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The Christian Message Concerning Life Hereafter.

IT is frequently said that the Hope of Immortality burns but dimly in the breasts of men to-day; and it would be possible, in spite of the interest in spiritism, to quote scores of passages from the writings of influential and representative men, ranging from H. G. Wells to Middleton Murry, in confirmation of the statement. In so far as it is true, it is part of the general fading of vital belief in God which it is our great task to bring back into the life of our generation. It is the challenge of the hour, and should give energy and content to the Discipleship Campaign. We must not fail men—or God. There have been a number of contributory causes of which it is necessary to mention only one which is relevant to my subject—the preoccupation of the minds of so many, inside as well as outside the Church, with the material conditions of life and the large affairs of the world. Even religion has doffed her shining robes and donned the corduroys of earthly purposes. The New Jerusalem which John saw as a holy city filled with the glory of God and descending from heaven, has become, in the familiar words of Blake, though not with his meaning, a Jerusalem to be built in England's green and pleasant land by human wisdom and law.

I am very far from believing or wishing to suggest that these interests and activities are not right and necessary. If we give Cain's answer to God's question we share Cain's guilt. It is certain that a dynamic religion must have power over the whole life of man, and that the gospel in particular must subdue all things, including the material conditions of men and all human relationships to itself. But it is equally certain that if Christianity were only the "Enthusiasm of Humanity," it would have long since gone the way of other idealisms. I have taken that phrase, "The enthusiasm of humanity," as will be recognised, from that truly epoch-making and, within its limits, still unrivalled, book, *Ecce Homo*. In that book Sir John Seeley wrote, and it is the clue to much that has happened since, that "To love one's neighbour as oneself, Christ said, was the first and greatest law."¹ Christ did not say so. He said that the first and great command was, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God

¹ ch. xiv.

with all thy heart and with all thy soul and with all thy mind," and the love of man followed upon that and was its necessary consequence. Christianity is primarily the enthusiasm of God, and to divert our minds from that even for the greatest of earthly ends is, in the long run, to lose religion itself, and, with religion, all that gives beauty and worth to life and to the service of man. And it is to lose the Christian Hope of Immortality. For the Christian Hope does not rest on philosophical reasoning, still less on the ambiguous phenomena of spiritism, but on the Christian experience of God. It is bound up with the mighty themes of the Gospel, with the Incarnation and sacrifice of the Son of God, with the Forgiveness of sins, and the Indwelling of the Holy Spirit, with a redemption too vast for the narrow confines of these mortal years. It is because we believe in God as He has manifested Himself in Jesus Christ, and as we have experience of His love, that we believe that man was not made for death.

1. I would write first, then, of *the Christian Hope as implicit in the Christian experience.*

The "Christian message concerning life hereafter" is not simply that there is a future life. When Peter, for example, wrote, "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ who hath begotten us again unto a living hope," there was much more in his mind than the certainty of continued existence after death, which there is no reason for thinking he ever doubted. The mere assurance of survival is not necessarily a religious assurance, nor need it be good tidings. Harriet Martineau declared in her old age that she had seen quite enough of herself, and had no wish to live with herself for ever. And it must be clear that it is the quality of this life that gives any value it has to the thought of the future. If life is scant and without meaning, if the soul is poor, there is nothing attractive in the prospect of "going on and never ceasing to be." It is only when life is rich in love and aspiration and present good, when the soul is aware of its own unexhausted wealth, even though it is tragic grief that brings the knowledge, that we crave for immortality. "Is there another life?" cried poor Keats in the agony of his final separation from his beloved. "There must be; we cannot be created for this sort of suffering."² And it is this enrichment and intensification of life that is given in the Christian experience, an intensification which makes death incredible as the end of all things. As is well known, even in the Old Testament, the true hope of immortality was born of experience. Men who found life increasing in beauty and power,

² Letters (Forman) ccxiv.

in height and depth, through their fellowship with God, rebelled against death, and could not believe that God would break the promise implied in their experience. "God will redeem my soul from the power of Sheol; for He shall receive me," says the Psalmist. But the Christian experience is by so much greater than theirs, as it is associated with a greater revelation. And it is no rare thing, confined to a few gifted spirits. It is a "common salvation," shared by a growing multitude of men and women redeemed from sin and futility by the love of God in Jesus Christ, and in whose hearts that love is shed abroad by the Holy Spirit. It is quickening experience that transforms life and the whole aspect of the world. "He hath made us priests and kings," wrote John; such was the height to which it raised common men in the beginning. "All things are yours," cried Paul; and indeed Christians knew themselves to be the heirs of the whole creation, "heirs of God and joint-heirs with Jesus Christ." There was a new glory in the sky, a new loveliness in the earth, a new radiance in human love, a new vitality in heart and mind and will. "I am come," said Jesus, "that men might have life, and might have it abundantly." And it was this life that was experienced, life in its recreating energy claimed all things as its own. There is a joy in living that rings through the New Testament like a tumult of bells. How could death touch such vitality, or dry up the springs of it? How could those to whom life was so great believe in death? "I am persuaded that neither death nor life, nor angels nor principalities nor powers, nor things present nor things to come, nor height nor depth nor any other created thing, shall be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord." How could they separate when the love of God was filling the universe? The Christian Hope is begotten of a great experience of the wealth of life, for great hopes are never born of spiritual poverty. And this experience is a living experience still, and it begets the same assurance. Are there not many of us who can say what C. F. Andrews says of his conversion in that most beautiful book, *What I owe to Christ*, "This that had now happened was no fantasy of the imagination, no dream to vanish like mist in the morning when we awaken, but a life-change, a new spiritual birth, with power to overcome sin itself, and swallow up death in victory" ?³

Nor is this all. Dr. Matthews says in his *God in Christian Thought*, "Man is the deepest mystery of the world. He alone has the possibility of indefinite development."⁴ It is part of the great joy of the Christian experience that it is alive with a

³ p. 97.

⁴ op. cit. 31.

sense of a divine purpose which gives meaning to life. The early believers were delivered from the bondage of fatalism, from servitude to fortune and circumstance, as they were delivered from the moral and intellectual anarchy of polytheism. It has been said that "the God of the modern world is Luck," and the spreading frenzy of gambling is a sign of it. But Luck and Fate are two sides of the same thing, and the ancient world was, to a great extent, subdued by fear of a Fate that blindly settled the destinies of men, a fate that many believed was written in the stars. And it was part of the glory of the Christian experience that it set men free from that nightmare, because the Gospel not only revealed God as Love, but disclosed a purpose in life with which they could freely co-operate. They were the masters, not the slaves, of circumstances, because they could subdue them to their heavenly calling and compel them to work together for good. The circumstances of life were the material out of which they wrought a type of character new in the world. They had set before them in the Gospel, as we have, a new ideal which they knew to be the purpose of God for men, and the energy of it was working in them. "He has granted unto us His precious and exceeding great promises; that through these we may become partakers of the divine nature," wrote one. "He has foreordained us to be conformed to the image of His Son that He might be the firstborn among many brethren," wrote another. Nothing less than likeness to Christ, as He was and is, is the Christian ideal. We are called and consecrated to high and lovely and eternal ends towards which we strive. Our horizon cannot possibly be bounded by time, for never in the world of time can such a goal be reached. If Immortality is implicit in the Christian experience, it is necessitated by the Christian calling and the Christian interpretation of the purpose of life. "If in this life only we have a hope in Christ," said Paul, "we are of all men most to be pitied." Because in that case the Christian experience is a delusion, and none the less a delusion for having set before men the highest hopes and values that ever haunted the human soul. But we do not believe that we are living in so irrational a universe.

II. This for us is beyond doubt because, in the second place, *The Christian Hope is secured by faith in Jesus Christ as Living Lord and Saviour.*

I quoted the words of Peter, "He hath begotten us again unto a living hope"; but he added "by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead." And Paul said that "He was declared⁵ to be the Son of God with power, according to the

⁵ 'decisively declared' (Goodspeed).

spirit of holiness, by the resurrection." The Resurrection of Jesus Christ is the guarantee of the Christian hope, not in the sense that it is evidence of survival, which is a very mean and inadequate interpretation of it, but in the sense that it is the demonstration of the eternal reality of the values incarnate in Jesus and which have no existence apart from personality, human and divine. We sometimes forget in these days of Psychical Research and Spiritism that evidence of the survival of Jesus would have meant little or nothing to His followers. They were not modern sceptics or even ancient Sadducees. They never doubted His continued existence in the world of spirits, any more than they doubted their own existence after death. What they needed was to have their faith in Him restored, to be convinced that they had not been deceived when they had believed Him to be the Christ of God, above all to be assured that He had triumphed in and through the Cross. And it was this and no mere proof of the survival of Jesus that was given in the Resurrection and in what followed. It was this that made them breathless with exultation when they proclaimed that their crucified Master was seated at the right hand of God. And this Gospel of the Resurrection had tremendous implications which became explicit later on in the profound cosmic teaching of Paul and John. Peter had a sudden glimpse of this on the Day of Pentecost; for, when he said that it was not possible that Jesus should be holden of death, he was affirming not only the glowing certainty of a recovered faith but the conviction, based on the Resurrection, that the universe was of such a nature that it justified the faith of Jesus, the life He had lived and the death He died. There is a notable passage in the latest interpretation of Shakespeare which I will venture to quote in this connection. In *The Essential Shakespeare*, Dr. Dover Wilson says, "Lear is like some peak of anguish, an eternal and sublime symbol of the majesty of humanity, of the victory of spirit over the worst that fate can do against it. The last scene reminds us, inevitably, of Calvary. But it is a human Calvary; there is no resurrection to follow, not a hint of a Father in heaven. And yet the universe in which Lear is possible cannot be wholly evil, since he is part of it, and Cordelia is part of it, and the possibility of such souls may even be a clue to its meaning."⁶ The reasoning is sound, though it ends on a great May-be. But it is on the field of history and in the Person of Jesus Christ that the immense issue is raised once for all, for Calvary was both human and actual. In our Lord Jesus Christ we have no "possibility," but an historic Person, who, in the range and majesty of His humanity, was beyond the power of even the greatest and most creative

⁶ op. cit. 126.

imagination men have known to conceive. Those who companied with Him in the days of His flesh so felt His power that they associated Him with God, and when they called Him "the Christ" they meant that He was the clue to the meaning of their universe. And for twenty centuries He has drawn the souls of men after Him, nor does His power decrease. We can only speak of the mystery of His Person in broken language, but this we can say of His human life, that it was what it was by virtue of His transcendent experience of God and His obedience to the divine will, the one conditioning the other. But when we say that Jesus always did the will of God we are saying in religious language that He lived always according to His insight into Reality, the real nature of the universe and the real values of life. The beauty and the wonder of His life and its inner tranquillity and joy came of that insight and obedience. It uttered itself in the music of His speech, in the loveliness of His deeds. All His teaching was born of it. All His activities proceeded from it. "The Son can do nothing of Himself but what He seeth the Father doing," He said. The whole life of Jesus was a surrender to His vision of God, and His surrender was so complete that in Him, and in Him alone, vision and life were one. And that vision, that insight, brought Him to the Cross; not merely because the obdurate hearts of men rejected Him as they have rejected others, but because the Cross was in the Vision. He died because His vision of Reality, of the Ultimate Truth, was a vision of redemptive Love, a Love with which He identified Himself even to the pouring out of His soul in death. He died and was buried, and "on His grave with shining eyes, the Syrian stars look down."

Is Jesus the clue to the meaning of the universe, the universe that was silent while He agonised on the Cross, the universe through which there rang that dreadful cry of forsakenness? "The voice of utter despair is ever the same," writes Middleton Murry, "The cry 'My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me?' has been wrung from human lips many times in human history, but never till then, and never again, from the lips of such a man."⁷ That is why the immense issue is raised at Calvary as nowhere else. And if, with a silent heaven above and a mocking earth below, Jesus, with His last breath, reaffirmed His faith, all the more are earth and heaven brought to judgement at Calvary. If that were indeed the end, if the greatest of all, the most sure of God and the most obedient, has gone down into the dust and the silence for ever, what is there left for men but bewilderment and despair? As the profoundest of the Russians wrote, "If that is so . . . then all the planet is a lie, and rests

⁷ *Life of Jesus*, p. 309.

on a lie and on mockery.”⁸ And as a greater than he said long before, “If Christ be not raised, then is our faith vain.”

