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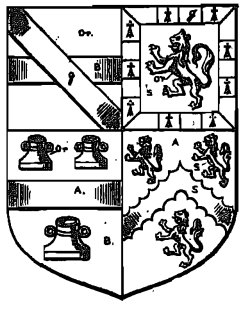
# *The Mistery of Iniquity*

by

THOMAS HELWYS

*of Gray's Inn*
*and of Broxtowe Hall, Nottingham*

1612



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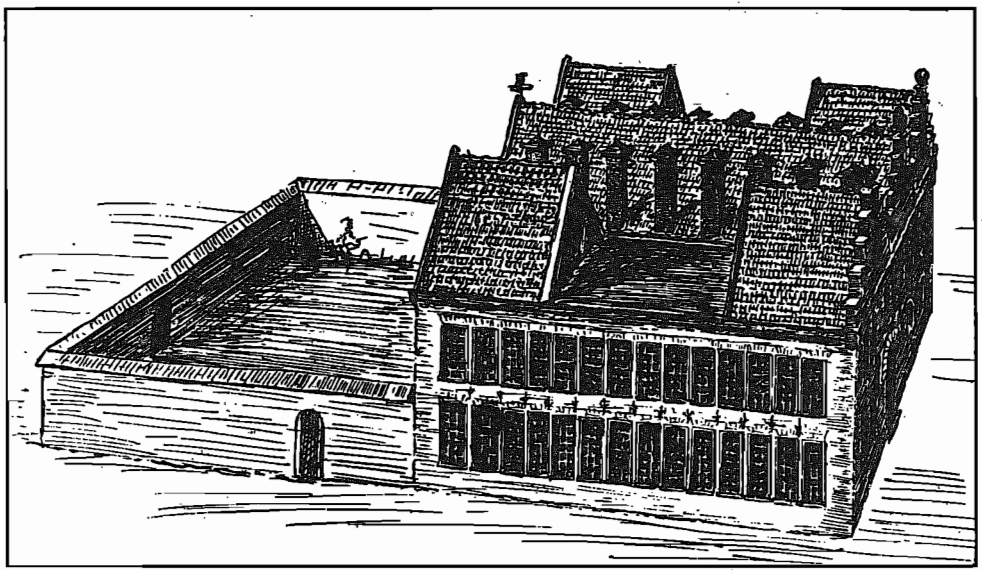
BROXTOWE HALL

*From the original painting by* SAMUEL PARROTT, *by courtesy of the Corporation of Nottingham.*



JAN MUNTER'S BAKEHOUSE ON THE AMSTEL

Heare o King, and dispise not ye
counsell of ye poore, and let their
complaints come before thee.

The king is a mortall man, & not God
therefore hath no power over ye immortall
soules of his subiects, to make lawes &
ordinances for them, and to set Spirituall
Lords over them.

If the king have authority to make
Spirituall Lords & Lawes, then he is
an immortall God. and not a mortall
man.

O King, be not seduced by deceivers
to sinne so against God whome thou
oughtest to obey, nor against thy
poore subiects who ought and will
obey thee in all thinges with body
life and goods, or elsse let their lives
be taken from ye earth.

God save ye King!

Spittlefield
neare London.

Tho: Helwys.

But theſe Lords Bs. Cannot in anie wiſe endure one, that doth faithfully ſeeke for reformation, becauſe ſuch are onely adverſaries to their kingdome. Wee ſtill pray our lord the King that wee may be free from ſuſpect, for haveing anie thoughtes of provoking evill againſt them of the Romiſh religion, in regard of their profeſſion, if they be true & faithfull ſubiects to the King for wee do freely proteſte, that our lord the King hath no more power over their conſciences then over ours, and that is none at all: for our lord the King is but an earthly King, and he hath no authority as a King but in earthly cauſes, and if the Kings people be obedient & true ſubiects, obeying all humane lawes made by the King, our lord the King can require no more: for mens religion to God, is betwixt God and themſelves; the King ſhall not anſwere for it, neither may the King be iudg betwene God and man. Let them be heretikes, Turcks, Iewes, or what ſoever it apperteynes not to the earthly power to puniſh them in the leaſt meaſure. This is made evident to our lord the King by the ſcriptures. When Paul was brought before Gallio deputie of Achaia, and accuſed of the Iewes for perſuading men to worſhip God contrary to the law. Gallio ſaid unto the Iewes, if it were a matter of wronge or an evill deed, o ye Iewes, I would according to right mainteyne you, & he drave them from the iudgment ſeat Act. 18. 12. 17. ſhewing them that matters of wrong and evill deeds, which were betwixt man & man apperteyned onely to the iudgment ſeat, and not queſtions of religion. The like is ſhewed by the Towne clerke of Epheſus in Act. 19. 38. 39. And further Paul being in like caſe accuſed of manie thinges Act. 24. in the 25. chap. he appeales to Ceſars iudgment ſeat, where he ſaith he ought to be



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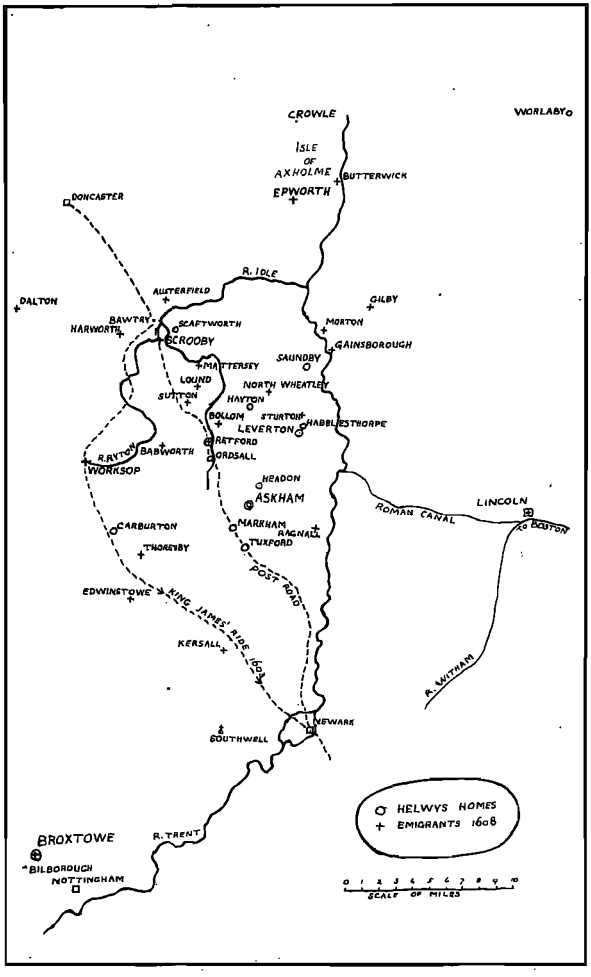
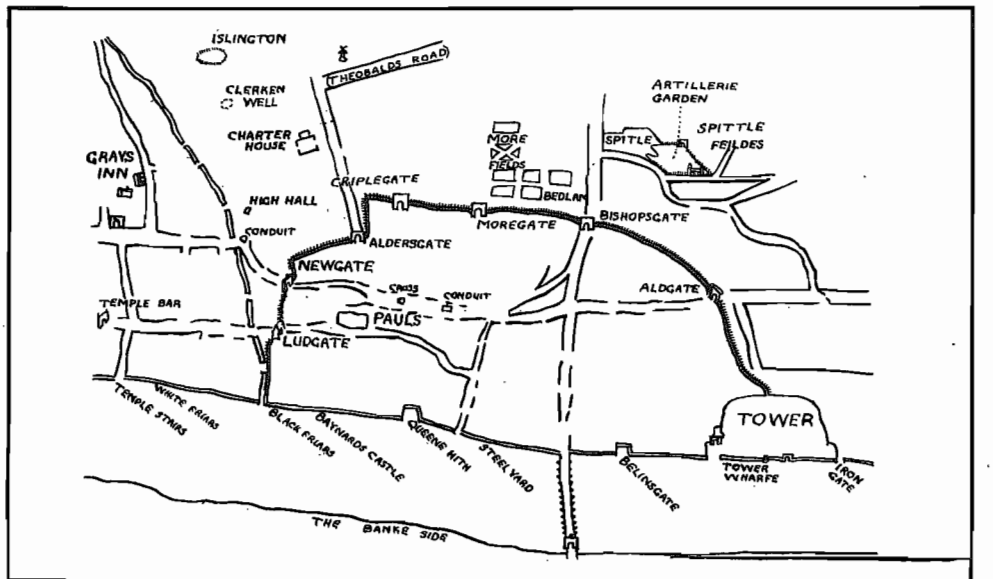



LOWER TRENT VALLEY, 1608




LONDON, 1620

***Simplified from a map in the Guildhall Library.***

# The diſcouery of a London Monſter called, *the Black Dog of Newgate*: profitable for all Readers to take heed by.

*Vide, Lege, Cave.*
Time bringeth all things to light.

Imprinted at London by *G. Eld*, for *Robert Wilſon*, and are to be ſold at his ſhop at the new gate of Grayes-Inne. 1612.

# Thomas Helwys of Gray's Inn and of Broxtowe Hall, Nottingham.

THOMAS HELWYS in 1590 was the head of a family known in the lower Trent valley for more than two and a half centuries. His great-grandfather, Robert, died at Askham, where his grandfather farmed: a coat of arms with four quarters, recorded in the St. George's Visitation of Notts, 1569, shows how well the family had married. Edmund, eldest son of William, took a lease of Broxtowe Hall in the parish of Bilborough, close to Nottingham. Edmund and his wife died, leaving five children all under age, though Thomas was executor.

The head of such a family deserved the best training possible. Universities were specializing too much in theology. Just adjoining London, on the Westminster side, were the four Inns of Court, intended chiefly for the profession of the law, but also for the education of the sons of the nobility and gentry. The largest and most fashionable was Gray's Inn. It had educated lawyers like Thomas Cromwell and Francis Rodes, one of the judges of Mary Queen of Scots. Among its dignitaries at this time were William Burghley, High Treasurer of England, canon Bancroft, Lancelot Andrews of Winchester. Several young Cecils and Hattons were studying here, with seventeen scions of county families from the Helwys country. Geoffrey, brother of Edmund, was a merchant in the city, near enough to keep an eye on his nephew: so on 29 January, 1592/3 Thomas was entered, together with his friend Edward Stanhope, whose father was supervisor of Edmund's will. The entries that year were 104, highwater mark.

The Inn faced east, on a lane named after it. Its buildings were on the north, east, and south of the present Gray's Inn Square. The Hall served for lectures, moots or discussions, and meals; and the domestic offices extended along the southern boundary. East of it was the Chapel, where regular attendance was expected; a preacher and a reader maintained the services, yet the old leaven was not worked out, and only 13 months earlier, a Seminary Priest had been executed in Gray's Inn Fields. The east face was a row of buildings for residence, pierced by the main gate; to the north was a large block, lower gallery of one storey, upper gallery with several storeys. Within

the wall that surrounded the Inn, other residence-blocks were rising, built by members on leases for life, with reversion to the Society; and on similar terms, timber was constantly being replaced by stone. Even so, members were packed very close, and might not always choose their bedfellows. So the field to the south was being taken in, and a new passage being arranged, with a new gate into Holbourne. Both gates were closed at 9.30, and opened at 4.30 a.m.

The course of study was ample, and an intelligent young man might readily qualify himself to play a part in his county as a Justice of the Peace; while should he decide to devote himself to the profession of the law, every opportunity was given. A recent reform had improved the public Lectures; and thrice a week there were Moots, when some abstract principle was discussed, or an imaginary case was pleaded, in the old Norman French which still survived at the Queen's courts.

Whatever men held the offices year by year, the man who really counted was Francis Bacon, a Bencher for seven years. He had speculated in a building within the Inn, and was now laying out the Walks to the north, in a style described in one of his Essays.

Social life was intense. Thrice a day meals were served in hall, at a cost of vjs. per week. There was a series of tables, and an etiquette of seating; the food was brought by junior members who thus paid their way; it often included oysters, when the usual pottell of Claret wine was doubled. At meal-time, as at lecture-time, costume was regulated; spurs, boots, and hats were forbidden, caps were enjoined. Frequent orders had to be made, to sit or wait for service without crowding the carver, not to break potts, throw bread or meat, pitch oyster shells. Within the walls there was a bowling green. A student leaving the Inn must wear his gown. There were however posterns where no porter kept watch, George Fulwood had his private exit into his family's garden to the south; and when Helwys and young Camden, not yet the staid antiquary, wanted to see a main of cocks fight in the pit north of the road to Theobalds, gowns were probably doffed.

Within three weeks of Helwys entering, Elizabeth convened her eighth parliament. Francis Bacon sat, no longer for Taunton or the obscure Liverpool, but for that county of Middlesex within which Gray's Inn stood. It may be expected how the newcomers would go to Westminster, and canvass the proceedings there at every mess in hall. For at the outset, when the usual request was made by the Commons for liberty of speech, a very Tudor-like reply was made:—Your privilege is

"not to speak every one what he listeth, or what cometh in his brain to utter that; but your privilege is, Aye, or No. Wherefore, Mr. Speaker, if you perceive any idle heads, that will not stick to hazard their own estates, which will meddle with reforming the Church and transforming the Commonwealth, and do exhibit any bills to such purpose—Receive them not, until they be viewed and considered by those who it is fitter should consider of such things and can better judge of them." This was strong meat, the Commons objected, and within a week the Speaker had to reiterate her words:—"She wondered that any should be of so high commandment to attempt a thing contrary to that which she hath so expressly forbidden," and she was highly displeased. This was the policy of her father; she alone could initiate ecclesiastical legislation, just as she alone could initiate money measures. And she was not backward in this, for two bills were offered, to deal with extremists on either hand.

