

THE S I S.

"A SUGGESTED 'SOURCE' OF BUNYAN".

DUNCAN B.HERIOT.

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P R E F A C E.

Many have sought to find a literary "source" for the inspiration of Bunyan's writings. Indeed, the search has been a little overdone, and in view of Bunyan's own emphatic denials of any such literary indebtedness, one feels that such trails lead but into Bye Path Meadow. The footprint which sent the present writer on his search and led him away from the beaten track of "literary sources", was the chance reading of Richard Heath's 'History of the Anabaptists', and a stimulating sentence in G.O.Griffith's book on John Bunyan, where he remarks, "Vanity and its Fair stand for the existing order - for Bunyan's Europe".

That sentence was the starting point of a journey. It led the writer - like Bunyan's own pilgrim, - into strange places with hitherto unknown people. In company with these daring souls he struggled through deep valleys, ambuscaded with soldiers, over high mountain passes wind swept by storm, and through dark and unfrequented forest paths beset by robbers. He joyed with them when at last they reached their desired haven, and suffered in their company when the "hosts of evil" finally prevailed against them.

In the first two chapters of this Thesis the writer has not attempted to be original but sound. It is difficult at this day to say anything new on Bunyan, although a little

research has been done in order to clear up some misapprehension on his military service.(1)

Anabaptism on the Continent is a vast subject in a category of its own. During recent years modern scholars have been examining that field and some excellent studies have been issued.(2)

These two chapters have been included because they make the Thesis itself more understandable. The original research work in this Thesis begins with the chapter on "Anabaptism in England", - a subject which has not yet been explored although some writers have touched its fringe.

A life crowded with other duties has meant that this Thesis could only be written when the day's tasks were over, for the most part while others slept, and in consequence the writer feels he but offers his reader "a thing of shreds and patches", but such as it is, he sends it forth in hope, in the words of Spenser, -

"Goe little book! thy selfe present,
As child whose parent is unkent,

And when thou art past jeoparddee,
Come tell me what was sayd of mee."

D.B.H.

(1) Appendix III.

(2) The most recent is Dr. Smithson's Thesis, - "Anabaptism" - Glasgow University Library.

T H E S I S .

A SUGGESTED 'SOURCE' OF JOHN BUNYAN.

INTRODUCTION AND AIM OF THESIS.

Summary of Chapter.

Bunyan's Birth - Education - Military Experience -
Marriage - Spiritual Experience - Allies himself
with the Bedford Baptists - First Book -
Imprisonment - Release - Preaching - Death.

John Bunyan's writings are so closely related to his own life that it is impossible to appreciate the one fully without some knowledge of the other. It will be thus necessary at the outset to give a brief account of the main events of Bunyan's life. Many excellent detailed biographies already exist,⁽¹⁾ and it is not therefore proposed to cover all the ground, but only in so far as is necessary for the purpose of this Thesis.

Bunyan was born at Elstow near Bedford in 1628. He died in 1688. Thus every schoolboy knows that Bunyan lived during a period of stormy religious history in England. Religious questions were discussed in every circle in the land - by those in the King's household, and by humble folk in the streets of a Bedfordshire village.⁽²⁾

(1) See Appendix I.

(2) A List of Religious Debates and Disputations of the Period will be found in Appendix II.

The question of his education is our first problem. Walter Scott wondered, "How to account for the fact that Bunyan in spite of a clownish and vulgar education rose in a degree of popularity scarce equalled by any English writer?" "Clownish" may perhaps be admitted. "Vulgar" - Scott himself explained to a young lady, that he only meant "common" - "popular" we may well accept. "Whence then had this man letters?"

Bunyan's education is still an enigma. Of his school-days he says so little, that it is impossible to know where they were spent, or for how long they lasted. That he did have some schooling we know, for he records, (1) "It pleased God to put it into their hearts (his parents) to put me to a school to learn both to read and to write". He furthermore tells us he "attained according to the rate of other poor men's children", implying that his was but a scanty education. In 1700 a volume appeared called 'Scriptural Poems' purporting to be the work of John Bunyan, but the publisher, a man named Blair, was known as far from honest and the authorship is very doubtful. Therein we find those lines, -

"For I am no poet nor a poet's son
But a mechanic guided by no rule
But what I gained in a grammar school
In my minority."

On these lines rests a supposition that Bunyan had a grammar school education. Two schools have been suggested. The Free

(1) Grace Abounding.

School founded by Sir Francis Clarke at Houghton Conquest, a village about three miles from Elstow; and the Grammar School at Bedford, which Sir William Harper endowed in 1566 for poor boys of the town to learn "grammar and good manners", and so far as is ascertainable the exclusion of boys outside Bedford has always been rigidly enforced although Froude suggests Bunyan was educated there.

At any rate both schools were in a bad way educationally in Bunyan's boyhood; for in 1645 the pedagogue at Houghton Conquest was displaced by the master and fellows of Sidney Sussex College, "for his wilful neglect and forsaking of the school, contrary to our trust reposed in him". When Bunyan was nine or ten years of age, complaint was made likewise anent the master of Harper School in that he charged fees "which he had no right to do", and also that he had "grossly neglected the school by frequent absence from it", also he was "very cruel when present to the boys".

True it is that Bunyan says in his "Israel's Hope Encouraged", - "It is with many as it is with the boys that go to the Latin School, --- they learn till they have learnt the grounds of their grammar, and then go home and forget it all". Was this his own experience? This remark and his occasional use of Latin has led some to imagine that he had something more than a meagre schooling. But against this is the emphatic statement of Charles Doe, the comb-maker of the Borough, (a contemporary

who knew Bunyan well). In his folio of 1692 Doe speaks of John Bunyan as "a very great profane sinner, and an illiterate man". This is the statement of an intimate friend of Bunyan and cannot be entirely ignored for it supports Bunyan's own confession, whatever advantages he may have had, "I did soon lose the bit I had learnt --- long before the Lord did His gracious work of conversion upon my soul".

In the Doctrine of Law and Grace Unfolded he addresses the reader thus, "If thou find this book empty of fantastical expressions, and without light, vain, whimsical, scholar-like terms, it is because I never went to school to Aristotle or Plato, but was brought up at my father's house in a very mean condition, among a company of poor country-men." He says he knows "neither the mode nor the figure of a syllogism", nor scarce "which is a major or a minor" and is in short a "dull-headed man". Yet a study of Bunyan's works shows that he is far from illiterate, hence the problem. Whence did he get his learning? That Bunyan was a reader we know from a friend,⁽¹⁾ who after visiting him in the county jail in Bedford says, "I surveyed his library the least and yet the best I ever saw, consisting of two books, a Bible and The Book of Martyrs". That Bunyan had read other books we know from what he tells us himself; whether he was an extensive reader is perhaps doubtful, but what he did read he read, and he had a marvellous memory.

(1) John Howard in his "State of the Prisons of England and Wales"

Nor is it all humility in his works. In the Preface to The Holy City he admits to "the learned reader" he has not "beautified his subject matter with acuteness of language, nor given either in the line or in the margent, a cloud of sentences from the learned fathers;" and the reason is not that he has not read them and does not possess "acuteness of language", but even so he is for "drinking water out of his own cistern". "I prefer the Bible, and having that still with me, I count myself far better furnished than if I had without it all the libraries of the two universities". Wherefore, as for his learned critics, "I will not take of them from a thread even to a shoe-latchet, lest they should say, We have made Abram rich".

In Grace Abounding we read, "I could also have stepped into a style much higher than this in which I have here discoursed, and could have adorned all things more than here I have seemed to do, but I dare not. God did not play in convincing of me ---- Wherefore I may not play in my relating of them, but be plain and simple".

In his Book for Boys and Girls, or Temporal Things Spiritualised, changed afterwards to 'Divine Emblems' Bunyan addresses the "Courteous Reader" in similar terms.

"I could, were I so pleased, use higher strains:
And for applause on tenters stretch my brains
But what needs that? The arrow, out of sight,
Does not the sleeper nor the watchman fright;
To shoot too high doth but make children gaze,
'Tis that which hits the man doth him amaze".

Enough has been said on the question of the extent of Bunyan's learning to enable us to see the problem. It leaves us as it left his own hearers, for the writer of the Continuation of his Life says, "When Bunyan was at leisure from writing and teaching, he often came up to London, and there among the congregations of the Nonconformists, used his talent to the great good-liking of his hearers, and even some to whom he had been misrepresented, upon the account of his education, were convinced of his worth and knowledge in sacred things ----- insomuch that many who came as mere spectators for novelty's sake, rather than to be edified and improved, went away well satisfied with what they had heard, and wondered as the Jews did at the Apostles, whence this man should have these things?"

Let us now come back to Bunyan's life. After leaving school he went to assist his father at his trade of "braseyer". But changes were to crowd thick and fast upon him. In June 1644 his mother died and a month later the grave was opened again to receive his sister Margaret. His father seems to have been a man of little depth of feeling for within a month he married again. Bunyan probably felt unhappy at home for some six or eight months later he joined the army. (1)

There has been a dispute as to which side Bunyan served under, but a study of the records makes it clear. Bedfordshire,

(1) It could not be earlier for it was not until November 1644 that he reached the then regulation army age of 16.

Huntingdonshire, Cambridge, Herts, Essex, Suffolk and Norfolk formed the Associated Counties from which Parliament drew its strength. On 16th. August 1644 Parliament issued an ordinance constituting Newport Pagnell "geometrically situate between the associated counties on the east and the Royalist counties on the west", as an official garrison.⁽¹⁾ The same ordinance provided "that the county of Bedford within 14 days shall send into it 225 able and armed men for souldiers".

We can prove from the Governor's Letter Book that these orders were obeyed. On 28th. November 1644 the Governor ⁽²⁾ writes, "Wee have now about 800 men in the Towne, and noe pay --- Bedfordshire men make a fayre show, and tell them strange things".

Bunyan was almost certainly included among this Parliamentary levy, for in the Public Records Office, London, is a volume of Commonwealth Exchequer Papers, stamped at the back Newport Pagnell Garrison Muster Rolls 1644-7. It consists of 92

- (1) Newport Pagnell was first fortified and garrisoned in October 1643 (Parliamentary Ordinance dated 10th. August 1643).
- (2) Sir Samuel Luke of Cople Wood End. He was one of the members for Bedford in the Long Parliament - Scout Master to the army and governor of the garrison of Newport Pagnell, a place of strategic importance, although it was never the scene of a siege or a skirmish. Cromwell's eldest son served under Sir Samuel Luke and died in Newport Pagnell while Luke was in command. In the Parliamentary Scout for March 15th.-22nd. 1643-4, there is the following entry: "Cromwell hath lost his eldest son, who is dead of the small-pox in Newport (Pagnell), a civil young gentleman and the joy of his father". Luke had to give up command owing to the Self-Denying Ordinance. He was succeeded by Lieut. Col. Richard Cokayn. For a study of Luke see his letters 4 MS. volumes, Egerton MSS., 785, 786, 787.

pages. There we find "John Bunion's" name numbered among the "centinels" (i.e. privates) mustered there on November 1644⁽¹⁾, serving under Lieut.-Colonel Richard Cokayn⁽²⁾.

On March 22nd. 1645 Bunion's name disappears from Colonel Cokayn's company and appears in that of Major Boulton's⁽³⁾, where it remains till 27th. May 1645⁽⁴⁾.

The last page in the volume is a register of the troops and is headed, "A List of the Officers and Souldiers of Lieut.-Col. Charles O'Hara, his company, mustered at Newport Pagnell, the 17th. of June 1647". The list contains the names of 12 officers and 79 privates. Before each name (with six exceptions) a circle is drawn ○; nine have a dash drawn through the circle Ø; and four are preceded by a cross XO; eighth from the end we read, -

○ Joh : Bunnion.

The Roll is signed by Robert Amberson, Deputie to Ye Muster-Master. So from actual documentary evidence we know that Bunyan served with the Parliamentary forces in Newport Pagnell from 1644-1647⁽⁵⁾.

One thing which Bunyan would hear during his army days and which left a mark on his memory, for we see the influence of it in after life, was the sermons preached by the Captains of

- (1) Bunyan's service must have begun about a month earlier for him to be mustered in November as entitled to a month's pay.
- (2) Cokayn commanded a company under the supreme command of Sir Samuel Luke.
- (3) Boulton also commanded a company under Luke at Newport Pagnell.
- (4) Four days before the siege of Leicester.
- (5) An examination of Bunyan's Army experience, worked out from State Papers and original records in the British Museum is given in Appendix III.

the regiment to the "souldiers". We know that Bunyan remembered those, for when he came to write his "Holy War" he reproduced them. It will be recollected that Captain Boanerges could preach as well as fight, as witness his "smart sermon" on the parable of the barren fig tree.

The writer has traced up the records to find if by chance any of the contemporary Captains at Newport Pagnell could be charged with Anabaptist heresies. Here is an interesting case and although it is only a very small grain to be added to the weight of evidence to be adduced later it may be given here.

Captain Paul Hobfon was actually arraigned as an Anabaptist⁽¹⁾. That he preached in public at Newport Pagnell we

(1) In a quaint old book entitled, "Gangraena or a Catalogue and Discovery of many of the Errors, Heresies, Blasphemies --- acted in England in these four last years", published in 1646 by Thomas Edwards, Minister of the Gospel, we read:-

"Extract of certain letters ----

"There is one Paul Hobfon a Taylor, who comes out of Buckinghamshire, and is now a Captain having been in the Armies, who hath been a Preacher a great while: This man while he was in the Army, wherever he came he would preach publickly in the Churches, where he could get Pulpits and privately to the Souldiers; the subject matter of his Sermons was much against Duties, and of Revelations, what God had revealed to him --- Preaching one time against Holy duties, (as an understanding man who heard him, related it to me and other company) he spake thus; I was once as legal as any of you can be, I durst never a morning but pray, nor never a night before I went to Bed but pray; I durst not eat a bit of bread but I gave thanks; I daily prayed and wept for my sins, so that I had almost wept out my Eyes with sorrow for sin; But I am perswaded when I used all these duties, I had not one jot of God in me. This Paul Hobfon is one of those whose hand is subscribed to the Confession of Faith of the Anabaptists,

know because one of his sermons actually caused a riot in the town and the authorities had to resort to martial law to quell it. Later for "setting up a conventicle" and absenting himself from "the public thanksgiving service for the victory at Naseby" he was put in prison by Sir Samuel Luke.

It is highly probable that whilst Bunyan was soldiering at Newport Pagnell he formed a friendship with one, Mathias Cowley, for within ten years of demobilisation Bunyan issued his first venture in literature, and in 1656 there was issued, "Some Gospel Truths Opened", to be sold by Mathias Cowley, Bookseller in Newport Pagnell.

About 1650 Bunyan took unto himself a wife. There is no entry of marriage in the register at Elstow, so the date is not absolutely certain. We do not even know the name of his wife, or from whence she came. That she was a native of some village other than Elstow we may infer from the fact that she used to talk to Bunyan about her father, as though they were

set forth last Winter (1644). This Paul Hobfon Preached in Newport-Pagnel, and thereabouts, in contempt of the Ordinance of Parliament made last April; After he was once taken and questioned for it, and let go, he comes back again and does it the second time, in contempt of the Governor of Newport-Pagnel that then was ---- The matter of Hobfon and his Confederates preaching was against our Church, Ministry, Children's Baptisme --- Sir Samuel Luke sent him up here for a contempt against the expresse Ordinance of Parliament, and the businesse was referred to a Committee, ---- but I know not how it came about, instead of some exemplary punishment, this Hobfon was presently at liberty and preached the very next Lords Day in Moor Fields or thereabouts ----"

unknown to each other⁽¹⁾. This marriage played a very important part in the moulding of Bunyan's mind.

"This woman and I", he says, "came together as poor as might be, not having so much household stuff as a dish or a spoon betwixt us both", - but his wife did bring with her two books, "The Plain Man's Pathway to Heaven" by Arthur Dent, and "The Practice of Piety" by Lewis Bailey. "In these, says Bunyan, "I should sometimes read with her, wherein I also found some things that were somewhat pleasing to me", and from a literary point of view these must be reckoned with as a formative influence, but commentators have already explored this field.

The four years which followed Bunyan's marriage were those in which he went through the intense spiritual experience, which he himself has described for us with a pen of fire in Grace Abounding. It is outwith our purpose to deal with that here, yet it was these very experiences which gave him the hold over the hearts of men. He knew it himself, "For this reason I lay so

(1) The average villager of Bunyan's day lived, married and died within a radius of a few miles of his birth place. Bunyan was rather exceptional. He travelled a good deal - a point to be noted. We have disproved (from evidence) that he was at the siege of Leicester (see Appendix III.) yet he seems to have had some connection with the town. There is one fact which appears to have escaped every biographer of Bunyan, - viz., - When he was released from prison in 1672 he was pastor of the Bedford Church, yet his first free Sunday he went to preach at Leicester. It was not that he had quarrelled with his own people - a study of the Bedford Church Book shows that they remembered him prayerfully during the time of his trial and imprisonment - yet he went to Leicester. Why? Did his wife by chance come from that town?

long at Sinai, to see the fire, and the cloud, and the darkness, that I might fear the Lord all the days of my life upon earth, and tell of His wondrous works to my children".

It was during this period he found an old copy of Luther's "Commentary on the Galatians". That book was to Bunyan what the Voice was to Christian in the Valley of the Shadow of Death. "This methinks, I do prefer this book of Martin Luther, (excepting the Holy Bible), before all the books that ever I had seen".

But Bunyan like his own Pilgrim passed through the Shadows. We all know the story how he overheard some women in the streets of Bedford talking over the wonderful experience of a "new birth", and how he too became one of that small company of believers.

Indeed in this experience we can see a possible germ of a scene in the future Pilgrim's Progress, for as Bunyan gradually emerged from the mental clouds of this period he looks back on the "state of happiness" of those poor people and seems to have beheld them "in a kind of vision". "I saw", says he⁽¹⁾, "as if they were set on the sunny side of some mountain, there refreshing themselves with the pleasant beams of the sun, while I was shivering and shrinking in the cold, afflicted with frost, snow and dark clouds. Methought, also, betwixt me and them, I

(1) Grace Abounding.

saw a Wall my soul did greatly desire to pass; concluding that, if I could, I would go even into the very midst of them, and there also comfort myself with the heat of their Sun".

At this point in his life he came under the influence of Mr.Gifford. Gifford had been a Major in the Royalist Army, had been captured and escaped while under sentence of death. He settled down eventually in Bedford, and there lived a life of notorious debauchery, until on reading a book by Mr.Bolton⁽¹⁾, in the words of the Record of the Bedford Church of which Gifford subsequently became the Pastor, "something therein took hold upon him, and brought him into a great sense of sin, wherein he continued for ye space of a month or above, but at last God did so plentifully discover to him by His word, the forgiveness of his sins for the sake of Christ, that all his life after ----- he lost not the light of God's countenance". This man then became the leader of a small company of people of similar faith, - the Bedford Baptists. The records show that their company numbered twelve "believing souls". Bunyan allied himself to this company⁽²⁾.

(1) Probably Mr.Bolton's "Last and Learned Worke of the Foure Last Things; Death, Judgement, Hell and Heaven".

(2) So far as the writer can find from the Record of the Bedford Baptist Church Book this little flock although deeply spiritual were not in any way remarkable for their literary culture. Gifford's last letter to the Church is written in clear vigorous language and shows profound knowledge of the Scriptures. The point here is that Bunyan would not receive from them any literary impetus.

About two years later, that is in 1655, Bunyan was asked by the brethren to speak a word of exhortation to them, and thus he "did discover his gift", and began to preach.

He had been preaching about a year when he became entangled in a controversy with the Quakers over the question of their respective beliefs, and interpretation of the Scriptures⁽¹⁾ This controversy is important for it led to Bunyan's first venture in authorship. In 1656 a little volume of some two hundred pages appeared entitled "Some Gospel Truths Opened, by that unworthy servant of Christ, John Bunyan of Bedford, by the Grace of God, preacher of the Gospel of His dear Son".

It is not our purpose here to go into the details of the debate between Baptist Bunyan and Quaker Burroughs, but rather let us pass on to the next milestone of importance.

A 'tinker' by profession, Bunyan's right to preach was naturally questioned. Once at least, even during the Commonwealth, the law was invoked against his "irregular ministry". In March 1658 we find the Church at Bedford praying "for counsaile what to doe with respect to the indictment against Brother Bunyan at the Assizes for preaching at Eaton".⁽²⁾

But the storm broke for Nonconformists on the Restoration of Charles II. in 1660. Hyde determined to enforce Episcopacy, and Bunyan was among the first to suffer for conscience

(1) See Appendix II. - "Religious Debates and Disputations".

(2) Bedford Baptist Church Records.

sake the rigours of imprisonment⁽¹⁾. The story of his arrest and examination has been told with vivid power by Dr. John Brown in his great work on Bunyan. His trial, indeed, may have furnished him with some of the material for the trial scenes in *The Holy War*, and the trial of Faithful in the *Pilgrim's Progress*. For us, at the moment, the importance lies in the fact that from 1660 to 1672 Bunyan was imprisoned in Bedford Jail. It is worthy of note that while defending his right to preach his faith, Bunyan quoted Wycliffe. "But Sir", said Bunyan, "Wycliffe said that he who leaveth off his preaching and hearing of the Word of God for fear of excommunication of men, he is already excommunicated of God, and shall in the Day of Judgment be counted a traitor to Christ".

Bunyan seems to have served three terms of imprisonment (1) from November 1660 to the summer of 1666. (2) from the summer or autumn of 1666 till May 1672⁽²⁾. (3) from March to October 1675.

It was during these years that the genius of Bunyan blossomed to full flower, and perhaps but for these 'compulsory retirements' from the busy world which is oftentimes "too much with us" he might never have penned his immortal allegories.

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- (1) Without waiting for the Act of Uniformity which was not passed till 1662 Francis Wingate, one of the Justices of Bedford committed Bunyan to prison under an Act of 35 Elizabeth for preaching at a religious meeting.
- (2) From 1672 to 1675 he had three years of liberty owing to Charles II's. Declaration of Indulgence.

For our purpose the remainder of Bunyan's life may be dismissed in a few sentences, although for the purpose of biography we have still a fruitful field before us. On 13th. September 1672 a general pardon under the great seal was witnessed at Westminster, although it is not improbable that Bunyan's actual release took place as early as May for on the 9th. of that month he was duly licensed as a teacher under the Declaration of Indulgence.

After his release Bunyan continued to publish, and his preaching became famous throughout the countryside. He journeyed as far afield as London, where even at the shortest notice large audiences flocked to hear the "Tinker out of Bedford". It was on one of these journeys he caught a chill that led to his death on 31st. August, 1688⁽¹⁾.

(1) A vivid picture of Bunyan's last days is to be found in Gwilym O. Griffith's book "John Bunyan". As these last years lie outwith our Thesis, we have therefore refrained from elaborating them at length.

THE SUGGESTED SOURCE OF BUNYAN.

The First Part of the Pilgrim's Progress was written in Bedford Gaol, where Bunyan was at that time imprisoned for his Nonconformist principles. It is the prison he refers to as the "Den" in the opening sentence of his book, "As I walked through the wilderness of this world, I lighted on a certain place, where was a Den; and I laid me down in that place to sleep; and as I slept, I dreamed a Dream".

In prison Bunyan occupied himself in writing, and was actually engaged upon some other book⁽¹⁾, when the idea for the Pilgrim's Progress came to his mind.

"Thus it was: I writing of the way
And Race of Saints in this our Gospel-day,
Fell suddenly into an Allegory
About their journey, and the way to glory".

Ideas came to him so rapidly that he began to fear they would spoil the work on which he was already engaged.

"Nay then thought I, if that you breed so fast
I'll put you by yourselves, lest you at last
Should prove ad infinitum, and eat out
The book that I already am about".

This new book which the world "will not willingly let die", seemed almost to write itself, and suggests no research for material beyond the content of what was already stored in

(1) Dr. John Brown and Mr. F. Mott Harrison suggest that the book Bunyan was engaged upon was "The Strait Gate". Gwilym O. Griffith suggests "The Heavenly Footman" see "John Bunyan" by G. O. Griffith pp. 223 and 224.
See Thesis - Chapter on "Anabaptism in England" p. 116 also note (1).

his mind, and his own experience viewed in the light of his imagination.

"Neither did I but vacant seasons spend
In this my scribble: nor did I intend
But to divert myself in doing this
From worser thoughts which make me do amiss.
Thus I set pen to paper with delight
And quickly had my thoughts in black and white,
And having now my method by the end
Still as I pull'd it came; and so I penn'd
It down, until it came at last to be
For length, and breadth, the bigness that you see".

This is Bunyan's account in his own words of the production of the Pilgrim's Progress.

Even during Bunyan's lifetime various sources for his book were suggested, and he was more than once accused of plagiarism. He vigorously denied the charge of indebtedness to other authors. In the closing verses of the Holy War written after the Pilgrim's Progress, he turns to the critics who declare the first book is not his own, and asserts his authorship in emphatic terms.

"It came from mine own heart, so to my head;
Manner and matter too was all mine own,
Nor was it unto any mortal known
Till I had done it, nor did any then
By books, by wits, by tongue or hand or pen
Add five words to it, or wrote half a line
Thereof: the whole and every whit is mine".

And he adds anent the Holy War, "This new allegory too is also all mine own".

Many people since Bunyan's time have been intrigued to find the literary 'source' of the Pilgrim's Progress, but after considerable research the writer is convinced that such trails

are but "foill'd circuituous wanderers". Bunyan of course admits his debt to certain books, which he definitely admits he has read⁽¹⁾, and many commentators have shown the influence of these both on his matter and his style. The influence of the events of his time, and his own experience viewed in the light of his imagination, have also been carefully worked out by many able writers, and it would serve little purpose to plough that furrow again; besides we must stick to the text and there we find that Bunyan has spoken with unmistakable clearness as regards "literary sources".

"Some say the Pilgrim's Progress is not mine
Insinuating as if I would shine
In name and fame by the worth of another".⁽²⁾

He repels this suggestion with scorn, - "John such a dirt heap never was since God converted him", and in "Solomon's Temple Spiritualised" he declares, - "I have not fished in other men's waters: my Bible and my Concordance are my only library in my writings". Nothing could be more explicit than these statements, or coming from a man so conscientious, more decisive.

(1) For example:- The Bible; Luther on Galatians; Dent's Plain Man's Pathway to Heaven; Bailey's Practice of Piety; Foxe's Book of Martyrs; Bevis of Southampton, George on Horseback, Guy of Warwick etc.; Clarke's Looking Glass for Sinners; Dodd on the Commandments; Andrew's Sermons; Fowler's Design of Christianity; D'Anvers and Paul on Baptism; Keach's War with the Devil and Travels with True Godliness, (Bunyan's indebtedness to Keach has not been worked out by commentators, but it is undoubtedly there); There is also an old Puritan work (which the writer cannot trace) containing a quaint story of Mary of Bethany's conversion.

(2) The Holy War.

Nevertheless indebtedness there undoubtedly is, - such indebtedness indeed as that from which the most exalted genius cannot free itself, - the memory of the books he had read⁽¹⁾, and which had woven themselves into the stuff of his being, - the current thoughts which the age of his day had inherited from the transmitted thought and history of the past epoch. It is with the latter factor that this thesis is concerned for it stands the test of examination alongside Bunyan's text, and does not contradict Bunyan's own explicit statements, which cannot be said of all the attempts to trace Bunyan's "sources".

How does a man come to think and feel as he does? What is it that has led him to such an expression? If he employs a metaphor, a simile or a technical term to explain something, can we penetrate to the analogy between the old term he uses and the new experience he is trying to describe? This perforce involves trying to find the experience behind the thought expressed.

Gwilym O.Griffith has a very stimulating sentence in his book on Bunyan. Speaking of the ancient town of Vanity, famous for its Fair, he remarks, "Vanity and its Fair stand for the existing order - for Bunyan's Europe". It is our purpose to try and show that in the influence of the historical tradition of the

(1) Anyone who reads Sir Charles Firth's stimulating paper on "John Bunyan" (English Association Pamphlets No.19) cannot fail to realise, whether Bunyan himself knew it consciously or not, how much he owed to the early romances current in his day, and which he admits he had read.

Anabaptist movement on the Continent there is to be found "a source" of Bunyan's inspiration, both of his matter and his form. This leads us to give an outline of the Anabaptist movement in Europe up to 1535, the Fall of Münster.

THE ANABAPTIST MOVEMENT ON THE CONTINENT UP TO THE FALL OF MÜNSTER 1535.

"Father Knickerbocker, engaged upon his history of New York thinks it well to begin with some account of the creation of the world. A wise Knickerbocker".⁽¹⁾

G.K.Chesterton in his Life of St.Francis of Assissi likewise thinks it necessary as a commencement to describe "The World St.Francis found". He points out that it is a modern innovation to substitute journalism for history. Thus we only hear that Admiral B. has been shot, which is the first intimation we have had that he has ever been born. It is rather exciting; like the last act of a play to people who have only come into the theatre before the curtain falls. But it does not conduce exactly to knowing what it is all about. To those content with the mere fact of a pistol shot, or a passionate embrace, such a way of patronising the drama may be recommended. To those tormented with intellectual curiosity, about who is kissing or killing whom, and why, it is unsatisfactory.

Thus Chesterton argues that St.Francis is unintelligible unless we understand something of what the 13th.Century meant by heresy, and a crusade. To begin the story of St.Francis with the birth of St.Francis would be to miss the whole point of the

(1) Gwilym O.Griffith "A Pocket History of the Baptist Movement" opening sentence.

story. We need to look at a man against the background of his world. It may mean describing a world, or a universe, in order to describe a man. It inevitably means that the world or universe will be described in a sketchy manner. But it is essential to do so, and such description far from giving us the vision of a very small man under so large a sky, will mean that the measure of the sky will enable us to measure the towering stature of the man⁽¹⁾.

We will therefore follow in G.K.Chesterton's and Father Knickerbocker's footsteps, and although there is no attempt to say anything new in this section⁽²⁾, an outline of the Anabaptist Movement on the Continent up to the Fall of Münster in 1535, will enable us to appreciate the part it plays in Bunyan's work.

In 1521, the year in which Luther appeared before the Diet of Worms, certain reformers arose in Zwickau, a town in Saxony, on the high road between Bavaria and Silesia, teaching a different doctrine from that of Luther. Nicolaus Storch, a clothmaker; Marx Stübner, a student; and Thomas Münzer, a priest who had followed Luther and had been a preacher of his doctrine, were the leaders. These 'Prophets of Zwickau' are the harbingers of the Anabaptist Movement.

(1) G.K.Chesterton 'The Life of St.Francis of Assissi'.

(2) Continental Anabaptism is a vast subject by itself and is now being explored by many able scholars, although the field with which we are concerned viz. Anabaptism in England, has hitherto merely been touched upon. Our research has been in that field and will be fully dealt with in subsequent Chapters and Appendices.

They agreed with the other Reformers, that the standard of Truth was the Bible, and that things must be reformed in accordance with the Word of God which it contained, but they contended no one could rightly understand the Scriptures unless he was taught by the Holy Spirit. To everyone a measure of that Spirit was given, but only those who faithfully listened to its voice in their hearts, and were obedient to the commands of Christ, could go from 'strength to strength' in interpretation of the true meaning of Scripture. Now one of those commands was Baptism, but baptism according to the New Testament must be preceded by repentance, conversion and faith. Infant baptism, therefore, was worse than useless, and in the reformation of religion it was one of the corruptions to be removed.

They revolted against the alliance even in the Reformed churches between Church and State. Luther and Zwingli both glanced at the idea of the Church as held by the Anabaptists, and the former at least would have liked to establish a true Apostolic Church. But from a statesman's point of view to do this was to court failure. Ideally, a World and a Church both claiming divine origin, though perhaps recognising different standards of morality might have existed together, but the Christian Church and the Roman Empire intermingling, the two societies became, at one and the same time, a Church-world, and a World-church. Neither Zwingli nor Luther saw their way to avoid this, and the Reformation ended by simply setting up one form of the

intermingling of the Church and the World for another.

The rise of Anabaptism under such circumstances was especially dangerous, both to the old and the new forms of the World-Church, - to the old as already weakened by great secessions, and to the newer ones, often hastily and violently set up, and in some cases mere creations of local diplomacy. Luther, himself, regarded the then existing Christendom as the "Apocalyptic Babylon"; the Anabaptists only differed with him in that they included in that term the Lutheran and Zwinglian churches.

Following the preaching of the "Prophets" tumults arose in Zwickau, the new teachers went to Wittenberg and arriving there on 27th. December, 1521 were favourably received. Luther was in the Wartburg, but Melancthon was in so open a frame of mind, that Stübner lived in his house for the next six months. Cellarius came forward to defend the Lutheran views, but declared himself conquered and joined the prophets. Wittenberg flocked to the meetings and influenced by them proceeded to follow the new doctrines - churches were cleared of all relics or images.

The Elector of Saxony, Frederick the Wise, allowed the 'iconoclasts' to have their way. Melancthon became alarmed and wrote both to Frederick and Luther urging the return of the latter. Luther returned to Wittenberg in March 1522

It is quite evident that Luther resented some aspects

of the new teaching.⁽¹⁾ Storch, Stübner and Münzer were not in Wittenberg when Luther arrived, but a meeting was arranged. Luther, however, was very arrogant, and the Zwickau faction left Wittenberg in anger.

But their doctrines began to spread. Storch's writings circulated over the Lower Rhine district. Münzer travelled over Bohemia, Thuringia and Switzerland. At Waldshut on the Swiss border the movement became particularly strong. It is probable that shortly after the quarrel with Luther the Zwickau teaching reached Münster itself, for in 1534 we find a Münster 'prophet' preaching to a congregation and saying, "some present had heard God's Word there as far back as 1524".

In that year Bernard Knipperdolling, a furrier in Münster, went in a Dutch ship with Melchior Hoffmann to Stockholm, and under their influence the people there began to break the church images. Two years later, second or adult baptism begins to appear in the Netherlands and in East Friesland. Analogous movements appear about the same time in various parts of Germany.

The Duke of Cleve was very tolerant, and many refugees for their faith sought an asylum within his territories. Werner

(1) In a letter to Melancthon dated January 17th. 1522 Luther wrote, "So far I have heard nothing of these preachers, but what Satan might say or do ---- How do they know children do not believe? Faith is not always active, as, for example, when we are asleep. Faith may exist in a child, and yet be dormant. Besides may not the faith of others be efficacious on their behalf? This universal agreement of the whole Church about infant baptism is a special miracle: even the heretics acknowledge it".

von Palent, high bailiff of Wassenberg sympathised with this new movement, and protected many of those who for conscience sake had left, or been driven from their own provinces.⁽¹⁾ These refugees formed centres, whence their disciples issued in companies seeking the conversion of the peasants. The northern part of Jülich lands became full of evangelical communities.

The ducal ordinance of 1532, setting up a State Church in Cleve and Jülich, remaining a dead letter, an inquiry was held as to the reasons. This led to the persecution and destruction of the movement. The leaders Roll, Vinnen, Kloprys and Slachtscaep took refuge in Münster.

The change in the Duke of Cleve's policy with regard to religious matters was no doubt due largely to the results of the great defeat suffered by the People in 1525.

Every student of history knows that the beginning of the 16th. Century saw vital changes beginning in the religious, social and economic world. The old order was changing giving place to new, and in Germany the Reformation was vitally connected with the social and economic change.

Many of the best things in mediaevalism were dying, and some of the worst things were taking a new lease of life. The landowners finding they were losing their position through

(1) Kloprys from Cologne; Vinnen of Diest; Slachtscaep of Tongres and Roll of Grave, all found sanctuary at Wassenberg.

the rapidly developing commercialism, grasped at every opportunity of recovering lost dues and services, so that the peasants felt themselves on the road back to Serfdom.⁽¹⁾ The town populations were also discontented. Through the alteration in the lines of commerce, due to maritime discoveries of the previous century, many districts were falling into decay, and poverty was rife. On the other hand many were taking the opportunity of gain. Rings were formed, individuals having influence obtained special privileges, and monopolies were granted to trading companies. Monasteries and nunneries were in deep discredit, the immorality of the clergy was notorious, dress was extravagant, and drinking outrageous. The rulers were legion, princes, bishops, electors, dukes, landgraves, counts, lords, abbots; the imperial cities were ruled by oligarchies. Each little principality was entrenched against the other by custom-houses; different coinages and bad roads, brigands and robbers divided them still more.

What gives these facts special significance is, that at this time the Bible itself had come to be known for the first time by the mass of the people.⁽²⁾ It is difficult for us to-day

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- (1) Common lands were confiscated, new taxes were imposed, higher rents and compulsory services were exacted. In 1526 Butzer speaking of the way princes and prelates oppressed the peasants said "Up to this they have torn the flesh off his bones, now they would suck the marrow out of his bones".
- (2) Janssen gives it that by 1518 there were 14 complete translations of the Bible in High German and 5 in Low German. (Between 1523 and 1531 there were more than 25 translations of the Bible in the Netherlands).

to realise fully the effect of this. Here was a book admitted by the Authorities to be the revelation of true religion, and when the people read it for themselves they could not fail to be struck by the great gulf between the actual Christendom, and the original design as unfolded in the New Testament. Thoughts burned and desires were awakened. The very idea of Reformation made a tremendous appeal to the "common" people.

In 1486 an insurrection broke out in Bavaria. In 1491 and 1492 insurrections occurred in the domains of the Prince Abbot of Kempten. In 1493 the "Bundschuh"⁽¹⁾ was raised in the diocese of Strassburg. In 1502 it appeared in the diocese of Speyer. The insurgents declared that they had united to abolish the authorities; that they would have no master except the Emperor; that tithes, custom-houses and duties should be done away with; and that waters, forests, pasturage, commons and game should be common to all. These risings were suppressed and the leaders executed but that did not stamp out the movement. In 1513 another attempt was made at Baden. In 1514 it broke out in Wurtemberg. In 1517 the whole country from the Black Forest to the Vosges was enveloped in a network of insurrections.

In 1524 the revolt again blazed up. This time over a larger area. The storm clouds burst in Franconia, in the Black Forest, on the borders of Switzerland. They spread to the

(1) The peasants adopted the laced up shoe ordinarily worn by the German peasantry as the standard round which they rallied. They called it the "Bundschuh" (the tied or laced up shoe) and carried it at the end of their pikes, or painted it on their standards.

Palatinate, the Rheingau, Hesse, Saxony and the Duchy of Brunswick. In the south they spread to the Tyrol, to Salzburg, to Carinthia and Carniola.

At first the movement carried all before it. The citizens sided with the peasants. The towns opened their gates. The old Councils were replaced by others of a more democratic character. In March 1525 zeal ran so high that a wave of destruction ran through the country; churches, abbeys, castles and convents were wrecked. This of course alienated the more sober-minded. Münzer, who was the outstanding leader in this revolt against the condition of affairs, did all he could to control the movement but it was beyond his power. The end came swiftly and terribly. The united forces of Hesse, Saxony and Brunswick met the peasant army at Frankenhausen in 1525. The peasants' forces were completely routed, and a general massacre of the insurgents ensued. Münzer himself was executed, and the executioner's sword went everywhere.(1)

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- (1) It is outwith our purpose but Luther's conduct at the close of the Peasants' War is worth studying. The cruel way in which he hounded on the victorious party to crush out the spirit of social democracy would be incredible if his own letters did not exist to prove it.

On 22nd. and 30th. May, 1525, Luther wrote to Dr. Johann Ruhel (W.L.M.de Wette "Collection of Luther's Letters" Vol.II. p.666, 669-670). "That they proceed with the poor people in so horrifying a manner is truly pitiable. But what can one do? God intends that it may spread terror in the people. Otherwise Satan would do worse than the princes do now".

In this fatal year 1525 and in the midst of these terrible circumstances, Anabaptism first comes into prominence. Its first corporate expression was in Switzerland in the towns of Zurich and St.Gall.

In the former city Zwingli so affected the public mind as to induce the civic authorities to accept his theological and ecclesiastical views. He went beyond Luther in his views. With Luther all had to be given up that the Bible condemned; with Zwingli all had to be given up that the Bible did not expressly command. In 1523 a great disputation was held in Zürich. Zwingli was adjudged the victor, and the Council decreed that Zwingli's views had to be adopted.

Thereupon Zwingli's difficulties commenced. Zwingli was also a politician, but many of his more ardent supporters were bent on a thorough and immediate scriptural reformation of Church and State. Zwingli saw the dangers. He was well aware what storms had already been raised, and he feared precipitate haste would again unleash the storm, and engulf the whole effort after religious reformation.

This halting hesitancy of Zwingli displeased many of his followers. Thus arose a division of party. This extreme faction considered Zwingli's leadership unsatisfactory not only on social and economic problems such as tithes, but his chief offence in their eyes lay in his wishing to make the City Council, the ruling power in the new church. At a second discussion held

in Zürich from October 26th. to 28th. it became clear that the question of the freedom of the Church from State control was the point upon which the struggle between the two parties would turn.

The breach became complete when the extreme party made up their minds that the church could consist only of true Christians, and that following the New Testament example, such persons should separate from the world, and gather together as a pure and holy people. Thus side by side in Zürich were the germs of the two opposing Christendoms: the Church united to the State and subject to its influence and authority, - and the Church separated from the world, and within its own sphere denying the world's authority.

The writings of Münzer which came into the hands of the leaders of the new community, led them to communication with those in Holland, who were treading a similar path. The Gospel they decided must not be protected by the sword, and on the question of baptism their decision was, "baptism signifies that through faith, and by the blood of Christ our sins are washed away". They recognised as fundamental articles of their belief, - faith in Jesus Christ, - this implied the denial of infant baptism, - refusal to take oaths or use weapons of war, to act as magistrates, or to sanction the punishment of death.

It was clear that this doctrine, if it took root, would strike at the existence of the State as it stood. There would

be thus two distinct societies, - the Church and the World, - each obviously opposed to and independent of the other. If the Brethren were right the Christendom then existing must cease to be.

The Council of Zürich issued a decree saying that whoever was baptised according to these beliefs after February 8th. 1524 should be banished with wife and children. The enforcing of this drove the Anabaptists from Zürich, but this simply meant the spreading of their ideas. Towards the end of April 1525 the agitation in South Germany spread to Zürich. The movement against the feudal burdens was so general, that several parishes were carried away with it. It is true that the Anabaptist sympathies were with the people, but there is little proof, that they made attempts to promote the social movement, but they certainly were made suffer for it. After the defeat of the Peasants at Frankenhausen the Zürich council proceeded to extremities, and many Anabaptists were cruelly put to death.

Now let us glance in outline at the Anabaptist movement elsewhere, before we come to describe more in detail its culmination at Münster.

ANABAPTISM IN TYROL AND MORAVIA

As early as 1521 Anabaptist doctrines were preached in Tyrol. The authorities seeing in the movement a menace to themselves took action against it. Copies of a mandate against Anabaptism, published in 1527, were disseminated in the Tyrol, in order that the "Common Man" should not in future be excused on the ground of want of knowledge. The authorities sent out orders to torture any, who were arrested as Anabaptists, that by means of the information extracted the sect might be utterly destroyed. The degree to which Anabaptists were watched is seen in the following police information concerning four Anabaptists from Clausen, who were going from place to place teaching their doctrines;- "One named Mayerhofer, has a long brown beard and wears a grey soldier's coat; a companion tall and pale wears a long black coat with trimmings; a third is shorter; a fourth thin, and of a ruddy complexion, who is known as a cutler".

Ferdinand of Austria, now King of Bohemia, warned the landowners of the Tyrol that, "the preaching of the new baptism could lead to no other result than all sorts of revolts, insurrections and mutinies of the common man against the upper and hereditary classes". Many accordingly were put to death after cruel torture. One Anabaptist⁽¹⁾ wrote, "The doctrine of God

(1) Schiemer.

is forbidden. It is called heresy. Therefore the edict and mandate must go out to every corner of the land. Hither gallops the flying-post, thither runs the constable, here comes the Magistrate, here is a scaffold, there is the hangman, and in every house there is an informer".

