting the situation. But the next section on "The Thought of the Church," and its teaching function is, perhaps, of even greater importance, and deserves rather fuller comment here. The amount of sheer misunderstanding of Christianity in the colleges is enormous. In the case of most of the students,

it is not that they have looked at Christianity and deliberately rejected it, through indifference or wickedness or conviction that it is false. They have never really seen it. One of the most profound remarks in the report of the Army and Religion Enquiry was that "if we believed Christianity to be what they think it, we should not be Christians either." That was written of the manhood of the nation generally, and it is certainly true of students. The ignorance even of those who have been brought up in Christian homes concerning Christian doctrine and the modern attitude to the Bible is staggering.

It is a common experience after addressing an audience of students on, say, the inspiration of the Bible, to have men and women gratefully explaining how many of their difficulties have been removed, and then demanding, "Why didn't our minister tell us this?" There is no greater need to-day than for simple and straightforward expositions of the Christian faith in twentieth-century language. Students want to know what Christians believe about the divinity of Christ, the doctrine of the Trinity, the future life, the atonement, the Bible, individual and corporate prayer, and so forth. There is too much of what Dr. George Jackson has described as "suburban preaching" in our pulpits—sermons on pretty texts and vague exhortations to be good or to "believe in Christ." More definite teaching and greater ministerial frankness is demanded, and a drastic overhauling of our educational methods. The most effective evangelism is exposition. It is no good to assume that every one knows what it means to be a Christian, and that all that is necessary is to induce men to act upon that knowledge. They do not know.

"The Church as a fellowship of service" is the title of the next section, which deals with the responsibility of Christians for "translating the values for which Christ stood into actual fact in the world's life—for aggressive and constructive thinking and experiment." "Church membership should definitely commit men and women to seek the Kingdom of God; to seek it in the life of their neighbourhood, in their business, in national and international politics."

Finally, there is a section on "Students and the Ministry of the Church." The case for a full-time ministry is outlined, and the reasons which tend to prevent the right kind of men from coming forward are discussed. Ministers are expected primarily to keep the system going, "to run the machine" with its existing agencies. There is not, men think, scope for initiative and adaptability to present needs. Students who are anxious to reach for Christianity the mass of men outside

the Church fear that to enter the ministry will make them more inaccessible to such people: they do not wish to exercise a ministry only to those already inside the walls. Many have difficulties with regard to credal tests: fortunately not an issue for us in the Baptist ministry. And there is the difficulty raised by the "very doubtful financial prospects." The training for the ministry is touched upon, and then the report closes by urging the Student Christian Movement "to become a recruiting agency for the ministry at home as it is for the service of the Kingdom abroad." This recommendation has already led to the appointment of a Recruiting Committee which is investigating this matter further with a view to action.

Such, briefly, is the scope of the report. This article is, I fear, already too long for the patience of my readers. But if anyone has persevered so far, let me close with a word of comfort. Much of this has perhaps been depressing reading, on account of subject matter and possibly also of style. But I am a confirmed optimist for the future of Christianity in England. There is a Christward movement in the colleges, not only of England, but of the world. Students are perhaps more accessible to-day to the message and the messengers of Christ than they have ever been. It is a day of boundless opportunity. Larger audiences can be secured for religious meetings in the colleges to-day than for any other purpose. It is all the more urgent that the Churches should remove needless difficulties from the way of these young men and women, and "buy up the opportunity" of leading them into the Kingdom of God.

HUGH MARTIN.

Q, the Earliest Gospel? An elementary reconstruction by Albert Peel, M.A., Litt.D. 32 pages, 6d. Teachers and Taught.

This little pamphlet is long overdue. New Testament scholars are fairly agreed that we can identify long extracts from one of the many narratives known to Luke, containing chiefly Sayings of our Lord. Probably it was drawn up even earlier than Mark's gospel, which may have been indebted to it in places; while Luke draws freely on it, as does also the first gospel. But this knowledge has been hidden away in expensive books, and Dr. Peel thinks it well to print in a score of pages the chief passages that were the first fruits of our Lord's teaching, so that Sunday Schools may be able to enter easily into what Christian scholars have studied carefully.

English in Amsterdam

about the time of John Smyth.

JACOB GYSBERT DE HOOP SCHEFFER, professor at the Mennonite College in Amsterdam, was an indefatigable searcher, who readily placed his knowledge at the disposal of inquirers. His ideals were so high that he postponed writing any great work, until death overtook him in 1893, when he was seventy-four years old. After thirty years an American editor, Dr. W. E. Griffis, has translated some of his lectures, and published them, appearing to be ignorant that meanwhile nearly everything of value has been discovered and published by others.

We do welcome, however, a large-scale picture of the great Bake-house, where the followers of John Smyth lived and worshipped, and which their descendants occupied for a century. The site had been independently identified by the present writer, but Professor Scheffer gives an account of the subsequent history down to 1877, showing that the local residents never lost the tradition of the "English Church" which had met there for a generation. It seems that when there was a fusion of three different congregations into one, which built a fine new meeting-house, worship ceased in the Bake-house. Eleven houses on the same plot of ground had been divided into 23 tenements, all occupied by the English, so that the alley leading to them was called the English Alley. It may not be amiss to say that this is quite different from the Brownist Alley, where the members of Ainsworth's church had a meeting-house similarly combined with tenements. The buildings on English Alley were sold one by one to the Mennonite church, but they have passed again into private hands.

Dr. Scheffer published in 1881 an article on the Brownists in Amsterdam, to which he appended, from a book giving the publication of banns between 1598 and 1617, a paraphrase of all the notices which involved English people. These were translated and published in September, 1905, in the *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society*, with a few notes. They have been also translated and republished by the American editor, who adds a few guesses as to the English place-names. The difficulty of these as written by a Dutch clerk from mere dictation,

as condensed and copied once or twice, as interpreted by a Dutchman and an American who know apparently little of England, and as disfigured by a very careless American printer, may be seen by one easy case: Dutch printer, Taenbourch; American interpretation, Tonbury, Worcestershire?; present writer's interpretation, Tenbury, Worcestershire. Or take "Christopher Bomay from London, goldsmith, widower of Elizabeth Dryerlandt; and Janneke Leuft Thomas from Hemstede, widow of Dirk Klerck." Now although "Bomay" is said to be an exact transcript of the man's signature, he is well known as Bowman; so that we cannot trust the decipherer. (It is not our purpose to discuss all the facts, or else it is tempting to study afresh this man whose "last wife" in 1593 was married in Penry's house; we don't know if Elizabeth was third or fourth.) His bride appears to have three names, but this is so exceptional that "Thomas" must be the Christian name of her father; and wherever an apparent surname is a familiar Christian name, this possibility must be borne in mind; several other cases have been tracked down, and results given according to English usage. But what was Janie's surname? The American reads it Leuft, Mr. Crippen as Seuft; no name readily occurs to mind like either, though Light is barely possible; yet compare Anna from Wilts, Luyt in 1609, Lytte in 1614. Hemel Hempstead, Berkhamstead, the Hampsteads of Berks, Essex, Isle of Wight, Middlesex, the Hemsteds of Kent, the Hempsteads of Essex, Gloucester, Kent, Norfolk, and the Isle of Wight, offer a bewildering choice. Richard Clark is known from other sources, but hardly affords a clue.

Yet only two other cases still remain in reasonable doubt. William Johns, widower of Judith Milles, from London, himself belonged to "Beynessen," somewhere in Wilts. or Somerset, for the church of Benesson joined with others thence in 1669; the widow of Simon "Willes" does not help. Margery Organ was of "Kasselwey"; her family was in Smyth's group, and she married an Epworth man, but her own place is not obvious. As K has elsewhere been substituted for H, we suggest Hesley, near Austerfield.

There are no other cases that baffle the inquirer, and we may be glad of these 118 entries where the Dutch custom required the origin of the bride and bridegroom to be registered. We have neglected a few cases where they married Dutch people, our purpose being to find out what English counties were represented at this time in Amsterdam. The results throw a little more light on four Separatist emigrations under Johnson and Ainsworth from London, under White from the west country, under Smyth from the Trent, under Robinson from East Anglia.

It does not seem necessary to reproduce either Scheffer's Dutch, which is not an exact transcript of the registers, or the English of either of his translators, or to exhibit further the critical and constructive processes; but the classified results may now be presented. Those known to be of the Ancient Church are marked *, those known to be Baptist are marked †; but no full church rolls are extant.

NORTHUMBERLAND.

Bartholomew Silman of Alnwick, 1612, bombazine weaver.

YORKSHIRE.

†Swithin Grindal of Tunstall, 1615, ligature maker. Translator of the correspondence with London and Lincoln ten years later.

*Elizabeth and Mary Johnson of Richmond, 1600.

William Latham of Sherburn, "Chierbory," 1600.

LINCOLNSHIRE.

†Edward Armfield of Epworth, 1611, damask-weaver: the family lived here for a century.

Elizabeth Glinde of Gilby, 1612.

Ursula Hardstaff of Gedney, 1615, widow of Thomas Bywater.

Elizabeth Meryweder of Ingoldsby, 1613.

†John Murton of Gainsborough, 1608, furrier.

†The Piggotts of Axholm, most lived here for long, though Thomas returned with Murton, and edited Smyth's last work; Francis 1608, hodman; Elizabeth 1610.

†Dorothy Strutt of Axholm, 1612, cousin to Francis Piggott.

†The Thomsons of Louth: Solomon 1612, bombazine weaver, and his father Anthony.

NOTTINGHAM.

The Bannisters of Retford. Gertrude 1608.

*Richard Clyfton of Sutton cum Lound.

Henry Collins, "Cullandt," whose banns had been put up by Clyfton at Sutton, but who had to flee in haste, and was the first from these parts to be married here, 5 July 1608. Bombazine weaver.