But the Resurrection of Jesus Christ is a fact of history and experience, and earth “bears as chief treasure one forsaken grave.” The Resurrection is the vindication of the insight and obedience of Jesus; and it means not simply that He continues to exist but that, being what He was through that perfect surrender, He broke through death into life limitless in power and glory. And we who believe in Him and who follow Him know beyond a peradventure that death has no dominion over such life as His, but rather that it rises through death to resurrection, that resurrection to which, with the apostle, we also would attain.⁹ For it is “resurrection,” which is not of the flesh and is more than a meagre survival, but is life triumphing through death unto fullness of personality, that is the Christian Hope. And the way of Jesus is the way of Life. We are living not only in a rational universe, but in a spiritual, where spiritual values are ultimate, and the life which enshrines them mounts from glory unto glory; for it is the eternal life, the life of God in man. And Jesus Christ, who was dead but who is alive for evermore, is the source of our experience and the foundation of our hope.

And He is that in no mere external and evidential sense. “Because I live ye shall live also,” He is reported as saying. The words are intensive and qualitative, and it is because He lives that we live now and shall live. The radiant energy of His life, over which death could have no dominion, is the power that reproduces itself in us. Do you remember the lines that come near the end of Browning’s *Death in the Desert*?

See if, for every finger of thy hands,
There be not found, that day the world shall end,
Hundreds of souls, each holding by Christ’s word
That He will grow incorporate with all,
With me as Pamphylax, with him as John,
Groom for each bride!

It is “Christ in us who is the hope of glory.” The Christian life is a supernatural life inasmuch as it springs from and is nourished by the Spirit of Him who dwells within us. And for this reason, and here and now, it is the life of the Kingdom of God which men enter as into the “brave, new world” of children. That kingdom is not of this world, or rather, as Christ said, it is not *from* this world. It is from above, and it comes into this world, out of the eternal into time, through them in whom Christ lives. And yet though its light may illumine the world and its

⁸ Dostoevsky—*The Possessed*, pp. 582-3.

⁹ cf. Philip. iii. 11, Luke xx. 35.

powers transform society, it can never fully come here. Whatever peace and blessing may fill the earth at some far distant date there will still be sorrow and death to eclipse its joy. Not here in a world that is passing away can the eternal purpose of God be fulfilled, and the kingdom which cannot be shaken be established for ever. For what is that kingdom, in its eternal reality, but the perfect and unbroken fellowship of the sons and daughters of God with Him and, through Him, with one another? It is the divine Harmony, the Goal of all creation, the everlasting joy of God in beings He has made for Himself and whom He has drawn into the great Communion. We but taste the powers of it in this present world, and most imperfectly do we realise it in our lives. But in so far as we are one with Christ, and the love that God is moves in our hearts, bringing us into fellowship with Him and with one another, we are of and in the kingdom. Love is of its essence, but the perfect love is yet to be. But it is in the fellowship of the kingdom that we have the best assurance of reunion with our beloved and blessed dead. Walter Lippmann, in his brilliant book, *A Preface to Morals*, says wisely of marriage, "The emotion of love is not self-sustaining; it endures only when the lovers love many things together and not merely one another. It is this understanding that love cannot be successfully isolated from the business of living which is the enduring wisdom of the institution of marriage."¹⁰ It is also the enduring wisdom of the kingdom of God. And what stronger ground of confidence in the permanence of human love can Christians have than this, that it has grown to a pure and hallowed beauty in the life and fellowship of that kingdom? Nothing that is of the kingdom can perish or lose aught of its preciousness.

I have written of the grounds and nature of Christian Hope, and have indulged in no speculations. It is a hope centred wholly on Christ. Of its greatness no man can speak worthily. Of its splendour no man can speak at all. Before its blinding glory even an apostle lowered his eyes :

Beloved, now are we the children of God, and it is not yet made manifest what we shall be. We know that if He shall be manifested we shall be like Him; for we shall see Him even as He is. And every one that hath this hope set on Him purifieth himself, even as He is pure.

B. G. COLLINS.

¹⁰ op. cit. 308.

The Exhilaration of Pentecost.

LUKE says that at Pentecost some spectators said: "These men are full of new wine." It is an illuminating word. Many a true thing is spoken in jest or mockery. At times it is a far truer word than the speaker knows. The foes of our Lord bear valuable witness to Him when they say in bitter scorn that He receives sinners and eats with them, that He has saved others, but cannot save Himself. "Master, we know that you are true and teach God's way in truth and that no fear of man misleads you, for you are not biased by men's wealth or rank." That, of course, was flattery, but even flattery must needs bear some resemblance to truth or it would be futile. So the Pharisees witnessed to Christ's fearless sincerity. Quite a good sermon could be made upon "The Gospel according to Christ's Foes." They tell us much about Him. And the words of the mockers on the first Whit Sunday give us in like manner some clearer idea of what happened on that day. Devout men were there, as we read in Acts ii. 5, men like Simeon waiting for the consolation of Israel. But these others accused the apostolic company of being drunk. When Paul preached at Athens some mocked, as Luke tells us, but he uses a stronger word here. These men were not indulging in any light, good-tempered banter. They were using the language of scorn.

But something *gave rise* to the jeer and made it possible. The words of the enemy are revealing. There was excitement in that company of disciples of Christ, there was talking, emotion, rapture, ecstasy. They were like Paul on that day of which he said he could not tell whether he was in the body or out of the body. He, writing to men tempted to indulge in strong drink, said, "Don't get drunk with wine, but be filled with the Spirit," as who should say, "There is a nobler, finer exhilaration." And that was what came to the disciples at Pentecost, joy unspeakable, joy that stirred their souls to the very depths. They were hilarious with it. What else but wine too freely drunk could make them the stirred, excited men that they appeared to be? We take note of the fact to which the scorners witness and proceed to ask what was the real cause of that joyous excitement.

Remember how awful the Cross had been to those men. Peter found the very mention of it so unendurable that he rebuked his Lord for foretelling it. Rome disdained to crucify her citizens. She reserved the cross for the vilest of her alien

subjects, for the very scum of her populace. To the Jew, a man who was hanged was accursed of God by the very fact. That Jesus should suffer that fate—the holiest of the holy, so entirely innocent, the one flawless man, as they knew—it was intolerable even to think of it! Jewish men told the disciples, no doubt, that the Crucified could not have been God's Messiah, for God would never have allowed *Him* to be hanged on a gallows. That was unthinkable. As we know by many a proof, the minds of the disciples worked slowly, and even after Easter it was probably still a poser for them when men put the taunting question: "If your teacher was the Messiah, why was He crucified?" A Paul with master mind was needed for that question, and he was not yet of their fellowship. But they kept together, they awaited fuller light, they prayed, and we may be sure they did some hard thinking. Light broke. Peter stood up at Pentecost and said that that death on the cross was an act of men for which they needed to repent, but nevertheless, it happened in accordance with a divine purpose. It was a great word of insight. Peter said not a word about that Cross as Atonement or Propitiation. Probably he had not as yet seen that as he did later. But what he did see was great. Man was responsible for that most awful deed of wickedness—the crucifying of God's Christ. But God did not intervene. He did not send twelve legions of angels to rescue His Messiah. He had sovereign purposes of wisdom and grace which were to be served by that death. "What shall I cry?" says the servant of God in Isaiah xl., when he is commissioned to preach. "All flesh is grass . . . because the spirit of the Lord bloweth upon it." There is a great truth in those words. God gives and God takes away. Birth is His will and so is death. He enriches and He impoverishes. *He* does it, not a hard, remorseless fate, not chance, not ill-luck. One of our own Chinese missionaries said at the end of his career to his daughter, "Death must be a good thing for us or God would not call us to pass through it." That is the truth which Peter and the rest of the disciples had got hold of. God was working out His own purposes of infinite grace and wisdom through that staggering event, the crucifixion of His Son. He was achieving His high ends even by means of the act of wicked men.

Turn to our own experience. The mind slowly reacts to a great grief. At first it bewilders and stuns the soul. It seems to be the end of all things. One loses the wish to go on. One understands Elijah when he said, "O Lord, take away my life, for I am not better than my fathers." Then, if one is a man of faith in God, comes the recollection that he has a Lord, and it is a steadying force, as R. W. Dale found at such a crisis. You have a Master, you are in His hands and you must gird

yourself to do His will and to bear it. But it is a blessed thing when there breaks upon the soul that is tried almost beyond human endurance the certainty that the Father, whose love is perfect, deliberately lets it have that educative agony, that life is no confusion, but an order directed to high ends for the individual and for the race. That gives one something infinitely more enriching than "Islam" can ever create. God reigns. He will not be defeated. He means to make us better, richer, stronger men by means of all experiences that try and disappoint and make pain. If we will be loyal the end will be blessed beyond all telling.

Ye humble souls that seek the Lord,
Chase all your fears away,
And bow with pleasure down to see
The place where Jesus lay.

So Philip Doddridge wrote, but one word in it did not content Wesley, so he edited the hymn, reading, "And bow with *rapture* down to see." Rapture! That is what came at Pentecost, as it does still when that truth grips us; God is working out His purpose in our lives, the purpose of the perfect Wisdom and Love.

Now Pentecost is, of course, a many-sided thing, and no complete account of it is aimed at here. But what is suggested is that the beating heart of it was the breaking in upon the souls of these first Christians of the fact that God was over-ruling the wicked deed of men for the fulfilment of His own great ends, which fact is the symbol of so much in the lives of men and nations. For the Spirit of God is the Spirit of wisdom and understanding, the Spirit of counsel and might, the Spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord which is religion. The Holy Ghost, said our Lord, will guide you into all the truth, and what came at Pentecost was the fulfilment of that promise. Pentecost was like Wesley's great day when he said, "I felt my heart strangely warmed," and it was that because again, as in Wesley's case, it was a great illumination of the understanding.

Jesus, I am resting, resting
On the joy of what Thou art;
I am finding out the greatness
Of Thy loving heart.

To be finding out His greatness and to know Him as the image of the Father—that makes rapture always as it did at Pentecost.

H. J. WICKS.

Sir Walter Scott.

IN the summer of last year I went again to Abbotsford, and for a week roamed about on the Scottish borders where Sir Walter Scott has for all time left his impressions. It was years since I had made the pilgrimage before, and I wondered how it would all strike me now. But I need hardly have wondered. The old glamour, the old thrill, was still there, and Sir Walter remains one of the idols at whose shrine I unceasingly worship.

He is, of course, the greatest man of letters that Scotland has produced, and John Buchan would add, the greatest man, "because the most representative."

From many points of view his worth may be assessed. As a poet, though he can hardly be put in the highest rank, he is not by any means to be despised, and his typical verse has a vigour and a sincerity that hold the mind and quicken the pulse. As an historian he is less widely known, and he cannot be called "scholarly," but his *Tales of a Grandfather* are still as good an introduction to the romantic glamour of Scottish history as one will get anywhere. As a novelist he stands undoubtedly among the greatest, and in some respects his work has never been surpassed; though the finest part of it, namely, his delineation of Scottish peasant life must, because of the dialect, make him to some extent "caviare to the general."

But it is chiefly as a man that Scott holds his place in the affection of his admirers. He has been described with loving faithfulness by Lockhart, his son-in-law, in one of the greatest biographies in literature. "All other books on Scott are but its satellites," says Andrew Lang, "and their glory, be it brighter or fainter, is a borrowed radiance." In Lockhart, Scott has been painted for all time, "warts and all," and we know him to the centre as we know few men in history.