One was aimed at Popish Recusants, because of a plot recently discovered; if they would not conform, they must go home and never stir beyond five miles from home, reporting themselves; if they had no home, or were below a certain level of wealth, they were banished. The other, which concerns us, was to punish absence from public worship for a month, or attendance at conventicles.

Now this Conventicle Bill would excite peculiar interest at Gray's Inn. "In the loathsome gaol of Newgate," half a mile east, across the Fleet river, lay Henry Barrow, a Gray's Inn man, recently condemned to death for "publishing and dispersing seditious books" which explained his dislike of the constitution of the Church. He and his friend Greenwood were bones of contention between two parties on the Council, the lay and the clerical. He wrote on the fourth of April to a lady, apparently his cousin Agnes, sister-in-law to Francis Bacon, how on the 24th of March they were brought out of limbo and ready to be bound to the cart, when Elizabeth's reprieve arrived: how on the 31st they were secretly conveyed to the place of execution and were tied by the neck to the tree, when a second reprieve arrived: how this was applauded by the people as they returned from Tyburn past the new gate of Gray's to the miserable gaol. He pleaded that her Honour would speak to her Majesty for a pardon. A contest ensued between Cecil the Lord Treasurer and Whitgift the Archbishop. When the Bill came to the House of Commons, it was recognized as primarily against Barrowists and Brownists, but capable of being stretched. There was great opposition; Sir Walter Ralegh in particular objected to the proposal to judge opinions rather than deeds. He pointed out

the difficulties in the way of enforcing the bill, asking who would pay the cost of transporting two or three thousand Brownists, where they were to be sent, who would maintain their wives and children. Early next morning Barrowe and Greenwood were hanged, and it was plainly said that their execution proceeded of the malice of the bishops, to spite the Nether House, which procured them much hatred of the common people affected that way. The lesson failed; the Bill was altered in the sense Ralegh desired, and parliament was dissolved. Elizabeth, who always shirked responsibility for executing any one, found that clergy and nobles alike disapproved: "Alas!" said she, "shall we put the servants of God to death?" And no more were executed. And therefore the Conventicle Bill was amended; it finally provided that a man should go to prison for three months to consider; then if he refused to attend public worship on formal demand being made, he was banished for life. This is the Act under which apparently Helwys suffered twenty years later, and under which Bunyan was destined to spend twelve years in Bedford jail.

Now Helwys had a personal interest even at this time in the proceedings against Barrowe. The head and front of his offence, in the eyes of Whitgift, was that he objected to an ecclesiastical dignitary holding civil office, and declared any such miserable compound to be the Beast spoken of in the Revelation. Many students of the Bible thought and spoke along this line; and Helwys' father, Edmund, had published a pamphlet expounding Revelation xii. The son was sure to note both the fate of the individual Gray's Inn man, and the parliamentary proceedings that interlocked with it.

In that same parliament, Bacon gave deep offence by his objection to new taxes that were proposed, and this hindered his promotion to be attorney-general. He sought to regain ground at court, and Whitgift was entered as a member of Gray's Inn. Soon special revelries were proposed, and notable guests were invited. On Innocents' Day there was dancing and revelling with gentle-women; and after such sports a Comedy of Errors (like to Plautus his Menechmus) was played by the players. The climax was the masque performed by the "Duke of High Holborn" and his followers, before the Queen. She was pleased to say that Gray's Inn did always study for some sports to present unto her. The entertainment was repeated next Shrovetide, and Helwys would pay up his iiijs. with loyalty. Such revels are fitly commemorated to-day, when in the place of honour above the dais is a portrait of the Queen, with one of Bacon below.

Helwys kept about a dozen terms; his cousin Thomas, son

of his uncle Thomas at Habblesthorpe and Leverton, entered at Staple Inn before he went down, and came on to Gray's Inn as one of the waiters, of the third table. And the connection was kept up by another cousin, Henry, son of Geoffrey the city merchant, who was rich enough before the century ended to enter him on ordinary terms.

But Helwys had a duty to his family in the country. In December 1595 he married Joan Ashmore, and brought her to Broxtowe Hall, settling down to the life of a country gentleman. His hand may be seen, certifying a terrier of the parish, which had been annexed to Bilborough. There was property to be watched, now that he had assumed his place. The family had fishing rights in the river Idle, whose meandering waters fed the fens and isolated the Isle of Axholme. A proposal was made to drain the fens; so all parties had to consider their rights, and what compensation was offered for the changes. Now this sort of work had been tried on both sides of the Thames, by an engineer from Italy, known often as Jacobus Acontius. He had come with a great reputation as an inventor, and had ventured to intervene when some Dutch Anabaptists were arrested and sentenced, urging that doctrine not essential to salvation should not be imposed on Christians. He had a turn for philosophy, and his treatises had evidently influenced Bacon, who popularised his ideas on Method. Acontius had also published at Basel in Latin and in French a remarkable book on the Stratagems of Satan, which was in reality a very valuable plea for religious liberty. Four editions had been printed before Helwys went to London, and he may have seen both these important works in the library of the Middle Temple, where they still stand. He certainly now had two points of contact with the versatile Italian.

His life at Broxtowe was for a dozen years without event. When king James made his stately progress from Edinburgh to London in 1603, knighting scores of people by the way, Helwys did not claim his right, either at Worksop or at Newark. His cousin Gervase did however receive the accolade at Theobalds, a mansion of the Cecils. A neighbour, Edwin Sandys, son of a recent archbishop of York, was knighted at Charterhouse; he at once took a prominent place in parliament, and must be considered presently.

The king soon antagonized parliament by his autocratic dealing, both in civil and in ecclesiastical matters. What parliament was to fight out on these lines for a generation and more, Helwys had to decide in his county arena. And here he had to reckon that the North was governed by a Council on which he had just one friend, supervisor of his father's will, Sir

Edward Stanhope; while there was a High Commission to superintend the province of York. Now what James had promised after the Hampton Court Conference included, That the High Commission should be smaller, with men of better quality; that bishops should exercise their powers in concert with other grave ministers; that there should be fewer men holding two benefices; that learned men be placed and maintained in more places. All these things were granted at the request of the Puritans—a fact far too often ignored. But James had not reckoned on the opposition of the bishops, of the patrons of livings, of the impropriators of tithes. And thus he had aroused hostility in most diverse quarters. When he came to feel this, he failed to fulfil his promises, and even to make any serious effort that way.

Many men in this district eagerly awaited these reforms; for instance, a new family which had struck root in the county, owing to the nepotism of archbishop Sandys. His son Edwin had been at the Middle Temple, just senior to Helwys, and had sat in the 1593 parliament; he had secured from the estates of the archbishopric four leases which caused him to be reckoned with locally. He had travelled on the continent, and had written a Survey of the State of Religion. All that dealt with the Roman Catholics was surreptitiously published in 1605, and in the excitement caused by the Gunpowder Plot, three editions were rapidly sold before Sandys could get the High Commission to burn it publicly. Indeed it not only surveyed, but had some surprising propositions. He regarded the divided state of Christendom as a scandal, traced it to the exaggerated importance of uniformity of doctrine, blamed the council of Trent and Calvin for this, and trenchantly criticized the doctrines of Calvin. He would be content to have fellowship with all who accepted the general foundations of religion, as summed in the Apostles' Creed: "for all other questions, it should be lawfull for each man so to beleeve as hee found cause." Edwin's brother Samuel had secured six cheap leases in the same way, including the manor and palace of Scrooby, which alone was reckoned by their father as worth £30,000. This was an important Post for horses on the great North Road; the actual postmaster was William Brewster, who succeeded his father and his grandfather, at xxd. the day.

Helwys was in touch with a few ministers, such as Richard Bernard the vicar of Worksop, and John Smyth, a Sturton lad from the Habblesthorpe district of his uncle Thomas. Smyth had been a fellow of Christ's College at Cambridge, city preacher at Lincoln, but was now at Gainsborough. He had thought along the lines of Edmund Helwys, and concluded that

the whole system of the Church of England was anti-christian; that he must start anew. So he renounced his ordination, gathered others of like mind, and organized them into the "Church of Gainsborough," drawing up a simple Covenant to walk in all the Lord's ways made known or to be made known. Within a year he had enrolled adherents up the Trent valley, as far as Basford and Broxtowe, including Thomas Helwys.

This break away from the Church of England startled many people, and Mr. A.S. wrote to Helwys to prove that this was a true Church, her ministry a true ministry. Ecclesiastical questions were not quite in Helwys' line, and he did not reply at once, so that A.S. assumed he had been unanswerable and wrote as much. This second letter Helwys sent to Smyth, who returned a long and careful answer, bristling with scripture proofs.

Other people were deeply perplexed, so that Sir William Bowes, who had married Isabel Wray of Glentworth, just across the Trent, arranged a conference in their home at Coventry. Helwys took Smyth and Bernard, and there was a long discussion, which bore unexpected fruit within a score of years. On the return, Smyth seems to have fallen ill, and whether then or at some other time, Helwys took him in and nursed him at Broxtowe. Little knots of adherents now began to hold meetings for worship, some at Broxtowe, some at Scrooby. And another minister was found to help Smyth, John Robinson, also of Sturton, and recently working at Norwich.

Such defiance of the Conventicle Act could not be tolerated, and a new High Commission set to work. By July 1607, Joan Helwys was arrested; as she declined to answer questions, she was sent to York Castle. If we wonder why they did not arrest her husband, the answer is that he was not within reach. He could see that life in England was impossible for such as them, and he was preparing a wholesale exodus. Across the sea lay the Netherlands, and conditions there were being examined, for it was vaguely known that the liberty denied at home was granted there. At Antwerp had been printed English Testaments and Bibles, till Thomas Cromwell had given the king's licence. At Middelburg had been printed one of Barrow's books, which won over the English chaplain, who threw up his post, joined Barrow's church in London and took most of it to Amsterdam.

This city was pre-eminently a refuge for the distressed. For thirty years all Protestants had been free to worship on their own premises. If ever a protest was made, Burgomaster C. P. de Hooft had been earnest to uphold the ancient custom of the city, saying they should be careful not to invade the liberty of

others almost before they had recovered their own, that they should disturb no one on account of his conscience, that no magistrate had authority in matters of faith. Such were the speeches he was making for ten years to come. And not only were there many Dutch Anabaptists or Mennonites of various shades dwelling there, but many refugee English had already found homes and were worshipping as God led them.

A representative went over to verify this attractive picture, and as it was acknowledged later that if any brought oars, Helwys brought sails, it was probably he himself, who thus escaped arrest along with his wife. He secured a spacious block of premises on the river Amstel, with a courtyard extending to the city ramparts. It belonged to Jan Munter, who had used it to bake biscuit for the forty East Indiamen which brought every year spice, silk, jewels and gold, to be sold to all Christendom. The bake-house could be adapted to provide common rooms and family lodgings: it would be like resuming the life at Gray's Inn, with the presence of many wives and children. To this refuge, after striking adventures, he brought scores of emigrants from a score of villages by July 1608; and it was destined to be his home for four years. He had no other, for the English authorities allowed emigration only by licence, and strongly objected to money being taken out of the realm: therefore Broxtowe Hall was seized by the king, who within two years granted the lease to other holders.

And of his family we know nothing for certain, beyond the sad note three years later, Have we not neglected our wives, our children, and all we had? One of the parties that kept arriving included Jervase Neville of Scrooby, who had been in prison at York Castle along with Joan Helwys; evidently in his case the penalty of the Conventicle Act was enforced, and he had been banished for life. In England the emigrants had been occupied in agriculture, but in Amsterdam they had to take up other occupations. From the city registers we find that they engaged in laying bricks, carpentering, painting, tinning, working in bombazine, damask, fustian, fur, and embroidery.

They had come to foster the inner life, and a letter of Helwys on 26 September describes briefly how they worshipped, and how they differed from the earlier colony of Londoners in Amsterdam. Of course as both were Separatists, there was much intercourse; it proved that when he had been at Gray's Inn, some of them had been in Newgate prison, half a mile away, along with a weaver and a tailor in Gray's Inn Lane. Presently a third church crystallized around John Robinson, consisting chiefly of his followers from East Anglia, though members re-arranged themselves a good deal. The differences

of these three churches were keenly debated, till Robinson took his group away to Leyden.

The story has often been told how the debates convinced the Nottingham group that covenanting together was not a Scriptural method to form a church, so that they dissolved, and began again with believers' baptism. Smyth baptized himself, then baptized Helwys, and they baptized their comrades. They were at once challenged on many grounds, especially why they had acted so independently, without seeking baptism from the Dutch Mennonites, who for eighty years had been in Amsterdam, maintaining much the same principles. The fact was a surprise to them, but it quickly emerged that their landlord was one of these people, and they at once proceeded to explore the situation. Many were delighted to find new friends, and presently proposed to join the New Frisian or Waterlander church in Amsterdam.

