
A table of contents for *The Baptist Quarterly* can be found here:

https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_bq_01.php

Dr. Whitley, whose magnificent services to the Baptist Historical Society and the Baptist Quarterly place all Baptists under a great obligation, will be away in America during the greater part of 1928. During his absence temporary assistance on the antiquarian side of the Quarterly will be given by a member of the Society who has generously come to our help. In Dr. Whitley's absence correspondence and articles may be addressed to Dr. F. Townley Lord, Coventry.

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John Bunyan.

NO one thinks of Bunyan without thinking of *The Pilgrim's Progress,* and in some measure it is true that the man has been lost in his book. There is now the possibility that he will be more densely obscured in the avalanche of Tercentenary books, sermons, orations, and reviews which will descend upon his memory. Those of us who have been forward to contribute our ounce to this avalanche may already have our qualms of conscience, but certainly Mr. Coats may except himself: for he has given us a study of the Bedford brazier[1] which no instructed Bunyan-lover can afford to neglect. Mr. Coats is not concerned to give us an elaborate Life. In the first chapter he presents us with a biographical summary; thereafter he addresses himself to his main task, which is a study of Bunyan in the various phases of his activity—as Wrestler with God, Pastor and Preacher, Dreamer of Dreams, and Writer of Books. This is in the manner of Hale White's monograph, but Mr. Coats' is a fuller and more understanding book. White's study, for all its literary quality and chaste sincerity, is limp and bloodless. The auther of *Mark Rutherford,* like Bunyan himself, was a religious *sensitive,* and an artist in English, but he had no clue to the Puritan experience, or at least—to adopt the jargon of to-day—he had a complex which chafed him in his approach to it: so that when he wrote of Bunyan it was with the tired and wistful admiration of a dispirited man. And indeed it is curious that the

[1] John Bunyan: R. H. Coats, M.A.: 126 pp.: S.C.M. 2s. 6d.

Bedford Puritan should have attracted so many writers who were out of touch with his central experience. Thus both Macaulay and Froude contributed their essays in Bunyan biography, each of them excellent in its way, but neither of them achieving any intimacy of contact with its subject. Mr. Coats has no such impediment; he knows the way of Bunyan's soul and writes with gravity and sincerity, and (if it may be said without presumption), with a power of analysis and critical appreciation which leaves us permenantly enriched.

I

With his eye chiefly upon the student class, who have Dr. Brown's massive biography for their main facts, he is frugal, as has been said, in his narrative section. But so much romance has been written around Bunyan's parentage and early life that one is tempted to linger over this portion. Perhaps Mr. Coats is right when he protests that "the word 'tinker' ought to be excluded from a book on Bunyan,"—though it is safe to say that it never will be. When Carey's disparagers would ask him if he had not been a shoemaker, it was his way to reply: "No; a cobbler." Much in the same spirit Bunyan preferred to pass as a tinker rather than as a brazier. But probably it is true, also, that in both cases the inferior term was strictly correct. When Mr. Coats, following Charles Doe, tells us that Thomas Bonnionn "earned a precarious livelihood by mending pots and kettles," and when we recollect that John himself (with "several of his brothers," as Doe would have us believe,) did journeyman-jobbing in this line through the countryside, we know by the same token that "tinker" is not very wide of the mark. John's son, however, called himself a brazier and so did father Thomas.

One would like to know more, by the way, of this father Thomas. Those who argue for a Romany strain and would present us with a seventeenth century "Gipsy Bunyan" (to couple with our twentieth century Gipsy Smith) must accept our regrets. It would be pleasant to believe it, but the facts are not pliable. Our Anglo-Israel friends may be more interested in John's own fugitive notion that he might be of Hebrew stock:—A "thought came into my mind; and that was, whether we were of the *Israelites,* or no? . . . At last I asked my father of it; who told me—'No, we were not.'" Certainly there was nothing in his physique or colouring to suggest an oriental strain; as we know, he was tall and strong-boned, with reddish hair and florid complexion.

The fact is that the Bunyans, Bonnionns, Beynyns or Buignons had belonged to the yeomanry of Bedfordshire for

centuries. In the parish of Chalgrave alone, and between the years 1539 and 1628, there were "no fewer than fifty-five baptisms, twelve marriages and twenty-two burials of that name" (See memoir: Elstow edition *Pilgrim's Progress*, 1881.). Incidentally, a John Bunyan was christened in Chalgrave two years before his Elstow namesake. No doubt it is high time that some ingenious Celt should come forward with the claim that "Bunyan" is simply a variant of Benyon or Ap Eynon. But *Buignon* holds the field and points us back to the Norman Conquest.

As for father Thomas, George Dawson in his Biographical Sketches (1886.) sees him as a "just, severe, Bible-reading, much-praying man, a thorough-paced Puritan"; George Offor sees him as a graceless wretch. Probably he was neither. Doe, who knew Bunyan personally, sets it down that Thomas was of "the national religion," and his last will and testament, quoted in Dr. Brown's Life, suggests the same. He cared for his son enough to put him to school, and when, in early manhood, John was berated for his profanity we are allowed to see him standing before his shrill accuser, hanging down his head and wishing "with all my heart that I might be a little child again, that my father might learn me to speak without this wicked way of swearing." That his first reaction was to wish himself under his father's instruction again speaks well for Thomas. As we know, he lived to see his son become famous and reached the end of his lived to see his son become famous and reached the end of his pilgrimage as late as 1676. He signs his last will with an inverted B, declares himself "of perfit memory and Remembrance, praised bee God," and hopes through "the meritorious death and passion of Jesus Christ my only Saviour and Redeemer, to receive pardon for my sins" (See Brown: *Life of Bunyan*, Chap xiii.).

Of Margaret Bentley, who became Thomas' second wife and the mother of John, we know little more than that, as Mr. Coats says, "she was a frugal young woman," Elstow-born and bred, and that she died when John was sixteen. Long before esurient biographers had taken to visiting Elstow with pads and pencils, this young mother had faded out of all human remembrance.

Only this may be added: Mr. Coats' word "frugal" is probably a truer term for the Bunyans than any word suggestive of actual poverty. They owned their ancestral cottage, and whilst Thomas and his sons followed the tinkering it seems as if, also, they may have farmed their bit of land. Up to a point, Bunyan's *Badman* looks as if it were a mirror of his own boyhood, and in *Badman* we have this:—"He was so versed in such kind of [profane] language that neither father, nor mother,

nor brother, nor sister, nor servant, no, nor the very cattle that his father had, could escape these curses of his. I say that even the brute beasts, when he drove them or rid upon them, if they pleased not his humour, they must be sure to partake of his curses. He would wish that their legs broke, their guts out, or that the devil might fetch them, or the like." This smacks of autobiography. And as for John's own poverty at the time of his marriage ("without dish or spoon," as he informs us) this tells us no more than that, in those days, he was a happy-go-lucky spendthrift. Soldiers were not ill-paid in the Parliamentary army, and if neither soldiering nor tinkering had brought him money which would stick to him, it was no doubt his own fault.

II

Mr. Coats has a full chapter on Bunyan as Preacher. No doubt he is right when he remarks that we may be sure that in Bunyan's own eyes the "most glorious moment of his life was reached" when he became pastor of Gifford's Church. Nevertheless, it is something we are apt to forget. No one is in danger of thinking of Spurgeon as the author of *John Ploughman's Talk* and incidentally a preacher. Yet Bunyan, who was the Spurgeon of his age, has so eclipsed his own fame as a preacher that we need the reminder that after all *The Pilgrim's Progress*, flung off as a diversion ("to keep me from worser thoughts which make me do amiss") was very far from being the main business of his life. "When Mr. Bunyan preached in London," says Doe, "if there were but one day's notice given, there would be more people come together . . . than the meeting-house would hold. I have seen to hear him preach, by my computation, about twelve hundred at a morning lecture, by seven o'clock, on a working day, in the dark winter-time." He has seen him, he says, "pulled almost over people to get upstairs" to the pulpit, while half the congregation were "fain to go back again for want of room." To let the imagination focus upon such scenes as this is to realise that, for his own times, the Bedford brazier was something more than simply the author of an immortal allegory,—that, for all Christian time, he must rank among the great evangelists of the Church.

Mr Coats makes the best possible choice for a specimen of Bunyan's preaching. He selects the sermon on the text, . . . "*Which were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God.*" It is true that this discourse was delivered when Bunyan's powers were rapidly failing; he was death-struck when he preached it; but it has the advantage of coming to us without that elaboration and expansion by which

he transformed most of his discourses into treatises. As Offor says, "it bears strong marks of having been published from notes taken by one of the hearers." Certainly it is altogether *Bunyan*. For a moment we may turn to it here.

The preacher gets quickly to his "doctrine," namely—"Men that believe in Jesus Christ, to the effectual receiving of Jesus Christ, they are born to it;" and very soon he has found "a similitude or two" between the new-born soul and the new-born child, and is well away. Healthy babies are *criers*, and "if you be not criers there is no spiritual life in you" (Yet "Oh! how many prayerless professors are there in London that never pray! Coffee houses will not let you pray, traders will not let you pray, looking-glasses will not let you pray; but if you was born of God, you would."). And so through a homely analogy that naturally unfolds itself:—a Christian must "crave the breast"—the milk of the Word—; must be swaddled in the Promises; must be kept and comforted "on the knee of God"; should show some likeness to his Father; must learn the ways of his Father's house; must learn to depend on his Father—to "run home" to Him and tell Him all; must learn to love the rest of the family. "If you are the children of God, live together lovingly. If the world quarrel with you it is no matter, but it is sad if you quarrel together; if this be amongst you it is a sign of ill-breeding . . . Dost thou see a soul that has the image of God in him? Love him! Love him! Say, This man and I must go to heaven one day."—and thus in quaint and homely appeal to the end, "that you may look your Father in the face, with comfort, another day." Then, sermon being done, the preacher himself goes home to loving friend Strudwick's at Snow Hill, and in "another day" or two—less than two weeks—the post is spurring to Bedford with word that "our dear brother Bunyan" is no more.

How does this preaching compare with the preaching, say, of Tillotson, or the best the National Church could produce? The answer must be that there can be no comparison: but a truly comprehensive National Church should have found room for both. Had this been done—had Bunyan with his artless inspiration and homely effectiveness found liberty of prophesying within the Church of his childhood, ecclesiastical history would have taken a new turn in England.

III

No space is left to deal with the most engaging section of Mr. Coats' study—his treatment of the Dream itself. He accepts Dr. Brown's theory that the first part was begun in 1676, when

Bunyan was in the lock-up on the bridge.—" Beneath him was the din of this world's traffic, the murmur of pedestrians, the clattering of horses' hoofs, the rumbling of carts and waggons, the swishing of water against stone piers, as the Ouse crept slow eastward toward the Fens." The second part was written in 1685—the period of the Monmouth rising and the Bloody Assize—when Bunyan was no more than three years from the end of his own pilgrimage.

Mr. Coats contributes a valuable and penetrating comparison between the earlier and later sections of the allegory. He has nothing in common with the unco' critical who see in the second part an inferior piece of writing. Most literary sequels, he admits, turn out to be failures, but Bunyan's was a triumph. The unity is preserved because, though the characters in the second pilgrimage are different and their adventures different also, yet the spirit of Christian dominates the entire narrative. " The two parts supplement each other in that the first deals with the Christian life in its solitary aspect, the second in its social." A subtle but illuminating observation is the marked difference in *pace* between the earlier and later narratives. This is plain enough—once it is pointed out. Christian is really the Heavenly Footman; he sets off at a run, and he is in haste to the end. " The Second part, on the other hand, gives one the impression of much greater leisureliness and ease." This is true; and Mr. Coats must carry us with him when he remarks the broader humanity and kindlier, cheerier spirit of the later section. Bunyan himself was mellowing.

> " Every reader must notice that there is far more feasting and junketing in the second book than in the first. The pilgrims are merry and jocund as they take their journey. No wonder: as many as four weddings are celebrated by the way. At every turn princely hospitality is extended to the wanderers. . . . They meet in 'a very fair dining-room,' where excellent fare is put before them, butter and honey and 'milk well crumbled.' So pleasant, indeed, is the company, so delectable are the viands, that all sit round the table cracking nuts, telling stories, opening riddles, till at last Old Honest drowsily nods as night wears itself out and dawn creeps stealthily up the eastern sky."