But how triumphantly Scott emerges from under the light that is thrown upon him! He was not a plaster saint by any means; his feelings were strong; sometimes he swore, and sometimes he drank rather more than was good for him; also there was in him a fondness for social distinction that seems rather odd in one who was, generally speaking, so forthright and robust. But, admit all that his fiercest detractors can say, what a splendid, generous-hearted, truly heroic man he was! "No affectation, no fantasticality or distortion dwelt in him," says Carlyle, "no shadow of cant. Nay, withal was he not a right brave and

strong man according to his kind? Healthy in body, healthy in soul—no sounder piece of British manhood was put together in that eighteenth century of time.” “All who knew him intimately loved him,” said Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd, “nay, many of them almost worshipped him. He was the only man I ever knew whom no man, either poor or rich, held at ill-will.” “Drunk or sober,” said another, “he was aye the gentleman.” “He spoke to all as if he was their blood-relation,” and there is a typical story of a poor tailor on his estate whom Scott went to see when he lay dying. “When he heard the laird’s voice, eagerly and wistfully the dying man sat up, and with his closing breath gasped out, ‘The Lord bless and reward you.’” No one was ever more deeply loved, and the reason lay in his manly honesty and sincerity. Even Byron, whose experience had made him cynical and distrustful, declared that Scott was “nearly as thorough a good man as can be,” and to all time Scott stands surrounded by friends who delight in his companionship and love to listen to his speech.

We cannot, therefore, be surprised that religion, in the highest sense of the term, was the mainspring of all Scott’s life. He was a devout Christian, and, without any hysterics, he once declared himself ready to give his life for his faith. In the supreme moments of his life it was to his Saviour that he turned. In 1819 he thought himself to be dying, and calling his children about his bed “he took leave of them with solemn tenderness. ‘For myself,’ he said, ‘I am unconscious of ever having done any man an injury or omitting any fair opportunity of doing any man a benefit. I well know that no human life can appear otherwise than weak and filthy in the eyes of God, but I rely on the merits and intercessions of the Redeemer.’ He then laid his hands on their heads and said, ‘God bless you. Live so that you may all hope to meet each other in a better place hereafter. And now leave me that I may turn my face to the wall.’” As he lay on his deathbed fifteen years later, in his half-conscious moments he was heard to repeat the *Stabat Mater*, texts of Scripture and verses of the Scottish Psalms. Four days before he died he woke to consciousness again, and in his last charge to Lockhart he said, “I may have but a minute to speak to you. My dear, be a good man—be virtuous—be religious—be a good man. Nothing else will give you any comfort when you come to lie here.” It was in that faith that Scott passed the whole of his life.

So far as the forms of religion were concerned, his sympathies were Episcopalian. He did not often attend public worship, but regularly he conducted devotions for his household, and it was the English prayer-book that he used. At Abbotsford it was his custom, after dinner, to walk to the bowling-green

so that he might listen to the evening worship of Peter Mathieson, his coachman, and no one that knew him ever doubted the deep piety that was the foundation of his character.

It has been suggested that in his work he was unfair to the "beastly Covenanters," as he once described them to Southey. "You can hardly conceive," he says, "the perfidy, cruelty, and stupidity of these people, according to the accounts of themselves they have preserved." Borrow, in his appendix to *The Romany Rye*, has suggested that this was due to "Charlie-o'er-the-waterism," and a sneaking fondness for the mumbo-jumbo of Rome. But nothing could be more ridiculous. John Buchan, who has himself worked over the period, claims that Scott does "ample justice to the best in the Covenant and does not exaggerate the worst," and, if he makes it clear that he has no sympathy with half-hearted fanaticism, he shows again and again the beauty and strength of simple, pure, honest faith in Christ. No one in the whole realm of fiction, it is safe to say, had a firmer grasp of the essentials of true religion, and no one has done more by his work to commend them. Search his works where you will, you will find nothing that even the most fastidious need blush for. Scott had no interest in the perverted discoveries of pathological psychology. In him there was a fundamental sanity, and, while he tried to see life fearlessly, he tried also to "see it steadily and see it whole." He was himself, by inclination and temperament, wholesome and balanced and good; and his novels are the mirror of his mind.

Nothing has been said on the question of his bankruptcy. The more one reads the story, the more incredible it sounds. That Scott, so essentially shrewd and sensible, should have got his affairs into such a hopeless tangle is something that is beyond our understanding. But once the crash had come and the blow had fallen, how nobly and heroically he gave his life to redeem his honour! Nothing was liker Scott than his resolve to take the whole responsibility upon himself, and the wonderful fight he made is one of the epics of literature.

Take him all in all, Scott is one of the noblest men that ever lived, and Mark Antony's eulogy on Brutus may well be applied to him.

His life was gentle, and the elements
So made up in him that Nature might stand up
And say to all the world, "This was a man."

HENRY COOK.

The University of Shanghai.

THE institution described in the following article by Dr. H. C. E. Liu has a special interest for Baptists, since it was founded, and is still supported and, in a measure, controlled, by our American brethren. There are, in Shanghai, two Christian universities, that of which Dr. Liu is now President, and St. John's, which was started by the American Episcopal Church. The former is much the more liberal, both in its religious views and in its policy of registration with the Chinese Government. The United Committee for Christian Universities of China, which has headquarters at Edinburgh House, reports that both institutions are full to capacity, and that the University of Shanghai seems likely to develop still further in the near future. Its growth has been more remarkable than that of any of the other Christian Colleges. Up to 1931 some 450 students had graduated and fifty-eight per cent. are reported to be in definitely Christian work. In one of the missions which support the University, large use is being made of graduates in pastorates, hospitals, etc., with most promising results.

There may be some surprise at the inclusion in the curriculum of a course in Music Appreciation, but in this age when the gramophone and saxophone have reached China, an attempt to bridge the gulf between Chinese and Western music is to be welcomed, particularly when there is emphasis on the best that we have produced rather than the most popular.

Dr. Liu is well known in Baptist World Alliance work.

E. A. PAYNE.

THE University of Shanghai was founded in 1906 by the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, and the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention. It was originally known as Shanghai Baptist College and Seminary. Dr. R. T. Bryan was the first President of the Theological Seminary, and the late Dr. J. T. Proctor was the first President of the College. After the College and the Seminary had been combined, Dr. F. J. White was elected President. Under his careful guidance the institution enjoyed a phenomenal growth. In 1928 the Board of Directors of the University was re-organised; Dr. Herman C. E. Liu was elected the first Chinese President, and Mr. T. K. Van the first Chinese Dean. In 1929 the institution was registered with the Ministry of Education of

the National Government; and in 1931, with the approval of the Board of Founders in America, the name was changed from "Shanghai College," to "The University of Shanghai." The institution is now among the foremost in faculty, student body, and equipment.

CAMPUS AND BUILDINGS. About six miles from the downtown district of Shanghai, on a campus of sixty acres along the left bank of the Whangpoo River, in sight of ships of all nations which pass by daily, stand the stately buildings of the University. There are twelve large buildings and about thirty smaller ones, such as faculty residences, dining-halls, and dispensary, and the electric power plant. The total cost of the plant is about \$2,000,000. Most of this was provided from America, but in recent years the Chinese themselves have made considerable contributions towards the various extensions.

STUDENT BODY. In the last term of 1931 there were about 570 students in the college, 430 in the middle school, and ninety-five in the elementary school and kindergarten. On account of the local situation, due to the fact that the Japanese military headquarters and aeroplane base adjoined the campus, it was impossible to open school on the campus for the Spring term, 1932, so classes for the college and middle-school students were offered in the downtown district, with more than half the normal enrolment. The students come not only from the provinces of China proper, but also from Singapore, Java, Burma, Borneo, Honolulu, Australia, and Korea. The University is thus a melting pot for the Chinese from many distant parts of the world. In 1931 95 per cent. of the college faculty and 43 per cent. of the students were Christians, unusually large percentages for such an institution. More than thirty Fellowship Groups, or Bible Classes, were held, and during the year twenty persons were baptised.

CO-EDUCATION was started in 1920, the University of Shanghai being the first institution in China to open its doors on equal terms to women and men. In 1931 there were 170 women students enrolled. It seems they have a serious attitude toward their work, ranking well with the men. On Honours' Day, 1931, we found that half of the highest honour and high honour students were girls. They take their full share in all student activities, including games. The number of women students who can be admitted is limited by the size of the dormitory. A new building, a dining-hall and gymnasium for women, has been erected, which provides more space for the women students. The funds for this were supplied by the Baptist women of America. We feel that co-education, while still young in China, has passed out of the experimental stage. The young women have borne

themselves with such dignity and charm that they have won for themselves the admiration of the faculty and of many friends who have visited on the campus.

CURRICULUM. The University includes the following divisions of work: post-graduate work, the College, the Senior Middle School, the Junior Middle School, the Elementary School, and the Kindergarten, besides the Theological Seminary and the Yangtzepoo Social Centre. The University endeavours to fit students for life. Therefore, most courses of study are arranged in vocational and pre-vocational groups. At present it is organised into five groups of courses:

Education. The education group offers both graduate and undergraduate courses, training teachers, supervisors, and principals for elementary and secondary schools in China. It has well-conducted Middle Schools and Elementary School and Kindergarten for demonstration and practice work.

Social Sciences. The group of Social Sciences includes the Sociology Department, and the History and Political Science department.

The present development of the Sociology department is the result of the belief of the American founders of the institution that the field of social life should be a central part of the work of the college. The understanding of Chinese society and its problems is an indispensable preliminary to the building of a new China, and Shanghai is a good field for study of social and industrial development.

The work in Political Science and History has received increased emphasis since the year 1919, which marked a turning point in popular interest and participation in politics in China. This interest has been reflected in the large increase in the proportion of students taking courses in government and history. A club has been organised to study international problems.

Natural Sciences. The University has strong Science departments, which are housed in a large, well-furnished building.

In the Biology Department may be found well-organised laboratories for students to do practical work in observing life's processes, under the direction of competent teachers.

The Department of Chemistry has six laboratories, which are provided with gas, electricity, compressed air, and running water. The department prepares students to meet the great need of China in general chemistry, industrial chemistry, science teacher training, and pre-medical training.

The Physics Department is well equipped to train students who wish to specialise in different branches of physical science, in preparation for engineering or medical courses, or for science teaching in middle schools.

Commerce. The University has a department of Business Administration in the College. It also conducts a Downtown School of Commerce in the heart of the city. This school was opened for the first time last March, amid the sound of firing between the Japanese and Chinese forces, and offers classes in the late afternoon and evening for those who work during the day. It has an enrolment of 217 students, and over thirty prominent specialists are serving on its faculty. The leaders of the Chinese community have taken keen interest in the school and supported it generously.

The urgent need of the school at present is for library facilities, not only for its students and teachers, but also for the business leaders of the community. The Economic Society of China and the Foreign Trade Association of China are co-operating with the school to build up such a library, \$10,000 having been promised by the Economic Society. The China Committee of the International Chamber of Commerce has affiliated its library with the library of the school.

Languages, Literature, and Music. This includes instruction in Chinese, English, Japanese, German, and French.

A special effort is made in the Chinese department to train the students to appreciate modern literature and to write modern essays with ease. The staff is composed of men who are eminent in their profession.

The aim of the courses in English is to enable the students to read, write, and converse in English, using the English language that is found in the best magazines, newspapers, and books.

A course in Music Appreciation is required of all freshmen, and elective courses are offered in piano, organ, and singing. The glee clubs and the orchestra make a real contribution to the work of the University.

THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY. It is the purpose of the Seminary, which is now affiliated to the University, but not registered with the Ministry of Education, to train ministers, Bible teachers, Sunday School workers, etc. More than thirty students have graduated from the Seminary, and most of them are filling responsible positions in Christian work, many of them leaders in Chinese Baptist Churches.