But Helwys disagreed. He was struck by the Dutch claim that there ought to be orderly transmission, elders ordaining elders, baptism to be received only from people already baptised; but he was not at all disposed to acquiesce in the necessity of Succession, which was a stronghold of the Catholics, and therefore in his eyes, anti-Christian. In the temper of the time and place, the difference led to a new division. For the Mennonites themselves had broken into three groups, the differences being mainly as to discipline; and the English were dividing on all manner of issues. It were unprofitable to tell again the whole story, even though the issues raised were so important. It must suffice to state, without justifying, the path that Helwys followed, after separating, with others, from Smyth and the main group. He revised the Confession of Faith which Smyth had framed for the undivided church, and published it. The " ancient church " of Londoners in Amsterdam had published their Confession in Elizabeth's time, and it was desirable to have a similar Baptist Confession in print.

Having thus shown things in perspective, without much argument, he advanced to special publications on particular points. The first was on God's Decree. Calvin had put this in the forefront and had made it regulative in his scheme of thought. He had soon been challenged in England by an Anabaptist, Robert Cooke, who had argued at length that men who believed God had eternally and irrevocably decreed the destiny of each man, would feel no moral responsibility, but would be desperately careless. Now Cooke had printed his criticism, and as he was a courtier of Edward VI, it is possible that Helwys had seen it in London. He certainly adopted his arguments, and even some of his phrases. Since Cooke's day, Calvin's views had been popularized by the English Genevan Bible, read in

English homes, Scottish homes, Scottish churches; and although the influence of Hooker was slowly forming another school, yet most bishops and clergy, and king James, were staunch Calvinists. And in Holland, a protest like Cooke's, made by professor Arminius, was causing grave trouble. Helwys therefore repeated Cooke's protest, and added a new point with a new corollary. He pointed out that Christ redeemed all men, and he inferred that infants were not condemned. This second book he dedicated to an old and influential friend, Dame Isabel Bowes of Coventry. Her marriage had linked her with the Knoxes, and as John Knox had been called on to refute Cooke, it was most fitting to dedicate this work to her. What view she took we do not know, and probably her husband's speedy death distracted her attention.

Next Helwys felt called to address the Mennonites, especially that section with which he had had contact, the New Frisians. The four special points here emphasized were, that Christ had a true earthly natural body, that a day of rest was to be kept holy each week, that Succession and Privilege in holy things did not exist, that magistracy (being ordained by God) did not debar from church-membership. Helwys saw such differences between himself and even this liberal school of Mennonites that he could not enter their fellowship or even regard them as sister churches.

Finally he addressed the Church of England, especially its governor, king James. Some of the reformers in Suffolk, with whom he had some correspondence, had written to object to flight in persecution—a policy discussed by Tertullian, and doubly illustrated by Cyprian. Helwys was convinced, and came to the conclusion that it was his duty to return and bear witness to the truth. His view that the Church of England was the mystery of iniquity spoken of by Paul, was common among the Separatists. His conception of his duty to proclaim this in exactly the relevant quarter was somewhat original, for Barrowe and others had only stated it under cross-examination as prisoners. Helwys decided both to publish, believing in the power of the press, and also to go in person and approach the king, who had the power to reform, and delighted to exercise his power. The step was logical, and heroic.

It was not absurd. Helwys belonged to a class which had access to the court; he had seen Elizabeth in the hall of his Inn; Francis Bacon was in higher favour than ever; his cousins were in the same circle. He could easily get access to the king, and "dare and challenge King and State to their faces."

There were points he could make. In various parts of the continent there was toleration of diverse opinions; Transylvania,

Poland, France with its edict of Nantes; in the Netherlands there was not even an Established Church, much as the Dutch Reformed sought establishment. James might see the incongruity of one form of government being established in Scotland, and another in England; he might be convinced that the solution was not uniformity, but disestablishment, liberty of conscience.

Recent events as to trials for heresy might give Helwys pause, yet on careful consideration would encourage him. There had been three brothers, Legat, Separatists, of whom Walter had been drowned at Old Ford when washing himself—query, baptizing? Thomas had been thrown into Newgate for heresy, and had died there about five years before. Bartholomew had been condemned, and burned in Smithfield this very year, 1611/2. There was another man, Edward Wightman—was he the Edward Wightman who entered Gray's Inn, 1595? He was tried for heresy and blasphemy from April to December 1611, was condemned, and was burned at Lichfield in April 1612. The bishop of Norwich wished to deal in the same way with William Sayer, and wrote to archbishop Abbot. There came a careful reply, that heretics who denied something expressly contained in the three creeds or the four first general councils might indeed be burned; but in the case of those who merely held the doctrines of the Barrowists and Separatists and Anabaptists, it would never be assented to that a man should be fried at a stake. Though Helwys did not know this private letter, he could gauge as well as Abbot that public opinion would no longer tolerate burning for such causes. And therefore in a legal sense, his chief risk was imprisonment till he recanted, with banishment as the ultimate penalty. And what was that to him, who had already thrown up Broxtowe?

He had done with his Tarsus, for Nottingham had had their witness; his Damascus, where he had seen a great light, had no special claim on him; but his Jerusalem, where he had sat at the feet of a great master, called him for his testimony. To London he set his face, that in the great capital he might, with his dozen men and women, preach boldly in the name of the Lord.

He did not choose Gray's Inn Lane, nor the city where his uncle Geoffrey had now been sheriff: his cousin Gervase was about to become Lieutenant of the Tower. North of Tower Hamlets, the fields of St. Mary's Hospital were being developed; part were fenced in for the Honourable Artillery Company, but much open ground remained, on which a few houses were rising. To Spitalfields he led his church; and the district might well claim a Baptist pilgrimage to-day, for many other associations

have enriched it; but it stands unique as the home of the first Baptist church on English soil.

He penned in a copy of his book, still to be seen, and now reproduced in facsimile, a direct appeal to king James that he would accord full liberty of conscience. And with his many friends at court, he would have no difficulty in presenting it in person.

He was too sanguine. James was as determined as ever to concede nothing to anybody. He resisted every constitutional adviser, he dissolved parliament after parliament that claimed civil liberty; he would not dream of granting ecclesiastical liberty.

The bold petitioner soon felt the weight of his hand. For the rest of his life, Spitalfields was no longer his home, but that Newgate through whose portals he had often passed in youthful days. And while public attention was engrossed by the change of ministers, court wedding and death and scandal, his case passed with as little notice as that of scores of predecessors. We do not know the exact date of his imprisonment, nor that of his deliverance by death; only that when Geoffrey Helwys died in May 1616, a legacy was left to Joan, the widow of Thomas.

But from an unexpected quarter we have a very graphic picture of the conditions of those who were under the claws of the Black Dog of Newgate. It was sold at the gate of Gray's Inn in 1612, and it shows that Helwys would have his testimony welcomed. As too the Ordinary of the prison earned such praise, we may hope that the last months of the prisoner's life were cheered by a congenial soul.

See in yon Hall are divers sorts of men,
Some weep, some waile, some mourne, some wring their hands,
Some curse, some sweare, and some blaspheming. Then
My heart did faint, my head haire upright stands.
O Lord, thought I, this house will rend in sunder,
Or else there can be no hell, this hell under.
Thus wondring, I on suddaine did espie
One all in black came stamping up the staires.
Whose yon, I aske. And thus he made reply,
Yon is the man doth mitigate our cares.
He preacheth Christ, and doth God's word deliver
To all distrest, to comfort men for ever.
Then drew I neare to see what might betide,
Or what the sequell was of that I saw:
Expecting good would follow such a guide,
As preachèd Christ, and taught a God to knowe.
A hundred clustered nying the pulpit neare,
As if they longed the Gospell for to heare.

Thus ebbed away the life of Thomas Helwys. He was barely forty years old, and he seemed to have failed. It is said that for a drowning man, all his career is recalled in a few seconds. Suppose instead that he had a vision of the future for forty years ahead; what would he see?

Nottingham. King Charles declaring war on his people, unfurling a standard—to be blown down that night. The king surrendering to the Scots army at Newark, sold, captured, imprisoned, tried, condemned, as having broken his coronation oath and infringed his people's liberties; the death-warrant signed by the Baptist governor of Nottingham, John Hutchinson.

Gray's Inn. William Steele, M.P. for London, lord chancellor of Ireland, a Baptist.

Coventry. A Baptist church evidently due to the book he sent to Dame Isabel Bowes; one member returning home to Radnorshire, and founding there Baptist churches which leavened mid-Wales.

Trent Valley. Baptist churches gathering in both Helwys counties, and linked in an Association sending forth evangelists.

Amsterdam. Divisions healing, a meeting-house rising to show on its walls the names of English and Dutch.

Spitalfields. His church moved into the city, sending evangelists to the Severn, throughout Essex and Kent, preaching in Rochester Cathedral, founding churches at Canterbury and along the coast.

Theobalds. A Baptist colonel, Packer, on the board which tried the efficiency of all public preachers, and gathering a Baptist church to meet within the palace bought from the Cecils by king James.

Charterhouse. From the school, Roger Williams in New England, founding there the first Baptist church overseas. In the Master's Lodge, another Baptist, Edward Cresset, sitting with Packer of Theobalds to ensure that ministers should be godly. Just outside its walls, another Baptist church gathered by a printer and bookseller, linked with his own church in its evangelistic campaign.

Newgate. From its grated window was to be seen High Hall, where another Baptist church was to worship, led by a man destined to be chemist to the grandsons of king James.

If such a vision might bring content, what would it be should his gaze pierce the centuries?

1715. The Stuarts gone, freedom secured. His one church multiplied sixtyfold, colonies in that Virginia founded by Ralegh, in New Amsterdam re-named New York after the grandson of James, in Providence where the second Charles had granted full religious liberty at the request of Roger Williams,

in Carolina named after him. At Madras, the chief officer of the East India Company a Baptist, presenting Christ to the muftis of Islam, founding schools to train children in His ways.

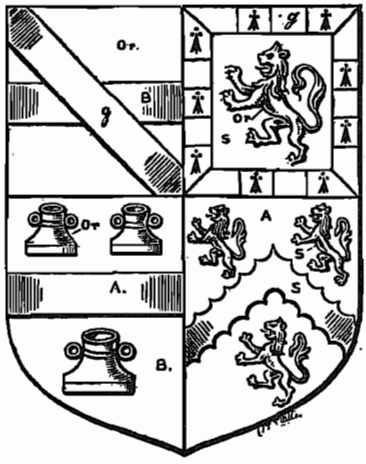
1815. To the East; from Nottingham had gone forth the cry, Expect great things from God, Attempt great things for God. At Serampore great things were being achieved, and the Bible was going forth in many tongues. To the West; a new republic, whose fundamental law had borrowed direct from Baptist practice the rule that conscience was free. In Jamaica, churches founded by a negro from Georgia had appealed to England for guidance; and Bristol, which had too often sent slavers, had sent a pioneer of those who would free the slaves. In the heart of the Helwys country at Gamston, a young man had been baptized, who had settled hard by Spitalfields and had rallied all the evangelicals of Helwys' school to an advance, soon to be sustained by a college to train evangelists, within a mile or two of Broxtowe Hall.

1915. The little one has become a thousand. In London and Berlin and Philadelphia and Stockholm have gathered men and women from fifty nations, representing more Baptists than all the subjects of king James.

If these glimpses could have come to the prisoner of Newgate, it would not be contentment, but triumph. He might happily say with Simeon, "Lord, now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace, according to Thy word, for mine eyes have seen Thy salvation which Thou hast prepared before the face of all peoples, a light to lighten the nations."

W. T. WHITLEY.

For many facts in this sketch, thanks are due to Mr. M. D. Severn, librarian of Gray's Inn, who has advised with the help of the Pension Book, Foster's registry of entries, annotated by himself, and contemporary plans. Other facts were published by the Rev. Walter H. Burgess, B.A., both in his *Smith the Se-Baptist,* &c., 1911, and in the *Transactions* of the Baptist Historical Society, 1912. Constitutional documents have been consulted in the collection by the writer's former tutor, Sir George Prothero, president of the Royal Historical Society. Knowledge of Acontius was gained from W. K. Jordan's *Development of Religious Toleration . . . to the death of Queen Elizabeth,* 1932. Other facts have long been known; some have been discovered when the writer visited the chief places connected with the story. The sketch is prompted by the Society's reprint this April of the chief book of Helwys, with an introduction by Principal H. Wheeler Robinson, president of the Baptist Historical Society.




Robert Elwes of Askham, died 1526.
William Ellwes, died 1557.

1. Edmund Helwys of Broxtowe Hall, died 1590.

THOMAS HELWYS of Broxtowe Hall, Bilborough;
entered Gray's Inn 1592/3,
married Joan Ashmore 1595,
emigrated to Amsterdam 1608,
returned to London 1612,
was committed to Newgate,
died before his uncle Geoffrey 1616.

2. John Helwys of Askham, Saundby and Worlaby;

Jervies Helwis, christened 1561,
Cambridge and Lincoln's Inn,
knighted at Theobalds, 1603,
lieutenant of the Tower 1613,
executed 1615.

3. Thomas Helwys of Habblesthorpe, died 1607.

Thomas Elwes, entered Gray's Inn 1597.

4. Geoffrey Helwys, 1541-1616;
alderman of Farringdon Within,
sheriff of London 1607.

Henry Helwys, entered Gray's Inn

[This pedigree is shortened from that constructed by the Rev. Walter S. Burgess, B.A., of Plymouth, which was published 1912 in the Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society.]