Enough has been said, it may be hoped, to whet the reader's appetite for a rich and refreshing book. One rises from its perusal with a quickened sense of the greatness of Bunyan. " All that you miss in Shakespeare," says Mr. Shaw, " you find in Bunyan," namely, the true heroic, rising above all pondering of

personal misfortune or mortality into the sense of being used for a transcendent purpose. And indeed had Bunyan attained to no other reputation than that of being the most popular evangelical preacher of his age, he would have deserved remembrance. Had he written no other allegory than *The Holy War* his literary fame would have been assured. Even as the village-bred tinker and soldier who, in an era of sects and schisms and vulgar bigotries, stood for a broad Churchmanship based upon "faith in Christ and moral duties gospelised," his candle might have continued to shine. As the author of no more than *The Life of Badman* he would have earned remembrance for his swarthy prose—might even have taken his place as the founder of the modern novel. And had he written no other classic than *Grace Abounding* his immortality as the supreme religious genius of English Evangelicalism would have stood secure. But at every turn he astonishes us; not least of all in the sheer courage of his intellect. "Let Truth," he cries, "be free to make her sallies." He steers clear of the wild apocalypticism of his day and affirms a providential law of progress. He will not build upon outward ordinances, however Scriptural:—"I count them not the fundamentals of our Christianity." He dismisses as against reason and conscience the prevalent dogma of indiscriminate, uniform perdition:—"Why should a poor, silly, ignorant man, though damned, be punished with the same degree of torment that he that has lived a thousand times worse shall be punished with? It cannot be; justice will not admit it; guilt and the quality of trangression will not admit it." In his tirades against social injustice he is as vehement and pungent as Cobbett. He composes rhymes and riddles for children. And for a pastime he writes—*The Pilgrim's Progress.*

GWILYM O. GRIFFITH.

Is there a Future for Calvinism?

IF there is no future for *Calvinism* then there is no future for anything that is of any value or worth. Every system of religious thought, based upon the Scriptures, and all theology that is worthy of the Christian Church, are marked by that which is derived directly or indirectly from Calvinistic doctrine. Theology is strong or weak, virile or feeble, deep or shallow, in proportion to its Calvinistic spirit. Calvinism, in the truest interpretation of that word, puts iron into the blood, and gives muscle and fibre to conviction and Christian experience; and the people who receive it because they believe it, and then prove it in heart and life, are such as possess gumptious inflexibility with grace, in what they conceive to be the truth of God. *I believe that the Church's great need at the present hour is a strong grip* of what this particular form of theology stands for.

When we speak of Calvinism it is not that we pin our faith to John Calvin or the system with which his name is associated, but because, on the whole, it expresses more fully what we wish to convey. I agree that everything depends upon what is meant by Calvinism; the term needs to be rightly interpreted in the light of what Calvin taught *as a whole*. There is much teaching abroad to-day that bears this label which is but a travesty and a burlesque of the real thing, and there are those who profess to be Calvinistic preachers and followers whom Calvin would not own or look at if he met them. To arrive at a sober and true conclusion as to what this particular system of thought really represents, we should in some degree, at all events, gauge the WHOLE doctrinal position of John Calvin; it is not just, as many do, to take one or two fragments, and judge the whole by them. There are many who speak of Calvinism represented by the doctrine of "eternal election" and "reprobation," and nothing more, without for one moment considering the setting of these truths in the whole fabric of thought.

It would be a great exercise for all the students in the theological colleges of our land if their professors would take them through *Institutio Christianæ Religionis,* by John Calvin, in the same proportion as they deal with other writers. It is not a dry catalogue of doctrines, but a great treatise on the fundamental facts of the Christian religion, in the light of the Character and Attributes of God. The late Dr. Jowett once said that "Calvin was the greatest commentator of the Scriptures that Europe had ever known."

It may help us for a moment to waive the consideration of

Calvinism's future and to call to mind what it has been in the past. It is really too big a subject for me to attempt here, but there have been periods when art, literature, politics, were all influenced by the mighty impact of this vibrating system of theology. It moved not only in the circles of ecclesiasticism, but in every phase of life. It sought

> To vindicate Eternal Providence,
> And justify the ways of God to man.

When we remember that the *Institutes of the Christian Religion* was translated from the Latin into nearly twelve languages in comparatively a few years after it was written, we at once see the wide area to which it made its appeal. A Roman Catholic dignitary thirty years after Calvin's death wrote somewhat satirically of the use Protestants made of the writings of Calvin, and among other things wrote, "*They decorate them with gold, purple, and every costly ornament, as the most precious jewel of the Gospel, as if they were a treasure fallen from heaven; and from these books they decide and determine every controversy.*" In modern times no less a person than Dr. Fairbairn, to its praise, said, "*In modern times no system has had a more potent, practical influence than Calvinism. It is a system of splendid daring, of courageous consistency in all its parts, in premiss, process, and conclusion. It was a reasoned system, reason could understand it, and it could control the reason that understood it. The men who held it felt as if they had their feet upon the last and highest reality, not simply a way of salvation, or a path of peace in death, but a system of absolute truth; and a faith so strong and comprehensive made strong and commanding men. It entered like iron into the blood of nascent Protestantism, and braced it to the most heroic endurances and endeavours. It made the men who in France fought the noble battles of the Huguenots: the soldiers and citizens who in the swamps of Holland resisted and broke the cruel and tyrannical power of Spain: the Puritans who in England and the forests of the Far West formed all that was and is bravest, brawniest, manliest in our religious life: the Covenanters who in Scotland, through years of persecution, held aloft and nobly followed the blue banner that proclaimed the sovereign rights of Christ.*" Let men in the present, who do not understand, say what they will of Calvinism, it has a great past, and its literature, power, and influence with God, has achieved great things through all Christian countries. Has it a future? Before we reply to this question it may be well to endeavour briefly to state what Calvinism really witnesses to; what are its outstanding doctrines.

First and primarily, it insists on the *Absolute Sovereignty of God.* This is its alpha and omega; it is the basis of all its

doctrines and the canopy of the whole system. Like the Book of Genesis it begins with "*God,*" and in the light of what *He* is everything else is determined. But we must recognise that it never views God as some capricious Being Who acts as a necessitarian, without the consideration of great principles as they pertain to God and man. Equity and Righteousness in God are insisted upon, but Love has its full and unlimited exercise within the realm of holiness. Calvinism presents God as Sovereign Lord of all, everywhere, and in everything; it does this without making Him the Author or Albettor of evil, but distinguishes between His decretive and permissive will.

Sovereignty is always exercised with at least a two-fold objective, the glory of God and the good of man; but God will never sacrifice or compromise in one of His attributes whether it be holiness or love, either for His own honour or for man's welfare. The will of God is the unalterable rule of His conduct in every sphere, and that will is governed by infinite wisdom, and everything He wills He has power to execute, and none can stay His Hand; yet He never deviates for one moment from the highest and supreme standard of Eternal Righteousness. God is always fair and just in His dealings with angels, men, or devils. When this revealed truth is apprehended in some measure by the human heart and mind, we are not only awed and solemnised, but are likely, first and foremost, to seek the rights of God, believing that therein the rights of man will find their true adjustment.

The second and next great truth that marks Calvinism is the *Purposeful Character of the Redemptive Sacrifice of Christ at the Cross of Calvary.* The exercise of Divine Sovereignty reaches its culminating point in the wondrous transaction that was enacted at Calvary, so much of which is beyond our human ken, and into which the angels are for ever gazing. Christ's mediatorial work was not an experiment, but the execution of a Divine purpose. He was born into this world on purpose to die, and His death was predestined to have far-reaching effects even to the uttermost ends of the earth; yes, and beyond this, for the death of Christ related to the world of fallen spirits, and also affected heaven itself. Dr. Forsyth has rightly said, "*The most poignant and potent event that ever happened or can happen in the world is the death of Christ. The whole issue of warring history is condensed there. Good and evil meet there for good and for all, and to evil that death is the last word of the Holy Omnipotence of God. There is nothing hidden from His grace there, and nothing outside its service, its ethic, and its final mystery. The whole world is reconstituted at the Cross as its final moral principle, its key, and its adjustment. The Cross is at once*

creation's fatal jar and final recovery." Jesus Christ "shall see of the travail of His soul, and shall be satisfied." The ultimate of the Cross is the establishment of righteousness and truth in every governed realm. Love and justice had a purpose in this death of all deaths which must and shall be realised. Calvinism insists that the mediatorial work of Christ cannot and shall not know any defeat, but it shall accomplish the purpose for which it was designed, and Jesus Christ "is the Lamb slain from before the foundation of the world." Here we stand on sure ground. We see at once that the death of Christ cannot end in a fiasco, but shall be for evermore a demonstration of the immaculate holiness of God, and of the everlasting love of Jehovah. There is an almighty power in the atoning sacrifice, a sufficiency and efficiency to meet the requirements of God, and to meet the needs of sinful men as they are brought to the once-crucified, but now risen and glorified, Emmanuel.

Thirdly, and lastly, Calvinism insists most strongly upon the *Effectiveness of the Work of the Holy Spirit.* It views the love of God, and the blood of Jesus Christ, and the power of the Holy Spirit, as being counterparts, but Calvary demonstrates the love and creates the means whereby it may flow honourably and justly to the worst of men, and the power is present in the Third Person of the Trinity to make real to the human heart the power of the Redeeming Sacrifice. The Holy Spirit is in the world to gather the trophies of the Redemer's conquest, to bring home the Word of the Cross to the consciences of men, to make effective the God-given work of the redeemed Church. Calvinism teaches that our God is marching on in righteousness, in love, and in truth; that His gifts and callings are without repentance; and that He is "the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever." He will brook no unbelief that stands in His way; He will both condemn and scatter it; and if men stand in the way of His triumphal march rather than fall in line with Him, then He declares that they will have to put up with the consequences. God has displayed His infinite grace to a world of sin, and His Gospel announced the fact that whosoever believeth in His Son will have everlasting life. It must never be supposed that to believe in the Sovereignty of God you must at the same time entertain a fatalistic spirit, and say, "What is to be will be." God has revealed His will and made it known and "he that willeth to do His will shall know of the teaching whether it is of God or man." The Spirit of God is stronger than the will of man, and the blood of Jesus Christ mightier in its cleansing than human guilt, and the love of God deeper and stronger and of greater power than the sinfulness and stubbornness of the human heart, and unless God does something with sin in the abstract, and in the

individual, and in human experience, nothing can be done to it.

Now, the question is asked, is there a future for this Calvinism? It is my own deep and personal conviction that there is, and, moreover, I believe that already there is a trend amongst spiritually-minded and thoughtful people towards it. THERE IS A GREAT NATIONAL NEED FOR THE ASSERTION OF THE TRUTH OF THE SOVEREIGNTY OF GOD, for man has been and is seeking to-day that which is right in his own eyes, and matters have got to such a pass that governments and communities have admitted that they are baffled by them. There is a great need to bring home to the minds of men and to the consciences of people generally the great fact of the Supremacy and Sovereignty of Almighty God. The nations need to learn, and especially our own loved nation, that God is the Lord, and He will not have His position or authority challenged, and that as soon as the people of this nation bow before His sovereignty, He will flood them with further light and understanding as to what His Own purpose and plan is for this particular part of the world which has been so favoured in the centuries past and gone. Industrial and political centres will change in their bias and in their outlook, when once they acknowledge this truth. I fear we have belittled God. He has been lowered in the estimation of the world because of our neglect of the attributes of the Divine Being. There is not sufficient awe among the people that will make them not afraid of God, but afraid of doing the things that displease Him.

But if the future of Calvinism lies particularly in the need, the pressing and urgent need, of the nation, what shall we say of the visible Church and our Lord Jesus Christ in the world? Is there not at the present moment the need for a mighty sweep towards the Lord God Almighty? The recognition of His Sovereignty in Jesus Christ as the Hope of the Body, that the only law for the redeemed Church is that of the Law-giver through the Redeemer. Have we not more sufficiently to learn that our power and authority in the world does not lie in our great organizations, or in the capitalisation of our funds, or in the perfectness of our Church order, or even in a proposed ecclesiastical union between all Christendom, but in the Almighty Sovereignty of God as manifested in the atoning sacrifice of Calvary, followed by the resurrection and enthronement of the Man of Galilee?