At this point the Tyrolese Anabaptists called to mind that God had gathered a people in Moravia. They sent envoys, who returned and reported oneness of spirit with their Moravian brethren. Many, therefore, who felt they had no longer safety in their own land, left for the community at Austerlitz in Moravia⁽¹⁾. As these communities have an important bearing later on in our thesis, we may ask ourselves here, How did they arise?

Among the successors of Huss was a man Peter of Chilcicky. He believed that the truth must not be defended by the sword, and that the Church should free itself from all temporal power and wealth, and every tie that binds it to the world. He drew round him many disciples and his party separated themselves from the militant Hussites. His disciples spread these doctrines throughout Moravia, Silesia, Brandenburg and Poland. These apostles followed the scriptural injunction, and

(1) The most careful watching of frontiers and bye-paths, even many arrests, failed to stop the 'trek'. The Government at Innsbrück reporting to King Ferdinand deplored the non-success of their persecutions, although more than 700 men and women had been executed. The remedy they suggested was persistence in the executions, and that with greater assiduity. The date of this report is February 9th. 1530.

travelled without apparent means. Their poverty, sincerity and democratic sympathies gave them a strong appeal to the "Common Man". Under the general movement for reform, communities of such holders of beliefs came into prominence, and they seem to have been regarded by the persecuted in Germany and elsewhere as harbour lights indicating a place of refuge. It is said by one authority that between 1526 and 1536 there were "households" in 86 different places in Moravia, numbering some 70,000 persons⁽¹⁾. These communities refused refuge to no one on account of poverty. Sanctuary was given to any who gave evidence of having been "born again". On the scriptural mandate - "Go - Preach - Baptise" - their apostles went in every direction, even as far as the Rhine.

In June 1533 we have a record of a great meeting held in Guffidaun to explain how fugitives could reach Moravia. The authorities, however, got wind of it and 18 were arrested and 11 executed. We are also given a glimpse in that same year, of a party in flight to Moravia. The party was exceptionally large and numbered 25 children among them. They moved secretly at night, along a given route and reached Auspitz with the loss of only four stragglers. Unfortunately the Government sometimes arrested a fugitive and wrung from him particulars of the itinerary, with disastrous results for the next batch of fugitives.

(1) Article by Richard Heath in Contemporary Review 1896 "Living in Community" quoting as his authorities Dr. J. Loserth "Der Anabaptismus in Tirol" and "Der Communismus der Mährischen Wiedertäufer."

In the spring of 1533, Ferdinand issued a royal edict for the levy of a land-tax in Moravia. He pointed out that the Anabaptists were rebels against authority, that they were regarded by Lutherans and Zwinglians as heretics, and announced that it was not his will or intention to suffer them any more in Moravia. The Moravian Diet agreed with him, and it was decreed that the Anabaptists should be driven out of the country.

The landlords on whose estates the Anabaptists had formed communities and settlements now ordered them to quit. In vain they appealed for justice, offering to pay any tribute if they would only be left their work and their religion. The appeal was sent to the King. Ferdinand's answer was, "Drive them out". Thus the Anabaptists became wanderers, not knowing where to find a resting place. At first they journeyed together, being loath to separate, but as provision was refused them, they were compelled to divide themselves into little groups, each led by some courageous Brother.

ANABAPTISM IN SOUTHERN GERMANY AND RHINE LANDS.

When the persecution of the Anabaptists began in Switzerland several of the leaders went into the South of Germany. At Waldshut in the Austrian dominions close to the Swiss frontier the whole neighbourhood was in a state of unrest. The two outstanding leaders were Dr. Balthasar Hubmaier in Waldshut, and Hans Denk in Strassburg. They were driven out of their respective cities, and met in Augsburg.

Despite the persecution which was everywhere raging, it is evident after the close of the Peasants' War that zealous missionary work took place in all parts of Germany. How numerous the apostles must have been we gather from evidences of their work. Thus we hear not only of a community at Augsburg numbering 1100 souls, but also of others at Passau, Salzburg and München. The authorities on their side were not idle, and we read of many, who suffered martyrdom for their faith.

These apostles, like the disciples of old, wandered from town to town, forming Christian centres and communities. They went particularly to the downtrodden and the needy, for to such had the Lord sent them, and because they heard and received them gladly⁽¹⁾. Such believers gathered themselves into communities composed of those who held a similar faith, - holding

(1) Their actual method and the effect it had upon their hearers is given in concrete incidents in Section IV. of this Thesis.

each other in brotherly love, as members of one body - the body of Christ. This idea was not peculiar to them; but while other communities held it theoretically, the Anabaptists sought to make it a reality. Hence their desire to separate as much as possible from the world, for the fashions of the world struck at its fundamental beliefs, viz., the disparity in wealth and social rank, - that kind of patriotism which made the slaughter of men in other lands in the interests of one's own a prime duty, - that kind of loyalty which required men to swear obedience to other authorities than Christ. These Brethren ascribed to the State no Christian character, but regarded it as belonging with the whole unbelieving world to the Kingdom of darkness. For true Christians, magistrates were unnecessary, but if they were persecuted by them they must pray for them, and endure it.⁽¹⁾

Such doctrines brought upon the Anabaptists the hostility of the authorities in every state in Germany, and ultimately wherever they were found throughout Europe. Persecution followed them. If the local authorities had any doubt as to their right to proceed to extremes, it was removed by the Imperial mandate of January 4th. 1528. Later at the second Diet of Speyer, March 1529 a resolution was adopted commanding the magistrates that every Anabaptist, male or female, should be put to death by fire, sword or otherwise. In Suabia, the Suabian League gave the

(1) Compare Bunyan's own attitude given in his "Advice to Sufferers" quoted on page 151/152 in note.

troopers authority to hunt the fanatics like wild beasts, and at once without law or trial, to put them to death.

It was at this point that a new spirit began to be infused into Anabaptism. The man who was responsible for this new orientation and impetus was one, Melchior Hoffmann. Hoffmann is first heard of as a furrier in Waldshut, where he came under the influence of the religious movement. From there he went to preach at Zürich⁽¹⁾. He travelled from one part to another preaching, taking no reward, but supporting himself by his handicraft. Hoffmann was firmly convinced that the world lay captive in bondage to Satan, and that he was called to awaken men to the miseries that this had brought upon them, although at the same time he upheld obedience to the authorities, allowed the use of weapons, and the taking of oaths on exceptional occasions.

About 1529 Hoffmann definitely joined the Anabaptists. His joining them meant no surrender of his own views, on the contrary, the Anabaptists more or less surrendered their views to his. This changed the direction of the whole movement most remarkably. While agreeing as to believer's baptism, and the necessity for maintaining a pure society apart from that of the world, Hoffmann practically denied the position of the early Anabaptists, that the members of Christ's Kingdom could not

(1) Zwingli wrote to Vadian in 1523, "The good-for-nothing fellow, who prepares skins, has begun to play the evangelist in this place, and questions me".

serve or defend the Kingdoms of this world, since he permitted the use of the sword and oath-taking. If then Anabaptists gave up their objection to the methods of the world's Kingdoms, - fighting and covenanting by oath-taking, need we feel surprised if the next step led them to using these methods in defence of the Kingdom of God against the Kingdoms of this World?

But Hoffmann affected Anabaptist thought in yet another way. In an age when men were unusually alive to social as well as theological questions Hoffmann's expositions of prophecy could not fail to have a social and political meaning. According to Hoffmann the last seven years of the world had arrived. When this period of time had elapsed the Son of Man would appear in the clouds from heaven, then would come a time of peace and abundance. Until that event, however, luxury, pleasure and vice would dominate the earth, and the slaughter and suffering among the Elect would be great. Emotion and enthusiasm took hold of many. Hoffmann was regarded as Elias, and Strassburg as the New Jerusalem. This visionary tendency was calamitous for the Anabaptists in South Germany. The authorities bestirred themselves. Persecution became intense. Hoffmann was taken and thrown into gaol, where he died after some years of imprisonment, - but he had sown ideas, which were to bring forth their harvest of actions.

ANABAPTISM IN THE NETHERLANDS.

The Netherlands were peculiarly prepared to receive the new doctrines. They had already in their midst a universally honoured society with definite educative aims, known as, "The Brothers of the Common Life", which had settlements in some twenty of the principal towns in the Netherlands. By the end of the 15th. Century, they numbered over 2,000 scholars on their rolls. The education they gave was emphatically Christian for it was an axiom of the society that, "the root of study, and the manner of life must, in the first place, be the Gospel of Christ". But when the Anabaptist doctrines began to spread and take root, the Emperor issued ordinances and edicts against them, and persecution here also became the order of the day; many fled into East Friesland.

In East Friesland it seemed as if Anabaptism was to become the leading influence, for Count Edzard, the ruler of the country, was tolerant in his religious views. On his death, however, he was succeeded by his son Enno, whose policy was to bring about one uniform State Church, which for political reasons he wished to be Lutheran. As however his people were inclined to Anabaptism or Zwinglianism, he found it difficult to do more than ruin the old Church, which was done in the manner of the English reformation. A Commission was appointed to superintend the confiscation of the land, and other valuables

of the old Church. Churches, monasteries and convents were ransacked, - according to Beninga, the East Friesland chronicler, - "the commissioners making the best use of their time; each grabbed with covetous hands". Count Enno of course seized the lion's share.

Into this "den of thieves" came Hoffmann on one of his missionary journeys. The contrast between him and the ducal reformer was such that the people flocked to hear him. Hoffmann's views were now spread not only in Friesland, but also throughout Holland, and what is still more important the whole Anabaptist movement was being influenced by his views.⁽¹⁾ Count Enno retaliated on January 19th. 1530 by decreeing the expulsion of all holding Anabaptist views. Persecution broke out, but many of the authorities, particularly the Burgomaster of Amsterdam, sympathised openly with the Anabaptists. Under these circumstances many fugitives ventured to return to that city, where Hoffmann realising their difficulties and dangers, sent them word to keep quiet and cease from baptising for two years. The year 1533 was the time when, according to Hoffmann's prediction, the end of the tribulation period would come.

Hoffmann himself was imprisoned at Strassburg, but so far from effecting the object of the authorities in stamping out

(1) This new form of Anabaptism was known to the Court of Holland, and those who held Hoffmann's ideas were distinguished as Melchiorites (Hoffmann's name was Melchior Hoffmann).

his doctrines, his followers regarded it as further proof of the truth of their leader's mission. Nor did Hoffmann's own faith lessen, "O ye beloved saints---", he wrote from prison, "raise your heads, hearts, eyes and ears, for the redemption is at hand".

As Hoffmann had given a powerful impulse, and a different direction to Anabaptism, so in Holland men arose who did likewise to Melchioritism. The year 1533 was almost at an end, the half-year during which it had been prophesied Hoffmann should be imprisoned had nearly elapsed, the two years' cessation from baptism had nearly run out, when a new voice was heard. The underground fires had been gathering force, and they found their vent in a man, who had spent his days in kneading the dough, watching for it to ferment and then casting it into the oven, Jan Matthysz of Haarlem. His first appearance roused some opposition. The community in Amsterdam were unwilling to recognise any rival to Hoffmann, their teacher and prophet. But the strong will and powerful personality of Matthysz overcame all opposition. The Dutch Anabaptists felt that a leader had risen up amongst them, and they yielded themselves to his guidance.

Matthysz began by sending out apostles. These apostles went forth announcing among other things, that the promised time had come, that in a short space God would overthrow the tyrants and bloodshedders with all the rest of the wicked. The tide of

enthusiasm rose high. Erasmus received a letter from a friend in Antwerp saying, "We are in fear and anguish on account of these firebrands, the Anabaptists. There is scarcely a place or a town, where the torch of revolt does not secretly glow. The communism, which they preach, attracts the masses far and wide".

The alarmed authorities replied to this enthusiasm with fresh zeal on their part. They gave another twist to the screw, another turn to the rack, and heaped the faggots higher than ever in the market place. Soldiers roamed the rural districts, accompanied by police officers, who arrested suspected persons. Hundreds were deprived of their liberty.

In the beginning of 1534 a circular letter was spread throughout Holland, addressed to "all beloved companions in Christ", summoning them to come to Münster as to a New Jerusalem, for in that city were the signs of the Kingdom of God⁽¹⁾. They must fly out of Babylon, and not look behind after unbelieving wife or child".

On the 21st. March 1534, thirty ships filled with men, women and children left Amsterdam, but they got no further than the entrance to Zwartsluis, in Overijssel, where they were stopped by the authorities. When those on board were asked whither they were going they replied, "To the country that God shall show us".

(1) As we wish to give a special chapter to the development in detail of the Anabaptist movement in Münster, showing how it came to be so regarded, we have thus not dealt with it before, or elaborated it here.

They were well provided with arms, and were part of a great exodus out of Holland, which according to the magistrate at Grave, was to meet at Vollenhoven, and was expected to number 16,000 persons. While this Amabaptist fleet was making its way to the trysting-place, multitudes were 'trekking' thither from Gelderland and other parts of the Netherlands, in wagons, on horses and on foot. The authorities, on the alert, stopped and overpowered detachment after detachment. The prisoners were thrown into gaol. Five ships were scuttled, drowning all on board.

Jan van Geelen, who had been sent from Münster, apparently to exhort fugitives in Friesland, was in charge of a party numbering 300 men, women and children. Pursued by a troop, they entrenched themselves in a place called Olde-Klooster. After holding out for many days, they were overwhelmed. Many fell fighting. The men who were captured were beheaded, the women drowned. This happened on February 28th.1535.

Van Geelen himself escaped and reached Amsterdam. There he roused the Anabaptists, and in May they attacked the Stadthuis, intending to capture the city. The burghers, however, came to the help of the authorities and the Anabaptists were defeated. Those captured were publicly executed. The contingents from various places, who were to have helped in Van Geelen's enterprise arrived too late, and found themselves in danger from the recognised authority. There was nothing left for it but

flight. Some escaped to England.

On 10th. June 1535 the Emperor and his Council sanctioned a decree by which all persons in the Netherlands, from Lille to Friesland, infected by Anabaptism, with their abettors, followers and accomplices, were liable to forfeit their lives and goods. Prophets and apostles were to be burnt to death. The rest, if they renounced their evil opinions, and sincerely repented, were to suffer, the men with the sword, the women in a sunken pit, - that is, they were to be buried alive.⁽¹⁾

A reign of terror now set in. People everywhere were put to death for holding Anabaptist beliefs, and little trouble was taken to find out whether those who suffered were insurrectionists or not. No doubt there were two kinds of Anabaptists in the Netherlands. Some believed, as the first Anabaptists, in the doctrine of non-resistance to evil, holding that suffering was the only true method of Christian overcoming; but the great majority had gone over to the new teaching of Matthysz, which was now bearing astonishing fruit at Münster. Let us therefore turn and sketch with a little more detail the events that were happening in North-Western Germany, particularly in the ancient city of Münster.

(1) C.M.Davies History of Holland, Vol.1, page 383.

THE ANABAPTIST MOVEMENT IN NORTH-WESTERN GERMANY - MÜNSTER.

North-Western Germany although divided into many states, nevertheless had a common life in its view of Reformation, by which it meant social, economic and political as well as religious reform. Several of the States in this part of Germany had Bishops as their sovereigns. In such states the office was elective, and the power lay in the hands of the Chapter of the diocese, which in turn was in the hands of the local aristocracy.

Owing to the numerous privileges, exemptions and immunities of the clergy and the aristocracy, the burden of taxation lay heavily on the people, and the heartless selfishness of those in power is illustrated by the fact that Bishop Frederick von Wied sold the diocese of Münster in 1532, to Eric, Duke and Bishop of Brunswick for 40,000 florins; and again by Eric's successor, Bishop Franz von Waldeck who in 1533 along with the Chapter at Münster, entered into negotiations with the Burgundian Government, for the sale of all princely rights over the metropolis of the diocese; the sum offered for the sovereignty over the city of Münster being 10,000 crowns.

Only the cream of the Münster aristocracy could become members of the Chapter or "The Forty" as it was called from the number who composed it. The inhabitants of Münster were thus divided into two groups, - the aristocratic and clerical group, and the lay group, - the latter of whom bore the real burdens

of the State.(1)

About the year 1520 a new conscience seemed to awake in Münster, and some of the clergy showed evidence of being affected. In 4 of the churches the ministers, who had hitherto taught in an "irreproachable manner" that is, in the conventional manner, aroused some excitement by preaching against the clergy and the authorities in the "rebellious tone" of the People, but this dawning of Reform seemed to wane with the failure of the People's Revolt in 1525.

With that failure the efforts of the people in Münster to throw off the clerical and aristocratic yoke broke down. Things indeed seemed to grow worse for upon this depressing state of affairs came pestilence and famine. In 1529 there was a recurrence of the Black Death with its resultant horror and starvation. According to Melancthon the struggle going on at this time in the German cities was not so much on account of religion as for power and freedom.

The People everywhere saw no hope except in a complete

(1) How numerous was the ecclesiastical group may be judged from the fact that within the walls of Münster there were 4 other ecclesiastical foundations besides the Cathedral Chapter, 4 monasteries and 7 nunneries, and 10 churches in addition to the great Dom or Cathedral. The ecclesiastical caste notwithstanding its exclusive privileges, entered into various trades and handicrafts, and even raised and sold cattle, thus competing with the trades-people and artisans, a proceeding which was felt to be unfair and aroused resentment.

reformation, and thus they supported every effort, social, economic, political or religious, that seemed likely to effect that end. This explains why the social and political leaders of that time were so often religious reformers and preachers of the Gospel. Bernard Rothmann, the name most associated with the struggle of the Münster democracy, is first heard of at the church of St.Mauritz, where he preached that the true service of God consists in firm faith in Christ, and in love to one's neighbour, rather than in fulfilling church ritual.

Rothmann reflected and voiced the mood and the mind of the People. The monks of St.Mauritz shut him out of their church; he preached in the church-yard. The bishop forbade him to speak, but he went on. The Chapter sought the intervention of the Emperor, but Rothmann strong in the support of the people remained, and continued to preach. Democracy in Münster had, in fact, a more than usually strong position through the Trade Guilds. The Lutheran party, which had the support of some of the most intelligent members of the governing classes in Münster, was at this time so identified with the popular party, that the growth of the power of the guilds increased in proportion to the growth of the evangelical faith in the city.

By February 1532 the Evangelical movement had obtained so much power in Münster that it was recognised by the authorities, and Rothmann was appointed preacher in St.Lambert's church. But the Duke-Bishop Eric, who had bought the diocese and sovereignty of Münster, came into possession on March 27th.1532, and his

first act was to require the removal of the new clergy. Rothmann was accordingly ordered to suspend his preaching.

On the 1st. July a committee was appointed by the Evangelicals to bring things to a settlement with the Council, and by covenants on July 15th. and August 10th. it was agreed that all the parish churches in Münster were to be given over to the evangelical clergy. This arrangement, however, needed the sanction of the new Prince-Bishop, Franz von Waldeck; and this it was certain he would not give, for the Imperial mandate of July 12th. required him to dismiss and expel the Lutheran ministers from Münster, and to establish military order in the city. Therefore Münster does not appear to have asked the Prince-Bishop's consent, but simply carried on its way.

Franz von Waldeck, therefore, in agreement with the civil and spiritual aristocracy decided to employ force. But the burghers showing a disposition to resist, and Franz being unwilling to spend money on troops, nothing came of his decision. Numbers of the spiritual and temporal aristocracy of Münster fled in alarm to Telgte, a short distance away, but one winter's night in 1532 a large band of men from Münster marched there, and capturing the nobles and ecclesiastics brought them back in triumph to Münster. Franz von Waldeck himself just escaped by having left Telgte the night before.

Under these circumstances the Prince-Bishop accepted the mediation of Philip of Hesse, and proclaimed a truce through

the whole diocese. The condition of things agreed upon between the Council and the Lutheran leaders on August 10th. 1532 was now accepted by the Prince-Bishop, the Chapter, and the aristocracy, and was duly ratified by a Treaty on February 14th. 1533. Thus Münster became a Lutheran city.

The evangelical faith, as Luther first conceived it, was really a social - democratic faith. In Luther's doctrine of justification there was no room for the aristocratic idea. Prince and beggar were morally on the same plane. Luther proclaimed a spiritual communism that was complete as it was profound. "Say to Christ", he said, "all that is Thine is mine, and all that is mine is Thine". Thus Luther had the key to a fundamental communism, but apparently did not know how to use it, or decided against using it, for instead of opening the door, he set himself to put up again the bolts and bars which he had begun to take down. In his earlier view of the church, Luther left all authority in the hands of the Christian community. But when Luther's opinions took a reactionary turn after 1525⁽¹⁾, the community was put in the background, and the power that he had considered inherent in it, was handed over to the secular authorities. Thus many of the people began to feel that Lutheranism had deceived them, that the very man, who had played the part

(1) A note has already been given on Luther's conduct at the close of the Peasants' War. It is outwith our purpose to try to judge whether Luther was right or wrong in the attitude he adopted.

of the Good Samaritan, had now made common cause with the thieves and cut-throats, and was even hounding them on. It is certain that after the great defeat of the People in 1525, many thousands who had been Lutheran, went over to the Anabaptists⁽¹⁾, and Luther's attitude to the social-democratic movement of his time is the explanation.

When the Mediaeval Church was given up in Münster, it was intended to set up a Lutheran church in its place, and Rothmann was entrusted with the preparation of its constitution and order. Beyond the election of preachers, and one or two other matters, Rothmann's plans never came to existence. The cause of this was the now rapid development in Münster of the People's idea of the Reformation.

The ducal ordinance of 1532 setting up a State Church in Cleve resulted in the persecution of the Wassenberg preachers⁽²⁾, and the destruction of their work. They all sought refuge in Münster. It proved a momentous step both for themselves and that city. They were not only heartily welcomed, but in course of time, several of them became preachers under the new

(1) Sebastian Frank speaking of this time, says, "The Anabaptist movement was so swift, that their doctrine soon spread over the whole country, and they soon baptised many thousands, many excellent people being drawn to them."

(2) Kloprys of Cologne, Vinnen of Diest, Slachtscaep of Tongres, Strapade of Mors and Roll of Grave had all sought refuge from persecution at Wassenberg, receiving sanctuary from Werner von Palent, High Bailiff of Wassenberg.

ecclesiastical arrangements. Under the influence of Roll, who had been a teacher, these men came into complete unity. Into their company Rothmann first, then Stralen, another Lutheran clergyman entered.

Their views soon caused trouble, for they interfered with the policy of the Syndic Van der Wieck, the chief politician in Münster, who was aiming to bring about a union between the Lutheran cities of North-Western Germany. When he found that the city he represented was being drawn away from a Lutheran to an Anabaptist basis, he set himself determinedly to prevent it. He endeavoured with some effect to show the position Münster would be in, if the city tried to defy the Empire. To show the people of Münster that all evangelical Germany was against their preachers, outside aid was sought. Melancthon wrote to Rothmann, Urban Rhegius to the Council, and Marburg University sent an adverse judgment on the Wassenberg Anabaptist doctrines. Van der Wieck also worked to combine into one party all the Lutherans, Zwinglians and Catholics in Münster on the common ground of resistance to Anabaptist doctrines. Thus people had to take sides and declare themselves, but when the Lutheran preacher Stralen went over to the Anabaptists, the democratic party had possession of nearly all the pulpits in Münster.

Van der Wieck tried a common method of the period. He arranged a "Disputation" on the 7th. and 8th. August 1533. It appears to have turned chiefly on the question of infant

baptism. Rothmann stated the views of the Wassenberg preachers, and won an easy victory, for Herman van der Bossche, who was to appear for the other side pleaded age and ill-health, and did not reply to Rothmann. This result was embarrassing for the Council. However, they acted as if their champion had won, and ordered the preachers to administer infant baptism. This they refused to do. The Council replied by closing the churches of the refractory preachers, and Rothmann was deprived of his office. The Council then attempted with the aid of preachers sent by Philip of Hesse to set up a State Church in Münster, but their efforts did not meet with success. We now come to discuss the rise of an Anabaptist Kingdom in the City of Münster.

THE ANABAPTIST KINGDOM IN MÜNSTER.⁽¹⁾

On 5th. January 1534 two Anabaptist apostles sent out by Jan Matthysz arrived in Münster. They preached Repentance for the Kingdom of Heaven was at hand. They called on believers in Münster to be baptised, and form a Community, where all should be equal and have all things in common. Rothmann, Kloprys, Vinnen and Stralen were baptised, and with Roll proceeded to administer the ordinance to others.⁽²⁾

On 13th. January two more apostles arrived, one being Jan van Leiden. They emphasised and called for a complete separation between the Church and the World. On the 23rd. January there came an edict from the Bishop, ordering the imprisonment and extradition of all Anabaptists in Münster. The answer was given at the next election for the Council, when the Anabaptists carried the day. A month of great anxiety ensued.

On the 7th. February both sides were in arms. Suddenly the news arrived that the Bishop was coming. The Burgomaster Tilbeck hastened to patch up a peace on the basis of agreement

- (1) The contemporary histories of this period are hostile to the Anabaptist movement - designedly so, and even some modern historians give somewhat garbled accounts. The three Anabaptist contemporary writings on the subject are (I.) "The Confession of Both Sacraments". (II.) "The Restitution". (III.) "The Book of Vengeance" - but these are rare. The writer is indebted for the English translation to Richard Heath's "Anabaptism".
- (2) In 8 days 1400 persons were baptised in Münster.

on both sides to respect each other's religious liberty. The aristocratic-clerical party now left the city, while Anabaptists from all parts began to come in. Tilbeck proclaimed himself an Anabaptist. The Syndic Van der Wieck fled. The new Council elected on February 23rd. was entirely Anabaptist. Thus Münster now became an Anabaptist city.

The Bishop determined to bring Münster to a right way of thinking by force of arms. In the same month the Siege of Münster began, but as the Bishop was hampered for means it went on very slowly. Nevertheless he took care to overawe the neighbouring towns and villages by ruthless executions. As the city was being surrounded by the episcopal forces, the new authorities determined that all the friends of the besiegers must leave. The order therefore went forth on February 27th. that all, who were not Anabaptists had to go. It was hard upon the expelled people, who were losing their homes and their property, but the risk of internal foes within their own walls had to be dealt with in a summary manner. The majority went, but some preferred to forswear themselves rather than lose their goods.

The religious leaders in Münster, to whom we must now add Jan Matthysz himself, considered it necessary at this point, that those who had recently been baptised and were now in arms for their faith, should be made feel the serious nature of the step they had taken. They were accordingly summoned into the market-place, and addressed on the necessity of repentance

and faith. "God", they were told, "would not have the impure in the city, and only those who were converted would be allowed to remain". They then marched to St.Lambert's Church, and after an impressive dedication service Jan van Leiden stood before the altar, and the converts passed before him, and the preacher Slachtscaep. They laid their hands on the head of each one and blessed them. After this they marched back to the market-place and resumed their arms.

The Council now determined to establish a community of goods, as well as a social community. The people were invited to bring their gold and their silver to the Council-house, to forgive each other their debts, and to live as one family. Community houses were opened, at which there were common meals. In these houses preaching went on every day. Stores of all kinds of food were collected and laid up for use. The various trades were organised. The smiths and iron workers must only work for the authorities. No new fashions in dress were to be introduced, and no one was to go in torn or ragged garments. Wine and intoxicating liquors were under special superintendence. There is a slightly humorous touch about the regulations for labourers on public work, who were specially to be cared for: they would often need bread and beer.

This practical ability and intelligent organisation existed in combination with a state of mental fever. Thus on Easter Sunday, April 4th. Jan Matthysz became suddenly obsessed that he must go out like Samson and defy the Philistines. With

about twenty devoted followers he issued forth from the Ludgergate, and attacked the besiegers. The people in Münster gathered on the walls and watched the issue. They saw their champion surrounded by the enemy, and the fall of his followers one by one. But in the midst of the struggling mass Matthysz stood for a long time erect. At last he also fell. So passed the stern strong personality of Jan Matthysz and his mantle fell on Jan van Leiden.

The Anabaptist community in Münster had had its Moses, and its Joshua, it now set about appointing Judges. Van Leiden announced that the Council was to be abolished, and 12 Elders were to be appointed in its place, to rule the city according to the new law. The Elders each received a drawn sword from the hands of Rothmann, who said, "Take herewith the power of life and death that by me God the Father confides to thee, and use this sword in conformity with His will."⁽¹⁾

Hitherto the Siege of Münster had been conducted by the Bishop's party without much energy. On August 24th. however, it was decided to summon the city to yield, and if it refused to take it by storm. The besieged were offered their lives, and an amnesty for the past. They replied that they would defend Münster to the last man. As a matter of fact the city was well fortified, and the leaders had not failed to strengthen

(1) Note the change in policy among a people, who only a few years earlier had leaders opposed entirely to the use of the sword.

the ramparts and keep them in good repair. The ten gates were well guarded, and the church steeples had been destroyed in order to get platforms on the church towers commanding a good field of fire for the artillery.

On the 28th. active storming operations commenced. The gates were bombarded and on the 31st. the assault was launched. The bishop's troops pierced the outer fortifications, but were met with so well-organised a defence that they were compelled to retreat with great loss.

In the beginning of September a public assembly was held in the city. Dusentschur, a goldsmith from Warendorf, spoke of the danger the city was in, and recommended electing one man to have control and be responsible for the common weal. He moved that Jan van Leiden should be made King. Leiden apparently expected that such a call would come to him. He read into the text, "In the last days, saith the Lord, I will raise up my servant David", that he was the David promised by the prophets. The preachers consulted the Scriptures, and no objections being raised, the supreme authority in Münster was solemnly vested in the hands of van Leiden.

As far as possible the new monarchy was modelled on the scriptural Kingdom of David, of which it was conceived to be the revival. Its regalia consisted of two crowns, - the one imperial, the other royal, - a golden chain, a sceptre and an orb, on the cross upon the latter was engraved, "Ever a King of Justice". In Jan's household all the leaders were

given a place. Divara, the widow of Matthysz, was raised to be queen, as another Esther. She had a household of her own.

The reason for the setting up of this Kingdom, the steps that led to its inception, and the grounds of its faith, were compiled in documentary form by Rothmann, aided by Kloprys, in conjunction with the King and the other preachers. The document is known as "The restitution"⁽¹⁾, and was intended for dissemination among their sympathisers in Germany and the Netherlands.

(1) "The Restitution" is very rare. The writer is indebted to Richard Heath's "Anabaptism" for the English translation.

"THE RESTITUTION".(1)

"The Restitution" is treated in eighteen articles:-

- (1) "The first speaks of the fall of all things, and of their complete restoration. The history of the Kingdom of God is described as a series of falls, followed in each case by a restoration, the final fall being that of Christendom. The restoration begun by Luther has been carried forward by Melchior, Matthysz and Jan van Leiden. Preaching in Münster was not fruitful until the people were gathered together into a holy community. Through prayer it was seen that there was no way to such a gathering but that which Christ instituted - holy baptism.
- (2) & (3) In Münster the old law is being restored, the Old Testament is still binding; in becoming typical it has become glorious; but it is more than type and shadow, much of it consists of promises yet unfulfilled. As God is one, holy Scripture is one, and has but one meaning, that we may know God, and prove our knowledge by our works.
- (4) In Münster the right doctrine of the coming of Christ in the flesh is being restored. The Word did not take flesh of Mary, but according to Scripture, the Word became flesh and dwelt among us.

(1) Taken verbatim from Richard Heath's "Anabaptism".

- (5) In Münster the right doctrine of redemption and satisfaction, namely that Christ died for all men, is being restored. While Papists ascribe too little to redemption, Lutherans ascribe too much.
- (6) In Münster the right order of the doctrine of Christ is being restored:- repentance, faith, baptism, following Christ in obedience, righteousness, and true holiness.
- (7) Baptism is restored in Münster. Only the disciplined and believing can be truly baptised. Baptism implies, in those who submit to it, a godly resolution wholly to unite themselves to God, and to yield themselves up in obedience to Him.
- (8) & (9) The true Church is being restored at Münster. Two of its necessary marks are the right knowledge of Christ in Christian faith, and the keeping alone to His words, and to all that He has commanded.
- (9) Thus the true doctrine of good works necessarily flows out of the true doctrine of the Church. And it is possible to do good works, because God in giving a command gives also the power to fulfil it.
- (10) Free-will as understood at Münster is a gift of God, and men will be judged for the way they use it.
- (11) This article speaks of sin and of wilful sin.
- In (12) concerning the corporate communion of the saints it is said:-
 "From the living association of the saints it of necessity

results that we praise God with one heart and one mind, and are inclined by all sorts and every kind of service to anticipate one another's wants; therefore in Münster we have given up buying and selling, and we make no use of rent or of interest, conceiving this to be eating and drinking the sweat of the poor, that is, causing others to work that we may grow fat".

- (13) At Münster we understand the Lord's Supper to be a memorial of Christ, and a reminder that we must constantly do as He has done. Watching over one another, searching each one his own heart, we seek in true faith to show forth the Lord's Death, and in true love to one another to break bread. Then, too, we earnestly pray for sundry things, especially for our brothers and sisters, who are now "parleying with the dragon".
- (14) (15) & (16) At Münster we have the right ideas on marriage, the object of which is the producing of a holy seed, who shall praise God through eternity. It is only with the rightly believing, who in heart fear God, that there can be a true marriage; those who have been baptised into Christ should renew the marriage state, that they may henceforth walk in purity. Men are more free than women in marriage, and ought to have the lordship.
- (17) There is no right understanding of the Kingdom of Christ. His cross is understood; but that He shall come again and by His servants resume His Kingdom, this men will not have.

Christ will come again during the present generation. The devil has ousted Christ out of His Kingdom, and by craft become prince of this World; but it will certainly come to pass that Christ with His servants will suppress the devil and his Kingdom. Then will come the day of vengeance and of comfort, when each will receive according to his deserts. Then shall there come to be one flock, one shepherd, one King, who will rule over all, and the whole creation shall be free.

- (18) In the world before and after Noah, magistrates were necessary. But this godly ordinance has become perverted, and has directed and established itself against God and His Word, so that the magistracy to-day track out all that dares to boast itself Christian. Never has authority acted so unjustly and so unintelligently. No Nero, no Maximin has acted as it has done in our day; so that in fact this is the time of which Christ spoke when He said;-"the abomination shall be in the holy place". It was, therefore, high time that such authorities should be denied, and for us at Münster, Almighty God being with us, to establish a magistracy again according to His Word. To conclude, men must now resist, for at this time Christians are permitted to draw the sword against godless authorities".

Despite "The Restitution" the Anabaptists of Germany and the Netherlands, and in particular in the district round

about Münster, were unable to overcome the repressive measures of the authorities. On the other hand its publication increased the alarm and severity of the governing classes to such an extent that Catholic and Evangelical powers alike, sank for the moment their mutual animosities, against this common menace, and to that end they rallied to the help of the Bishop of Münster.

About this time Jan van Leiden held a great feast in the city on Mount Zion, as the Dom Platz or Cathedral Square was now called, - a feast which made such an impression on the minds of those who took part in it, that the record of it has come down to us in minute detail, although the account seems in parts somewhat garbled and mixed with what looks like legend.⁽¹⁾ On the 13th. October, 1534 the entire population of Münster were invited by the sound of a trumpet to a royal banquet. The number present is given, on the lowest reckoning as between 7,000 and 8,000 people. The two royal households marched in procession to the Dom Platz. The King himself was arrayed in a coat of silk worked with silver thread. He wore his regalia with the imperial crown on his head. He was followed by 23 Knights; and a number of men-at-arms, clad in livery of red and blue. The guests sat by families, and the King's servants waited at the tables. After the meal was served and eaten, the observance of the Lord's Supper was held. Baskets of the finest wheaten cakes were placed before the King. Jan van Leiden then stood up and broke the

(1) This account is taken from Richard Heath's "Anabaptism".

cakes saying, "Take, eat this bread and proclaim the Lord's death". Then Divara, the queen, rose up a flagon of wine in her hand, and said, "Take, drink this, and proclaim the Lord's death".

After Communion the King desired to know if the people were ready to hear the will of God. The prophet Dusentschur then proclaimed that 27 apostles (the number is uncertain) had been chosen to go forth to the four quarters of the land to preach the doctrine of the Kingdom of Heaven as taught in Münster. This was duly ratified⁽¹⁾. Gresbeck and Kerksenbroick both assert that the King closed the festival by slaughtering with his own hand a captured soldier, wearing the uniform of the besieging army, but this strikes such a jarring note after such scenes of solemnity, that although the incident is possible it is improbable. Heath's suggestion sounds much more feasible, that the record is probably confused through analogy, with the parable of the Marriage Feast, which also tells of a King's banquet and concludes with the discovery of the man without the wedding garment.

Among those sent forth was one Heinrich Graess, a schoolmaster, who had come to Münster from Borcken. He was captured by the besieging force of the Bishop, and sentenced to death. In exchange for his life, he offered to return to

(1) Dusentschur, Slachtscaep, Kloprys and Stralen were all captured and executed on their missionary enterprise, and in all probability the others suffered martyrdom likewise.

Münster as a spy in the Bishop's service, and to bring or send to him a full account of the designs of the Anabaptists, both in the city and in the rest of North-Western Germany. His offer was accepted. Loaded with chains he appeared again before the city gates. He was recognised and admitted. According to his story, like Peter from prison, he had been wonderfully delivered. No one doubted him, and in his position he was soon 'au fait' with the designs of the leaders. Van Leiden freely discussed all his plans with him.

On January 5th.1535 it was agreed that Graess should again sally forth, this time with the view of raising the Anabaptist standard and an army at Deventer. It is said that the King gave him a white banner, which he was to fly on his return, whereupon van Leiden would make a sortie to meet him. Graess left Münster, but instead of going to Deventer, he returned to his employer, and the watchmen on the towers of Münster looked in vain for the return of the white flag, which would betoken help to the now sorely-stricken town.

"THE BOOK OF VENGEANCE".⁽¹⁾

By the end of the year 1534 the inhabitants of the beleaguered city of Münster were in dire straits. They felt the coils closing round them, and news filtered through from time to time of the persecution, capture and cruel death of their fellow-believers. During these terrible days Rothmann composed the work promised in the "Book of Restitution". This new volume is literally a "cry for vengeance". The full title of the work is, "A wholly trustworthy witness of the Vengeance and Judgment of the Babylonian⁽²⁾ Abominations through the Community at Münster, to all true Israelites and companions of Christ scattered hither and thither".

Rothmann feels that the hour of vengeance on the godless is nigh. He declares that God has taken the weapon of destruction out of the hands of the godless; that innocent Abel shall now turn the weapon of Cain on Cain himself. "Let not your eye spare, neither have ye pity". "Babylon must

(1) The writer is indebted for the English translation of "The Book of Vengeance" to Richard Heath's "Anabaptism".

(2) By the term "Babylonian" is primarily meant all that appertains to Rome, - imperial and papal, - but it also applies in a general sense to what John Bunyan meant by the term "Diabolian".

See also Milton's use of the word, -

"Their martyr'd blood and ashes sow
O'er all the Italian fields, where still doth sway
The Triple Tyrant; that from these may grow
A hundred-fold, who having learnt Thy way,
Early may fly the Babylonian woe".

John Milton - Sonnet "On the Late Massacre in Piedmont".

receive double for all her sins".

At Münster he points out the Babylonian authority has been overthrown, that the Kingdom of God is set up therein, and all true Israelites should hasten thither. There were probably not a few Anabaptists, who doubted this spirit of vengeance, and had little faith in the material Kingdom of Heaven as set up at Münster. Rothmann attacks such: "Some brothers take offence at the Münster doctrine, for as yet they know only the sufferings of Christ, and are ignorant of His Kingdom and judgment. But all has its time. As the ungodly have done, so shall it be done to them again. To comprehend this the Scripture histories must be understood ---- the time of the restoration of the Temple is at hand".

In view of this, fellow-believers are summoned to leave their cities of Destruction, hazarding loss of goods, even loss of wife, children and life, and to hasten thither to Münster under the banner of god. Copies of this Book were sent out by apostles. Thus closed the year 1534.

The siege continued during the year 1535, but the city still held out, although the plight of the inhabitants was well-nigh desperate. On the 4th. April an Imperial Diet was held at Worms, where a considerable sum of money was voted for the prosecution of the siege of Münster. It was, moreover, definitely agreed that on the fall of the city, the Roman Catholic church should be restored as the established religion.

Despite this the city might have still further withstood the invaders, but for treachery in the midst.⁽¹⁾ Heinrich Gresbeck with four comrades fled from the doomed city. Captured by the besiegers, Gresbeck, to save his life, informed them how Münster might be taken through the Kreuz Gate. At the same time another deserter Hansen von Langenstraten, - a man who had formerly been in the service of the bishop and had deserted him for the Anabaptist cause in Münster, where he had held the position of inspector of the fortifications - turned Judas and offered to place his knowledge at the service of the besiegers. His offer was accepted, and the attacking forces made plans for the assault.

On the night of the 24th. June, Gresbeck swam the moat with a rope tied round his waist. By this means he drew after him a wooden bridge. The walls being scaled, the guards in charge of the gate were overcome, and the gate opened. Some 400 of the attacking force rushed into the city, but in the excitement they omitted to guard the open gate. The nearest Münster captain arrived and closed it, trapping the 400 inside the city. The besiegers thought the attack had failed.

The bishop's troops were penned in the Cathedral Square and Jan van Leiden called on them to surrender. A truce

(1) The treachery of Heinrich Graess had already cost Münster dear in the loss of a possible ally - the city of Wesel. The persecution and execution following Graess' betrayal of the Anabaptists had cost them that hope.

was made during the parley. The invaders seized this opportunity to send a standard-bearer on to the ramparts to signal for aid. The Bishop's forces thereupon commenced storming the city with redoubled vigour. They penetrated the Jodevelder Gate, and carried the ramparts. The city was to all intents and purposes now taken, but the Anabaptists retreated to the market-square, where they entrenched themselves behind barricades made of waggons, and offered a desperate resistance.

A parley ensued and the attacking forces agreed to give the Anabaptists a free escort from the city. On this promise they surrendered, and on June 25th. 1535 the fall of the Anabaptist Kingdom in Münster was complete.

Alas for the Anabaptists! For them the saying, "Put not your faith in princes" contained dire truth. A furious massacre now commenced in the city. No quarter was given, even to those to whom life had just been promised. The soldiers rushed into the Council-house and pitched their captives out of the windows on to the spears below. When the lust for slaughter died, the execution of the prisoners began. Tilbeck was hacked to death. Kibbenbroick was executed outside his own house. The fate of Rothmann is not recorded. Knipperdolling and Jan van Leiden were both betrayed and captured. Their death was terrible. They were bound to posts with iron collars, while the executioners tore their flesh from their bodies with red-hot pincers. The Bishop himself presided over this hellish scene.

Their bodies were taken to St.Lambert's Church, and exposed in iron cages suspended from the tower. These cages were not removed until the 19th.Century.

Thus fell the Anabaptist Kingdom in Münster. But the history and the terrible ending of such a movement must have been remembered by Anabaptists for many a long year.

It is our aim in this thesis to show that Bunyan's mind was coloured by the thought-forms of his age - in his particular case by Anabaptist historic tradition. Having, therefore, given in some detail the actual history of the Anabaptist movement on the Continent, up to its culmination at Münster, our next step will be to show that Anabaptism existed in England in a sufficiently strong measure to leave that living historic tradition. This leads us to discuss in our next chapter, "Anabaptism in England".

ANABAPTISM IN ENGLAND DURING THE 16th.and 17th.CENTURIES.

It will be necessary for our Thesis to devote some considerable space to the subject of Anabaptism in England in order to show that it was at least possible that a living tradition of Anabaptist history existed in England during the 16th.and 17th. centuries.