Margery Dale of Lound, 1608.

Margery "Grymsdiche," of Sutton, bride of Collins, 1608.

†The Hodgkins of Worksop, lived here long: Jane, 1608; Alexander, 1615, damask-weaver.

Jane Hodry, 1613.

Rosamond Horsfield of Worksop, 1609; went on to Leyden.

James Hurst of Retford, 1608, bombazine weaver.

William Jepson of Worksop, 1609, carpenter; went on to Leyden.

Margaret Morris of Scrooby, 1615.

†Margery Organ of Hesley? 1611.

The Roberts family; John, 1616, painter.

Margaret Strutt of Basford, 1608.

Elizabeth Sharp, 1612.

Thomas Willason of Bevercoates, 1603, bombazine weaver.

John Williams of Retford, 1608, bombazine weaver.

Jervis "Zetwell" (which may be a misreading of Neville, well known in connection with Smyth), 1601, box-maker.

DERBY.

Dorothea Berrit, 1608.

William Davids, 1616, embroiderer.

STAFFORD.

Robert Davenport, 1609, hawker.

Giles Silvester of "Adamchartle," or Holm Chartley? 1613.

LEICESTER.

Peter Alken of Melton Mowbray, 1616, bladesmith.

Mary Arnold of Leicester, 1613, with parents Anthony and Ellen.

Moses Johnson of Leicester, 1601, bombazine weaver.

*Richard Mansfield, 1614, bombazine weaver.

Robert Newman of "Syts," perhaps Syston, 1608, bombazine frizzler.

*Joseph Tatham, 1601, bombazine weaver.

Margaret Williams, 1606.

RUTLAND.

Ruth Walker of Market Overton, 1615, and father Edward.

NORTHANTS.

*John Beauchamp, 1608.

Alice Goodfellow, 1607.

*Deliverance Penry, 1611.

NORFOLK.

*Henry Ainsworth of Swanton, 1607, teacher.

Anne Colman of Worstead, 1610.

John Dericks of Norwich, 1607, bombazine weaver.

Ursula Drury of Kenninghall, 1604, Norwich, 1614.

*Christopher Laund or Lawne, who conformed, and wrote a book denouncing the Separatists; 1610, button-maker.

Ada Spyker of Yarmouth, 1605.

Richard Witt of Burston, or of Burstall in Suffolk, or of Burstead in Essex, "Brust," 1604, sailor.

SUFFOLK.

Matthew Auckland of Brightwell, 1610, glover, 1615.

Margery Halie of Ipswich, 1607, widow of *Richard Appleby :
compare Mr. *Halies.
Magdalen " Jans " of Ipswich, 1606.
Thomas Marston of Harleston, 1600, mason.
Edward Scheys, 1607, tailor.
Walter Smith of Bury St. Edmunds, 1610, tobacco-pipe maker.
Anna Thomas of Ipswich, 1616.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

John Clark of Newton, 1604, cobbler.
Jane Coulson of Wisbech, 1607.
William Hoyt of Wisbech, 1609, brother of
Jacomyne May of Wisbech, 1609.
Dorothy May of Wisbech, 1613, bride of William Bradford of
Leyden.
Thomas Mitchells, 1606, turner, on to Leyden.
Elizabeth Smyth, 1612.

HUNTINGDON.

Hendrik Hendrickszoon of Stilton, 1608, draper. That is the
way he himself signed, but his original name was probably
Henry Harrison.

BEDFORD.

Richard Galy, 1611, mason.
Edward Philip, 1613, bombazine weaver.
Anne Sharp, 1611.
William Williams, 1607, bombazine weaver.

ESSEX.

Jane Cras, 1603.
The Harts of Hatfield; Jonathan 1612, bombazine weaver,
and father John.
Edward Hynes of Hatfield, 1604, bombazine weaver.
Richard Mortlock of Harwich, 1611, 1613, blacksmith.
Elizabeth Williams, 1601.
Jane Williams or " Tangin " of Ingatestone, 1611.

LONDON.

*Sarah Bellatt, widow of Arthur Billet from Llanteglos, near
Fowey, 1602.
*Christopher Bowman, 1602, goldsmith.
*David Breston, 1606.
*†Thomas Cannadyne, 1607, embroiderer.
Julian Christoffels, or Raphier? 1601.
Anna Clerk, widow of Raphier, 1598.
Mary Clerk, 1616.
Timotheus Elkes of London, 1613, physician.
Rose " Grempe " or Greenbury, 1604.

- Catherine "Grienberg," sister of Rose "Grienberch," 1604.
 Sarah Hagel, 1615, and her father John.
 Frances Holmes, 1601, 1605.
 Susanna Ingles, 1612.
 Judith Jans, 1606, widow of *William Holder.
 "Saertje Jans," 1601, widow of Luke Nicholson.
 Mary "Jens," 1610, step-daughter of Roger Waterer.
 Robert "Jelison," or Elison, 1606.
 "Claes Jonge" or Nicholas Young, 1616, cooper.
 Elizabeth *George and Catherine Martyn, 1599.
 Henry Mot, 1615, cane chair maker.
 "Saartje" Paris, 1612, compare *Richard Paris.
 Roger Payne, 1606; bombazine frizzler; and perhaps Sarah,
 John, Imneken, whose abode is not mentioned, 1615.
 Mary Perkins, 1611, and father Thomas.
 Thomas Porter, 1604, tallow chandler.
 Abraham Pratt, 1612, barber aboard a ship.
 William Richardson, 1605, bombazine weaver.
 Thomas Salisbury, 1612, box-maker.
 Thomas Sanford, 1616, silk ribbon weaver.
 Jane Smyth, 1606.
 *Daniel Studley, 1614.
 Jane Swaine, 1611.
 John Thomas, 1605, mason; Mary, 1616, and mother Mary.
 Anthony Trafford, 1609, hatter.
 *Roger Waterer, 1610, messenger between the members in
 London and Amsterdam.
 Aelken Wilkins, 1606.
 Benjamin Wright, 1599, engraver.

KENT.

- Timothy Moses of "Penchaster in Kentshire," 1613: John
 Moses of Sandwich was at Leyden.
 Henry Reckode of Sandwich, 1615, comber.
 Elizabeth Sodwell, or Isabel Serwell, 1600.

SUSSEX.

- Thomas Brown, 1611, bombazine printer.
 Thomas Cox of Chichester, 1609, tailor. This name and Ciren-
 cester appear in the most marvellous spellings. "Justina
 Kox, Sissethel," 1611.
 Anna Paris, "Checheschester," 1606.
 Edward Pekzeal of "Wordinghegen." Either Worthing, or
 Fordingbridge, as he was cousin to Jane Charter of Salis-
 bury. Compare *Pecksall "the prophet." 1611, tailor;
 banns forbidden.

HAMPSHIRE.

- Thomas Adams, 1605, glover.
 Richard Barents of Lyndhurst, 1601, skilled journeyman smith.
 Henry Collgell of Hurst Castle, 1602, tailor.
 Ralph Hamlin of Fordingbridge, 1609, tailor: with brother
 Henry and mother Judith.
 Maria Hutton of "Dubbesbridge," Fordingbridge? 1611.
 Anne Hutton of "Boolem"? 1613.
 *Cuthbert Hutton of "Daelton," Downton? 1608, pewterer.
 Elizabeth Nares, 1614, divorced from Stephen Bradley.
 Oliver Smyth of Southampton, 1612, tailor.
 Barbara Stubbard of Southampton, 1612.
 William Waldern of "Clackfort," Clatford? 1615.

DORSET.

- Constance Coward of Weymouth, 1602.
 Rainold Hart of Abbotsbury, 1613.

DEVON.

- William Penrose, 1611, bombazine weaver.

CORNWALL.

- Marjorie Willoughby of Fowey, 1613; compare Bellat of London.

WILTS.

- Jane Charter of Salisbury, 1612.
 Josewy Cobart, 1611, bombazine weaver.
 Anna Elinat, 1604.
 Edward Hamlin of Salisbury, 1612, bombazine weaver.
 William Hawkins, 1604, hodman.
 John Higgins of Chippenham; "Jan Haecgens, Chipnom," 1605,
 bombazine weaver.
 William, *John, and Thomas Huntley of Bradford, 1600, bom-
 bazine weavers.
 "Sytgen Jansd" of Bradford; daughter of John Stevens?
 Robert Jaques, 1612, bombazine weaver; compare *Robert
 Jackson.
 William Johns of "Beynessen," 1613, bombazine weaver.
 Anna Light, 1609, 1614.
 Thomas Norwayer of Chippenham, 1607, bombazine weaver.
 Jane Richmond of Hilperton, 1600.
 Anna Sanders of Salisbury, 1613; compare *Clement Sanders.
 Charles Shirkley or Thicels of Salisbury: his signature as a
 bridegroom in 1611 is read Thicels, as a widower in 1617
 Shirkley.
 Margaret Sly of Hilperton, 1601.
 John Stevens of Bradford, 1600, 1602.

Annie Thomas of Warminster, 1601.

*John Whatley of Westbury, 1601, bombazine weaver.

*Thomas White of Slaughtertord, "Sechtenfort"; 1604.

Frederick Yearbury of Beckington, 1601, tallow-chandler.

SOMERSET.

"Aelken Braedje" of Wells; Ellen Brady? 1610.

*Alexander Carpenter of Wrington, 1600; on to Leyden.

Anthony Fetcher of (Frome) Selwood, 1600, bombazine weaver.

Thomas Giles of Hampton, 1606, 1614, cutler.

Susanna Goldt of the West Country, 1610.

Elizabeth Henry, 1611.

Mary Hill of "Oppen," 1600; probably Upton, as she married a Bradford man.