# The Barthian Challenge to Christian Thought.

THE suggestion that the theological world is as subject to fashion as a draper's catalogue might savour of impertinence. But if one were so malicious as to make it, considerable support could be found in the reception accorded to the theology of Karl Barth. "The most interesting event in the post-war religious world," says the Rev. J. McConnachie, "has been the phenomenal suddenness with which the word of Karl Barth has captured the ear of Europe and transformed within a few years the whole outlook of Continental theology."[1] Five or six years ago there were distinct signs that something of the same transformation might occur amongst us. Expositions of Barthianism appeared and found a ready sale; the religious journals and newspapers discovered and exploited the news-value of the new movement; every ministers' Fraternal caught the echoes of debate.

It is not surprising that the new movement should have captured the imagination. *Prima facie,* it contained much commending it to English modes of thought. We English people are particularly susceptible to the argument from success. Barthianism has meant in Germany a profound spiritual revival. Might it not have the same desirable result here?

Again, we found ourselves in complete sympathy with many of the causes in behalf of which Barth fights so valiantly. It was no vague onslaught upon Modernism which Barth launched, but a well-directed attack upon certain specific tendencies in modern life which cause us grave concern. Matthew Arnold's description of Goethe as skilled in the art of diagnosis applies pre-eminently to Barth:

> He took the suffering human race,
> He read each wound, each weakness clear,
> And struck his finger on the place
> And said—Thou ailest here, and here.
> —(*Memorial Verses,* April, 1850).

Just so did we feel as Barth made one shrewd hit after another at the disquieting features of modern thought. There is a subjective cast to much of our thinking that is very distressing. The sense of Divine authority has largely vanished. Defeatism intrudes itself into many of our private thoughts and even our

[1] *The Significance of Karl Barth,* p. 13.

public utterances. The ring of confidence has gone from our voices. We are commercial travellers commending our wares to a falling market, not ambassadors declaring the authoritative will of God. Across all this welter of humanism comes Barth's challenging call, "Cease ye from man, whose breath is in his nostrils; for wherein is he to be accounted of?" If only we could escape from this "glimmer of twilight" into "glad confident morning again"! And so we looked wistfully to the Continent to heal the hurt it itself had inflicted. Might we not owe it to Barth that after the reign of chaos there should be once more "a firmament in the midst of the waters, dividing the waters from the waters"? Was he, if not the last refuge, at least the latest hope?

If this roughly describes the situation of five years ago, how different is the attitude to-day! It may be an exaggeration to assert that the Barthian movement in England is a spent force, but it is at least true to say that its public appeal has passed. The place it then occupied in the popular mind is now filled by the Oxford Group Movement, which has widely different connections and a totally opposite background.[2]

Now a movement may lose its appeal because the state of things that gave it relevance has passed away. The "crisis" may be surmounted, and then the remedy for the crisis passes out of demand. Or again because its leading ideas have been analysed and found wanting. Neither of these reasons can be called upon to explain the loss of interest in Barthianism. Humanism is still rampant among us; the quality of spiritual life is not demonstrably higher; the problems which we hoped Barthianism would solve still remain. Nor can it be said that any adequate assessment of Barth's ideas has been undertaken. On the contrary, it is the descriptive rather than the critical note that has been struck. McConnachie's book is undisguisedly the work of an enthusiastic admirer. It shows how powerfully Barth can affect those who come within the range of his personal influence, but it makes little attempt critically to consider the problems it raises. The more objective treatment of Birch Hoyle offers criticism at sundry points, but, on second thoughts, refrains from the attempt "to assess the value of this new mode of dealing with the problems of to-day."[3] Tennant, in his stupendous *Philosophical Theology,* finds it possible to consolidate his position without mention of Barth, and Matthews in his *God in Christian Thought and Experience* observes the same reticence. In Barry's *Relevance of Christianity* there is a solitary reference to the incoherences of

[2] I am merely noting the change, not evaluating it.
[3] *The Teaching of Karl Barth,* p. 277.

Barthianism. Principal Franks calls our attention to another Karl, a little-known German theologian, Karl Heim, whose "theology would do us more good than the Barthianism which is now so loudly proclaimed upon the housetops."[4] Canon Raven welcomes Barthianism as a valuable protest against a too-confident humanism, but describes it on its positive side as a "noble but demonstrably one-sided and therefore sub-Christian theology."[5] In his valuable little book, *The Ground of Faith and the Chaos of Thought,* Canon Quick gives a penetrating analysis of the Barthian attitude to thought. It is distinctly unsatisfying to find such an analysis closing simply with the rhetorical question, "And yet how far is it true that the theology of crisis is but a gesture of intellectual impatience after all?"[6] Yes! How far? That is precisely what we want to know.

At the moment it is true that there is a revival of interest in Barth, due to the conspicuous part he has played in the German Church crisis. His outspoken pamphlet—translated into English under the title *Theological Existence To-day*—points out how the Nazi attempt to control the Church in Germany threatens the very foundation of religion. His fearless condemnation of the application of nationalism to religious fellowship and his unqualified demand for autonomy within the Church have won approval from many who are not commonly concerned about theological doctrines. This may lead to considerable enquiry about the man and his teaching, but it is not certain that it will issue in a serious critique of his system.

In thus treating the theology of Barth, I suggest that we are unfair to him. He constantly asserts that he has no desire to found a school or to develop a system; but he does demand that his point of view shall be examined. McConnachie assures us that the description of himself that would most satisfy Barth is, "Barth is a scandalon, a stumbling-block, a question mark, to stir men out of their easy solutions, to disturb them, it may be even to make them angry, that they may begin to think again, to think more deeply and to think in God."[7]

I suggest also that we are unfair to ourselves. Simple acceptance of Barthian paradoxes may stultify thought; simple rejection may easily impoverish it; picking out the bits we like and calling the others "incoherencies" or "sub-Christian" is an eclecticism that is neither dignified nor in the end profitable. But the critical estimate of Barth's point of view, the attempt

[4] *Metaphysical Justification of Religion,* p. 38.
[5] *Jesus and the Gospel Love,* p. 57.
[6] *op. cit.,* p. 107.
[7] *op. cit.,* p. 242.

seriously to evaluate his central assertions, cannot fail to be useful. It may lead us to discover elements of the truth in respect of which our emphasis has been feeble or non-existent; it may enable us to see how far the things we call vital can be expressed in his terms. Even if it leave us unconverted to the new teaching, it cannot leave us uninfluenced. We shall hold to our own point of view in spite of the vigorous challenge of Barth and we shall therefore hold it more securely.

Now it is one thing to see that such an examination is desirable; it is quite another to be able to provide it. To do that for the system as a whole lies wholly beyond my competence. But Barth gives a very distinctive account of the office of the preacher and it may be worth while to examine what he says.

In considering Barth's conception of preaching we are at any rate approaching his theology correctly. For in a special sense this conception is central. In it, all his important affirmations appear—the Absolute Authority of God; the complete separation between man and God; the distrust of human experience; the total depravity of human nature; the instant and urgent need of Grace.

Again, Barth's primary interest is in preaching. Though he now holds a university chair in theology, he is still the preacher concerned with the formulation of a gospel that can be preached. It was in a crisis of his own preaching experience that his system was begotten. McConnachie gives a graphic picture of the eight years' spiritual struggle at Safenvil—a struggle which probably many ministers know. For the essence of the conflict lies in the difficulty of translating the ideas which seemed adequate enough in student days into terms which afford guidance for the common experience of common men. This contact of ideas with life has to be achieved in some way if the preacher is to be not a mere echo but an authentic voice. I am not disposed to belittle college lectures; but it must be remembered that they cannot simply be transferred from classroom to pulpit. The ideas need to be fertilised by experience before they reveal their significance. This it is that gives to those oft-quoted lines from Sir Henry Newbolt's "Clifton Chapel" their profoundly moving appeal.

> This is the chapel. Here, my son,
> Your father thought the thoughts of youth,
> And heard the words, which, one by one,
> The touch of life has turned to truth.

In Barth's case, the "touch of life" served to reveal the slenderness of the foundations on which his faith was built. Trained in the Ritschlian school under the "unforgettable

teacher, Wilhelm Hermann," he accepted, though with some misgiving, the view that religious experience must be self-authenticating, that the truth of religion rests upon a value-judgment. The practical work of the ministry made him realise what to many of us seems obvious on an analysis of ideas, viz. that in the end such a foundation can give no solid assurance of truth. For value-judgments express strong but not necessarily true convictions. We must reach deeper ground than a subjective value-judgment if we are to cure the universal doubt and the unwillingness to commit oneself to decisive action which are so characteristic of modern life. "The modern man," writes Brunner, "no longer believes in an Absolute in whatever form it may be offered. If he believes in anything at all, he believes in absolute uncertainty. An age which has lost its faith in an Absolute has lost everything."[8] The restoration of faith in an Absolute seemed to Barth the one thing which it was the preacher's task to achieve. But if he is to transmit assurance, he must first possess it. How can a man preach if he is not certain of his message? That certainty Barth felt he could not reach along the lines of his theological education. So he came to the parting of the ways; the religious subjectivism of Hermann and the historical relativity of Harnack must be alike abandoned. Yet it must be noted that Barth was spared the ultimate questioning. His crisis did not arise through any weakening of the religious values. They stood unchallenged and unchallengeable. It was the grounds upon which he had learned to rest these values which were giving way. Somewhere there must be a surer basis for man's faith than man's hope.

Barth himself tells us that he came to find rest in St. Paul.[9] This is not in itself surprising; many a troubled soul has done the same. But it is the specific form in which Paul laid hold of him that is interesting. For it seems that at first it was not the content of Paul's thought that impressed him but a subtle quality in the manner of his speech. "This man evidently sees and hears something which is above everything, which is absolutely beyond the range of my observation and the measure of my thought."[10] Barth was gripped by the jealous insistence of Paul that he had received neither his ordination nor his gospel at the hands of man. "I received of the Lord that which I also delivered unto you." "I certify you, brethren, that the gospel which was preached of me is not after man. For I neither received it of man nor was I taught it, but

[8] *Theology of Crisis*, p. 8.
[9] *Word of God*, p. 62.
[10] *ibid.*

by revelation of Jesus Christ." The obvious interpretation that Paul's insistence upon special revelation had behind it his desire to substantiate his claim to Apostolic authority, Barth ignores. He assumes that in the same quality lies the warrant of the preacher. From this assumption he draws two conclusions :—

(*a*) The preacher's attitude to God must be that of a simple listener. He must hear the voice. He must listen-in to the Almighty. We are not altogether unacquainted with the idea. Isaiah authenticates one of his messages with the words, "In mine ears, said the Lord of Hosts." Browning makes his Abt Vogler claim a special source of illumination in music;

> But God has a few of us whom He whispers in the ear,
> The rest may reason and welcome—'tis we musicians know.

Milton hits off the attitude exactly when in the Comus the Attendant Spirit describes his experience as he listens to the Lady's song—

> I was all ear
> And took in strains that might create a soul
> Under the ribs of death.

(*b*) The preacher's function must be that of simple Witness. Again the notion is not unfamiliar. "Ye shall be witnesses unto Me" says the risen Christ on the eve of the Ascension. The sermons of St. Peter in the early part of the Acts are simple testimonies to the Resurrection. "We cannot but speak of the things that we have seen and heard." So was it in the great days of the Church; so must it ever be if preaching is to do its perfect work.

Such general statements contain what indeed may often be overlooked but what is seldom denied. It does not seem possible, however, by means of them alone to explain the tremendous upheaval which Barth experienced. Yet that the crisis was real and that in this conception of the preacher's function he found real relief is unquestionable. We begin to see how this came about when we remember that it is not so much abstract statements of principle as their particular applications that cause differences of outlook among men. And Barth brings to the interpretation of these generalities a point of view which, under the influence of Kierkegaard, had gradually taken possession of his mind. He translates the positive principle—"The preacher must listen to God"—into the negative one—"The preacher must not listen to man." Here comes in the rigid exclusiveness of his categories—Either; Or. If the revelation is of God it can owe nothing to man. "Hermann had taught him to find in the Bible 'the pious thoughts of

others.' Now he knew that we have in the Bible, not what man thinks of God but what God thinks of man." [11]

There follows from this that the conception of Witness must be interpreted in so narrow a fashion as to make man's part in preaching almost wholly passive. Here comes in his distrust of everything human. Now, that the preacher is the ambassador of God, charged to declare His authoritative will, is what we all in our hearts believe, however difficult we may find it at times to live up to the height of this conviction. The preacher is the servant of the Lord and not the employee of a congregation. It is his duty to wait upon the Lord for His message and to speak it forth when it comes as it comes. But this does not mean that he is the instrument of a force other than himself, that the message comes independently of the character of him through whom it comes. Preaching is a function and cannot be expressed in passive terms. In the illuminating phrase of Phillips Brooks it is a function of personality—the expression of truth through personality. We may have to admit that in some cases the personality obscures the truth and that the peril of this lies very close to us all; but it does not follow that the weaker the personality the more powerful the truth. May we not here cite Barth against himself? Is he not a supreme example of the power of personality?