Search among the various writings and state papers of those centuries has yielded an abundant harvest. References to Anabaptists and Anabaptism are frequent. Strangely enough although scholars have traced Anabaptist history in other countries, "Anabaptism in England" has been generally ignored.⁽¹⁾ There are four probable reasons for this omission:-

(1) There is the difficulty of tracing the Anabaptists as such. The Münster sect had roused such alarm among the authorities that Anabaptists were hounded down and ruthlessly persecuted by Catholics and Protestants alike in every country in Europe. In consequence after the Fall of Münster in 1535 the Anabaptists tried to keep themselves as inconspicuous as possible. Indeed their history is chiefly to be traced through the contemporary writings of those who opposed them and in the records of the State Papers.

(1) Some articles have been written but in general deal only incidentally with Anabaptism in England and the writers have stopped their record shortly after the middle of the 16th.century.

(2) The authorities themselves are not too clear in the way they use the term "Anabaptist". This was due to the number of divisions that existed among the Anabaptists themselves, but the authorities often designate anyone who differed from the state religion as an 'Anabaptist'.

(3) The focus of interest to-day has moved away from Anabaptism in England, although the student of the original records of the period will find that the subject was of 'burning' interest during the 16th. and 17th. centuries.

(4) Modern research along this line has been done chiefly by Baptist scholars and English Baptists rightly repudiate connection with the Münster sect, although in the 16th. and 17th. centuries they were frequently confused with it.⁽¹⁾ Indeed English Baptists during those centuries embarked on a long and vigorous campaign to show the distinction between themselves and the Anabaptists of Münster. This campaign has had its effect and the term 'Baptist' has now no association with Münster, but the very vigour of that campaign during the 16th. and 17th. centuries is another grain of evidence to show that Münster history was alive in the memory of England during those years.

(1) Historians of a certain class and partisan writers of the period use the term 'Anabaptist' classifying Baptists generally with the social disorder and fantastic prophecy (if not profligacy) of Münster. This shows a lack of knowledge of the history of English Baptists as such. At the same time there is truth in Gwilym Griffith's remark, "We need not pretend that the early Anabaptist activities have no significance for Baptist history". ("A Pocket History of the Baptist Movement").

In this chapter of the Thesis the writer has gone back for his facts to the original documents. These consist chiefly of letters, books and documents written by various contemporary writers during the period.⁽¹⁾ Most of these are in the British Museum, although a few are to be found in various other London Libraries and the National Library, Edinburgh. The State Papers, the other great 'source' of our facts, have been examined in the Museum or in the Public Records Office, off Chancery Lane, and the writer is also indebted to the Dutch Church at Austin Friars for their courtesy in allowing him to examine their unique collection of records and documents.⁽²⁾

We may divide the history of Anabaptism in England into two stages. The first roughly covers the 16th. century. During this period frequent refugees from Holland and Germany introduced into different localities in England the doctrines of the

(1) A full list is given in Appendix IV.

(2) Chief sources of material:-

- (1) Records of the Baptist Historical Society Transactions.
- (2) Records and Papers in the Public Records Office.
- (3) Contemporary Documents, Pamphlets, Letters & Books in British Museum.
- (4) The Publications of the Hanserd Knollys Society.
- (5) The Rushworth Papers.
- (6) Wilkins Concilia Magnae Britanniae.
- (7) The Acts of the Privy Council in England - 16th. & 17th. century.
- (8) Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic of the reign of Henry VIII.
- (9) Calendar State Papers (a) Edward VI. (b) Mary (c) Elizabeth (d) James I. (e) Charles I. (Cromwell) (f) Charles II.
- (10) The Records of the Dutch Church in Austin Friars, London.

Continental Anabaptists. This stage, however, never developed into a national movement and throughout it was subjected to a persistent campaign of "extermination".

The second stage is really the growth of the English Baptists as such, - more properly named the "General Baptist Movement". It begins with John Smyth, a Cambridge scholar⁽¹⁾, and this Movement, unlike the former, has gone on developing.

It is not our purpose to trace the history of the English Baptists as such⁽²⁾, we seek only to show that Anabaptist doctrines and history were known in England in the 16th. and 17th. centuries⁽³⁾, and that in that living history is indeed a "source" of much that Bunyan has written.

It is difficult to fix the date when Anabaptism first appeared in England. We catch a glimpse of something like it in

(1) Smyth entered Cambridge University in 1586.

(2) This has already been brilliantly done by Dr. W. T. Whitley in his book "A History of British Baptists".
See also his "Works of John Smyth" - 2 volumes.

(3) Even in the case of Smyth we come up against Anabaptism, for his writings show that he accepted without question the slanders current about the Anabaptists, - such as that they were Anarchists. "Anarchie: which is want of Magistrates, whence issueth disorder and confusion that every man may do what him listeth ---- for it is a thing that the divell would wish principally that Magistracie were abolished, and therefore hee hath inspired that divellish doctrine into the confused heads of the Anabaptists, who take away all rule and authoritie and all superioritie among men".

Dr. Whitley - "John Smyth" Vol. 1 page 165.

1511 at Bishop Warham's Court at Knoll, when proceedings were instituted against persons who were teaching that the sacraments of Baptism and Confirmation were not necessary or profitable to a man's soul⁽¹⁾. There is no positive evidence, however, to show that these were really Anabaptists. They were more probably descendants of Lollardy. In any case Warham succeeded in terrifying them into a renunciation of their "errors" and compelled them to "wear the badge of a faggot in flames on their clothing during the rest of their lives or until they were dispensed with for it."⁽²⁾

In 1530 Bishop Warham issued an address in which he warned the authorities that Anabaptist refugees from the Continent had already begun to seek refuge in England and that their heresies were spreading. "Many books in the English tongue containing many detestable errors and damnable opinions are printed in countries beyond the seas to be brought into divers towns and sundry of this realm in England, and sown abroad in the

(1) This year several in the diocese of Canterbury abjured for heresy before Archbishop Warham at his manor of Knoll. Christopher Grebel, one of them abjured as follows:- "I, Christopher Grebel, layman of the diocese of Canterbury, of my pure heart and free-will, confess and knowledge, that I in times past have believed, said, affirmed, holden and taught --- specially --- these errors and heresies --- that in the sacrament of the altar is not the body of Christ, but material bread; also that the sacrament of baptism and confirmation is not necessary".

Regist. Warham fol.144. 173.

(2) Evans 'Early English Baptists' Vol.1, page 41.
Collier 'Ecclesiastical History' Vol.IV.page 4.
Burnet 'History of the Reformation' Vol.1, page 27.

same, to the great decay of our faith, and the perilous corruption of the people, unless speedy remedy is provided".

On May 24th.1530 the State itself became alarmed. A Commission appointed by Henry VIII. consisting of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Durham and others found that "divers heretical erroneous opinions" were rife in the country.⁽¹⁾

The word "Anabaptist" does not appear in State documents in England before 1534. In that year⁽²⁾ Henry VIII. was declared

- (1) Concilia Magnae Britanniae Vol.III.pp.727/737. Special sections in the report are devoted to the "heresies and errours" in various Anabaptist publications. (1) In the booke of 'The Wicked Mammon': (2) the boke called "The obedience of a christen man: (3) the boke of "The revelation of anticriste" - "The Sum of Scripture" etc.
- (2) The Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic afford us some interesting glimpses of Europe in that eventful year:- Vol.II.No.317 contains a letter from Hackett to Cromwell dated from Basle 12th.March 1534 and refers to the Anabaptists of the Low Countries "Divers places are infected with this nyew seghttes of rebaptissement". A further letter dated 31st.March 1534 in Vol.VII.No.397 states, - "More than 60,000 (Anabaptists) are assembled in Monster, Frisland and Westfalle. The princes know not whom to trust, for men will not take wages to fight against those who intend to set the world at liberty". There is an interesting letter in Vol.VII.No.447 dated 7th. April 1534 from Ferdinand, King of the Romans to Antonio Leyva, the Captain General of the League, -
- "The King of France and the King of England are assisting the Anabaptists in Münster, the latter by sending them money. The King of England does all in his power to create disturbances in Germany". (This letter is based on a wild report that Henry was seeking revenge for the Pope's refusing his divorce).
- That affairs in Europe were in a state of religious excitement is evident in another letter, - Vol.VII.No.394 written from Antwerp, 31st.March 1534 from John Coke to Cromwell, - "In Holland there is great meeting among the people, who are of sundry sects, principally of the same sect as the inhabitants of Mynstre, who are besieged by their bishop

by Parliament to be Supreme Head of the Church as well as of the State and as such he issued the following Proclamation:-

"Forasmuch as divers and sundray strangers of the sect and false opinion of the Anabaptists and Sacramentarians been lately come into this realm, where they lurke secretly in divers corners and places minding craftely and subtilly to provoke and stir the King's loving subjects to their errors and opinions, whereof part of them by the great travail and diligence of the King's highness and his councill be apprehended and taken; the King's most royal majestie declareth and notifyeth to all his loving subjects, that his highness --- abhorreth and detesteth the same sects --- and intendeth to proceed against such of them as be already apprehended --- And also that wheresoever any such be known, they shall be detected and with all convenient diligence as may be, informe his majesty or some of his councill, to the intent that they may be punished according to their defects, and the maintainers, abettors, or printers of the same opinions with an utter abjection of all books, out of which any such lewd opinions might be gathered.

And over this his majesty straightly chargeth and commandeth all other strangers of the same Anabaptists and Sacramentarians erroneous sects not being apprehended or known, that they within 8 or 10 days after this present proclamation with all celeritie shall depart out of this realme --- upon pain of loss of their lives."(1)

and his friends. Many villages are now deserted, the inhabitants having left their cattle and goods and fled. Fourteen ships full of women and children, lately baptised again, have gone towards Mynstre. Two ships with similar cargoes have also left Amsterdam, and four more would have departed but the borrowmasters and skepyns prevented them ---

On March 26th., about noon, men with naked swords in their hands ran through the town crying, "You people of Amsterdam, amend your lives; the ire of God cometh upon you ---"

On the 28th. a man in Dordrecht cried in like manner and was taken --- The gates of Amsterdam, Legh (Leyden?) and Harlam are kept shut, to prevent many of the rich burgesses, who are of the same sect, from departing. These people number more than 20,000."

(1) Concilia Magnae Britanniae, Vol.III.pp.776/778.

The records of the following year show that the proclamation was soon put into effect.

On 5th. June 1535, Chapuys wrote from London to Charles V.⁽¹⁾
 - "About a score of Dutch Anabaptists have been taken here, of whom 13 have been condemned to the fire, and will be burnt in different parts of the Kingdom, as the King and Cromwell have informed me. The others, who have been reconciled to the Church, will be sent into Flanders to the Queen to be dealt with as seems right."

A contemporary chronicler, Stow, give us a glimpse of the actual details. "The 25 day of May, - were in St. Paul's Church London - examined, 19 men and 6 women born in Holland ---- fowertene of them were condemned --- a Man and a Woman of them were brent in Smithfield; the other 12 were sent to other Towns, there to be brent".⁽²⁾

That Anabaptists were to be found and that the Münster doctrines and history were known in England and regarded as sufficiently strong to require official action, we can see from

- (1) Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic of the reign of Henry VIII. Vol. III. No. 826 (The above extract is taken from a long letter).
- (2) Stow's 'Chronicle of England' p. 1004. The opinions of these Anabaptists were; - (1) That in Christ is not two natures God and man; (2) That Christ took neither flesh nor blood of the Virgin Mary; (3) That children born of infidels may be saved; (4) That baptism of children is of none effect; (5) That the sacrament of Christ's body is but bread only; (6) That he who after baptism sinneth wittingly, sinneth deadly and cannot be saved.

the steps taken to stamp them out. Had Anabaptism in England only been a feeble thing of small account, the King, Cromwell, his majesty's Council and people in high position would not have considered it worth more than passing notice and would never have bestirred themselves as they actually did, as we will show from the official documents of the time.

Among the State Papers we find references such as the following, - (this extract is taken from a letter from Will Lok to Cromwell, dated from Barow, 11th. February 1534) ---- "My lord of Barow is made high commissioner of all this country touching the Anabaptists who have come hither out of Holland".⁽¹⁾

In the same collection of that year is a list of memoranda headed, - "Remembrances" (partly written in Cromwell's hand). The first item on the list is, - "What will the King do with the Anabaptists?"⁽²⁾

There is also a letter written from Amiens on 8th. June 1535, by the Bishop of Faenza to M. Ambrogio, which says, --- "They have also taken in England about 25 Anabaptists with whom Cranmer and others of the Court disputed --- several of them have been already executed, and it appears that the King intends to persecute this sect as much as he can, as it already has a firm footing in England."⁽³⁾

(1) Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic of the reign of Henry VIII. Vol. VIII. No. 198.

(2) Do. Do. Do. Vol. VIII. No. 475.

(3) Do. Do. Do. Vol. VIII. No. 846.

Here is another extract from a letter dated from Antwerp 4th. July 1535 from Walter Mersche to Cromwell. It shows the very contention of this Thesis that Anabaptist history was known to Englishmen ----

-- "The bearer, Thomas Johnston, is an Englishman living at Amsterdam, and can show you how Mynster was taken, and the behaviour of the people. --- It is reported that they are fleeing from the country and many of them to England."(1)

The year 1536 was an eventful one in England. It saw the abolition of the smaller monasteries at the hands of Henry VIII. and Cromwell, and the rising of the people known as "The Pilgrimage of Grace". This rising had 3 definite aims. The first (generally omitted in history books) is noteworthy - viz - the destruction of heresy; Secondly, the overthrow of Cromwell; Thirdly, the restoration of the monasteries. As was natural the clerical element pervaded the rising. An extract from a letter to the Queen Regent at Brussels gives it that there were 10,000 priests among the rebels⁽²⁾, "who never ceased to stir them on to their work".

Against the reformed doctrines and in particular against the Anabaptists, the "Pilgrims of Grace" showed the fiercest hatred. The first proposition in the list of grievances they

(1) Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic of the reign of Henry VIII. Vol.VIII. No.982.

(2) "Rebels" is too strong a word. The people who took part in the "Pilgrimage" did not regard themselves as such.

presented to Henry was this, - "Touching our faith, ---- such other heresies of Anabaptists clearly within this realm are to be annihilated and destroyed".⁽¹⁾

With this fierce statement the Convocation which met in that year agreed. In its 'Articles of Religion' published by the King's authority⁽²⁾, it set out, - "Item, that they ought to repute, and take all the Anabaptists --- opinions contrary to the premisses, and every other man's opinion agreeable unto the said Anabaptists --- for detestable heresies, utterly to be condemned".

This was no idle statement we know from the fact that 14 Anabaptists were burned during this year. It is a remarkable tribute to the courage of the Anabaptists (as well as further evidence for our Thesis) that despite these proclamations and penalties, the English Anabaptists sent deputies to a gathering of all sections of Anabaptists held at Buckholt in Westphalia, in 1536, the year after the Fall of Münster. We know that Jan Mathias of Middleburg, who was afterwards burnt in London, was one.⁽³⁾

Among the State Papers of Henry VIII. is a copy of a letter from "Petrus Taschius to Georgius" in which he comforts him in the persecutions to which their sect (the Anabaptists) is exposed. "In England", says Peter, "the truth silently but widely is propagated and powerfully increases; God knows for how long!"⁽⁴⁾

(1) The whole of this remarkable document is in MS. in the Rolls' House.

(2) Concilia Magnae Britanniae Vol.III.p.818.

(3) Barclay "Religious Societies of the Commonwealth" note p.77/78.

(4) Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic of the reign of Henry VIII. Vol.13 part II. No.265.

At this time the Protestant princes of Germany were seeking an alliance with England, accordingly when Peter Tasch was arrested and incriminating documents found in his possession, Frederick, Duke of Saxony and Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, seized the opportunity of using this to further their aims. On 25th. September 1538 they wrote Henry⁽¹⁾. They mention it as a friendly office among those who govern that they should warn each other of dangers, especially touching religion. They have found lately certain letters in the hands of an Anabaptist (Peter Tasch) in which mention is made of England, showing that the errors of that sect daily spread abroad --- They describe Anabaptist practices in Germany ---- and also the measures taken to suppress them.

Henry did not require much stimulus against the Anabaptists. On 1st. October 1538 a Commission was granted by the King to "Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, John, Bishop of London, Richard, Bishop of Chichester and others, --- to enquire after, and be informed summarily of all manner of Persons within this Kingdom of the damnable, erroneous and heretical Sect of the Anabaptists ---- to receive back into the Church such as renounce their error, hand over those who persist in it to the secular arm for punishment, and destroy all books of that detestable sect".⁽²⁾

(1) Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic of the reign of Henry VIII. Vol.13 Part II. No.427.

(2) Commissio regia archiepis Cantuar et aliis contra Anabaptistas. Signed Thomas Crumwell. Concilia Magnae Britanniae Vol.III.pp.836/837, also in Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic of the reign of Henry VIII. Vol.13 Part II. No.498.

On November 22nd. a fresh Proclamation was issued by the King "as Supreme head in earth under God of the Church of England, ordering all strangers who have lately rebaptised themselves --- and hold and teach other pestilent heresies, to leave the realm in 12 days, whether they have recanted or not, on pain of death. Persons belonging to those sects are forbidden to enter the Kingdom; the King's subjects are forbidden to hold such heresies, and all persons are ordered to assist in arresting the guilty".(1)

Four Anabaptists were seized and paid the penalty for their faith. The details are to be found in the State Documents in a letter from John Husee to Lord Lisle, dated from London 23rd. November 1538 ---

--- "Yesterday, the 22nd. Lambert, alias John Nycolson was burnt in Smithfield, and the same day two Flemings and one of their wives, were adjudged to death. A third man abjured. These were Anabaptists".(2)

A further proclamation in 1539 attempted to stamp out the importing or printing of unlicensed books and ordered the burning of Anabaptist or Sacramentarian publications, -

(1) Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic of the reign of Henry VIII. Vol.13 Part II. No.890.

(2) Do. Do. Do. Vol.13. Part II. No.899.

John Lewis, Minister of Meregate (Margate) 1738 gives a version of the above, although the State Papers show he is 2 days out in his date. - "On 24th. November, 4 Anabaptists, three men and one woman all Dutch, bare Faggots at St. Paul's Cross; and on the 27th. a Man and a Woman, Dutch Anabaptists were burnt at Smithfield".

"Item, that those that be in any errors, as Sacramentaries, Anabaptists, or any other, or any that sell books, having such opinions in them, being once known, both the books, and such persons shall be detected and disclosed immediately unto the King's majesty, or one of his privy council, to the intent to have it punished without favour, even with the extremity of the law".(1)

Violent measures proving ineffectual it occurred to Henry on 26th. February 1539 to issue a "Proclamation of Grace", declaring the King's pardon "to all persons, either his own subjects or others, who have been seduced by Anabaptists and Sacramentarians coming from outward parts into this realm through divers and many perverse and crafty means and who now be sorry for their offenses and minding fully to return again to the Catholic Church. The King's highness like a most loving parent much moved with pity, tendering the winning of them again to Christ's flock, and much lamenting also their simplicity, so by devilish craft circumscribed ---- of his inestimable goodness, pity and clemency, is content to remit, pardon and forgive --- all and singular such persons ---- Yet if any in future fall to any such detestable and damnable opinions the laws will be mercilessly enforced against them".(2)

(1) Concilia Magnae Britanniae Vol.III. p.847.

(2) Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic of the reign of Henry VIII. Vol.14 Part I. No.374.

During the next 7 years (until Henry's death) the persecution of the Anabaptists continued. Many suffered death. Latimer referring to these executions says, - "The Anabaptists that were burnt here in divers towns in England, as I heard of credible men - I saw them not myself - went to their Death, even intrepide, as ye will say, without any Fear in the World, chearefully; well let them go".⁽¹⁾

Burnet in his History of the Reformation⁽²⁾ says, - "At this time (1549) there were many Anabaptists in several parts of England.⁽³⁾ They were generally Germans⁽⁴⁾ whom the Revolution forced to change their seats".

During Edward VI's. minority Cranmer prevailed on a number of leading Continental Protestant theologians to take up their abode in England, and assist in shaping the policy of the English Church. Heinrich Bullinger was one. He was Zwingli's successor at Zürich and had taken a foremost part in the exclusion of the Anabaptists from Switzerland. By his writings⁽⁵⁾ he

(1) Latimer's Sermons (Parker Soc.Pub.) Vol.V.Sermon IV.p.151.

(2) Burnet "History of the Reformation" Vol.II.p.202.

(3) For example Marillac writing to Montmorency from London 19th. March 1540 says, - "Milord of St.John and some officers of justice went a week ago to Calais to proceed against some Anabaptists who have made a stir there".
Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic of the reign of Henry VIII.Vol.15 No.370.

(4) If Bishop Latimer was not misinformed, there were above 500 in one Town, who spake against the order of Magistrates and Doctrine of Subjection to them, and who would have no Magistrates nor Judges in the Earth.
Latimer's Sermons (Parker Soc.Pub).Vol.V.Sermon IV.

(5) (a) In 1548 "An Holsome Antidotus or counter-poysen against the pestylent heresye and secte of Anabaptistes".

added fuel to the flame against the Anabaptists in England.

In the spring of 1549 a report was laid before the Council charging the Anabaptists with the usual errors of the sect. An Ecclesiastical Commission consisting (note the personnel) of Cranmer, the Bishops of Ely, London, Lincoln, Sir John Cheke, Latimer, Coverdale, Dr. Parker, and divines of a lower order, with various distinguished laymen, (among others we find the names of Cecil and Sir Thomas Smith) was appointed in 1550 to seek out, examine and punish the Anabaptists, "that now begin to spring up apace and show themselves more openly".⁽¹⁾

The errors of the Anabaptists in England are described in the writings of Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester.⁽²⁾ Contemporary writers such as Becon,⁽³⁾ Bradford,⁽⁴⁾ Coverdale,⁽⁵⁾ Ridley,⁽⁶⁾

(b) In 1549 "A treatise or Sermon --- concernynge Magistrates and obedience of subiectes".

(c) In 1551 "A most necessary and frutefull Dialogue betwene ye seditious Libertin or rebel Anabaptist, and the true obedient christiã".

(d) In 1551 "A moste sure and strong defence --- against ye pestiferous secte of the Anabaptystes etc."

(e) In 1577 "Fiftie godlie and learned sermons" --- These contain numerous references to the Anabaptists. Convocation in 1586 ordered them to be studied by young ministers, and examination of their written notes to be held before every Michaelmas.

(1) Strype 'Life of Sir Thomas Smith' page 37.

Parker Society Publications:-

Coverdale Vol.2 XIII.

Strype 'Memorials' II. p.385.

Parker I.p.55.

(2) Parker Society Pub. Zürich Letters Vol.3, 65.

(3) Do. Thomas Becon Vol.2 pp.207, 215, 226.

(4) Do. John Bradford Vol.2, 382, 383.

(5) Do. Myles Coverdale Vol.I. p.51.

(6) Do. Nicholas Ridley p.120.

and Whitgift⁽¹⁾ also describe and condemn them. Latimer⁽²⁾ says the opinions of the Anabaptists in England are "pernicious". Hooper⁽³⁾ goes a step further and says, "very pernicious and damnable".

Many other references from contemporary literature could be quoted, but these chiefly deal with the opinions and theology of the Anabaptists and although one could compile an interesting volume dealing with references to Anabaptist doctrines, such references lie outwith our thesis, except in so far as they again add evidence that Anabaptism was so alive in England that men of the highest rank in the Church took steps to crush it, and the fierce way they fought against it gives evidence of its strength^(h).

The county of Kent was especially "infected" with Anabaptism and we have records of the famous case of Joan Boucher. Her name first appears in a letter written in 1543 by John Milles to Cranmer,⁽⁴⁾ "Pleaseth your Grace, most of the vulgar people think the foundation of these errors in these parts cometh by the fault of heresies not punished set forth by Joan Baron, sometime called Joan Bucher of Westgate, she being a prisoner detect of heresies" ----

Joan Boucher⁽⁵⁾ was more popularly known as Joan of

(1) Parker Society Pub. John Whitgift Vol.3 pp.552-554.

(2) Do. Hugh Latimer Vol.I. p.106.

(3) Do. John Hooper Vol.2, p.121.

(4) Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic of the reign of Henry VIII. Vol.XVIII. Part II. No.546.

(5) Joan Bocher or Boucher - "National Biography".

Kent, and it is evident from this historic title that she was well known as a power in that county. Tradition says she was a member of the Church at Eyethorne.⁽¹⁾ She had some influence with the ladies at the court of Henry VIII. and was a personal friend of Anne Ascue,⁽²⁾ an English noblewoman who was also an Anabaptist.⁽³⁾ That Joan was no ordinary prisoner is further evidenced from the fact that she was imprisoned in the Lord Chancellor's house, where no less people than Cranmer and Ridley interviewed and interrogated her frequently on her beliefs.⁽⁴⁾

- (1) J.J.Goadby "Bye-Paths of Baptist History" p.23.
 Dr.Gardiner has shown that this tradition is false.
 The facts given by Dr.Gardiner are these:
 She is first heard of at Colchester before 1539 as Joan Baron, pleading a pardon by proclamation for those who had been seduced by Anabaptists. She moved to Canterbury, where apparently she married a butcher, and so became known as Joan Baron or Bocher. In 1542 she was at Calais, where a jury acquitted her of heresy, but the council held her to answer another charge at Canterbury. Next year, after confessing her doctrine, she pleaded the pardon afresh. Ultimately she was burned in Smithfield by order of Edward VI.
 (Baptist Hist.Soc.Trans.Vol.I. 108).
 Evans cites a MS. in the archives of the Mennonite Church, Amsterdam calling her "Joan Knell, alias Butcher often Joan Van Kent."
- (2) Joan Bocher or Boucher - "National Biography".
- (3) Barclay "Relig.Soc.of the Commonwealth" p.267 says
 Anne Ascue was a follower of Hoffmann. She was the great-grandmother of Margaret Fell, the friend of George Fox. Thus as Mr.Barclay shows we have a link between the Anabaptists and the Quakers.
- (4) In an account of the examination by the authorities of one, Philpot, who was martyred for his faith in 1555, the following utterance occurs, - "I (the Lord Chancellor) had myself Joan of Kent a fortnight in my house, after the writ was out for her to be burnt, when my Lord of Canterbury and Bishop Ridley resorted almost daily to her. But she was so high in the spirit, that they could do nothing with her for all their learning; but she went wilfully unto the fire and was burnt". Philpot's Works (Parker Society) p.55.

Anabaptism in Kent and Essex so troubled the authorities that in 1547 an Ecclesiastical Commission with Cranmer, Latimer and Ridley at its head was set up "for the examination of the Anabaptists and Arians that now begin to spring up apace and show themselves more openly⁽¹⁾ ---- If they proved obstinate the Commission were empowered to excommunicate and imprison them, and deliver them over to the secular arm to be proceeded further against.

After the rebellion of 1549⁽²⁾ Parliament passed an act of grace and general pardon, but expressly excepted those who held "that infants were not to be baptised; and if they were baptised they ought to be rebaptised when they came to lawful age, also those who held it was not lawful for a Christian man to bear office or rule in the commonwealth".

The authorities continued their policy of extermination of the Anabaptists with unabated zeal. In the Diocese of London at Bishop Ridley's visitation of it in 1550 among the List of "Articles to be inquired of" - we find the query "Whether there be any of the Anabaptist sect?"

Kent continued to give much anxiety to the authorities on account of the continuance of Anabaptist activity. Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, was taken severely to task for lukewarmness in extirpating heresy. In October 1552 the Cranmer Commission

(1) Strype's "Ecclesiastical Memorials" - Edward VI. p.385

Also Vol.II. Part I. p.107.

Strype "Life of Sir Thomas Smith" p.37.

(2) Kett's Rising.

was renewed directing "the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London and other worshipful persons in Kent, to make inquiry after sundry heresies lately sprung up; and for the examination and punishment of erroneous opinions, as it seems of the Anabaptists and Arians of which sort some now, notwithstanding former severities, show their heads." (1)

In consequence of this Joan Boucher was burned, also George van Pare, evidently a Dutch Anabaptist. (2) Bishop Ridley

(1) Strype "Ecclesiastical Memorials" - Edward VI. b.II. ch.XV.

(2) It is interesting to note that John Knox was highly recommended for the Bishopric of Rochester and the reasons therefor. Some of Knox's biographers suggest that the Council proposed to form a new bishopric at Newcastle, but in the Calendar of State Papers is a letter from Northumberland to Sir William Cecil, dated October 28th. 1552 which makes it quite clear that Rochester was the place. It is the reasons that interest us, - "I would to God it might please the King to appoint Mr. Knocks to the office of Rochester bishopric --- he would not only be a whetstone, to quicken and sharpen the Bishop of Canterbury, whereof he hath need, but also he would be a great confounder of the Anabaptists lately springing up in Kent."
Calendar of State Papers - Domestic - Vol.XV. Edward VI.

The writer is indebted to Dr. Whitley for drawing his attention to an English Anabaptist of this period. Robert Cooche was not an immigrant refugee but an Englishman who was converted by Anabaptist teaching and adopted Anabaptist beliefs. He was Keeper of the wine-cellar to the Queen-Dowager, Catherine Parr, and circa 1550 published a pamphlet maintaining that infants have no original sin and ought not to be baptised.

William Turner, Prebendary of York replied in 1551 with a volume entitled "A preservative, or triacle, agaynst the poyson of Pelagius, lately renewed and styrred up agayn by the furious secte of the Anabaptistes."

In 1557 Cooche again appeared in print with a lengthy Tract, - "The Confutation of the Errors of the Careless by Necessity". This was the first reasoned attack in English against the doctrines of Calvin, and the interest it aroused is evident from the fact that it drew a reply from

was specially instructed to hunt up the Anabaptists and a congregation of 60 was surprised at worship and seized at Bocking.⁽¹⁾

In estimating the strength of Anabaptism in England we must take into account the action of the authorities, as it furnishes strong evidence of the strength of the movement. For no insignificant sect would Ecclesiastical Commissions composed of the most influential churchmen in the realm, armed with special powers, have been set in motion. The authorities themselves try to belittle the movement by saying that its followers consisted only of "cowherds,

none other than John Knox. Knox was at King Edward's court from 1552-1554 and had the opportunity then of meeting Cooche, and Knox's reply shows that he knew the author of "The Confutation" personally. Knox published his reply in 1560 under the heading, - "An answer to a great number of blasphemous cavillations written by an Anabaptist, and adversarie to Gods Eternal Predestination And Confvted by John Knox, minister of Gods worde in Scotland". This was again reprinted in 1591. (The full text of "The Confutation" is given in the Bap.Hist.Soc.Trans.IV.).

(1) Strype records it thus, -

"In January 27th. a number of persons, a sort of Anabaptists, about sixty, met in a house on Sunday, in the parish of Bocking in Essex ---- These were looked upon as dangerous to Church and State; and two of the company were therefore committed to the Marshallsea, and orders were sent to apprehend the rest" ---

Strype 'Memorials of Cranmer' Vol.I. p.337. Burrage, however, in his Early English Dissenters shows that this was not really an Anabaptist gathering.

clothiers, and such like mean people". Why then did they take such special steps to repress it?⁽¹⁾ They further followed this policy by casting opprobrium on the memory of Joan Boucher⁽²⁾ after her death. Nevertheless it is evident, as we have shown, that authority in England was sufficiently aware of the power of this movement in its midst to dread it. Hence the machinery that was set in motion. Yet they did not succeed in stamping it out, for it is to be noted that nearly a century later we find Laud telling Charles I. that the Kent variety of Anabaptist was so deeply rooted that it was impossible to pluck it out all of a sudden.

The sufferings of the "Reformers" during Mary's reign have bulked so large that historians have paid small heed to the "root and branch Reformers", the Anabaptists whom these very "martyrs" of "Bloody Mary's" reign had themselves harried to death. All through Mary's reign the extermination of the Anabaptists continued, always requiring a repetition of "extermination" immediately thereafter.

Bishop Jewel bears witness in 1553 that "the Anabaptists held private conventicles in London and perverted many".⁽³⁾ The

(1) In 1552 under Edward VI. the "Forty Two Articles" largely drawn up by Cranmer, were agreed upon in convocation and published by the King's majesty. Articles 8 and 37 expressly contradict Anabaptists and many of the others are aimed against them.

(2) See Becke's Rhyming Pamphlet on "Jhone Bucher's Burning" M.D.L. published in Collins second volume of "Illustrations of English Literature".

(3) Parker Society Pub. Jewel Vol.4, p.1241.

Zürich Letters⁽¹⁾ and the contemporary writings of Becon⁽²⁾ bear out this statement of the prevalence of Anabaptism in England. In that year the Queen issued a proclamation "for the driving out of the realm strangers and foreigners".⁽³⁾ In 1554 Mary and Philip jointly wrote the Bishop of London urging him "to go on in the persecution of the hereticks".⁽⁴⁾ In 1555 the King and Queen gave a commission "for repressing of heresies and false rumours" to the Bishop of Exeter and others.⁽⁵⁾

East Anglia was particularly rich in martyrs for their faith. On one occasion whilst Hopton, Bishop of Norwich, was engaged in his work of extirpation, at Ipswich, Dunning, his chancellor, ran up to the ecclesiastical tribunal to announce to his lordship the glad tidings that a number of heretics had just arrived - many of them Anabaptists. Baxford and Lanham, and what Fox calls "the cloth country", had supplied this band. It was maddening to hear them the chancellor declared⁽⁶⁾.

Before going on to trace the main stream of Anabaptism in England in Elizabeth's reign, the writer would like to take the reader into an unexplored tributary of Anabaptist history.

In the precincts of Austin Friars, London, is a very old Dutch Church, whose records must be one of the most

- (1) Parker Society Pub. Zürich Letters Vol.I. 92.
- (2) Do. Becon Vol.3 pp.6, 293, 401.
- (3) Concilia Magnae Britanniae Vol.IV. p.93.
- (4) Do. Vol.IV. p.102.
- (5) Do. Vol.IV. p.140.
- (6) Fox - "Book of Martyrs" Book II. p.545.

interesting in the country. The writer is indebted for the courtesy which allowed him to examine them.⁽¹⁾ Their charter "granting the Church of the Augustine Friars, London, to foreign Protestant refugees", was signed by Edward VI. on the 24th.day of July 1550. It cannot be too strongly stated that these "refugees" who constituted this Church were NOT Anabaptists but of the reformed Protestant faith. Indeed when the writer explained it was his purpose to look for Anabaptism among their records an immediate and rather indignant repudiation of such doctrines was at once given.⁽²⁾ When it was pointed out, however, that it was to look for such "heresy" as far back as the 16th. and 17th.centuries, it was admitted that such "heresy" might be found then.

The search was very interesting and fruitful, for 10! ten years after they received their charter was a record of the very thing the writer sought, - and in none other than Adriaan Haemstede, the pastor of the Church. The records show that on 16th.November, 1560, the Bishop of London excommunicated Adriaan for holding the erroneous doctrines of the Anabaptists and that others among his flock were also "infected" is clear from further

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- (1) They are stored in a specially built strong room in the church. It was a suggestion by Dr.Whitley that something might be found there that sent the writer on the search.
- (2) This denial was interesting for it shows that this body, who take a legitimate pride in their history, have still a recollection of Anabaptism. To how many even of our Baptist churches would the term mean anything at all to-day?

letters.(1)

Haemstede apparently returned as pastor in 1562 and the Bishop of London required him to sign a revocation of his former "heresy". This is also preserved. It is in Latin⁽²⁾ but the English runs something as follows, - 31st.July, 1562.

"On account of certain assertions and tenets repugnant to the word of God which I entertained while I was minister in the London Dutch Church, I was deposed and excommunicated by a decree of the Bishop of London, but after a consideration of about

- (1) Letter 49 dated from London (Saturday) 19th.April 1561 deals with Haemstede's supporters ordering them to confess publicly that Adriaan's Anabaptist doctrines --- were false --- and threatening obstinacy with excommunication. This case was "acted" (in the legal sense) before the Bishop of London with the consent of the ministers of the Flemish and French Churches, and in the presence and with the consent of the Bishop of Durham.

"Actum decimo nono Aprilis 1561.

Coram Edmundo Episcopo Londinensi cum consensu ministrorum utriusque Ecclesiae peregrinorum Flandricae scilicet et Gallicae, presente etiam Domino Episcopo dunelmensi et consentiente".

Letters 49a and 49b show that these "heretical brethren confessed and testified" in accordance with the dominant party.

- (2) Ego, Hadrianus Hamstedius propter assertiones quasdam meas, et dogmata verbo Dei repugnantia, dum hic in Ecclesia Londinogermanica ministrum agerem, decreto Dominj Episcopi Londinensis ministerio depositus, atque excommunicatus, nunc post sesquiannum vel circiter rebus melius perpensis et ad verbi Dei regulam examinatis aliter sentio, et culpam meam ex animo agnosco, doleoque me tantas offensiones et scandala peperisse ----
Quod Anabaptistas Christum verum mulieris semen esse negantes. Letter 66 31st.July 1562.

A copy of this is to be found in the Calendar State Papers - Domestic 1547 - 1580 - 31st.July, 1562.

eighteen months I think differently, acknowledge my guilt and am sorry to have given so much offence. These are my errors ---- I have acknowledged the Anabaptists, who deny that Christ is the true seed of woman ---"

Haemstede again "fell away" and on 19th. August 1562 was deposed from his ministry, excommunicated and ordered to quit the country.

Despite the action of the authorities Anabaptism again appears in the records of the Dutch Church in London. In a letter dated 17th. November 1570⁽¹⁾ from certain members to (Edwin Sandes) Bishop of London repudiating unjust charges of false doctrine, they nevertheless admit that within their fold are those "infected with errors". They give a list - (it is a lengthy affair) - of such errors and say they are due amongst other things to the doctrines and heretical pamphlets of divers sects as Arians, Anabaptists and Familists.⁽²⁾

(1) Letter 104 dated 17th. November 1570.

(2) The Familists or Family of Love was a section of the Anabaptists. They believed in "visions and revelations". One of their leaders was Henry Nicolas (generally H.N.) an Anabaptist, who had been mixed up with the Münster insurrection at Amsterdam and fled thence to Emden. He published several works the chief being "The Glass of Righteousness". Fuller (Church History IX. 34, 38) says that Nicolas came to England "in the latter end of the reign of Edward VI. and joined himself to the Dutch congregation in London, where he seduced a number of artificers and silly women ---" Martinus Micronius writing to Henreich Bullinger on May 20th. 1550 expresses his satisfaction at the arrival of John à Lasco in England, because it is a matter of the first importance that the word of God should be preached in London in the German language, "to guard against heresies which are

Sandwich Records. (see Thesis p. 100.)

This additional note is due to the fact that although the writer was certain that such records existed, it seemed impossible to obtain them without going specially to Sandwich, or again visiting the Museum.

Illness prevented any such journey, but owing to the courtesy of the Town Sergeant and the Rev. Hugh Noel Howell of Sandwich, we have been able to trace some references to Anabaptists taken from the actual Town Records.

These records arrived after the Thesis was typed and bound - hence this method of inclusion.

(2)

Among the Town Records of Sandwich,
under the date 4th of June, 1575, is to be found the
actual letter (referred to above) from her
majesty's commissioners, appointed for the
purpose of examining sundry strangers born
in the low countries, "who maintain the most
horrible and damnable errors of anabaptists;
and fearing lest these corruptions be spread
in sundrie places of her majesty's realme,
where these strangers do inhabit, and so
would dayly increase yf it be not in tyme
carefully foreseene and suppressed --- all
strangers as well men as women, being
of years of discretion, remaining in any
place within her majesty's realme shall
give their assent and subscribe to the
articles inclosed, devised for the purpose ---
upon refusal --- to be sent to the commissioners
to be further considered as shall appertaine"

(Here follows 11 signatures).

To our loving frendes the maior and
jurats of Sandwich, and to the ministers ther
(after this comes a list headed, -
"Articles to be Subscribed.")

(b)
"Articles to be Subscribed"

1. That christ take flesshe of the substance of the Virgin.
2. That the infants of the faithful are to be baptized.
3. That it is lawfull for a christian man to take an other.
4. That a christian man may be a magistrat and beare the office of auctoritie.
5. That it is lawfull for a christian magistrat to execute obstinate heretiques.
6. That it is lawfull for a christian man to warre.
7. That it is lawfull for a christian man to requie the auctoritie of the magistrat and of the lawe, that he may be delivered from wrongs and restored to right.
8. That a christian man may lawfully have propriety in his goodes, and not make them common; yet oughte he accordinge to the rule of charitie to relere the needie accordinge to his habilitie.

It is interesting to see how fearful the Dutch community at Sandwich was of being confounded with the "notorious Anabaptists". This is evident from the reply they eventually sent to her majesty's commissioners, for they single out the 5th article for special comment and agreement. When we recall the events that were happening in London in the year 1575 (see pp 105. 106. 107. 108.) - events which excited

wide interest throughout the country, we then understand why article 5. receives special emphasis. Here is part of the actual reply, -
 "To this above - written articles of the high commissioners of her majesty, we, ministers, elders and deacons of the dutche congregation in Sandwyche doe subscribe, and doe approve them with our whole hearts; and concerning the fyfth article we acknowledge that it is lawfull for a christian magistrat to execute obstinate heretiques --- when their heresies and their deedes doe require the same."

Anabaptism appears again in a record dated 29 March, 1582, wherein the lord warden, Lord Cobham, signified to the "maior and jurats" that again these "divers strangers" [Anabaptists] were making their presence felt in Sandwich.

Archbishop Laud in 1634 smelt similar "heretic rats" and cited the ministers of the Dutch churches at Maidstone and Sandwich to appear at his consistory court at Canterbury, and before himself at Lambeth.

A relation of these troubles of the 3 foreign churches in Kent will be found in the account written in 1645 by John Bulleeb, who was minister of the Walloon congregation at Canterbury.

Among the State Papers⁽¹⁾ there is under 3rd. April 1575 a "Confession of Faith and appeal to the Queen's mercy of five Dutchmen condemned for Anabaptism". Two of these were burned on 22nd. July 1575. There is a lot of correspondence on the matter in the archives at Austin Friars.

That Anabaptist heresies were rife in England receives further evidence from the records of the correspondence between the Dutch Community at Sandwich and the Dutch Church in London. On Monday 27th. June 1575 the Ministers and Elders of the Dutch Community, Sandwich, wrote their London brethren⁽²⁾, - "Our Magistracy sent us --- a Letter from Her Majesty's Commission commanding that everyone of our Nation, who had come to years of discretion, should sign certain articles against the Anabaptists. We have no objection to this --- but there is a difference of opinion --" *(see separate note - Sandwich Records.)*

In August they again wrote⁽³⁾ putting off their proposed Assembly at Sandwich, "as the affairs of the Anabaptists might bring us under suspicion of intending something unreasonable".

These records bear witness that Anabaptism was a very real thing in England. Two further examples from this source will suffice. They occurred during Bunyan's life time. On

introduced by our countrymen --" Epistolae Tigurinae p.365. On 3rd. October 1580 a Proclamation was issued against the Sectaries of the Family of Love.

- (1) Calendar of State Papers - Domestic - 1547-1580 p.496.
- (2) Letter 342 Sandwich Monday 27th. June 1575.
- (3) Letter 346 Sandwich 1st. August 1575.

November 12th.1646⁽¹⁾ the Dutch Church London again found Anabaptist "heresy" in its midst. Assuerus Fromanteel⁽²⁾ was publicly proclaimed from the pulpit as having fallen into sin and gone over to the Anabaptists.

In February 1651 the Ministers of the Dutch Community at Colchester writing to the Consistory at London anent their forthcoming Assembly⁽³⁾ said, "It appears that our Church government is in bad odour in this country, and in this town consisting mostly of Independents, Anabaptists and Separists, such an assembly would not be welcome".