Anne Jans of Bruton, 1611.

William Marie Johanssoon of Wrington, 1603, bombazine weaver.

William Jansen of Taunton, 1611, bombazine weaver.

Els Luys, widow of Thomas Dickers, 1604.

William Masit of "Passit," Portishead? 1613, bombazine weaver.

Susanna "Muessinck" of Wrington, 1610.

Thomas Syarth of Barrington, 1615, bombazine weaver.

Mary Thomas of Froom, 1605.

Samuel Whitaker, 1611, bombazine weaver; and probably Anne, mother of Frances Holmes; compare *Geffrey Whitakers.

Edward Williams of Barrington, 1604, woodsawyer.

CARMARTHEN.

Rees Howell, 1602, bombazine weaver.

GLOUCESTER.

John Brown of Bristol, 1610, glover.

Margaret Eylon, 1602.

Timothea Freckleton of (?Kings) "Standley," 1607.

Anne Hanson of "Cirnter," 1613.

Anne Heyes of "Chissester," 1600, "Glocester," 1602; compare *Mother Heas.

"Annetje Lyfela, Sissester," 1606; perhaps Annie Loveller, Cirencester.

Dorothea and Thomas Perkins, Thornbury, 1613.

WORCESTER.

Richard Bennett, 1602, turner; 1610, ivory-turner; Francis and Joseph probably, as they all signed at once in 1612.

Elizabeth Jones of Tenbury, 1609.

John Osborne, 1607, case maker.

WARWICK.

- *Thomas Cockey of Stratford, 1598, chief manservant.
 William Cok of Loxley, 1610, bombazine weaver.
 Susanna Sanders, 1608; compare *Matthew Sanders.
 John Trout and daughters of Stratford, 1604.
 Thomas Yellison or Ellison of Stratford, 1613, button-maker.

BUCKS.

- "Celiken Jelisd., Brakkelaë," 1613; as her father Thomas witnessed the register, her name may have been Celia Yellison or Ellison, of Brackley.
 Elizabeth Joisd. of "Delberry," probably Aylesbury, 1605.
 Richard Plater of Buckingham, 1613, compositor.

OXON.

- Prudence Blass of Burford, 1608.
 Anna Harris of Handborough, 1616.
 John Simons of "Baster" or Bicester, 1606, schoolmaster.

BERKSHIRE.

- Frances Cotton, 1607; and John Cot[ton] of Uffington, 1611, cutler.
 "Hans Hatmercer," probably *Elder Stanshall Mercer, 1602.
 Aelken Martins of Bray, 1607.
 Elske Tillet of Newbury, 1613.
 Anna Trafford, 1607.
 Edmund Webb, 1607, bombazine weaver.

The occupations of the men are interesting. Not one had any work on the land; though in England many must have been employed at agriculture, Amsterdam was chiefly water, interspersed with crowded artificial islands. Only two worked afloat, one as a sailor, the other as a ship's barber. A few were in the building trade, three as masons, two as hodmen, one as sawyer, one as carpenter, one as painter. One was a cooper, one a turner, one made chains, three made boxes. One was a blacksmith, one a bladesmith, two were cutlers, one a skilled journeyman smith, one a pewterer, one a goldsmith, one an engraver, one an ivory-turner. One was a hatter, one a furrier, one a cobbler, three were glovers. Thirty-three wove bombazine, two frizzled it, one printed it; one combed wool, another wove it into fustian. Two wove damask, one silk ribbons, two embroidered, two made buttons; there were six tailors, a draper, a hawkier. One made tobacco-pipes, and there were two tallow-chandlers. One superior manservant, a compositor, two teachers, and a physician complete the list of those who specified their occupations.

From other sources we could more than double the list of

names, especially of those who were members of the Ancient Church or the Baptist; but we could not directly identify their localities. Bradford says that in 1607 there were about 300 communicants in the former. We must not forget that in that year the Dutch authorities formally constituted another congregation, composed chiefly of English and Scotch, ministered to by John Paget, lately chaplain to the English regiment, but now settling down as pastor. His position was singular, for he was in episcopal orders, though he had been ejected from Nantwich for nonconformity, and he preferred posts abroad, where he need not conform or be ruled by any bishop. On the other hand he had accepted the Dutch Confession of Faith, and this congregation belonged to the Dutch Reformed Church, whence he derived his jurisdiction, being assigned to a "classis" or presbytery. Doubtless many of the people mentioned in these marriage registers belonged to his congregation. Yet he incidentally mentions that there were three or four hundred in the Ancient Church, whereas his building could barely hold two hundred.

Three or four geographical groups are revealed. One was connected with London, and its story as the "Ancient Church" has been told again and again. It deserves attention as the first Separatist Church to continue for any length of time; it presently had as its pastor John Canne, who popularised marginal references to the Bible, was mistaken by Edward Terrill for a Baptist, helped the infant Broadmead church, favoured the Fifth-Monarchy, was chaplain to the garrison of Hull. The church in Amsterdam which he deserted lingered on till in 1701 there were only about six left; they handed over their property to, and joined, the State Church originally constituted under Paget, still worshipping on the Bagynhof, in English.

A second group belonged to Hants, Wilts, and Somerset. We knew that it had come under Thomas White, whom we can now identify as from Slaughterford, midway between Chippenham and Marshfield; but its importance has not been generally recognized. When White himself deserted it, the members naturally attached themselves to one or other of the Separatist churches in the city. It was evidently through these people that Smyth's books went up the Hampshire Avon, so that we find early churches at Fordingbridge, Downton, Salisbury, Rushall. They may have prepared the way for the later churches on the Wiltshire Avon, but these were Particular Baptist.

A group of people from the Severn and the Warwickshire Avon is revealed, and may well repay investigation. There is much probability that this indicates another Separatist emigration which has escaped notice.

The northern group from the neighbourhood of Gainsborough

and Scrooby deserves close attention. Ever since the publication of Governor Bradford's manuscript story of the Pilgrim Fathers and the Old Colony, it has been customary to assume that the majority of the Pilgrims and of the Leyden church came from where Yorks., Notts., and Lincs. meet. The investigation of the Leyden marriage and house registers by the Dexters has quite disproved that, although the delusion dies hard. It is well worth while stating again that the only Pilgrims who came from this part of the kingdom were the Bradfords and the Brewsters, whose fame must not make them to be multiplied in number. Robinson's work had been chiefly in Norwich, and many from the eastern counties came over. He organised a new church in Amsterdam, and early in 1609 one hundred persons, or thereabouts, men and women, applied for leave to settle in Leyden. For eleven years this church was augmented further from England, but many members never went to America; many of the Old Colony settlers were attracted thither by the influence of Edward Winslow, far and away the most capable man they had. He drew from his own district up the Severn, naming his own town Marshfield, his estate Kerswell; he brought a large contingent from where his sister had married near Dorchester. It is deeply to be regretted that the tercentenary of the Pilgrim Fathers left all these facts unstudied, and hashed again irrelevant details as to Scrooby.

Most of the people from near Scrooby stayed in Amsterdam, as this list well indicates. A few, like Clyfton, may have thrown in their lot with the Ancient Church, but most became Baptist with John Smyth. Professor Scheffer gives glimpses of them for over a century living in the twenty-three tenements they bought on "English Alley." As they thus melted into the Dutch population, and the Mennonite body, it is quite explicable why no English have cared to study them closely. All the more welcome, therefore, is this belated translation of the Dutch lectures.

W. T. WHITLEY.

EARLY WARRINGTON NONCONFORMITY. By Arthur Mounfield, F.R.Hist.S.

It is a pleasure to see a monograph by a competent antiquarian. He confines himself deliberately to the Presbyterian church and the Academy. But his researches incidentally led to documents which give a number of Baptist and Quaker names before 1687, and he plainly states that both these bodies were organised before the Nonconformists. We will hope that he will presently tell their story in the same way.

The English Career of John Clarke, Rhode Island.

THE question has arisen, what was this Baptist champion doing between 1652 and 1663. It is well known that he emigrated from Suffolk in 1637, was dissatisfied with the state of affairs at Boston, and led a new colony to the island of Aquidneck, which they bought and named Rhode Island. Here he conducted worship, and after the arrival of Mark Lucar from London, a Baptist church was organised at Newport about 1644. He won converts at Seekonk in the Old Colony, who were prosecuted, and therefore came to strengthen the island church. In July 1651 he went to visit a man at Lynn, in Massachusetts, a member of his church, and this led to a prosecution, when fines were paid for him and another visitor, the third being whipped. He was sent to England to defend the colony against the ill-will of its neighbours, and sailed in November. Next May the Baptist publisher, Henry Hills, issued his *Ill News from New-England; or, A Narrative of New-England's Persecution*. The Massachusetts people were very alive to their danger, and Cobbet, the minister of Lynn replied in February 1653. But this elicited no response from Clarke, and scarcely anything has been known about him for the next ten years.

The attempt is made here to fill the gap; but there is danger of confusion with other men of the same name. One John Clark was prominent in Connecticut, which was generally in opposition to Rhode Island, so that it is not hard to identify him. Another was excessively prominent in the army, and his papers are now a mine of wealth as to the inner history of that famous body. In the calendars of State papers, there is some reason to think that each of these has been confused with our man.

There are on the other hand fragments of information about a John Clarke in touch with the Fifth Monarchists, which have not hitherto been associated with the Rhode Islander, but which may relate to him. It has not always been remembered that the expectation of Christ appearing to

inaugurate the Fifth Monarchy was very vivid in New England: John Eliot preached on it, Thomas Venner was so attracted by it that he returned to England to facilitate actively. In the earlier half of 1653 Cromwell himself was thinking on these lines, and his speech in July to the Nominated Parliament is full of Fifth-Monarchy ideas. During the next six months he became convinced that the whole idea was irreconcilable with the actual situation, and when in December the Parliament dissolved itself, and asked him to provide for government, he acquiesced. Thenceforward he and the Fifth Monarchists were in deadly opposition.