The attempt to assess the value of the Barthian point of view is confronted with a serious difficulty. On the one hand there are the values which Barth stresses—the Absolute authority of God, the miracle of Revelation, the fundamental difference between culture and salvation, the insufficiency of all else save the grace of God. To men dominated by humanist conceptions it is important to affirm the stark reality of God. To men seeking God and not quite sure where to find Him, it is good to assert that, after all, the supreme thing is God's search for us. This it is that makes our message a *Gospel.* We catch the sound of it in the early chapters of Genesis, where God walks in the garden with the cry, "Adam, where art thou?"; Job felt the comfort of it as, after his pathetic cry, "Oh! that I knew where I might find Him," he comes back from his unsuccessful search to rest in the assurance "He knoweth the way that I take"; it comes to its perfect expression in the saying of Jesus, 'The Son of Man is come to seek and to save that which was lost." Christian preaching rests upon the conviction that our salvation comes about through what is done for us and not by us, not by the development of forces resident in human nature but by the invasion of human life by a spiritual force—the redeeming love of God.

[11] McConnachie, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

On the other hand Barth seems to be destroying the values he finds by the process by which he finds them. For it is not the mere fact of finding God that is important; the vital thing is the character of the God that is found. And the "Deus absconditus," alone in His awful majesty, is not God as many of us see Him in the face of Jesus Christ. That Jesus is the supreme revealer of God surely has its implications. Can we say that God and man are Wholly Other if God becomes incarnate in man? Can we say that human nature is essentially evil if through it God manifests Himself to us? Can we find a place for Christian preaching unless God, speaking to man, speaks through him? "*As ministers,*" says Barth, "*we ought to speak of God. We are human, however, and so cannot speak of God. We ought therefore to recognise both* our obligation and our inability, *and by that very recognition give God the Glory.*" [12] Our obligation and our inability! Is that the last word? Ultimately, no doubt, all revelation comes from God. But when we ask how it comes, the answer surely is that in large part it comes through God-inspired men, in Hermann's phrase, "the pious thoughts of others." To insist on this is not to rob God of His glory. It is still God who is revealing Himself; for as Fra Lippo Lippi reminds us—

> God uses us to help each other so
> Lending our minds out.

When the Psalmist declares that the Lord is his Shepherd I learn what he thinks of God, and by the light of his thought I may come to say for myself "The Lord is my Shepherd." And both the Psalmist and myself may be right. God may be what men think Him though no human thought can compass what He is.

"'A number there are,' says Hooker, 'who think they cannot admire, as they ought, the power of the Word of God, if in things divine they should attribute any force to man's reason.' The circumstances which called forth this remark contrast strangely with the main controversies of the present day; (the time reference is to 1865) but the caution is equally needed. The abnegation of reason is not the evidence of faith but the confession of despair. Reason and reverence are natural allies, though untoward circumstances may sometimes interpose and divorce them." [13]

HAROLD C. ROWSE.

[12] *Word of God and Word of Man*, p. 186. Italics original.
[13] Lightfoot, Galatians, Preface to First Edition, penultimate paragraph.

# The Epistles to the Thessalonians.

THE epistle and the spoken address have a common origin. Long before Christianity, rhetorical schools had been in the habit of throwing ideas into the form of epistles. There is an obvious similarity between hearers and readers. The rhetorical style in argument led to the use of the epistle for other ends than those of private correspondence. Often it is a great problem to decide whether a particular piece of writing is a speech or a genuine letter. We have that problem in the case of *Hebrews*. Often, it looks as if the epistolary form is little more than a literary device. That is the case with 2 *Peter*. Also, it is a common thing for messages to be written in the form of letters, when there is no desire or intention to deliver them by word of mouth. It was a common practice among Greek historians to write speeches and put them in the mouths of their heroes, even though they were never delivered as speeches. It was not a case of what the author did say, but what it would have been suitable for him to say. The funeral oration of Pericles in the history of *Thucydides* is a case in point. So that we see that the soil was prepared for the New Testament. Christians did not originate the idea of the epistle as distinct from the private letter, an epistle which was meant for a crowd and had something of the nature of a manifesto. There is a difference between a letter and an epistle. A letter is personal, unstudied, spontaneous, as are *Philemon* and 3 *John*. An epistle is deliberate, studied, a discussion for a large audience.

The bringing of the gospel from Asia to Europe was one of the momentous events in the history of Christianity. We are told that Paul was called to it by a divine revelation. And during all the time that Paul was working in Europe, he knew that the Spirit of God was behind his working. It meant many changes. It meant a passage from a civilisation which was predominantly Jewish to a civilisation which was predominantly Greek. It meant a change from the enthusiastic religious atmosphere of Asia Minor to the law and order of Rome. Macedonia, where Paul went first, was a promising starting place for the work of the gospel. In Greece proper, the old moral and political energy had decayed and the great mass of people were lethargic. But in Macedonia, the old national vigour was preserved. The people were well organised, but were comparatively independent and free.

Thessalonica was a city on the great Ignatian Way, which was the main high road between the East and the West, right across the north of the Greek Peninsula. There were many Jews in the city. They had a synagogue there. It was a free city, its freedom having been conferred upon it for taking the side of Octavius in the second Civil War. It was a seaport and a prosperous commercial town. Most of the inhabitants were well-to-do traders, although, of course, many of them were labourers. Women had a better social standing in Macedonia than in the rest of the civilised world, and women took a leading part in the founding of the Christian Church here. They did that, of course, in many other places as well, but not so easily. The city had a reputation for licentiousness, and the evil life of the people would be only intensified by the pagan religion practised there, which regarded sexual immorality as a means of divine worship. The Temples were centres of prostitution, as they are still in some districts of India. All this gives a colouring to the epistles.

After Paul left Thessalonica, he went to Athens. When Timothy, who was in the company of Paul, got to Athens months after, Paul sent him back to Thessalonica. He had wanted to go back himself, for he had been left a considerable time. He had tried on two definite occasions, but had been prevented, probably due to a return of the physical malady from which he was suffering. He calls it the "messenger of Satan." During Timothy's absence, Paul went on from Athens to Corinth, where soon he was joined by Timothy and Silvanus. Timothy brought a good report from Thessalonica. The faith of the converts had stood the test of persecution which they had suffered at the hands of the Jews, their love was manifesting itself in kindly deeds of charity to the other Christians in Macedonia, they were regularly attending public worship, they were edifying and comforting each other, trying to do the will of Christ, and they were all eagerly looking forward to seeing Paul again. But, at the same time, they were being hard pressed. They were a new Church in a heathen country. They were tempted to fall back into their old impurities. Some of the poorer members were abusing the charity of the rich. Some had given up work and were living in idleness. Some were growing morally slack, and had given up looking for the coming of Christ. The Church was getting disorderly and was opposing those whom Paul had left in charge. Some were beginning to misuse their spiritual gifts, and were thinking less of the edification of the Church than they were of themselves. Some had lost their friends by death and were afraid that they would not share in the glory of Christ at His appearing.

On the receipt of this news, Paul wrote off in great haste. At the beginning of his letter he couples Timothy and Silvanus with himself, but he soon forgets about them. Timothy probably acted as his scribe. Paul never wrote letters such as these. No man ever could have done. They were dictated, with Paul walking round the room. The sentences are broken off in the middle. He keeps going off from his point at a tangent as some new thought strikes him.

It is a perfectly friendly letter, natural, unforced, honest, simple, dealing with concrete things. It is the letter of a pastor to his people, the pouring out of his heart in thanksgiving over their faithfulness, answering their questions, advising them, warning them, admonishing them. It is a real letter, dealing with real problems. There is nothing artificial in it. It is not a sermon or a theological treatise. It is not a text-book of doctrine, not the building up of a system of thought. It is a letter which came from Paul white-hot, expressing exactly what he felt at the moment. It is tremendously important for the understanding of the man Paul, the difficulties of the early Christians, their trials and fears, but it has little bearing upon our thought and life. Its problems are not problems for us. But they are very much the same as those which occur on the mission field. And it will be a missionary who eventually is the leading interpreter of this letter.

In the letter, Paul tells the Church that he hopes soon to see them again, as soon, that is, as circumstances permit. He expresses his sheer delight at the good news he has heard about their spiritual life, and he defends himself and his conduct as a teacher against the attacks made upon him by the Jews. And it was Jews here who were doing that attacking, orthodox Jews, not Judaising Christians, as was the case in Galatia. We need to notice that Paul was having to defend himself personally against attack all his life. And he was always ready to do it, because he looked upon himself and his gospel as so closely bound up together. He tells them that he wishes, in his letter, to make up a little what he feels to be lacking in the faith of his converts. And he tries generally to tighten the bonds which unite him to the Church, and to sever more effectively the link between the Christians and their old heathenism.

So far as doctrine is concerned, and the epistle deals little with that, the most important section is that in which Paul deals with the second coming of Christ. The problem was this. All the early Christians looked for the second coming in their own day, within a very few years at the outside. The cause of the restlessness of some of the Christians at Thessalonica was the belief that the coming of the Lord was imminent. This doctrine,

unless carefully guarded, can be very unsettling. It has proved to be so in the history of the Church times without number. Why should we work when the end is near? That is how men have felt, and it is a natural feeling. And in this first letter to the Thessalonians there is a connection between the plea that the Christians should live quietly and work steadily, and the subject of the second coming. Paul makes two points.

First, what is going to happen to those who die before the Advent? Deaths had already taken place, and this had perturbed the Christians. Were the dead converts to have no place in the Kingdom? Some had perhaps been killed in the persecutions—were they to be robbed of their reward? The note that Paul had given to these people was hope, hope in a glorious future with Christ, a future which is really near at hand. Were the dead to be debarred from that hope? In answer to that, Paul tells the Christians not to be perturbed. The dead are safe in the hands of God, and they will have first place in the assembling of the saints at the coming of Christ (iv., 15-17).

Second, when is Christ to come? With regard to that, Paul says that nobody knows. There are many things not yet revealed to the saints and that is one of them. He simply does not know when the second coming will be. But it will be soon, he is certain of that. Soon to himself, I mean, not soon to us. But he tells the Christians that they must be always on guard, waiting as good soldiers for the coming. And by watching and waiting, Paul does not mean gazing at the stars and calculating times; he means getting on with the work of Christ and living the Christian life bravely.

So much for the first epistle. It is a real, personal letter, full of life and love and tenderness, invaluable for the study of the character of Paul and early Christianity, but not a dogmatic treatise, and not throwing much light on our needs to-day.

What of the second letter?

Paul is still with Timothy and Silvanus at Corinth. He writes not very long after the despatch of the first letter. He has heard of the mischief done by the misunderstanding of what he had to say about the second coming. False teaching had been given in his name, so much so that he even considers whether his name has not been forged to a letter setting forth views which are not his (ii. 2).

His aim in this second letter is to clear up misconception, and to bring the Church to a calm and sober mind. He emphasises at some length what he has already told them, reminding them of the lessons he had tried to impress upon them when he was in Thessalonica. He refuses to be dragged into sidetracks to discuss novel theories and difficulties. The situation

is very much the same as it was when he wrote the first letter, except in one particular. Apparently he had satisfied the Church about the state of the dead Christians. But some members are becoming filled with pride and are cherishing wild dreams and hopes about the state of those then living. And some are more restless and idle than ever in anticipation of the coming of the Lord. That is the state of affairs which calls forth the second letter.

There have been many grave objections raised by scholars against the authenticity of this letter. But I do not think that there is need to go into them. The arguments are technical, and would not appeal much to the ordinary reader.

In much the same language as in the first letter, Paul expresses his gratitude for the spiritual growth of the Christians in Thessalonica, and endeavours to establish them in their faith by the thought of the justice of God which would confirm the saints and which would be made especially manifest at the coming of Christ. He also asks for their prayers and urges them to regulate their social life on a sane and Christian basis. But the burden of the letter is to clear away the difficulty caused concerning the second coming.

The Thessalonians are too excited about it, and Paul tells them to keep a sober mind and not lose their heads. Some of them said that the Lord had already come, and went so far as to suggest that Paul had written to that effect. Deceivers were going about, leading the Church astray. For their guidance, Paul gives them a token whereby they can judge when the Lord's coming is near. Before He comes there is to be a supreme manifestation of evil, leading (1st) to a great apostasy in the Church, and (2nd) to the revelation of the Man of Sin, a being of Satanic proportions, in whom all the sin of humanity will be gathered together. This person is the great antagonist of Christ, and although he does not use the name "Antichrist," yet Paul prepares the way for the later conception which would be used by John. Meanwhile, the Antichrist is not to appear yet, for there is a withholding influence that delays his coming and keeps in check the power of evil. When, however, the Man of Sin appears, it is to be but the signal of the judgment of the sinners and the appearance of the Lord.

What are we to make of all this? It seems to be obscurity piled up on obscurity. I do not profess to be able to interpret it. And it has no bearing upon modern life. Paul is speaking of the expectations of the first century, not those of the twentieth.

One thing is certain. The restraining influence is a power for good. Paul probably meant the Roman Empire, the one

force of law and order at the time. He looked with more friendly eye at the Empire than did some other Christians.

Also it is certain that the idea of the Man of Sin has a history behind it. Paul did not bring it out of his own brain, nor did he derive it by direct revelation. He built this up on teaching that had been given before. We cannot go into the history in detail, but these are the salient features, and they alone need trouble us.

(1) There is the common Oriental conception of a struggle between God and the power of evil, in which struggle the evil power is bound up for a period, but is released for a final conflict with God before the end of the world. You find that idea coming out in the Apocalypse of John.

(2) There was the Jewish conception of a concerted attack upon Israel by her foes, led by Satan, which would be frustrated by the Messiah. We have that idea in Ezekiel xxxviii.