YANGTZEPOO SOCIAL CENTRE was founded in 1917 in the heart of the largest industrial community in China. It is used as a laboratory for the departments of Sociology, Education, and Religion, and gives the college students opportunities to obtain practical experiences and first-hand observation in social investigation, community organisation, and research work. The main activities of the Centre are educational, social, religious,

and recreational. Normally there are about 850 pupils in the day and night schools for labourers. Recently a nursery school was started for the children of the factory workers. In co-operation with the National Child Welfare Association of China, the Centre is providing a clinic for the poor children in the district. During the recent troubles in Shanghai it had to be closed for a time, but was re-opened on March 15th.

LIBRARY. The library, which was built with funds raised in China, is complete in every detail, and is a constant source of satisfaction and comfort. The reading-room is very large and pleasant; the stock room, holding over 52,000 books, is in great demand.

One of the unique features of the University library is its International Relations Library—the first library of its sort in China. There are about 4,000 books in it; and it receives publications from forty different countries. The League of Nations, the International Labour Office, and the Carnegie Foundations have also sent their publications to the special library.

TESTIMONY. Much has been said in appreciation of the work at the University of Shanghai. The following testimony was offered by Dr. H. H. Kung, formerly Minister of Industry, Commerce and Labour in the Central Government of China, who wrote in a letter to the President of the University: "Your college is rendering splendid service to the young men and women of New China, and is surely filling a need, which is most urgent in our period of reconstruction. My visits to the campus of your college impress me with memories which will ever make me appreciative of the excellent work of your good self and staff and hope that all your efforts will be crowned with success."

In a recent address, Dr. Sherwood Eddy, a prominent American scholar and lecturer, made the following remark: "My heart is very much touched by this institution. I have just been going through a series of colleges from Harbin to Canton, but I have been trying to think of any college equal to it that I have found, and I can't recall one. I can't recall a college that is doing just what you are doing."

H. C. E. LIU.

The Deputies of the Dissenters.

TWO hundred years ago, Protestant Dissenters in and near London appointed Deputies from their congregations to take care of their civil affairs. The tradition of the State had long been to enforce uniformity of worship. This was abandoned after the civil war provoked by Charles I, but it was re-enforced by a series of laws under his son, often known as the Clarendon Code. After the revolution of 1688, Protestant Dissent was at length recognized as inevitable, and much ecclesiastical liberty was permitted, at the price of much civil disability. After a generation's experience, during which attempts to impose further disabilities had nearly succeeded, it was decided to make application to repeal two acts, and restore to Dissenters the rights of holding office under the crown and of being elected to corporations.

A modern Scots historian thinks that the great majority of Nonconformists had no conscientious objection to passing the very futile tests imposed by the law; we doubt this extremely, and as far as Baptists are concerned, contradict it flatly; only two cases are known, and in each case the church disciplined the erring member. But Walpole knew that Dissenters would not rebel, while experience showed that a mob could always be roused to riot by the cry, "The Church in danger." Therefore he preferred to let sleeping dogs lie, and discouraged all attempts to remedy the injustice.

The Deputies were therefore re-elected annually, to watch for suitable opportunities, and to prevent further encroachments. Leave was refused even to bring in a bill for repeal, both in 1736 and in 1739; and when Dissenters actively supported the dynasty against the Stuart rebellion of 1745, all that they secured was indemnity for taking commissions from the king illegally—an insult made worse by coupling them with the rebels. The Act of Indemnity however did serve as a precedent, and henceforth it was usual to forgive Dissenters for accepting office, every year.

The Deputies were more successful in compelling local magistrates to obey and administer the law, securing apologies and damages from rioters, and in composing difficulties. For example, several rioters, having insulted and maltreated Baptists at Stratton in 1741, were prosecuted. The mayor of Dartmouth in 1772 was compelled to issue warrants against disturbers. Clergy who claimed fees when dissenting ministers buried Dis-

senters in their own ground, were shown that they had no legal claim. A chairman of Quarter Sessions who had ostentatiously refused to register a certificate that a certain house was to be used for Baptist worship, was put to open shame at the next sessions when a London barrister appeared with a mandamus from King's Bench ordering him to do it forthwith.

The Deputies were equally keen in protecting Dissenters in the colonies. When Connecticut passed a new law in 1743 against revivalists (such as Whitefield!), and there were other hardships as to taxation and education, the Deputies remonstrated, and after some discussion with the governor, secured amelioration. And twice they prevented the institution of bishops with jurisdiction in those colonies.

It is well known how one of their number, Allen Evans of Wild Street and Kingsgate, was so active that to punish him he was nominated to be sheriff of London, though it was known he could not conscientiously take the sacrament in his parish church, and that therefore he could not serve; it was thought that under a city bye-law he could then be fined £600. He and others in the same plight resisted, and after thirteen years' litigation, the practice was stopped. Yet it took another generation before the repeated efforts of the Deputies for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts were successful. And only after a private member in the Lords, at the height of the Napoleonic wars, had tried yet again to abridge liberty, was the reaction strong enough to sweep off another instalment of the persecuting laws.

When this much was achieved, the Deputies had the opportunity to show how disinterested they were; for Roman Catholics suffered even more severe disabilities, which George III. had been unwilling to lessen. They supported the movement for Catholic Emancipation, which was successful in 1829, and thus they ended gloriously their first hundred years.

Since then, their efforts have been less spectacular, for less remained to be done; yet we all know how hard are the last steps, when no very glaring injustice remains. Little differences as to the treatment of buildings and their exemption from rates and taxes, of ministers and their privileges or disabilities, of the conduct of marriages and funerals, rarely give trouble to-day. The Deputies have done good work not only to remove inequalities, but to educate Dissenters in the minute details of the law, and insist on their complying with it before they would help. To-day each great denomination has skilled legal advisers, and the tendency is for churches to use these channels rather than resort to the ancient body. How the Deputies intend to adjust themselves to the new conditions and prove still to benefit

the Three Denominations, they did not disclose at their recent Bicentenary celebrations. Since they are in touch with the General Body of London ministers which dates from 1727, and equally has official recognition and the right of access to the throne, they would form a natural forum for the discussion of plans as to a closer union between the Three Denominations, which is being so earnestly considered by our younger men. Baptists in 1891 found that the driving force for uniting was not from theologically-minded ministers, but from practical laymen.

EDWARD WIGHTMAN was the last man burned for heresy in England; at Lichfield in 1612. The account of his trials is in manuscript at the Bodleian, being perhaps an office copy; it shows that young William Laud had fruitlessly sought to persuade him he was mistaken. Crosby could hardly believe he really held the opinions attributed to him, but the record is clear. No one was anxious to claim kinship with him for many years. But the persistence of a descendant has at length ferreted out some of the facts.

The registers at Burton-on-Trent show that Edward Wightman married Francis Darbye there on 2 September 1593; that their son John was christened 8 December 1594, Priscilla on 25 December 1596, a second John on 7 January 1598-9, Maria on 27 February 1603/4, and buried 5 January 1605/6, Anna on 18 September 1608, Samuell on 18 August 1611.

Edward evidently came to Burton from outside, as there is no record of him in the registers before his marriage. The family belonged to Hinckley and Burbage. He may be son of John, christened at Burbage 20 December 1566, with a brother Valentin two years older. Or he may be son of Mr. Valentine, christened at Burbage 9 April 1576; in this case he profited under his father's will proved in 1606. The various Visitations have no occasion to mention him.

The first John, his son, is supposed to have died in 1595, so that in 1599 the name was used again. The second John is supposed to have had two sons. George, born in 1632, was in Rhode Island 1637, became a tailor, died in Rhode Island 1722. Valentine, traced in Rhode Island 1648, died there 1701; his family gave Elders to the North Kingstown Baptist church. Another Valentine was founder of the Groton church in Connecticut, whence a branch was opened in New York.

Henry Hills, Official Printer.

IN 1684 a broadside was published to show the seamy side of the life of Henry Hills, senior, late Warden of the Stationers' Company. It quite bears out its title, "A view of part of the many traitorous, disloyal, and turn-about actions of H.H. senior, sometimes printer to Cromwel, to the Commonwealth, to the Anabaptist Congregation, to Cromwell's army, Committee of safety, Rump Parliament, &c." When the adjectives and adverbs are neglected, plenty of dated facts are alleged; (and they may be supplemented by a few others). Here then is an outline of the man's public career, as an enemy chose to tell it.

His father was a rope-maker at Maidstone. He became postillion to Thomas Harrison, who apprenticed him to a printer, but on the outbreak of war he ran away and enlisted. He was a musketeer at the battle of Edgehill in October 1642. In the next few years he was involved with the Levellers. When the Army began to take an active part in politics, and needed some way of explaining itself to the public, Harrison bethought himself of Hills and had him taken out of the ranks, appointed as Printer to the Army. In this capacity he moved with the army, and issued many of its manifestos, then many ordinances of the Rump Parliament. His last appearance in camp was at Worcester, in Fleetwood's tent.

On the return of peace, he enticed away the wife of Thomas Ham, a tailor in Blackfriars, and lived with her. For this he was mulcted in £260, and was committed to the Fleet prison. In 1651 he published a pamphlet, "The Prodigal Returned," with commentations from William Kiffin and Daniel King; and soon was made Printer to the Anabaptist Congregation. (He certainly did print the important books by John Tombes, next year, and a huge folio by Samuel Fisher of Kent. In July 1653 he was prominent enough to be one of nine who sent forth a circular advising the formation of Associations everywhere; he was a member of Kiffin's church.) He was appointed Printer to the Commonwealth, and did all the official work. At the same time he was a prominent preacher among the Anabaptists, and treasurer of a fund of theirs; this however was absorbed by him and Jeremy Ives. (No date is offered for this; but in 1654 he published for Tombes, Collier, Howet, Turner and Patient; next year for Lawrence, Hobson, Clarke of Rhode Island. No

allusion to the alleged defalcations has yet been found in any Baptist book.)

In 1659 he issued a Pocket Bible, which was notorious for omitting "not" from the seventh commandment. (He and Field did buy for £500 the monopoly of Bible printing. Their duodecimo in 1656 was very inaccurate, but next year Hills printed a fine two-volume folio version of the Dutch Authorized Version, with all its notes. There was a petition in 1659 by the workmen-printers who were citizens of London, that parliament would end this monopoly; but it failed. Hills was also printing for Blackwood, Collier, and Tombes, so evidently retained Baptist confidence.)

Having been official printer to the army, Cromwell, the Commonwealth, Richard Cromwell, the Rump, the army, the Committee of Safety, and the Rump again, he now became official printer to the king in 1660; and to make himself secure, took out a particular pardon for all the past, becoming a kind of Church-of-England man or a modest Presbyterian. (There was however an interlude when Monk's army entered London; he ceased to be the official printer then, and worked only for many Baptists. An attack was made on him as a fanatic, coupled with Ives, Simpson, Overton, Powell, and Kiffin; to this he made an effective answer by printing the Baptist manifesto disowning the Fifth Monarchy rising in 1661, and Tombes' plea that the oath of allegiance ought to be taken. But thereafter he lost all Baptist custom, and so presumably he did quit the denomination.)

(On 7 July 1660 he and Field bought from the university of Oxford its privilege of printing Bibles, and exercised it for four years. The university itself however began printing Bibles at the Sheldonian Theater, so in 1678 Hills arranged with the Barkers, who held the king's patent, and resumed.) He became Warden of the Stationers' Company (and as nothing is alleged against him in all this period, was presumably doing honest business. In 1672 he published a Justification of the War with the Netherlands, and Stubbe's Vindication of the Declaration for Liberty of Conscience. Three years later he was denounced as an unregistered printer.) At this time his works were at the Bell in St. Paul's courtyard.