Now for those months our Clarke was busy in England on the colony's business, and in the Colonial State Papers his movements can be traced, till in the spring of 1654 the Protector and Council decided to incorporate the colony, and to send letters that the colony should proclaim the Protector. In September letters of thanks were sent by the assembly of freemen for Clarke's services, which were continued at least till next spring, as a letter of 29 March by Cromwell evinces. Then there is a gap.

In August 1654 a Fifth Monarchy manifesto was issued, announcing that regular meetings would be held to discuss the topic. Signatures of 150 men were appended, and the list is well worth studying from many standpoints; the whole pamphlet was reprinted in our *Transactions*, III., 129-153. For our present purpose we note 14 members of Knollys' church, 9 of Simpson's, including Peter Kidd, 12 of Jessey's, including George Barret and John Clarke. The question is whether this man is the Rhode-Islander. He must have been allied with some London church during his long residence in England, and as he was well educated, Jessey's would be decidedly attractive to him.

Next year Henry Hills was licensed to print a concordance drawn up by John Clarke, physician, of Rhode Island. No copy is known, or it would have been interesting to search for any sign of interest in the Fifth Monarchy.

The description as "physician" raises the question whether he had obtained any medical degree, when, and where. It is only too usual to ante-date a man's degree, so that a man honoured with a doctorate at the age of sixty will be mentioned in after times as "Doctor" when the events thirty years earlier are being described. It is quite possible that Clarke graduated at Cambridge on his visit of 1652, and had not obtained his degree when he emigrated at the age of 29. The university records deserve to be explored for this purpose.

Next came up a family affair in 1656. His wife Elizabeth

was entitled to a legacy from her father, John Hayes, of Wrestlingworth; and he acted in the matter. There is no doubt as to the identity in this case.

Early in 1657 there was a move to change the title of Cromwell's office, and call him king. This would have two obvious advantages; his powers would then be well-known, so that arbitrary action could be resisted constitutionally; and any one serving a "king" *de facto* was protected against any charge of treason. But there were many who wished to keep kingship abolished, and opposition was quickly manifested, of many kinds.

On 3 April an address was presented to Cromwell, signed chiefly by Baptists, begging him to refuse, consistently with his former views. A few of the signatures run:—H. Jessey, John Clarke, Hanserd Knollys, Henry Jackson, Wm. Warren, John Spilsbery. We know that Clarke of Rhode Island was a friend of Jessey, Knollys, and Spilsbery; so it seems reasonable to take this as an indication of the Rhode Islander's political position. The document was reprinted in the Hanserd Knollys Society's *Confessions of Faith*, pages 335-338.

Within six days the violent upholders of the Fifth Monarchy were arrested in Shoreditch, a few hours before they intended a rising: their leader was Thomas Venner. Within a fortnight all danger of an armed insurrection seemed over. In this movement it does not appear that Clarke was concerned, or at least he was not recognized.

It was evident that Cromwell was ruling, whether under the title king or under the title Protector; and to his methods of rule there was opposition from many quarters. Constant manifestoes appeared, and meetings were frequently held. In April 1658 several people were arrested at Coleman Street meeting, including John Canne, Cornet Wentworth Day, John Clarke, John Belcher, Peter Kidd. Clarke and Day were tried at the Old Bailey for sedition, when Jessey and Barrett appeared to countenance them. Clarke defended himself with spirit, charged the judges with treason, and produced acts of Parliament to prove his case, to their great confusion. The jury acquitted him on most counts, and justified his action on the rest. Nevertheless the judges sentenced him next day. The others were brought up that day and were countenanced by Richard Goodroom, another Baptist.

The question again arises whether this able man is the Rhode Islander.

After the death of Cromwell, there was no one strong enough to govern. The leaders of the army quarrelled,

Parliament after Parliament sat and was re-modelled, and within eighteen months people were ready to acquiesce in any government that would maintain order. A Fifth Monarchy petition was presented in September 1659, and while it was signed by Jessey, Goodgroom, Day, no John Clarke appears in the list. This suggests that the man of 1654 and 1658 had now abandoned the cause.

Clarendon tells in his *History* that several Baptists in 1659 made overtures to Charles; he mentions scarcely any names, and no thorough search has been made in scattered papers to unearth them. There is some probability that our John Clarke at least sympathized with their attitude.

Charles II. was recalled in 1660, and the last serious attempt of the Fifth Monarchy was made when Venner rose in rebellion early in January 1661. Three days after his defeat there appeared a pamphlet of eight pages:—*The plotters unmasked, murderers no saints, or, a word in season to all those that were concerned in the late rebellion against the peace of their king and country, on the sixth of January last at night, and the ninth of January. By a friend of righteousness, and a lover of all men's souls, knowing that one is of more worth than ten thousand worlds, John Clarke.* There can be little doubt that this was the man who had been attracted by the movement, but had never associated himself with the extremists. He took this opportunity of emphatically disowning the rebels.

On 29 January, John Clarke of Rhode Island put in a petition for a royal charter to the colony, and he followed it up on 5 February. On 28 March he gave thanks for the measure of success attained, saying that he was about to sail. This was quick work, and we can see that if he was the pamphleteer, such loyal support would tell to the advantage of his colonial agency.

He possibly went to Rhode Island to explain the situation and obtain renewed powers. These were conferred on 27 August by an assembly, and in April 1662 he was stimulated by a gift of land in Providence. He reappears in England on 7 April, 1663, with an agreement as to the boundary with Connecticut satisfactory to Winthrop. On 8 July he received the long-desired charter, and sent it out via Boston. He himself was out in July 1664, and in September he was sent to the Commissioners for New England; next February he approved of the king's policy in sending rich coats to the Indian sachems, a policy doubted by some. In 1666 and 1667 he sent news to London about hostile fleets and their movements. In the latter year he was discussing boundaries with

the adjoining colonies; and the activities of his life till 1672 are well known.

It is more to our present purpose to note that John Belcher, arrested in 1658 as a Fifth Monarchist, evolved into a Seventh-day Baptist. In 1668 he joined in a letter from the church in Bell Lane, London, to the Baptist church in Newport, Rhode Island, which led in 1671 to the formation of a separate Seventh-day church. But this John Belcher was associated in 1658 with the John Clarke who made such a spirited defence.

Thus the probability seems high that it is one and the same man.

THE BAPTIST CHURCHES OF ACCRINGTON AND DISTRICT: their formation and gradual development, with numerous character sketches of Baptist Worthies. Compiled by Robert J. V. Wylie, 467 pages, 103 illustrations. 10/6 net. Wellington Press, Accrington.

Seldom have we seen a local history so full, so accurate, so interesting. Those who remember that William Howie Wylie was biographer of Carlyle, besides being a skilled journalist, will rejoice that the family ability has been turned to such a theme. Accrington under Charles Williams, George Macalpine, and James Moffat Logan won a national reputation; but few knew that Cannon Street was but the centre of a cluster of churches rendering fine service in north-east Lancashire. There is a wealth of story in these pages, which are mercifully free from theological discussion and absurd legends of antiquity. While they will be conned with delight on many a Pennine hill, or in the dales, they are full of anecdotes which illustrate conditions rapidly passing away. Baptist interest in schooling was strongly evinced here, and the story may set us pondering why we have closed nearly all our denominational elementary schools. There are glimpses at August pilgrimages to disused sites; constant allusions to the love of music, both vocal and orchestral; mention of revivals. It is amazing what this district has done for the denomination; who knows that Joseph Angus was prepared for the ministry under Joseph Harbottle? Perhaps few areas can show such a record; but every one intending to chronicle the story of his own church should get this and see how to do it.

Prosecutions of Worcestershire Dissenters under the Stuarts.

ONLY in the present century have the records of Quarter Sessions between 1660 and 1687 been systematically explored to discover what dissenters were "presented" for absence from church, or convicted for presence at conventicles. Any one who lives within reach of his county town can do good service in this way, if he does not mind very dirty and tedious work, can decipher the remarkable hand that clerks of the peace affected, and has some bowing acquaintance with what was imagined to be Latin. It may well take a day to overcome initial difficulties, and to understand the method in which his county documents are arranged. But once these are mastered, a week will probably suffice to trace out the sufferings of dissenters for a generation. It should be remembered that certain cities within the geographic county had separate records of their own, so that Southampton must be examined as well as Winchester if Hampshire is to be understood.

When results are forthcoming, they will interest Quakers, Baptists, Independents, and Presbyterians. Papal recusants are generally mentioned separately, for they were liable to a regular monthly fine; but Protestant dissenters were seldom discriminated, and if the informers tried, they often made mistakes. Thus in Worcestershire it was customary at first to call everybody a Quaker, though a slight distinction was recognized, and some were "professed Quakers." Only after some years did it dawn on the authorities that some were "Anabaptists"; and they never recognized any other dissenters in the county.

From our side we know of Baptist churches at Bewdley-Bromsgrove, and at Worcester, before 1660, in the Midland Association.

In March 1659/60, Thomas Boylston, the Baptist leader, was still a J.P., and bailiff of Bewdley; but within the year things changed radically. In January 1660/1 John Heate was

charged with being at an unlawful assembly; at the end of March there were 14 Baptists and several Quakers in the Worcester jail. By the end of 1661 William Webley was indicted for refusing to take the oath of allegiance at Suckley. With July 1662 prosecutions began in earnest. For being at an unlawful meeting in Dudley, John Newton and John Payton and Thomas Dunton got into trouble, while Sir John Pakington committed several "Quakers So Called": Richard Payton, Edward Hall, George Fort, Henry Gibbs, Edward Gibbs, William Collins, John Johnson, William Workman, for being at an unlawful meeting; Richard R—— for refusing the oath of allegiance.