(3) Our Lord had foretold the rising of lawlessness, the concerted attack made upon the powers of righteousness by the forces of evil.

(4) A new point had been given to all this by the attempt of Caligula in A.D. 39 or 40 to erect a statue in honour of himself in the Temple in Jerusalem.

That history helps us to see Paul's idea in a clearer light. But much is still obscure. What is plain is that Paul looked for a wholesale manifestation of the powers of evil before the coming of Christ. The whole thing is bound up together. And it means little to us.

The significance of these letters is not doctrinal, but personal. They give us insight into the movement of early thought and also into the man Paul, his love and patience and manliness.

H. J. FLOWERS.

*A Golden Treasury of the Bible.* Lindsey Press. 7s. 6d. net.

The charge that the most important book in the world is printed in microscopic type and unattractive form does not apply when we have such books as this just issued by the Lindsey Press. Wise discrimination has been used in the selection of passages from both Testaments and the Apocrypha, and although good use has been made of modern versions, the editors have been careful to preserve the beautiful prose of the A.V. wherever possible. Preachers and teachers will find the division of the contents into sections most helpful, and the titles descriptive of the sections are particularly happily chosen. Altogether, this is a worthy production.

# Some Sidelights on Pearce and His Friends.

FROM a drawer in an accountant's office there recently came to light an interesting bundle of papers. It seems likely that they had been there, tucked away and forgotten, for over thirty years. This was rest after long journeying, for they came to London in 1903 from Canada, where they had been for some forty years previously. They had been gathered together in Birmingham in the middle of the last century by Mr. J. W. Showell, Secretary of the Cannon Street Church, who had in view the preparation of a history of the Birmingham Auxiliary of the Baptist Missionary Society. He did not live to complete the task, but after his death these few documents were sent across the Atlantic to a married daughter, and then, early in the present century, were returned to this country.

In 1923 Mr. W. Finnemore published *A Story of a Hundred Years,* 1823-1923. *The Centenary of the Birmingham Auxiliary of the B.M.S.* It is unfortunate that he had not access to these papers, for they contain valuable supplementary material regarding the earliest activities of Samuel Pearce and his friends on behalf of the infant B.M.S.

In a fragment of Mr. Showell's history which is with these papers (internal evidence dates the beautiful writing in 1856) it is made clear that on Sunday, October 13th, 1792—ten days after the formation of the B.M.S. at Kettering—Pearce preached at Cannon Street on the state of the heathen world and what might be attempted for it, and invited those interested to meet the following Tuesday to consider what could be done locally. So it came about that on October 15th, 1792, in the vestry of Cannon Street, a Society was formed to assist what was called "the Primary Society," that of Fuller, Ryland, &c. Pearce became the Secretary, and one of his deacons, Thomas King, the Treasurer, and at that first meeting the collection of weekly subscriptions was discussed.

By October 26th the Committee was able to resolve "that as the Primary Society have agreed on another meeting, the 31st of this month, Mr. Pearce be requested to attend that meeting, and pay *Seventy Pounds* into the hands of Mr. Hogg, the Treasurer, with an intimation of our good wishes and design of continuing our efforts to support them in their undertaking."

A box was fixed in the Cannon Street vestry for the receipt of weekly contributions, and a letter was prepared for Pearce to take with him to Northampton. This states, confidently and hearteningly, that "as it may serve to enable you the better to regulate your future expenditure, we think we may engage at least to equal this sum at the close of twelve months, and most likely exceed it." Another £100 was in hand by March, 1793, but at the end of that year it was resolved "that the situation of the trading part of this town at this season is unfriendly to an immediate application for the second year's subscription, and that it therefore be deferred till after Christmas." The first published list of subscribers shows contributors not only from Birmingham but from Whitchurch (Salop), Bridgnorth, Wolverhampton, West Bromwich, Chipping Norton, Alcester, Worcester, Bromsgrove, Evesham, Warwick and Oswestry.

This bundle of papers contains a printed prospectus of the Birmingham Auxiliary Baptist Missionary Society, formed on November 20th, 1812. "A Subscription of *One Penny per Week* constitutes a member. The Subscriptions become due every Monday, and are collected *Weekly*." This was a literal carrying out of the suggestion made by Carey at the end of his *Enquiry*. By 1814 there appear to have been nearly three hundred members.

The chief interest, however, of these papers lies in four letters to Pearce, which are here in the original: one from Carey (begun from the Bay of Bengal, October 24th, 1793, and finished on November 20th, little more than a week after his arrival in India), one from John Thomas (begun at Mudnabati on September 25th, 1795, and finished three days later at Mahipaldighi), one from John Newton, dated December 12th, 1797, and one from Andrew Fuller, dated August 30th, 1799, less than six weeks before Pearce's death.

The letter from Carey reached Pearce on July 29th, 1794, a few days before one written at the same time to Andrew Fuller, and now preserved in the National Library of Wales. It was this second letter that was largely reproduced in the first issue of the *Periodical Accounts*. That to Pearce adds no important details, and copies of it have been used by the biographers of Pearce and Carey. The letter from John Thomas is a characteristically vivid and voluminous epistle of twenty-four closely written pages, which, the writer says, "will just come under the limits of a two ounce letter, which is the customary allowance." It was considerably abridged and edited for the third issue of the *Periodical Accounts*, and the extracts there take up nearly eight pages. It is clear that except in its

shortened form the letter was not known to C. B. Lewis, Thomas's biographer. The omitted portions contain valuable details regarding the building and other operations which Carey and Thomas had to supervise in their indigo-planting, regarding Bhutan, a land that fascinated these two pioneers, and also about Thomas's medical and missionary work. A few extracts from the new material may be given here.

"Mr. Udny has expended on Buildings and all other machinery for the 2 Manufactories about £15,000. . . . We have seldom had less than 800 people, servants, labourers, and workmen, under our eye, at the 2 Places, besides the Natives who plant our Indigo, which are about 1,000 more. . . . This month we begin our operations for the next Season: and 1st of all we give to all the Ryots so much Advance Money, for the year 1796; viz. about 7/6 for each acre. . . . This Money advanced, we expect them to plough their land in all October, for which purpose we place 3 clerks, and about 20 Hircarras or Footmen, over the whole land, of each Manufactory. This done we have little or nothing to do with the planters besides, till the months of April and May: and then if rain falls, the planters come for their seed, and sow it: their land must be weeded till June and July, when the crop begins to be cut, and is brought in by about the end of September. To this Season, from the end of June till the end of September, is the Making Season, and the only part of the year that requires much of our time now that the Buildings are finished. At the Factory there is one Superintendent and one Assistant, both of which are commonly Europeans, and frequently Protestants themselves; Mr. Powell [Thomas's nephew] is mine, and a Mr. Rebellio, Papist, is Brother Carey's Assistant; also one Sirdar, Dawon or Chief, over all the Natives; next to him, 2 or three Clerks, a Steward of the Stores, about a Dozen Servants, but no labourers, except repairs are necessary; and excepting the Making Season: then about 40 Servants, in the Capacity of Overseers, perhaps, and about 4 or 500 Labourers."

"Dinner is just ready: I wish I could ask you to sit down and eat with us. Perhaps you would like to know what we have for dinner, and I shall not think it trifling to tell you. We have first of all a Piece of one of Brother Carey's good Pigs. . . . Europeans are great devourers of Fowls, in the Hot Season; Roast Fowl, and boiled Fowl to-day, boiled fowl and roast Fowl to-morrow, is the common fare of each day. As we have only convenience of boiling, etc. in our Cook Boat [Thomas, his wife and daughter were on their way from Mudnabati to Mahipaldighi], we have brother Carey's

Pork, part boiled and part fry'd: also a Dish of Fish. . . . Boiled Rice and Curried Fowl is the next dish. A Curried Fowl is the most common dish in India I suppose: it is cut in Pieces, and simmered, in a shallow dish, in a few drops of water, a little butter, salt, onions, spices, etc. and then set with the rice. A boiled Fowl and a glass of Madeira, with good Bread and good Water just makes up our Dinner."

"This moment 6 Dandees [Watermen] are pulling us up the stream by a Rope, fastened to the top of the mast. One is picking Fish for their Dinners, one is posted to fend off the boat occasionally from the Banks, one steering, and the rest are waiting for their turn at the rope. Betsy is laid on a sofa behind me, fast asleep, Mrs. Thomas is winding cotton before me."

After reading these excited but informing and in many respects attractive pages, one understands better the embarrassment and concern caused by Thomas to the missionary leaders in England.

The remaining two letters are shorter, and as they do not appear ever to have been printed before, may be given in full. John Newton, an old man of seventy-two, writes from London, returning letters of Carey which Pearce had sent him.

My dear Sir,

I stiled you, perhaps, Reverend in my last, and you stiled me Honourd—I like the Epithet *Dear* better than either. Let us substitute it for the others, if you please, should we have Correspondence in future.

I am old, and my engagements multiply with my years. I now write in Company, but was not willing to enclose Mr. Carey's letters quite in blank paper, or without thanking you for the kind terms of yours receivd yesterday.

Mr. Hughes (late of Bristol) breakfasted with me this morning and told me as a piece of News, that you were, or had been, very ill. But as you do not mention it yourself I hope that the Lord has raised you up again, for much good to many.

Give my love to Mrs. Pierce. May the Good Shepherd gather your four pretty Lambs in his Arms, and carry them in his Bosom. My best wishes likewise are with your Servant. Tho' I shall not perhaps know her in this world, from what you say of her, I hope to meet her hereafter in the land of Love, Joy and Song. We aim to sing now, but Ah! how often out of Tune! How many discordant notes while below! I take some comfort in applying that line of Virgil, in a sense far beyond his conception—

Carmina, tum melius, cum venerit *Ipse* canemus.

I likewise have much cause to be thankful for Domestic Comfort. Tho' the Partner and Idol of my heart has been removed—the breach has been made up as far as the Nature of the case will admit, in a Dear adopted Daughter, whom we brought up from 5 years of Age. My Servants likewise are my Children. Our family peace is not interrupted for an hour, from the beginning to the end of the Year. Friday next, the 15th, will close the 7 year of my Widowhood. It is usually a day of retirement and reflection with me. As I hope my letter will come in time, I shall take it for granted, that you will kindly think of me on that day—a day much to be remembered by Me. It deprived me of my chief Earthly Comfort, it relieved me from the —— of my heaviest earthly cares and anxieties. The Lord has done all things well. May his blessing be with you and yours.

I am yr. affectionate friend and brother

N.S. 12 Dec. 97. JOHN NEWTON.

Pearce, broken in health, preached for the last time in Birmingham in December, 1798. He sought new strength in the home of his childhood in Devonshire, but to no purpose. Though little more than thirty years old, his ardent spirit had exhausted its frail body. In the summer of 1799 he returned to Birmingham. He and his friends knew that the end could not be far distant.

Kttg. 30 Aug. 99.

My very dear bro. Pearce,

I have omitted writing to you, and coming to see you merely because I feared to burden your mind. And now what can I say? Your afflictions are heavy, but you have the advantage of me, and of all of us. It seems you will reach the goal before us. But I trust we shall soon be with you; and with your and our Redeemer. I bless our God for that your heart has been so well supported. You have laboured much in a little time for your Lord, and he has much honoured you with his blessing. He will not forget your labours of love; and will assuredly take it well that it was in your heart to have built him an house in Indostan. That was not permitted, yet as a house was built, tho' David did not build it, so I trust it will be in this case. And like David you have prepared for it with all your might: and the day approaches when we that have sown and others who may reap shall rejoice together. Dear bro. Ward felt much in parting from us, tho' he never *hesitated* about it. When the ship was about to sail, he wrote me a Letter to Olney Association, in wh. he said—I feel, and no wonder—

For who to dumb forgetfulness a prey,
His pleasing native country e'er resign'd,
Left Fuller, Pearce, and Ryland in a day,
Nor cast one longing, lingering look behind?

I think I never witnessed so many tears at once as were shed at the Olney meeting May 6 when at the close of the solemn service I ascended the pulpit and read *your* address to the Missionaries.

I fear from your silence on that subject that nothing can be done with the MSS. If so it be, there is one request wh. I intreat you not any account to deny me. It is, that all your papers and memorandums of the first or after religious exercises of your mind, and particularly of your exercises on going to India, may be preserved, and sent to me. If I should survive you my bro. you need not fear that I will puff off your character, any more than you wd. mine. We are all of us, God knows it, poor unworthy creatures. Yet the truth may be told to the glory of sovereign grace; and I long to express my inextinguishable affection for you in something more than words, I mean by doing something that shall be of use to your family. I hope I need not say more, and that all your papers relative to your own life and experience will be preserved. I am my very dear bro. Yrs. in everlasting bonds, A. FULLER.

P.S. Mrs. F. and many others of our friends unite in affecte. Remembrance to you and Mrs. Pearce.

This is a letter noble in its restrained yet deep feeling. Ward and his companions had sailed at the end of May for India. The meeting at Olney to which Fuller refers, was for the valediction of Ward and Brunsdon. From the many allusions to it in the records of the time it is clear that it was a highwater mark experience in the early history of the Missionary Society.

ERNEST A. PAYNE.

*One Hundred Years After.* Carey Press. 1s. 6d.