Yes, there is a future for Calvinism. People are inarticulately longing for a strong centre of authority, a dictatorship, if you will, which they will find in the Sovereignty of God when it is brought home to them by the power of the inspired Bible in which it is so clearly revealed.

H. TYDEMAN CHILVERS.

Cromwell and America.

THE personal and intimate part that Cromwell played in relation to the English Colonies in America is by no means generally realised. The story that is most familiar—that he was actually on board one of the ships bound for America stopped by Order of Council in May, 1638—is demonstrably false. It is by no means the only suppositious happening in Cromwell's life that is without any real foundation. Yet there is a persistent tradition that he did contemplate migrating to New England, and there is at least the concrete fact that, when he left Huntingdon in May, 1631, he converted all his landed property into money, as a man with a mind to emigrate would naturally do. Furthermore, in 1630 and 1631 the Puritan exodus was at its height, and most of the New England Colonists went out from East Anglia.

Whatever may have been Cromwell's intention in 1631, it is incontestable that in 1641, had things turned out otherwise than they did, he would have left the Old Land for good. After a stormy debate, the Grand Remonstrance to Charles I. was passed by the House of Commons in November, 1641—but only by eleven votes! As the members went home, it is said that Cromwell whispered to Falkland, "If the Remonstrance had been rejected, I should have sold all I had the next morning, and never seen England more; and I know there are many other honest men of the same resolution." What would the history of England (and of the Colonies) have been had the Remonstrance not been passed—with the consequence that Cromwell and these "many other honest men" had left the Mother Country for the new lands oversea?

All the English Colonies had grown up during Cromwell's lifetime. When he was born—in 1599—England had none. He was seven years old when James I. granted his charter to the Virginia Company, and he married in the year when the Pilgrim Fathers sailed in the *Mayflower*. Certain it is that he felt the keenest interest in the Puritan settlers in New England. Moreover, we know that for a period of fifteen years—that is, from 1643 to the time of his death—Cromwell was directly associated with the government of the Colonies. In November, 1643 (exactly two years after the passing of the Grand Remonstrance), he was appointed by Parliament one of the Commissioners for the government of the plantations in America and the West Indies.

In the Colonies themselves the civil strife in the Homeland naturally had its repercussions. Six months before Cromwell became a Colonial Commissioner, the four Colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven formed themselves into a Confederation under the name of the United Colonies of New England. These New England Colonies heartily sympathised with the English Parliament in its struggle against the King. Indeed, these outposts of Puritanism across the Atlantic sent many volunteers to the Parliamentary armies fighting on English soil. Yet further, the example and the ideals of these New England recruits exercised an important influence in relation to the development and strengthening of democracy and the spirit of independence in England.

In the islands and in the Southern Colonies, on the other hand, the general feeling was hostile to the Puritans. Virginia, so soon as the execution of Charles I. became known, proclaimed Charles II. as successor to the crown. Barbadoes also refused to acknowledge the Commonwealth. In the autumn of 1651—just after Cromwell's "crowning mercy" at Worcester—Sir George Ayscule was sent to reduce Barbadoes and Virginia to obedience.

The passing of the Navigation Act was a potent force in preventing the Colonies from shaking off their allegiance. That Act bound the Colonies to the Mother Country by ensuring their commercial dependence upon her. Moreover, the Act was notable as being the first attempt on the part of England to legislate for the Colonies as a whole and to treat them as integral parts of one political system.

When Cromwell became Protector, the sovereignty of the English State was universally acknowledged overseas, although it could scarcely be said that it had been accepted with cordiality. In the Southern Colonies a strong anti-Puritan feeling prevailed; New England manifested a growing spirit of independence; and on the continent and in the islands alike there was general aversion to the restrictions which the Navigation Act had imposed upon Colonial trade. Under the provisions of that Act the products of a Colony could not be brought into England except in English or Colonial ships, and no foreign ships might import to the Colonies anything but the products of their own country. Dutch ships caught trading in prohibited commodities to the islands or the Southern Colonies were confiscated, although in the case of the New England Colonies non-observance of the Act seems to have been discreetly winked at.

Cromwell interfered very little in the internal affairs of the Colonies or with their relations to each other. He protected the Puritan party in the islands, and appointed or removed Governors. He endeavoured to arbitrate on the boundary dis-

putes between Maryland and Virginia, and in New England he sought to mediate between Rhode Island and the other Colonies. The corner-stone of his policy was the maintenance of good relations between New England and the Home Government.

Cromwell's feeling towards the New Englanders particularly, as brethren in the faith, was peculiarly warm, and that sentiment was as warmly reciprocated. In 1651 Massachusetts thanked the Lieutenant-General for "the tender care and undeserved respect" he had manifested on all occasions towards it, and wished him prosperity in his "great and godly undertakings." When he became Protector it congratulated him upon being called by the Lord to supreme authority. Citizens of Massachusetts and New Englanders in general were freely employed by him both in Great Britain and in the Colonies themselves.

In August, 1654, Cromwell made up his mind to send an expedition to attack the Spanish settlements in the West Indies, and in December of that year a fleet of thirty-eight ships, commanded by Admiral Penn, sailed from Portsmouth. With help from Barbadoes, St. Kitts, and elsewhere, General Venables had command of 7,000 men, and endeavoured several times (without success) to take possession of Hispaniola. With the remnants of his forces Venables next attacked Jamaica, and in May, 1655, the capital was occupied without much resistance.

The Protector looked to New England and the islands to supply him with the planters and farmers needed by the new Colony. Some years earlier he had asked the New Englanders to help in the re-settlement of Ireland, and undeterred by his failure then, he now invited them to remove to Jamaica. Generous offers were made to induce settlers to migrate from Massachusetts. Ships were to be furnished for their transportation; they were to have land rent free for seven years; and to be free from all taxes for three years. In addition, the colonists were to have privileges and rights of self-government like any English town. Cromwell even suggested that there was "as clear a call" for them to transport themselves from New England to Jamaica in order to better their outward position as they had had to go from England to New England.

But Cromwell's protestations and pleadings were to little purpose. The people of Massachusetts thanked the Protector for his good intentions with humble and effusive piety, and promised him their prayers; but at the same time they made it quite clear that they meant to stay where they were. Two or three hundred New Englanders accepted the invitation, but that was all. Eventually Jamaica was colonised by the surplus population of the other West Indian islands.

The Spaniards made repeated attempts to reconquer the

island. In 1658 the English Governor, Colonel Edward Doyley, defeated thirty companies of Spanish foot and sent ten flags to Cromwell as trophies, but ere the news of the victory reached him, the Lord High Protector had breathed his last. "So," says a Colonial historian, "he never had one syllable of anything that was grateful from the vastest expanse and the greatest design that was ever made by the English."

Nevertheless the Colonial policy which Cromwell and the statesmen of the Commonwealth initiated became the permanent policy of succeeding rulers, and it became so because it represented the aspirations, the interests, and the desires of Englishmen in general.

George Fox manifested a "concern" for the spiritual welfare of the American Indians. It is of great inerest to note that Cromwell also had this point of contact with the aboriginal people of North America. John Eliot crossed the Atlantic and landed at Boston in November, 1631. A year later he settled as pastor to a congregation at Roxbury, and there for almost sixty years he carried on an unremitting and heroic ministry both to white men and to red, which earned for him the title of "the Apostle to the Red Indians." Finding that the great hindrance to work amongst the Indians was "the poverty and barbarousness of the people, which made many to live dispersed like wild beasts in the wildernesses," Eliot set himself to civilise so as to Christianise. He won their goodwill and found an entrance for the Gospel into their hearts by building for them houses and schools, so that they could live together in villages. In this good work, it is recorded, he was aided by funds raised by Cromwell in the Homeland.

HENRY J. COWELL,
Officier de l'Instruction Publique de la France.

The Experience of John Ryland.

DR. CULROSS, in his interesting little book on *The Three Rylands,* made use of this autobiographic record, but it does not seem to have been published hitherto. I have transcribed it from the manuscript bound up with a book bearing the name of "William Button," one of Ryland's schoolfellows mentioned in the story. The volume also contains the manuscript "Account of the Rise and progress of the two Societies at Mr. Ryland's and at Mrs. Trinder's Boarding School in Northampton," of which a part was printed by Dr. Culross, who aptly calls it "An Anticipation of the Christian Endeavour Movement." Amongst the points of interest in the present narrative may be mentioned:—

(1) The intense reality of this religious experience of a boy of fourteen. We may feel that some of it is morbid, and some of it trivial; but there can be no doubt about the earnestness of the search for God, which rebukes the lethargy of to-day.
(2) The Bible is treated as an "oracle" in a way that must frankly be called superstitious; its authority is too external, and too dependent on chance happenings.
(3) We see how the Calvinistic doctrine of election still leaves the problem of religious assurance much where it was before; there can be no absolute proof of "assurance," nothing that prevents the recurrent doubt whether the believer is indeed one of the "elect."

H. WHEELER ROBINSON.

55, ST. GILES, OXFORD.

THE EXPERIENCE OF Jo/N R. L. D. JUNR AS WROTE BY HIMSELF IN A LETTER TO THO.s R. T. DATED FEBy. 23: 1770.

Almost a Year before the time of my first Convictions the Lord had called B.B. . .n & Ray by Mastr C. .s's Death and I think about Whitsuntide (whether a little before it or a little after I know not) B.B. .r was awakened by my papa's talk to the Boys on Saturday Night; now these three B. . .n Ray & Brewer made a practise of conversing about their souls while walking

up and down the Yard by Mr. Roses Wall[1] the day before the Races (I remember the time because of the Boys having Holidays and going out a walking and besides I kept a Diary a few months after) I was talking with Ray about something or other & the time coming for their Conversation he left me whereat I was very much offended and the next Morning Sept. 23, 1766 I wd not speak to him but told him he had fell out and wou'd not speak to me the last Night but he told me he had not fell out and added, " But I wanted to talk with B. . . n & Brewer I hope we were talking of Something better." *Something better* thought I what could that be; this stuck with me. I guess'd what it was and walked by them (that is just within the posts as I well remmember & I listened to them and tho' they were very shy of speaking to me then because Y . . . g had made a profession and had gone back yet I soon found that this something better was Jesus Christ and the salvation of their souls; this I hope the Lord blessed to my soul. I thought they were going to Heaven and should I stay behind? the Lord showed me what a Wretch I was, I was convinced that I was undone, I felt it, I knew it in a manner before for those who know how I was educated cannot suppose but I had head knowledge of these things but now I trust I knew it indeed and I endeavoured to pray for Mercy, I read Allens Alarm, Baxters Call, Bunyans Grace Abounding, &c. I pray'd twice a Day besides as before getting up and going to Bed—Convictions grew stronger and stronger—one Night in particular I yet well remmember about a Week after this I had very strong Convictions & went into the Garden. O I now remmember how I felt walking up and down in the Cross Walk next[2] Mary Street where there lay a long ladder and under the Nut trees I hope I prayed pretty earnestly so I went on for a little while—sometime after my papa bought me a little Desk which I was much pleased at but then I was very much frightened I fear'd the Lord wou'd not hear me, but was going to give me earthly pleasure and a portion in this World, I prayed that I might have Jesus rather, than worldly Comforts, but ah how soon did this pass away. my Convictions wore off by little and little till they were almost quite gone, I neglected prayer, was much assaulted with pride, and violent passions especially against Mr. Trinder, I hated him like a Devil O 'tis horrid to think off—however the Lord at length delivered me by little and little from this temptation & towards the end of November and beginning of December he gradually reviv'd his

[1] N.B.—There was a wall in the Yard which parted Mr. Roses Garden from Mr. Rylands Yard.

[2] N.B.—There was a Walk in the Garden which lead directly up to a Wall which parted a Street called Mary Street from the Garden.