By August 1662, more than thirty-five local clergy retired from the parish pulpits. In other parts, many of them were supported by their friends and opened conventicles. But Worcestershire was rather an exception. Baxter aspired to play a part on a wider stage, and evangelical work was carried on at Kidderminster so quietly that Baldwin and his flock were never prosecuted. The Pedobaptists in the city were rather braver, and the cause they founded flourishes to-day at Angel Street. Spilsbury of Bromsgrove, and O'Brien of Swinford, at Stourbridge did honourable work. But the only other clergyman who did much work was Browne of White-lady Aston; and his efforts led to the Baptist church at Pershore. It is surprising how vanishing was the Pedobaptist work.

In December Richard Payton was committed on pre-munire, Edward Hall for words in open court; for assembling at worship, Joseph Cooper, Henry Gibbs, W. Collins, W. Webb, Robert Bayliss, Richard Walker, Abraham Weaver, Joseph Walker, Richard Bennett, W. Eades, and Stephen Pitway.

Records are missing for three years, and when they begin again, there was a new act, forbidding all Conventicles on pain of imprisonment or transportation. The rolls for 1665 abound in prosecutions.

Thomas Thornbury, of Eckington, had jostled his vicar and accused him of sacrilege in that he declared a bastard, after it was christened, was regenerate: being told that the Church bade him say so, he responded contemptuously, "Church! the Church lies then; is this your religion? are these your priests? the devil is in your priests, your religion."

At a general jail delivery in April, Thomas Feckenham was left in jail under a statute of James, evidently because he would not take the oath of allegiance. He is well known as a Baptist evangelist, but the fact that he would not take an

oath was sufficient ground for the county authorities to describe him presently as a Quaker.

Richard Hunt was charged with using opprobrious words against his majesty: "Down with this king of Babylon, this popery and these idolatrous ways as is now set up, and that they may not touch thy anointed."

In July Feckenham was again left in jail, and Samuel Corbyn "head and leader of conventicles" joined him because he would not take the oath of allegiance. Others not delivered were Edward Henry, John Rose, Josiah Hayward, Philip Alchurch, for holding unlawful meetings in their houses under pretence of religious worship.

September saw two or three new groups. A conventicle was held on the sixth at Bredon, when the officers caught James Sampson of Stoke Prior, shoemaker, Aaron Ward, George Ricketts, Thomas Ricketts, William George, Richard Hanley, Richard Walker, and Thomas Howslip, all averred to be dangerous, and one previously an officer in arms against the king. That did not deter others meeting twice in the next fortnight, wherefore John Bennett of Tredington, John Gunn, shoemaker, John Greene, tailor, Robert Lyne, carpenter, and George Greene, tailor, got into trouble. On 10 September John Halford of Armscott entertained a conventicle, for which he was summoned with William Banbury of Blackwell, Henry Stocke, Richard Payne, William Fleetwood, William Halford junior, John Sims, Robert Banbury, and John Buller. These were probably all Quakers.

We are well aware of the Baptist church of Bromsgrove at this time. Another trace of its persistence is that on 15 April, 1666, George Robinson of Bishop's Cleeve in Gloucestershire was fined 40s. for being at a conventicle in Chadwick, and refusing to pay, was sent to Worcester jail for two months.

In January some "Quakers" were taken at a conventicle, place unnamed, and were committed to jail by Thomas Wylde: William Pitt, Richard Fyds, Abraham Roberts, Richard Lewis, Edward Lewis, Edward Staunton, John Weight, Alexander Berdslye, Thomas Fitrale, and John Hoskins.

But an effort was made by Charles to secure more lenity, and a circular letter was sent out from Whitehall on 10 December, requiring a return of all prisoners in the jails on matters of religion, especially of Quakers. This elicited a return, of which fortunately the Clerk kept a copy, slightly illegible in places:—

"In obedience to your Honour's commands by your letter of the 10th of December last, we have at our general sessions

of that year, holden for the county of Worcester at the city of Worcester the xiiii day of this instant January, taken on account of all the criminal prisoners now remaining in the gaol of this county of Worcester of which we humbly render an account as followeth:—

“Thomas Payton late of Dudley in the county of Worcester, tailor, a professed Quaker, taken at a conventicle of Quakers in the said town of Dudley, a place much infested with Quakers and disorderly persons, and committed to the gaol the 7th of July, xiiii Caroli, and being a stubborn and incorrigible person was at the next sessions following tendered the oath of allegiance which he refused to take, was indicted and convicted of a premunire.

“Thomas Feckenham, another leader of the same sect, was likewise apprehended about 3 years since and tendered the oath of allegiance, and being still obstinate and [] has been continued a prisoner but with some liberty now and then extended towards with kindness which not as yet wrought and conformity or submission in him.

“John Jenkins, Wm. Pardoe, Quakers ex-communicated in the consistory of Hereford and taken by a writ De excommunicato capiendo about a year since.

“John Roberts of Droitwich in the county of Worcester, a professed Quaker, of a sufficient estate, for using his trade and calling on the Sunday or Lord's Day to the evil example of his neighbours, living in a market, was likewise presented and excommunicated and taken upon the same writ De excommunicato capiendo about a year since.

“John Tombs of the same place for the like offence and for refusing to permit the sacred ordinance of baptism to be administered to his children was likewise excommunicated and taken upon the like writ and delivered ut supra.

“Job Alibone, Tom Hodges. Both professed Quakers, for the like offence of denying baptism to their children and for obstinate refusing to come to church, was likewise excommunicated and taken upon the like presentment.

“All which persons so committed upon the writs De excommunicato capiendo are by the overmuch indulgence of the late sheriffs, undersheriffs and gaoler permitted to go at liberty about their occasions which over [kindness?] doth encourage them to persist in their presumptuous and incorrigible behaviour and are not to be found in prison [except?] for about an hour or a night once in six or eight weeks time.”

Apparently an order came to free them all, for the next return of those in jail includes none of this class. This encouraged all classes. The Baptist church at Worcester

re-organized on 10 February, 1666/7, with eleven men and ten women, but without any pastor. Its church book said that there was another Baptist church in the city, whose minister William Pardoe was still in prison; in his *Bethania*, published 1688, it is clear that he was a General Baptist. The P.B. church roll began with John Edwards, who afterwards removed to Leominster, and was prominent in the Baptist church there. These facts were recorded by the pastor in 1796.

Returning to the Sessions records, we hear that on 1 September, 1667, the chapel at Oldbury was filled with a crowd estimated by one informer at two thousand. A man called Steele or Fraiser was in the pulpit, did not pray for king, queen, and royal family, but on the lines suggested by his text, "Thy kingdom come"; the sermon was full of allusions to Daniel and the Revelation. When the informer, with three or four helpers, tried to fasten the door, he was maltreated; when troopers came, the preacher threw off his gown, and was lost in the crowd. This incident is the only one reported at Quarter Sessions which shows a clergyman, or the use of a public place of worship. Clearly, a congregation of hundreds simply could not be arrested, and informers never tried again. They confined themselves to obscure "Quakers and Anabaptists."

On 14 January, which probably means 1667/8, another return of men in jail shows Quakers, John Jenkins, Wm. Pardoe, John Roberts, John Toms, Job Alibone, Wm. Hodges; also Richard Payton committed 15 July in the xiii. year for not taking the oath of obedience, *premunire*; also Thomas Feckenham, committed by Thomas Wylde on 17 June, 1663, for not taking the oath of allegiance. Perhaps the magistrates regarded the freeing by royal command as illegal, like the liberty allowed by the sheriffs and jailor, and as soon as the Council might be presumed to have forgotten, took them again on the old pretext without any fresh trial.

In 1668 the Conventicle Act expired, and though men in jail got no benefit, no one could be jailed anew under its provisions, though there were many other ways of getting at conventiclers. Sheldon obtained from all parishes returns of meetings and people known unfavourably to the clergy. These were summarized as follows:—

St. Nicholas in Worcester, two. At the houses of Mr. Thomas Stirrup and Mr. Thomas Smyth every second Sunday, about 200 of all sorts, some people of good sufficiency. Heads and teachers, Mr. Richard Finchere, Mr. Thomas Badlam, Nonconformists. Another at the house of Mr. John Edwards, about 40 of all sorts, some of good account, teachers un-

known. [Here are the present Congregational and Baptist churches.]

Bromsgrove and King's Norton; several conventicles, but very few considerable persons in them, and their teachers are, sometimes Nonconformists and in their absence other laymen: their names unknown.

Defford, 20 mean people at the house of William Westmaccote, who keeps a school.

Redmarley D'Abitot, 60 or 80, heads, Mr. Smyth, Mr. Baston, Mr. John Giles.

Grafton Flyford, heads, Henry Hanson, George Maris. Birlingham, no conventicles, but some factious persons, inhabitants.

Inkberrow, at the house of the widow Stanley, Quakers, sometimes 300, often less.

Feckenham, Anabaptists at the house of John Feynes.

Dormston, 20 or 30 Anabaptists, mean persons, at the house of John Poole.

Kington, two, Anabaptists. At the house of Samuel Roper, 20 or 30 mean persons; head Thomas Feckenham. At the house of William Haynes, 20 or 30 poor persons; head, Thomas Feckenham, a cobbler, Eagleson, a clothier, Henry Hansome.

Bradley, at Thomas Handy's house. Eckles, Thomas Feckenham.

Pershore, three: 40 or 50 Presbyterians, 30 or 40 Independents, 12 families of Quakers.