We may now return and explore further the main stream of Anabaptist history in England, but this little tributary swells the volume of evidence to show that Anabaptist history and doctrine was at the very lowest estimate a living tradition in England during the 16th.and 17th.centuries.

During Elizabeth's reign not only the existence but the wide diffusion of Anabaptism is acknowledged on all hands.

Marsden⁽⁴⁾ speaking of this period says, "But the Anabaptists were the most numerous, and for some time the most formidable opponents of the Church. They are said to have existed in England from the early days of the Lollards; but their chief strength was now derived and their numbers reinforced from

(1) Letter 2874 - 12th.November 1646.

(2) London Dutch Church Certificate of Membership No.410.

(3) Letter 3130 Colchester February 1651.

(4) Marsden "History of the Early Puritans" p.145.

Germany". Contemporary writers bear witness to their prevalence. Bishop Jewel in his correspondence with the Swiss divines writes, "We found at the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth large and inauspicious crops of Arians, Anabaptists and other pests".⁽¹⁾

"You must not be grieved, my Gaulter," writes Bishop Cox, "that sectaries are showing themselves to be mischievous and wicked interpreters of your most just opinion. For it cannot be otherwise, but that tares must grow in the Lord's field, and that in no small quantity. Of this kind are the Anabaptists, Donatists, Arians, Papists, and all the good-for-nothing tribe of Sectaries."⁽²⁾

Bishop Alymer also bears witness⁽³⁾ "The Anabaptists with infinite other swarms of Satanistes, do you think that every pulpit may wyl be hable to aunswer them?" Other of his terms for Anabaptists are "ugglie monsters" and "brodes of the devvil's brotherhood."

In Dr. Parker's letter declining the Archbishopric of Canterbury⁽⁴⁾, the following occurs, "They say that the realm is full of Anabaptists, Arians, libertines ---"

In 1560 the State Papers⁽⁵⁾ show that Elizabeth issued a Proclamation against "Anabaptists and others of dangerous and pernicious opinions coming into England from abroad".

(1) Zürich Letters No.92.

(2) Zürich Letters No.285.

(3) Bishop Alymer "An Harborowe for Faithful and True Subjects" (1559) p.A 3.

(4) Burnet "History of the Reformation" Vol.II.p.359.

(5) Calendar of State Papers - Domestic - Elizabeth Vol.XIII. September 22nd.1560

But Elizabeth found that further action was required for Anabaptist refugees continued to arrive in England and in the fourth year of her reign it was deemed necessary to issue another proclamation commanding "Anabaptists and such like heretics, which had flocked to the coast towns of England, from the parts beyond the seas, under colour of shunning persecution, and had spread the poison of their sects in England, to depart the realm within 20 days, whether they were natural-born people of the land or foreigners, upon pain of imprisonment and loss of goods."⁽¹⁾

The year 1568 was a trying one for the authorities. Dutch refugees flying from the fury of Alva sought refuge in England, particularly in Norwich, Sandwich, Colchester, Southampton and Maidstone⁽²⁾.

Their rapidly increasing numbers, (so far above those licensed) caused some alarm, a cry having arisen that there were many Anabaptists among them. The authorities took action. In May 1568 the Queen wrote Archbishop Parker, - "We do understand,

- (1) Camden "Annales of Elizabeth (Edition 1625) p.64. Camden's "Elizabeth" p.47 says, "Some of these were German Anabaptists --- some of the natives were miserably misled."
- (2) The records of the Walloons (or French speaking people of Flanders) and their Church at Norwich have been traced in great detail by Moens - Huguenot Soc.Pub. "In 1568 the Blood Council, the Inquisition --- caused very many to fly from their country and brought into England many trades --- as well as many who worked on the land. These settled chiefly at Norwich, Sandwich, Southampton and ~~Maidstone~~ ^{Maidstone}, where by favour of the Queen they were able to serve God in their mother tongue." Ruytincks MS. Motley "Rise of the Dutch Republic" Vol.I.p.504 gives the number as 30,000.

that there do daily repayr into this our realm great numbers of strangers, from the partyes beyond the seas --- and doubting least that amonges such nombres divers -- that are infected with dangerous opinions -- as Anabaptists, --- which kynde of people we do no wyse mean to permit any refuge within our dominions; therefore we do wil and require youe to gyve --- commandment to --- the Bishop of London and al other Ordynarys of any places where you shal think any such confluence of strangers to be --- and inquisition to be made in every parish of al manner of persons, being strangers born --- and cause registers to be made and so to continue ---"(1)

Many Dutch Anabaptists are said to have been holding private conventicles in London at this time and to have perverted a large number of citizens.⁽²⁾ A proclamation issued in 1568 refers to these refugees. It accuses them of having "set up secret conventicles in London by which means many English people have been corrupted". Search was ordered to be made not only of foreigners, but of home born subjects, "who had conceived any manner of such heretical principles as the Anabaptists do hold" and if they would not yield to "charitable teaching" they were to be compelled to depart the realm within 20 days under penalty of death.⁽³⁾

(1) Strype - "Transcript of Records" - Parker - Vol.I.p.522 App.93.

(2) Collier - Ecclesiastical History Vol.II.p.517.

(3) Strype - "Life of Grindal" pp.180-181.

In 1572 Whitgift published from Continental sources⁽¹⁾ a highly unfavourable account of the Anabaptists in which the horrors of the Peasants' War and of the Münster Kingdom were represented as due wholly to their baneful teaching and as samples of what might be expected in England if such heresy were not ruthlessly repressed.

In 1574 the Privy Council wrote to Lord North⁽²⁾ "signifieng the receipt of his letter with the opinions of certein Anabaptistes lately discoverid in the countrey ---- their Lordships could have wisshed that he had informed the Lord Bisshop and others of the Commission Ecclesiasticall, who have auctoritee to take order therein, and therefore desire his Lordship to imparte it unto them, and to assist them as mucche as he might."

The year 1575 saw the first blood spilt for religion by Elizabeth, and it is worthy of note that these "martyrs" were Anabaptists. "On Easter day, which was the 3rd.of Aprill, about nine of the Clocke in the Forenoone, was disclosed a Congregation of Anabaptists, Dutchmen, in a House without the Barres of Aldegate at London."⁽³⁾ That the authorities were

(1) "An Answere to a certen libell intituled, An Admonition to the Parliament". It sets in the forefront 24 Anabaptisticall practices taken from Heinrich Bullinger's account 1535.

(2) Acts of the Privy Council of England Vol.VIII.1574.

(3) Stowe's Annales (1631, 679).

Also quoted by John Lewis, Minister of Meregate "History of the Rise and Progress of Anabaptism in England" 1738.

alarmed is evident from the stir they made. The Privy Council sent a letter⁽¹⁾ "to the Buisshop of London for order to be taken with certein straingers, Anabaptistes, taken in an assemblye on Esther Day". They also ordered⁽²⁾ "the Lord Mayour of London to assiste the Lord Bishop in all things requisite touching thordering of the said Anabaptistes, as he shold be directed by the Bisshop".⁽³⁾

The Anabaptists were tried at St. Paul's by the Bishop himself. After searching examination 5 recanted and made public ceremony of so doing at Paul's Cross⁽⁴⁾. Some 15 were shipped abroad, not it is said without a hint to the captain, that he need fear no inquiry if any accident happened. Five were

(1) Acts of the Privy Council of England Vol.VIII. - 1575.

(2) Do. Vol.VIII. - xxvij.
Aprilis 1575.

(3) Further letters are also given in the Acts of the Privy Council Vol.VIII.

(a) xxvij. Aprilis 1575.

"A letter to the Lord Buisshop of London touching the order to be taken with Anabaptists, being straingers discoverid within the Citie".

(b) xx. of May 1575.

"A letter to the Lord Mayour of London that where upon the discoverie of certain Anabaptistes within the Citie, being straingers, Commission was directed to the Busshop of London and others both to conferre with them and to procede judicially if the case so require; that his Lordship and his brethren be aiding and assisting to all directions of the said Bisshopp in that case, either for corporall punishment or banishment, as shalbe thought metest and as he shalbe directed."

(4) Calendar of State Papers - Domestic - Elizabeth Vol.CIII.
April 8th. 1575 "A confession of faith and appeal to the Queen's mercy of five Dutchmen condemned for Anabaptism".

condemned to the stake. The condition of the prisoners, however, roused public sympathy. Fox wrote to the Queen (in Latin) beseeching her to show mercy. Finally Von Byler and Von Straatam were liberated, Kemels died in prison, but the authorities determined to make a public example of Jan Pieters and Hendrik Terwoort. The Queen gave a special commission to Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of our Great Seal of England to burn the hereticks⁽¹⁾. The sentence was carried out. Stowe in his Annales records "On the 22 of July 2 Dutchmen, Anabaptists, were burnt in Smithfield, who died in great horror with roaring and crying."

Thereafter the authorities kept a close watch on the Dutch Communities in England. Among the State Documents for this year is an order from the Bishop of London "for the governing of the Dutch congregations within the City of London and the town of Colchester."⁽²⁾ There is also a form of recantation prescribed for certain Anabaptists.⁽³⁾

(1) Concilia Magnae Britanniae Vol.IV.p.281.

"Where the reverend father in God, Edwyn, busshope of London, Edmund, busshope of Rochester ---- have travayled upon the examination, heringe and determynation of John Peeters, and Henrie Turwert beinge Flemynge borne, and now lyvinge, in this our realme, concernyng theire false opynyons and sects of Anabaptists, holden and averred by them --- justilie adjudged and declayred to be heretiques."

Note: A sympathetic account of the sufferings of these Dutch Anabaptists has been preserved in a letter by Jacques de Somers, a member of one of the Dutch churches in London, to his mother in Ghent. A translation will be found in Evans "Early English Baptists" Vol.I.page 159 et seq.

(2) Concilia Magnae Britanniae Vol.IV.p.454.

(3) Concilia Magnae Britanniae Vol.IV.p.282.

The death of Pieters and Terwoort is commemorated in a Ballad entitled, "Two Friends". It was published both in Dutch and in English, and besides furnishing evidence of Anabaptism in England illustrates some of the fundamental doctrines of Anabaptist belief. Dexter in his "True Story of John Smyth the Se-Baptist" p.163 gives the English version thus:-

"There were gathered together very many celebrated
 Professors highly esteemed,
 The Bishop, as the strong one,
 And other people of consideration.
 They proposed four questions:
 The first item where he came
 From, Christ they said
 If he had taken his flesh
 From Mary sweet; we do not understand
 As you say it.
 Still with questions they played them
 Is then taking an oath a crime?
 Listen to the answer
 It was like the other.
 They also propounded to them:
 May a Christian publicly
 Cause his children to be baptised, quickly
 Give us the right interpretation?
 They replied without anger
 We have not read it.
 Yet after this they asked
 Is a Christian allowed
 To be a magistrate
 And to serve as such?
 And he be saved; understand me well,
 Give us the right explanation of this." (1)

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- (1) In the Baptist Historical Society Transactions Vol.VII.there is given in full the details of a controversy between one, S.B. "An English Anabaptist" and William White, Puritan, "now first printed from the MSS.in "The Seconde Part of a Register" in Dr.Williams' Library, London. The discussion arises from the concerns and opinions propounded by these imprisoned Anabaptists in 1575. The wearing and use of weapons, the employment of oaths, and the individual's attitude to princes and magistrates, are all considered, and it is clear from White's "postscript",

That Anabaptism was not stamped out in England in the 16th. century is clear from further action of the authorities. In 1575 we find the Privy Council writing "the Master of the Rolles -- and other Commissioners against the Anabaptists, to send the certificat of them into the Chauncery"---(1) The literature of the period is full of references to the Anabaptists in England. Their doctrines were challenged and their errors pointed out throughout Tudor and Stuart times.(2) For example, Dr. Some in his reply to Barrow(3), 1589 affirms, "there were several Anabaptistical conventicles in London and other places". These were not exclusively Dutchmen or foreigners for he adds, "some persons of these sentiments have been bred at our universities."

Strype refers to some in Essex. "Would to God the honourable Council saw the face of Essex as we do see. We have such obstinate heretics, Anabaptists, and other unruly persons here, as never were heard of."(4)

that another letter deals with the first question put to the Anabaptists, the Incarnation.

Dr. Peel, who edits the MSS., makes a significant statement, "The Münster atrocities had cast such a shadow over the name (even in England) that it was enough to damn individuals or opinions if they could be labelled 'Anabaptist'."

- (1) Acts of the Privy Council of England - xxvj., of June 1575.
- (2) A full list of contemporary literature with its references to Anabaptism in England is given in the Appendix IV.
- (3) Dr. Some: "A Godly Treatise wherein are examined and confuted many execrable fancies, given out and holden partly by Hen. Barrowe --- partly by other of the Anabaptisticall order." 1589.
- (4) Strype "Ecclesiastical Memorials - Vol. III. p. 54.

Among the State Papers 1591 is a letter⁽¹⁾ which shows clearly there was a recollection in England of Münster Anabaptist history "There be three knaves --- Coppinger --- Ardington --- Hackett --- Last Friday in Cheapside they stepped into a cart, and began to put in practice their communication from Heaven, and amongst others denounced --- the Lord Chancellor and the Bishop of Canterbury, whom they called traitors to God and the realm --- they were shortly after apprehended and examined at the Lord Mayors --- Men talk of it, and resemble it to that matter of John of Leyden, who took upon himself the Kingdom of the Anabaptists and think this mad fool plotted some such Kingdom as these prophets might have assembled."

In the following year the gentry of Suffolk wrote to the Council,⁽²⁾ --- "Do not allow the Papists their treacheries, subtilties, and heresies, nor the Family of Love, an egg of the same nest, nor the Anabaptists nor Brownists, the overthrowers of Church and common weal, but abhor and punish all these."

This closes the record for the 16th.century but we hope to show from further evidence of the actual records that the Anabaptist tradition persisted and is also to be found in England of the 17th.century.

Care must be exercised here, because the 17th.century

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- (1) Calendar of State Papers - Domestic - Elizabeth Vol. CCXXXIX. July 19th.1591.
 (2) Calendar of State Papers - Domestic - Elizabeth Vol. CCXLIII. September ? 1592.

saw the beginning and development of the movement which has become historically known as the "Society of General Baptists".⁽¹⁾ Despite the fact that English General Baptists disowned connection with the Münster sect, the charge of Anabaptism was frequently brought against them during the 17th. century. It was often done ignorantly, or derisively, and even at times maliciously; but there was some truth in the charge, and English Baptists must have been aware that there were some important links between them and the Anabaptists, although the historian must be careful to distinguish between them as they differed both in thought and in doctrine. But their very publications⁽²⁾ denying the connection can be used as further evidence for this Thesis that Anabaptist doctrines and history were at least a living memory in England during the 17th. century.

James I. at the beginning of his reign in England in 1603 attempted to relax the laws against Roman Catholics. The number of people who took advantage of this leniency was so alarming to the Government that the penalties for not attending the established Church were again enforced. After Gunpowder Plot was detected the King and the authorities enforced the penal laws against non-conformists more strictly than ever, although after 1612 people were no longer burnt at the stake in England.

(1) See Thesis page 77 also notes (1), (2) and (3).

(2) See Appendix IV.

The last burning of heretics on English soil took place in that year and it is worthy of note that it was an Anabaptist. "Edward Wightman, a crazy Anabaptist, who fancied himself the Messiah, having attracted notice by a petition to the King, was sent before Bishop Neile for examination. After he had been tested in a number of conferences by Neile and other divines, he was taken to Lichfield and there sentenced by Neile. He was burned in April 1612." ⁽¹⁾

In 1613 English Baptists entered on a literary campaign to educate the public,⁽²⁾ and make it clear that they were not of the type brought into odium by the name Anabaptist. They hoped thus to establish a more tolerant feeling towards themselves, but they failed completely, for a generation later they were still regarded as one with the slandered victims at

(1) F.C.Montague "The Political History of England" Vol.II. p.62.

The warrant for Wightman's arrest informs us that Bishop Neile was aided by "other divines learned in the law", but in Wightman "were embodied the wicked heresies of --- the Anabaptists" which --- "were stubbornly and pertinaciously, knowingly, maliciously, and with a hardened heart, published, defended and dispersed ---- We therefore command thee (the sheriff) that thou cause the said Edward Wightman --- to be committed to the fire in some public and open place --- and the same Edward Wightman cause really to be burnt, in the detestation of the said crime, and for manifest example of other Christians, that they may not fall into the same crime".

(2) See Appendix of Publications.

Münster,⁽¹⁾ and another Parliament doomed them to lifelong imprisonment.

Another publication came out in 1615. It is signed "By Christ's Unworthy Witnesses, His Majesty's faithful subjects: Commonly (but most falsely) called Anabaptists,"⁽²⁾ and the text is at pains to justify this disclaimer and lament the strange opinions held by Continental Anabaptists. Obviously they knew them.

During the next few years there was considerable interest shown in Anabaptism. Books⁽³⁾ (some of which ran through several editions) were published giving an account of their history and doctrines. The popular editions were in French, German and Dutch and an English account was written by Thomas Harrab.⁽⁴⁾

(1) This on the authority of Dr. Whitley. "History of British Baptists" p.40.

See also publication by (John Murton?) dated 1613. "A most humble supplication of divers poore prisoners, and many other the King maties loyall subiect ready to testifie it by ye oath of allegiance in all sinceritie, - whose Greivances are lamentable onely for cause of conscience" (asking the Commons that they "most falsely called Anabaptists" may have the benefit of the Act of 1610 which widened the oath of allegiance from Papish Recusants in 1606 "to all your (James I.) subjects" - "relected by committee". Calendared by Hist.MS.Com.III.14.

(2) "Objections Answered" Hanserd Knollys Soc.Edition.

(3) Clouzier "Histoire des Anabaptistes" (1615)

Hans de Ries "Historie der martelaaren --- sint het jaar 1524 (1615).

The history of the German and Dutch Anabaptists was recast by Van Braght (1660). It went through several editions. Underhill translated it for the Hanserd Knollys Society (1850)

(4) Thomas Harrab "Tesseradelphus, or the foure Brothers (Lutherenism, Calvinisme, Anabaptisme, Anglianisme) 1616. Francis Johnson's (Smyths old tutor) book entitled "Touching

Among the papers of the Privy Council is a letter dated 29th. November, 1617⁽¹⁾ to "his Majestie's learned counsell". It concerns a prisoner in the "Gatehowse" called William Ellis, "a wycked anabaptist", who is charged to have spoken desperate speeches "touching his Majestie's person". It is followed by a warrant⁽²⁾ to the Master, Governors and Keeper of Bethlehem to receive into their charge the person of William Ellis, --- "and to keepe him safe in their chaynes untill further order".

In the Church Warden's Accounts of St. Peter's Church, Tiverton, for the 17th. century we again find reference to the Anabaptists. There is an interesting entry headed, - "An Accompte of moneys levied on the Anabaptists for their Absence from Church in the year 1628". These accounts have been examined by Mr. Burgess, who has published his findings in the Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society (Vol. IV. 1 and 2). They give evidence of further persecution and add another grain of evidence to show that Anabaptism was actually a fact in England.

A study of the "Lists of Foreign Protestants and Aliens resident in England 1618-1688 (Camden Soc. Pub.) revealed another interesting entry under the heading, "A True Certificate of the names of straungers residing and dwellinge within the city of

the Anabaptists", although it was widely read in Puritan circles, does not deal with the Münster sect, but with the English followers of Smyth, and therefore does not actively concern us.

(1) Acts of the Privy Council of England - 29 November, 1617.

(2) Do. Do. 21 December, 1617.

London and the liberties thereof, together with the place of their birthe, and under the soveraignty of what prince they depende --- signified by letters bearing the date of vj of September, 1618 (S.P.O. Dom Jas.I. Vol.102). Among the names in the Dowgate Ward is one John Pippinge, who is certified as having been born in Münster "under the Bishop of Mounster in Jermamy".

In 1620 "An Humble Supplication to the King "contains this clause, - "Your Majesty's Subjects, not for fear only, but for conscience sake, Unjustly called Anabaptists."

From 1624-1630 a considerable correspondence took place between the Waterlander Church in Amsterdam and the six Baptist Churches in England. The correspondence has been preserved in Amsterdam, and an English publication has also been issued.⁽¹⁾ Dr. Whitley in his History of British Baptists gives a summary of the doctrinal points discussed, and although that does not enter here, and although the two sects remained apart, the fact that they maintained friendly relations, and that letters passed frequently between them is a point to be noted. Perhaps it would not be amiss at this point to remind the reader that Bunyan was no ordinary parochial village "tinker", whose outlook was bounded by the parish he lived in. He had heard of Continental events.

"In France and Flanders where men kill each other
My Pilgrim is esteemed a Friend and Brother,
In Holland, too, 'tis said as I am told
My Pilgrim is with some, worth more than gold".

Second Part 1684.

(1) Baptist Historical Society Transactions Vol.IV. Burrage
"Early English Dissenters" Vol.II. p.122.

What else had he been told, I wonder, of happenings on the Continent? In his sermon "On the Greatness of the Soul", he refers to the Edict of Nantes and its violation in 1628 when La Rochelle was taken from the Huguenots. "These thoughts", he says, "are like French Protestants banished thence they willingly would have harbour". In Prison, Cobb, Clerk of the Peace, was sent to Bunyan to try and secure his submission to the law. In refuting him Bunyan quotes Wycliffe to the effect that a man who has the gift to preach and leaves off exercising it for fear of men is a traitor to Christ. In his "Holy City" we find further reference to outside history and theology. He speaks of --- "holy and famous worthies, that before have risen up in their place and shook off these relics of Antichrist --- worthy of Wycliffe, Huss, Luther, Melancthon and Calvin ---. Huss, Bilney, Hooper and Cranmer with their brethren, if they were now in the world would cry, "Our light and knowledge of the Word --- was much inferior to the light that is this day broken forth." These quotations show that Bunyan took an interest in the theology, and had at least some knowledge of the religious history of the past. May we not postulate he had also heard something of Anabaptist history? He even gives us a hint. In his "Heavenly Footman"⁽¹⁾ he writes, "Do not have too much company with Anabaptists though I go under that name myself." Does not this imply that he knew

(1) Gwilym O.Griffith suggests this was the actual book Bunyan was writing when he conceived the idea of The Pilgrim's Progress.

them? But that question deserves a later chapter to itself. Let us further follow Anabaptism in England thus showing that the movement was strong enough in the public mind to make it possible at least for Bunyan to have heard a living tradition of the past events of its history.

Despite a century of "extermination" by powerful authorities Anabaptism in England still continued. On February 20th. 1636 the Commissioners for Causes Ecclesiastical wrote to John Wragge, messenger of the chamber⁽¹⁾ "Credible information has been given that there are at present in London and many other parts, sundry sorts of separatists and sectaries, as namely Brownists, Anabaptists and others --- For remedy whereof, taking with him a constable and such other assistance as he shall think meet, he is to enter into any house where such private conventicles are held, and search for such sectaries as also for unlawful and unlicensed books and papers, and such persons, papers and books so found, to bring forthwith before the writers to be dealt with as shall be thought fit --- And all justices of peace and others are to yield assistance herein as Wragge shall require."

The State Papers further show that this order bore speedy fruit. The record shows in 1636⁽²⁾ "Francis Jones of Ratcliff, Middlesex, basket-maker, was charged with keeping private conventicles - being an Anabaptist and as he refused to

(1) Calendar of State Papers - Domestic - Charles I. Vol. CCCXIV. 1636 February 20th. Lambeth.

(2) Calendar of State Papers - Domestic - Charles I. Vol. CCCXIV.

take an oath to answer these articles, for which contempt, and for that he confesses he had been rebaptized he was committed to Newgate."

In 1637 Archbishop Laud giving an account of his province acquaints the king that "in his Diocese near Ashford, several Anabaptists stood out so obstinately against the customs of the church, that there was no other way of dealing with them but having recourse to the Statute of Abjuration, or applying to the assistance of the Temporal Courts, - But whether this remedy is proper or not at this disturbed juncture is referred to His Majesty. - The hurt which they⁽¹⁾ have done is so deeply rooted that it is impossible to be plucked up on a sudden." Charles wrote against this report, "Keep these particular persons⁽¹⁾ fast until you think what to do with the rest."

Charles I. admits the influence of the Anabaptists while at the same time he slanders them. "How many of the gravest and most substantial citizens of London, --- are disgraced, robbed and imprisoned, without any process of law or colour of accusation, but of obedience to the law and government of the Kingdom; whilst Anabaptists and Brownists, with the assistance of vicious and debauched persons of desperate fortune take upon them to break up

(1) A Mr. Brewer and a Mr. Turner. Brewer remained in prison for 14 years.

A courtier is reported to have said, "If I hate any it is those schismatics that puzzle the sweet peace of our church; so that I could be content to see an Anabaptist go to hell on a Brownist's back". - Howell's Letters p.270.

and rife houses, as public and avowed ministers of a new-invented authority."(1)

After the imprisonment of Laud in 1640 there was a reaction in favour of nonconformists, even the Anabaptists found sympathy. This would be hard to believe if we had not direct evidence.

"On January 18th.1640 Edmond Chillendon, Nicholas Tyne, John Webb, Richard Sturgess, Thomas Gunn, John Ellis, with at least 60 persons more, were all taken on Sunday last, in the afternoon in the time of Divine service, by the constables and churchwardens of St.Saviour, (in Southwark) in the house of Richard Sturgess, where they said they met to teach and edify one another in Christ. They being brought before Sir John Lenthal, he demanded why they did not go and resort to their parish church, according to the law of the 35th.Elizabeth?

They answered 1. That the law of the 35th.of Queen Elizabeth was not a true law, for it was made by the bishops, and they would not obey it. 2. That they would not go unto their parish churches, for that those churches were not true churches; that there was no true church but where the faithful met. 3. That the King could not make a perfect law, for that he was not a perfect man. 4. That they ought not to obey him, but in civil things. 5. That some of them threatened the churchwardens and constables, that they had not yet answered for this work.

This is subscribed by the Knight and the churchwardens.

Sir John was ordered to take care of them and bring them to the House with all that could witness against them. According to order, the Anabaptists were brought to the House and being severally called on, all of these faithful to our church did deny the most material things which they were charged with; whereupon Sir John Lenthal and the other witnesses were

(1) Charles' Answer to an Ordinance of Parliament. Parliamentary History Vol.III. p.31.

That the 'Anabaptists' so called were not all "mean people" of "desperate fortune" can also be shown. The Court of High Commission sitting in 1640, its last year of existence, dealt with John Fort of Tiverton, clothier, who on 10th. October 1639 had been fined £500 for his 'Anabaptist' beliefs.

sworn, and did justify what they had subscribed on oath. Upon wh. the House did order "That these Sectaries should receive for this time an admonition from this House, and be enjoined hereafter to repair to their several parish churches to hear Divine service, and give obedience thereto, according to the Act of Parliament of this Realm: To that purpose, the order was read to them of this House 16th. Jan." And they were told "That if hereafter they should not observe these commands, they should be severely punished, according to law; and so they were dismissed"(1)

On July 4th. 1642 Charles from his Court at York issued directions to the Judges going on circuit. "That you take care for the suppressing of Popery in the counties by putting the laws in due execution, and stop the over-hasty growth of Anabaptism and other scisms as far as by the laws you may."(2)

An interesting side-light which adds another grain of evidence to our contention that Anabaptist doctrines and historical tradition were to be found in England during this period is found in Stovel's Introduction to Canne's book "A Necessity of Separation from the Church of England".(3) "And the Anabaptists, whereof it is said, are above thirty several sects, have their Churches, ---- Mr. Canne being the pastor of one company, and Mr. Greenwood, an old man, a tradesman, who sells stockings in the Exchange, I saw him there; he is the leader of another company".

(1) Nalson's Collection Vol. 1. pp. 727/728.

(2) Calendar of State Papers - Domestic - Charles I. Vol. CCCCXCI.

(3) Published by Hanserd Knollys Soc. John Canne is supposed to have been pastor of the church in Deadman's Place, but was compelled to flee to Holland where he became pastor of the "Ancient English Church" in Amsterdam.

On 26th. June 1643 Charles issued a Proclamation in which again the Anabaptists are specially mentioned. Charles declared, "That the Common Council of London are many of them being chosen out of Brownists, Anabaptists and such who oppose the regular wholesome government of the city".(1)

The General Baptists (whom we have shown disowned connection with the Münster Anabaptists) had entered a campaign to show the distinction between them. In 1644 they published a Confession of Faith,(2) but for our purpose the very effort they made to show the distinction between themselves and the Münster sect shows that they were familiar with Münster doctrine and history and it is interesting to note in support of our thesis that writers against the Baptists attacked and accused them

(1) Proclamation of Charles I. June 26th.1643. Parliamentary History Vol.iii.pp.134,135.

(2) The confession of faith of those churches which are commonly (though falsely) called Anabaptists - 1644 subscribed in the names of 7 churches in London. William Kiffin, Thomas Patience, John Spilsbery etc. Revised 1646. Reissued 1651. 1652.

In Edwards - Gangraena (1645) there is an interesting counterblast to these publications:-

"Before you have heard of the condition of these Hereticks in times past: but with griefe of heart I speak it. Now they lift up their heads, they write books and publish them in defence of their detestable opinions, of which I have seen some --- and this without any controule that I can heare of. Yea they challenge our Divines openly to defend their Tenets by disputation --- Would to God our Religious Patriots assembled in Parliament would at length take care (as they have done with the Romish Emissaries) to suppress these --- that they may not infect the simple people with their abominable Errorus --- The Wolves that were wont to lye in the woods, are come into our Sheep-fold, and roar in the holy Congregations."

(whether ignorantly or maliciously) of holding the doctrines of Münster.

One writer,⁽¹⁾ who seeks in the history of German Anabaptists an armoury of crimes with which to assail them, thus sums up their offences. "I expect some will say with John of Leyden, that if the word of God were lost they might soon supply it with another -- that regenerate men cannot sin is the very doctrine of the Anabaptists --- that a liberty of prophesying must be allowed -- all these are scions of that stock of Anabaptism that was transplanted out of Holland in the year 1535, when two ships laden with Anabaptists, fled into England after they had missed the enterprise of Amsterdam."⁽¹⁾

Robert Baillie writing in 1647⁽²⁾ ignores the statements of the General Baptists and repeats the calumnies against the Anabaptists "The London Anabaptists' Confession is such an one as I believe thousands of our new anabaptists will be far from owning, as any man may be able to say without a spirit of divination, knowing that their usual and received doctrines do much more agree with the Anabaptists in Germany." Baillie next proceeds in a special chapter to describe the tenets of the Anabaptists in England; not from their published and united confessions or their acknowledged writings but from the pages of

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- (1) Confessions of Faith and other Public Documents Hanserd Knolly's Society - E.B.Underhill.
See Martyrology of the Baptists - E.B.Underhill Vol.I.p.154.
(2) Anabaptisme the True Fountaine of Independency, Brownism, Antinomy, Familisme, etc. - Robt.Baillie 1647.

their antagonists.

It is interesting to note how upholders of the various sects combined against the Anabaptists. Catholics, Episcopalians and Presbyterians alike seemed to find it only necessary to say that a belief or doctrine was Anabaptist to condemn it.

The final defeat of the King in 1648 had given the supreme power virtually into the hands of the army in which the principles of independency were very prevalent. The Presbyterian party were therefore very fearful lest the army should reject their polity and in its stead establish a more free and liberal government both in church and state. It is not surprising therefore to find references to Anabaptism in the letters and documents of the period.

A pamphlet was published in 1655 asserting that Cromwell had avowed his intention of turning all Anabaptists out of the army. It is written apparently by someone with Anabaptist sympathies and is entitled "Queries for His Highness to Answer to his own Conscience". Its author⁽¹⁾ addresses the Protector thus:- "The way you intend to bring about this design is two-fold (1) To purge the Army of the Anabaptists (2) to do it by degrees. But O Oliver is this thy design? And is this the way to be rid of the Anabaptists? And is this the reason because they hinder the reforming of things amiss in the Church? I confess they have been enemies to the Presbyterian Church; and

(1) Possibly John Sturgeson. The copy of this is in the British Museum.

so were you when you were at Dunbar in Scotland --- so highly did you love the Anabaptists then, that you did not only invite them into the Army, but entertained them in your family; but it seems the case is altered. But do not deceive yourself, nor let the priests deceive you; for the Anabaptists are men that will not be shuffled out of their birthright as freeborn people of England."

This report, however, was without foundation. Cromwell was more anxious to keep the Anabaptists in the army than to turn them out. Any Anabaptist who was obedient to authority, kept his commission without difficulty. Indeed Henry Cromwell who had some trouble with the Anabaptist section among the officers intriguing against him complained that the Anabaptists found too much support from his father. In a letter written from Whitehall on 21st. November 1655 addressed "For my Son, Henry Cromwell, at Dublin, Ireland" Cromwell writes,-

Son,

I have seen your Letter writ unto Mr. Secretary Thurloe; and to find thereby that you are very apprehensive of the carriage of some persons with you, towards yourself and the public affairs. -- Time and patience may work them to a better frame of mind.⁽¹⁾ In another letter dated 21st. April 1656 he writes "I think the Anabaptists are to blame in not being pleased with you. That's their fault! It will not reach you, whilest you with singleness

(1) Cromwell's Letters - Letter CCVII. - Carlyle.

of heart make the glory of the Lord your aim --- Take care of making it a business to be too hard for the men who contest with you."(1)

Friction continued, however, and finally Henry Cromwell cashiered Lieut.Colonel Alexander Brayfield, an Anabaptist, for speaking words against his father. There is an interesting letter in the British Museum which shows clearly Cromwell's attitude to the Anabaptists.(2)

"I am sorrie you gave mee not one word about Leif^{nt}. Coll:Bravefields businesse --- I would not beleive 2 carnell men, against one such protestinge innocency (minde this)⁽³⁾ it beinge in a case concerninge my selfe, where it is in my power to pardon wthout iniustice ---- I pray you, give a remidee for my sake, and lett the poore man bee handsomely restored." ---

Your lovinge Father,

Oliver P.

Octob.the 13th.1657.(4)

(1) Cromwell's Letters - Letter CCVIII. - Carlyle.

(2) This letter is not in Carlyle's collection: The only copy being in the British Museum.

(3) These 2 words are inserted between the lines in a different handwriting.

(4) We have already shown that Bunyan served in the Parliamentary Army, where it was possible - and more than probable for him to meet with Anabaptists - see Thesis page 9/10 also note

Note: There was an interesting point concerning Anabaptist doctrine which greatly exercised the Baptist Churches (including Bedford). Matthew Caffin who was expelled from Oxford about 1645 for his doctrinal views joined the General Baptist Church, near Horsham, under Samuel Lover. He was appointed coadjutor and displayed considerable evangelical zeal, many little churches in Sussex and Kent

With the death of Oliver Cromwell England for a time fell into a state of confusion. No man could tell which party would come to power. The State Papers contain a letter dated July 1659 written by Secretary Nicholas to M.de Marces, Palais Royal, Paris, in which he reports the current rumours. "Hen. Cromwell will, it is said, submit as basely to this rump of a Parliament as his basely pusillanimous brother Richard has done --- The divisions in Parliament and Army continue. The Presbyterians are quite out of favour. The Anabaptists, Brownists, and Quakers are chief in esteem with Sir Hen.Vane and the rest of the rulers"(1)

A later letter adds, "The rebels are raising in London 3 regiments of Quakers, Anabaptists and Brownists, called

looking up to him as their founder. In 1655 he opposed the Quakers in speech and in print. In 1656 at an Assembly of Churches, someone started the question, How is Jesus Christ David's root and offspring? Caffin seems to have become fascinated with the question and in consequence of the conclusion he came to seems to have become a veritable storm centre for Caffin got hold of Hoffmann's Anabaptist books and adopted his opinion that the flesh of Jesus passed through Mary "as water through a pipe". Thos.Grantham found speculation on this point so rife in General Baptist circles that he devoted many pages of his book (Christianismus primitivus 1678) to a statement of the usual views with a catena of authorities, while the churches of Hertfordshire, Buckingham, Oxford and Bedfordshire united to publish a most elaborate confession against Hoffmann's views (which proves they were known). Dr.Whitley - History of British Baptists pp.172/173.
 Note: The Pilgrim's Progress was published in 1678.

(1) Calendar of State Papers - Domestic - Vol.CCIII. Chas.I.
 - 1659.

congregational men to be under Sir.Hen.Vane, Major Skippon and - White, a famous Quaker from New England".⁽¹⁾

Still later in September he reports, "The Anabaptists and Quakers are most powerful in Parliament and strongest in London, though disliked by most of the inhabitants."⁽²⁾

But any Anabaptist hopes of power were short lived. The general feeling was strong against them. In 1659 a mob demolished their meeting-house on St.Dunstan's Hill in London and the authorities would give them no redress. An extract from a letter written in the last week of 1659 by a colonel in the army to General Monk shows that the brief tide of their fortunes had already ebbed. "The Anabaptists", says the letter, "are all as tame as asses, and as mute as fishes". In January 1660 we find the Townsman of Newcastle petitioning General Monk, "That no Anabaptists nor Quakers may be admitted to places of trust, either civil or military."

The Petitions presented to Charles II. show that the Anabaptists were out of favour. In June 1660 Jane, widow of Ralph Shirte, late Postmaster of Caxton, Cambridgeshire, petitioned for the aforesaid office for her son "it being now held by John Martin, one of Cromwell's sequestrators, and an Anabaptist."⁽³⁾

The Postmaster at Newbury also wrote and complained,

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- (1) Calendar of State Papers - Domestic - Vol.CCIV. - Charles I. 1659.
 - (2) Calendar of State Papers - Domestic - Vol.CCIV. - Charles I. 1659.
 - (3) Calendar of State Papers - Domestic - Charles II. Vol.VI. Petition 113.

"Major Wildman, Thomson and Oxenbridge, Anabaptists, put whom they please into the post."(1) In July Nathaniel Butter, citizen and stationer of London petitioned Sec.Nicholas for his favour to obtain him a place in Sutton's Hospital, "where there are not six pensioners lawfully put in, many being Anabaptists or spurious fellows."(2)

Lord Cleveland's regiment lying at Yarmouth was ordered to be disbanded in October 1660. Colonel Doyly wrote to Colonel Blagge saying, "he hoped the place would not be trusted without a guard as the Anabaptists tried to foment differences between the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians."(3)

In the same month Sir Humphrey Bennet wrote Nicholas asking a recommendation for a lease of Collingborn farm, Wiltshire. He declares, "Anabaptists and Quakers swarm in every corner of the country."(4)

Richard Elsworth complained to Nicholas in November that he was obstructed in administering the oath of allegiance by the Quakers and Anabaptists of Bristol, "who are numerous and defiant" and he asks power to imprison the refusers.(5)

Three days later he wrote again "These monsters are numerous -- and have meetings of 1000 or 1200 to the great

(1) Calendar of State Papers - Domestic - Charles II. Vol.XXIII.
71 (2).

(2) Calendar of State Papers - Domestic - Charles II. Vol.IX.
Petition 150.

(3) Calendar of State Papers - Domestic - Chas.II. Vol.XVIII.

(4) Do. Do. Vol.XIX.

(5) Do. Do. Vol.XXI.

alarm of the city" (Bristol).⁽¹⁾

On 2nd. January 1661 orders were issued in Charles II's name⁽²⁾ that to preserve peace and prevent plots, no people out of their own families should assemble on pretence of preaching, teaching, praying, or hearing the same, in any place whatsoever but in public parish churches and chapels appointed. This caused a rising of the Fifth Monarchists, but it was suppressed within four days.

It is worthy of note in connection with our Thesis,

- (1) Calendar of State Papers - Domestic - Chas. II. Vol. XXI. Bristol seems to have been a stronghold for at the same time (1660) the Governor of Hereford wrote and reported, "Teig late postmaster at Bristol, an Anabaptist is still powerful here - State Papers - Domestic - Vol. XXIII. 71(1). In 1661 we find William Colston reporting "the trained bands cannot suppress meetings of Quakers and Anabaptists at Bristol" - State Papers - Domestic - Vol. XXIX. 48.
- (2) Order in Council against Anabaptists - January 2nd. Wednesday 1660-1. Whitehall Council Board. "Whereas divers factious persons, under pretence of the liberty indulged by his Majesty's late gracious declaration, in reference unto tender consciences, do meet in great numbers and at unusual times, whereby it may be justly apprehended, that many of them enter into plots --- It was thereupon ordered by his Majesty in council, that Mr. Solicitor-general should forthwith prepare a proclamation, commanding all such persons going under the notion of anabaptists, quakers, and other sectaries, henceforward not to meet, under pretence of serving God, at unusual hours --- and if any shall be found to offend therein, the next justices of the peace are to cause them, and every of them, to be proceeded against, according to the laws provided against riotous and unlawful assemblies. - Kennet's Register p. 352. The State Papers show that the Baptists united and tried to mitigate the severity of this proclamation by pointing out that they were not the Anabaptists the memory of whose history still alarmed the authorities. In the State Records of 1661 lies "The humble petition of certain baptised Christians (untruly called Anabaptists), of the counties of Kent, Sussex, Bucks, Dorset, Lincoln and

that the memory of Anabaptist History in Münster was remembered in England, that in 1661 a pamphlet was issued entitled, - "Münster parallel in the late massacres committed by the Fifth Monarchists."(1)

The Fifth Monarchy Rising gave the government the pretext for summary measures against conventicles, accordingly proclamations were published prohibiting all meetings whatsoever of Nonconformists.

We find additional confirmation of this in a letter written by Sir John Finch to Lord Conway, dated January 11th. 1661, in which he describes the Fifth Monarchy rising under Venner, then goes on, "No man is now allowed to have arms, unless registered; nor to live in the city without taking the Oath of Allegiance; nor to exercise religious duties out of his house; nor to admit others into it under penalty of a riot. This troubles the Quakers and Anabaptists, who had nothing to do with the business."(2)

There is a quaint popular rhyme which illustrates the situation at this period. It is entitled "A Lecture for all sects and schismatics to read."

"What ayles the Anabaptists
So much to be perplext,
The Quakers they are troubled too
With many severall sects,

Nottingham ---" --- (that the Declaration of Breda be fulfilled). Calendar of State Papers - Domestic - Vol. xlviii. 41.

- (1) This pamphlet is in the Sion College Library, London.
(2) Calendar of State Papers - Vol. XXVIII. - 1661.

The Brownists and the Adamites,
 With fift monarchies too,
 In this their mad and frantick fits
 Seek Protestants t' o'erthrow:

With hey ho base Quakers,
 Your wicked deeds all rue;
 You must to Church or Tiburn
 With Anabaptists too.

The Cobblers and the Tinkers
 Must now forbear to Preach,
 Taylors, Joyners and Tanners,
 Must no false doctrine teach;

You Quakers and you Dippers,
 Your wicked deeds all rue;
 With speed return and go to Church,
 And leave that factious crew."

Nevertheless despite their proclamations the authorities found themselves faced with the same difficulty as their predecessors for Anabaptism still persisted. The State Papers clearly show this and that it was not a thing of small moment is evidenced from the status of the people who wrote and took action against this "divellified sect".

On January 26th.1661 Colston, Deputy Lieutenant of Bristol, stated they were still forced to raise the trained bands for safety of the city, which abounds with Quakers and Anabaptists, "who meet contrary to Proclamation".⁽¹⁾

On March 19th. Henry Toone wrote to his brother in Staffordshire, "There are abundance of Quakers in prison, and many Anabaptists too, who refuse to swear."⁽²⁾

(1) Calendar of State Papers - Domestic - Vol.XXIX - 1661.
 (2) Do. Do. Vol.XXXII. - 1661.

William Williamson wrote Sir John Mennes on April 1st.