In its usual attractive style, the Carey Press has issued the addresses delivered in connection with the Carey Centenary Celebrations. Eleven addresses, together with a foreword by the Home Secretary of the B.M.S., cover the wide range of Carey's genius and achievements. Any one who takes the trouble to read Mr. MacBeath's fine sermon will be constrained to go right through the volume, and will realise the truth of Mr. Grey Griffiths' remark that in the celebration of the Carey Centenary missionary enterprise throughout the world finds a real unity.

# Robert and James Haldane.

THE Religious or Church History of Scotland from the time of the Reformation had been full of vicissitudes, and very specially was that so during the second half of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century. Scotland, during that period, had been essentially Presbyterian. There had been Seceders, but no Dissenters. The Seceders sympathised with the National Church, and only waited till it would be purged from what they conceived to be its errors, till they would be enabled to return within its pale. Independents and Baptists were practically unknown. The Seceders, though quarrelling among themselves, and excommunicating each other, were still Presbyterians. The National Church was in a deplorable state. Moderatism ruled supreme. Covert infidelity was preached by its ministers. Good moral living as a means of salvation was reckoned of more account than trusting in the merits of a crucified and exalted Saviour, and there were instances of gross sins having been condoned by money payments. In some districts in the far north, where the parishes were large, and the people widely scattered and out of touch with the General Assembly, the ministers did not trouble themselves about the spiritual welfare of their flocks, and it was not uncommon for several years to pass without the gospel being preached or religious ordinances being performed. In fact, many portions of Scotland were almost in heathen darkness. There were, of course, a few faithful followers of Christ, for God has seldom left Himself without witnesses even in the darkest periods of the nation's history. Of such were the parents of the Haldanes; and in such a dark period were the Haldanes born.

Robert, the elder brother, was born on 28th February, 1764, fully four years before his father's death, and James Alexander, the younger brother, on 14th July, 1768, about a fortnight after his father's death. Robert thus knew very little of his father from associating with him, and James did not know him at all. They had the misfortune to lose their mother early, for she died in 1774, when the elder was only ten, and the younger six years old. The training which she bestowed on them was of a truly elevating kind. She endeavoured to bring them up in the fear and admonition of the Lord. She impressed on them the importance of reading the Scriptures and engaging in prayer, and of the reality of eternity. Her teaching had such a good effect on her children that Robert, at the age of ten, wished

to prepare himself for the ministry, and James, the younger, said in after years that though he lost her when he was only six years old, the impressions which her pious training made on him were never wholly effaced from his memory, and to it he traced any serious thoughts, or prickings of conscience, during the periods of wildest folly of his early manhood. The Haldanes were connected by direct descent and marriage with many of the noble and baronial families of Scotland who had favoured the cause of the Reformation. Their mother's brother was the great admiral, Lord Duncan, the hero of Camperdown. Their education was carefully looked after, and, in addition to having a private tutor, they had spent a few years both at the High School and the University of Edinburgh. At the age of seventeen Robert gave up the idea of becoming a minister and joined the Navy, in which he had a short but somewhat distinguished career. He remained in it about four years, during which he was engaged in several stirring encounters with the French and Spaniards. During several of the peaceful intervals he resided at Gosport, where he became acquainted with Dr. Bogue, a minister of an Independent Church, but who had been educated for the Scottish Establishment, and whose ministry he attended, and with whom he had much profitable intercourse. After leaving the Navy he made a tour of Europe, and then returned to, and settled down at, his estate of Airthrey, near Stirling. At the age of twenty-two he married Miss Oswald of Scotstoun, with whom he lived happily for nearly fifty-seven years. She proved a true helpmate, deeply sympathising with and aiding him in all his projects of whatever nature. For ten years after his marriage he lived the life of a country gentleman, beautifying and improving his estate of Airthrey. Whatever he undertook was heartily and carefully done, and, at a time when landscape gardening was almost unknown in Scotland, he did marvellous things which attracted the attention of proprietors from long distances, who asked for, and were guided by, his advice in beautifying their own estates. He was a good landlord and a kind employer, and was much liked by all on his estate. During those years he had much intercourse with spiritually-minded men in his neighbourhood, but, being fond of argument and of a somewhat speculative turn of mind, success in argument seemed, at first, to be his principal aim. His attention, however, having been earnestly, but kindly, drawn to the things concerning his eternal welfare, he, with characteristic energy, began to study the Christian evidences, and with the happiest results. His conversion was neither sudden nor violent, but gradual, real and lasting. It was eminently fruit-bearing and far-reaching in its blessed influence.

James Haldane entered the Navy of the East India Company at the age of seventeen, with the brightest prospects. His relatives had the gift of the Captaincy of one of the vessels in their own right, and an arrangement was made that as soon as he attained the age of twenty-five and passed the necessary examinations, he would be appointed to the post of captain of the *Melville Castle*. He remained in the service for eight years, enjoying its gaieties, sharing its dangers, and fitting himself for the lucrative and important post which he was meant to occupy. Owing to the convivial habits of the time, his path was beset with many temptations, and, being almost entirely without religious convictions, he succumbed to them in a somewhat moderate degree. A six months' residence in Calcutta in the gayest of the gay society there was far from conducive to his spiritual welfare. Fortunately he was an intelligent and painstaking officer, desirous of mastering his duties, and much given to study during his leisure on board *The Duke of Montrose*, the vessel in which he first sailed, and having a fairly well-stocked library which had been judiciously chosen by Dr. Bogue, he was saved from indulging in the grosser sins so prevalent at that time. He was resourceful in danger, courageous, firm and dignified. On one occasion he, by his promptitude and resource, saved his ship from being wrecked, when his superior officers seemed in doubt how to act. At another time he, by his unflinching courage and carelessness of personal danger, quelled a most dangerous mutiny on a neighbouring ship whose officers had been intimidated by the crew. At the age of twenty-five he received the appointment to the *Melville Castle* which had been destined for him, but prior to the date fixed for its sailing he got married to a most estimable young lady, Miss Joass, daughter of the Deputy Governor of Stirling Castle. This took place on 18th September, 1793. The *Melville Castle* was delayed a long time at Portsmouth, during which Mr. Haldane had taken leave of his wife on her return to Scotland. The parting was the only dark spot on a seemingly bright prospect. His marriage had sobered him somewhat, and as he had been disgusted with the bacchanalian revelries during his last voyage on the *Duke of Montrose* he determined that on the ship under his command a different order should prevail. He arranged to discourage all unseemly practices, and to see that divine worship was performed. The ship having been detained much longer than was anticipated, his brother advised him to relinquish his command and to settle down at home, which he ultimately did, having sold his interest in the ship for £9,000. His thoughts, which had been moving in a somewhat serious direction, were greatly influenced for good through contact with Dr. Walter Buchanan,

whose ministry he attended during his stay in Edinburgh. His conversion, like that of his brother, was gradual but real and enduring. Both brothers experienced the change about the same time, but by different courses, and their energies thereafter were also manifested in different directions. Robert was a shrewd man, with an aptitude for doing everything in a business-like way, and this good quality was evinced in all his religious work. He was not impulsive, and whether in preparing to found a foreign mission, build tabernacles at home, bring African children to this country to be educated for mission work, starting seminaries for the education of young men as evangelists and ministers, everything was carefully calculated, arrangements made for paying all expenses, so that if he should be called away unexpectedly his schemes would not suffer by his death. While he was known as a preacher, he was best known as a writer. He was comparatively wealthy, and being large-hearted, his Christianity took a really practical form, and, were it expressed merely in figures, he spent the enormous sum of £70,000 in ten years in the promotion of Christ's kingdom. James, on the other hand, was somewhat impulsive, more impressionable, and while known as a writer, he excelled as a preacher. Both brothers started their Christian career in their early manhood, with the advantages of good family connection, liberal education, splendid health, easy circumstances, a fair knowledge of the world, sound convictions of the truth which they had embraced, and supreme trust in the Saviour who had given Himself for them.

The first direction in which Robert Haldane manifested his desire for usefulness was the planning of a mission to Bengal. He had been deeply impressed by the account of the Baptist Mission founded by Carey, and longed to do something to proclaim the truth to the heathen. He made arrangements with Dr. Bogue and Messrs. Aikman, Innes and Ewing to accompany him, three of whom agreed to give up their ministerial charges to do so. He planned everything on a most liberal scale, and decided to sell his estate at Airthrey to enable him to carry out his plans, but one essential element of success was lacking, and that was the consent of the Government and the Directors of the East India Company. Selfishness, disregard of religion, and fear that the move was a political one, all combined in causing them to withhold their consent, and that, notwithstanding the most convincing arguments urged from most influential quarters for nearly two years, and ultimately the scheme had to be abandoned. The Established Church Assembly at that time was also violently opposed to foreign missions, saying that there were plenty of heathen at home to engage their attention. When,

however, the home heathen were being looked after, they again manifested their opposition, fulminating against what they termed lay preaching, and trying by threats and other means to frustrate the good work which was being accomplished. What, through the failure of the proposed mission, appeared to be India's loss proved to be an immense gain to Scotland.

While Robert was trying to found the Indian Mission his brother was engaged in another direction. He had become acquainted with Mr. Aikman and Mr. Campbell, men of earnest piety and indefatigable zeal in Christian work, who, for a number of years, were his own coadjutors in itinerant and other missionary work. Though at a later stage their lots were cast in different places and in other spheres of usefulness, all of them, to the termination of their lives, continued to labour earnestly for the spread of the knowledge of the truth. Mr. Campbell afterwards became a preacher, an author, and a missionary traveller in the unexplored interior of Africa. At the time that Mr. Haldane became acquainted with him, he kept an ironmonger's shop, but he was largely engaged in city mission work. "He was a district visitor, tract distributor, and Sabbath School originator long before Christians had learned to unite themselves into societies to promote such objects. His warehouse was then the only repository in Edinburgh for Religious Tracts and Periodicals, and became a house of call or point of re-union for all who took an interest in the Kingdom of Christ." The influence of such a man on Mr. Haldane cannot be overestimated. He introduced him to spheres of labour in which he gave active help, but so reluctant was he to make himself conspicuous that it was a long time before he could be induced to address a meeting. He was, however, induced to begin at a mission meeting at Gilmerton, through being disappointed by an expected speaker not turning up, and thus he began a career of usefulness which lasted for nearly fifty-four years. About that time he made a tour of the west for one week, with Mr. Campbell, with the object of starting Sunday Schools. Three months later they learned that their efforts had been crowned with success, no fewer than sixty schools having been started in such places as Glasgow, Paisley, and Greenock, and surrounding districts. In the course of their journey they distributed thousands of tracts to those who came in their way.

The preaching at Gilmerton resulted in a rich blessing, crowds of people flocking to hear Mr. Aikman and Mr. Haldane; and the parish minister, who had been at first indifferent, was roused with indignation at the invasion of his domains, and took steps to deprive them of the use of the Schoolhouse in which their meetings had been held. Another place was secured, and

the meetings were successfully carried on. The following quotation will serve as a general notice of the tours undertaken by Mr. Haldane. "A considerable degree of general excitement arose out of the preaching at Gilmerton, and some even of the evangelical ministers in Edinburgh became afraid of the consequences of lay preaching. But the two preachers increased in boldness, and hearing of the death-like state of the North of Scotland and the carelessness and immorality of the ministers, resolved to make a tour and examine personally into the state of religion, and preach the gospel in the streets of the different towns and populous villages visited. They made this the subject of prayer and consultation, and when it was fixed that they should go, each of them wrote an address to the congregation at Gilmerton and got a large impression printed for distribution on the road. They also reprinted a tract, written by the Rev. Chas. Simeon of Cambridge, entitled, *An advice to all whom it may concern,* and these tracts they gave away at every place where they preached, to all who would receive them, two years before the London Tract Society was formed in 1799. On the evening before their departure for the North, there was a special meeting for prayer held in the Rev. David Black's house, North Richmond Street, where they were recommended by the brethren to the grace of God for the work in which they were about to engage."

It was a memorable tour, the first of a series of successive itinerancies in which Mr. James Haldane, at the beginning accompanied by Mr. Aikman, afterwards by Mr. Innes, or again by Mr. Campbell, during a period of nine years, preached in almost every town or populous village in Scotland, from Berwick on Tweed and the Solway Firth to John o' Groats and the northern islands of Orkney and Shetland.

Good men may differ in their opinions as to the general question of the lawfulness of lay preaching, but no well-judging Christian will think it wise to condemn that on which the Lord Himself has stamped the seal of His approbation.

Upon the tour in 1797 there was poured out a blessing which can never be mistaken, and whatever may be said of the regularity of their commission, it will be safer to adopt the sentiments so beautifully expressed in one of Mr. Simeon's letters to Mr. James Haldane. "I think immortal souls of such value, that I should rejoice if all the Lord's people were prophets. If mercy and sacrifice stand in opposition to each other, we may choose mercy; and if David and his men are perishing with hunger, they may eat of the forbidden bread."