Work and I hope he blesst even this Backsliding to show me more of the vileness of my own Heart. I attended the Means on Thursday Night but was often very careless—Haskey (?) being left now to play the Devil was made useful to me to shew me the Devilish pride of my own Heart—At last I joined the Society after they had met once or twice (I often have thought since how if the Lord had not now called me about this time and I had found out of their Meeting I shou'd have troubled and persecuted them like a Fiend) they did not now pray any of them but Mr. Wykes, Mr. Austin & Mr. Rogers, the Boys did not pray till after Christmas—as yet I had no Comfort—Dec. 12. 1766 I was at the Church meeting and saw Mrs. Bibwell, Mrs. Boyce & Nanny Brice taken in, I sat in Mrs. prats pew as they came by me I thought I felt a very great Love to all the Lord's people and had a little hope—but never had a promise till Dec. 15 I remmember the time because two Days after this I begun a Diary but tho' without this I shd have forgot Dates I well remmember most of these things as I do this I know the place were these Words come into my Mind which rang in my Ears all the Day "my prayers are all in vain, and all in vain my Tears" O how distress'd was I, but at Night I was in the Dining Room standing by the hollow in the long Desk against the Wall lay a large Bible, I thought I'd look at it but where sh'd I read I thought read in Hosea 13 & 14 I did not know why I sh'd look there I never saw the words before but the 13 & 14 jingled in my Ears, I look'd, I read "I will ransom /m from the power of the Grave, I will redeem them from Death" I hope they were applyed, I had Comfort (ay and I found pride too) I went and prayed & had a good deal of Joy and again the next Morning at Reading I was comforted from these words in Revelations, "I will be his God and he shall be my Son" it follows, But the fearful and Unbelieving &c. shall have their part &c. this latter frightened me & made me affraid to refuse the Comfort as before I was going to do—in the Afternoon I was tempted to pride therefore the Lord withdrew & I fell a doubting—next Day at Noon I had this Text "For a small Moment I have forsaken thee in a little Wrath, but with great lovingkindness I will gather thee" which gave me exceeding great joy and at Dinner I walked up and down the Dining Hall rejoicing and humming over a Verse I then made

No Joys upon Earth can compare,
With those in Religion we find,
'Tis Jesus alone that is fair,
'Tis Jesus alone that is kind.

after this I was sometimes Cold, sometimes doubting, sometimes midling for awile nothing very particular happened, once the

Devil had the Impudence to tell me Christ could not save me *Ans.* He is able to save to the uttermost all that come to him. *Obj.* But he can't make you come. *Ans.* Thy people shall be willing in the Day of thy power. But says he A'int this Day past *Ans.* Now is the acceptable time Now is the Day of Salvation, so the Dog turned his Tail and made off Jan II. Mr. Bradbury (a Man who will ever be dear to me) preached from Hos. I will allure her and bring her into the Wilderness & speak Comfortably to her. O my God what a Day was that I was as full of Joy & as full of Assurance as I could hold but this wore off, but Comfort return'd next Sabbath; who preached I forget, not having writ it down; the Day after my Birth Day when I was 14 Years old Mr. Wykes preach'd in the summer house to us, from " Not far from the kingdom of God." When I heard the Text I expected to be proved an Hypocrite but he turned it otherways & it was blest to my very great Comfort, after this I was mostly in the Dark for somewhile but once reviv'd by reflecting on past Experience, & another time from " Gad, a Troop shall overcome him but he shall overcome at last" In February a very queer stupid looking Man come along with Mr. Billing, My papa desired one of them to preach they settled it that this Man should, and I was vex'd for I thought he looked like a poor Fool that could not say a Word, I had a great mind not to go, none of the Boys being to go but those that chose it, but Mr. Wykes persuaded me & I went expecting nothing, the man began stammering from Rev. 21. 6 but when once he got into it he went on most sweetly indeed, he mentioned many sweet promises which were precious Comforts to my soul especially Zach. 4. 9—after this I got doubting woefully, the Chief Cause was, I was afraid I was not a Child of God because I did not grow in Grace more. I write thus in my Diary, the 2d Sabbath in March in the Afternoon " miserable, dull, doubting, fearing, sorrowfull, weeping, O what shall I do, have I begun or no? Mr. Austin, Mastr. Everard, my Mamma & dear Mastr. Ray tried to Comfort me but in vain for Jesus dont speak Comfort and I fear I shall never have any Joy any more " But at Night going to the Evening Lecture leaning on Ray these Words came Ps. 42 why art thou cast down O my soul, why art thou disquieted within me, trust in God, for I shall yet praise him for the help of his Countenance. & to second this in comes Mic. 7. 19 directly after " He will turn again, he will have Compassion on us, he will subdue our Iniquities & cast all our sins into the Depths of the Sea " This was about Supper enough for the Night; however I ask'd Ray where the Words was, he told me and I read all y/e 42d psalm & a sweet Night I had—after this I was sometimes doubting but mostly midling till the end of April when I was

suffered to backslide much being left to quarelling & Levity which was followed by doubts & Darkness when I begun to turn part of the 3rd of Revelations into Verse beginning I am the Man, the Man of Grief To whom ye Lord denies Relief. &c. Apr. 28 I went to Barten & Woolaston & at Barten my papa preached from "Bread shall be given him, and his Water shall be sure which revivd and Comforted me very much—after this being very dead and fearing I was a stoney ground hearer I was much Comforted the 17 of May my papa preached from Deut. He found him in a Desart Land &c.—after this Mr. Edwards of Leeds, Mr. Hall of Arnsby & my papa talked together one Night & my papa said He had been 12 Yrs in the dark, Mr. Edwards 4. Mr. Hall 6. O thought I if there be such thinge as these in the way how shall I go on. but next Morning Mr. Hall preached at 6 oclock from Ps. 71. I will go on in the strength of the Lord, making mention of his Righteousness, of his only which encouraged me very much, but the next Day I began Doubting & the last of May I was sure of going to the Devil, & I stood near the Coachhouse and Bro. B. came and told me he had been talking wth. Watson and Arnold Haywood & he had hopes of them (I had sent him to them Sam Hayward having told me that they were upstairs at prayer) & I was very glad, thinks I I'll rejoice & I'll spite the Devil as much as I can before I go to him then I reflected why sure then I love Christ's Cause & he has lov'd me, but tho' this give me a little hope 'twas soon gone & next Day the 1st of June 1767 I well remmember I was very dead, very low and full of horrible Doubts fearing all past Experience was a mere Delusion till after School in the Afternoon when I went into the Summer house to pray & cou'd not go on & so stopt & sat down in a Chair in a Corner opposite the Desk & said 'twas in vain for me to pray all was a Delusion or to that purpose however I thought I'd e'en take up my Bible & read but I had some Mind not for I thought 'twas not for me however I read a promise or two but could not take them but I turned accidentily to Isa. 50. 10 "Who is there among you t/t feareth the Lord and obeyeth the Voice of his Servant that sitteth in Darkness & hath *no* Light, let him trust in the Name of the Lord & stay himself upon his God" this gave me some hope I thought I wd not despair but wait & as I continued meditating the Lord comforted me more and more—I still turned over the Bible & I light on these Words. Hos. 1. 10. "And it shall come to pass that in the *place* where it was said unto them ye are not my people there shall it be said unto them ye are the sons of ye living God" which was very Comfortable to me & it is remarkable that this Comfortable sense of my Adoption began in the same summer-house, in the same Chair & the Chair standing in the same

place wherein I sat & began to be troubled wth. this last doubting frame a few days before—In the Holidays I was mostly poorly tho' not very doubting but got a little Comfort when Mr. Danl. Taylor preachd & when Mr. Bradbury preached from "Faint yet pursuing" & some other times but a few Days after the last mentioned Sermon I was very low indeed fearing I had never anything but common Convictions which were now wearing off and false Comfort & y/t I was a deluded Hypocrite & God wd soon take away what I seemed to have & I should go back certainly should go back and thereby prove all to have been nothing. several Scriptures were brought to Mind by the old Fox (who once in vain played the same Trick wth. my Head) especially that "He shall send them strong Delusions that they may believe a Lye" when I went to Meeting O how did I wish to get out for I thought of that Text "To the Wicked God saith what hast thou to do wth. my Sabbaths & my solemn Feasts" O thought I I've no Business I am only come to increase my own Damnation—what Horror was I in that Day? I had a great mind to burn my Diary as a Delusion—next Day July 20. 1767 I was still as bad or worse. as I went along & saw my pigeons I wished I was in their case, O happy then thought I, O that I was like them & had no Hell to go to O that I never had been born, I could shew the exact spot in the Garden where I stood & wished I was a stone or wishd I was a Devil, I thought I wd gladly change my hotter hell for his—I was horribly bad but resolvd to tell nobody. In school time I was very sorrowful my papa ask'd me if I was sick I said no, Did my headach? no, so he thought I was sulky—and at last was angry about somewhat; sure thought I you need not be angry, I had not need be tormented here I shall be in Hell in a few Days & be tormented enough there, so I burst out a crying, he not knowing the reason sent me out of school—my Mamma came to me & as[k]'d me the Reason so seeing I must be charged wth. a fault when innocent I told not why I was so sorrowful I at last told her she and my papa then tryed to comfort me & I got a little hope which insensibly increased to considerable Confidence so I went on midling till I was proposed to the Church after which Mr. Whitefield preached at Mr. Hextall's from Isa. 61. 10 which was a very good time to me—3 Days after that I joined the Church with Bror. B & Everard not without some opposition at first on account of our youth but the Lord at last made all willing to receive us & Sept. 13 we are baptized but being affraid I should cry out and bring a Disgrace on ye Ordinance it hinder'd my Comfort in it save yt I was much affected in ye water my papa lifting up his eyes to Heaven & crying out Thanks be to God for this Boy" I shall never forget that sound while I live, at the Lord's Supper was

but dead and cold also then I was much affraid of future fears & that tho' the Lord wd. save me he wd. leave me to Darkness here but from this I was delivered by Matt. 6. 34. Take no thought for tomorrow sufficient for the Day is the Evil thereof & as thy Day is thy strength shall be "—tho' this has plagued me since then often times—in Novr. I being low had part of some Wds. given me in a Dream which was Comfortable both sleeping and waking (viz.) " say not I am a Dry tree for to thee will I give a Name & place in mine house " I got another good Dream in Decr. I thought the Day of Judgment was come & I was in the Kitchen & at first felt no great Emotion therefore I began to question if my State were right but before the Doubt cou'd well pass thro' my Mind I was filled wth. Joy unspeakable I shouted & cry'd wth. all my Might " My God My God My lovely God," at last I run into the Dining Room there I saw a bright opening in the Sky over All Saints [1] Tower, it then lessened; I thought I was very impatient to see my Jesus come, I thought of nothing else, so that I knew not nor cared for the crouds about me but stood crying out " my God " at last the opening grew bigger & my Lord was just coming but I awaked & I found myself still in this purgatory—one Monday I was much comfort'd talking wth. revd. Mr. Thomasin & hearing him complain of Deadness & stupidity like me—I had many good times when he preached. Feb. 1. 1768.—I was revivd by " Call upon me in the day of Trouble & I will deliver thee & thou shalt glorify me " after this I called all in Question & thought of those wds. " Zion saith the Lord hath forsaken me, my God hath forgotten " ay thinks I that's my case but I recollected what follow :d. " Can a Woman forsake her suckling Child &c. which comforted me but it was soon over—at Mastr. Yallowley's funeral and at Mr. Brook's I was extremely joyful indeed but Mar. 12 after the Lord's Supper I was very low, I writ down my Reasoning then & now transcribe some " Well what can I do here I have been at the Lord's Table many times & never had any Comfort, however not much —I pray for more Love but I never can be heard as I see, O what shall I do, surely if I belong to the Lord I shd never be so, I am not his, I shall be damned—but yet I desire to love him and Ministers say that's a sign of Love & therefore he must love me for I should not love him if he did not love me—well Ministers are Lyars—nay but the Scriptures confirm it—well may be I dont desire to love him—but I am sure I do—no, may be God has sent me strong Delusions that I may believe a Lye—but this is no Delusion I felt I desire to love him—well if I do desire to love him its in vain, I dont see that God hears

[1] N.B.—There was a Church which cou'd be seen out of ye Dining Room window called All Saints Church.