In 1678 he signalized himself in connection with the Popish Plot, hunting out papists, especially in the official printing offices (as may have been his duty. He certainly printed one pamphlet about papists, for Tooke, a leading loyal bookseller.) Next year he was even more violent, and involved with Dangerfield. When the excitement died down, he was sued by a peer, who obtained heavy damages. Therefore to obtain royal favour, he turned Roman Catholic. (While his attention was taken off his Bible

trade, young Thomas Guy came to terms with Oxford, and in 1679 laid the foundation of his fortune by selling Bibles at the corner of Little Lombard Street; so Baptists were well represented again. The rivalry between Hills and Guy was marked for several years. Hills, Newcomb, and the assigns of Bill, were appointed Printers to the King's most excellent Majesty, and did all the official work, as for example, an Abridgement of the Military Discipline. It is curious that in Commonwealth times, a similar drill-book was written by Vernon, a Baptist.) Yet as he coveted the office of Master of the Stationers' Company in 1684, he qualified for candidature by taking the sacrament in the Church of England; but he was not elected.

(Here the diatribe ends. Hills strengthened his position as a Catholic, became printer to the royal court and chapel, issued many Catholic books, while continuing work under the Bible patent. It was piquant that in 1686, when Guy was selling an Oxford Bible, Hills was selling a royal Bible, without apocrypha, and also a Jesuit book whose running title was "The Bible is not our judge," followed with "The Roman Church is our infallible judge." Somehow Hills missed the tide at the Revolution, and did not become printer to William and Mary. Nor does his own imprint appear on any Bible after 1689, though he continued to own a share in the patent. His partners came to terms with Thomas Guy, who in 1692 issued a Bible with a portrait of King William as frontispiece.

(As he was a soldier in 1642, he must have been fairly old by now, and the fact that in 1684 he was styled Senior, shows that he had a son of the same name, in public life. One or other of them, in 1697, broke new ground by printing and selling a book of "Chimical Secrets," medicines made up by Dr. William Russell and Richard Russell; the former was chemist to the king, and also a Messenger of the General Baptists, preaching at Dean Street. It is not clear when Henry Hills the elder died, but in 1709 his executors sold the Bible-patent to John Baskett and others. Next year an act of parliament spoke of his piracies, and ordered how they were to be remedied. The Henry Hills who died in 1713 must have been the son.)

YORK had a Baptist congregation flourishing about 1646, when one of the members, Anne, was married in the presence of the congregation to a pious man who in later days became a First Publisher of Truth, otherwise a Quaker. See the current Journal of the Society of Friends.

Calendar of Letters, 1742-1831.

(Continued from page 186.)

59. 1794. May 6.

From JOHN SUTCLIFF (Olney) to L. BUTTERWORTH (Evesham).

"I have consulted our people and so far as I can judge for myself there is no encouragement to visit us with the hope of obtaining assistance,"—i.e., for the cause at Evesham.

60. 1794. Aug. 12.

From ANDREW FULLER to SUTCLIFF (Olney).

The first part is largely a resumé of letter 56 (Carey to B.M.S.). Fuller has collected £300. In a further note at the close, Fuller says that he got "another hand" to write the resumé, and states that he has sent them £60—making £210 in all. Mentions death of Miss Wallis and hopeless sickness of Mrs. Fidgen.

61. 1794. Sep. 8.

From SAM. MEDLEY (Liverpool) to LAURENCE BUTTERWORTH (Evesham).

Commending "My young friend John Phillips," going to Evesham for his health, and requesting permission for him to commune with them.

62. 1794. Nov. 3.

From ABRAHAM BOOTH (London) to ———.

Re Mr. Pearce—"I cannot by any means encourage his going abroad as a missionary"—although he believes "the turn of his heart to be strongly for promoting the honour of Xt. &c." He refers to some confidential matter before the Socy. which "should be kept in the breasts of as few as possible." He has received a letter from Carey in Bengal which "contains some unpleasant things relative to the imprudence of *Mr. John Thomas*, his colleague." He fears it will discourage contributions to the Mission. "I take it that Mr. Carey has informed the Socy. of the same things." He regrets that he cannot be at the meeting at Northampton. "The Lord look upon Mr.

[? Tr]inder, and have mercy on the Church!" (perhaps a clue as to receiver?).

63. 1794. Dec. 6.

From JOHN THOMAS (Moypauldiggy) to Rev. A. BOOTH (London).

Mr. Robt. Udny and his wife drowned in the Ganges. Mr. Udny, of Malda, invited Carey and Thomas and gave them both charge of indigo works. They are busy now, therefore, but for a great part of the year they will have leisure "for other studies," when they will pursue their "original plan with more activity." "I think it is a very great thing I am getting out of debt and we both hope to become helpers of our good Socy." Mr. Carey has lost his third son. "We have plenty of this world's goods (all of us)." He expects Udny will go home early in 1796, and "He intends to make each of us a proprietor of a fourth part of the manufactory, and we shall certainly have it in our own power (I had almost said) to do as much good." He then goes on to say that spiritually "at present matters are very low with me. . . . O, for some reviving in this dearthy hole of the world." "Everything is dead and faint around us except our outward prosperity." Ram Boshoo is with Carey.

64. 1795. Mar. 21.

From D. TURNER (Abingdon) to Mr. STEADMAN (Broughton, Hants.).

Thanks for pamphlets re Indian Mission which came via Mr. Bicheno. In strong sympathy with it. Encloses some of his own pamphlets "to awaken the drowsy professors of religion." Mentions: Mary Steele, Jos. Tomkins.

65. 1795. Mar. 30.

From A. BOOTH (London) to FULLER (Kettering).

Acknowledges a packet from Fuller, and says that he submitted it to Timothy Thomas; and also to Mr. Dore, Mr. Keene, and Mr. Giles, asking for their opinion on "the deliberations of the Committee." The result of Dore, Keene and Giles' deliberations is given in full under—"It is our Opinion"—followed by 8 points, and signed by them (i.e., reproduced in this letter). In short, their "opinions" are: Carey and Thomas have cut themselves off from the Socy. by their secular employment; strongly disapprove of T.'s discharging his own debts from public funds; "the Socy. is now without a missionary at all"; and on this ground disapproves of the Committee's letter to T. and C.; they refer to "an offer

made by Mr. B." and would turn it down; they agree that another mission should be started and recommend Africa; for the avoiding of prejudice against missions take as little notice as possible of the C. and T. affair.

Booth goes on to say that he himself agrees with the above "opinions," unless "Carey has some reasons for his conduct of which I am entirely ignorant." He would be "averse to sending Mr. B. or any other person to India." He refers to the report of the Sierra Leone Director, and thinks *two* should be sent there; and agrees with a suggestion of Mr. Ryland, that if not two ministers, then one and "a private instructor or schoolmaster" might be sent. Booth hopes the Committee will be guided in its deliberations.

[This letter is an interesting revelation of the disillusionment and disappointment at home. Mr. Keene may be Robert, the precentor at Carter Lane, composer of the tune Geard; he seems to have lived at Walworth; it is not known how he was related to Robert Keen, friend of Whitefield in 1770. Mr. Giles was apparently another London layman. Was "Mr. B." Thomas Blundel of Arnesby? Pages 93-96 of the Periodical Accounts show how loyal the Committee was in public to Thomas and Carey.]

66. 1796. Apr. 25.

From J. GRIGG (Freetown, Sierra Leone) to SUTCLIFF (Olney).

Written on board just as the ship is about to leave. Thanks S. "You were the only person who thought on me." Answers an enquiry of S.'s re Paedo-baptist Mission—and says that Mr. Dawes leaves Freetown to lead in that Socy. Gives a long account of the Foulah Mission. It has failed because of alarms of a French landing. But that is all to the good, "for more unfit persons could not be found." There are constant fierce quarrellings—"one named Evans called the other a Damned Villain"—and knives were often drawn. They are all going home. Mentions a Mr. Giles, "an exceedingly good young man," amongst them. Mentions that Mr. Rodway has been ill. A "Mr. Garvin here" wishes to become a missionary. "Speak to Mr. Horne concerning him." Remembrances to Mrs. Wyke, of Northampton.

NOTE: Between the lines of this letter is written another letter to Sutcliff. "This letter was brought to me last night by Governor Dawes; it was unsealed, therefore I read it." Commends the aforementioned Garvin, who is a "Weslean." Refers to "my letter (to Fuller) from Exeter re a mission in Cornwall." States that Mr. Gibbs and Mr. Birt think "the

fields are white" there, and therefore the purpose is for Steadman and Saffery to make a two months' tour. They will be supplied in absence by Mr. Davis (late assistant at Lyme) and Mr. Franklin, "a student here." The signature is "Cordially yours—You know who." This second letter is plainly from Dr. Ryland, from the handwriting, and from the fact that Sutcliff gives the dates that he answered both "Grigg and Ryland."

[Sierra Leone was much attracting missionary thought. Two sets of negroes had been taken thither, slaves who had sided with Britain in the revolutionary war 1776-83, and others who had awhile been in Nova Scotia. Among them were some Baptist preachers, and even a Baptist church. The Sierra Leone Company was chartered in 1791 to oppose the slave trade, to establish commercial factories, to build Freetown. The second Governor was William Dawes, once of the Royal Marines, with experience of the convict settlement in Australia. Garvin was a schoolmaster sent out about 1794. The coming of Grigg and Rodway, from which the B.M.S. hoped much, led to nothing, as they soon returned. Baptist life in the colony is indigenous. The "exceedingly good young man" named Giles was in the band of Methodists which had been reporting to Dr. Coke from 1792. The one good result of Grigg and Rodway's visit was to win this William Giles to Baptist life. His career was set forth in Vol. IV. at page 333.]

67. 1797. Feb. 24.

From JOHN PALMER (Fleet St.) to Mr. STEADMAN (Broughton).

Palmer is lecturing and preaching in London (apparently collecting money). "The Londoners have no mercy on country ministers but would have them preach themselves to death." Asks Mr. Steadman to take a month at his church, as "you would not be so far off when at Northampton." Speaks of S's, possibly going to settle at Northampton, but trusts not because it is a "mixed communion"; and he adds "how you would like Bristol I know not." Refers to the death of Mrs. Timothy Thomas, and of Mr. Keene of Walworth, a deacon of Mr. Dore's. Tells of a "split" at Walworth, and some have taken an old meeting house of Wesley's, and are ministered to by Mr. Downes, whom "I baptise next week." Says a Committee has been chosen to reconsider the conditions of Village preaching. Things in London are gloomy—"There is much talk of an invasion." Mentions: Mr. Sharpe, Flint (preaching at Stennett's old church at Wild St.), Mr. Harrison (Shifnal), Mr.

Abraham Webster (Broxley), and Mr. Martin ("has received the *regnum donum* money").

[John Palmer was authorised by the Baptist Case Committee to collect for Shrewsbury in 1796; this letter shows him taking that permission liberally; he secured £172, as against Slaithwaite £76, Weston £70, Ebenezer £45, and Collingham £36. The church had been left in a sad way by William Smith, who left for Eagle Street in 1788. Palmer was ordained in April 1796 by Pearce Harrison and Steadman. The Walworth split seems to have been evanescent; but William Downes borrowed the baptistery at Worship Street in 1799 for seven converts; his later work lay at Sheffield, Truro, Kidderminster, Evesham. The Committee for Village Preaching did well; it is connected with the Home Missionary Society, the oldest of the three societies which unitedly form the Baptist Union. Palmer worked under its auspices during 1798 in the border counties of Wales and England. The next letter tells of work promoted in Devon and Cornwall.]

.68. 1797. Oct. 17.

From I. BIRT (Dock) to Mr. STEADMAN (Broughton).

Re Mr. Steadman's coming to Dock as joint-pastor with Birt. "Mr. Taylor has left me and gone to Plymouth Tabernacle." The question of *priority* of regeneration or faith need not stand in the way. The Church is in "greatest harmony," and "I now fully reckon on your coming to Dock." Birt has been on an "excursion to Cornwall"—with Mr. Gibbs to Truro. Had baptisms at Penzance.

A.P.S. says that a select committee "*unanimously agree*" to recommend S. to co-pastorate. Further states "Church at Saltash is closed on Lord's Days." Birt has another son.

69. 1797. Nov. 17.

From SAM PEARCE to Dr. RYLAND (Bristol).

P. in bad health. A very devotional letter. Sympathises deeply with Ryland in the "trials of your present situation." Mentions: Rodway (in Africa); Coxhead; and Franklin. Also P. says he is doing a "Missionary Socy. History."