"Yesterday there were great congregations of Presbyterians, Anabaptists, and Fifth-Monarchy men, so that the major part of London were there --- The meeting of sectaries cannot be particularised for they are everywhere."(1)

Captain Pestell reported to Secretary Nicholas on September 26th., "The people are transported with jealousy and will not believe in the King's goodness, and spread seducing pamphlets everywhere. Several -- at Plymouth are determined that the Common Prayer shall not come into Mr. Hughes's church; the same feeling exists at Dartmouth and other places on that coast, where Anabaptists and Quakers abound."(2)

From Barwick, Wiltshire, Roger Griffin wrote in the same strain to Lord Falkland, "Yesterday there was a great meeting of Anabaptists held at Titmarsh's house, where they used words as seditious as they could find -- The Mayor sent constables who secured them, as they denied the Oath of Allegiance and security for good behaviour".(3)

The State Papers also record in January 1662 the examination of John King, Southwark and Goody Roberts of Uxbridge, an Anabaptist stating there were divers meetings there.(4)
In June Thos. Culpepper and two other Captains of Militia wrote

(1)	Calendar of State Papers - Domestic -	Vol. XXXIV. - 1661.
(2)	Do.	Do. Vol. XLII. - 1661.
(3)	Do.	Do. Vol. XLIV. - 1661.
(4)	Do.	Do. Vol. XLIX. - 1662.

from Goudhurst to Sir Edward Hales that there were unlawful meetings of Quakers and Anabaptists held within the seven hundreds (in Kent) - and unless this were prevented good subjects must suffer,⁽¹⁾ whilst William Kilburn lodged information duly recorded in the State documents that meetings of Quakers and Anabaptists had long been held at or near Cranbrooke in Kent, and lately many strangers had been amongst them.⁽²⁾

That some of the Anabaptists took to treasonable plotting is clear from official records. The first hint the authorities received was in July 1662 when John Parker and Charles Wood informed Captain Busbridge of the Lord General's regiment, against Robert Carter, a disbanded lieutenant, and an Anabaptist costermonger of Thames Street, who had abused them when drinking together "and spoke of an alteration soon to take place."⁽³⁾

That the authorities were afraid of Anabaptism is evident from the correspondence. Lord Fauconberg wrote to Secretary Nicholas reporting meetings and night ridings of disaffected persons and he adds definite information "Being near Beverley, Wm. Hallas, an Anabaptist, formerly a sergeant in Sir Arthur Hasslerigg's regiment, informed them of an intended general rising --- to be executed about August 28, when they intended to seize the trained bands."⁽⁴⁾

(1) Calendar of State Papers - Domestic - Vol.LVI. - 1662.
 (2) Do. Do. Vol.LVI. - 1662.
 (3) Do. Do. Vol.LVII. - 1662.
 (4) Do. Do. Vol.LVII. - 1662.

Further information is given in the official State Papers under October 20th.1662, "The Anabaptists and Presbyterians of London unite in their design against the King, but intend to give it out that the rising will not be till spring, in order that the Guards may be taken from the City."⁽¹⁾

Why were the authorities so fearful of Anabaptism? Surely it was the memory of Münster. It is a valuable support for our thesis, - that the memory of Anabaptist history was at least a living tradition in England of the 16th.and 17th. centuries - to find such an authority as Dr.Whitley dealing with this period in his 'History of British Baptists', saying the reason why public opinion ran so strongly against the Baptists was "the doings of Münster were again brought to the fore", thus frightening the authorities who dreaded a repetition of that movement.⁽²⁾

Nevertheless the "Anabaptist rising", if it ever was seriously proposed, came to nothing, and although many nonconformists were persecuted, some being banished, while others were shipped as criminals to the Barbadoes, the government was prepared to pardon those who would accept the Oath of Allegiance and the State Church. A minute of a letter to the Lord Chancellor December 28th.1662 shows this. It encloses lists of the prisoners in Newgate and the Gatehouse - among others 289 Anabaptists taken

(1) Calendar of State Papers - Domestic - Vol.LXI. - 1662.

(2) See Thesis p.130.

at unlawful meetings - "whom the King is willing to set free if they will take the oaths and give security".(1)

The Anabaptists, however, refused for the most part to forsake their beliefs despite persecution and penalties. A letter written during this period gives us a detailed account of the sufferings of those who would not conform in religious matters. "The gaols are so filled that many are stifled through thronging together: Anabaptists hold out long and Quakers to the last".(2)

The State Papers of March 22nd.1663 show that seditious meetings had been held during the previous six months in Mugglesworth Park, Durham. The record (it is a State document not rumour) adds "They have correspondence through the nation, and boast thousands of Independents and Anabaptists".(3)

That the authorities were alarmed and on the alert is shown by a letter dated March 30th. which says, "an informer - an Anabaptist who was troubled in conscience has revealed his knowledge of a plot to the Bishop of Durham. Many persons are apprehended but none of quality".(4)

Later in the same year the Government record their "Intelligence of designs tending to insurrection" --- "Troops are preparing in Durham and Yorkshire, but disputes have arisen between the Anabaptists and Fifth Monarchy men. They intend to

(1) Calendar of State Papers - Domestic - Vol.LXV. - 1662.
A further list of 214 Anabaptists and Quakers is given in Vol.LXVII. - 1663.

(2) Calendar of State Papers - Domestic - Vol.LXIX. - 1663.

(3) Do. Do. Vol.LXIX. - 1663.

(4) Do. Do. Vol.LXIX. - 1663.

take Newcastle and Skipton Castle ---- They have agents in most counties and also in the fleet".⁽¹⁾ On October 15th. Bernard Walker of Newcastle informed the authorities that he "met 80 armed horsemen, Quakers and Anabaptists near Carleton in Coversdale --- and heard at Whitsuntide that there were 500 of them and the number daily increasing".⁽²⁾

The scare continued for we find the Duke of Buckingham filing a letter on March 7th.1664 saying, "the malcontents begin to revive in the West of England and have thoughts of setting the City on fire --- The time will probably be the opening of Parliament --- if the Anabaptists and Fifth Monarchy men are cared for, all will be prevented, the other sects being but few."⁽³⁾

On March 10th. the Earl of Derby wrote the Duke of Albemarle enclosing an anonymous letter, "of great concern if true, and if the writer will own it at the assizes" --- It contains the names of several Cheshire men as engaged in the late plot --- and declares, "There are 5,000 Presbyterians, Independents and Anabaptists in the two countries, and 500 about Manchester ready ---"⁽⁴⁾

Some of the foregoing statements as to numbers are based on statements which have no further backing than the speaker who made them, but for the purpose of our thesis we are

(1) Calendar of State Papers - Domestic - Vol.LXIX. - 1663.
 (2) Do. Do. Vol.LXXXI. - 1663.
 (3) Do. Do. Vol.XCIV. - 1664.
 (4) Do. Do. Chas.II.Vol.XCIV. - 1664.

only seeking to show that Anabaptism was in the minds of the people during these years and the foregoing - all taken from actual records of the time - go to prove it.

The original lists of records of early Nonconformity for the years 1665, 1669-1676 have now been transcribed, edited and published by Professor G.Lyon Turner. They give in detail the various parishes of England and show the different sects therein, giving their Number and their Quality, and the names of the "Principalls and Abettors". It is a most illuminating compilation as to the number and strength of the Anabaptists in England, showing that they were by no means a feeble folk.⁽¹⁾

Let us return and take up the thread of Anabaptism as revealed in the State Papers. After nearly 2 centuries of persecution the authorities of the 17th.century apparently could think of no better method of dealing with Anabaptism than the authorities under the Tudors - imprisonment. We shall only deal with this point in brief taking incidents here and there.

On February 28th.1665 Alexander Rigby wrote from Chester to Sir Geoffrey Shakerley informing him that Mr.Dutton of Hatton had apprehended some Anabaptists⁽²⁾.

(1) The writer has gone over these records and made excerpts in so far as they concern Anabaptists but as the research there has been done by Professor Lyon Turner, they have been omitted from this book - we only use the fact of the great number of Anabaptists recorded officially in detail during these years as an additional point of evidence that at least a tradition of Anabaptist history could be found in England at that period.

(2) Calendar of State Papers - Domestic - Charles II. Vol.CXIII.

On March 13th. there is a report from Dorchester saying, "Some Anabaptists were surprized at their meeting at Fordington, a parish near, and carried before a justice".⁽¹⁾

On June 13th.1670 John Carlile wrote from Dover, "Yesterday being the Sabbath we sent out some officers, who found upwards of 200 persons at a conventicle of Anabaptists".⁽²⁾ On July 27th. he further added --- "Much troubled at Dover with an obstinate party of Anabaptists who persist in their old way, notwithstanding they are dispersed".⁽³⁾ But his last entry on February 2nd.1671 apparently despairs of stamping out this persistent sect. "On Friday last the mayor and jurates caused the Anabaptists' pulpit, forms and benches to be pulled down, and hung padlocks upon the doors, but upon Sunday morning betimes the staples and locks were broke off and the Anabaptists went to their old trade again".⁽⁴⁾

So the tale goes on. Sometimes it is Yarmouth, where the State Papers record in 1676 that an informer betrayed a meeting of 80 or 90 Anabaptists⁽⁵⁾. Sometimes it is Deal that sends a report that Anabaptist heresy is still to be found in its midst.⁽⁶⁾

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| (1) | Calendar of State Papers - Domestic - Charles II.Vol.CXIV. |
| (2) | Do. Do. Car.II.276 No.127. |
| (3) | Do. Do. Car.II.277 No.112. |
| (4) | Do. Do. Car.II.287 No.171. |
| (5) | Do. Do. Car.II.383 No.54. |
| (6) | Do. Do. Car.II.384 No.179. |

Truly Anabaptism was a stubborn root.

Even by 1687, the year before the death of Bunyan, we find that public feeling on Anabaptism had not died down in England. John Dryden whose progenitors were thoroughly tinctured with Puritanism in which he was brought up, - (indeed it has been levelled against him that he was bred an Anabaptist) - nevertheless ended his days a member of the Church of Rome. In his topical poem 'The Hind and the Panther' we find religious questions the paramount subject of discussion, and in the very first part of the poem Anabaptists are referred to as "The bristled Baptist boar". One of his opponents retaliated by calling him "a bristled Baptist bred" turning to account for retaliation Dryden's own language.

In closing this chapter we might refer to a peculiarity of Bunyan's time. Bishop E.A.Knox in his book on Bunyan points out that the theological discussions in Bunyan's books which to us are "unnatural excrescences" were to him part of the very texture and stuff of his tale. Bishop Knox points out that even common folk of the 17th.century loved theology and talked theology. Church fellowship was to them an absorbing reality. They took as vivid an interest in doctrine and church government as do their descendants to-day in sporting events, or the melodrama of the cinema.

This statement finds proof in the number of religious "tournaments" or disputations which were held all over the

country.⁽¹⁾ The details of these between Fisher, a Jesuit, and Archbishop Laud occupy an entire folio volume. Another is said to have been held in Southwark, between Dr. Featly, a learned divine, and some unknown Baptists. The Doctor published his report under the title, "The Dippers Dipt, or the Anabaptists ducked and plunged over head and ears". It is dedicated to Parliament, and the Doctor advises that the Anabaptists should be "severely punished, if not utterly exterminated".

Dr. Featly's book elicited from his opponents a work with an equally striking title, "Baby-baptism mere babyism", but it is futile to follow out the arguments. The opponents only succeeded in convincing themselves the more firmly in their own beliefs.

Another religious debate which was to have been held by Captain Hobson and Hanserd Knollys against Master Calamy and Master Crawford on the vexed subject of infant baptism, was prevented by the authority of the magistrates under the Commonwealth, probably because these disputes were attended with considerable disorder and confusion. In the disputation between Danson and Ives on final perseverance, both complained of the disorderly conduct of the auditors, and again the Anabaptists were declared to be the cause of the disturbance. Danson declares "there is not a ruder sort of people (the Quakers not

(1) For fuller details of these 'disputations' see Appendix II.

excepted) than Arminian Anabaptists". Poor Anabaptists! even the Quakers abused them, for Quaker William Penn referred to them as "These tumultuous, bloodthirsty, covenant-breaking, government-destroying Anabaptists!"

Ere we close this chapter on Anabaptism in England let us take a brief survey of the publications issued during the 16th. and 17th. centuries.⁽¹⁾ It is very illuminating when we recollect that the literature of a period reflects the background and thoughts of its day. An examination of the various writings reveals several actually dealing with Münster, its beliefs and its history, all of which add evidence to our Thesis that at the very least it was possible for English people to have a tradition of Münster Anabaptist history.

Ten years after the Fall of Münster in 1535 Kerssenbroick published a (biassed) history against the Anabaptists (in Latin). This R.C. work is the source of nearly all the accounts of the German Anabaptists which appeared for nearly three centuries in Dutch, German, French or English. The first history by an Anabaptist was issued in 1615 by Hans de Ries in Dutch. It was recast in 1660 by Van Braght and reprinted in 1685 with illustrations.⁽²⁾ That the English Churches knew of Hans de Ries writings is evident for they entered into correspondence with him and between 1624 and 1630 letters passed

(1) For a full list see Appendix IV.

(2) E.B. Underhill translated part of this edition for the Hanserd Knollys Society.

between them. A record of these is given in Evans Early English Baptists and in the publications of the Baptist Historical Society Transactions.

In 1565 Guy de Bres published "La racine, source et fondement des Anabaptistes". An English translation of this by J.Scottow appeared in 1668 entitled, "The Rise, Spring and Foundation of the Anabaptists. In 1615 (the same year as Hans de Ries' book) Clouzier published his account of the story, "Histoire des Anabaptistes: ou Relation curieuse de leur Doctrine, Regne, et Revolutions". In 1616 Thomas Harrab issued "Tesseradelphus, or the foure Brothers (Lutheranisme, Calvinisme, Anabaptisme, Anglianisme). The following year appeared "Historiae Anabaptisticae by Arnold Meschovius and in 1637 a similar book was written by Conrad Heresbach "Historia Anabaptistica".(1)

Now we come nearer Bunyan's own time. In 1642 a Pamphlet was published entitled "A Warning for England especially for London, in the famous history of the frantick Anabaptists, their wild preachings and practises in Germany". In the same year another history appeared, "A Short History of the Anabaptists of High and Low Germany". This was so much in demand that another edition was issued in the following year. It was reprinted again in 1647 and several copies are still extant. There are also

(1) These books are all found in English libraries.

several copies still in existence of a book published in 1645 entitled, "Mock-Majesty: or the seige of Münster".

In 1645 Ephraim Pagitt issued a very popular work, "Heresieography: or a description of the hereticks and sectaries of the latter times". This was enlarged and issued again in the same year and ran through several editions. It was printed again in 1647, 1648, 1654, 1661 and 1662. As we would expect the hated Anabaptists come in for severe bludgeonings. First on the list of Pagitt's "impure Families who blasphemously pretend to be Godified like God, whereas indeed they are divellified like their Father the Divell" come the "illuminated Anabaptists". He devotes no fewer than 64 pages to pointing out their errors beginning with the Münster sect.

In 1645, also, a Continental Anabaptist, Friedrich Spanheim, published a book, "Diatriba historica de origine, progressu et sectis Anabaptistarum". An English version of this appeared in 1646 under the title, England's warning by Germanies woe: or an historicall narration of the originall, progresse, tenets, names, and severall sects of the Anabaptists in Germany and the Low Countries. Several copies of this are still extant. ⁽¹⁾

In 1647 the people of England were again reminded of Anabaptist history by Daniel Featley who issued, "A Warning for

(1) A copy translation of Spanheim's work is in Regent's Park College Library, London, entitled "An historicall diatribe concerning the originall, progresse, sects and names of the Anabaptists". It is dated 1653.

England, especially for London, in the famous history of the frantick Anabaptists". W.Hughes of Marlborough followed in his steps publishing in 1656, "Münster and Abingdon. Or the open rebellion there, and the unhappy tumult here", while in the same year a pamphlet appeared entitled, "A relation of severall heresies, discovering the original ringleaders, and the time when they began to spread". (This account is chiefly drawn from Bullinger on the German Anabaptists). It is published "according to order by a well wisher of truth and peace".

There is still further evidence that the history of the Münster Anabaptists was not forgotten. In 1660 someone who writes under the initials S.T. issued a pamphlet, "Moderation: or arguments and motives tending thereunto, humbly tendered to --- parliament. Together with a brief touch of the German Anabaptists and the Münster tragedy". In the same year George Pressick of Dublin published "A briefe relation of some of the most remarkable passages of the Anabaptists in High and Low Germany in 1521".

Again for the purpose of our Thesis we adduce a publication of 1661 drawn forth by the rising of the Fifth Monarchists. It is entitled, "Münster parallel in the late massacres committed by the Fifth Monarchists".

Enough we think has been said to show that Anabaptism in England was a subject much before the minds of the people during the 16th.and 17th.centuries, and that it was quite

possible, indeed highly probable, for Bunyan to know something of Anabaptist history and doctrine.⁽¹⁾ In the subsequent chapter we hope to prove this by working it out in detail with regard to his own work, showing that in Anabaptist historic tradition is indeed a "source" of much that Bunyan has written.

(1) It is to be noted by the reader that Bunyan was taking an active part (both with voice and with pen) in religious debates and questions during a great part of the time when the foregoing publications were appearing. It would be difficult for him not to be aware of a subject so much (as we have shown) written and discussed as Anabaptism.

ANABAPTISM AND BUNYAN.

It has been pointed out that the great allegories of human life take two forms of representation;- they describe life as a pilgrimage, or they describe life as a warfare. Bunyan has used both conceptions. It would be an interesting task to find out and discuss all the allegories parallel to Bunyan's works;- there are many such, and indeed some writers on Bunyan have thought that in one or other of these, they have found the "germ" of Bunyan's own writings.⁽¹⁾

Some have suggested the "Vision of Piers Plowman", others a translation of the "Voyage du Chevalier Errant". Dr. Johnson suggested that Bunyan owed something to Spenser's "Faerie Queen", and Canon Venables has taken this hint and worked out the parallel in detail. Grosart thought 'The Holy War' showed reminiscences of Fletcher's "Purple Island". Montgomery hit on a poem entitled, "The Pilgrimage", in Whitney's "Emblems", as a possible "source" of the Pilgrim's Progress, to which the editor of the 'Gentleman's Magazine' (1859) added his own suggestion of Quarles. A very elaborate attempt to determine the 'origin' of the Pilgrim's Progress was made by a translation of De

(1) The writer has investigated a formidable number of such - but in view of Bunyan's own definite statements on this matter he is convinced that such trails lead nowhere but are lost in the desert sands, and unlike the "parcell'd Oxus" do not emerge finally into any clear-lit home.

Guileville's "Pélerinage de l'Homme", with Nathaniel Hill's notes thereon, showing several remarkable coincidences between the two works. But it seems highly unlikely that Bunyan could ever have seen and read a book which in its translated English version, only existed as an old Caxton in archaic English.

Dr. Offor in his monumental work on Bunyan (Vol.iii.) gives an extensive list of such parallel suggestions, but despite all these probabilities and possibilities, we have this great objection to them, that Bunyan himself most earnestly and emphatically denied all indebtedness to other men's writings. ⁽¹⁾ In view of these denials from such a man as Bunyan it seems evident that we must look to a 'source' other than literary for the prototype of Bunyan's allegories. For that matter Bunyan could, and probably did get the 'germ' of his ideas from the Bible itself. While we have the 23rd. Psalm there is no need to go to Sir John Mandeville's "Valley Perilous" for the suggestion of the 'Valley of the Shadow of Death'; and in the 6th. Chapter of Ephesians we find the suggestion for the arming of the pilgrim. Nor is it necessary to go back to mediaeval chroniclers for the main conception of life as a warfare or a pilgrimage. The thought of life as a warfare is found in Paul's call to Timothy "to fight the good fight of faith", and "endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ", - and the conception of life as a pilgrimage carries us back to those first wanderers from the Chaldean plains,

(1) See Thesis pages 18/19.

who set forth in search of "a city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God".⁽¹⁾ Bunyan knew his Bible as few of us know it to-day. He was steeped in its lore. Macaulay said that Bunyan was a "living concordance", and there can be no doubt that such passages must have made a vivid appeal to his imagination. The verses in the 107th.Psalm, "They cried unto the Lord in their trouble, and he delivered them out of their distresses. And he led them forth by the right way, that they might go to a city of habitation", is another suggestion.⁽²⁾

It is also to be noted that the conception of the faithful Christian as a "stranger and a pilgrim" was no novel idea to the English people. Three hundred years before Bunyan wrote, the people of England were familiar with the pilgrim Lollard priests, who in garments of coarse red cloth, barefoot, with staff in hand went from town to town, village to village,

(1) Hebrews II. v.13, 14, 16. "These then all died in faith --- and confessed that they were strangers and pilgrims --- they declare plainly that they seek a country, that is an heavenly; wherefore God is not ashamed to be called their God, for He hath prepared for them a city".

(2) The writer is indebted to a remark made by the Rev. John MacBeath for a stimulating suggestion, that Bunyan, who was a keen student of Scripture might have taken some of his ideas from the Book of Ezra, Chapter 8, - a point which no commentator appears to have noted. In the Return from the Captivity the whole Jewish Nation did not leave Babylon for Jerusalem. Many had settled down in the foreign land, where they had made their new home, and when the call came to rise up and go forth, some felt like Christian they had to leave even loved ones behind and go out alone. Sixty years later when Ezra led forth another group of returning exiles, he numbered in the ranks some of the descendants of those who had gone out with Zerubbabel, - youth following age - even as Christiana and her boys later followed Christian from the City of Destruction.

county to county, preaching to whoever would give ear to listen.⁽¹⁾ Moreover the idea of life as a pilgrimage was common property. In the Middle Ages the sight of crowds of men, who with staff and scrip, and pilgrim garb, travelled to shrines of the Holy Land had suggested to contemplative minds the obvious parallel.⁽²⁾ And as late as the middle of the 16th. century, English pilgrims flocked to the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury. Thus the fundamental conception of the Pilgrim's Progress was one with which English readers were perfectly familiar. Sir Walter Raleigh has some charming lines on 'pilgrimage'.

"Give to me my scallop shell of quiet,
My staff of faith to lean upon,
My scrip of joy, immortal diet,
My bottle of salvation,
My gown of glory, hope's true gage,
And thus I'll take my pilgrimage."

But admitting that it is hardly possible to exaggerate the importance of these Scriptural "sources", and the common idea of life as a 'pilgrimage' and a 'warfare', nevertheless these alone do not explain the peculiar form and character of the 'Pilgrim's Progress' and 'The Holy War'. They leave the matter too much in its genesis. Those who have sought for a literary 'source' of Bunyan have realised this, hence their further search. Have we any further suggestion to offer? Whence did Bunyan get the whole framework of his two greatest immortal books?

(1) See Jusserand's "Wayfaring Life in the 14th. Century".

(2) H.O. Taylor in his book "The Mediaeval Mind" shows that in olden times the love of allegory, fable, metaphor and parable was almost an obsession.

Now if we can find not only the framework but the whole warp and woof of the content of the 'Pilgrim's Progress' and the 'Holy War' woven with Anabaptist ideas and Anabaptist history, may we not conclude that Bunyan knew these, even although he perhaps used them subconsciously as a man does the thought-forms and background of his age, and if we can show this may we not conclude that therein is a 'source' of Bunyan's writings?

For a whole century before Bunyan's birth the eastern parts of England were continually receiving refugees from the Continent, whence they had fled to escape imprisonment, torture or death, - a great number of these, as has been shown in the previous chapter, were Anabaptists. Tracked by soldiers, snared through the treachery of spies, imprisoned by the authorities, shut up in foul dungeons, put to torture, sometimes escaping martyrdom as by miracle the history of their adventures must have thrilled and impressed sympathetic listeners. That the presence of such Anabaptists in England is no fancy has already been shown, and that they deeply impressed the religious soul of the poor, obscure believing people of England, there can be little doubt, when we consider the Proclamations that were issued, and the steps that were taken against them by the authorities in England, "whether such were home-born subjects or foreigners".

That Bunyan was no ordinary parochial 'tinker' has also already been remarked upon. From various references in 'Grace Abounding' we know that during the years that elapsed between his

youth and his manhood, the impressionable years when his character was being formed, he was constantly up and down the country pursuing his trade, and frequently conversing on religious topics with just the sort of people who would possess the ideas and traditions of Anabaptism - in the best sense. It is perhaps a little outwith our scope to show how some of these early Nonconformist churches possessed the Anabaptist spirit, but the little church at Bedford, the manner in which it was formed, the way it set aside all doctrinal and sacramental tests to found its communion along on faith in Christ and holiness of life, - recalls the brighter period of Anabaptist history.⁽¹⁾

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- (1) For example Bunyan's attitude to Baptism is still a subject for controversy. In his reply to D'Anvers "Differences in Judgment about Water Baptism" (1673) Bunyan leaves the reader somewhat perplexed. He implies rather than states plainly that he is a Baptist. He certainly would not tolerate baptism as the condition for church membership. Water-Baptism, - whether by immersion or by sprinkling, - was NOT to "be the rule, the door, the bolt, the bar, the wall of division between the righteous". With Bunyan no Christian truly converted, must be debarred from fellowship and communion. "Since you would know by what name I would be distinguished from others, I would tell you I would be and hope I am A CHRISTIAN" ----- As for the titles of Anabaptist, Independents, Presbyterians or the like, in his 'Heavenly Footman', he says to his readers, "Keep company with the soundest Christians that have most experience of Christ, and be sure that thou have a care of Quakers, Ranters, Freewillers; Also do not have too much company with some Anabaptists, though I go under that name myself." Let it be remembered, however, that Bunyan did not and could not hold with much that the Anabaptists said and did. But such a sentence shows that at least he knew them.

Then too Bunyan's attitude to authority was typically Anabaptist in spirit during its best days. I quote from G.O.Griffith's book on 'John Bunyan'. "Up to a point

Ere we turn to work out our hypothesis with regard to the 'Pilgrim's Progress' and the 'Holy War', viz. that they are full of details that only a knowledge of Anabaptist ideas and historic tradition can explain, let us recapitulate a little.

Melchior Hoffmann (1490?-1543), whose studies of the Scriptures, particularly the prophetic books, led him to believe that he had the "key" to prophecy, whereby he could unlock the mysteries of Daniel and the Revelation and futurity in general, set out through Switzerland, Holland and Denmark, preaching his beliefs of the coming Millenium, and founding little groups of his believers here and there. In Strassburg he became the leader of the local Anabaptists. This was his opportunity. His head teemed with visions, dreams, and apocalyptic reckonings. Strassburg in his view was to be the New Jerusalem, the predestined centre of the Messianic Kingdom.

His utterances brought Hoffmann into conflict with the authorities, and he soon found himself behind prison bars, where he remained till his death. The predicted Millennial date passed leaving Strassburg un-Zionlike enough.

Bunyan was as pacifist as the Quakers. He would probably have conceded that the Powers that be have the right to bear the sword; but for the people of God to unsheathe it in their own defence was not to be thought of. They must conquer by suffering and love".

"We are bid", he writes, during the tribulations of the eighties, "to give thanks to God for all men, for Kings and all that are in authority. Because there is no man with whom we have to do, we doing as we should, but he bringeth some good thing to us, or doth some good thing for us". A hard doctrine to expound when Jeffries was Lord

But Hoffmann had a disciple who outrivalled his master. Jan Matthysz, a baker of Harlaam, who had been baptised by Hoffmann, and had allied himself with those little Anabaptist companies, who from principle and necessity journeyed from town to town, village to village, seeking in apostolic fashion a night's lodging wherever evening found them. At the homes where they received shelter they read the Scripture and expounded their views, and with the coming of the new day departed again on their journeying. About this time we catch our first glimpse of Hans Hut, whose interpretation of scripture led him to proclaim the immediate overthrow of the Turks, a quick coming judgment on all priests and ungodly rulers, and the imminent rapture of the saints.

At this time also, Jan Matthysz, on whose shoulders the mantle of Hoffman had fallen, now announced himself to be Enoch (or Elijah) and proclaimed a new date for the forthcoming Messianic Kingdom. This announcement coincided with the fact that the City of Münster had just succeeded in organising a local revolution, in which it expelled its Roman Catholic Bishop, and formed a self-governing council. Thither Jan Matthysz and his disciples betook themselves, preceded by one John Bockhold, a

Chief Justice! But, he continues; "I have thought again, my brethren, since it is required of us, that we give thanks to God for all these men, it follows that we do with quietness submit ourselves under what God shall do to us by them ----- I will then love them, bless them, pray for them, and do them good. I speak now of the men that hurt me ----" 'Advice to Sufferers' 1684.

tailor from Leyden. All of them beheld in Münster what Hoffmann has seen in Strassburg - a new Zion. In due time they controlled the city and set up a civic commune. They then sent forth apostles to proclaim their doctrines and beliefs. These went to the neighbouring towns, cities and villages summoning all Anabaptists to come to Münster. "Leave all you have, wives, children, wealth. Quit everything and hasten thither for the day of the Lord is at hand", was the burthen of their message.

The authorities meantime were not idle. They made desperate efforts to stop these apostles, and it is noteworthy how the common people refused to help the powers by turning informers. The severest tortures could not wring the secret of Jakob Huter's temporary abode as defying danger he went from village to village preaching the forbidden doctrines of the Anabaptists.

A scene in Swiss Anabaptist history is typical of what took place in various other towns in Europe. In 1515 a number of men, dressed as for a journey appeared in the market-place of Zürich, preaching conversion, a new life of holiness and brotherly love, and beseeching men and women to flee from the wrath to come. They concluded in the manner and tone of the old time prophets with the cry, "Woe! Woe! to Zürich", - and the wail echoed throughout the entire city.⁽¹⁾

(1) H.S.Burrage "The Anabaptists in Switzerland" p.103.

Burrage in his history⁽¹⁾ gives it that hundreds acted upon the emotions stirred by hearing these Anabaptist apostles, and left their homes describing themselves as leaving Egypt and its lusts, and as setting their faces towards Canaan.

In addition to the spoken word through the mouths of their apostles, the Anabaptists also issued written appeals, and the first cause of many an actual pilgrimage to the Anabaptist New Jerusalem, was in many cases the reading either of Hoffmann's "Last Things coming on the Earth", or of Rothmann's "Restitution", or of Huter's "Call on the European working classes to come to Moravia and join a Holy Community".

Does this not find a parallel in Bunyan's pilgrim? "I looked and saw him open the book and read therein; and as he read, he wept and trembled; and not being able longer to contain, he brake out with a lamentable cry, saying, "What shall I do?". Then in actual Anabaptist history what happened? Either these trembling ones followed the inner voice which seemed to cry to them, "Come hither", or some actual living guide appeared suddenly as Evangelist to direct them what to do and whither to flee.

Cornelius, a historian of the Anabaptists, gives us an actual picture of these Anabaptist "Evangelists". They entered into the workman's cot, giving the apostolic greeting,

(1) H.S.Burrage "The Anabaptists in Switzerland" p.111.

"Peace be to this house". They then proceeded to speak of the evils of this world, and read and expounded their views of the Scriptures. Cornelius gives us a vivid glimpse of Hans Hut in the house of Franz Stiegel at Weier in Franconia. After hearing Hans read and expound the Scriptures, Stiegel and eight others were baptised, and in the same night Hans Hut takes his leave and goes on his way, never having seen before, and as far as record goes, never seeing again those whom he had baptised.

The seeds thus sown germinated to active harvest. Cornelius relates a further instance which might indeed serve as the prototype of Christian after his meeting with Evangelist. Listen to the conversation of Evangelist as he deals with Christian.

"Then Evangelist gave Christian a parchment roll, and there was written within, "Fly from the wrath to come". The man therefore, read it, and looking upon Evangelist very carefully, said, Whither must I fly? Then said Evangelist, pointing with his finger over a very wide field, Do you see yonder wicket-gate? ... Go up directly thereto, when thou knockest it shall be told thee what thou shalt do". He also gives Christian some stern advice, "Let nothing that is on this side the other world get within you ... Besides, the King of Glory hath told thee, that he that 'will save his life shall lose it'". And "he that comes after him, and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life

also, he cannot be my disciple".

Evangelist then warns Christian of coming dangers and the perils of the way. "You cannot expect that you should go long on your pilgrimage without bonds and afflictions in some sort or other; You are almost out of this wilderness, and therefore you will soon come into a town that you will by and by see before you; and in that town you will be hardly beset with enemies, who will strain hard but they will kill you. But the crown is before you, and it is an incorruptible one, 'so run that you may obtain'".

And in Anabaptist history we find a striking parallel to the result of such teaching. In the dead of night Hans Ber rose from his bed, and felt for his clothes and travelling things, -

"Where art thou going?" asked his wife.

"I know not", he answered, "God knows".

"What have I done to grieve thee?" she said, "Remain here and help me to bring up the little ones".

"Dear wife", he replied, "leave me unburdened by earthly things. God bless thee; I will henceforth know and do the will of God".

Here in actual life is the very scene with which Bunyan opens his Pilgrim's Progress. In Hans Ber of Alten-Erlangen, we see Christian resisting the entreaties of his family and friends, and flying home and city. In Hans Hut we have Evangelist, who suddenly appears and disappears, after delivering a message, which Christian feels he cannot, dare not, must not

disobey. "So I saw in my dream", says Bunyan, "that the man began to run. Now he had not gone far from his own door, when his wife and children perceiving it, began to cry after him to return; but the man put his fingers in his ears, and ran on, crying, "Life! Life! Eternal Life!"

And this kind of thing in Anabaptist history as Burrage has shown us was no isolated instance. Many sold their all and fled from what they veritably believed to be Cities of Destruction, to seek refuge in the City, where they believed the Heavenly Jerusalem was about to appear "adorned as a bride for her husband".

Despite the call of home ties, despite the advice of their friends, despite the dangers of the way which lay in front of them, - for to reach the Celestial Cities in Moravia or Münster in the then state of Europe was every whit as difficult as Bunyan has represented it, - they would not be turned from their quest. Indeed Mr. Worldly Wiseman's warning to Christian as to the dangerous nature of the journey upon which Evangelist had sent him, might have come from the lips of a friend of some man, who had listened to the Anabaptist call, and was eager to obey its behest. "There is not a more dangerous way in the world than is that into which he hath directed thee, and that thou shalt find if thou wilt be ruled by his counsel. Hear me, I am older than thou; thou art like to meet with in the way that thou goest, wearisomeness, painfulness, hunger, perils, nakedness, swords,

lions, dragons, darkness, and, in a word, death, and what not ----
 Why should a man so carelessly give himself away by giving heed
 to a stranger?"

But all Mr. Worldly Wiseman's advice has no avail on a man whose soul is burdened, and who feels that he must obey the call to the light. The idea of a man being burdened, as Dr. Kelman points out,⁽¹⁾ is a thought which Bunyan impresses very deeply on his reader, and this very idea of a burden is in itself very characteristic of the Anabaptists. It was no use saying to these men, "Be good and moral, attend to your duties, to wife and children, masters, pastors, neighbours and friends", in other words, "Obey the accepted code of morality and do not bother with these new fangled ideas". The Anabaptists felt the burden as Paul felt it when he said, "Necessity is laid upon me". So, too, Hans Mandl, an Anabaptist apostle declared, "I must speak what God has revealed to me". It was indeed this very 'burden that drove them to the scaffold, the torture chamber, the gallows and the stake, - and at the outset we find that Bunyan too, talks of a man with a burden. The burden of Christian also drove him to action. It drove him to fly from the City of Destruction, even as hundreds of toiling Anabaptist men and women left their Cities of Destruction and went forth on what was to them a sacred quest,

(1) Dr. Kelman "The Road - A Study of John Bunyan's 'Pilgrim's Progress'" (Vol. I. page 3).

"The central facts about this man are, that he is -

1. A man with a burden.
2. A man with a book."

struggling through dark nights over unknown roads beset with cut-throat mercenaries and robbers, across morasses, through narrow winding valleys, over steep mountain passes. Some were attacked by robbers even as Little Faith, some were snared by their adversaries in the persons of the authorities, whose lands they had to pass through, even as Faithful was taken and put to death in Vanity Fair. They had to fight with Apollyon in the shape of officers and roving bands of soldiers sent out by the authorities to prevent their pilgrim progress, and they indeed "straddled across the whole breadth of the way". Some fell exhausted by the wayside, but the brave, strong, steadfast pilgrims pressed on. Sometimes they were led by a valiant Greatheart, who brought them safely past the "giants" and the "lions" who beset their pathway, until at last they caught their first glimpse of the towers of the longed-for-City. Their hearts leapt for joy within them, that they were within sight of their goal, that their dangers were nearly passed. But there was still a barrier, "the river" had to be crossed, - the lines of the besiegers encompassed the city, and it was only after constant peril, that they found a way to elude the enemy and enter the City of God - the New Jerusalem.

Now let us follow Bunyan's pilgrims with this clue to guide us, and we shall discover that the various points on the journey find surprising parallels in actual happenings in Anabaptist history, - parallels too striking (once they have been noted) to be merely accidental.

Owing to the harsh attitude of the authorities who were quick to seize any opportunity of laying violent hands on suspected Anabaptists, these persecuted folk had to take precautions to safeguard themselves. In self-defence they almost formed themselves into a sort of secret society, with signs and counter-signs, and a man had to vouch for his credentials before he was admitted to their circle. In Loserth's "Anabaptism in the Tyrol", we read that in 1528, the chief magistrates in several districts were informed that in the cities, and towns, where the Anabaptists lived, the houses had certain marks, and the people special signs, by which they could be recognised, and that among other signs they knew each other by the clothes they wore, and the methods of greeting one another.

It is interesting in connection with this point to notice the scrutiny which Christian undergoes, first at the Wicket-gate, and again later at the Interpreter's House. At the Wicket-gate Bunyan says, "Christian knocked more than once or twice", and it is to be noted that he is not admitted immediately. "At last there came a grave person to the gate named Good-will, who asked who was there? and whence he came? and what he would have? Christian's reply might have been spoken by a pilgrim Anabaptist, "I come from the City of Destruction, but am going to Mount Zion, that I may be delivered from the wrath to come."

This kind of incident must have been a very common one in actual Anabaptist experience, and Bunyan actually repeats it

at the House of the Interpreter.

"Thus Christian went on till he came at the house of the Interpreter, where he knocked over and over; at last one came to the door, and asked Who was there?"

Again the reply might have been that on the lips of a fugitive Anabaptist pilgrim. "Sir", said Christian, "I am a man that am come from the City of Destruction and am going to Mount Zion; and I was told by a man that stands at the gate ----- that if I called here, you would show me excellent things, such as would be a help to me on my journey".

"Then said the Interpreter, Come in, I will show thee that which will be profitable to thee --- so he had him into a private room --" and therein the pilgrim receives his first instructions for his journey.

As the host speeds the departing pilgrim on his way one can almost hear an actual Anabaptist host saying in the words of Mr. Interpreter. "Now take good heed to what I have showed thee, --- lest in thy journey thou meet with some that pretend to lead thee right, but their way goes down to death". This last caution was necessary, because the authorities carried the spy system to such an extent that they even paid men to make profession of their faith in Anabaptism, and join their ranks, in order that they might learn the names of the Anabaptists and their secrets, and subsequently betray them.

Houses of call such as Bunyan places along his pilgrim's

road, were common features on the Continent during the 16th. century. Loserth in his "Anabaptism in the Tyrol" tells us of frequent groups of ten to fifteen in number of Tyrolese emigrants, being sent on from house of refuge to house of refuge until they reached the Anabaptist communities in Moravia. Each band were given directions how to find the route and the next resting place, they were also given instructions how to seek out the persons who would help them. In 1533 one of these fugitives was captured having on his person the directions for the itinerary, and the authorities considered this a great prize.

The rite of baptism was frequently administered at these houses. We know definitely, for example, that baptisms took place in Westerburg's house at Cologne, and in Rothmann's house at Münster. It is interesting to find in Bunyan the rite being administered in the House of the Interpreter. In the Second Part of the Pilgrim's Progress the pilgrims we are told were washed in the "Bath of Sanctification",⁽¹⁾ and sealed with the seal on their foreheads. There is no mention of Christian passing through the Bath of Sanctification but he is given the mark on his forehead. The mark put on the forehead of the pilgrims was "that they might be known in the places whither they were yet to go".

(1) G. Offor 'John Bunyan' Vol.iii.p.189 agrees with Mr.Ivimey that the "Bath of Sanctification" refers to the Baptism of the Pilgrims by immersion, after having given testimony of their experience.

On these two points of Bunyan we again find a parallel in two works published by the Münster Anabaptists. In "The Confession on both Sacraments" it is said, "water-baptism may become the beginning of another baptism, which with sure knowledge directs the conscience, renewed and born again through the Holy Ghost, to forsake and die to all works of unrighteousness and all works of darkness". The mark between the eyes understood spiritually was the sign of the Cross, typified according to the "Book of the Restitution" by the Hebrew letter "Thau", which in the most ancient scriptures had the form of a cross, and which according to the prophet Ezekiel was imprinted on all those who sigh and cry for the abominations that are done in the midst of Jerusalem. And Bunyan further strengthens this argument by telling us allegorically that that is precisely his meaning. For he adds, "Now the seal (wherewith those who had been baptised were marked) was the contents and sum of the Passover, which the children of Israel did eat". By this involved symbolical expression Bunyan means that the mark of the blood of the lamb that was slain was placed upon their foreheads - the mark of the "Lamb that was slain" was - a Cross. And again according to Anabaptist ideas such baptism and sealing ought only to be given to those who personally gave witness that they understood the symbolism employed, and in harmony with these ideas we find Bunyan giving his pilgrims a course of instruction before the rites of baptism and sealing take place.

It is interesting to note the difference in the mental and spiritual attitude of the pilgrims before they come to the Interpreter's House, and after they leave it. Christian up to that point is full of fearfulness only sustained by a wavering hope, now although the burden is still on his back he goes forward cheerfully, almost bouyantly, he even makes shift to run up the hill, at the top of which there stands a Cross. There his burden falls, rolls away, and disappears for ever.

The scene of Christian at the Cross is a graphic picture which grips and stays with the mind. Yet, on reflection, a thoughtful reader is struck with the fact that Bunyan has not devoted as much space to this point as one would expect. In the First Part the entire incident only takes up 44 lines. In the Second Part he gives it considerably more space, yet somehow the second account is very much less impressive. Few readers remember Christiana at the Cross at all. If a modern Evangelist were writing the story, or if Bunyan had lived in the 19th. century during the popular religious movements, would he not have considered this the central fact, if not the entire 'motif' of his story? Why does Bunyan not make more of these decisive moments?

If our hypothesis is true that both the framework and the mode of thought of the Pilgrim's Progress have their 'source' in Anabaptist tradition of actual history on the Continent before Bunyan lived, we have a clue to the explanation, for in Anabaptist thinking and literature the Cross does not occupy the

outstanding position. The writer does not seek to prove that Bunyan consciously followed this parallel, but it had been woven into the background of his mind, and consequently the similarity is there.

The Cross is, nevertheless, the real vital point in Christian's pilgrimage. Thereafter his whole being, mind, heart and will are on the side of justice and truth. He feels that he has even a share in the suffering and shame of the One who hangs there. He too is henceforth crucified to the world and the world to him. A freedom of soul comes upon him, - the Shining Ones draw near and salute him. No wonder he bursts into song:-

"Thus far I did come laden with my sin;
Nor could aught ease the grief that I was in
Till I came thither; what a place is this!
Must here be the beginning of my bliss?
Must here the burden fall from off my back?
Must here the strings that bound it to me crack?
Blest Cross! blest sepulchre! blest rather be
The man that there was put to shame for me!"

While that "Cross" stands alone in the world, - as Professor Glover puts it, "the centre of history", - it is a historical fact that gibbets by the wayside were common sights in olden times. What was the effect I wonder on those Anabaptist pilgrims, who had given up (rightly or wrongly) all they had hitherto loved and worked for, as they pressed on their way, footsore and weary, dreading the coming darkness and dangers, - when at a turn in the road they came suddenly upon a startling and terrible sight, - a man hanging between earth and evening sky, hung there for the very cause to which they had given them-

selves. Such a sight to the true Anabaptist pilgrim would fill his soul with a wild spiritual exaltation. He became somehow aware that he was a sharer in that martyrdom. He would feel that the spirits of those who had trod that way before him - "the Shining Ones" had drawn near, and he would go forward with renewed courage and faith.