On these facts Sheldon urged the clergy and wardens to take action, even if the constables would not. So that same year the churchwardens of Bromsgrove presented for absence from divine service:—John Williamson, John Taylor, John Sparry, Hatcliff, Thomas Wallis, John Wallis, Roger Whiston, John Field, George Bird, George Snow, Mr. Barnes, Henry Pinfield, William Waldron, Margery Asplin, Elinor Huggins, Ann Pitt, Jane Weekes, Ralph Jones, John Chandler, Richard Tilsbey, Thomas Norris. None of these names appear on the Baptist roll of 1672. From Eckington, Robert and Elizabeth Warner were presented as Quakers.

At the October Sessions, John Payne was brought up; also Robert Humphreys of Ombersley for convening several unlawful and riotous meetings and conventicles, to the terror of his majesty's loyal subjects, and the disturbing the peace of the realm. Colonel Samuel Sandys, who had committed him, is known to have issued a warrant under which his cows, his corn, and nearly all his furnishings were seized, and he never had any restored.

In January, 1669/70, the vicar of Bromsgrove wrote indignantly to say that at the funeral of Jane Eckels, wife of John, the public service was ignored; Henry Waldron entered the bellman's house and took his spade, John Price filled in the grave; it was a tumult of Anabaptists. About the same time complaint was made as to John Lineall of Kidderminster for scoffing at the Book of Common Prayer; "A magpie could say it as well as John Dance." Dance was the vicar whom nobody wanted in the town, who had drawn the tithes all the time Baxter had worked as Lecturer, but had done nothing.

At this point there is another gap in the rolls, but Quaker records tell us that on 4 July, 1670, Pardoe and three others, "meeting to hold a conventicle and refusing to give good sureties for their good abearing" were committed to the city jail. It is to be remembered that a permanent Conventicle Act came into force in 1670, providing fines only, without imprisonment. Then, that in March 1671/2 Charles offered to license men as preachers and places for worship; only about five per cent. of the applications were refused, and generally alternative applications were granted. Those on behalf of Worcestershire Baptists are as follows:—

The house of John Langford of Kierwood, in Worcestershire, Anabaptist. [To be taken with a group in Herefordshire, mostly issued on 30 September: the house of Mrs. Frances Prichard, of Leominster, Herefordshire, Anabaptist; the house of David Jones, of Moccas, Baptist; the house of Edward Price, of the city of Hereford, Baptist; Samuel Tracy, of the Priory of Clifford, Herefordshire, to be a Baptist teacher; the house of the abovesaid Tracy, at the said place.]

The house of Sir John Holman, of Kington, in "Herefordshire." William Randall, Congregational teacher, at his own house at Ombersley in Worcestershire, December 9th. The house of Elizeas Hatheway, of the city of "Glocester," Congregational. Elizeas Hatheway, Congregational teacher at his house abovesaid. [These entries show a most careless clerk, for Kington is in Worcestershire, Hatheway lived in Worcester, and was Baptist. Randall and Humphreys appear to be members of the Worcester church.]

It is further to be noted that Charles issued a pardon to 491 prisoners for conscience' sake, all over the realm; the only men thus freed at Worcester were Robert Smith, from the city jail, Richard Payton, from the county jail, both of them Quakers.

Public opinion arose now against the Roman Catholics, and the Test Act was passed requiring all office-holders to

lodge certificates that they had taken the communion according to the Prayer Book; these documents choke the files for some years to come.

In 1675 Thomas Darke, of Pershore, was presented for holding conventicle at the house of John Jones, with Robert Browne, of Whitelady Aston, Edgidius Lawrence, and Edward Perkins, an apothecary; all were fined on 9 September. Two years later the jurors presented four women of Fladbury for not coming to church on Sunday; but there is some reason to think they were selling ale, not holding a conventicle.

In 1679, informations were laid from Bewdley and Bromsgrove. At the former town, sixteen people met on 25 May in the house of Jacob Cotterell, at a conventicle, where George Robinson, of Halesowen, was preacher; those caught were David Harris of Bewdley, tobacconist, and his wife Joanne; Goodier Wildey, tanner, Ezekiel Partridge, of Stourbridge, tallow-chandler; John Partridge, of Lower Areley, tallow-chandler; Sarah Reynolds, of Stourbridge, widow; Adam Barefoot, of Wolverhampton. Now there was a heavy fine on the owner of the house, so the people at Bromsgrove were clever enough to hold worship in the graveyard, so that if any one was liable, it was the parson himself! He promptly informed on John Arowe, miller; W. Ashmore, husbandman; Thomas Hedon, furrier; John Chandler, nailer; with his wife Elizabeth; Thomas Bathe, shoemaker; and the preacher, Robert Hill, of Belbroughton.

For a year or two the "Popish Plot" occupied attention, and Papal recusants were more sought after, as the articles of inquiry show in 1681, with lists sent back by the constables. But with January 1681/2 the Quakers at Old Swinford were again presented; Ezekiel Partridge, Edmund Foord, Ambrose Crowley, Sarah Reynolds. In February is an entry of another kind, when Richard Woodcock, of Peopleton, charged Richard Claridge, clergyman, with threatening an injury: Claridge was destined to be baptized at Bromsgrove in 1691.

Once the Swinford Quakers were presented, the constables kept steadily at it, almost every quarter. And, fired by this example, the constables of Yardley began in January 1682/3 to present "fanatical recusants commonly called Quakers"; Samuel Bissell, John Crocksell, Mary Blackham, Grace Palmer, and others, now figure regularly.

In April, 1682, the Redmarley constable presented the Yatemens and John Williams for not coming to church; the same negligence was shown by Francis Yarnall of Martin Hussingtree.

On 27 May, Randolf Piggott, of Bromsgrove, entertained

a conventicle, including John England and George Gowing. These we know to be Baptists, from the church roll.

In October two Quakers were presented, Thomas Shawers and Stephen Lewis.

Next April the constable of Bromsgrove presented several Papal recusants, and was kind enough to say that he knew no others to present. The Baptist roll about this time shows 38 men and 49 women. In September the constable of Chaddesley Corbett presented two of them, William Cole, the nailer, and Mary Davies, as "reputed Anabaptists."

The Dudley constable was busy with Quakers in 1683; Philip Alchurch, Will Littley or Parsons, John Littley or Parsons; John Roades junior and his wife Isabel; Mary Billingsley and Anne Oakley only as absentees from church. The list was longer next year, with John Payton, yeoman, and his wife Katherine; John Newsome, miller; Joseph Shore, butcher; John Hipkins, nailer; Thomas Caddicke, carpenter, and wife Mary; Thomas Prickavant, nailer; John Roades; Samuel Southall; Roger Meredith, labourer; John Parkhouse, locksmith, and wife Judith. Shipston on Stour chimed in with more Quakers, Thomas Cooke, Joseph Gubbin, John Burlingham, and others, excommunicated.

Then Blockley started a series of informations, involving Edward Estbury, Edward Watcott, Edward Webb, Will Lane, Will Estbury, Will White, Joseph Hynge, Thomas Horne, and John Ansgar, of Icomb.

In December 1684, Richard Kerby and his wife, William Mills and Edward Baggot, were presented for absence from Bromsgrove church.

With July 1685, Worcester again is in evidence, for St. Michael's Bedwardine was not attended by William Lloyd and his wife, John Armes and his wife, Henry Smart and his wife, Mrs. George.

The last spasm of persecution was in 1686, when Yardley reported Thomas Fowler, W. Taylor, John Threckfall, John Heath, Thomas Holden, John Rawlins, Samuel Bissell, Richard Bissell, and Mary Blackham. Dudley church never saw W. Pearson, Henry Lilly, Richard Welletts, Thomas Russon. St. Michael Bedwardine presented as conventiclers John Page and wife, Jane Bacon, James Moreton, John Armes and wife, John Lloyd and wife, John Kent and wife, Henry Smart and wife. Powick presented as Anabaptists, Christopher Whiting and wife, the widow Oakley.

Thereafter legalized persecution ceased in the county. These records show us something of Baptist life at the three centres, show the members at outlying villages, and show a

movement round Whitelady Aston, Pershore, and Birlingham, which speedily took shape as an open-membership church, now represented at the Baptist church of Pershore. The Quaker details we leave to the Friends' Historical Society to interpret.

With the toleration act it became possible for a man to certify to Quarter Sessions a place where religious worship was to be conducted for Protestant Dissenters; and thereafter that notice exempted all present, and the owner, from the fines imposed by the Conventicle Act. The magistrates often did this with a very ill grace, as the following paper shows:—

“The wall-house now in the tenure and possession of the lady Rouse, her Ladyship desires may be entered, for the keeping of meetings there according to the Act of Parliament in that case lately made and provided.”

“And it is so allowed” was the reluctant and insolent note made on it; the magistrates had no power to “allow” or to disallow, only to receive and enter the certificate, and to give a copy of the record.

This was the first notice given at Worcester, in Epiphany Sessions, 1693/4. Four simultaneous notices were as follow:—New building on the close of John Dipple at Bromsgrove, 10 January, 1693/4 [Baptist]. House of John Hunnicke at Bromsgrove, Epiphany, 1693/4. House of William Tunks of Severn-Stoke, carpenter, 9 January, 1693/4. House of William Hartland of Naunton Green in the parish of Severn-Stoke.

Four years passed before another certificate survives. Then come: House of Francis Witton in the Ley, Old Swinford, 2 January, 1697/8. House of Edward Harris, mercer, Bromsgrove, 11 January, 1697/8. House of Simon Harrington of Bewdley, certified by Will Hankyns, Easter 1698.

With the new century the Baptists at Bromsgrove got a better meeting-house, and at Epiphany 1700/1 Richard Diggle, Humphrey Potter, James Lacy, and William Biggs notified a house of Humphrey Potter. A year later, Peter Payton of Tenbury had his house notified, but evidently some trouble arose, for on 13 July, 1703, a longer certificate was put in for the same.