A postscript asks for Ryland's copy of "Carey to Mr. Newton."

70. 1797. Nov. 21.

From Mr. J. SAFFERY (Salisbury) to STEADMAN (Broughton).

Mostly about receiving supplies of Steadman's sermons.

71. 1798. May 1.

From JOSEPH STENNETT (Bampton, Oxon.), to G. PUDNER (Fleet St.).

S. anticipates his ordination. Would like P. to be there, at Bampton. Also expects Mr. and Mrs. Benwell. "Mr. Booth is to address me, and Mr. B. Francis the people." Wishes he were nearer that he "could take a pipe and enjoy an hour's conversation." Refers to putting up a gravestone for his father at Bunhill Fields and mentions that his father was ordained in 1758, and was married forty-five years. Speaks of the terrible state of public affairs.

[This Joseph is fifth of the name, son of Samuel of Wild Street, who was son of Joseph D.D. of Wild Street, who was son of Joseph the Seventh-day man of Pinners' Hall, who was son of Edward of Wallingford. His cousin Joseph the fourth had succeeded his uncle Joseph the third, M.A., at Coate. Bampton did not rank as a separate church, and this letter suggests that cousin Joseph had died, and he was keeping up the dynasty.]

72. 1798. July 23.

From THOMAS EYRE (Launceston) to STEADMAN (Plymouth Dock).

Re Sam Fisher, of St. Stephen's ("a mile from this place"), and suggests S. goes to Mr. Lewis for his religious character, at whose meeting he has been attending. He states that he himself has been preaching at Bennicott and Massey regularly. A note by S. on the back says, "A very valuable man. The only wise Baptist at Launceston. Cousin to Mr. Eyre of Hackney."

[In July 1797, Steadman, with young Franklin of Bristol Academy, started a second tour of Cornwall. Franklin started at Launceston, Bennicott and Stratton. On the return in August, both went to "the Baptist meeting" in Launceston, but had to use the town hall also. As no Lewis was flourishing at this time in neighbouring Baptist circles, Fisher had apparently been a Paedo-baptist, and/or the Baptist cause was recent.]

73. No date given.

From JOHN RYLAND to STEADMAN (Broughton).

Re Northampton. Taylor has been there some weeks and R. hears "they are a good deal pleased with him," but does not know whether he will go there. Is fixing up S. to go there Ap. 26. Mentions several books, e.g., "Hopkins on New Birth," Edwards' Miscellanies, and gives a long account of a letter from a friend (Feb. 3, 1795) in which he gives a long criticism of Dr.

Gill's views on Justification; and R. further refers to "Mr. Hall's sermon at Mr. Moreton's Ordination" in which he "defends eternal justification by distinguishing between the *immanent* and *transcient* acts of God."

[After Ryland left Bristol in 1793, there was an inter-regnum at Northampton for five years. Henry Taylor went to Birmingham.]

74. 1799. May 3.

From BROADMEAD CHURCH to Church at MUDNABATTEE (or elsewhere in the province of Bengal).

Commending Mr. and Mrs. Marshman, Mr. Grant and Mr. Brunson. Speaks of Mrs. Brunson also, as having resided in Bristol, but a member at Fairford. Marshman had frequently spoken in Conference, and Brunson had been under Sutcliff at Olney. Speaks proudly of the Socy. and says "we shall count it an honour that from us so many of this small number have gone forth." "We solemnly wish them God-speed and have set apart this evening to pray for their safe voyage." Signed by JOHN RYLAND, Pastor.

75. 1799. Nov. 29.

From T. THOMAS (Crowes Road) to PARTIC. BAP. FUND (London).

Petition for assistance. Has "afflicted wife and 5 children," and supports himself with a school.

[Apparently Thomas Thomas, younger son of Timothy, the third of his family at Pershore, but since 1787 pastor of the ordinary Baptist church which hired Mill Yard for Sunday from the Seventh-day owners. He took his school to Peckham, and became in 1813 one of the first secretaries of the Baptist Union.]

76. 1800. Jan. 2.

From D. TAYLOR (Mile End Road) to Mr. JOSEPH FREESTONE (Hinkley).

Encloses a "printed statement" (does not say what it is), and asks for money. Hopes to raise £70 "in these parts," and asks F. that it be read before his Church.

[The circular was probably the prospectus of the Academy which Taylor started for the General Baptists, which ended its days at Nottingham this century.]

77. 1800. Apr. 25.

From WILLIAM CAREY, JOHN FOUNTAIN, JOSHUA

MARSHMAN, WILLIAM WARD, and DANIEL BRUNSDON, all of Serampore, being the first of the Quarterly Public Letters.

They have agreed to write four Public Letters a year, to be compiled by each in rotation and signed by all. They have been living in the noise "of axes and hammers, but now our business of this kind is drawing to a close." Having bought a house, they have erected a verandah on it for a schoolhouse. Gives details of an Expenses Account for £829 11s. 6d. School will be opened on May 1st. Asks for more money. States that translating, revising Scriptures, preaching and learning the language have gone on. Printing too—Brunsdon has compiled some hymns and Marshman has compiled a schoolbook. They hope soon to begin the Bengali Bible. They find *binding* also necessary, which soon they hope to do. They bless God for the move to Serampore, for not only do they hold services for Europeans, but Carey and Fountain are doing much preaching in the streets and villages. All are well. "We consecrated yesterday as a Day of Thanksgiving" . . . "the business of the day was done in the following manner"—

(Briefly). Services at 6 a.m. and 10 a.m. Also *agreed*—

1. Sister Brunsdon be permitted Communion until her dismissal arrives from Fairford.
2. Carey be pastor, and Fountain and Marshman the two deacons.
3. Communion be the first Sunday in every month.

Another meeting at 4 p.m. at which addresses were read from the B.M.S. Committee (May 7, 1799), Pearce (letter), and Booth. From this meeting a letter of appreciation was sent to the "Governor of this settlement" (Col. Bie). At 8 p.m. Carey preached on "Rejoicing in Hope." The letter next states that the Governor was impressed with the address. Glad to have good news of home, and particularly gratified at the generosity of the Scottish brethren. Grieved at the capture of the "Duff" with missionaries aboard.

78. 1801. Jan. 13.

From WILLIAM GRANT (Chandry). No receiver stated.

(re Wm. Grant—an outside note on the letter says, "This is an English gentleman akin, I believe, to Mr. Chas. Grant.")

Regrets to hear of Fountain's death. The receiver is plainly (a) Settled in India—e.g. "You have been literally in death off since your arrival in India." (b) Does printing—"I suppose you are printing the Everlasting Gospel."—"We have received 20

copies of Matthew's Gospel and shall be glad when you can send us more."

The natives now begin to hear and *read* of Xt. in their own tongue, yet Instructors are still necessary. "It will be a great loss if your Society does not strengthen the Mission," for "the Govt. do not appear against the settling of missionaries," and every attempt so far "must have surpassed sanguine expectations." Regrets that in the 40 years of Britain's possession of Bengal "no single attempt has been made by those in power to spread the knowledge of the True God." Asks about "Your School" and sends remembrances to Mr. Carey.

79. 1801. Jun. 10.

From J. WYKE (Leominster) to Mr. WM. STEADMAN (Plymouth Dock).

States that S's father is dying (possibly means his wife's father because he says that S's mother-*in-law's* time is taken up in waiting on him). Mrs. Thomas of Eardisland has been able to get them parish assistance. Gives an account of the prices of commodities, and discourses at length on the necessity of *faith* in these difficult times. Speaks of the Leominster Church and mentions several names: Benjamin and Betty Havard, Hannah Bevan, Mrs. Thomas. The Asscn. was this year at Shrewsbury, and Mr. Palmer drew up the Circular Letter. The Bewdley Church have lost their minister, Mr. Williams (gone to London), and the Ryeford Church their's—Mr. Williams, of Ross (gone to Mitchell Dean)—"both for want of better support." Mentions Mr. Bradley in charge of Coleford, and Mr. Flint, of Shortwood. Mentions death of Grant and Fountain. Mr. Llewellyn is publishing a work on the Divine inspiration of the Bible.

[Wyke was of a good family, Isaac having been surgeon and ruling elder at Leominster till his death in 1755. The minister now was Samuel Kilpin. George Williams of Bewdley had come from Wolverhampton, whither he returned; he may conceivably be the man who settled at Waddesdon Hill 1809, joined the Bristol Fund 1817, died 1828. James Williams, ordained at Ryeford 1785, settled at Kingstanley 1800 and died 1818. Benjamin Francis of Shortwood had died 1799; Flint worked later at Uley, Gloucester, Weymouth, dying 1820. Bradley may be the W. Bradley who tried to settle at Evesham 1808, then had three troubled years at Hackney, and was in the Oxford Association 1817. This Llewellyn is not Dr. Thomas who died in 1793, but William of Leominster who had published on baptism in 1790; his work on Inspiration has escaped notice.]

(To be continued.)

John Stutterd of Colne.

Based on an anonymous fragment belonging to Mr. Percy Stock, of Shadwell, near Leeds, incorporating entries from Stutterd's diary.

STUTTERD'S parents were natives of Perth, who left about the time of the Scotch rebellion and came to England. As the father was a weaver of tweeds, they settled at Southfield or as it is now called, Briercliffe or Haggate, where John was born 2 March, 1748. (Even if this means 1748/9, it does not quite tally with the memorial inscription presently quoted.) His grandmother, a pious and lovely character, died before he emerged from childhood, but not before she had made a deep and salutary impression on his mind. The words of love and the songs of praise which were so expressive of the cheerful piety of his beloved parents, were remembered through life and spoken of with gratitude. "O that her son may meet her there to join in the blissful employment of praise to the Lamb for ever!" His father Jabez and his grandmother lie interred in one grave inside the old chapel at Haggate; his mother and her son lie interred in one grave in the burial ground of the old Baptist chapel in Colne Lane, awaiting the appearing of Him whose voice will wake the slumbering dead.

John was the eldest son; besides a sister Hannah he had brothers Thomas and Jabez. Thomas was transferred from Haggate in 1781 to the church at Salendine Nook, which called him out to preach the gospel; being a traveller in the woollen trade he often took long journeys into Berkshire, Oxfordshire, Northampton, &c. He frequently preached for Hopper at Nottingham, Ryland at Northampton, Stennett at Coate, also at Leicester, Banbury, Witney, Weston and Bugbrooke. As he died on a journey, he was buried at Oxford by James Hinton. Jabez was a Methodist, employed by the same firm at Huddersfield; he joined a new Baptist church at Elland, built by Ashworth, and ministered to by Hindle, a pupil of Fawcett—whose advertisement has been rescued. About 1791 he went on with Hindle to a new church at Blackley built by Cartledge, leaving Elland to collapse. He entered the employ of a firm at Driffield, and may have helped the church there; also he may have helped the church at Dagger Lane in Hull, first offshoot from Hindle's church there. He ended as he began, a Methodist at Colne.

A descendant, a third Jabez, became pastor at Crowle, where he was the innocent victim of forged records.

The church at Haggate is due to the labours of Thomas Jollie of Altham, an ejected minister, who is known in 1666 to have had Baptists among his hearers; he died in 1703. His work was helped by Charles Sager, formerly master of the Blackburn Grammar school, who had to resign because of the Five Mile Act; he however died in 1697/8. But while dissent was strong in the district, it received a gain from an immigration of chapmen from Scotland, of which the Stutterds are an example, and from the work of William Grimshaw, incumbent at Haworth from 1742. By him Richard Smith was converted; he joined the Baptist church at Barnoldswick and was sent out as a preacher, doing good work at Haggate for about ten years. "He zealously maintained the doctrines commonly called Calvinistical, in which he neither feared the frowns nor courted the smiles of men. A diversity of opinions on doctrinal points prevailing, Mr. Smith withdrew and began to preach at Wainsgate, where in 1750 he erected a chapel and formed a church."