prayer however he dont hear mine—well may be he will by and by, I dont know when—O what shall I do surely Religion's a Delusion—but I know it a'int—I know I have felt the power of it, God has had Mercy—if he has he'll cast me off—but that's impossible—well if God loves me what's the meaning of my being thus—why he is offended at my offering to come into the Church —well if I ever feel so little Love at the Lord's Table again, I'll go there no more that I never will—but does not God know best when to give me comfort—God hates me I ha'nt had a good Sabbath ever such a while—but I had Comfort when Mastr. Yallowley & Mr. Brook were buried—I had Delusions rather— Is not this Unbelief—Is not what I call Faith Presumption? thats most likely—Everard was in the Dark this Morning & had Comfort at the Lord's table, why did not I?—I did not deserve it —shall I murmur against God? Mr. Wykes said he never had Comfort at the Lord's table for two years—Nonsense! he cd. not be as dead as I am—Well there is not one promise in the Bible for me—no? why did not Abraham Abbot who was taken in this Morning mention some such wds. as these " I will cleanse their Blood which I have not cleansed " and does not our Lord say " God will veryly avenge his Elect tho' he tarry long "—Ay the Devil is ready enough to stir up presumption I have no Business wth. these wds—I am undone I shall never have any more Love as I see—well I shall try by & by—I hardly know that —however I want love in this World—if God lovd. me he'd give me more Love to him here "—so I went on reasoning, I pray'd had no Liberty—at last I thought I'd look in the Bible—but there is nothing for me—I know God wont give me any Comfort— well I'll try—I opened on the 3d of Jeremh: & got some not much—next Day I was very sorrowful no Scripture wd. suit me I thought, at last I got Comfort from Heb. 10. " Cast not away your Confidence which hath great Recompence of Reward for ye have need of patience after ye have done the will of God that ye might receive the promise for yet a little while and he that shall come will come & shall not tarry "—in May after prayer in the Summer house I opened a Quarto French Testament & saw in Capitals FIDELE & VRAI. Faithful and true, in Rev: which encouraged me much—soon after this I had a very good time meditating in Mrs. Trinder's Garden one night by myself. she & Mrs. Churchill being busy they sent me there & I'm sure I found Christ then in that Garden—The last Sabbath in May 1768 was a sweet Season. My papa preach'd from " Ho every one that thirsteth &c. I had a like Opportunity 2 or 3 Days after, he preaching at Kingsthorpe from " Comfort ye, Comfort ye my people &c. about this time I was in general freed from Doubts, I have had some slight Attacks of that kind since but for these

last 2 Years I have hardly ever absolutely doubted of my state, & as I have been freed from violent Doubts & almost freed from all Doubts of my state I have not been fed wth. Spoon Meat nor did the Lord give me a promise home but sent me to hunt my Venison where I coud—once I feared I had been deluded & I was going to resolve I wd. not be Comforted more till the Lord sensibly forced me to be Comforted whether I wd. or no that so I might be sure it was him that did it—but then I thought what if God shoud save me at last but leave me to keep to my Resolution & I get no Comfort & he not force me to be Comforted & so I go sorrowful all my Days for nothing, thinks I. I shd be then in a fine Hole, so I had best get Comfort while I may—Once the Devil advised me to doubt because I had no Doubts, this advice seem'd absurd so I wd not be ruled by the Fool—I had a rare time in Aug. 1768. when I went one night with my papa & Mrs. Trinders Boarders to Abingdon I came back by myself—verily I had Communion wth the Father & the Son yea & Spirit too—I have had a many good times but I think I have been large enough—& I have had many bad ones for whatever you may think I promise you there may be Assurance & yet be trouble enough—but say you wd. not Assurance give power over Enemies & raise above all Trouble? I answer, Assurance is twofold, one is from Faith the other is from Reason, both may be well grounded but the latter may be in the same person who finds Temptations & Troubles, seeing it springs not from immediate Acts of Faith or particular manifestations of Christ which wd. have the effect you speak of but it arises from Reason which may Convince a Believer when not made a Fool of by Satan & made to contradict his own Feelings & Senses that he loves God & was belovd. of him--Now it's trouble enough not to love him better whom I know has loved me and by how much the more I know he has loved me by so much the greater will the Trouble be that I can't love & serve him—I have had much Deadness, often stupid as the Beast & yet at the same time proud as the Devil, this is Trouble bad enough tho' I know I shall go to Heaven, to feel myself so little heavenly—I have had many Temptations and terrible ones too—I have more Corruption in my Heart than you can concive or I believe than any other has beside—I have Unbelief enough, it works some ways when it dont others, Unbelief has more games than one to play—I may know my state safe if there be a God & question whether there be or no—I have done so—I have a World of Atheism in my Heart—The Fool hath sd. in his Heart there is no God—I am yt Fool—I have been tempted to doubt of every thing in Religion from the Existence of a God down to Church Government & true Baptism.—I find wth. Hussey " Tis as natural for me to be an Arminian as it is

to breathe—I have been within this last Year very much troubled at the Doubts of others as bad almost as if they were my own souls Troubles—especially my dear young Bretheren here—about ye time of the Meeting of Ministers I was much troubled wth. evil Questionings about ye Self-origination & personality of Christ so that I could not tell what to do but while Mr. Hall preachd I was freed from this Temptation by these words "The Lord rained fire from the Lord" & by ye first of Hebrews "To the Son he saith "thy throne O God is for ever & ever—I have never been so plagued since, I then heard Mr Hall wth exceeding delight—but I must stop I've been long enough & I do not know who else I'd do this for hardly—but you desired it so much—but I charge you let none see it but that one whom I gave you leave for—& do both pray hard for ye vilest of Creatures but I trust your affectionate tho' very unworthy Bror. the vile, the proud, the sinful

J.R. d

Northton. Feb. 23. 1770

Sandwich, Shallows and Margate.

JOSIAH THOMPSON gathered in 1770 some information that may amplify the paragraph on page 187 of our second volume. The Particular Baptist church at Sandwich had as its pastor Thomas Feckenham, from Worcester apparently, between 1687 and 1696. He went over to Ramsgate for a debate with Pack, an Independant, and published his sermon: if anyone can trace it, we shall be glad. Before the century closed, Mr. Shallows bought some land two miles from Margate, and built there; at one end of the premises was a Baptist meeting-house; he died in 1706. Richard Godfrey was in charge till his death in 1724. John Howe then gave pastoral care from his home in Folkestone for thirty years: a new meeting-house was built (in Sandwich or at Shallows?) and then in 1736 the Shallows group separated. Jervis, an apothecary, bequeathed a manse and some money. After Howe's death in 1750 came Yielding, then Stone, who died 1762. Jonathan Purchis came in 1762, and started a new era by opening in Margate morning and evening.

Colonel Thomas Blood.

THIS striking figure has attracted three biographers this century, yet no one of them brings out his connection with Baptists. A scrutiny of the State Papers enables this to be done, and supplies a picture of a man whose career is quite coherent, by no means showing him a specially Bad Man.

His father was apparently of English descent, but settled ten miles out of Dublin at Dunboyne, within the Pale. He may have been one of the many colonists introduced by James I.; for he was a Presbyterian. He was an iron-worker. At Dunboyne, Thomas was born in 1628. If he be considered an Anglo-Irishman, many things in his career seem natural enough, which would not be natural for an Englishman.

For twenty years, Thomas made no mark. But his family would share the troubles of the colonists. The Lord of Dunboyne was one of the first to rebel when the strong hand of Wentworth was removed; before 1641 was out, he was in arms against the English government. Carlyle has depicted how, in Ireland there were soon five parties in arms, each fighting for its own shibboleth: we may probably rank the Bloods among the "Presbyterians, strong for king and covenant." Their little property was evidently laid waste.

There is no evidence when Thomas enlisted in any army: no early muster-roll has been discovered with his name. But it seems plausible to think he was in the forces under Lambert in south Lancashire, which assembled to check the Scottish invasion of 1648, and that then he met Mary Holcroft, of Holcroft Hall, four miles from Winwick, which a smart skirmish made famous; for two years later he married her in the parish church of Culcheth. Certainly he was in the army which annihilated the Scots in the three-days fight from Preston to Warrington.

He naturally went with the Parliamentary army, in 1649, to Ireland, first to Dublin. It has been said that he distinguished himself, and won rapid promotion from lieutenant to colonel; but no documents have been produced, and his name is absent from every likely place, such as Carlyle, the Clarke papers, Dunlop's Ireland under the Commonwealth. We must rest content with the fact of his marriage on 21st June, 1650, and

assume that he settled down again on his father's property at Dunboyne. Here were born children, including a Thomas and a Holcroft, destined to high rank under William of Orange.

Now Baptists were very numerous in the army that conquered Ireland, and when peace was restored, large numbers of them settled down in the land. A church was founded at Dublin, including such men as, Adjutant-General Vernon, Colonel Lawrence, Auditor-General Roberts, Major Smith. In the next few years, Blood came to know some of these. He made a mark in civil life, and became J.P.

At the Restoration, things altered. There arose a general expectation of fresh confiscations and new division of lands. It is often said that Blood's estates were now confiscated because he was a new settler; he was not a new settler, but born in Ireland; and no evidence is offered that he lost anything, though many of his friends suffered.

In 1662, the Duke of Ormande, newly thus created, came over to re-assume the lord-lieutenancy. All power was soon wielded by staunch royalists. Without any clear warrant of law, strong measures were taken against all others; ministers were ejected, settlers were unsettled. Under these circumstances, many thought of a new trial of strength. A spy reported that many members of parliament met daily in Dublin, working out a design to subvert the government and engage the three nations in a new war. He furnished Dublin Castle from time to time with details and lists of the conspirators, till 20th May, 1663, when it was decided to surprise the Castle next day. Ormonde took immediate steps, arrested many, tried and executed some, including Blood's brother-in-law. The spy expressly said that Lieutenant Blood was not the chief of the rebels, but only an agent sent on errands. His offence was however grave enough for him to be outlawed. From this time he was a homeless man; his son Holcroft escaped at the age of twelve, and entered on an adventurous career which ought to make him the hero of a first-class novel.

In this plot all manner of people had been concerned, including English officers newly settled, and ministers. One of the latter, closely allied with Blood, was Robert Chambers, formerly Baptist minister in Kerry, who had had much to do with advising the Commonwealth government in ecclesiastical matters.

For the next few months, Blood was ubiquitous. He was concerned with Captain Paul Hobson in planning a rising in Yorkshire; he was over in Holland plotting with other refugees; he was alleged to be planning a simultaneous murder of the

king, the duke of York, the chancellor. Toward the end of the year, his father died in the Tower of London, where he had been working as a tailor. As the father's property now passed to him, and he was an outlaw in Ireland, that property was declared forfeit for treason on 4th February, 1664.

Various prisoners were induced to implicate Blood in various plots, which involve him with Askrigg in Westmorland, Liverpool, Coventry, Leominster, Ireland, the Cameronian rising, Carrickfergus and Westminster, within eighteen months. An informer named Leving then set himself to catch him, but failed both in Ireland and near his wife's home. He did manage to arrest his Baptist friend, Colonel John Mason, ex-governer of Jersey. Blood thereupon gathered a few comrades, attacked the soldiers escorting the prisoner and the spy, defeated them and rescued his friend. So, in August 1667, he was outlawed in England. He retired quietly to Kent, where he passed unrecognized as a doctor Allen for two years.

His next exploit was in December 1670, when he and others kidnapped Ormonde on his way from a banquet in the City to St. James street. He lashed the duke behind a horseman, saying he would take him to Tyburn and hang him on the gallows for the felon he was: but the duke was rescued just in time. Blood got safely away, to Lancashire one spy thought. His two highway exploits made him even more ambitious, and on 5th May, with his eldest son and a Baptist son-in-law and his father, he all but secured the crown and the sceptre from the Jewel tower. This time however he was caught.

Instead of executing him at once as an outlaw, Charles sent for him and examined him as to his motives. He gave the simple answer that for his actual deeds, and another contemplated assassination of Charles, the cause was "the severity exercised over the consciences of the godly, in restraining the liberty of their religious assemblies." On 18th July, the elder men were released, by the end of August all four were pardoned.

More than that, Blood now had great influence at court. He got a pardon for Colonel Barrow, an associate in the Dublin Castle plot. He introduced Gladman to the king, secured a pardon for Jonathan Jennings the G.B. Elder, got Charles Holcroft picked as sheriff for Lancashire, struck out a new theory, that as Charles was Supreme Governer of the Church of England, he could issue licences for preachers and preaching halls. Not only did he take a large part in persuading Charles to issue the Declaration of Indulgence, he was active in securing licences. Then we find him playing off one Secretary of State against another, dabbling in

admiralty affairs, claiming the restitution of his wife's property, securing the reversal of his Irish outlawry. This period of great influence lasted four or five years, till the king gave his favour again to the bishops.

In the last phase, when the Popish Plot was to the fore, Tonge accused him of being a Popish agent concerned in setting London afire in 1665. And the Duke of Buckingham won a case against him for perjury in 1680. So that he died on 24th August, rather in bad odour. Such fears were still entertained of him, that it was rumoured his death was feigned; and it was needful to exhume the body and exhibit it, to remove the apprehension.