Under Queen Anne the law was construed very strictly against dissenters, and there was rather a rush to secure protection, which resulted in the following registrations:—Samuel Windle at Inkberrow, Mary Hayward at Aston Magna, both 1702. Thomas Holmes of Hesley-yeild in King's Norton, 1702/3. Joseph Stokes of Dudley, July 1702. Mary Green, the New House at Little Witley, July 1704. John Sparry of Madeley in Bell-Broughton. Thomas Flower in the tithing of Whiston, parish of Claines, 15 January, 1705/6. Thomas Taylor in

Hartlebury and John Taylor in Chaddesley Corbet, 22 April, 1707. John Nickolls of King's Norton certified the newly erected house of Edward Dawks, 11 January, 1708/9.

These are all the certificates that survive from the Stuart period. The city records contain none, nor does the bishop's registry. The resulting picture of Protestant dissent in the county is not enlivening.

A Forgotten Hymnodist.

RICHARD KENT lived a hundred years ago, a deeply religious man, who wrote of his spiritual experiences almost daily. His speciality was to put them in verse; from May 6, 1824, to November 26, 1830, he wrote 558 hymns in one massive folio alone. A prefatory page acknowledges that his output to date was 8,973, in 21 volumes, with a general index to the whole in a separate book.

He lived in the Cambridge district, for there are allusions to a friend at Trumpington, and occurrences at Waterbeach and Great Swaffham. One of the volumes fell into the hands of a Bedford bookseller, from whom it was acquired in 1862 by W. H. Black, the Seventh-day Baptist. Fifty years later Messrs. Bull & Auvache sold it to Mr. Ernest G. Atkinson, of the Presbyterian Historical Society, who has now given it to the Baptist Historical Society.

The author claimed spiritual kinship with Bunyan, Hervey, Whitfield, Venn, Berridge, Guyse, Pool, and based his theology on the Articles and Homilies or the Westminster catechisms. Perhaps he might be called a Calvinistic Methodist, and though he disclaims Antinomian views, it is significant that only in an appendix to Gadsby have his verses been traced in print. One hymn was composed for the baptism of infants, but the immense majority are scriptural. An appendix brings out another side of life, with an elegy on a hare, a poem on the death of poor Grunter, "a rabet," and another on the death of Scowler, a horse.

Kent is unknown to Julian the hymnologist: can any reader furnish more information about him?

Lancashire Gleanings of the Seventeenth Century.

THE early stages of the Quaker Movement in Lancashire have been recently studied by Dr. Nightingale, ex-President of the Congregational Historical Society, with access to many local official records. From his interesting book we cull a few notes on Baptists.

Quakerism obtained its strength in North Lancashire, Westmorland, and Cumberland; three or four of its most ardent apostles had previously been Baptist ministers there, John Audland, Francis Howgill, Thomas Taylor, John Wilkinson. In many cases, not ministers alone, but their churches also, passed over from the Baptist position to the Quaker, so that absolutely no trace of Baptist principles remained.

Yet near to Swarthmoor there survives one Baptist church, that of Tottlebank,, and a few more glimpses of its early days are afforded. It was largely due to Colonel Roger Sawrey, once commandant at Ayr, now owner of Broughton Tower on the Duddon. County records show that in 1663 he and several friends were "presented" for not coming to the Morning Prayer, and this implies that already he was gathering them for worship in his Tower. The minister was Gabriel Camelford, into whom George Fox had run eight years earlier, in Sawrey's company. It was only after his death that a farm was bought at Tottlebank for a minister to cultivate, and not till 1696 did a Baptist settle here in the person of David Crosley, who brought the church into the Yorkshire and Lancashire Baptist Association, founded that year.

There is an interesting report from Kirkham in 1677, that besides the Papists and the Quakers there was a third conventicle of the Phanaticall or mixed multitude, led by Hartley from Yorkshire, an Antinomian weaver, who worked also at Goosnargh: it would be pleasant to know for certain that this was the John Hartley who in 1695 was deacon of the church in Rossendale.

In 1670 John Hargreaves, "pretended clerk," was pre-

sented at Burnley for habitual preaching at Holmes chapel, Goodshaw chapel, Haslingden chapel, and elsewhere. His name also appears as deacon of Barnoldswick.

In 1670 and 1680 a group of people were presented by the constable of Winwick as conventiclers; on the second occasion he was more explicit and named some as Anabaptists. They are well-known from our side as members of the church at Warrington, now centred at Hill Cliffe. In 1684 the accounts show that on 7 September, Charles Holland of Hawkley conducted worship in the house of Thomas Holland of Southworth, and had to pay £20 for the crime. This was not the first time the church had suffered; in 1670 William Booth of Warrington, maltster, conducted worship on 17 July, in the house of Ann Marsland, of Hanford, in the parish of Cheadle, and was sentenced to pay £20 as preacher, 5s. as worshipper. But the church had spirit, for on 15 October, 1684, Thomas Holland lent his house again, and the magistrates could not collect the £20.

In 1669 it was reported that several meetings and conventicles were constantly kept near Bury, in private houses, of Independents, Presbyterians, Dippers, and such like, jointly; they were of the best rank, yeomanry, and inferiors. In 1685 seven people of Todington were jailed at Lancaster, apparently for similar worship. By 1706 they were triumphant, and Roger Worthington of Salford registered his house for worship.

For in 1689 it became possible to notify houses for this purpose, and put the worship under the protection of the law. The earliest Baptist Church in the north, Manchester, did register two houses about 1693, those of John Gathorne and John Leeds.

It is much to be desired that systematic search in the Sessions Records should be undertaken in every county for this purpose. At present only in Lancashire and in Yorkshire has there been publication of Baptist research; but the rolls of Quarter Sessions everywhere hold facts as to convictions between 1660 and 1688, registrations afterwards, which may aid materially in our knowledge as to the early fortunes of our ancient churches.

Pearce's Description of Carey's Farewell.

Contributed by the Rev. EDWARD MEDLEY, B.A.

[*A letter from the Rev. Samuel Pearce, of Birmingham, to his wife, describing the actual departure of Carey for India, May 30, 1793.*]

FOR the sake of my own peace I must suppose that my dearest Sarah arrived safe at her journey's end and for her sake I trust has experienced and expressed that gratitude to the God of all our mercies which stamps reality and sweetness on every enjoyment of life—O that I felt more of that myself, which I cannot but recommend to my best Friends—Surely, if one of God's Creatures hath more reason than another for Praise, I am he. Indulged with bodily health—mental peace—domestic comforts—providential supplies—ministerial acceptance, usefulness, wt the undissembled friendship of a crowd of the People of God—Lord who and what am I to be so distinguished? We do pray for each other my dear S let ūs also praise for each other specially since we have one common Interest and ye joys or griefs of one become by necessity the pleasures or pains of both.

The Evening of the day you left me was distinguished by feelings of the most rapturous pleasure, wonder and gratitude that my heart ever knew respecting the kingdom of God—Prepare my love, to rejoice and wonder and be grateful too! I received a letter from Dr. Bror Ryland, and what d'ye think he wrote? Why *Carey* wh *all his family*, are gone for *India!*—When? How? you are ready to ask—I cheerfully satisfy you—Not long after the English fleet sailed—News came that a Danish East India Ship was to call at Great Britain in her way from Copenhagen to the East. Down came Thomass Carey to Northampton at the news last Saturday—Carey's wife (who was sufficiently recovered) offered to accompany him if her sister wd go too—the Sister consented—they all set off for London together the same day—Carey wrote the Monday to Bror Ryland saying they had found

friends in London who had advanced 200*£* above what the Society had in hand—that the sum was agreed on wh the Captain of the Ship, and the passage money *paid down*—that chaises were then at the door to convey Thomas to Portsmouth, to secure the Baggage left there, and to take Carey and his family to Dover, from whence they were to embark. By this time I suppose they have sailed, and if the Lord prospers them will get to India time enough to receive Mrs. Thomas and the goods she has wt her in the Earl of Oxford.—O what a wonder working God is ours! tell the whole now if you please, for the honor of our Great Redeemer, and the encouragement of his Peoples' faith in the most trying situations.

Three advantages are secured by the disappointment—1st The Missionaries will go out more honorably—and the enemies of ye Cause will not have it in their power to reproach the Society *wh publicity*, in transport'g the Missionaries under false pretences—2dly as the Danes are a neutral power there is no fear of their being captured by the French on their way and 3dly Carey has the satisfaction of his whole family, and the world have lost thereby an objection they have often raised to *his* going on the business.

I set off for Leicester to morrow—go from thence to N'hampton Monday or Tuesday and most likely will exchange with Bror Ryland the following Sabbath—I intreat you will write me (on receipt of this) an Acct of your journey—health—friends &c—direct at Mr. Ryland's Northampton—if you write immediately I shall receive it before I return shd I not stay a Lord's day at N.H.—

All friends are well—my love to Bror and Sistr Sing wh the Seniors and Juniors of that family as well as Sistr M—s and Mr. Henwood.

Do not delay writing if you have any concern for my Satisfaction—

I am My Dear dear S your own very

Affectionate S. PEARCE.

BIRMINGHAM, *May 31, 1793.*

A HISTORY OF BRITISH BAPTISTS, by W. T. Whitley,
M.A., LL.D., F.R.Hist.S. Published by C. Griffin & Co., Ltd.
365 pages, with notes, tables, index. Price 10/6.

THE publication of this work removes a grave reproach from our Denomination. It is now over a hundred years since Ivimey wrote his *History of English Baptists*. Since then much research work has been done, and it has long been known that new facts were waiting to be recovered from our archives—facts which would modify old conclusions and compel new ones. A modern history, written in the modern style, and springing out of the now well-established critical method was a crying need. We required it for our own health as a denomination; we needed it also to establish our position in the scholastic world, for as a footnote in this volume reminds us, even so catholic and well-informed a scholar as the late editor of the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* did not think Baptists of sufficient importance to deserve an article to themselves! To-day we can rejoice that this crying need has been met.