"The Revd. Dan Nowell was the next presiding Elder or pastor at Haggate, and by him Mr. Stutterd was baptised in a river near Southfield on Thursday, September 13th, 1766, when about seventeen years of age. The church immediately gave him a commission to preach the gospel; he preached his first sermon at Haggate Chapel from Acts 17, v. 3, This Jesus whom I preach unto you is Christ. His decision for God was developed at an early period, going into the surrounding villages to carry the bread of life to hungry and perishing souls, and that at great and imminent danger to his health. It was in January, 1767, he set off from Southfield to preach at Colne one evening, it was before the bridge was erected at the bottom of the Lenches over the river Calder; the river was swollen, the stepping stones were either swam away or they could not be seen; in this perplexity what was he to do? Go back to Southfield or go through the stream. Duty said No, venture thro; he did so, tho it took him up nearly to his waist he got safe through, obtained a change of raiment, preached to 7 persons in John Highton's house Windybank from 'Ye must be born again.' The service over but his audience could not leave the house, somebody had tied them in the house with a strong rope. Staid at Colne all night.

"Mr. Stutterd's account of sermons begins on Christmas day, December 25th, 1768, on which day he preached John i. 14 (and the word was made flesh) and is continued up to Year 1818, during which time he preached 7,937 Sermons. He was in his younger days an active village preacher; he kept a plan and

visited in rotation such as Southfield, Barrowford, Barley, Whearley Lane, Roughlee, Trawden, Wycollar, Foubridge, Earby: by this means was the Baptist Congregation at Colne first gathered. This year (1769) the room on New House Back Side was taken at a yearly rent of £4 : 0 : 0d. of Abraham Crook, supposed to be the grandfather of Bernard Crook, formerly a grocer in this town. It seems that a few persons believers in our Lord Jesus Cht. had previously been baptised on a profession of faith, and on June 22nd in the year 1769 a church of baptised believers was formed at Colne. As it may gratify many of the friends at Colne to read the request to the Church at Haggate for Mr. Stutterd's dismissal we give it entire:—

Colne May 9th 1769.

To the Church at Haggate: Grace mercy and peace be multiplied unto you.

Dear Brethren,

This is to let you know our circumstances at present. We are a company of baptised believers who have agreed together (God's grace assisting us) to give up ourselves to the Lord in a perpetual covenant we hope never to be broken:—And we have set apart a day for fasting and prayer to seek the Lord's direction in this important affair and we think it is the Lord's will and pleasure to call a pastor to labour among us in word and doctrine—As brother John Stutterd has we firmly believe preached the gospel unto us with much clearness and sincerity of mind and heart and his life and conversation have been adorned with the same. And inasmuch as we can truly say from the ground of our hearts that he is really sent of God to preach the Gospel though he does it with much fear and trembling we humbly desire you to grant brother John Stutterd his dismissal from your presbetry to labour among us as our teacher or pastor for we think the Lord hath made him willing to take the oversight of us. So we conclude desiring your request unto Almighty God for us—Farewell—

Signed

JOHN GREENWOOD, WILLIAM ROBINSON.

“ Mr. Stutterd's dismissal being received, he and his friends were formed into a church June 22, 1769, consisting of the following persons all baptised believers, namely John Stutterd, Elizabeth Stutterd, John Greenwood, William Robinson, Kezia Green, Jane Laycock, Obidiah Sager, Thomas Hyde, Ruben Conyers; six males and three females. Mr. Stutterd was ordained the same day. Revd. Dan Nowell of Haggate offered the ordination prayer and delivered the Charge from 1 Timothy

3. 15 latter clause: The Church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth. The Revd. Henry Clayton of Salendine Nook addressed the Members from I Corinthians 4. 17. Colbeck Sugden, Cowling Hill, and Dan Taylor of Widdup closed the service with prayer. Dan Taylor was afterwards the founder of the New Connexion of General Baptists in 1770.

"I baptized this day (1770, January 12th) at Broken Banks our young friend Miss Martha Cocker aged 21 and Benjamin Whitehead Abraham Broadbents brother-in-law; very much snow on the ground. The thaw had caused the Calder to rise. It was most bitter cold. For Saturday Afternoon there were many eye witnesses.

"Mr. Stutterd once a year made some remarks in the Church book respecting the number of members their increase or decrease during the past year. May 11th 1772. This day the baptised church of Christ at Colne Lancaster under the pastoral care of John Stutterd is composed of 19 members. We have lost by death three by exclusion one, We have received four from the ruins of the church at Gosburn, two have been baptised. Number of Members, 21.

"December 16th 1773. I this Saturday Afternoon baptised in the Broken Banks river, Robert Hyde and Jane Gregson. Mr. Hyde was born at Marsden nr. Colne in the year 1756; at 17 years of age he was under serious impressions having worshipped with the Methodists." [Here follows a long passage about Hyde to be seen in the Baptist Magazine of May, 1842, and in the History of Cloughfold; not written by Stutterd.]

"Church Meeting, Feb. 1st, 1785. Betty Laycock who had been offended was reconciled. Last Church Meeting she produced a plan for a new chapel. It was little attended to. Our hired house is taken for another year at four pounds rental—And I hear nothing more said about building. Tommy Blakey one of our members has been about three months in the lunatic Hospital Manchester. John Fawcett of Wainsgate the last time he preached in Manchester called to see him. Dan Laycock thinks to bring him home next" [here the fragment ends].

The anonymous writer thus places the origin of the Scotch Baptist church at Haggate about 1750, rather earlier than was thought. And whereas the church at Colne was regarded as an offshoot of Cowling Hill, there is here a careful account of its origin and connection with Haggate. A chapel was built on Colne Lane, and application was made to the "Baptist Case Committee" for help towards the expense. It was promised that it might collect after Manchester; but when that time arrived in 1792, the whole cost had been cleared by a collecting tour in the midlands, among the churches John's brother Thomas had

served. John married twice; by his first wife he had a boy who died young: at the age of 65, "on the recommendation of his friends," he married a girl of 20. Within three years a memorial was needed:—

JOHN STUTTERD, who under God was the founder of the Baptist Church in this place and Pastor over it for 40 years. Like Moses he was slow of speech but was well informed and judicious and of an eminently meek and quiet spirit. He lived respected and esteemed by his friends and acquaintances and died in peace June 7th, 1818. Aged 68. The memory of the just is Blessed.

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May 28, 1794.

Nathan Smith, to Barnoldswick, 1799.

THROUGH the good hand of my God upon me a little after six o'clock in the evening I safely arrived in London on the 1st current. On Thursday night and Friday there fell so great a snow that the coach was obliged to flee into the fields in several places between Huntingdon and London. So great the snow in the South that the Kettering mail has been stopt for some time. Some coaches have been driven off the roads into pits etc., and the passengers and horses entirely perished. We found waggons stopt on the road while we sent safely on. What can we say? God was our pioneer. The eyes of the Lord are over the righteous and his ears are open to their prayers. I will take the cup of salvation and call upon the name of the Lord. I met a kind reception at the Coffee House, was taken to private lodgings and hospitably entertained. Excepting hearing the watch I am as quiet as at home. I have a guide who costs me a guinea a week. I pay my own expenses. I hope they will be very moderate. I get a good dinner at Cook's shop for 7d. I have pocketed forty pounds in five days and a half travel. I hope to get my sum in a fortnight but would not have my wife to expect me for sure I meet with difficulties but no greater than I expected London ministers are not now in the habit of recommending cases nor assisting beggars while I find a great disadvantage for the laymen are unknown in some parts of the town. Last Sabbath I heard Mr. Booth, he appears to greater advantage in writing than in the pulpit. He is rather in danger of a decline. So plain was his appearance that I mistook him before he ascended the rostrum for a poor layman. I heard Messrs. Thomas Thomas, Smith & Upton. I approved of what they delivered and their apparent spirit but their abilities are not great. I have not seen Dr. Rippon nor Betty Currey, but I hope I shall. I have been about the King's Palace an inelgent black pile of buildings inferior to many gentlemen's seats. I have been thro the Bank of England in Guildhall and in the Bullion Office. Tomorrow I have to preach twice for Mr. Upton next Monday night to give a word of exhortation to Mr. Booth's church. Next Wednesday for Mr. Smith with whose people I partook of the Lord's supper last Sabbath. It is almost

wonderful although I have been frequently starved I have not the least cold, etc., etc.

NATHAN SMITH.

London, 14th February 1799.

This letter belongs to Mr. Percy Stock of Shadwell, who from the History of the Barnoldswick Church finds that the writer was not only pastor, but weaver, malt merchant, and schoolmaster, having under the same roof a manse, weaving shop, school room, and chapel. The new chapel of 1797 was built in the garden adjoining. The appearance in London of this Admirable Crichton, in buckled shoes, velvet knee breeches, and swallow-tailed coat, resulted in a collection of £100 1s. 6d.

BAPTIST MINISTERS IN IRELAND, 1651-1659.—In 1921 St. John Seymour published one of the Oxford Historical and Literary Studies, on the Puritans in Ireland. It was based on the official documents of the period, and from it may be gleaned facts as to a few Baptists who held public posts. When Henry Cromwell came over to succeed Fleetwood, there were ten colonels, three lieutenant-colonels, ten majors, nineteen captains, twelve governors of towns, twenty-three on the civil list, Baptists in prominent positions. In May, 1660, document A/25 gives at folio 219 a full list of Baptists displaced by the Royalists. Particulars are given of ministers, who include:—William Aspinall; Christopher Blackwood, of Kilkenny and Dublin from 1653, a clergyman in episcopal orders; Robert Chambers at Dublin; Robert Clarke at Galway 1652, Offerlane 1658, besides being a commissioner of revenue, the only case of a double function; John Coleman at Cork 1654; William Dix at Carlow 1653, Belfast 1655, Derryaghy 1656; John Draper at Clonmel 1655, at the Tipperary garrison 1656, then suspended (something doubtful as to his Baptist standing, not to be confused with Edward Drapes, who was at Dublin and died before 1653); John Harding, of Trinity College, Dublin, in Irish orders, who in May, 1653, had a public disputation at Cork; reported by an opponent, Worth, in a pamphlet of 148 pages, "Scripture Evidence for baptising the children of covenanters"; John Hunt at Maryborough 1653, Gowran 1655 (Baptist standing doubtful); James Knight at Limerick 1654, Dingle 1658; Thomas Lambe, chaplain to Hunter's regiment, and in Ulster 1652; Jeremy Marsden at Armagh, and Carlow 1657; John Norcott at Mallow 1658; Thomas Patient, from New England, once a bodice-

maker or tailor, who built Swift's Alley meeting-house in 1653 after being at Kilkenny, at Waterford, and at Christ Church; John Read at Belturbet 1654, suspended 1655; Peter Row at Naas 1654, resigned 1657; Philip Tandy, a Seventh-day Baptist, at Lisburn in October 1658; Thomas Wilkinson, first at St. Werburgh's in Dublin, then to Swords; William Wilsby at Kerry in 1654, at Kilkenny 1657, at Ballyragget 1659; Andrew Wyke, who had been imprisoned in England, to St. Michan's in Dublin, August, 1651, then to Lisburn, debating with seven Presbyterians at Antrim in March, 1652, then in October, 1658, to Donaghcloney and Tullylish with a stipend of £100, and finally to Magheralin in 1659. In 1652 Colonel Jerome Sankey was to find a minister for Dungarvan. In 1655 two Quakeresses disturbed the meeting at Dublin, and were sent to Newgate. In June, 1657, the wife of Colonel Sadleir was baptised at Galway. Some of these facts were known when the History of the Baptist Irish Society was published, and this drew on Patient's fragments of autobiography in his 1654 "Doctrine of Baptism." But most of these facts were previously unpublished.