That such a spiritual experience can be undergone the writer may perhaps be allowed to illustrate and digress for a moment with a personal experience. It was the early years of the War, - a depleted company of soul weary and physically exhausted men were staggering rather than marching back from the trenches.

"They had forced heart and nerve and sinew
To serve their turn long after they were gone",

and in them there seemed nothing left except the Will that said to them "Hold on". The night had fallen, - figures showed up black against the flickering of the Very lights from the salient. Suddenly at the cross-roads one lifted one's eyes, and silhouetted black against the sky there stood a Cross with a figure hanging thereon in His agony. Wayside calvaries are common in France and Flanders, but it was the writer's first vision of one. There it stood still upright although everything around had been smashed to chaos.⁽¹⁾ The writer knows something of how these Anabaptist pilgrims felt.

But let us return to Christian. Now that he has

(1) The writer found later ^t John Oxenham had been likewise impressed with a somewhat similar incident.

accepted the Cross and is freed from his burden, his fears and vacillations also vanish. He has now no doubt as to his course. He goes forward manfully to martyrdom if may be even as the Anabaptist pilgrim would press on his way. Just as Bunyan tells us Christian used to study his "roll" which was "his pass into the Celestial City," so too would that other pilgrim often look at his letter of commendation.

At last Christian reaches the House Beautiful. House Beautiful is placed symbolically at the crest of Hill Difficulty. To reach it one had to pass the 'lions' which barred the way. These dangers frightened the pilgrims Timorous and Mistrust, who rather than face them turned back.

It is interesting again to notice the reception of the pilgrim. When Christian reaches the House he is interrogated first by the porter, 'Watchful', who is apparently afraid of admitting a wolf into the fold for he summons a damsel named Discretion who gives the credentials of the pilgrim a kindly scrutiny.

"She asked him whence he was and whither he was going; and he told her. She asked him also how he got into the way; and he told her. Then she asked him what he had seen and met with in the way; and he told her. And last she asked his name⁽¹⁾; so he said, It is Christian and I have so much the more a desire

(1) Under normal conditions one would expect this question to come sooner.

to lodge here to-night, because by what I perceive, this place was built by the Lord of the hill, for the relief and security of pilgrims". So Discretion smiles but still "after a pause she said I will call forth two or three more of the family", and she summons Prudence, Piety and Charity, who question him still further.

Furthermore, we have to note that House Beautiful was a spiritual community, - a fellowship of kindred souls, and not an ordinary family household. Again we find an actual parallel to this in Anabaptist history.

In Moravia there were 'houses' that corresponded exactly to Bunyan's description of the Interpreter's House and the House Beautiful, neither of which, as has already been pointed out, was a mere family residence, but a form of household which did not exist in England. They were 'community-houses' in the full sense of the term. Loserth in his 'Anabaptism in the Tyrol' gives it that between the years 1526-1536 there were no fewer than 86 such Anabaptist 'households' in different places in Moravia. These 'communities' consisted of families and single persons, and they lived in scriptural fashion having 'everything in common'. Each household, for example, had a common kitchen, a common bake-house, a common school-house, a common-room, and a common nursery, where community sisters looked after the young folk. The old were specially cared for, and such was the force of their common spiritual ideal that vice appears to have been

practically unknown among them. No idler was permitted in the community. In the morning after prayer all went to their respective duties. Their frugal living and assiduous working brought them wealth which was not hoarded individually, but through the community Treasurer was used for the common weal. Exactly such does Bunyan represent the state of things to be at the House Beautiful, in the Land of Beulah, and on the Delectable Mountains. There we find no idea of private property. Everything belongs to Immanuel and is therefore held in common, and for the use of pilgrims. "I will add that in this place, and to the people that live, and trace these grounds, the Lord has left a yearly revenue, to be faithfully paid them at certain seasons, for their maintenance --- and for their further encouragement to go on in their pilgrimage".

To the pilgrim travellers over unknown roads beset with dangers and trials, such a resting house must have indeed appeared a veritable 'House Beautiful'. The welcome the pilgrims received might very well find a parallel in the greeting given the Anabaptist wayfarer. After passing the scrutiny of those on guard at the gate, the pilgrim's necessities are ministered to. Then after supper and conversation the guests are shown into delightful bed-chambers, where they can rest after the perils by the way. Is it any wonder they called the house 'Beautiful', and the chambers 'Peace'? And how often in Anabaptist history during these years must pilgrims such as Christian and Faithful,

or companies led by a guide such as Greatheart, have found refuge for a time from the dangers and weariness of their journey in such a "House", and when we recall the attitude of the authorities towards these Anabaptist wayfarers, and the steps they took to stamp out the entire movement, even, as already remarked, paying spies to pass themselves off as Anabaptists, and thus be admitted into their circle in order later to betray them, - we understand the necessity of the scrutiny that the pilgrims had to undergo ere they were admitted to such a fellowship.

Thus Bunyan makes Christian first pass under the eyes of Watchful, then Discretion questions him simply and directly concerning his purpose in seeking admission to House Beautiful. She obviously longs to welcome, but the discretion of which she is the type warns her that she may have to reject. Piety next tests him concerning his experience, "Had Christian that inner light that gives faith to inward support?" Prudence follows and challenges his will, "Is he prepared to forget the things which are behind and reach steadfastly forth to those things which are before?" And then, (and this is a very interesting point in view of our thesis, - Anabaptism was essentially social in its doctrines), before Christian's candidature is accepted Bunyan makes Charity deal with this very point. She questions Christian's attitude towards society, "Had he urged his fellow-citizens in the City of Destruction to flee from the wrath to come?"

Bunyan's interest in what happens in the Interpreter's

House and at House Beautiful is shown by the amount of space he has devoted to these portions of his allegory, - fully one sixth of both parts, and remember he had no English parallel to go upon. It is when we study Anabaptism we realise that these Community-houses played an equally important part in the history of the Anabaptists. The community life in these Anabaptist 'households' went on daily with unbroken continuity for nearly 150 years, and was only passing away in Bunyan's own life-time. Now although persecution and martyrdom was not peculiar to Anabaptists alone, other sects suffered in a similar manner for their beliefs, this striking note of living in communities was peculiar to Anabaptists, and must considerably have affected the popular mind, and in consequence would be given an important place in any traditional history and in any reproduction of such.

House Beautiful as Charity suggests was not to be regarded by the pilgrim as a permanent spiritual retreat. It was a miniature example of the Kingdom yet to come, and whither he was bound. There he was rested and fitted to go forth again upon his way. There he was equipped in the 'Study' and in the 'Armoury', which is Bunyan's way of saying he was instructed and inspired by the history of the past, and provided with weapons for the perils of the journey that yet lay ahead, - that he might be able to withstand its dangers - even the attack of Apollyon himself.

Refreshed and emboldened the pilgrims go forth again to

the next stage, but ere they depart their hosts furnish them with some last helpful directions. Christian was had to the top of the house, and bid look south. He beheld at a great distance, "a most pleasant mountainous country, beautified with woods, vineyards, fruits of all sorts, flowers also, with springs and fountains, very delectable to behold. Then he asked the name of the country. They said it was Immanuel's Land; and it is as common, said they, as this hill is, to and for all pilgrims."

When we turn to the second part of the Pilgrim's Progress and study the scenes at House Beautiful, which the writer has taken as an idealised traditional picture of an Anabaptist Community-house, our thesis is still further strengthened. Christiana and her boys in company with the gentle maid Mercy, arrive at the gate. They have been escorted thither by that "very parfyt gentle knight" and guide Greatheart. His voice is known to the porter Watchful, "for Greatheart had oft before that, come thither as a conductor of pilgrims", and accordingly the door is opened at once. There is no scrutiny and interrogation such as Christian underwent, "But O what noise for gladness was there within", whenever they arrived.

Among the incidents which Bunyan relates as happening in this Second Part in House Beautiful are three, which are very significant from our point of view. These relate to the education, health and settlement of the young people, who have come within its walls.

During their stay in House Beautiful Prudence undertakes the education of Christiana's children. Her method is in the old form of question and answer, and Bunyan devotes some considerable space to this section. This was exactly the plan of education followed in Anabaptist communities, (although it was not peculiar to them alone). Indeed Anabaptists were so thoroughly well drilled by this method, that frequently when they were being examined by the magistrates, they often answered verbatim in the words they had thus been taught. It is very interesting to find Bunyan bringing in this point of education in the House Beautiful, and with the clue of the parallel in the Anabaptist community-houses, it enables us to understand why he gives it so much space. Without this clue the episode appears rather a lengthy, if not even an unnecessary play of fancy.

The Anabaptist communities had nothing of the monastic segregation of the sexes. Far from admitting that love and wedlock suited ill with the mortal conflict between the Kingdom of heaven and the kingdom of this world, the Anabaptists indicated the very opposite. The Anabaptist leaders married, and they urged marriage on their brethren and sisters. The wife of Jakob Huter was even arrested with her husband and tortured, although she was not actually put to death, but on the other hand some suffered martyrdom along with their husbands, as did the wife of Thomas Münzer, Michael Sattler, and Balthasar Hubmaier. Schiemar, who was martyred, sent a special message while he was in prison, to

another Anabaptist minister urging him to take unto himself a wife.

It is interesting, therefore, to find Greatheart speaking to Gaius of Christian's boys, and saying, "Indeed, Sir, they are likely lads; they seem to choose heartily their father's ways" - and Gaius replies, "That it is that I said; wherefore Christian's family is like still to spread abroad upon the face of the ground ----- wherefore, let Christiana look out some damsels for her sons, to whom they may be betrothed, that the name of their father and the house of their progenitors may never be forgotten. ---- Fall the family cannot, but be diminished it may; but let Christiana take my advice, and that is the way to uphold it".

So, too, one of Huter's chief considerations in setting the community at Austerlitz in order was to get the unmarried brethren and sisters wedded. It is quite clear from "The Restitution" that the Anabaptists held strong views on the religious duty of marriage, and the idea was so deeply imbedded that during the siege of Münster, when the disparity between the sexes threatened a revival of prostitution they attempted to solve the problem by introducing polygamy.

In the description of the scenes in House Beautiful Bunyan actually brings into his story, - a story, mark you, dealing with eternal issues, - a scene of courtship! Froude actually complains that such scenes and discussions are out of

place, but if we agree that Bunyan was using (even unconsciously) Anabaptist ideas and tradition, it helps us to understand how much of his matter came to be inserted. That is our justification for elaborating this point.

We are told that at the House Beautiful "Mercy had a visitor, that pretended some good-will unto her. His name was Mr.Brisk, a man of some breeding, and that pretended to religion; but a man that stuck very close to the world. So he came once or twice or more to Mercy and offered love unto her. Now Mercy was of fair countenance, and therefore the more alluring.

Her mind also was, to be always busying of herself in doing; for when she had nothing to do for herself, she would be making of those garments for others". No doubt Mr.Brisk thought she would be an excellent housewife. "Mercy then revealed the business to the maidens that were of the house, and inquired of them concerning him, for they did know him better than she. So they told her he was a very busy young man, and one that pretended to religion; but was as they feared a stranger to the power of that which was good".

"Nay then", said Mercy, "I will look no more on him, for I purpose never to have a clog to my soul".

So the next time he comes, he finds her at her old work a-making of things for the poor. Then said he,

"What always at it?"

"Yes", said she, "either for myself or others".

"And what canst thou earn a day?" quoth he.

"I do these things", said she, "that I may be rich in good works, laying up in store a good foundation against the time to come, that I may lay hold on eternal life".

"Why, prithee, what dost thou do with them?" said he.

"Clothe the naked", said she.

With that his countenance fell. So he forebore to come to her again, and when he was asked the reason why, he said, "Mercy was a pretty lass, but troubled with ill conditions".

Mercy's own comment puts a delightful finishing touch to the whole picture. "Mercy and Mr.Brisk", observes Prudence, are "of characters so different, that I believe they will never come together". Then says Mercy with an air of modest pride, and doubtless with her usual blush, "I might a had a husband afore now, though I spake not of it to any; but they were such as did not like my conditions, though never did any of them find fault with my person".

Nevertheless the romantic reader is not disappointed. There are wedding bells. On four different occasions Bunyan brings them into his story. All the young pilgrims are suitably wedded, a fact notable in a work treating of the struggle of the soul heavenwards, although one is inclined to think Bunyan might have bestowed on Mercy a better husband than a boy, who not long before had made himself ill with an over-indulgence in unripe plums.

Mention of Matthew's illness and the way in which the "antient skilled physician" is brought in to effect a cure, recalls the fact that in these Anabaptist communities the science of medicine was not only studied and practised, but some of their physicians were famous.

Bunyan's picture of this scene is perhaps a little crude, but it is at once humorous and realistic.

"Now Matthew, the eldest son of Christiana, fell sick, and his sickness was sore upon him, for he was much pained in his bowels, so that he was with it at times, pulled as it were both ends together". The distracted mother calls in an "antient and well-approved physician", named Mr.Skill, and he diagnoses the case. "This boy has been tampering with something that lies in his maw undigested, and will not away without means".

"Pray Sir", says the afflicted mother, "try the utmost of your skill with him, whatever it costs"; to this plea Mr.Skill replies with professional gravity and dignity, "Nay I hope I shall be reasonable".

Matthew's reluctance to take his medicine, and his mother's entreaties are taken from life. "With that she touched one of the pills with the end of her tongue". "Oh Matthew", said she, "this potion is sweeter than honey". As for the pills themselves "he was to take them three at a time fasting, in half a quarter of a pint of the tears of repentance".

After the cure is wrought the physician praises his

pills, "It is an universal pill; it is good against all the diseases that pilgrims are incident to; and when it is well prepared, it will keep good time out of mind".

"Pray Sir", says the provident and far-seeing mother, "make me up twelve boxes of them"; - and he does!

But Bunyan carried on the tradition of Anabaptist ideas even further than courtship and marriage. In the Anabaptist Community-houses the children after they were weaned were taken from the mothers, and given over to the care of those specially set aside to rear and educate them, till they were old enough to be set to a trade or occupation. The mental and spiritual education of the children was carried on by masters, assisted by school-sisters, - their health, food, clothing and dormitories were watched over by a "school-mother", who was assisted by helpers, who were known as the "children's-ministers". The body was cared for as well as the mind and the soul. This could be more easily done as these Community-houses stood in their own grounds, surrounded by gardens, fields and vineyards.

Now here is a striking parallel in Bunyan. When Christiana and sons and daughters-in-law are nearing the Delectable Mountains, they come to a "river, whose banks are lined with fine trees, and where the meadows are green all the year long. By this river side, in the meadow, there were cotes and folds for sheep, and a house built for the nourishing and bringing up of those lambs, the babes of those women that go on pilgrimage.

Also there was here one that was intrusted with them. Now to the care of this man, Christiana admonished her four daughters to commit their little ones, that by these waters they might be housed, harboured, succoured and nourished ----- So they were content to commit their little ones to him, and that which was also an encouragement to them so to do, was, for that all this was to be at the charge of the King, and so was as an hospital for young children and orphans".

That the tradition of these community resting places had impressed Bunyan is evident, because he brings them in again and again into his narrative. In the Valley of Humiliation Greatheart says to the pilgrims, "I have known many labouring men that have got good estates in this Valley of Humiliation --- for indeed it is a fruitful soil, and doth bring forth by hand-fuls. Some have wished, that the next way to their Father's house were here, that they might be troubled no more with either hills or mountains to go over; but the way is the way, and there is an end".

The Resting House kept by Gaius has already been referred to, and we find another such kept by Mr. Mnason in Vanity Fair itself. This leads us to another interesting point, and one also which does not find its parallel in Bunyan's England, but in actual Anabaptist history.

Among the trades and professions which Anabaptists were forbidden to follow was that of victualler or tavern keeper. But

inns in the form of hospices, where no charge was made the pilgrim wayfarer, were considered necessary, and the keeping of such was regarded as a laudable occupation. When we consider the innumerable inns that lay strewn along the English highways, and for which 'Merrie England' was renowned in song and story, the romance of which yet stirs the imagination of the traveller who has trudged his way over wind swept heaths and open moorland up to their doors, it is rather remarkable and surprising that Bunyan does not draw us a picture of the typical English inn, but gives us rather the hostel of the Anabaptist type.

"Christiana then wished for an inn for herself and her children because they were weary. Then said Mr.Honest, "There is one a little before us, where a very honourable disciple, one Gaius, dwells". So they all concluded to turn in thither. So when they came to the door, they went in not knocking, for folks used not to knock at the door of an inn. Then they called for the master of the house, --- and asked if they might lie there that night". That this is no ordinary English inn, but exactly corresponds to the inns kept by the Anabaptists, is made strikingly clear by the reply of Gaius. "Yes, Gentlemen, if ye be true men, for my house is for none but pilgrims".

So, too, in the house kept by Mr.Mnason in the town of Vanity Fair itself. The pilgrims enter under the escort of Mr. Greatheart, who knows the house from previous journeys. The entertainment in each is similar. The landlord orders a cloth to

be spread, and supper is laid upon the table. The landlord himself sits down with them, and entertains his guests as though they were his friends. In the house of Mr.Mnason a number of disciples from the town are invited to meet and talk with the pilgrims. The amount of space given by Bunyan to these "houses" and resting-places is in itself significant.

The mention of Mr.Greatheart escorting his flock to the house of Mr.Mnason makes us pause for a moment to consider this figure. He is a character well worthy of study in view of our thesis. Greatheart is obviously well known to his hosts as a frequent guest. Bunyan obviously loves this character he has created. He brings him into the forefront again and again. He is the most vivid and impressive figure in the group. Indeed Greatheart is almost as prominent a figure in the Second Part of the allegory as Christian is in the First. Greatheart is a combination of two persons mentioned in the First Part, - Mr. Great-grace, who is "excellent good at his weapons", and the nameless man "of very stout countenance", who fights his way through the armed men into the palace. But Greatheart is not merely the strong man armed; he beguiles the journey of the pilgrims by the charm of his conversation. True, he begins by a lengthy discourse on justification by faith, but he soon becomes humanised, and tells stories of the various pilgrims he has known, such as Mr.Fearing, "the most troublesome pilgrim that I ever met with in all my days". To the children he is always kind and

affable. He takes the little boys by the hand up Hill Difficulty, and cheers the others on. "Come my pretty boys; how do you like going on a pilgrimage?" He jokes with them because they run to get behind him when they meet the lions. But when there is more real peril, - when they go through the Valley, - he is always at the post of danger, encouraging the others saying, "Be of good cheer"; and "Let them that are most afraid keep close to me"; truly "a very parfyt gentle Knight".

Now, Greatheart represents a class of men, who figure largely in actual Anabaptist history, - brave men who guided and escorted bands of pilgrim emigrants, women and children, old and timid folk, through the various dangers that beset their way, until they reached in safety, some community-house in Moravia, or during the time of the Anabaptist Kingdom in North-Western Germany, - the City of Münster. The very charge levelled against Greatheart by Giant Maul might have been that levelled by antagonistic authorities against any one of his prototypes. "Thou practisest the craft of a kidnapper; thou gatherest up women and children, and carriest them into a strange country, to the weakening of my Master's Kingdom".

That all 'guides' were not so happy as Greatheart in the success of their mission, we know from actual history. In 1535 a party of 300 including in its ranks men, women and children, led by Jan van Geelen, who had been sent out from Münster for that purpose, were journeying through Friesland. They were tracked

and pursued by soldiers sent out by the authorities. The pilgrim emigrants sought refuge in Olde-Klooster, where they were attacked. They put up a defence for several days before they were finally overwhelmed and put to death. So we see that the perils that beset the pilgrim's path in Bunyan's tale had their actual counterpart in real life.

Bunyan, too, even gives us to understand that the pilgrims were not always successful in reaching their desired haven. Thus in the Valley of the Shadow we read, "they espied a man cast into the ditch on the left hand, with his flesh all rent and torn". This kind of disaster is also implied in Greatheart's address to Giant Slay-good, "We are come to revenge the quarrel of the many that thou hast slain of the pilgrims when thou hast dragged them out of the King's highway". In a lull during the fight Greatheart repeats the charge, "We are come to revenge the blood of pilgrims, as I told thee before".

In the actual history of the Tyrolese Anabaptist pilgrims, who tried to reach Moravia, we find striking examples that might serve as actual prototypes for Bunyan's allegory. These are given by Loserth in his "Anabaptism in the Tyrol". "Defying all dangers, a little company of Anabaptists, taking with them 25 children, fled in 1533, out of Guffidaun. Travelling secretly by the most unfrequented paths, and mostly at night-time, they finally reached the Brothers at Auspitz, in Moravia, in small detachments, their way having been stopped by the local authority

at Schwaz, and again by that at Rattenberg. Four stragglers were captured".

The authorities got to know of these methods of travelling and they took steps to circumvent the wayfarers. In May, 1534, soldiers were ordered to lie in ambush at night, in the passes through which such refugees had to travel.

That such groups of emigrant pilgrims had guides such as Greatheart to lead them we gather from such facts as the following. In October, 1533, a little band escorted by the brothers Hans and Opperus arrived at Auspitz. About the same time there came others from Innthal and Pusterthal with certain children; later Brother Klaus arrived from Carinthia with seven brothers of the faith; he was followed by Peter Hueter, who brought with him twenty-four persons. Later still we read of Hans Both, a minister of the word, who brought in a group of eighteen from Hesse.

The character as well as the occupation of these men answers to that of Greatheart. It took a brave and intrepid soul to traverse the way not only once at the risk of his own life, but to go back again to bring in others. Whether they trusted in the guidance of a Captain invisible, and the protection of unseen hosts, or whether like Jan van Geelen they drew an actual sword, they were essentially of the warrior type even as Greatheart himself. And since true knightly courage is most allied to gentleness towards the weak, the fact that these Anabaptist Greathearts brought back with them women and children, showed

that like him, they too possessed the Knightly Spirit of tenderness towards those less able to take care of themselves.

The Anabaptists might truly have said with Shylock, "Suffering is the badge of all our tribe". But while none of the religious sects suffered persecution to the same degree as Anabaptists they too suffered for the faith that was in them. In view of this general persecution, perhaps we must not stress too much the trial of Faithful for parallels to this can be found elsewhere than in Anabaptist history.

Macaulay points out that the trial resembles the parody of justice which was administered by hostile judges to Nonconformists. When Baxter was tried in 1685, Lord Jeffries behaved in a manner very like that of Lord Hategood.

"This is an old rogue", said Jeffries, "a schismatical knave, a hypocritical villain. He deserves to be whipped at the cart's tail".

When Baxter strove to argue in his defence Jeffries rudely stopped him, "Richard, Richard, dost thou think we will let thee poison this court? Richard thou art an old knave. Thou hast written books enough to fill a cart, and every book as full of treason as an egg is of meat. By the grace of God I'll look after thee".

In somewhat the same manner Hategood addressed Faithful saying, "Thou Runagate, Heretick, and Traitor, hast thou heard what these honest gentlemen have witnessed against thee?"

"May I speak a few words in my own defence?" "Sirrah, Sirrah, thou deservest to live no longer, but to be slain immediately upon the place; yet that all men may see our gentleness towards thee, let us see what thou hast to say".

In view of this and other historical parallels, not to mention Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs' which Bunyan had himself read, we do not use this point as evidence from the point of view of our thesis, but it is possible to find similar instances of barbaric treatment in Anabaptist history. The trial and sentence of Michael Sattler at Ensisheim in the Palatinate district is noteworthy as an example of the brutal severity and atrocious cruelty of the authorities to the Anabaptists. During the trial Sattler was continually addressed as, "Thou desperate wretch and arch-heretic". The sentence, which was actually carried out on May 25th., 1527, at Rothenberg on the Neckar, was as follows:- "That Michael Sattler be delivered over to the executioner, who shall bring him to the place of execution and cut out his tongue; he shall then throw him upon a cart, and twice tear his flesh with hot pincers; he shall then be brought to the city gate, and have his flesh five times torn in the same manner, he shall then be given over to the flames". Two days later the same authorities drowned his wife.

There is one point, however, in Faithful's trial which is notably Anabaptist. The charge against him is exactly the charge that the authorities levelled against the Anabaptists, and

was really at the bottom of their persecution. Let us study the scene.

"So Christian and Faithful were brought to examination; and they that sat upon them, asked them whence they came, whither they went, and what they did there? The men told them that they were pilgrims and strangers in the world, and that they were going to their own country, which was the heavenly Jerusalem". (An answer which might without any alteration whatever be put into the mouth of any Anabaptist wayfarer so brought to judgment).

"But they that were appointed to examine them did not believe them ---- Therefore they took them and beat them ---- and put them into a cage, that they might be made a spectacle to all the men of the fair".

Note they were not put into the pillory or the stocks, a typically English punishment, but into a cage. If the reader will turn back these pages he will find that such was the very punishment of the leaders at Münster.⁽¹⁾ These cages, where the bodies were exposed "as a spectacle", were suspended from St. Lambert's Church, and were not removed until the 19th. century. I wonder ---- But the charge is our most significant point. The indictment ran thus:- "That they were enemies to, and disturbers of the trade; and that they made commotions and divisions in the town, and had won a party to their own most dangerous opinions, in contempt of

(1) See page 73.

the law of their prince".

This point anent "trade" is noteworthy, for unlike some religious 'sects', who aver that they are concerned solely with heavenly matters, and refuse to even exercise the right of citizenship to vote, Anabaptism was not only concerned with religion, but it had social, economic and political ramifications. On the question of trade and commerce they held very definite views. They felt that wealth made social distinctions, and that the pursuit of commerce in the world's market-places compelled men to take advantage of each other. Therefore they sought to live in community and by co-operation, holding all things in common. They held that such manner of life freed men from envy, deceit and hatred, and did away with vain emulation, inequality, poverty, debt and crime, strife, war and bloodshed, which undoubtedly seem to go hand in hand with the present mercantile system in all lands, and in connection with every kind of state religion. Such ideas naturally struck at the very foundations of the whole social and economic system in existence, and those, such as the ruling authorities, who considered their interests bound up with the maintenance of that system, naturally feared and hated the Anabaptists, and persecuted them accordingly.

Need we be surprised then to find the great ones in Vanity Fair, dreading the spread of these doctrines, and calling even any appearance of sympathy with it "a commotion", and immediately arresting such 'apostles' as disturbers and agitators

of the peace, bringing into contempt the laws of the land.

The whole spirit of Anabaptist ideas in conflict with those of the world around it are found in Bunyan's picture of Faithful's trial. Faithful is condemned on these very grounds, and on this very evidence. "My lord, this is one of the vilest of men. I heard him once myself affirm, that Christianity and the customs of our town of Vanity, were diametrically opposite, and could not be reconciled. By which saying, my Lord, he doth at once not only condemn all our laudable doings, but us in the doing of them".

"So presently he was condemned to be had from the place where he was, to the place from whence he had come, and there to be put to the most cruel death that could be invented. They therefore brought him out, to do with him according to their law; and first, they scourged him, then they buffeted him, then they lanced his flesh with knives; after that, they stoned him with stones, then pricked him with their swords; and last of all they burned him to ashes at the stake. Thus came Faithful to his end".

Once we have the clue, these parallels we have mentioned in the Pilgrim's Progress are too numerous and too striking to be merely accidental, and these are not all that can be urged. Let us now examine Bunyan's other immortal allegory, 'The Holy War', and see if therein we can find further evidence for our thesis that Anabaptist historic tradition and thought-forms are the "source" of Bunyan's framework and expression.

We have already shown in a previous chapter that Anabaptism had affected England. The experience and histories of these people could not have been lost and forgotten all at once, and must have come down in at least a traditional way to Bunyan's time. Nor could a man of the people, (as Bunyan was) who gave himself (as Bunyan did) wholly to spiritual things, have been unaware of the rich wealth of image, figure, metaphor and allegory, which such a history contained, especially if he mingled (as Bunyan did) among people who were likely repositories of such tradition.

That such was really the case we have already tried to show in the preceding chapter dealing with the 'Pilgrim's Progress'. We have also already pointed out from frequent references that Bunyan at least knew of Anabaptist history and doctrine, even if he did not agree with it in his own opinions. It will be recalled for example how he warned his readers in the 'Heavenly Footman', "Do not have too much company with Anabaptists, though I go under that name myself".(1)

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- (1) The writer is indebted to a letter of G.O.Griffith's for some personal suggestions as to Bunyan's attitude to Anabaptism. What would be Bunyan's reaction to Münsterism? The writer feels we would be right in answering 'absolute repudiation', although this thesis shows that he was affected by the traditional history of that movement. On the other hand what would be Bunyan's reaction to Mennonitism? On the whole, favourable. That is, we find Bunyan - contrary to

It is interesting to note in connection with the foregoing that all Bunyan's prison books until 1664 were published by Francis Smith at the Sign of the Elephant and Castle at Temple Bar in London. *Grace Abounding*, however, was published in 1664 by George Larkin at the Sign of the Two Swans outside Bishopsgate. Later when he brought out the *Pilgrim's Progress*, Bunyan himself went to London to consult Dr. John Owen about his new literary venture. Owen recommended him to his own publisher Nathaniel Ponder, at the Sign of the Peacock in the Poultry. Ponder himself had but lately returned from prison. He had been committed to the Gatehouse on May 10th. 1676, "for carrying to the Presse to be printed an unlicensed Pamphlet tending to Sedition and Defamation of the Christian Religion", but on the 26th. day of the same month, a further entry

the bias of his natural constitution, - inclining to the Pacificist section, rather than the martial section; and these two movements in Anabaptist history are clearly marked (although Froude does not seem aware of this fact). On the other hand Bunyan was not an out and out Pacificist in the Mennonite sense. He says he is ready (under certain conditions) to defend his earthly Prince with his life, which means we may take it, that he would if necessary take up arms again.

With regard to the Apocalypticism of the Anabaptists Bunyan is very cautious. In his "Holy Citie" the descent of the New Jerusalem from Heaven, means for him a descent by spiritual generation. He seems to use the term in the sense in which one might say that Christians are of the spiritual "descent" of Abraham - a clever shift, but without any exegetical justification. No doubt Bunyan's mind shied at the prevalent Apocalypticism of the hot gospellers. The point is that Second Adventism was not an obsession with him.

shows, "Nathaniel Ponder, Stationer, was discharged upon his humble petition, setting forth his hearty sorrow for his offence, and promising never to offend in like manner". In consequence of the success of the Pilgrim's Progress, the printer Ponder became known among his confrères by the nickname "Bunyan Ponder".

But why did Bunyan desert his old publisher Smith? The writer has found that Francis Smith was an Anabaptist.⁽¹⁾ He was known to his contemporaries as "Anabaptist Smith", or more generally as "Elephant Smith". We are told he was "a man of great sincerity and happy contentment in all circumstances of life". Yet such was the distrust of Anabaptists that as early as 1659 he was looked upon by the authorities as "a disaffected Person and a Phanatick". His house was frequently searched, and his property plundered and confiscated, and in 1664 Francis was imprisoned for having "a hand in printing and compileing dangerous Books", - said to be against both the Church and the State. This then is the reason for Bunyan's change of publisher. "Anabaptist Smith" could not print *Grace Abounding* for he was at that moment behind prison bars "suffering for conscience sake". The point to be noted is that here we have Bunyan in personal living touch with Anabaptism.

(1) 1681 Sept.? Proposals to Secretary Jenkins --- "Elephant Smith, an Anabaptist preacher was very busy at the last election of the Lord Mayor against Sir John Moore. He stands accused before you for printing the Raree Show ballad and may be sent for to give security to answer therein - and ought to give £500 security---"
 Calendar of State Papers - Domestic - Car.II. - 416 No.177.

We have already shown many striking parallels in Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress with what we know took place in actual Anabaptist history, and when we examine the 'Holy War' we find in an equally arresting fashion an analogy between it and the traditional history of the Anabaptist struggle in Münster during the years 1534-1536.

The failure of the Peasant War in Germany in 1525 reduced the labouring classes in Germany to despair. The more the hopes of social and political revolution were dashed, the more the desire for justice took a religious trend. This is evidenced in the way they listened to the expounding of the Scriptures by the visionaries and prophets who arose at this time. These men saw in Christendom an "apocalyptic Babylon" shortly to be destroyed, and they looked not only for its ruin as "the City of Destruction", but they called on all, who had ears to hear, to fly out of it and seek a "city wherein dwelleth righteousness". Many took these words to heart, but their efforts to flee from the wrath to come were met by the opposing powers, whom Bunyan typifies for us as the giants - Grim, Maul and Pope - who waylaid, seized and tortured their victims in a terrible manner. Finally, as we have seen, the Anabaptists themselves under Jan Matthysz at Münster took to the sword, and thus the "Holy War" was proclaimed.

An outline of events in Münster has already been given and a study of Bunyan's Holy War helps us still further to under-

stand the Münster point of view. The idea that this world in every form of human life, individual and social, is a battle ground between the warring forces of Good and Evil, between the servants of Shaddai and the servants of Diabolus, possessed the mind of Bunyan just as it did the minds of the Münster Anabaptists. This similarity in idea is shown very remarkably in the Book of the Restitution in the chapter dealing with the Kingdom of Christ.⁽¹⁾ The Devil they declared had usurped the inheritance of Christ, and by craft and false teaching made himself prince of this world. But the time was coming, and was indeed nigh at hand, when Christ and His true servants would come and repossess His kingdom, and suppress the Devil and his wicked followers. This would be followed by the Day of Vengeance and of Comfort when each would receive punishment or reward according to his merit. Thereafter the saints would indeed be of one fold with one Shepherd, one King - God's rightful heir - ruling over all. But ere that blessed state of things could dawn there would be bitter and mortal strife 'twixt the servants of righteousness and the followers of evil. That struggle they believed had already begun at Münster.

The idea of the Devil ousting Christ out of His Kingdom, and by craft and guile becoming the prince of this world and

(1) See Thesis Chapter on the History of Anabaptism in Münster - the part dealing with the Book of the Restitution - summary of the 17th. chapter (page 65).

therein setting up a spiritual tyranny is essentially Bunyan's picture in the Holy War. The war that the Anabaptists believed would ensue with its triumphant conclusion for the righteous, when Christ Himself would come in person leading His Captains and faithful servants to the reconquest of His inheritance, - the vengeance that would be meted out to the usurper, and his followers - the bringing in of the day of joy and peace when Christ would be accepted as the true and rightful king, - is exactly an outline of Bunyan's allegory.

Man according to the teaching of the Holy War was created for the delight and glory of God, and as a society to live under His government - a society or community which could therefore be spoken of as "a city" - "a city whose builder and maker was God". This human city Bunyan says, attracted the hatred of Diabolus, the enemy of good, and through listening to his subtleties and deceits, fell, and became his captive and slave. Despite efforts to break free, deliverance only came to Mansoul when its rightful prince Immanuel, the son of Shaddai Himself arrived in person to redeem it. But though redeemed from Diabolus, Mansoul was still a city divided against itself for among its inhabitants there were a great number of Diabolians. These strove to bring about the restoration of their Master. "A city divided against itself cannot stand", thus Mansoul backslides, and Diabolus forces his way once more into the Town. "And now did Mansoul seem to be nothing but a den of dragons, an

emblem of hell, and a place of total darkness". This time, however, Mansoul is not completely overrun. The castle holds out in the hands of the captains of Immanuel, and they "hold the fort" until the Prince himself suddenly returns to Mansoul, utterly puts to rout Diabolus and his host, and re-establishes His Kingdom in the city.

This summary of Bunyan's allegory is equally a summary of what the Münster Anabaptists in their Book of the Restitution conceived to be the history of Christendom. The whole argument of the Book of the Restitution is that there has been a "Fall". The whole of Christendom and Münster with it had owing to false teaching and doctrine given over its rightful allegiance to Christ and had fallen into the hands of the Devil - a truly "Babylonian captivity". Now this is just what Bunyan teaches in picturesque language in the "Holy War made by Shaddai upon Diabolus, for the regaining of the Metropolis of the World, or the Losing and Taking again of the Town of Mansoul". The Town is first shown to us in its early state of perfection and innocence, but through the craft of Diabolus and the false seducing speeches of Mr. Ill-pause, Captain Resistance and My Lord Innocency are slain, "nor did there now remain any more noble spirit in Mansoul, they all fell down, and yielded obedience to Diabolus, and became his slaves and vassals".

Now the Holy War as Mr. Froude pointed out may be regarded either as a conflict between the power of good and evil in the soul

of each regenerate sinner, or as a crusade for the deliverance of humanity. To view the allegory in the former aspect alone is to "cabin, crib, confine" and limit its wider application. It is when a writer can so picture an individual soul that it becomes the common soul of Humanity that the full grandeur and import of his work appears. This is why Shakespeare is "not for an age but for all time". Hazlitt writing on Lear gives this thought brilliant expression in words. "Nobody from reading Shakespeare", he says, "would know (except from the *Dramatis Personae*) that Lear was an English King. He is merely a king and a father. The ground is common. There are no data on history to go upon, no acquaintance with geography, or architecture, or dialect is necessary; but there is an old tradition, human nature - an old temple, the human mind - and Shakespeare walks into it and looks about him with a lordly eye, and seizes on the sacred spoils as his own. The story is a thousand or two years old, and yet the tragedy has no smack of antiquarianism in it". It is this universal quality that makes Lear a great play. It is the universal interpretation that gives the Holy War its grandeur.

Having considered the broad scheme of the Holy War and its analogy with Anabaptist ideas and beliefs as revealed in their history at Münster let us now take some of the details. Each point considered by itself may not bear much weight as evidence, but when we consider all that we have said as cumulative, we

feel the hypothesis suggested by this thesis receives conviction.

Milton, it will be remembered, in one of his sonnets speaks of flying the "Babylonian woe". It is a suggestive phrase. By the term "Babylonian" is primarily meant all that appertains to Rome - imperial and papal. Luther gave the word currency, when he described the Church under the domination of the Papacy as "the Babylonish captivity". False doctrine he felt had laid the bulwarks of Christendom open to the devil, who had possessed himself of the central seat of spiritual power - Rome, which had become "a den and a hold" for the Babylonian King. But Anabaptists used the term in a more general sense. They considered that not only Rome itself, but that Lutherans and Zwinglians in calling in the help of the powers of this world to crush whatever seemed to menace their aims and plans, were themselves "Babylonian", and thus the word as used by the Münster sect of Anabaptists had a very wide connotation covering in effect all that they conceived to be pertaining to the Kingdom of this world, as well as that pertaining to the Kingdom of darkness, everything in fact that was unjust and godless. Indeed they used the word 'Babylonian' in exactly the same way that Bunyan uses the word "Diabolian". The full title of the Book of the Restitution is, "A wholly trustworthy witness of the Vengeance and Judgment of the Babylonian Abominations through the community at Münster, to all true Israelites and companions of Christ scattered hither and thither", and throughout the book itself the word Babylonian

occurs again and again.

When we consider that Bunyan like Wordsworth "sat and played with similes" and in view of the fact that both words "Babylonian" and "Diabolian" had for those who respectively used them exactly the same meaning, is it too much to suppose that the one suggested the other? Remember too that Bunyan tried his hand at poetry, and the two words euphonise remarkably.

The next point we may consider is the analogy between the two cities of Münster and Mansoul. The parallel descriptions are strikingly alike in view of our hypothesis. "Now there is in this gallant country of Universe a fair and delicate town, a corporation called Mansoul. A town for its building so curious, for its situation so commodious, for its privileges so advantageous - I mean with reference to its original - that there is not its equal under heaven". Allowing for a literary touch of hyperbole in the last phrase Bunyan's description does not suggest an English setting, but Germany has always been famous for its quaint mediaeval cities, and with the exception of Nuremberg, Münster was the most curious and striking of them all. It was in fact an outstanding old mediaeval city. Quite a number of neighbouring towns looked to it as a leading member of the Westphalian circle.

Bunyan further adds to his picture, "There was reared up in the midst of this town a most famous and stately palace. For strength it might be called a castle; for pleasantness a paradise; for largeness a place so copious as to contain all the

world". Now in the midst of mediaeval Münster there stood a noble Rathaus, a quaint architectural cathedral, and a Dom palace or castle, surrounded with numerous guild-halls, which gave evidence of wealth and prosperity. In the centre of the city there was a great market square capable of holding a vast concourse of people, and where the citizens frequently assembled for public functions.

"Now the wall of the town of Mansoul was well built, yea so fast and firm was it knit and compact together, that had it not been for the townsmen themselves they could not have been shaken or broken for ever". The city of Münster was singularly well fortified with strong walls, towers and gates; we know how well they withstood the siege, until the town fell through treachery from within. The river Ahe ran through its boundaries. "It is a place well watered", says Bunyan, "and richly adorned with hills and valleys, bravely situate". "The people", he further adds, "are not all of one complexion, nor yet of one language". Why does he add that last touch? It does not fit an English town - but it did apply to Münster - "nor are they of one way of religion"

The writer does not stress overmuch the point of analogy between the two cities. Although the similarity is remarkable the description can nevertheless be made to apply to other mediaeval towns. Taken by itself this parallel would be of the slightest value, but then it is only one of a great number of points of similarity between the two histories, and again let us repeat our evidence has to be taken cumulatively.

In the ruthless manner in which in their hour of triumph the redeemed citizens of Mansoul treat the Diabolians, Bunyan has caught the very spirit which animated the Münster Anabaptists to uproot ruthlessly from their midst the "Babylonian Abominations".

In the Book of Vengeance the dominating idea is to root out and destroy everything in Münster that savours of Babylonian beliefs and practices. Those who showed themselves in any way opposed to the new Kingdom were immediately and severely dealt with. This is exemplified in the case of Hubert Rüscher "the tall smith". Hubert was a native of the town of Münster and had a strong sense of his citizenship, so much so, that he had an equal dislike of the "foreigners", who were flocking into his city, and who in the persons of Matthysz and Jan van Leiden dominated its councils and policy. While he was on guard duty he openly expressed his discontent with affairs to his comrades of the watch. These sentiments came to the ears of the leaders. Hubert was promptly arrested and brought into the market square, where surrounded by a circle of armed "saints", he was publicly tried, found guilty and sentenced to death - and this was a member of their own city!

So, too, in Bunyan's Holy War the dominating idea of its redeemed citizens is to root out and destroy in Mansoul everything that is of the Diabolian order. "Now when the town of Mansoul had thus far rid themselves of their enemies, and of the

troublers of their peace; in the next place, a strict commandment was given out, that yet my Lord Will-be-will should, with Diligence, his man, search for, and do his best to apprehend what town - - Diabolians were yet left alive in Mansoul". The two late Lord Mayors, to wit, Mr.Incredulity and Mr.Lustings, together with the Recorder Mr.Forget-Good were at once apprehended. "Besides these there were some that Diabolus made burgesses and aldermen in Mansoul that were committed to ward". After their trial the Clerk asks the jury,

Clerk "Are they guilty --- or are they not guilty?"

Foreman "Guilty, my Lord".

Clerk "Look to your prisoners gaoler".

"This was done in the morning, and in the afternoon they received the sentence of death according to the law".

Again after the final victory of Immanuel the Diabolians were sought out, arrested, and brought to judgment ---

"The court having proceeded thus far with them, sent out the jury, who forthwith brought them in guilty of death. Then stood up the Recorder and addressed himself to the prisoners: "You, the prisoners at the bar, you have been here indicted and proved guilty of high crimes ---- for which you must be put to death, and die ye accordingly". Bunyan even shows this ruthless spirit in his Pilgrim's Progress, and in a rather striking way. The gentle maid named Mercy on beholding the corpses of Simple, Sloth and Presumption hanging in irons exclaims, "Let them hang and rot,

and their crimes live for ever against them".