W. T. WHITLEY.

Chard.

JOSIAH THOMPSON learned in 1770 that his church was founded by captain Wallington before 1653, and met in a barn on Crim Chard lane. The church was represented in 1653 at Wells, in 1655 at Bridgwater, and entertained the Association later that year. It was visited by Jessey 1656, entertained the Association again in 1657, April. On 29th December 1663 its minister S. Wade joined with his fellow-prisoner Toby Welles in sending a letter from Ilchester jail to their churches. In 1689 W. Wilkins attended the London meeting, and was diligent till the end of the century. Then a new site was given by a clothier, George Strong or Straw. Thomas Meacham was pastor about 1715 till his death in 1725; he re-modelled the meeting at his own expense. Then came an interregnum, Hann coming from Up Ottery to administer the ordinances. We hear of Bonner Stowe, Sam Geer for four years, Augustine Crisp perhaps 1765-70 before he went to Up Ottery, Ben Pitts with twenty members, Mills. Only with Samuel Rowles from Rotherhithe, 1783-97, does the story begin to clear; he began a register of births, now at Somerset House.

"The Apocalypse of Jesus."*

STRICTLY speaking, all revelation is apocalypse. We use the word however in a specialised, but generally understood sense. It is an uncovering of that which is not disclosed to normal human sight; it is the seer's account of his vision of things that are, and things that are to be; it is the peculiar style of utterance in which such visions, actual or supposed, are described; it is the language of vivid imagery and symbolism by means of which mysteries of the invisible world or of future happenings are presented to the mind of man.

There was a large out-put of apocalyptic literature in the centuries immediately preceding and following our Lord's appearance on earth. The outstanding example of pre-Christian apocalypse is preserved to us in the book of Daniel; and in the great Christian apocalypse with which the New Testament closes, we reach the culminating point of this remarkable series of writings. Between the two stands Jesus. "The testimony of Jesus" upholds the inspiration of the book of Daniel; while the writer of our Christian book of the Revelation is convinced that the "testimony of Jesus" is the spirit of his own prophecy. When we turn to the Gospels, we find that the "testimony of Jesus" is largely given in the language of apocalypse.

The title of this paper probably suggests that its subject is the discourse to the disciples on the Mount of Olives, in which their Master, a few days before His death, gave to them solemn warning of coming events. That discourse is sometimes described as the "Apocalypse of Jesus." It would seem unwise however to restrict the application of this title to that single utterance. There are so many others that ought to be included. Indeed, it might well be almost the surprise of a new discovery to some, on reading again through the four-fold record from this point of view, to notice how apocalyptic ideas and modes of expression mingle with Christ's teachings on the Divine simplicities of religious experience and practice. He spoke to men in manifold ways. We find in His words the painstaking lucidity of the teacher, the authoritative declarations of the law-giver, the righteous exhortations and denunciations of the prophet, the kindly speech of brotherhood and friendship—but we find again and again the mystic word of the seer.

* An Address to the Northamptonshire Baptist Fraternal.

It is this last aspect of His teaching as a whole, which is the subject of our present inquiry. Probably, the most difficult question of New Testament exegesis is the question of the interpretation of apocalyptic language on the lips of Jesus. It is difficult because the subject-matter lies, for the most part, beyond the range of our verification. It is difficult because it is so elusive, because it baffles our attempts to arrange it into a self-consistent scheme. It is difficult because it seems to run counter to our modern ideas of evolution—albeit, a Divinely-guided evolution—a gradual progress through the ages, in spite of many set-backs, to the perfect ordering of human life on this planet. Jesus, in His forcast of the future, seems rather to say that conditions will at last become so desperate, that only His personal and visible return to earth, will avail to bring order out of the chaos. The whole subject bristles with unanswered questions. One feels the need of treading with the utmost caution at every turn. In this region of ideas, we are up against mystery all the time. The mystery is largely the mystery of the consciousness of Jesus Himself. The becoming attitude is reverence—a willingness to be taught, a recognition of the necessary limitations of our minds, a readiness to take on trust things at present beyond our understanding.

Now the researches of scholars during the past half-century have made it abundantly clear that during the life-time of Jesus the very air of Judea and Galilee was charged with apocalyptic ideas and expectations. In one form or another, men held the belief that some signal act of Divine intervention was at hand. They looked for the advent of the Messiah, and the establishment of the kingdom of God. It was no wonder that writings which claimed to give disclosures of God's secret counsels, made a strong appeal to the popular mind. Neither, from any point of view, is it any wonder that the language of Jesus should often be distinctly reminiscent of writings that held so high a place in the regard of those to whom He was speaking. When, however, we ask what significance is to be attached to such language, widely different views emerge.

Some there are, who hold the view that this is a clear example of the human limitations of Jesus: He shared the outlook of His time. They would say that, in regard to matters of academic or scientific interest, His mental equipment was no greater than that of the age in which He lived; and that, while His example and His practical teaching are authoritative for us, and while His sacrifice and the power of His endless life may be the means of our redemption, we are not required to accept information from Him on subjects with which it was no essential

part of His mission to deal. My trouble with that attitude, when it is taken up with regard to the apocalyptic language used by Jesus, is that, in this aspect of His teaching, we do not find merely occasional or incidental allusions to current beliefs, but an obvious purpose to impart information and often to correct current beliefs—though always with a very practical aim. His words on things unseen and things to come are for the most part so inseparably associated with moral and spiritual teaching, that to attempt to dissociate them is to deprive some of His most impressive sayings of their power.

There are others who take the view that Jesus deliberately accommodated Himself to the thoughts of His hearers and, in order to win acceptance for His teaching, clothed it in language with which they were familiar. There is, as we know, a Christian principle of accommodation based on sympathy—"I am become all things to all men, that I might by all means save some": but to suggest that Jesus seemingly accepted ideas of little or no value in themselves, and that He used them as a kind of rough and ready-made foundation, on which to super-impose ideas of true worth, rather savours of unreality if not of actual dishonesty. It is hardly likely that a super-structure so supported would stand the test of time! It is surely far easier to believe that any language used by Jesus had a real meaning for Him, and that every idea or set of ideas adopted in His teaching, had for Him a deep and abiding value.

Yet again, there are others who accept in all simplicity the teaching of Jesus just as it stands. They are content to let it make its own impression on their minds along with the rest of Scripture. They have certain clear beliefs that satisfy them and enable them to get on with their job in the world. They say: The Lord is coming again: we know not the day nor the hour: we must be found ready when he comes, fulfilling the task He has appointed for us. You know the kind of people I mean. I am not thinking of cranks; nor of those who are intolerant of other opinions: but of those who, in their child-like reliance upon whatever is written, and their daily endeavour to translate their faith into actual experience, are thus enabled to live lives of real saintliness amid all the stress and distraction of this modern world. There is something enviable in their attitude of mind. There is about them a serenity, a confidence, a simple consistency that does not characterise the Church of Christ as a whole in these days. The circle of ideas in which they move is pervaded by the romance of religion. The spirit of adventure is in them. They dwell on the frontiers of a land of mystery, into which they must be prepared at any moment to

move forward. They find in themselves the strongest possible incentives to holy living. The Master's words of solemn exhortation and warning, in view of the approaching end, come to them with their original force unspent through the lapse of centuries. It is just here that the significance of their attitude lies. Most of us, I imagine, could not persuade ourselves to think of things in their way without doing violence to our intellect. Yet, I am persuaded that the effect produced in their lives by the words of Jesus regarding His coming, and the end of the age, is the kind of result at which He aimed in speaking those words. Whatever construction we may put upon His langnage, it does seem clear that no interpretation can possibly be adequate, which does not tend naturally to produce in the minds of disciples an earnest response to such a word as this: "What I say unto you, I say unto all, Watch."

My purpose then, for this occasion, is to indicate—it can be no more than that—the kind of interpretation that commends itself to me. Perhaps it is hardly necessary to say that I am not in the company of those who imagine that the prophetic and apocalyptic portions of the Bible were given with the idea of enabling curious minds in this or any age to draw a "plan of the ages," and to write history in advance. The elaborate schemes that have been worked out, the "keys" that have been constructed to unlock the door of mystery, have not been of the Lord's making. The sort of teaching with which some of us have become sadly familiar in "Russellism" and Christadelphianism is instinctively felt by the average Christian to be utterly foreign to the mind of Jesus. We must keep close to Him. His teaching must be our constant reference in considering all other things that have been written. Our discussion at this time is limited to the words of Jesus, not simply because to go beyond them would take us into too wide a field, nor because they provide a convenient starting point, but because of the conviction that His words must be the fixed centre around which all our thinking as Christians must needs revolve. We assume of course that in the Gospels we have a substantially accurate record of His teaching—though we may have to admit that in the fourth Gospel some of it probably comes to us in the form of interpretation, rather than of a verbatim report.

Two questions need to be kept in mind. (1) To what extent, and in what way, were the mysteries of the unseen and the future open to the view of our Lord? (2) To what extent, and with what intent, did He seek to disclose these to His disciples? The first of these may seem a bold question. A complete answer to it is not possible. To think about it is inevitable. Two well-

known sayings come to one's mind with haunting persistence. They lead, it seems to me, to the heart of the problem. Rightly to interpret these is most important. There can be no doubt that a true and adequate interpretation of them would give, at least in principle, the answer to our two questions.

The first is this: "Of that day or that hour knoweth no one, not even the angels in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father." Extreme critics allow that to be a genuine utterance of Jesus, because of its confession of ignorance! As if He, or His disciples for Him, ever laid claim to omniscience! Obviously He asked questions, sometimes with the simple object of eliciting information which He required. Yet the impression made upon men by all His teaching was summed up in the word "authority." He spoke as one who knew at first hand: not as a seer, reporting his visions. He spoke as one whose knowledge was not mediated, but directly derived from the Source of all illumination. After all these centuries, this is still the feeling produced by His reported words, even in highly critical minds. This very confession of ignorance conveys the impression of authority. "Neither the Son," He says—as though there were something quite surprising in that. These words moreover follow immediately upon a claim that surely no other teacher has ever dared to make: "Heaven and earth shall pass away, but My words shall not pass away." That in its turn is preceded by the statement: "This generation shall not pass away, until all these things be accomplished." He has no doubt as to the validity of His claim, or the certainty of the things He has been describing. It is only "that day or that hour" that is beyond the province of His knowledge. What day? What hour? The clear reference seems to be to the passing away of heaven and earth. "That day" is the familiar prophetic phrase for the fulfilment of some great purpose of God. "Many will say to Me in that day." "Of that day or that hour knoweth no man." Do not the words suggest that the very idea of the day is mystery, something belonging to the secret counsels of God, the nature of which is not disclosed? It is not some fixed and pre-determined point of time to which Jesus is making allusion here. It is something of far greater importance than any point or period of time can be. "That day or that hour" is best regarded as a symbolic expression for that which, in the nature of the case, can be known only to God. It is surely a mistake to think of ordinary days and hours at all in this connection. "That day" is a reality hidden in the heart of the Father. It is part of the incommunicable mystery of the Divine consciousness. It is of the nature of eternity. It may have its

manifestations on the field of time, but it represents a principle eternally operative in the life of God Himself. It is for ever God's own secret—just how His eternal righteousness and judgment determine the course of events in heaven or on earth. The Son knows the Father so perfectly as to know that there is that in the Father which He cannot know. Christ himself stands outside the ultimate mystery—the mystery of God's conscious relationship to the created universe. Yet He is the supreme expression of that mystery—God's secret disclosed in the Incarnation. Only God can know His own relation to the changes and developments brought about in His ordering of the universe. So the "one far-off Divine event" will be the disclosure of "that day," one more disclosure of the secret locked up in the heart of the Eternal, and remaining His secret still.

The second is this: "It is not for you to know times or seasons, which the Father hath set within His own authority. But ye shall receive power," &c. Here is a statement of the principle apart from which, we may be sure, Christ would give no disclosure of the future to His disciples. The concern of the disciple, as a disciple, is not primarily with knowledge, but with power—and with knowledge only as it contributes to power. "Though I understand all mysteries and all knowledge, . . . and have not love, I am nothing."