CHARLES-MARIE DE VEIL, a Jew by birth, who died in London as a Baptist pastor, had his life-story told in our last volume. It was there doubted whether he was related to Friedrich Ragstatt de Weile. But Mr. Wilfred S. Samuel has since obtained evidence, first from a book published by de Weile in 1685 on Noah's Prophecy, and secondly from the records of the consistory at Cleves, which prove that they were brothers. For Friedrich gives details of his father which match exactly details given by the third brother, Louis-Compiègne; and he stated in 1669 to the consistory that both his brothers had turned papist about seventeen years earlier; Charles-Marie was christened 1654, and Louis-Compiègne in 1655. Friedrich gives much information as to the family, and though his dates are evidently not quite exact, his general information may be interwoven, so that the family history may be thus presented:—

Once they lived in Spain, whence they were expelled. For twenty-five generations they had used the name Weil. His father's grandfather lived at Rastat in Baden-Durlach. (Was this Jequel Jacob the Levite, recorded at Metz in 1595?). His father Rabbi David had controlled many synagogues. His mother was a Trevis, akin to Rabbi Eliezer of Trier, descended

from French Jews of Picardy; her uncle Rabbi Jacob Jathon was Parnes of the synagogue at Metz, as was also her brother Salomon Jathon. (David in 1621 was recorded as having a wife and four children; in 1637 as having four children. One was born in 1630, whose Jewish name is not known; Daniel was born 1637.) About 1645 Jacob was born. (In 1645 David died, and in 1650 the uncle, Asher, leaving the grandfather Jequiel David. In 1654 the man of twenty-four was christened Charles-Marie, and next year Daniel was christened Louis-Compiègne.) About 1657 Jacob was sent away; after travel and study he settled at Cleves as Rabbi, taking the name of Rachstatt from his great-grandfather's abode. In 1669 he approached the consistory of the Reformed Church in Cleves, which cross-examined him and recorded his replies. He was christened on 5 January 1670, taking the name of Fredericus after the reigning duke; he was admitted to the Lord's Supper on 30 March. (Next year his brother Louis-Compiègne, a Catholic, was appointed professor of oriental languages at Heidelberg; but he returned to Paris within eighteen months. He and Charles-Marie published several works in the next few years.) Friedrich studied Christianity and Latin first at Cleves, then at Groningen, and was ordained in 1676. (Next year his brother Charles-Marie was in Holland for a few months, and there declared himself a Protestant; but he passed over to England soon, and was there joined by Louis-Compiègne about 1678; these two brothers lived and died there. Both of them published extensively in England, new editions, and new works, from 1678 onwards.)

(In 1679 the aged grandfather Jequiel David died at Metz, leaving descendants who on his behalf gave charity to the synagogue.) In 1685 Friedrich Ragstadt de Weile published his exposition of Noah's Prophecy. (That same year Charles-Marie died, while Louis-Compiègne was licensed as a teacher in London.)

It does not appear that the two French brothers ever renewed acquaintance with the German-Dutch brother. It is open to question whether they were full brothers. Louisa de Weile came to Holland and stood godmother to one of Friedrich's children. It is evident therefore that the pedigree on page 188 of our last volume could be much augmented, but the names of those who remained true to the faith of their fathers have not been ascertained. No further light is shed on the Baptist, Charles-Marie.

Reviews.

W. G. Addison: *The Renewed Church of the United Brethren, 1722-1930.* (S.P.C.K., 1932, 228 pp., 12s. 6d.)

THE author of this book, who is now Rector of Zeals in Wiltshire, received a part of his training at a Baptist College before entering the Anglican Church. There are few direct evidences of his Nonconformist connections, save two incidental quotations, one from Dr. Garvie and one from Principal Fairbairn, but they may have influenced his choice of theme and also made him more sympathetic to the United Brethren in that part of the book in which relations with the Church of England are discussed. This is a London Ph.D. thesis and is published by the Church Historical Society. It is obviously based upon careful reading and on research both in the Lambeth Palace Library and at Fetter Lane and Herrnhut. Dr. Addison has made himself thoroughly familiar with the details of Moravian ecclesiastical history. As one reads on, therefore, one is made increasingly to regret that before publication he did not rewrite this thesis in a more popular and direct form, particularly now that interest has been aroused in the bicentenary of Moravian missions. There is room for a vivid yet scholarly book on the United Brethren, for they have exercised a wide and challenging influence on Christian people in spite of their relatively small numbers. Would that there were more Church historians prepared to follow in the footsteps of G. M. Trevelyan, who once said: "I cannot abandon the older ideal of history that was once popular in England, that the same book should make its appeal to the general reader and to the historical student." The style of this careful study is too abstract and allusive to make it attractive to many besides specialists, which is unfortunate, since it contains much that is informing and suggestive. The price is also too high for the average pocket.

The five chapters are concerned with Zinzendorf, the renewal of the old Brüder Kirche, the origins and development of the English province, the growth of provincial independence, and the relations between the *Unitas Fratrum* and the Church of England. Chapter III. is rightly described by the author as "the marrow of the essay." Throughout there is a concentration of attention upon the theories of Zinzendorf as to the real

nature of the Renewed Church, and upon the way these have been carried out or departed from in the subsequent history. Dr. Addison urges that the intentions of the Count were clear, and quotes from one of the early leaders: "*Unitas Fratrum* is not a church, nor an external identity of nature (*Gemeinwesen*) but a common quality of the moral-religious disposition and manner, which maintains itself in its external contacts, and partly by special organisations within the existing churches." No independent denomination or church was being formed or resuscitated in Zinzendorf's view, but a fellowship was being recognised and preserved which gave promise of the ultimate union of all those who take their Christianity seriously. For him, it is argued, it was little more than a convenient and interesting accident that the Herrnhut fellowship, there to his hand since it was under his protection, had links with an older Church. Sometimes one suspects some special pleading in Dr. Addison's insistence on this view, for Zinzendorf was an astute man, and actually himself became a bishop of the Moravian Church after careful consultation in London with Archbishop Potter. Moreover he played his part in securing legal recognition for the Moravians in England, thus giving them much the same status as the other Free Churches. In any case, ancient loyalties, vivid new common experiences, and striking practical achievements proved in the course of the years too strong for Zinzendorf's theories, and the Moravians have gradually become one more independent Church among the many others. Admittedly they stand in a unique position in that their episcopate stretches back to Pre-Reformation days. The validity of its succession is, however, challenged by Anglican scholars, and in practice the Moravians have found their closest and most friendly contacts in this country for a number of years with Wesleyans and Baptists.

Although he alludes to the dangers of over-concentration on "Church-ideas," Dr. Addison has not entirely avoided these dangers. More extended reference to the inner life of the Moravian community and its remarkable missionary, educational and social work would have given better balance to what he has to say, and would have made the story more intelligible. It is its *ethos*, its atmosphere, the religious experience at the heart of a group and the traditional methods of expressing this experience, which is the controlling factor in its life, and the union of different Churches can only come when there is a real demand from within for an outward recognition of an existing community of belief, feeling and will. Dr. Addison describes the relations between the Anglicans and the *Unitas Fratrum* up to 1930. It is a somewhat depressing and inconclusive story.

Little positive result has come from the "conversations" which have been proceeding for over fifty years. Here, as elsewhere, ecclesiastical bargaining is not likely to bring success. It would have been interesting to have had the author's views as to what hopes there really are of progress towards a common mind. He is too cautious to commit himself to any definite proposals. The Moravians have refused to be detached from other evangelical Free Churches, and Dr. Addison seems to suggest that this closes the door to further advance until wider issues have been settled, though the last Lambeth Conference recommended the continuance of negotiations. Is it not an invitation to closer fellowship and understanding and co-operation with the Free Churches?

The last fifty pages of the book consist of appendices in which various interesting and relevant documents are reproduced.

ERNEST A. PAYNE.

W. Y. Fullerton: *Zinzendorf, the Record of a Zealous Noble*. Lutterworth Papers, No. 7. 16 pp. 3d.

THIS was one of the last things that Dr. Fullerton wrote, and of its kind it is one of the best. In brief compass, but with sure deft touches, Zinzendorf's remarkable and moving story is outlined. The booklet is published in honour of the 200th anniversary of the foundation of Moravian missions, and incidentally many details of the early missionary efforts of the United Brethren are given, but it is Zinzendorf himself, the great Christian, who stands out in these pages. "He was appointed to bring forth fruit, and his fruit remains."

E.A.P.

The Flight from Reason (2nd edition; revised and enlarged), by Arnold Lunn. (Eyre and Spottiswoode, 7s. 6d. net.)

IN the second edition of this excellent book Mr. Lunn strengthens his case against the unscientific dogmatism of many of the Victorian scientists. He has a delightful way of handling his critics (as the very entertaining Introduction to the second edition shows) and devotes himself to H. G. Wells, J. B. S. Haldane and Julian Huxley. He strongly maintains his thesis, argued so cogently in the first edition, that "the attempt to eliminate the Creator from His creation has failed all along the line." Darwinism, he believes, has collapsed, and the attempt to obliterate the signature of God from His handiwork has failed.

"The hammer of the geologist may reveal the secrets of the

rocks, but the writing on the rocks bears mute witness not only to the incredible age of our earth, but also to One who was before ever the mountains were brought forth."

An interesting and valuable addition to his book in this edition is a spirited handling of the New Psychology. Behaviourism, Psycho-analysis, and the familiar psychological attacks on the validity of religious experience are all brought within the range of Mr. Lunn's theistic guns and his concise treatment is entertaining as well as illuminative.

Whether, on all points, you agree with Mr. Lunn or not, you are carried along by the clarity of his argument and the vivacity of its expression.

Concerning God, by Rev. F. C. Bryan, M.A. (Kingsgate Press, 2s. and 1s.)

WE are informed in the Preface that this book was prepared in collaboration with some of the author's young people, and the result is a discussion of belief in God which eschews the merely theoretical and keeps close to practical questions and practical difficulties. In four chapters there are discussed the four fundamental aspects of a belief in God which, while sufficiently satisfying the intellect, appeals also to the heart and moves the will to action.

The first chapter is the best of the four, and the most fundamental. Mr. Bryan does well to insist that a merely traditional faith is not enough, and that each must arrive at his own personal conviction regarding the truth—" . . . unless when we come to think for ourselves we find adequate justification for the faith we were brought up in, we have no right to continue to hold it. We must, at all costs, be honest and sincere." Upon this basis of honest and sincere enquiry he proceeds to erect "five good solid evidences for believing in God's existence."

In dealing with the fact of life itself as an argument for the existence of God other opposing theories are not ignored. Emergent evolution and mechanistic interpretations of life are dealt with and rejected as inadequate. The fact of conscience is adduced as further evidence, and the validity of the moral consciousness is warmly defended against those who would explain it away as a manifestation of the herd instinct.

Science is unable "to show us the way to God." Art is regarded as more helpful, but "only in Jesus Christ do I find the complete revelation of God that satisfies the hungry soul," and to Him there is no serious alternative. Jesus' revelation centres in the word "Father," and we are urged "to think upward from human fatherhood at its best to God." Our

personal knowledge of God comes through the exercise of faith, which involves "venturing on God, relying on His power, His forgiveness, His guidance." "It is an inner assurance that grips us." And when it does, the fruits of the Spirit will begin to appear in us.

The most important omission, admitted in the Preface, is the lack of a discussion of the problem of evil, which includes the problem of suffering. This is a serious problem to many who sincerely endeavour to formulate their belief in God. Nevertheless, *Concerning God* is a book to be recommended to all who seek to attain to a reasonable and well-grounded faith. It is clear and easily read, and is free from abstract terminology and outworn phrases. It is just the book to be put into the hands of any thinking young person who is concerned about his faith and anxious to think his way through his doubts to the faith that abides. It should prove to be of great value in the work of the Discipleship Campaign.

R.A.L.

DURING 1933 we expect to publish articles bearing on the revised edition of the Baptist Church Hymnal. The tercentenary in September of the first Calvinistic Baptist church, Wapping 1633, will receive notice. In preparation for the Spurgeon centenary in 1934 there will be studies of his work in directions not always appreciated. As the Berlin Baptist Congress has been postponed till 1934, articles by German Baptists will be similarly timed.