Then she turns it into a song, saying -

"Now then, you three, hang there, and be a sign
To all that shall against the truth combine.
And let him that comes after fear this end,
If unto pilgrims he is not a friend.
And thou, my soul, of all such men beware,
That unto holiness opposers are".

This parallel in Bunyan to the ruthless and uncompromising Anabaptist spirit in Münster is set in a very vivid light if we compare his account of the rule of the City of Mansoul under Diabolus and under Immanuel.

The tactics of Diabolus are directly opposed to those of a stern righteousness, which refuses to have any compromise with opposing views, and even seeks to destroy those who hold such. "Diabolus, then, as if he had been a lamb, began his oration, "Gentlemen of the famous town of Mansoul, I am, as you may perceive, no far dweller from you, but near, and one that is bound by the King to do you my homage and what service I can". His is a policy of flattery, craft and deceit rather than an attempt to secure his ends by terror and bloodshed. Thus under Diabolus there are no shocking executions, none of the ghastly cruelties that we might expect, but he works by craft and subtlety to make Mansoul morally blind.

He remodels the town but he does it craftily "by setting up one, and pulling down another at pleasure". Its men of intellect such as Mr. Conscience, My Lord Mayor, "who was an understanding man", and Mr. Recorder, "who was a man well read in

the laws of his King," have their eyes darkened "not by taking them from office and power", but by being ignored and misrepresented. Distinguished individuals such as my Lord Will-be-will are won over by gifts of places, honours and preferment. The mass of the citizens are given liberty freely to gratify the lusts of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life.⁽¹⁾

- (1) It is probable that affairs in England especially those happenings in his own town of Bedford influenced Bunyan here. Diabolus new modelling the town of Mansoul changing Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen and Burgesses reflects something of the same sort that the King and Lord Ailesbury were doing at Bedford about the very time the Holy War was written. The Parliaments of 1678 and 1680 had introduced and passed a Bill for the Exclusion of James Duke of York from the succession to the throne. The Lords rejected the Bill and Charles dissolved Parliament. The pendulum of public opinion was again swinging in favour of the King, the country felt that the Whig party had gone too far in its demands on the Sovereign, and the intrigues of its leaders followed by the revelations of the Rye House Plot discredited them utterly. Charles seized the opportunity and made a bid for despotism. Freedom of speech was suppressed, and an assault was made on local self government.

The old charters of the towns and cities were challenged, or timidly surrendered, and new charters were imposed upon the Boroughs and the Corporations which controlled Parliamentary representation. These new charters put these municipalities into the hands of the King's party, the object of the King being thus to obtain control of the corporations, and through them control of Parliament itself.

So we find enquiry being made with regard to the officials of the Bedford Corporation, with the result that several men of probity and honour were removed. Later during the autumn of 1683, seventy-six new burgesses were made all picked men from the King's side, and by this carefully selected constituency the old charter of the town was surrendered, his gracious Majesty being humbly petitioned to give them a new one, according to his mind. The taking away of the town charter, and the granting of

As shown by Bunyan, how different from the policy of government of Mansoul under Diabolus is the policy of government under Immanuel, - and how characteristically Anabaptist is the latter!

Under Immanuel the corporation is again new-modelled, but this time no crafty subtleties are employed, - the method is direct and downright, no compromise is to be made, no mercy to be shown to evil. Every Diabolian in Mansoul is at once deprived of office, and all who can be laid hands upon are seized forthwith and cast into prison. A commission is given my Lord Will-be-will, "that if he found any of the Diabolians lurking in any corner of Mansoul, he should forthwith apprehend them --- that they may be proceeded against according to the law". The commission is subsequently enlarged that all the true citizens may help in the hunt to capture and destroy the "Diabolian abominations". "Wherefore that you may take courage to yourselves to apprehend these villains wherever you may find them, I give to you, my Lord Mayor, my Lord Will-be-will, and Mr. Recorder, with all the inhabitants of the town of Mansoul, full power and commission to seek out, to take, and to cause to be put to death all, and all manner of Diabolonians, when and wherever you shall find them to lurk within or to range without the walls of the

another which was read to the citizens of Mansoul in the market-place are scenes bearing strong resemblances to those in which Lord Bruce took part before the old Guildhall in the town of Bedford.

town of Mansoul".

After Immanuel's second return to redeem the town the Diabolians are persecuted with even greater rigour. "My Lord Will-be-will was a greater terror to them now than ever he had been before; forasmuch as his heart was yet more fully bent to seek, contrive, and pursue them to the death; he did pursue them night and day, and did now put them to sore distress, as will afterwards appear".

The hunt for Diabolians indeed proceeded with vigour. The treasonable plottings and utterances of old Evil-Questioning were overheard by Mr.Diligence, who brought them to the ears of my Lord Will-be-will. "Now my Lord Will-be-will did put into execution his commission with great Diligence, his man". - the plotters were at once apprehended and put in gaol or executed forthwith

Thus "Lord Will-be-will took Fooling in the streets, and hanged him up in Want-wit-alley, over against his own house. He also took Mr.Let-good-slip one day as he was busy in the market, and executed him according to the law. After this my Lord apprehended Clip-promise. He was arraigned and judged to be first set in the pillory, then to be whipt by all the children and servants in Mansoul, and then to be hanged till he was dead. Mr. Wrong-thoughts-of-Christ was put in prison and he died there of a lingering consumption.

Then my Lord Self-denial took courage, and set to pursuing of the Diabolians with my Lord Will-be-will; and they

took Live-by-feeling and Legal-life and put them in hold till they died" - truly a zealous clearing of "Diabolian Abominations"!

Nevertheless Bunyan is no narrow bigot. He realises that even in the worst of humanity there are qualities that call forth our admiration. The old morality writers painted in black and white, they made their characters either good or evil, but Bunyan like Shakespeare knew that the human heart is strangely mixed, as Robert Louis Stevenson put it

"There is so much good in the worst of us,
And so much bad in the best of us".

Bunyan recognises that some of the worst prisoners have at least the virtue of courage in the face of death. Mr.Incredulity, the late Lord Mayor under Diabolus, when he is brought up for trial, says, "I know not Shaddai; I love my old prince; I thought it my duty to be true to my trust, and to do what I could to possess the minds of the men of Mansoul to do their utmost to resist strangers and foreigners."⁽¹⁾ Nor have I, nor shall I change my opinion for fear of trouble, though you at present are possessed of place and power".

Mr.Evil-Questioning sees clearly that nothing he can urge will convince the jury in his favour and he too bravely faces his fate. "Then said Evil-Questioning: "I see how the game will go: I must die for my name, and for my charity". And so he held

(1) It was for holding this very belief that Hubert Rüscher was condemned to death in Münster.

his peace".

The jury itself shows all the intolerant spirit of a French revolutionary tribunal. They are not disposed to charity or mercy from the outset, but rather to exercise with promptitude and vigour the power of the triumphant party to exterminate the foe, even before they have listened out the case. "Then said the Court, 'Forget-Good, Forget-Good, thy forgetfulness of good was not simply of frailty, but of purpose, and for that thou didst loathe to keep virtuous things in thy mind. What was bad thou couldst retain, but what was good thou couldst not abide to think of; thy age therefore, and thy pretended craziness, thou makest use of to blind the court withal, and as a cloak to cover thy knavery. But let us hear what the witnesses have to say for the King against the prisoner at the bar".

In exactly the same way did the drama move in actual Anabaptist history within the walls of Münster. The Anabaptist leaders considered the menace of anything savouring of the "Babylonian Abominations" so serious that all relative penalties were set aside, and for all such crimes the penalty was death. It will be recalled that after the death of Matthysz twelve Elders were appointed to act as Judges in the city. These put forth a new law in which the penalty of death was appointed for blasphemy, disobedience to, or contempt of, the Elders and Judges, adultery, seduction, unchastity and the like, avarice, robbery, fraud, lying, murder, faction and even tale bearing and murmuring.

When we examine the types of persons whom Bunyan puts to death in Mansoul in a characteristically Anabaptist spirit, we find they represent exactly the crimes the Anabaptists in Münster condemned in like manner. Blasphemers such as Alderman Atheism contemnors of authority such as Mr.Incredulity, Mr.Forget-Good and Evil Questioning; adulterers, seducers and the like are condemned in the person of Mr.Lustings; lying and foul-mouthed persons, thieving and fraudulent individuals, quarrellers, plotters and murderers are represented by Mr.No-Truth, Mr.False-Peace, Mr.Pitiless, Mr.Hard-Heart and Mr.Haughty and a host of Diabolian Doubters and Bloodmen.

The aim and the idea is one and the same both in Münster and Mansoul, "to leave not a skull, or a bone, or a piece of a bone", either of Babylonian or Diabolian Kind within the walls - and the method too is similar - the swift sure means of execution.

Now let us study the parallel histories further in detail. An outstanding feature in Bunyan's 'Holy War' is the descriptions of the processions and entertainments with which the Prince delights the citizens of Mansoul. Bunyan gives no inconsiderable space to the description of such pageants, and they are graphically described in detail.

"Now when the Prince had completed these outward ceremonies of his joy, he again commanded that his captains and soldiers should show unto Mansoul some feats of war: so they presently addressed themselves to this work. They marched, they countermarched: they

opened to the right and left; they divided and subdivided; they closed, they wheeled, made good their front and rear with their right and left wings, and twenty things more with that aptness, that they took, yea, ravished the hearts that were in Mansoul to behold it".

Later the Prince proposes to enter the town itself in triumphal state. "So, at the time appointed he makes his approach to Mansoul, and the gates were set open for him; there also the ancients and elders of Mansoul met him to salute him with a thousand welcomes ---- And this was the manner of his going up thither;- He was clad in his golden armour, he rode in his royal chariot, the trumpets sounded about him, the colours were displayed his ten thousands went up at his feet, and the elders of Mansoul danced before him. And now were the walls of the famous town of Mansoul filled with the tramplings of the inhabitants thereof, who went up thither to view the approach of the beloved Prince and his royal army. Also the casements, windows, balconies, and tops of the houses, were all now filled with persons of all sorts, to behold how their town was to be filled with good".

The next public function of the Prince is a very striking one. "Now, upon a time Immanuel made a feast for the town of Mansoul; and upon the feasting-day the townsfolk were come to the castle to partake of his banquet; and he feasted them with food - food that grew not in the fields of Mansoul, nor in the whole Kingdom of Universe: it was food that came from his Father's court.

There was music also all the while at the table. They drank also of the water that was made wine -- and had honey given them out of the rock ----. And was it not amazing to behold, that in the very place where sometimes Diabolus had his abode, and entertained his Diabolians, the Prince of princes should sit eating and drinking with them, while all his mighty captains, men of war, trumpeters, with the singing-men and singing-women of his Father, stood round about to wait upon them! Now did Mansoul's cup run over, now did her conduits run sweet wine, now did she eat the finest of wheat, and drink wine and honey out of the rock!"

If the reader will turn back to the chapter outlining the history of events in Münster he will be at once struck by the parallel description of the scenes that happened there and the description we have just given of events in Mansoul. The Anabaptist leaders were not blind to the effect on the popular mind of royal pageantry, processions and festivals, as an important part of the government and the setting forth of the royal glory.

The king showed himself frequently to his people, - arrayed in his royal robes, a crown on his head, a gold chain of office round his neck, his sceptre in his hand, he rode forth on horseback surrounded by his court, and followed by a great troop of horsemen clad in liveries of blue and red. Even until the last month of 1534 he kept up his festivals, entertaining the dignitaries of his Kingdom not only with royal fare, but also with music, interrupted at times with the reading and expounding of the Scriptures.

It will also be recalled that on 13th. October, 1534, Jan van Leiden proclaimed a general amnesty, and invited the entire population of Münster to a royal banquet to be held on Mount Zion as the Dom Platz or Cathedral Square was now called. We have already described the scene in detail in a previous chapter.⁽¹⁾ This great festival in Münster made such an impression on the minds of those who took part in it, that it has come down to us described in minute detail - the King's dress, - the fact that his servants waited at the tables, - even the food partaken of by the guests, viz, "the finest of wheaten cakes and wine".

Since history has preserved for us the very details of this scene, surely such an event must have been an outstanding feature in any traditional Anabaptist history handed down among the people. The parallel between the feast in Münster and the feast in Mansoul is very remarkable. Bunyan devotes it a sufficient space to make it an outstanding event in his history, and since there is such a striking similarity between the two accounts does it not further strengthen our hypothesis that the description of the feast in Münster also had likewise an outstanding place in the traditional story Bunyan must have heard.

In closing let us compare the description of the seige of Mansoul, as portrayed by Bunyan, with the account of the actual facts that happened at Münster. With the broad exception of the

(1) Page 66/67.

different endings the two histories tally to a remarkable degree, and we therefore add these yet further similarities as additional evidence in support of our thesis.

The history of Mansoul closes on the note of triumph. The shouts of its redeemed citizens acclaiming their conquering Prince ring through the city. "Lift up your heads, O ye gates; and be ye lifted up, ye everlasting doors; and the King of Glory shall come in".

Münster fell before its enemies. Even here, however, Bunyan is not out of harmony, for he but concludes his allegory as the Münster Anabaptists had hoped and expected their Holy War would close, with the coming of Immanuel himself in his splendour, "with all his forces, colours displayed and trumpets sounding" to deliver the city from Diabolus and the "Diabolian Abominations".

With the exception of this difference in the conclusion, all the other main facts of actual Münster history appear in Bunyan's 'Holy War'. We must be honest and admit the argument that scenes of suffering are common to all, and not peculiar to any one beleaguered city, but despite that the other parallels are too close and too striking to be lightly dismissed.

There is the same change in outlook and spirit among the besieged in Münster and Mansoul, from days of joy and festivity to hours of anxiety, fear and black despair. Of the citizens in Mansoul Bunyan tells us, "They were sorely affrighted at the first appearance of their foes, and at their sitting down before the

town, especially when they heard the roaring of their drum. The streaming of their colours were also terrible and dejecting to behold". Their terrors were yet further augmented, "For upon Mount Diabolus, which was raised upon the north side of the town, there did the tyrant set up his standard, and a fearful thing it was to behold ---- a flaming flame ---- and the picture of Mansoul burning in it".

During the "parley" before the onslaught (a typically mediaeval feature of warfare interesting to find in Bunyan) Diabolus seeks by fair words to induce the city to open its gates. "O! the desire of my heart, the famous town of Mansoul! Far be it from me to desire to make war upon you, if ye will but willingly and quietly deliver up yourselves unto me. You know you were mine of old. Remember also, that so long as you enjoyed me for your lord, and that I enjoyed you for my subjects you wanted for nothing of all the delights of the earth ---- Be but prevailed with to embrace me again, and I will grant, yea, inlarge your old charter ---- so that your licence and liberty shall be to take, hold, enjoy, and make your own, all that is pleasant from the east to the west. Nor shall any of those incivilities wherewith you have offended me, be ever charged upon you by me, so long as the sun and the moon endureth".

The reply of Mansoul through the lips of my Lord Mayor is an utter repudiation and defiance of Diabolus and all his works. "We are rather ready to die by thy hand, than to fall in with thy

flattering and lying deceits".

When Diabolus saw therefore that there was little to be got by parleying, he fell into a hellish rage, and gave orders forthwith to assault the town of Mansoul. Despite desperate resistance Feelgate was broken and the hosts of Diabolus forced their way into the town, "spreading themselves into every corner and crying according to the command of the tyrant, Hell-fire, Hell-fire, Hell-fire!"

Now although the Diabolians had gained an entry into the town itself, the city was not yet wholly subdued. The castle, whence the inhabitants under the leadership of their captains had betaken themselves, still held out. "And now did the clouds hang black over Mansoul". Diabolus proceeded to consolidate his position. He quartered his men throughout the entire city, "yea, where was there a corner, a cottage, a barn, or a hog-stye, that now were not full of these vermin?" The Diabolians wrought havoc as was their nature, "yea, they fired the town in several places" --- and nameless deeds were done on the women and children. Nevertheless their victory was incomplete as long as the citadel held out.

Now let us look at the events that happened at Münster. The "Babylonian" power which for long years had ruled Münster was overthrown and its leaders fled from the city. They determined however to re-possess it, and its former prince the Bishop of Münster arrived before the gates of the city with an army and

summoned it to return to its former allegiance. When the citizens refused to do so, he forthwith besieged the town. As he met with but little success in his attempts he sought assistance from his brother princes. After some time he succeeded in obtaining allies in the Archbishop of Cologne, the Duke of Grubenhagen, the Count of Schaumberg, the Count of Isenburg and the Count of Nassau. These temporal princes, however, were bitterly jealous of each other, and the Bishop of Münster found it difficult to persuade them to give effective help in the shape of money and troops. After long negotiations it was decided to offer life and freedom, and a general pardon for past offences, if Münster would now yield to its former lawful prince. Münster replied to those Babylonian offers as uncompromisingly as Mansoul to the overtures of Diabolus. Rather than submit, Münster was willing in case of need to suffer all things, but the city would be held as long as a man remained to fight.

The princes were now therefore forced to action. It was decided to capture the city by storm, and an attack was planned for an assault to be delivered at six different places simultaneously, (even as Diabolus threw his forces against all the gates of Mansoul at once).

Now here is an interesting point of similarity in the two sieges. The Babylonian forces of the prince of Münster also pierced the outer fortifications of the city (even as Diabolus had done), but they failed to capture the heart of the town, and thus

in the end had to retire - so their first attempt did not meet with quite so much success as that of Diabolus against Mansoul. Nevertheless the siege went on.

Let us return for a moment to the history of Mansoul, We left Diabolus in possession of the town itself, while the castle still held out against him. The plight of the citizens of Mansoul was desperate, - their town seemed to be "nothing but a den of dragons, an emblem of hell, and a place of total darkness".

Bunyan continues the history thus, -

"After the town of Mansoul had been in this sad and lamentable condition for a long time ---- they agreed together to draw up yet another petition, and to send it away to Immanuel for relief ---- Now how it came out I do not know, but for certain it did, and that so far as to reach the ears of Diabolus. Thus I conclude, because the tyrant charged the town of Mansoul with it saying; Thou rebellious and stubborn-hearted Mansoul, I will make thee leave off petitioning. ---- Yea, he also knew who the messenger was that carried the petition, and it made him both to fear and to rage". Indeed this sending for help by beleaguered Mansoul infuriates Diabolus to the pitch of frenzy. He counts it of the utmost importance to get the envoy into his power. He summons his host and addresses them, (and his very words might indeed form the substance for a speech uttered by the Prince Bishop of the besieging army outside Münster, when that city acted as we shall see in a similar manner to the townsfolk of Mansoul).

"O ye stout Diabolians, be it known unto you that there is treachery hatched against us in the rebellious town of Mansoul; --- these miserable Mansouliaus have attempted to dare, and have been so hardy as yet to send for help".

His anxiety to lay hold of the envoy is manifest from his next speech. "When Diabolus had said thus, he went up to the castle-gates, and demanded that, upon pain of death, the gates should be opened to him and his men that followed after". He was met with a staunch refusal and defiance. Then said Diabolus, "Deliver me then the men that petitioned against me especially Captain Credence that carried it; deliver that varlet into my hands, and I will depart from the town".

Then did my Lord Mayor reply, "Be it known unto thee, we shall harken to none of thy words; we are resolved to resist thee as long as a captain, a man, a sling, and a stone to throw at thee, shall be found in the town of Mansoul". (compare the Münster Defiance). But Diabolus answered, "Do you hope, do you wait, do you look for help and deliverance? You have sent to Immanuel, but your wickedness sticks too close in your skirts to let innocent prayers come out of your lips. Think you that you shall be prevailers and prosper in this design? You will fail in your attempts; for it is not only I, but your Immanuel is against you; yea, it is he that hath sent me against you to subdue you; for what then do you hope, or by what means will you escape?"

In Münster the plight of the inhabitants was every whit as desperate as that in Mansoul. We have already described in

detail elsewhere how they attempted to obtain help by sending out envoys with a view to raising the Anabaptist standard in the neighbouring towns and districts, and gathering forces for the relief of the city. The Prince Bishop, however, was on the alert. He overawed the neighbouring towns to which the envoys were sent, and he took pains to capture the messengers themselves. Several were seized and executed. Worn down by the persistence of the besiegers the state of the citizens of Münster became pitiable. Famine stalked abroad in the streets, the noise of the Diabolian drum was not more terrible to the ears of Mansoul than the roar of the Babylonian cannon, and no messenger who had been sent forth appeared with a relieving force to greet the anxious eyes that scanned the horizon from the watch-towers on the ramparts.

The city of Münster was doomed, and here is a noteworthy point. Münster was finally captured by stratagem - and stratagem of the very kind proposed by Beelzebub in the Diabolian war council for the taking of Mansoul - that the city should be taken from within.

"When Diabolus saw himself thus boldly confronted by the Lord Mayor, he fell into a rage, and forthwith called a council of war. So all the princes of the pit came together with all the captains of his army". Apollyon proposed to withdraw the forces, and the town lulled to a false security would then issue forth from its stronghold, whereupon it could be easily captured. But Beelzebub replied saying, - "It is impossible to draw them all off

from the castle ---- it must be done by other means. For said he, it is not our being in the town, nor in the field, nor our fighting nor our killing of their men, that can make us the masters of Mansoul (the Prince Bishop had also found this so) --- Let us advise again with our trusty Diabolians that are yet in their holds in Mansoul, and set them to work to betray the town to us".

The reader will recall in our outline of events at Münster which we have already described in detail, how this very strategy brought about the final downfall of the city. Heinrich Gresbeck fled from the doomed town, and was captured by the Bishop's troops. To save his life he offered to show the weak points in the defence of the city. Owing to the treachery of this Babylonian from within its own walls, the besiegers effected an entry, and despite a fierce and desperate resistance the defenders of Münster were finally overborne.

As has already been said, apart from the different endings, the parallels between the two histories (once we have the clue) are singularly striking. We can hardly explain these remarkable similarities both in the form and in the spirit of the history and the allegory, unless by supposing that Bunyan had heard and assimilated the story of the Anabaptist Kingdom in Münster.

If the Anabaptist movement culminating at Münster had taken place after Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress and Holy War had been written, we might have said that the Anabaptists had modelled their history out of his pages, but since Bunyan wrote nearly a century

and a half later, and in view of the impression, (as we have shown) such Anabaptist history made on the popular mind, it is surely a reasonable hypothesis to suggest, (if not to conclude) that it was the actual living tradition of such history that gave form, colour, spirit and even detail to Bunyan's writings.

To take the view of this thesis that Anabaptist traditions and thought forms were the treasury from which Bunyan drew the "source" of his allegories does not detract from the originality and imaginative power of his work. It is only the man who has both these qualities in a superlative degree, who will draw to himself the floating, disjointed popular stories of an epoch or a movement and mirror them forth in immortal writings. It magnifies Bunyan to think of him as a voice of the ages, - a genius whose soul is so great that the thoughts and history of a people, only worked out during the long years, and through many generations, finally voice themselves through him in works that all, whatever their creed, are agreed to accept as English classics, and "Time, which antiquates antiquities, and hath an art to make dust of all things" is powerless to rob these of their appeal to the eternal soul of Man.

THE IRISH QUESTION.

Colin Clark.

Dr. John Brown. Representative Irish.

Life and Works - George Gifford (2 vols.)

Macmillan.

1911. 2 vols.

London.

APPENDIX I.

1911-1912.

1913-1914.

1915-1916.

1917-1918.

1919-1920.

1921-1922.

1923-1924.

1925-1926.

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1929-1930.

1931-1932.

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1935-1936.

1937-1938.

1939-1940.

1941-1942.

1943-1944.

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List of principal books studied in connection
with this Thesis.

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1913-1914.

1915-1916.

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1927-1928.

APPENDIX I.

LIST OF PRINCIPAL BOOKS STUDIED IN CONNECTION WITH THIS THESIS.

Bunyan's own writings.

John Bunyan - Dr. John Brown (Tercentenary Edn.).

John Bunyan - Life and Works - George Offor (3 volumes).

John Bunyan - G.O.Griffith.

John Bunyan - F.Mott Harrison.

John Bunyan - J.A.Froude.

John Bunyan - Canon Venables.

John Bunyan - R.W.Harding.

John Bunyan - W.Y.Fullerton.

John Bunyan - C.Pigott.

John Bunyan - E.A.Knox.

John Bunyan - The Man and his Work - A.R.Buckland.

John Bunyan - By the author of Mark Rutherford (W.H.White).

John Bunyan - A Study in Personality - E.B.Harrison.

John Bunyan - R.Southey.

Articles on Southey's 'Life of Bunyan':

(1) Sir Walter Scott - Quarterly Review, October 1830.

(2) T.B.Macaulay - Edinburgh Review, December 1830.

'Sources of Bunyan' - Gentleman's Magazine, 1859.

Article on 'John Bunyan' - Quarterly Review, July 1928, by the
Dean of Winchester.

John Bunyan - Sir Charles H.Firth (English Association Pamphlets).

The Holy War - Sir Charles H.Firth (English Association Pamphlets).

John Bunyan - Cambridge History of English Literature.

John Bunyan - Encyclopedia Britannica.

Life, Times and Characteristics of John Bunyan - R.Philip.

Bunyan's Country - Foster.

The Inside of Bunyan's Dream - Arthur Porter.

Bunyan Characters - A.Whyte.

Lectures on the Pilgrim's Progress - Cheever.

People of the Pilgrimage - J.A.Kerr Bain.

The Road - J.Kelman.

The Bedford Baptist Church Book, Edited by G.B.Harrison.

Early Mediaeval Romances.

An Elizabethan Journal - Edited by G.B.Harrison.

Poets and Puritans - T.R.Glover.

Puritan and Anglican - E.Dowden.

Francis of Assissi - G.K.Chesterton.

Anabaptism - Cambridge Modern History.

Anabaptism - Encyclopedia Britannica.

Anabaptism - R.Heath.

The Anabaptists in Switzerland - H.S.Burrage.

Anabaptism in the Tyrol - Loserth.

Communism of the Moravian Anabaptists - Loserth.

A Martyrology of the Baptists - E.B.Underhill (translated from Van Braght).

Foxe's Book of Martyrs.

A Pocket History of the Baptist Movement - G.O.Griffith.

Early English Baptists - Evans.

Life and Faith of the Baptists - Wheeler Robinson.

History of the British Baptists - Dr.W.T.Whitley.

The Works of John Smyth - Dr.W.T.Whitley (2 volumes).

History of the Baptists - Crosby.

Bye Paths of Baptist History - J.J.Goadby.

History of Holland - C.M.Davies.

Rise of the Dutch Republic - Motley.

Ecclesiastical History - Collier.

History of Civilisation - Buckle.

History of the Reformation - Burnet.

Ecclesiastical Memorials - Strype.

Life of Whitgift - Strype.

Political History of England - F.C.Montague.

Religious Societies of the Commonwealth - Barclay.

Cromwell's Army - Sir Charles H.Firth.

Original Records of Early Nonconformity, 1665, 1669-1676 -
edited by Professor G.Lyon Turner.

Parker Society Publications.

Records of the Baptist Historical Society Transactions.

Records and Papers in the Public Records Office.

Contemporary Documents, Pamphlets, Letters and Books - (List
given in Appendix IV.)

Hanserd Knollys Society Publications.

The Rushworth Papers.

Wilkins Concilia Magnae Britanniae.

The Acts of the Privy Council in England - 16th. and 17th.
Centuries.

Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the reign of
Henry VIII.

Calendar of State Papers (a) Edward VI. (b) Mary (c) Elizabeth
(d) James I. (e) Charles I. (Cromwell) (f) Charles II.

Records of the Dutch Church in Austin Friars, London.

Lists of Foreign Protestants and Aliens resident in England
1618-1688 (From returns in the State Paper Office).

APPENDIX I.

17th.CENTURY BAPTIST RELIGIOUS DEBATES AND DISPUTATIONS.

1. A Short and Plain Declaration of the Christian Religion, as it is contained in the Holy Scriptures, by the Baptist Church in England.

2. A Short and Plain Declaration of the Christian Religion, as it is contained in the Holy Scriptures, by the Baptist Church in England.

3. A Short and Plain Declaration of the Christian Religion, as it is contained in the Holy Scriptures, by the Baptist Church in England.

4. A Short and Plain Declaration of the Christian Religion, as it is contained in the Holy Scriptures, by the Baptist Church in England.

5. A Short and Plain Declaration of the Christian Religion, as it is contained in the Holy Scriptures, by the Baptist Church in England.

APPENDIX II.

17th.CENTURY BAPTIST RELIGIOUS DEBATES AND DISPUTATIONS.

APPENDIX II.

17th.CENTURY RELIGIOUS DEBATES AND DISPUTATIONS.

This list of Baptist Disputations in public has been compiled, (chiefly from records in the British Museum and in the Library of the Baptist Church House, London) with the object of showing that Baptist doctrines and traditions were very much alive in England during the 17th.century. When Charles I. summoned the Long Parliament in 1640, one of its first acts was to abolish the Court of the Star Chamber and also the Court of High Commission, thus giving freedom from regal and ecclesiastical tyranny.

The number of public disputations which took place immediately thereafter shows that religion was of vital interest to the people, and the number of Baptist disputations is particularly worthy of note, and although we know that English Baptists are not directly descended from the Continental Anabaptists these disputes show that the Münster movement was at least a living tradition for in nearly every case the opponents of the Baptists try to discredit them by calling them Anabaptists, and seem to feel in so connecting them with that discredited sect they have completed and won their case the memory and general feeling being still strong against Anabaptism with its history and traditions.

Thus to show only two examples:-

On October 17th.1642 Dr.Featley held a famous "dispute" in the

Borough of Southwark against four "Anabaptists". Dr. Featley's own (biassed) account is still extant. It possesses a scandalous frontispiece in which 15 sorts of Anabaptists are supposed to be depicted ---- "Of late since the unhappy distractions which our sinnes have brought upon us, the Temporall Sword being other wayes employed, and the Spirituall being locked up fast in the Scabberd, this sect, among others, hath so far presumed on the patience of the State, that it hath held weekly Conventicles, re-baptized hundreds of men and women together in the twilight in Rivulets, and some armes of the Thames, and elsewhere, dipping them over head and eares. It hath printed divers Pamphlets in defence of the Heresie, yea and challenged some of our preachers to disputation."

Let us take another instance. In 1679 Jeremiah Ives - a famous Baptist disputant, was sent for by Charles II. to dispute with a former Roman Catholic priest. The debate turned on Baptism and after considerable wrangling the priest used the old argument to quench Ives. He declared that he came to dispute with a clergyman of the Establishment but it was evident that this man was an Anabaptist.

Here then is the evidence of a List of Baptist disputations. (Except where otherwise indicated the names of the Baptists are given first). The list is not exhaustive but enough has been given to show something of the background of the period during which Bunyan lived and wrote.

1641. At Westerleigh, Near Bristol.

Between John Canne and Richard Fowler (the latter was ejected from his living in 1662).

"They debated ye business of the Reformation and ye Duty of Separation from ye Worship of Antichrist".

1642. October 17th. At Southwark.

Between William Kiffin and Dr. Daniel Featley, M.A. The latter published his account in 1645 in his "Dippers Dipt, or the Anabaptists duck'd and plung'd over Head and Eares at a Disputation at Southwark".

(This went through 6 editions in as many years and provoked several Pamphlets, notably by Samuel Richardson and Henry Denne)

1642. At Bristol.

Between John Tombes, M.A., B.D., of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, and an ingenious Baptist. The subject was Infant Baptism.

(This led to Tombes becoming a Baptist although Dr. Whitley points out that Toombes was an open-membership Baptist and not really in line with the Baptists).

1642. At Wickham, Essex.

There is no record of this, but we know that John Stalham was invited to be present by Enock Grey, and Thomas Lowry, the incumbent was present.

1643. January 11th. At Terling, Essex.

Between Timothy Batt and Thomas Lambe for the Baptists and John Stalham, M.A.(Oxon.). Stalham published a record of this in 1644, "The Summe of a Conference".

1643. At Coventry.

Between Benjamin Cox, M.A. and Richard Baxter. "Infant Baptism".

Cox was Imprisoned as a result.

B.Hist.Trans. Vol.VI. 52.

1643. At London.

Between Hanserd Knollys, William Kiffin and Henry Jessey, M.A.

This led to Jessey becoming a Baptist.

B.Hist.Transactions Vol.I. 237.

1644. In the prison at the Lord Peter's house, London.

Between Henry Denne and Dr.Featley.

(See note to Disputation 1642).

1644. At Cranbrook, Kent.

Between William Jeffrey of Sevenoaks and the clergy. "Infant Baptism".

1644. "In the stone-house" (i.e. the parish church), Warboys, Hunt.

Between Henry Denne and Eusebius Hunt, the parish teacher.

"Infant Baptism".

1646. January. At the Spital, near Norton Falgate, London.

"Upon the day of public thanksgiving for the taking of Dartmouth by the Parliamentary Forces".

Between Thomas Lambe and a Mr. Batty, "Immortality and immateriality of the soul".

(The Lord Mayor sent his officers to prevent this disputation).

1646. At Trinity Church, Coventry.

Between Hanserd Knollys and William Kiffin against the Rev. John Bryan, D.D., Vicar of Trinity Church, and the Rev. Obadiah Grew, M.A., D.D., Vicar of St. Michael's, Coventry. (The last two were ejected in 1662).

1646. Before the Synod of Ministers (Presbyterian), London.

Between Vavasor Powell and Stephen Marshall, M.A., B.D.

Question of ordination.

1647. January 11th. In St. Maries Church, Oxford.

Between William Erbury, B.A., and Francis Cheynell, M.A., D.D.

Note: (R. Baxter considered Erbury one of the chief of the Anabaptists).

1647. At Newport Pagnell, Bucks.

Between John Gibbs and Richard Carpenter. "A scholasticall Discussion of the much-agitated controversie concerning Infant Baptisme".

Carpenter published an account of the debate on 1653 under the title "The Anabaptist washt and washt, and shrunk in the washing

1648. At Leicester.

George Fox's first dispute with the Baptists. This was the first mention of his speaking in a "steeple-house" when "Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists and Common-prayer men" all took part.

(For an account of these see the Journal of George Fox).

1649. At Barrow-upon-Soar, Leicestershire.

Between Samuel Oates and George Fox. "Faith and Baptism".

1649. July 27th. At Ashford, Kent.

Between Samuel Fisher, M.A.(Oxon.) and several clergymen, in the presence of 2,000 people. "Infant Baptism".

1649. December 31st. At Coleman Street, London.

Between Vavasour Powell and John Goodwin, M.A. "Universal Redemption".

(An account was published in 1650 by John Weekes "Truths conflict with error: or universal redemption controverted in three public disputations." The first between John Goodwin and Vavasour Powell; the other two between John Goodwin and John Simpson).

1650. January 1st. At Bewdley, Worcestershire.

Between John Toombes and Richard Baxter.

"Infant Church Membership and Baptism".

1650. August 20th. At Henley-in-Arden, Warwickshire.

Between Lawrence Williams and Sergeant Oakes, a weaver preacher (Samuel Oates), against Thomas Hall, B.D.

"The right of private persons to take upon them public preaching".

Hall published his arguments in 1651 with xvii. arguments against the Baptists. It ran through three editions; one with xx. arguments contains "A looking-glass for Anabaptists".

1651. At Petworth, Sussex.

Between Samuel Fisher, M.A., and Dr. Channel.

(Fisher was a clergyman but in 1643 resigned and joined the Baptists. In 1653 he published his book "Baby-baptism meer babism", giving an account of a disputation he had at Ashford in Kent in 1650. In 1654 he became a Quaker. In 1660 he held 3 disputations with Thomas Danson, M.A. at Sandwich).

1652. July 23rd. At New Chappel in Montgomeryshire.

Between Vavasor Powell and Dr. George Griffith, M.A.

"Church Government".

Griffith received the Bishopric of St. Asaph for the part he took in this debate in particular and in traducing Nonconformists in general.

(An account was published by Griffith in 1653 "A relation of a disputation between Dr. Griffith and Mr. V. Powell".)

1652. In the Parish Church, Kendal, Westmorland.

Between Thomas Taylor and three neighbouring ministers.

B.Hist. Trans. Vol.V.

1652. In London.

Between Dr.Peter Chamberlen and Mr.James Cranford, M.A.(Oxon.)

Question of Ordination.

B.Hist. Trans. Vol.III.

1653. September 2nd. London.

Before the Committee of Tythes.

William Erbury, M.A., disputed with Dr.Lazarus Seaman and

Dr.Anthony Burgess on "Ministers for Tythes".

1653. September 5th. At Abergavenny (St.Mary's Church), Mon.

Between J.Tombes, M.A., B.D., and Henry Vaughan, M.A. and John

Cragge, M.A. "Infant Baptism".

Cragge published an account in 1654 entitled "A publicke

dispute --- touching infant baptism - also a sermon --- A

frontispiece bears another title "The Anabaptists Anotomized and Silenced in a Publique Dispute".

1653. October 12th. At Lombard Street, London.

Between a Mr.Webster and three others, a Presbyterian, an

Independent, and an Anabaptist. The last was W.Erbury, who

issued an account of what he termed this "monstrous dispute,

because it had neither head nor taile".

1653. At Carlisle.

Between George Fox and the Anabaptist Pastor.

1653. November 6th. At London.

Between Dr. Chamberlen and Wm. Kiffin on "The Imposition of Hands"
B.Hist. Trans. Vol. III.

1654. August 16th. At Broughton, Kent.

Between George Hammon, pastor of Biddenden, and Mathias
Rutton. "Original Sin".

1654. September 27th. At Harliston, Staffs.

Between Richard Farnworth, a Quaker, and the Baptists.
An account was published by Farnworth in 1654. "Truth
cleared of scandals".

1654. At Swanington, Leicestershire.

Between George Fox and the Baptists.

1654. At Baddesley Ensor, near Atherstone, Warwickshire.

Between George Fox and the Baptists.

1655. March 30th. At Fennystanton, Hunts.

"in the house of Mr. Ashen".

Between Richard Elligood and James Parnell, a Quaker. Due to
Parnell despatching a paper with 43 queries to the Baptists of
the place.

Several disputatious letters were afterwards exchanged which

are to be found printed in the collection of Parnell's writings.
e.g. Goliath's Head cut off with his own Sword, published 1655.

1655. April 20th. At Cambridge.

In the Shire Hall in the Castle yard where the Baptists were waiting "sitting upon the Bench like judges" - Between Joseph Doughty and James Parnell.

(Many university men and clergy were present).

The account of this has much information as to Baptists in Cambridgeshire. Parnell published an account entitled "The Watcher".

1655. June 24th. At Horsham, Sussex.

At Sedgwick Lodge, in the house of Bryan Wilkinson.

Between Matthew Caffin and George Fox.

1655. December. At Rosse, Herefordshire "in the steeple-house".

Between John Skinner from Weston, who wrote a book against infant baptism, and Thos. Goodayer.

B.Hist. Trans. Vol.iii.

1655. At Kenilworth, Warwickshire.

Between John Onley Baptist preacher of Lawford and Dr. John Bryan of Coventry.

The account of this discussion was criticised by J. Ley, Prebendary of Chester in 1658.

1655. At Sileby, Leicestershire.

Between George Fox and several Baptists.

1655. At Romney, Kent.

Between George Hammon and George Fox.

1655. At Dorchester, Dorset.

Between George Fox and the Baptists.

1655. In St. Paul's Cathedral, London.

Between John Griffin and John Biddle, M.A. "Whether Jesus Christ be the Most High and Almighty God".

(As a result Biddle was banished).

1655. At the Quakers' Meeting-house, Crawley, Sussex.

Between Matthew Caffin and two Quakers.

Dispute continued for 7 years by means of printed pamphlets, e.g. "An Untaught Teacher Witnessed Against" "The Deceived & Deceiving Quaker Discovered".

Caffin was assisted by W. Jeffrey of Sevenoaks, and Joseph Wright of Maidstone.

Quaker writers were George Fox, J. Naylor, H. Woolrich and George Whitehead.

1656. At Bristol in an orchard.

Paul Gwin "ye rude Jangelinge baptist" and George Fox who also "went to ye meetinge in Broode Mede".

1656. At Edge Hill, Warwickshire.

George Fox and the "ranter baptists".

1656. At Pavenham, Bedfordshire.

Between John Bunyan and the Quakers.

1656. May 23rd. In Paul's Steeple House, Bedford.

John Bunyan, John Burton and the Quakers.

1656. At the Market Cross, Bedford.

John Bunyan and the Quakers.

'Some Gospel Truths Opened' by John Bunyan.

'The Gospel of Peace' by Edward Burroughs.

1657. A vindication of Gospel Truths Opened by John Bunyan.

1657. January 30th. At Bedford.

John Bunyan and the Quakers.

1657. November 23rd. At Bedford.

John Bunyan, John Child, John Fenn and the Quakers.

1657. At Leith.

George Fox and an Anabaptist.

1657. At Edinburgh.

George Fox and an Anabaptist.

1657. At Stirling.

George Fox and Anabaptists "vain Janglers and disputers".

1657. At Leominster, Herefordshire.

John Tombes, M.A., B.D., and George Fox.

1658. June 3rd.

Between George Hammon and Mr.S.Hendon and his son John. An account was published by Hammon in 1658 "The good ancient laws and statutes of King Jesus".

1658. November 19th.and 26th. in St.Clement Dane's Church, Strand, London.

Between Henry Denne and Dr.Peter Gunning (afterwards Bishop of Chichester and Ely). (Attended by some thousands).

1658. Henley-on-Thames, Oxon.

Joseph Coate (Quaker) of Reading got a dispute "with ye Baptists at the house of Wm.Waters".

1659. January 6th.to February 2nd. In the Stone Chapel by St.Paul's, London.

Jeremiah Ives against three leaders of the Seventh Day Baptists viz. Thos.Tillam, Dr.Chamberlen and Mr.Coppinger. On the last day Ives was assailed by Henry Denne and John Gosnold.

1659. May. In Daniel Angier's barn at Toft, Cambridgeshire.

Between John Bunyan and Thomas Smith, M.A., B.D., Professor of Arabic, Lecturer at Christ Church and Keeper of the University Library, Cambridge. The dispute followed a sermon by Bunyan

on I.Tim.IV. 16 - on the right of lay preaching. It led to Smith issuing a pamphlet to which Henry Denne replied.

1660.

At Southwark.

Between Baptists and Quakers. This Samuel Bradley refers to in his "A reply to a Scandalous Paper" which was answered by the Quaker George Whitehead.

1662.

At Lincoln.

Between Thomas Grantham and an R.C.

Account published by Grantham 1663 "The Baptist against the priest".

1664.

At Lancaster Castle, Lancashire.

Between Major John Wigan and George Fox who were both prisoners.

1692.

May 24th.

In London.

On whether the praises of God should be sung in public assemblies? Many pamphlets appeared by such as B.Keach, Isaac Marlow, Thomas Hollowell. John Bunyan advocated singing in 1688.

Henry Hagge and James Brown issued a challenge at Stafford.

It led to a war of pamphlets - most famous - "The Font Uncover'd for Infant Baptisme" by William Cook of Ashby-de-la-Zouch. 1651.

1698.

February 22nd.

At Portsmouth in the Presbyterian

meeting-house, High Street. The last "with His Majesty's
Licence" between Baptists and Presbyterians. Henceforth such
controversies were discouraged.

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APPENDIX III.

APPENDIX III. BUNYAN'S ARMY EXPERIENCES.

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Bunyan's own references to his war experience are curiously scanty and tantalisingly vague. He refers to them twice in his autobiographical 'Grace Abounding'. "When I was a soldier, I, with others, were drawn out to go to such a place to besiege it; but when I was just ready to go, one of the company desired to go in my room, to which when I had consented, he took my Place; and coming to the Siege, as he stood Sentinel, he was shot in the head with a musket bullet and died". Later Bunyan has a curiously intriguing sentence, "Once I fell into a Creek of the sea and hardly escaped drowning". Where was this Creek? Newport Pagnell was not near the sea.