Now just as our Lord's allusion to "that day" leads us back to the thought of an ultimate mystery in the life of God, so this second saying conveys a similar suggestion. The risen Jesus, it is worth while to note, does not commit himself to any idea of the restoration of a political kingdom to Israel. It is not true, as some have maintained, that His silence implies support for the disciples' expectation of a political future for the Jewish nation. That is a matter of minor importance, and He lets it pass without comment. What is far more important than any such question is the Lord's reiteration of the principle that times and seasons, eras and epochs, are a mystery hidden in the heart of God. The "course and periods of time" have been placed by the Father within His own authority. These are matters beyond the province of our minds. It is enough for us to know that. Not for a moment can we believe that our Lord's words give any countenance at all to the purely Jewish notion, that God has, as it were, a plan spread out before Him, to which the course of events on this earth and elsewhere must rigidly conform. That would be fatalism indeed. All Jesus says is that times and seasons are God's own affair. His words suggest again the thought that what men call times and seasons represent an eternal principle at work in God's providential ordering of His

universe. We might call it God's readiness to use His opportunity. "When the fulness of the time came, God sent forth His Son, born of a woman." The state of the world was such that it was opportune for God to intervene in the coming of Jesus. It marked an epoch in this world's history. Only God could know that it was the right time. Back of the time lay that eternal something in God, which makes His intervention always exactly oppoitune. Man cannot know when any time of God should come; he is not always wise enough to see when it has come: "Ye cannot discern the signs of the times," said Jesus to the Pharisees; and again, to Jerusalem, "Thou knewest not the time of thy visitation."

God—always knowing the time of His opportunity!

Man—so often perversely unable to see his own opportunity in God's time!

God's opportunity for the accomplishment of any of His great purposes for this world is conditioned by man's acceptance of his own spiritual opportunity. That is why the disciple's concern is with power, responsiveness, and influence, rather than with predictions of coming events. God's future is held up, and not hastened, by irreverent curiosity in regard to mysteries which are not for man to know.

Many would-be interpreters of apocalypse have surely stumbled here. They have been more concerned about periods than about principles. It is admitted that imagery and sybolism are characteristic of this kind of speech and writing. Why then should not "times and seasons" be interpreted symbolically, instead of literally? Students of apocalyptic literature know well that certain kinds of numbers are always found in association with certain ideas. Seven, ten, and their multiples, signify completeness, perfection, the fulfilment of God's will. Other numbers suggest broken periods, the temporary frustration of Divine purposes. So the Millennium ceases to be a specified length of time. The futile controversies of the past, between Pre-Millennialists and Post-Millennialists, tend to fade into obscurity. The Millennium is the expression of an idea. It represents the fulfilment of an ideal. It is the Divine opportunity meeting at last with the looked-for response from a community that knows the time of its visitation. According to Revelation, even in such conditions the power of evil lifts up its head once more, but now, at long last, it is infinitely outweighed by the forces of righteousness, and is finally swept into oblivion.

This detour into the book of the Revelation may be continued a little further without really taking us away from our subject.

It may serve the purpose of emphasising the thought of a timeless reality in the life of God manifesting itself in the field of time. That thought receives unique expression in that verse which speaks of our Lord as "the Lamb that hath been slain from the foundation of the world." The Atonement belongs to the mystery of God's very being. During the progress of revelation many partial unfoldings of that mystery were given. "But when the fulness of the time was come," God found His completest possible self-expression in a Human Life of perfect goodness, accepting the inevitable suffering involved in the closest contact with a sinful world. So we think of the Incarnation as representing the timeless reality of love and self-giving and sacrifice that belong to the very nature of God; and we think of the Millennium as an ideal for the human race, eternally in the heart of God, and still awaiting the fulness of the time for its final manifestation on the plane of this world's life. There may be other expressions of that ideal in a world that as yet is hidden from our view. In similar fashion we may think of the Day of Judgment, to which Jesus often refers. The phrase becomes a symbol for a reality that centres in a world where space and time, as we know them, have small significance. "That day" may belong to the eternal "Now"; and the sequence between the Judgment and the Millennium, as it is described in the book of Revelation, may have to be conceived as logical and moral rather than temporal. We know that the word "eternal" as used in Scripture refers primarily to quality, and only secondarily to duration. It is a word that relates directly to the nature of God Himself. Eternal life is life with Divine quality in it. Eternal punishment is punishment that belongs to the eternal recoil of the Divine Holiness from what is evil, and the eternal purpose to abolish what is hopelessly and irremediably evil. In like manner we may have to take many other phrases, the surface meaning of which is a reference to time, or to a particular day on which certain events will come to pass, and try to see the underlying and hidden meaning. Behind descriptions of things to come, there is always the spiritual principle which may have many progressive applications in the out-working of human destiny, both in this world and the world unseen. It may even be that the hope of the coming of Christ and the resurrection of the dead will have to be regarded as standing for spiritual realities which may have more than one kind of manifestation.

To think along such lines does seem to be a necessary condition of finding a satisfactory interpretation of much of our Lord's teaching. Just as in His parables He makes use of

familiar happenings to represent spiritual truth, so He sometimes uses terms relating to space and time to symbolise realities belonging to an order of being to which ideas of space and time, as we know them, do not properly apply. He plainly tells us that there are matters in regard to which it is beside the point to say, Lo, here! or, Lo, there! They do not belong to that order of things at all. In the same way, when we are considering expressions which represent that which belongs to our very conception of the Godhead, it may sometimes be singularly inappropriate to ask, Where? or When? There are things in God's hidden world beyond the power of human speech to utter. We feel that Jesus is immediately aware of such things. Many a time His words lead up to a point where they seem to stop short, as in the presence of inexpressible mysteries. As we follow Him in His teaching, we must be prepared at any moment to lift our thoughts to the contemplation of things that are not on the plane of this world's life at all. Behind His warnings and His forecastings of the future stand the eternities, to which His mind is intimately related. He speaks of this age in virtue of His knowledge of the age to come. If He foreshadows in any sense the course of human history in this world, it is through His awareness of the working-out of human destinies in the unseen. If He speaks of His coming-again, it is because He knows that, having once been identified with the life of humanity in this world, He can never really be separated from it. His relation to our race has its origin in eternity, and is eternally inviolable. Who would dare to limit the insight and foresight of such a personality as His? Who shall say in what deeps of His Divine-human consciousness all these impressive words on things unseen and things to come have their rise?

Now one ought to go on from this point to illustrate what has been said by means of a detailed examination of at least some of the portions of Christ's teaching that are obviously apocalyptic in character. Such a procedure is impossible within the limits of this paper. We must try to bring our study to a conclusion in a way that is more practicable. This at least must be said. As Christian preachers it ought to be possible for us to lay stress on this aspect of Gospel teaching, as we inevitably do on other aspects. Some of us might have to confess to a measure of evasion in this regard hitherto. For myself I should be obliged to admit that there has been little of this kind of language with which I should be able to deal in a convincing and satisfying way. Recently, however, I have arrived at a simple working theory, which seems to open up passages that previously I could hardly touch in public ministry. Roughly

stated, it would be something like this:—There is no doubt that our Lord predicted certain happenings, which He saw would inevitably take place in the course of human history on this earth. Notaby He foretold the judgment on Jerusalem. That event had its spiritual significance, as indeed is the case with all events of history. It was not only an act of judgment: it was also a parable of judgment. Jesus knew it must happen. He saw that the spirit in the Jewish nation which was bringing Him to the cross, was bound to lead on to the suicidal conflict with Rome, and the destruction of the city. That coming terrible event represented for Him an unseen reality that could have other occasions of manifestation. Moreover, this day of judgment was associated in His thought with the idea of the coming of the Son of man—certainly an invisible coming at that time it proved to be. Now, many of the words of Jesus have a first application to things that have happened, or are going to happen, on this earth—but even so, they represent eternal principles which can only have their full and final application in the world unseen. This then is the principle of interpretation on which it seems reasonable to proceed. When we find it impossible to imagine how His words can in any sense be descriptive of things visible—whether past, present, or future,—we may take refuge in the thought that they have their fulfilment in that transcendent world to which we all really belong. As a matter of practice, when we find ourselves unable to express in modern language the spiritual meaning of the most mysterious utterances of Jesus, we must not neglect to read them in public. They will make their own impression, and it will probably be not far removed from that which He intended.

Here are a few thoughts in conclusion, which one's study of this side of the Master's teaching has helped to make more real.

Christ comes at every crisis in the history of the world. That is to say, there is a special revelation of His presence in the things that are happening to all who are spiritually prepared. That word "Parousia," which is so often translated "coming" in our English Bible, is a word of beautiful appeal. It suggests the idea of Christ standing by—even as the martyr Stephen had a vision of the Lord standing up to help him in his hour of extremity. The destruction of Jerusalem is the great illustration. If one half of what Josephus describes is to be accepted, it was a time of tribulation without precedent, and without subsequent repetition. I think of Jesus standing by at that time, ready to help all who could receive His help. I think of Him standing by, like the gardener in the parable, no longer able to ward off the impending judgment, but doing everything possible to

mitigate it, succouring His saints in their distress, ready at any moment to receive them to Himself. God's judgments mostly appear on this earth in the breaking-up of groups of men, organised on wrong principles. Such dissolution is always attended with suffering, but in these times there is always the Parousia.

The Day of Resurrection is surely in the eternal Now. The idea of remaining in a sort of semi-existence until the end of this present age is of as little use to most of us as it was to Martha. It is hard to imagine any reason for a prolonged interval between the passing of a child of God from the conditions of this life and the entrance upon the condition of full immortality. A similar conception of the Day of Judgment is not necesssarily inconsistent with Christ's description of the assembly of nations before the throne of His glory. You remember in Studdert Kennedy's *Rough Rhymes of a Padre* the soldier's dream of what might be awaiting him beyond death. He stood, a solitary soul, in the presence of One who looked upon him and then said, "Well?" That was enough. He would sooner go through unnamed torments than contemplate the prospect of being faced with that searching, heart-breaking question from the One whom, more than all, he had injured by his sin.

"And boys, I'd sooner shrivel up in the flames of a burning 'ell, Than 'ave to stand, and see 'Is face, and 'ear 'Is voice say, "Well?" It is easy to believe, in the light of our knowledge of Jesus, that such a picture represents reality. The Day of Judgment may have numberless manifestations, in the case of nations and individuals, both in this world and the world beyond.

When we read our Lord's exhortations, telling us to watch and to be ready, it may be helpful to think that He is really asking us to make His opportunity for Him. He is always wanting to come in a special way to the particular community with which we are associated. What He means by watching He interprets for us in His parable of the servants who were given each their job to do. The spiritual world, the world of God's kingdom, is all about us, waiting to break in upon us and to transform earthly conditions, whenever we are ready. The Lord is at hand! If we do not make ready for His coming in grace and power, we may find ourselves surprised by a coming in judgment. In one or other of these modes of dealing with souls or societies, with Christians or Churches, He is ever on the point of appearing. "Be ye also ready."

As to the future of this world, Christ's words suggest that it will go on with its times of travail leading on to the birth

of better times in proportion as His coming is recognised and welcomed, until at last His completest coming brings about the consummation of the age. What that will prove to mean, who can say? One thing we cannot believe, and that is that human life will gradually die out from this planet, as its energies become exhausted, until the last lonely mortal gives up the struggle of existence, and the world is left wheeling its way through space—a cold, silent, unoccupied globe. Long before that can happen, we may surely believe that the life of this race will have been translated into another sphere. Whether Jesus in His glory, will ever be manifested again on this earth in visible form, as a Person to be seen by mortal eyes, is a question that must needs be left open. No word of Scripture concerning His appearing compels us to give this literally physical interpretation of it. That His kingdom is to triumph on earth, the prayer He has given us makes certain. We pray in hope—the hope that must needs spring eternal in the *Christian* breast. The scene of Christ's humiliation will become increasingly the scene of His manifested glory. The final outcome, however, cannot belong to a world which, in the nature of things, must pass away. It is hidden from our view in that transcendent region of mystery, where the glowing ideals of our eternal Lord find their perfect fulfilment in an endless progress from glory unto glory.