Let us supplement the above quotation by stating that their path was not strewn with roses; they met with much opposition

from ministers and landed gentry, and occasionally came into conflict with the civil authorities, and though requested to desist from field preaching on several occasions, and though apprehended and taken before the Sheriff on another, the calm and dignified bearing of James Haldane, combined with his knowledge of the law, did much to secure freedom of public speech and to prevent maladministration of the law. Many discomforts had to be endured, indifferent lodgings, dangers by sea and land, but all were counted as nought if by any means they might induce others to accept the Saviour whom they had found so precious. Those journeys were all carried out at Mr. Haldane's own expense. At various times Mr. Haldane was associated in preaching with Mr. Charles Simeon of Cambridge, and Mr. Rowland Hill. Occasionally his audiences numbered 20,000. His voice was powerful, his manner earnest and convincing, his addresses were characterised by thoughtful preparation, and his labours were abundantly blessed. The effects of the first northern tour were so encouraging that James Haldane felt that he could not falter in the work, but it was found necessary, if Home Missions were to be carried on, that some systematic effort must be made to provide other preachers so as to carry on and extend the effort. A Society was therefore formed with the title, "The Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home." It consisted of members of various denominations, with twelve Directors, of whom the Haldanes were two. In their first address they declare, "It is not our design to form or to extend the influence of any sect. Our sole intention is to make known the evangelical gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. In employing itinerants, schoolmasters, and others, we do not consider ourselves as conferring ordination upon them to the pastoral office. We only propose, by sending them out, to supply the means of grace wherever we perceive a deficiency." The labours of this Society were greatly blessed.

It was one of its principles that its itinerants and catechists should make no public collections, and take no money privately from those amongst whom they preached, and it undertook to defray the expenses of stated ministers desirous of extending their sphere of labour. Public subscriptions for its support were received, but to a very limited extent, for by far the greater part of the funds was supplied by Mr. Haldane.

Following up this plan, Mr. Robert Haldane established Seminaries at Glasgow under Mr. Greville Ewing, and at Dundee under Dr. Innes, for the education of young men for the ministry, and no fewer than 300 received a two years' education with board entirely at his expense. The only qualifications for admission to the Seminary were genuine piety, and

talents susceptible of cultivation, and a desire to be useful to their fellow sinners by preaching the words of eternal life. Many of those young men did splendid work as ministers, evangelists and catechists in Scotland, England, Ireland, and even in America. Mr. Haldane was also the means, and partly bore the expense, of placing other ten young men with Dr. Bogue, one of whom was the celebrated John Angel James.

Mr. Robert Haldane also acquired, either by purchase or by building specially, large places of worship, which were termed Tabernacles, in Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dundee, Stirling and Ayr. His brother was appointed to the Tabernacle Church, and Mr. Aikman to the Argyle Square Church in Edinburgh; Mr. Ewing to the one in Glasgow; and Dr. Innes to the one in Dundee. From this movement emanated the Churches of the New Congregational movement in Scotland. When Mr. James Haldane was asked to take the pastorate of the Tabernacle Church in Edinburgh he was reluctant to do so, believing that he was more suited for the work of an evangelist; his objections were, however, overcome, and he agreed to take it, stipulating that he would be allowed to take part in itinerating work as he saw occasion. The Church was not, at first, formed as a Congregational one apart from the Establishment, but simply as another place of worship, and its pastor and some of its members continued to go to the Communion in the Established Church. The views of Mr. Ewing, and others, as to Church Order and the inadvisability of communicating with those who were not of strictly Christian character led to a forward movement, resulting in the Churches becoming Congregational in government. The Lord's Supper was observed weekly, and Mr. Ewing, in an endeavour to return to the primitive forms of Christianity, introduced what he terms Social Worship, namely, prayer by other members and mutual exhortation, but instead of having it at the Lord's Day Church meeting he instituted meetings for the purpose during the week. Mr. Haldane, more consistent with New Testament teaching, contended that if such were part of the Apostolic practice, the regular church meeting, when all could be present, was the place for it, and that it should not be done in a corner. For a time, thereafter, the Churches went on Congregational lines, but Mr. Haldane, after long and prayerful consideration, was led to adopt Baptist views, and many of his congregation followed him. An effort to promote mutual forbearance and to prevent a disruption was frustrated, and a separation took place among the Churches, and the dissension spread all over the country, and what had been one of the most aggressive movements had its usefulness very much curtailed for a time. Before taking leave of James Haldane, let us sum

up his Christian character in a few words. As a husband and father he was kind, considerate and affectionate; as a preacher he was earnest, active and self-denying in proclaiming the unsearchable riches of Christ; while believing absolutely in the sovereignty of God, he also believed that the gospel call was free to everyone, and that all had the freedom of will to accept or reject the offer of salvation. As a pastor he was a faithful teacher and exhorter, and, in his visitations, a wise counsellor, full of consolation to those in sickness or distress. Space forbids noticing the work which he did during various visits to England, Ireland and the Isle of Man. Suffice it to say that he died at the ripe age of eighty-three, full of good works, greatly mourned by all classes of religious society who followed him to his grave in large numbers.

We have already hinted at Mr. Robert Haldane's scheme for bringing over African children to be educated for missionary work. This idea was suggested to him by Mr. Campbell, who had long had the matter under consideration, but had not the funds to carry it out. On learning that £7,000 would be necessary to bring over thirty or forty children, to keep and educate them for five years, he agreed to provide the money, and requested Mr. Campbell to secure the children. He rented and furnished a house for their accommodation in Edinburgh, and made all the necessary arrangements for their comfort. After a delay of over two years the children were brought to London, but jealousy on the part of those who had brought them prevented them being entrusted to Mr. Haldane's care, although they were unreasonable enough to expect him to provide all the funds for their board and training. He was, however, too good a business man to do that, and funds were found elsewhere. His scheme was, in part, carried out, for although more attention was given to their secular than to their religious training, they went back with many of the arts of civilised life.

One of the most important features of Mr. Haldane's career was his four years' residence on the continent. He spent two years at Geneva, labouring among the ecclesiastical students, teaching them the truth of the gospel, combating the Socinian and infidel opinions of the Protestant ministers there. His work was of incalculable benefit, many of the students embraced the gospel in all its fulness and began to spread the good news in their own and other countries. Some of their most eminent ministers were led to a knowledge of the truth through his efforts, including, among them, Messrs. Gouthier, Pyt, Merle d'Aubigne, and Gaussen. From Geneva he proceeded to Montauban in France, where he followed a similar course, with a like success, for two years. During his stay there, Mr.

Haldane provided for circulation by colporteurs, at his own expense, detached portions of the Bible in the form of Tracts. When we think of the blessed results of the labours of Bible colporteurs in France and Switzerland, we should remember that those are the fruits of his mission to the continent. In lecturing to the students at Geneva and Montauban, Mr. Haldane made the Epistle to the Romans his principal text-book, and his principal published work is a commentary on that epistle which was also published in France and Germany. The English edition was highly commended by various writers, and the great Dr. Chalmers used it as his text-book while lecturing to his theological students.

What Mr. Haldane considered his most important work was the struggle which he made for the circulation of a pure and unadulterated Bible on the Continent of Europe. According to the Rules of the Bible Society, to which he was a contributor, it was unlawful to print or circulate, or aid in the distribution of, Bibles with the Apocrypha intermixed or appended, but it seems that, for the sake of conciliating Socinian and Neologian Protestants, Romanists and Greeks, the rules were systematically evaded and an adulterated Bible was fraudulently circulated. Haldane discovered the fraud by what may be termed accident, but by what he considered providential interposition. He called one day at the London Office of the Society on business and forgot to take his umbrella with him when leaving, and when he returned the following day to claim it, he was asked by another member to join a sub-committee which was then sitting in regard to the Toulouse Bible, the translation of which he had originated, and to his great surprise he found that the Apocrypha had been appended, and also to an earlier edition, to the cost of which he had contributed under repeated pledges that only a pure Bible would be printed. The officials were covered with confusion at the discovery of their fraud, and pledges were again given that the like would not again occur. Such pledges were repeatedly broken. Adulterated Bibles were printed, sometimes openly, sometimes covertly, sometimes they were sent out in parts and the opponents of the truth on the Continent bound up with them the Apocrypha and Infidel Addresses, and entrusted their circulation to Romanists, Socinians and others, while the real evangelical Christians whom Haldane had influenced and who were willing to circulate the Word of God were either ignored or persecuted by those in receipt of British Protestant aid and money. Haldane and others tried for some years to get this matter put right privately, but as pledges were repeatedly broken it had to become public. The controversy lasted for years, and for a time the

friends of truth were defeated, but as truth is mighty and will prevail, so in the end the "pure and unadulterated Word of God" won the day, and now our British and Foreign Bible Society does not lend itself to such questionable practices. The amount of labour which Robert Haldane expended on this controversy, both in attending meetings and in writing on the subject, was something marvellous, and as truth always gains from discussion, the results which followed his action were greatly blessed. Discussions followed on the Authenticity and Inspiration of the Scriptures, and he re-published his own work on the subject, which had a large circulation and did much good. He died on 12th December, 1842, when he had nearly attained the ripe age of seventy-nine years.

In our opinion the Haldanes were, humanly speaking, the two most important personages of the religious history of Scotland during the last century, the two who did most work and whose whole-hearted labours were most abundantly blessed. Why is it then that, while such names as Knox, Erskine and Chalmers are household words all over Scotland, their names and work are comparatively unknown? Simply because they did not belong to the popular denominations. They were Baptists, and, of course, they are a comparatively small and insignificant body in this country. But, though their labours are not now acknowledged, in that great day when the Lord comes to make up His jewels, they shall shine in their beauty, bright gems for His crown, having been the direct agents in His hands of turning many to righteousness.

WILLIAM W. LAWSON.

*The Kingdom without Frontiers.* Hugh Martin. S.C.M. 1s.

This re-issue of Mr. Martin's missionary study of Biblical teaching is most welcome. The author has a way of presenting a thoroughly competent interpretation of the development of Biblical ideas in such a manner as to keep an evangelical missionary emphasis well to the fore. The Questions for Discussion bring the subject within the range of modern tendencies. This is a first-rate missionary book, and may be commended for use in study groups.

# In Memoriam.

WITHIN a few weeks of each other, two ex-treasurers of the Baptist Historical Society have passed into the unseen world, after long lives of honourable and distinguished service amongst things seen, viz. J. W. Thirtle, on December 5th, 1934, and F. J. Blight, on January 27th, 1935. Their united years of office have covered the whole life of the Society, apart from the first three years, during which James Ward, of Nottingham, was treasurer. Dr. Thirtle was appointed in 1911 and served until 1921, when the old *Transactions* were transformed into the new *Baptist Quarterly*. Mr. Blight then succeeded him, and held office until the spring of last year. Dr. Thirtle was eighty-one when he died, and Mr. Blight seventy-seven.

J. W. Thirtle was a journalist of nearly sixty years' standing, most of which were passed on the staff of *The Christian*, of which he had been editor since 1920. He was a man of scholarly interests, especially in linguistic study, and he published several books dealing with the Bible (*The Titles of the Psalms*, 1904; *Old Testament Problems*, 1907; and a later work on *The Lord's Prayer*). His loyalty to the Gospel was associated with what is generally known as "fundamentalism," but this did not hinder him from hearty co-operation with men of a like loyalty who did not share his own ways of interpreting Scripture. He was always genial and helpful, so that it was a pleasure to meet him and work with him. He rendered frequent service to the Society through his professional knowledge, as well as through the tedious work of gathering in belated subscriptions; nor did he cease to attend and help when he laid down the office of treasurer. We may well apply to him two sentences which he wrote for our *Transactions* in 1911, with reference to James Stuart and Judge Willis respectively, as part of their joint obituary notice; we may say of J. W. Thirtle that he "combined intellectual culture with a singularly genial disposition . . . his life was profoundly dominated by the Christian verities, and he was peculiarly interested in Baptist history."

F. J. Blight was a publisher of forty years' standing, and from 1899 to 1927 was head of Charles Griffin & Co., Ltd. The record of his conspicuous service in the publication of technical literature may be found in the "Centenary Volume" of the firm's work (1920). In 1931, there appeared a biographical sketch of him and his work by George Hawker, containing

lengthy autobiographical notes. He was proud of his Devonshire origin and of the long family pedigree which he could trace. The book bears frequent evidence of his artistic tastes, which had been developed and disciplined by early training for the profession of an architect. At an early age he heard the call to Christian service, and throughout his long life, almost to his last days, he was active in the Baptist Church life of London. All he did was done with exactitude and finish, from punctual and regular attendance at committees down to his very handwriting. From the time that he became treasurer, the Baptist Historical Society could always show a sound financial statement. In the publication of our secretary's *History of British Baptists* for the Angus Trustees, his care for both production and circulation showed part of the secret of his business success.

Both these men were loyal Baptists, but both of them recognised that denominational loyalty is but the means to a larger end, and neither confined his interests and voluntary work within denominational limits. Both of them felt the appeal of the past, but both of them recognised that true history is no museum of antiquities, but a moving stream that ought to broaden out into the full river of life, on the banks of which men live to-day. In their different ways they served the One God and Father of us all, and they have both left an honourable name for Christian character and Christian service.

H.W.R.

*Thomas Matthew of Colchester, and Matthew's Bible of* 1537. Benham & Co., Colchester. 6d.

This reprint of contributions by Dr. Whitley to the *Essex Review* is handsomely produced. The folio English Bible of 1537 combined the best work of Tindale and Coverdale, and is the foundation of the modern Bibles used among both Roman Catholics and Protestants. Dr. Whitley here gives himself to a careful study of the real connection of Thomas Matthew with this Bible. He traces Matthew's career in Colchester, with special reference to his interest in Biblical study, and proves that Matthew has received far less credit than is due to him for the Bible of 1537. As usual, Dr. Whitley brings to his subject an amazing knowledge of the period, and shows his capacity for detailed and minute investigation.