Tradition says that Bunyan was at the Siege of Leicester in 1645. The author of the first sketch of Bunyan's life attached to Grace Abounding, likewise the author of the later account (written twelve years after Bunyan's death) both state this as a fact. Dr. John Brown, however, has shown that the first of these entitled "An account of the Life and Actions of Mr. John Bunyan from his Cradle to his Grave", is quite an inaccurate and worthless piece of work; the second account is confused and cannot be relied upon.

Reading these definite statements along with Bunyan's

own rhyming introduction to the 'Holy War' -

"Let no man then count me a fable maker,
Nor make my name or credit a partaker
Of their derision; what is in view
Of mine own knowledge, I dare say is true.
I saw the Prince's armed men come down
By troops, by thousands, to besiege the town;
I saw the captains, heard the trumpets sound
And how His forces covered all the ground.
Yea, how they set themselves in battle 'ray,
I shall remember to my dying day."

Carlyle was misled into a similar statement. On Oliver Cromwell's Letter XIII. written from Harborough, 14th. June, 1645, Carlyle comments: "John Bunyan, I believe, is this night in Leicester --- with a brown musket on his shoulder, Or rather without the match-lock, just at present; Leicester and he having been taken the other day ---"

Examination of the original records has convinced the writer that Bunyan was NOT present at the siege of Leicester. He could hardly be so for we know definitely from the Newport Pagnell Muster Rolls that Bunyan was present with his company at Newport Pagnell on May 27th. 1645, and the King actually began the investment of Leicester on May 28th. (1)

(1) From actual contemporary records in the British Museum we can construct a detailed account of the happenings at Leicester. We know that a detachment of the Newport Pagnell garrison was actually sent to Leicester. But on the lists of the parties of Major Boulton's men "commanded out by the Committee of Both Kingdoms", one on January 18th. 1645 and another on May 6th. 1645, Bunyan's name does not appear. So there is no direct evidence that he left Newport Pagnell for Leicester - indeed the evidence is directly against it. The detachment from Newport Pagnell which served at Leicester (as far as the writer can ascertain) consisted

In the Bedfordshire Times 1924⁽¹⁾ a writer has tried to explain what hitherto has remained unsolved - the whereabouts of the creek in which Bunyan says he was nearly drowned. This writer says that O'Hara's regiment in which Bunyan was listed went to Ireland and that Bunyan "certainly went with him" - the creek therefore was an Irish creek.

A study of the records shows that this writer has jumped to a false conclusion. Bunyan's name certainly does appear on 17th. June 1647 in Colonel O'Hara's⁽²⁾ company "mustered at Newport Pagnell". How, we may ask, did Bunyan's name come to be in that company?

of dragoons - there is no record of foot-soldiers being sent from the garrison. The detachment from Newport Pagnell were under command of Major Ennis and were placed in charge of the part of the fortifications of Leicester known as the "Newarke" or "new worke" on the south side of the town, near an old stone wall, against which Prince Rupert had directed the King's artillery to be planted. In this wall a large breach had been made, but was repaired and defended by Ennis, who twice drove back the enemy with great loss. For three hours after the rest of the town was taken Major Ennis and his Newport men maintained their position and obtained good terms of capitulation when at last they had to surrender.

References:-

Leicester: A narration of the siege and taking of the Town of Leicester, the last of May 1645, by the King's forces. Together with other proceedings of the Committee, London 1645.

Innes (J.) Major: An examination of a printed pamphlet entitled, "A narration of the siege of --- Leicester" 1465 (1645).

Leicester: A perfect relation of the taking of Leicester, with the severall marches of the King's army since the taking thereof --- also how Northampton Horse skirmished with the King's" -- etc. London 1645.

(1) The extract is bound by itself as a small booklet in the British Museum. A.R. Buckland in his recent book on Bunyan follows this statement.

(2) Charles O'Hara had been a captain in Colonel Robert Hammond's

In the Calendar State Papers for Ireland⁽¹⁾ on 23rd. July 1646, the Committee of both Houses of Parliament for Irish affairs ordered that Colonel Dowly should come at once and consult with the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland "regarding the applying of a regiment of foot at Newport Pagnell to the Irish service".

On 6th. August 1646 Parliament ordered⁽²⁾ that the fortifications of Newport and other towns should be demolished and the garrisons employed in Ireland. Those who were willing to serve in Ireland were to receive a month's pay, those who refused were to be disbanded.

On 16th. October 1646 we learn from the State Papers⁽³⁾ that the Committee of both Houses of Parliament for Irish affairs asked the House of Commons to order the Arms at Newport Pagnell to be sent to Chester.

In April 1647 O'Hara volunteered to serve in Ireland. Some half-dozen officers and about 400 men followed his example. Bunyan was also apparently willing to serve. This contingent was formed into a new regiment under Colonel Owen O'Conolly, and O'Hara was made Lieut.-Colonel⁽⁴⁾.

But Bunyan never went to Ireland as a soldier because on 21st. July 1647, Parliament ordered them to be disbanded.⁽⁵⁾

regiment of foot in the New Model Army ever since its formation in April 1645.

- (1) Calendar State Papers - Ireland - page 477.
- (2) State Papers - Domestic - Charles I. Vol. 514 part I. No. 50.
- (3) Cal. State Papers - Ireland 1646 p. 531.
- (4) Rushworth Papers VI. 463, 466, 468, 493.
- (5) Lord's Journal IX. 343.

So "the creek" still remains to be identified. It is possible, however, that Bunyan did not remain all the time at Newport Pagnell. The garrison frequently sent out expeditions⁽¹⁾ - one at least during Bunyan's time of service. In 1645 Captain Bladwell received orders to march with 300 men of the Newport garrison to Aylesbury, and thence to Farnham, there to await further instructions. It is probable that it was on some such expedition that Bunyan was nearly drowned.

(1) In January 1644 Captain Abercrombie set out from Newport with 100 men of the new levies and captured Hillesdon House.

Later in the same year Captain Ennis sent out by Luke surprised and captured a party of Royalists near Bicester.

PAMPHLETS, DOCUMENTS AND BOOKS DEALING WITH
ANABAPTISM IN ENGLAND DURING THE 16th.
AND 17th. CENTURIES.

APPENDIX IV.

PAMPHLETS, DOCUMENTS AND BOOKS DEALING WITH
ANABAPTISM IN ENGLAND DURING THE 16th. AND
17th. CENTURIES.

APPENDIX IV.

PAMPHLETS, DOCUMENTS AND BOOKS DEALING WITH ANABAPTISM IN ENGLAND DURING THE 16th.AND 17th.CENTURIES.

The sources of the materials consulted in compiling this Thesis on Anabaptism in England during the 16th.and 17th.centuries may be grouped as follows:-

- (1) Records of the Baptist Historical Society in the Baptist Church House Library, London.
- (2) Records and Papers in the Public Records Office, London.
- (3) Contemporary 16th.and 17th.century documents, pamphlets, letters and books in the British Museum, London, in various other London Libraries and in the National Library, Edinburgh.
- (4) The Publications of the Hanserd Knollys Society.
- (5) The Rushworth Papers.
- (6) Wilkins Concilia Magnae Britanniae.
- (7) The Acts of the Privy Council in England - 16th.and 17th. centuries.
- (8) Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic of the reign of Henry VIII.
- (9) Calendar State Papers:-
 - (1) Edward VI.
 - (2) Mary.
 - (3) Elizabeth.
 - (4) James I.
 - (5) Charles I. (Cromwell).
 - (6) Charles II.

(10) The Records of the Dutch Church, Austin Friars, London.

To all the librarians of the above who showed invariable kindness, the writer wishes to acknowledge his thanks.

Throughout the Thesis specific references to the original document and the place therein are given in footnotes. Thus we shall omit here references to Anabaptism in the various State Papers. They are detailed in their particular place in the Chapter itself and no useful purpose would be gained by repeating them in bulk as an Appendix.

This Appendix gives in detail the various documents, books and pamphlets of the 16th. and 17th. centuries which deal, however remotely, with our subject. For our particular purpose this bulk of material has been carefully sifted. A great deal of it is purely doctrinal and theological (with heavy bludgeonings of the opposing sect). Moreover many of the writers use the term 'Anabaptist' very loosely (for example they sometimes ignorantly and sometimes maliciously confuse the General Baptists with the Anabaptists as such). Such writings are outwith the scope of our Thesis, but the writer has decided to give his complete list for the use of any student who may wish to explore these fields. Purely Baptist publications (and the subject made many writers of the period take up their pens) have been omitted.

PAMPHLETS, DOCUMENTS AND BOOKS DEALING WITH
ANABAPTISM IN ENGLAND DURING THE 16th.AND
17th.CENTURIES.

1545. Herman Kerssenbroick.

Belli Monasteriensis contra Anabaptistica monstra gesti
brevis ----- descriptio nunc primum et impressa et edita.
(This R.C.work is the source of nearly all the accounts
of the German Anabaptists which appeared for three
centuries in Dutch, German, French or English. The first
account by Anabaptists was in 1615. Hans de Ries: Historie
der martelaaren -- sint her jaar 1524 tot deezen tyd toe
Haarlem.

This history of the German and Dutch Anabaptist martyrs
was recast by Van Braght 1660 and this appeared with illus-
trations 1685. A German version was issued 1721 and an
English from that at Lancaster in Pennsylvania 1837.
Underhill translated part of the 1685 edition for the
Hanserd Knollys Society.

There was some correspondence between Ries and the English
Churches between 1624 and 1630. The English versions of
the letters will be found in Evans 'Early English Baptists'
and in the records of the 'Baptist Historical Society
Transactions'.

1547. J(ohn) B(ale) ?

A bryefe and plaine declaration of certayne senteces in this litle boke folowing, to satisfie the consciences of them that have judged me thereby to be a favourer of the Anabaptists.

1548. (Heinrich Bullinger).

An Holsome Antidotus or counter-poyssen agaynst the pestylent heresye and secte of Anabaptistes, newly translated out of Latin into Englysh by John Veron Senonoys.

1549. Jean Calvin.

A short instruction for to arme all good Christian people agaynst the pestiferous errours of the common secte of Anabaptistes.

1549. Martin Duncan of Kempen.

Anabaptisticae hereseos confutatio, et vere Christiani baptismi, ac potissimum paedobaptismatis assertio.

1551. Henry Bullynger.

A most necessary and frutefull Dialogue, betwene ye seditious Libertin or rebel Anabaptist, and the true obedient christiā, wherein, as in a mirrour or glasse ye shall see ye excellencie and worthynesse of a christiā magistrate (Translated by John Veron).

1551. Henry Bullynger.

A moste sure and strong defence of the baptisme of children, against ye pestiferous secte of the Anabaptystes ---- nowe translated out of Latin into Englysh by John Veron Senonoys.

1551. William Turner, Prebendary of York.

A preseruatiue, or triacle, agaynst the poyson of Pelagius, lately renewed and stirred up agayn by the furious secte of the Anabaptistes (especially Cooche). Robert Cooche was keeper of the queen-dowager's (Catherine Parr) wine cellar and circa 1550 had published a writing maintaining that infants have no original sin and ought not to be baptised).

1555. Thomas Cotsford.

An Epistle written to a good Lady for the comfort of a frende of hers, wherin the Novations erreure now reuiued by the Anabaptistes is confuted, and the synne agaynst the holy Goste playnly declared.

1555. John Scory, late bishop of Chichester.

Two bokes of ---- Augustine --- very necessary for al tymes, but namely for oures, wherin the Papistes and Anabaptistes have reuiued the wycked opinions of the Pelagiās, that extolled mā's wyll & merites agaynst the fre grace of Christ.

c.1557. Robert Cooche.

The Confutation of the errors of the careless by necessity
(Embedden in a reply by John Knox 1560, see also B.Hist.
Soc.Trans.IV.88).

1560. John Knox.

An answer to a great nomber of blasphemous cauillations
written by an Anabaptist, and aduersarie to Gods Eternal
Predéstation (viz.Robert Cooche 1557).

And Confvted by John Knox, minister of Gods worde in
Scotland. Reprinted 1591.

1560. John Veron.

A moste necessary treatise of free wil, not onlye against
the Papists, but also against the Anabaptistes.

1563. John Veron.

A frvteful treatise of predestination -- an aunswer made
to all the vayne and blasphemous obiections that the
Epicures and Anabaptistes can make.

1565. Guy de Bres.

La Racine, sovrce et fondement des Anabaptistes, rendered
into Dutch 1570, English 1668.

1572. John Whitgift, D.D.

An Answere to a certen libell intituled An Admonition to

the Parliament (published anonymously that year by Field & Wilcox).

(Sets in the forefront 24 Anabaptisticall practices, drawn from Bullinger's account).

1576. Cuth(bert) Mutton.

His confutation of the damnable secte of Anabaptistes.

1577. Edmond Bicknoll.

A Sworde agaynst swearyng, conteyning these principall poyntes - 1. That there is a lawful vse of an oath contrary to the assertion of the Manichees and Anabaptistes.

1577. Heinrich Bvllinger of Zürich.

Fiftie godlie and learned sermons divided into five decades conteyning the chiefe and principall pointes of Christian Religion --- translated out of Latine into English, by H.I. (Numerous references to Anabaptists. Convocation in 1586 ordered the sermons to be studied by young ministers and examinations of their written notes to be held before every Michaelmas. A new edition issued therefore in 1587.

1579. Thomas Rogers.

The English Creed: wherein --- the Article is expounded by Scriptures and Confessions of all the reformed Churches; and Heresies displaid (with frequent references to Anabap.) Recast 1585, again in 1607.

1588. Robert Some.

A Defence --- and a refutation of many Anabaptistical --- absurdities, touching Magistracie, Ministerie, Church, Scripture and Baptisme etc.--- contained in M.Penryes treatise (of 1587 pleading for preaching in Wales)

1589. Robert Some.

A Godly Treatise wherein are examined and confuted many execrable fancies, giuen out and holden partly by Hen. Barrowe and John Greenwood; partly by other of the Anabaptisticall order.

1597. John Payne.

Royall exchange: To such worshipfull Citezins, Merchants, Gentlemen and other occupiers of the contrey as resorte thervnto. Try to retaine Or send back agayne, etc.

(A Warning of the opinions of the Anabaptists, Englishe and Dutche. With address To the Anabaptist T.M. prisoner at Norwich).

1605. Oliver Ormerod.

A Pictvre of a Puritan: or, a Relation of the opinions, qualities and practises of the Anabaptists in Germanie, and of the Puritans in England. Wherein is firmly prooved that the Puritanes doe resemble the Anabaptists in aboue fourescore severall thinges.

1609. Richard Clifton.

An Answer to Two Anabaptistical Opinions.

1610. Francis Johnson.

A Brief Treatise containing some grounds and reasons against two Errors of the Anabaptists.

1610. J(ohn) H(etherington).

A Description of the Chvrch of Christ ---- Against certaine Anabaptisticall and Erroniouvs opinions ---- Maintained and Practised by one Master John Smyth, sometime a Preacher in Lincolneshire, and a Companie of English People with him now at Amsterdam in Holland.

1611. John Jackson.

The soule is immortal; or discourses defending the immortalitye of the soule; against anabaptistes atheists etc. (such as Legat and Wightman).

1613. (John Murton?)

A most humble supplication of divers poore prisoners, and many other the King maties loyall subject ready to testifie it by ye oath of allegiance in all sinceritie, whose Grieviances are lamentable onely for cause of conscience (asking the Commons that they "most falsely called Anabaptists" may have the benefit of the Act of 1610 for administering the oath of allegiance - which widened the

oath from Popish Recusants in 1606 "to all your (Jas.I.) subjects") - rejected by the committee".

1615. C.Clouzier.

Histoire des Anabaptistes: ou Relation curieuse de leur Doctrine, Regne et Revolutions.

1615. Hans de Ries.

See note to Kerssenbroick 1545.

1616. Thomas Harrab.

Tesseradelphus, or the foure Brothers (Lutheranisme, Calvinisme, Anabaptisme, Anglianisme) etc.

1617. Arnold Meschovius.

Historiae Anabaptisticae.

1617. Francis Johnson.

A Christian Plea, conteyning three Treatises (1) touching the Anabaptists and others mainteyning some like errours with them.

1623. Henry Ainsworth.

A Censore upon a Dialogue of the Anabaptists. Reprinted 1642, 1644, 1651.

1623. Edmond Jessop.

Discovery of the Errors of the English Anabaptists --- By E.J. who sometime walked in the said errors with them.

1623. J(ohn) P(aget?)

Anabaptismes Mysterie of Iniquity Unmasked.

1624. Robert Cleaver and John Dod.

The patrimony of Christian children: or, a defence of infants bapisme prooved to be consonant to the Scriptures and will of God (against the erroneous positions of the Anabaptists.)

1628. Theophilus Brabourne of Norwich.

A Defence of that most ancient and sacred ordinance of God, the Sabbath Day --- against Anabaptists.

Corrected and amended 1632.

1637. Conrad Heresbach.

Historia Anabaptistica.

1641. (John Taylor)

Religions Enemies. With a --- relation as by, Anabaptists, --- sawcily presuming to tosse religion in a blanquet.

1641. The Book of Common Prayer now used in the Church of England vindicated from the Aspersions of all Schismatiques, Anabaptists, Brownists and Separatists.

1642. A Warning for England especially for London in the famous history of the frantick Anabaptists, their wild preachings and practises in Germany.

1642. A Short History of the Anabaptists of High and Low Germany. Again 1643. 1647 (several copies extant).

1642. John Taylor.

A Cluster of Coxcombes --- namely the Donatists, Publicans, Disciplinarians, Anabaptists, etc.

1642. Thomas Wynell.

The Covenants plea for Infants --- Against the Rusticke Sophistry, and wicked Cavillations of Sacrilegious Anabaptists. With the exceptions of certaine Anabaptists, against the aforesaid sermon and the author's answers thereunto.

1642. Reasons humbly offered in justification of letting a room in London-House unto certain peaceable Christians called Anabaptists.

1643. The Clergyes Bill of Complaint ---- exhibited to the Houses of Parliament against Brownists, Anabaptists and other Schismaticks.

1643. The Roundheads Catchesme; or the Newter catechizing the Anabaptists, Puritans, Separatists and well-affected --- with their joynt Answer to the same.

1643. The Arraignment, Tryall and Confession of Francis Deane and John Faulkner, both Anabaptists, for the murther

of Mr. Daniel: who were executed on 17th. April.

1643. An Anabaptist Sermon. Preached at the Re-baptizing of a Brother, at the new or holy Jordon, as they call it, near Bow or Hackney River.

1643. No Post from Heaven, nor yet from Hell; but a True Relation, written as an Antidote, to all unbelieving brownists, Prophane Anabaptists --- Proving ---- that His majesties taxations have not been unusual, nor his Government tyrannicall.

1643. (Thomas Nutt).

To the House of Commons. The Petition of many true hearted Protestants (that Brownists and Anabaptists may have the opportunity publicly to justify their belief).

1643. Barber, Nutt and others.

The humble request of certain Christians reproachfully called Anabaptists.

(Petition lying for signature at Barber's house in Threadneedle Street, the Horse-Shoe, challenging the Assembly to a debate on universal redemption, free will, perseverance).

1643. Petition from Harwich against Thomas Wood, the new minister, who introduces Anabaptists to the pulpit.

1644. Oliver Cromwell.

Order to reinstate William Packer as lieutenant colonel although he is Anabaptist. (Printed by Carlyle).

1644. J(ohn) E(therington).

The Anabaptists Groundwork for Reformation, or new planting of churches, that no man, woman or child may be baptized but such as have justifying faith and doe make profession thereof, found false, with all things depending thereon --- proved by severall arguments.

1644. (Thomas Bakewell).

A Confutation of the Anabaptists and of all others who affect not Civill Government, proving the Lawfulnesse of it --- Also arguments against the Anabaptists, proving that infants borne of Christian parents ought to be baptized.

1644. Thomas Nutt.

The nut-cracker cracked by the Nutt, and the Backers cake starke dow: being the vindication of honest men from the scandalous aspersions of Thomas Bakewell in his learned book called the Confutation of the Anabaptists with a Nut-cracker. (1644). The which is crackt by the Nut against whom it was made.

1644. A declaration against Anabaptists: To stop the

Prosecution of their errours, falsely pretended to be
a Vindication of the royal commission of King Jesus, as
they call it -----

1644. Kiffen, Spilsbery etc.

The confession of faith of those churches which are commonly
(though falsely) called Anabaptists.

Revised 1646. Reissued 1651 & 1652.

1644. Edward Dobson.

The declaration, vindication, and protestation of Edward
Dobson, stationer of London. Wherein is shewed the many
illegall and uniust imprisonments the said stationer hath
suffered through the malitious information of Brownists,
Anabaptists, Antinomians and other seditious sectaries.

1644. Adam Steuart.

The second part of the reply to M.S. -- wherein are ---
refuted the Independency of particular congregations --
Brownisme, Anabaptisme, etc.

1644. T.Shephard of Cambridge, Mass.

New Englands Lamentation for Old Englands errours and
divisions ---- occasioned by the increase of Anabaptists.

1645. The Church of Christ in London falsely called
Anabaptists.

The fountaine of free grace opened by questions and

answers; proving the foundation of faith to consist only in Gods free love in giving Christ to dye for the sins of all, and objections to the contrary answered. By the Congregation of the Church of Christ in London, constituted by baptisme upon the profession of faith falsely called Anabaptists. Reprinted 1648.

1645. Immanuel Knvtton of Beeston.

Seven questions abovt the controversie between the Church of England, and the Separatists and Anabaptists breifely discussed.

1645. Daniel Featley.

The dippers dipt, or the Anabaptists dvck'd and plvng'd head and eares at a disputation in Southwark.

1645. Mock-majesty; or, the siege of Münster. (several copies extant.)

1645. Samuel Richardson.

Some brief considerations on Doctor Featley his book entituled The Dipper Dipt wherein in some measure is discovered his many great and false accusations of divers persons, commonly called Anabaptists, with an answer to them.

1645. J(ohn) G(rant).

Truths victory against heresie: all sorts comprehended under these ten mentioned: Papists, Familists, Arrians, Arminians,

Anabaptists, Separatists, Antinomists, Monarchists,
Millenarists, Independents.

1645. Richard Byfield of New Brentford.

Temple defilers defiled, wherein a true visible Church of Christ is described and the evils appertaining to schisme, Amabaptisme and Libertinisme discovered. Two sermons preached at Kingston upon Thames. 20 and 27 February.

1645. Ephraim Pagitt.

Heresieo-graphy: or a description of the hereticks and sectaries of the latter times.

Enlarged 1645, 1647, 1648, 1654, 1661, 1662.

Several references against the Anabaptists.

First on Pagitt's list of "unpure Families who blasphemously pretend to be Godified like God, whereas indeed they are divellified like their Father the Divell" come "the illuminated Anabaptists". He devotes 64 pages to pointing out their errors beginning with the "Muncerians" or Münster sect.

1645. William Kiffen.

A briefe remonstrance of the reasons of those people called Anabaptists for their separation ---

1645. Josiah Ricraft.

A looking-glass for the Anabaptists and the rest of the

Separatists, wherein they may clearly behold a brief confutation of a certain unlicensed scandalous pamphlet entituled The remonstrance etc. --- With certain queries --- propounded for --- the said William Kiffin and his proselytes.

1645. The Anabaptists catichisme: with all their practises meetings and exercises, the names of their pastors, their doctrines, disciples; a catalogue of such dishes as they usually make choice of at their (love) feasts, how and by whom they are dipped etc. published according to the order of their conventicles.

1645. John Brinsley.

The doctrine and practice of paedobaptisme asserted and vindicated ---- Now published for an antidote against those yet spreading errours of the times. Anabaptisme and Catabaptisme.

1645. Friedrich Spanheim.

Diatriba historica de origine, progressu, et sectis Anabaptistarum.

Translated 1646 under the title

1646. Englands warning by Germanies woe: or an historicall narration of the originall, progresse, tenets, names, and several sects of the Anabaptists in Germany and the Low Countries. (several copies extant)

Reprint 1653 (in Regent's Park College Library).

1646. T(homas) B(akewell).

A justification of two points now in controversy with the Anabaptists concerning baptisme.

1646. Cox, Knollys, Spilsbery etc.

A confession of faith of seven congregations or churches of Christ in London, which are commonly (but unjustly) called Anabaptists. Published for the vindication of the truth, and information of the ignorant. Likewise for the taking off of those aspersions which are frequently both in pulpit and print unjustly cast upon them.

(Corrected and enlarged from 1644 and dedicated to Parliament).

1646. Thomas Edwards, late of Hertford.

Gangraena: or a catalogue of many of the errours, heresies and pernicious practises of the secsectaries of this time (several copies extant - many references against Anabaptists)

1646. Thomas Bakewell.

An answer or confutation of divers errors broached and maintained by the seven churches of Anabaptists contained in those articles of their confession of faith presented to Parliament.

1646. Thomas Edwards.

The second part of Gangraena, or a fresh and further

discovery of the errors, heresies, blasphemies and dangerous proceedings of the sectaries of this time. (several copies extant - many references against Anabaptists).

1646. Thomas Alle.

A brief narration of the truth of some particulars in Thomas Edwards his book called Gangraena. Concerning one Nichols an Anabaptist some opinions he maintained to Master Greenhill

1646. The Lord Mayor's farewell from his office of mayoralty sent to him in a letter by one of those who are called Anabaptists.

1646. An answer to a scandalous paper lately sent to the Lord Mayor touching a late dispute intended by the Anabaptists with the Presbyterians.

1646. Friedrich Spanheim.

Englands vvarning by Germanies woe: or an historicall narration of the originall, progresse, tenets, names and severall sects of the Anabaptists in Germany and the Low Countries (see 1645).

1646. Simon Sheppard.

The times displayed in six sestiyads. The first: a Presbyter an Independant; the second: An Anabaptist and a Brownist etc

1646. An order of the Lords for the punishment of Anabaptists and sectaries that shall disturb the ministers in their publicke exercises.

1646. Thomas Edwards.

The third part of Gangraena: or a new and higher discovery of the errors heresies and insolent proceedings of the sectaries of these times. (several copies extant. Many references against Anabaptists).

1646. R.Baillie, commissioner of the Kirk.

Anabaptism, the true foundation of Independency, Antinomy, Brownisme, Familisme, and the most of the other errours which for the time doe trouble in the Church of England, unsealed.

1647. A catalogue of the severall sects and opinions in England and other nations. With a briefe rehearsall of their false and dangerous tenents.

1647. Bloody news from Dover. Being a true relation of the murder committed by Mary Champion an Anabaptist, who cut of her child's head, being seven weekes old and held it to her husband to baptize. (Illustration)

1647. Hell broke loose: or, a catalogue of many of the spreading errors, heresies and blasphemies of these times for which we are to be humbled.

1647. The new letanie (parodying "Anabaptists").

1647. The Anabaptists late protestation or their resolution to depart the city of London, wherein is set forth, the full proceedings of a great number of Anabaptists at a late conventicle near Old Street. Printed in the happy year when sectaries durst not appear.

1647. John Bastwick.

The storming of the Anabaptists garrisons. With a brief discovery of the weaknesse of the same and of the inconsiderableness of the sconces of all sectaries.

1647. George Palmer late of Northall.

Sectaries unmasked and confuted by the treating upon divers points of doctrine in debate betwixt the Presbyterianists, Anabaptists, Independents and Papists. The voice of Infants certain observations for Mr. Lambe and other Anabaptists.

1647. A declaration by Congregationall societies in and about London, as well as of those called Anabaptists, in vindication of themselves touching liberty, magistracy, propriety polygamie. (a relic of the charge against the Anabaptists of Münster quite untrue in England).

1647. A looking-glas for sectaries; or true newes from Newbery; being the relation of the Newbury Annabaptists whereof three were to be carried into heaven but failed in

their journey.

1647. Daniel Featley.

A warning for England especially for London, in the famous history of the frantick Anabaptists.

1648. Alexander Mingzeis.

A confutation of the new Presbyterian error, shewing not onely how neere our late Presbyterians came to the Anabaptists in restrayning the supper of the Lord from the people by way of examination as they doe children from the sacrament of baptisme.

1648. Richard Allen of West Ham.

An antidote against heresy; or a preservative for Protestants against the poyson of Papists, Anabaptists, Arrians etc. and their pestilent errours etc.

1649. William Kiffin and others.

The humble position and representation of several churches of God in London commonly (though falsely) called Anabaptists Presented 2nd. April to the Commons in Parliament, with the answer thereto.

1650. John Tombes, B.D. lately at Bewdley.

An antidote against the venome of a passage in the 5th. direction of the epistle dedicatory to the whole book of Mr. Richard Baxter, entituled the Saints Everlasting Rest,

containing a satyricall invective against Anabaptists.

1651. Samuel Chidley.

The Separatists answer to the Anabaptists arguments concerning baptism. Or the answer of S.C. to John Spilsbury concerning the point in difference. (There are a great number of publications during this period on the subject of baptism but they lie outwith our Thesis and are omitted).

1652. David Edmonds.

A sharp arrow darted against the Anabaptists ---, being an apology, a defence of the visible church upon earth.

1653. Richard Carpenter Independent.

The Anabaptist washt and washt and shrunk in the washing; or a scholasticall discussion of the much agitated controverse concerning infant baptism. Occasioned by a publicke disputation in the church of Newport Pagnell betwixt Mr. Gibbs minister there, and the author.

1653. Lillies banquet; or the star gazers feast for all sects and sorts of persons both Presbyterians, Anabaptists etc. (satire in verse)

1653. Richard Hollinworth.

The catechist catechized; or an examination of an anabaptistical catechism. (This was written against Christopher Blackwood's "soul searching catechism" 1653).

(Hollinworth uses the term 'Anabaptist' very loosely).

1653. Friedrich Spanheim.

An historicall diatribe concerning the originall progresse, sects and names of the Anabaptists. (see 1645 and note).

1654. Edward Burrough.

Something in answer to a book called Choice Experiences --- Also the copy of a letter sent to the Anabaptists in Newcastle.

1654. John Reading.

An antidote against anabaptisme.

1655. John Reading.

Anabaptism routed; or a survey of the controverted points --- with a particular answer to --- Jeremy Taylor in the Liberty of Prophesying.

1655. (John Sturgion).

A short discovery of His Highness --- intentions touching the Anabaptists in the army. Upon which there is propounded 35 queries for His Highness to answer to his own conscience.

1655. A ground voice, or some discoveries offered to the view, with certain queries propounded to the consideration of the whole army ... With certain queries to the Anabaptists in particular that bear any office, either in court or army,

under the present self-created politick power.

1655. Samuel Fisher, M.A.

Christianismus Redivivus, Christ'ndom both unchristn'd and new-christn'd; or that good old way of dipping and inchurching of men and women after faith and repentance profess'd, commonly (but not properly) called Anabaptism, vindicated by that two edged sword of the Spirit (the Word of God)--- and proved to be the only true baptism and way of Christ.

1656. A relation of severall heresies, discovering the original ringleaders, and the time when they began to spread (chiefly drawn from Bullinger on the German Anabaptists). Published according to order by a well-wisher of truth and peace.

1656. John Cragge.

The arraignment and conviction of anabaptism: or a reply to Master Tombes his Plea for Antipaedobaptists.

1656. W.Hughes of Marlborough.

Münster and Abingdon. Or the open rebellion there, and the unhappy tumult here.

1656. J.Tickell.

Church rules proposed to the church in Abingdon and approved by them; with an essay toward the removing of some stumbling-blocks laid by Anabaptist spirits in the way of the weake.

1657. A short discovery of His Highness the Lord Protector's intentions touching the Anabaptists in the army, and all such as are against his reforming things in the church: which was at first communicated to a Scotch lord, who is called Twidle; but is now come to the ear of the Anabaptists: upon which there is propounded thirty-six queries for His Highness to answer to his own conscience. By a well wisher to the Anabaptists prosperity.

Reprinted by Crosby iii. 231. Lord Tweeddale denied the allegations.

1657. Richard Ballamie.

The leaper clensed or the reduction of an erring Christian. Being a narrative of R.B. of Tiverton his falling off to Anabaptism and of his returning to the truth, with the causes and occasions of both. Wherein he is not onely cleared from the Anabaptists unjust excommunicating of them for leaving them but their unchristian wayes and wildest to deceive are also laid open. By him published to caution young Christians against the error of that way.

1657. Edward Burrough.

(Bunyan certainly read his writings - see his first book). To you that are called Anabaptists in the nation of Ireland, teachers and people, who profess yourselves to be in the church of Christ; this is the word of the Lord God unto you.

1657. Thomas Salthouse.

An epistle to the churches of the Anabaptists, so called. Written by a member of the church, and sent abroad in pursuance of a printed paper from Tiverton, directed to all the churches of Jesus Christ.

1657. Thomas Collier.

An answer to An Epistle written to the churches of the Anabaptists.

1658. Jonas Dell.

A voyce from the temple --- Written and published to goe abroad in the army among those that are called Anabaptists.

1658. Abraham Cheare and Robert Steed.

A plain discovery of the unrighteous judge and false accuser. (This is a reply to Richard Bellamy of Tiverton (1657)) --- as also a clear vindication of the principles and practises of the people by him charged, from those reproaches therein heaped upon them under the notion of Anabaptists.)

1658. John Collens of Somerset.

A lamentation taken up for the churches of the Anabaptists. Not dated, appended to Salthouse, Line of True judgment.

1658. (Robert West of Devizes).

A voyce of him that is escaped from Babylon. Reasons --- why I departed from the ministry of those called ministers

of parishes; and why I departed from the ministry of those called Anabaptists.

1659. An animadversion --- a seasonable caution against the petition of the Kentist Anabaptists for too large a toleration in religion, and throwing down all established maintenance for the ministry.

1659. Immanuel Bourne of Waltham, Leic.

A defence and justification of ministers maintenance by tythes. And of infant-baptism, humane learning, and the sword of the magistrate: which some Anabaptists falsely call Four Sandy Pillars and popish foundations of our ministry and churches.

1659. John Fell, M.A. priest and ex-ensign.

The interest of England stated --- distinctly treating of the designments of the Roman Catholics, Royalists, Presbyterians and Anabaptists.

1659. The Anabaptists faith and belief open'd (satirical verse)

1659. A declaration of several of the people called Anabaptists in and about the city of London. (These were Particular Baptists).

1659. Burrough & Hubberthorn.

Answer to a declaration put forth by the general consent of

the people called Anabaptists, in and about the city of London, which declaration doth rather seem a begging of pardon of the cavaliers, than a vindication of the truth and cause once contended.

1659. Thomas Ashton.

Satan in Samuels mantle: or the cruelty of Germany acted in Jersey; containing the arbitrary bloody and tyrannical proceedings of John Mason of a baptized church.

1659. (Robert Wastfield of Brislington).

An equal ballance: wherein the ministers and churches of the Anabaptists (so called) are truly weighed.

1660. Anti quakerism --- the spirit of quakerism.

1. Being a precise Puritan. 2. An Anabaptist.

1660. John Griffith and 27 others.

A declaration of some of those people in and near London called Anabaptists, that own and believe that Gods love in the death of His Son is extended to all men; and are in the belief and practice of the doctrine of Christ contained in Hebrews.

Repudiates declaration of the Particular Baptists 1659.

1660. S.T.

Moderation: or arguments and motives tending thereunto, humbly tendered to --- parliament. Together with a brief

touch of the reputed German Anabaptists and Münster tragedy.

1660. To the supreme authority of the nation. A petition of many thousands of Quakers; Fifth Monarchy Men, Anabaptists etc. (satire).
1660. A letter from Shrewsbury setting forth the design which the Anabaptists and Quakers had to secure the Castle.
1660. A serious (!) manifesto and declaration of the Anabaptist --- churches touching the present transactions of the affairs of this commonwealth, both in church and state.
1660. A letter sent to the Lord Mayor of London by Lieut.Col. Kiffen, Capt.Gosfright, Capt.Hewling and Lieut.Lawes touching the seizing of their persons also shewing the forgery and falsehood of (the preceding).
1660. Joseph Wright and 39 others.
A brief confession or declaration of faith set forth by many of us who are (falsely) called Anabaptists, to inform all men (in these days of scandal and reproach) of our innocent belief and practice; for which we are not only resolved to suffer persecution, to the loss of our goods, but also life itself, rather than to decline the same.
Subscribed by certain Elders, Deacons and Brethren, met at London in the first month called March 1660.
This became the standard Confession of the General Baptists.

1660. The arraignment of the Anabaptists Good Old Cause, with the manner and proceedings of the court of justice against him.
1660. An apology of some called Anabaptists, in and about the city of London, in behalf of themselves and others of the same judgment with them.
1660. (Richard Blome).
The fanatick history; or, an exact relation and account of the old Anabaptists and new Quakers.
1660. A declaration of Maj.Gen.Harrison prisoner in the Tower of London; with his rules and precepts to all publicke churches and private congregations; and an answer thereunto. Also the resolution of the Fifth Monarchy Men, Anabaptists, Quakers and others.
1660. A briefe description --- of the phanatiques in generall. Scil. Anabaptists --- Dippers.
1660. George Pressick of Dublin.
A briefe relation of some of the most remarkable passages of the Anabaptists in High and Low Germany in the year 1521.
1660. The old Anabaptists grand plot discovered: with their covenant, league and articles.
1660. John Beevan of Leominster.
A loving salutation --- to the Free-Will-Anabaptists.

1660. John Collens.

A message from the spirit of the Lord to the people call'd Anabaptists --- why the Lord's controversie is against them.

1660. Thomas Grey.

A mirrour for Anabaptists, in three rational discourses that may put the blush upon them.

1661. Dr. Thomas Lamplugh.

Report that the militia beset the meeting-houses of the Anabaptists at Oxford and Abingdon on Sunday.

1661. Thomas Grantham and others.

The second humble addresse of those who are called Anabaptists in the county of Lincoln presented to his majesty (16th. January - published 6 February).

1661. Jeffrey Hammon and others.

The humble petition and representation of their sufferings of several peaceable and innocent subjects, called by the name of Anabaptists, inhabitants in the county of Kent, and now imprisoned in the gaol of Maidstone, for the testimony of a good conscience.

1661. Kiffen Den etc.

The humble apology of some commonly called Anabaptists, in behalf of themselves and others of the same judgment with

them: with their protestation against the late wicked and most horrible treasonable insurrection and rebellion acted in the city of London. Together with an apology formerly presented to the Kings excellent majesty (see 1660).

Printed by Henry Hills sold by Francis Smith.

(This is the first document known in which Baptists of all shades united. All parties recognised that the outbreak of Venner offered a pretext for suppressing all conventicles).

1661. The character of an Anabaptist --- Proving that the bishops and divines of the Church of England, judges, magistrates --- are all Anabaptists.

1661. Münster parallel in the late massacres committed by the Fifth-Monarchists.

1661. The way to true peace, or a calm seasonable and modest word in love to the Independents, Phanaticks, Anabaptists, Presbyterians, Quakers, Papists, and Fifth Monarchists.

1661. Perrott, Jennings, Loveday, etc.

To the King of these nations. The humble representation of several societies, commonly called by the name of Anabaptists, where in short they declare their innocency, sufferings, desires, and resolutions.

1661. Dike, Spencer, Packer, etc.

The humble petition of divers persons commonly called

be thus two distinct societies, - the Church and the World, - each obviously opposed to and independent of the other. If the Brethren were right the Christendom then existing must cease to be.

The Council of Zürich issued a decree saying that whoever was baptised according to these beliefs after February 8th.1524 should be banished with wife and children. The enforcing of this drove the Anabaptists from Zürich, but this simply meant the spreading of their ideas. Towards the end of April 1525 the agitation in South Germany spread to Zürich. The movement against the feudal burdens was so general, that several parishes were carried away with it. It is true that the Anabaptist sympathies were with the people, but there is little proof, that they made attempts to promote the social movement, but they certainly were made suffer for it. After the defeat of the Peasants at Frankenhausen the Zürich council proceeded to extremities, and many Anabaptists were cruelly put to death.

Now let us glance in outline at the Anabaptist movement elsewhere, before we come to describe more in detail its culmination at Münster.

1663. John Owen.

The concord of Baptists and Anabaptists.

1663. G.P.

A word of exhortation to our separating brethren of whatever denomination, especially those called Anabaptists.

1668. Guy de Bres.

Rise, spring and foundation of the Anabaptists. (This is a translation of part of edition of 1565 by J.J.Scottow).

1670. John Howes.

A sermon preached at the assizes at Northampton, August 9, 1669. Wherein is asserted --- the necessity of judges, law and magistrates against the Anabaptists.

1672. T(homas) R(udyard) Attorney.

The Anabaptists lying wonder attested by his brother Independent returned upon themselves.

1672. T(homas) R(udyard).

The Anabaptist preacher unmask'd, in a further discovery ---; as also the news from Richard Hobbs an Anabaptist preacher in Dover, examined. Their juggles, lyes and deceits detected

1672. J.H.Ottius.

Annales Anabaptistici hoc est Historia universalis de Anabaptistarum origine. (Several copies extant - but outwith bunyan's circle)

1673. William Penn.

Plain-dealing with a traducing Anabaptist one John Morse.

1673. Thomas Monck.

A cure for the cankering error -- saying that our blessed Mediator did not take His flesh of the Virgin Mary.

(This protest against the views of Hofmann was due to Matthew Caffin spreading them in Kent and Sussex - see Thesis p.125/6(Chapter on Anabaptism in England).)

1674. Thomas Rudyard.

The Anabaptists printed proposals, bearing date the 12th. of Oct. --- discussed; and Jeremy Ives late daring challenge to the Quakers answered.

1674. John Gratton of Monyash.

John Baptists decreasing, and Christs increasing witnessed; being a treatise concerning baptism in the type, & baptism in the mystery. By J.G. well-wisher to the Anabaptists.

1676. W(illiam) A(llen) D.D. ex vicar of Bridgewater, ex General Baptist.

A serious and friendly address to the non-conformists, beginning with the Anabaptists.

1678. R.H.

A dialogue between a Protestant and an Anabaptist.

1680. S.Mather of Burtonwood.

An irenicum -- between Presbyterians, Independents and

Anabaptists.

1681. The leacherous Anabaptist (Francis Smith); or the dipper dipt. A new Protestant ballad.

1681?. Thomas Taylor.

Certain queries propounded to -- Anabaptists, especially to such as believe -- that water-baptism is -- of such absolute necessity, as that there can be no true gospel-church-fellowship without it.

1683. Three letters of thanks to the Protestant Reconciler:

(1) From the Anabaptists at Münster.

(2) From the congregations in New England.

(3) From the Quakers in Pensilvania.

1684. Sad and lamentable news from Brick-lane in a hamlet of Spittlefields, or a --- warning to such as give way to the devil, in the deplorable example of Mr. John Child once a famous Anabaptist teacher. Who, falling into despair, committed a barbarous murther upon his own person, on the 13th. of October.

1684. A view of part of the many traiterous -- actions of H(enry) H(ills) senior, sometime printer to Cromwel, to the Commonwealth and to the Anabaptist congregation.

1685. T. J. Van Braght.

Het bloedig tooneel, of martelaers spiegel der doops-gesinde

of weereloose Christenen etc. See note on Hans de Ries 1615.

c.1689. A serious caution against the dangerous errors of the Anabaptists, earnestly addressed to the inhabitants of the parishes in Reading by the lawful ministers.

c.1690. Address to the Anabaptists.

1692. Giles Shute (of Limehouse).

An antidote to prevent the prevalency of Anabaptism.

1695. (Francois Catrou).

Histoire des Anabaptistes ou relation curieuse de leur doctrine, regne et revolutions tant en Allemagne, Holland qu' Angleterre, ou êt traité de plusiers sectes de Mennonites Kouakres, et autres qui en sont provenus. Le tout enrichi de figures en taille douce.

It is interesting to find that this ran through several editions. It was reprinted in 1699, 1700, 1702, 1706 and again in 1715.