E. L. BEECHAM.

"If we have regard to consecrated abilities and purity and beauty of character, there is perhaps hardly a nobler figure to be found in the whole Reformation movement." So we wrote concerning the Anabaptist Hans Denck, in "An early 'Baptist' View of Scripture" (*Baptist Quarterly*, January 1923), and so we still think. We therefore give a ready welcome to the handy little monograph on him from the pen of Mr. Coutts, published by McNiven Wallace (price 5s. net.). He begins with a review of Denck's sorely chequered life, and then passes to a detailed sketch of his views, which is based upon a direct study of Denck's own writings. While Mr. Coutts is a sincere admirer of Denck's great qualities he is no undiscriminating eulogist. He concludes his book with a critical estimate of Denck's teaching, which calls attention to its weaker as well as its stronger places. Altogether this volume furnishes us with a convenient and dependable introduction to one who, besides being both a beautiful and pathetic figure, was in a number of points astonishingly in advance of his time—not to say, of many Christian folk in these latest days. There was room for such a representative treatment of the subject in English, and we are grateful to Mr. Coutts for providng it.

The "Deighn Layrocks."

"IN the twilight of a glorious Sunday evening, in the height of summer, I was roaming over the heathery waste towards Dean in company with a musical friend of mine, when we saw a little crowd of people coming down a moorland slope far away in front of us. As they drew nearer we found that many of them had musical instruments; and when we met, my friend recognised them as working people living in the district, and mostly well-known to him. He inquired where they had been, and they told him they had been to "a bit ov' a sing deawn i' th' Dean."

"Well," said he, "can't we have a tune here?"

"Sure yo' con, wi' o' th' plezzur i' th' world," replied he who acted as spokesman, and a low buzz of delightful consent ran through the rest of the company. They then arranged themselves in a circle around their conductor, and they played and sang several fine pieces of psalmody upon this heather-scented mountain top."

These Lancashire musicians, here described by Edwin Waugh in his *Home Life of Lancashire Folk,* were the "Deighn Layrocks"—the larks of Dean, the sweetest of all the sweet singers of Rossendale. "A sing deawn i' th' Dean" was one of the regular events in the lives of this little community, and these rehearsals had far-reaching effects, not only in the musical but even in the religious life of the whole district. Their love of music almost passionate in its intensity, was so closely interwoven in the fabric of their lives that to understand it is to go far towards the understanding of them. Every phase of their lives was so intricately bound up with the cult of music, that their ideas, their attitude to life, many of their peculiar manners and local customs, and even to some extent their religious creed can be interpreted in terms of music.

Many factors—geographical, social, and economic—contributed to the development of the musical ability inherent in these people. The hamlet of Dean is situated in a high valley, among the remote easterly recesses of the highlands of Rossendale, and until the latter half of the nineteenth century was virtually isolated from the rest of East Lancashire by rough stretches of boggy moorlands. Geographical conditions thus left them practically untouched by contemporary movements in

the world outside, and they were able to develope freely their individuality as a community. In a district so isolated, and in a people so self-contained, the informal meetings for the practice of music provided almost the sole means of intercourse between the inhabitants of the farms scattered freely about the more fertile patches of the hillsides and of the thirty cottages clustered together in the hamlet of Dean, and they inevitably played an important part in the social life of the district. Economic conditions also fostered this inherent love of music. Most of the layrocks were farmer-weavers, who scraped a scanty, hard-earned livelihood from the barren unyielding clay of the district, eked out by the earnings of the often numerous family on the handlooms, which almost every farm and cottage then possessed. This freedom from the restrictions and discipline of modern industrialism encouraged the practice of music, and it was quite usual for the Sunday evening's rehearsal to be continued far into the early hours of Monday and Tuesday as well.

The "society" of "Deighn Layrocks" was a purely spontaneous growth, and therefore its origin is difficult to trace. Probably it grew up from the informal meetings of two or three musical enthusiasts, who gradually added fellow musicians to their company until it embraced almost the whole population of Dean. The first definite information extant reveals this unorganised musical "club" already in existence and holding meetings fairly regularly, under the leadership of John Nuttall (1714-92). Probably at first the layrocks regarded their rehearsals purely from a musical point of view, but whilst John Nuttall was still in his twenties, "it pleased God to awaken him to a sense of sin and danger," and from this time the whole character of the meetings changed. Psalms, hymns, anthems, and later oratorio were zealously practised, passages from the Bible, from John Bunyan, and from Elisha Cole were read, and occasionally John Nuttall himself gave an address. The next stage in the development of the "Layrock" movement came with the baptism of John Nuttall and several of his colleagues in 1747, by the Rev. Joseph Piccop of the Ebenezer Baptist Church at Bacup. From that time they grew rapidly. In 1750 they were able to build a small meeting house at Bullar Trees, Lumb, and three years later they separated from the Bacup Church to form a self-constituted church of their own under the pastorate of their old leader, John Nuttall. When, seven years later, the church at Lumb was abandoned for the more populous and central village of Goodshaw, John Nuttall continued his work as pastor of the new church. The "Layrock" body was by this time so closely

identified with the Baptist church at Lumb that it seemed highly probable the movement would die out with the transfer of the church. But fortunately the "Deighn Layrocks" were so attached to their music that they continued their meetings, and even formed the nucleus of the choir at the new Chapel at Goodshaw, although this involved a tramp of six miles over rough, boggy moorland, every Sunday. It was the same body of "Deighn Layrocks" who, seventy years later in 1828, were largely instrumental in the establishment of a separate church again at Lumb, and until the latter part of the nineteenth century they figure largely among the officers, as teachers, deacons, superintendents in the Church and Sunday School.

The enthusiasm and energy of these "Deighn Layrocks" knew no bounds. They are characteristically described in a local ballad entitled, "Th' Deighn Layrocks, bi' one o' th' Breed on 'em," surig to the hymn tune *Bocking Warp*, composed by James Nuttall, a son of John Nuttall of Lumb.

"Naah, all yo' fooak uts fond o' lore,
List to mi tale o' days av yore:
When layrocks true, began to sing,
Thoor fiddlers fairly touched ther string.

Aw think just naah aw see um stand,
Wi candle lifted, book i' hand;
While others on th' owd table spread
Ther book, un pept o'er fiddlers' yeds.

Then one, two, three, they all began,
Un th' crotchets, quavers, heaw they ran!
Th' owd singers sang, un th' fiddlers bow'd,
Th' effect uth' song con neer be towd.

Un when ther wark wur done ut neet,
They met together, dark or leet;
Ther sowls wur full o' music rife,
True harmony ther aim o' life.

Mr. Samuel Compston, an octogenarian of Crawshawbooth, tells a typical story of a youth who tramped six miles over the hills from Dean to Haslingden, to attend a rehearsal. When the practice had gone on till after midnight, he thought he ought to be going, and some time later said so, because he had to be up "middlin' soon on i' th' morning," whereupon an old enthusiast exclaimed: "Dost yer what awm sayin' to tha? Tha'll ne'er mek a musicianer as long as tha lives: tha'rt i' too big a hurry." The great day for the "Layrocks" was the "Charity Sermons" or the Sunday School Anniversary. At Goodshaw Baptist "Charity" in 1818, no fewer than eighteen

hymns and choruses were performed, in which thirteen bass singers and the other parts to balance took part, accompanied by violins, violas, 'cellos, double-basses, a clarionette and a bassoon. The efforts of the "Layrocks" were, however, not always appreciated. On one occasion, when William Gadsby was preaching at Goodshaw, a party of "Deighn Layrocks" went over the hill to help the choir. "After the service Gadsby rebuked the singers, remarking that the presence of so many singers savoured more of the playhouse than the House of God, and hoped that if ever he came amongst them again the fiddles and trombones might be dispensed with."

Most of the "Deighn Layrocks" were composers as well as performers of considerable ability, and many of their tunes are sung and admired in far distant places by people quite ignorant of their origin. Some of them find a place, usually under different names and by unknown composers, in standard collections of tunes, and many more are to be found in manuscript in most unsuspected places.

Most of the collections gathered together by the individual "Layrocks" have become scattered, but there is in the Rawtenstall Library a manuscript copy of tunes "as sung by the 'Deighn Layrocks,' with a short sketch of their lives and times" by Moses Heap of Crawshawbooth, who, as a native of Lumb born in 1824, spent his life of nearly ninety years in collecting information about the "Layrocks." The collection contains 255 tunes, of which about 150 are original compositions of the "Layrocks." These tunes are clearly stamped with the individuality of their composers. Hitherto the psalm tune had been a very simple melody, generally in a minor key, and more capable of expressing the sorrows than the joys of the Christian life. But the "Layrocks" harnessed their musical abilities to the service of Christ, and adapted the psalm tune to express the dauntless enthusiasm and the robust joyousness of their religion. Almost all the "Deighn Layrock" tunes reveal that vigorous strength and intense vitality which characterised their composers, whose one desire was to "make a joyful noise unto the Lord." They invariably go with a "swing," untrammelled by the demands of modern technique, teeming with runs and repetitions, and often finishing with a rolling chorus.

An examination of the personnel of the compositions reveals the fact that the musical ability was to a large extent inherited. Three families especially are prominent among the "Layrocks" —the Nuttalls, the Ashworths, and the Hargreaves, but these families so intermarried that it soon became almost impossible to distinguish the individual members. Besides John Nuttall,

already mentioned, there were his two sons, James and Henry, both of whom had inherited their father's musical ability as performers and composers. The compositions of James included an anthem "Great Salvation" which with its solo, duet, choral and fugal passages occupied half an hour for a complete performance, whilst his "Linnet Tune," sung to Psalm 104, had a different tune for each verse. The three sons of James—John, James and Richard—were all in turn composers, and John was, until his death in 1856, the 'cello player in the choir at Lumb.

Comparatively little is known about the early members of the Ashworth family, but they must have been connected with the "Layrocks" almost from the beginning, for one of them, James Ashworth, who was born in 1777, as a youth of sixteen, carried his grandfather, then old and lame and blind, to a performance of the "Messiah" at Dean, where he was to take the tenor solos. The four sons of this James Ashworth were all prominent figures among the "Layrocks," two of them, James and John, as solo singers, and Abraham and Robert as composers and violinists. The compositions of Robert (1799-1881) include, in addition to twenty overtures and fifty psalm tunes, a number of quadrilles, hornpipes, and waltzes. He was also in considerable demand as a preacher in local churches. Moses Heap says, "His son told me that he frequently went to preach at Waterbarn Chapel in the early days of that place, taking his dinner with him in his pocket, for they were all very poor. On giving out the hymn in the pulpit, he came down into the singing pew and played his 'cello to help on the singing. When the service was over, he would take the 'cello with him into the vestry. After being refreshed with his plain dinner, his custom was to have a practice on his 'cello. On one of these occasions he was playing a hornpipe, at the sound of which a member came in saying, "Hush! hush! Robert, you are playing an idle tune!" Robert replied, "There is no idle tunes, it is all in the rendering." Two other prominent members of the Ashworth family, were Susie, generally known as Susie o' owd James, who led the sopranos, and Jinny o' t' Clough, the leader of the altos, both of whom were active in all the musical activities of the church and Sunday School during the middle years of the nineteenth century.

The Hargreaves came into prominence much later than the Nuttalls and the Ashworths. One of them, John Hargreaves, known as John Sam, superseded James Ashworth as leader of the choir in 1860. His two sons Richard and Samuel, known respectively as Richard o' John Sam and Sammy o' John Sam, were both among the last members of the "Deighn Layrocks."

The Hargreaves, like their colleagues, were composers as well as performers, and many of their tunes and the tunes of their descendants are still sung at Lumb.

Another member of the "Layrocks" was Henry Whittles, Harry o' Jacks, one of the foundation members of the Lumb Baptist Chapel in 1828. He was a tenor singer of more than local repute, and has been described by one of the old scholars as "the sweetest tenor singer he had ever heard." On one occasion he walked from Lumb to Manchester, a distance of twenty four miles, just to "have a look at Samson." On his death in 1886, he was carried, shoulder high, over the Livery Hills to be buried in the old grave-yard at Goodshaw.

By the middle of the nineteenth century the "Deighn Layrocks" had become practically identical with the Lumb choir, although they still proudly retained the old name given to them by their admirers a century before. The death blow to the "Layrock" movement however came with the advent of the organ, which was purchased in 1858. Hitherto the orchestra of violins, 'cellos, double-basses, had been as important as the choir in the musical part of the service, but now they found their services unnecessary, except on special occasions like the "Charity." So the "Layrocks" finding themselves without any useful function to fulfil in the church, gradually died out, and by the end of the century their society had become a thing of the past, to be remembered with pride and thankfulness not only by the church for which they worked, but by many lovers of music far beyond the bounds of their native hills.

A. BUCKLEY.