And met in a way which will give universal satisfaction. Without qualification we can say that no one in the denomination was better qualified to undertake the task than Dr. Whitley. For twenty years he has made our records his special study, bringing to bear upon them a trained mind and enthusiastic spirit, while his wide experience and extensive travels have given him a rare opportunity of seeing and estimating present-day Baptist life. The result is a book which splendidly achieves. It is both scholarly and living, and at once will take its place as the standard history of British Baptists, while from all who are interested in our past it will draw deep gratitude to its author. To say that it is worthy of the story it tells is high but just praise.

Nor is it the least merit of the book that the story is told. Everyone knows how difficult it is amid such a wealth of detail to keep a right perspective, and so present the material that the story marches from page to page—especially so where the subject is a movement, embracing many men of different types and varied ability, and at times dependent almost wholly on such as have scarcely left a name behind. With admirable skill Dr. Whitley has succeeded here. He sums up the first period with the sentence, "It was the apostolic age again, without a Paul," and after reading his account one feels the appositeness of the remark. It is this virtue which makes the book one for the average reader as well as for the historian. It has the quality of being absorbingly interesting.

Justice is done to the great leaders, men like Smyth, Carey, Fuller, Spurgeon; but Dr. Whitley very wisely does not allow his readers to lose sight of the great host of average men and women who, in their time and areas, were the bearers of the torch. We see here the force of ideas as they are held tenaciously by the average mind. We witness the propagating power amongst the people of truth and faith and love. A mind is enlightened, and a movement begins; a soul is set on fire, and behold! a revival breaks out. The whole history is a great encouragement to the faithful soul, and a fine vindication of our Baptist position of looking to God and then following His light "without tarrying for any." Wherever it is read, it will stimulate individual loyalty to principle.

Very interesting also is the way in which the author is able to show that active evangelization has always been one of the clearest marks of our Church. The motto for the volume, printed on the title page, is the word out of the declaration of the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland, which enforces upon every adherent the duty of propagating the Faith. It is a fitting motto. Again and again we are shown that the Baptists have displayed a genius for organization, and always the organization has been with a view to growth. The passion to advance, to evangelize, has informed our institutions, toned our thought, and guided our life; so that Carey, far from appearing an anomaly, a sort of strange outgrowth on our tree, is seen to be the natural product of our inherent life. We are missionary by the very nature of the faith we hold.

Also—and this will come as strange to some—we are *brotherly* for the same reason. One of the valuable parts of the history is that wherein the Baptists are distinguished from the Independents. From the beginning it seems Baptist Churches have sought fellowship and communion with each other. Our people have had the consciousness of belonging to each other—one Church, though consisting of many communities. Here the General Baptists with their Annual Assembly come in for their meed of praise, while the Particulars develop the distinctive idea of Associations. Evidently modern movements toward consolidation have derived some of their strength from the blood that is in Baptist veins, and interesting it is to notice how in the centuries the great aspirations which emerged in the beginning rise up again to claim still firmer allegiance.

On three points Dr. Whitley has brought to light much new material. The position of Baptists in Cromwell's army was a very important factor, having decided consequences in the national life both of England and Ireland. This was a part of our story that needed telling, and we may congratulate ourselves that we

have in the past operated so forcibly in shaping political institutions. The constitution of modern democratic states is not unconnected, it seems, with our Baptist genius for organization, and both England and the United States, not to mention some other countries, owe a debt to nameless soldiers of the Commonwealth.

The other points on which new light is shed are the pioneer work of Baptists in starting and developing Sunday schools; and also in introducing hymns, other than metrical psalms, in congregational worship.

While the book is a history of British Baptists, Dr. Whitley has not refrained from sketching in outline the movements in the Empire to which the Baptist witness has given rise. He also has kept an eye open towards the West. Indeed, throughout he has seen the movement in its world-setting both geographically and historically, so that we are able to view the denomination as a part of the wider life of mankind during these eventful centuries. Weaknesses have been faithfully pointed out where necessary, and controversies, even those in living memory, dealt with dispassionately and judiciously. It is an historian's work from beginning to end—yet well and interestingly written.

At page 360 Baptist publishers are referred to, and the Foreword reveals that Francis J. Blight, head of Charles Griffin & Co., Ltd., has taken keen personal interest in the production of this book. He is the esteemed Hon. Treasurer of the Baptist Historical Society. The format of the book is excellent—good paper, clearly printed, and strongly bound. It is wonderful value for 10s. 6d. We learn that several hundred copies have been ordered for America.

We congratulate Dr. Whitley on a fine achievement, the Angus Trustees on their foresight in making this one of their series, and ourselves on having at last an accurate and worthy history of our denomination.

ARTHUR DAKIN.

The
Baptist Quarterly
incorporating the Transactions of the
Baptist Historical Society

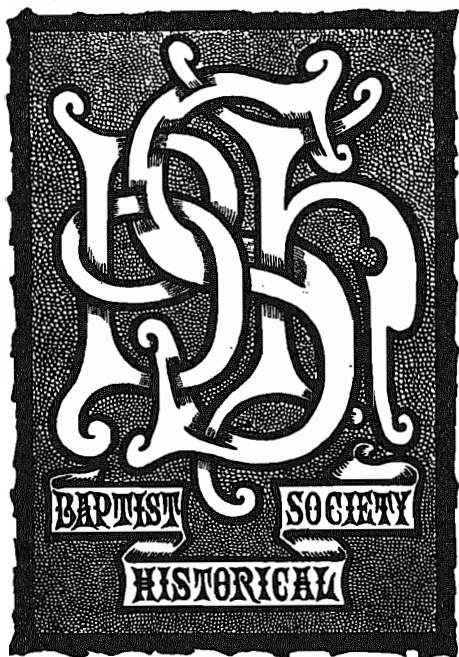
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Ecstasy and Prophecy.

IN his *Prophecy and the Prophets in Ancient Israel*, Dr. T. H. Robinson, of Cardiff, has made a valuable addition to Duckworth's well-known series of *Studies in Theology*. It is sure to be appreciated by scholars, and we believe it will be warmly welcomed by all Bible students, while many a congregation will have reason to be grateful for this illuminating addition to the working minister's library. For there is gold here for the preacher none the less surely that it is not yet beaten into sermonic shape. It is a marvel of compression, yet the style is clear and strong and eminently readable.

Dr. Robinson sketches with a sure hand the development of Jewish religion, and shows the affinity of the prophets to its simpler, purer strain, and their constant opposition to the corruptions that threatened to submerge it.

There is a clear-cut picture of each of the principal prophets—known and unknown—with his characteristic message, and his place in the long line of religious development which culminates in Jesus and His cross.

Amos—the prophet of righteousness, with his word for an age of social transition; Hosea, who wins his way by tragic experience to the deeper secret of religion as the consecration of a person to a Person; Micah—the illustration of how the lesser man may be used to accomplish the greater immediate results; Isaiah—the prophet of “holiness,” with his magnificent philosophy of history; Jeremiah—in whom truth is embodied in personality; and the “Great Unknown,” who declares that the idols are “less than nothing”; while Nahum and Malachi have their value as contrasts to the loftier line of the prophets, and “Jonah” is the forerunner of Christianity.

But the book will be read with special interest for its balanced and illuminating study of the “ecstatic” element in Hebrew prophecy. The author indicates his belief that “psychic phenomena” accompanied many of the prophetic utterances, and was a popular guarantee of “inspiration,” whilst he insists that not the form and manner of the utterance but its context is the really vital and valuable thing. “A prophet's ecstatic utterances were the expression of his own

real opinions"; in trance or abnormal exultation he uttered his normal convictions, but without the strange psychic experience they would have remained unuttered, or would have seemed to lack authority, both to the hearers, and indeed to the prophet himself. The whole treatment of this debated question is specially useful and important, both as shedding light upon the nature of Old Testament prophecy and helping towards a true valuation of modern "psychic manifestations."

Dr. Robinson's study of prophetic "ecstasy" is worth pondering also by those who have found the proofs of "inspiration" in the abnormal, and no less by those who have ignored the "ecstatic" element. The book will be a healthy corrective to those who have imagined the prophets as modern politicians in Eastern dress—is it too much to hope that it may also be read by those who imagine their importance to lie in their detailed predictions of future history—à la Joanna Southcott?

We can most heartily recommend the book to all who seek an understanding of one of the greatest movements of history, and it is a pleasure to note that it is written by a Baptist.

W. J. CLEAL.

Nonconformist History has had no more ardent and thorough student than the late Rev. G. Lyon Turner. His *Original Records* is a monument of amazing industry, indispensable to all investigators of the period which it covers. In addition to his published work, Mr. Turner collected a number of transcripts from original sources bearing on Nonconformist history in the seventeenth century, and these he was most generous in lending to others who shared his interests. Mrs. Turner has now presented this collection of manuscripts to Dr. Williams' Library. It includes papers on the religious life of London during the Interregnum, based on material drawn from the records at the Guildhall and elsewhere. Extracts from the State Papers in the Record Office concerning Nonconformity in London from 1662-1672, transcripts of the clerical subsidy rolls of 1661, transcripts of the lists of persons presented in the ecclesiastical courts of a number of English dioceses for their nonconformity between 1662 and 1685, as well as memoranda on seventeenth-century dissent in Berkshire, Hampshire, Dorset, Leicestershire, Bristol, Reigate, Deptford, and other places. By her gracious act Mrs. Turner has made easily accessible to students important material which would have been difficult or impossible for them to get at otherwise.

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