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INDEX

CONTRIBUTORS

	PAGE
EMMANUEE Camfield, F. W., M.A. - - - - -	147
Crippen, T. G. 3, 34, 38, 39, 50, 75, 84, 96, 102, 110, 114, 128, 144, 162, 181, 190, 220, 223, 267, 278, 306, 318, 324	
See also Editorial	
Editorial - - - - - 1, 57, 113, 169, 225, 281	
Grieve, A. J., M.A., D.D. - - - - -	107
Jenkins, Claude, M.A. - - - - -	285
Jordan, M. Dorothea - - - - -	258, 296
Kirkpatrick, M. R. - - - - -	226
Mason, T. W. - - - - -	81
Nightingale, B., M.A., Litt.D. - - - - -	117
Oxley, Selwyn - - - - -	196, 246
Peel, Albert, M.A., Litt.D. - - - - -	82, 255
Pierce, W. - - - - - 16, 59, 105, 281	
Turner, G. Lyon, M.A. - - - - -	24, 86
Watson, C. E. - - - - -	171, 237
Whitley, W. T., M.A., LL.D. - - - - -	69, 132, 208

ARTICLES.

<i>Asinus Onustus</i> - - - - -	114
Associate Congregations, The, London, 1805 - - - - -	318
<i>A Whip for an Ape</i> - - - - -	190
Bellamy, John, A Puritan Publisher - - - - -	110
Book of Common Prayer. See <i>The Abolishing, etc.</i>	
Bosworth, Benjamin - - - - -	166
Browne's, Robert, Wife - - - - -	82
Congregational Benefactors to the Deaf - - - - -	196, 246

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INDEX

iii

	PAGE
Congregationalism and Whitefield - - - -	171, 237
Doddridge, Philip, Letters of - - - -	324
Elizabethan Episcopal Register, An - - - -	285
Fakenham Theological Seminary - - - -	50
Females Advocate, The - - - -	96
Harley, Sir Edward—Correspondence with Francis Tallents - - - -	267, 306
Heads of Agreement, The, 1691 - - - -	38
Independents, The Old Scottish - - - -	181
„ „ Early and the Visible Church - - - -	258, 296
International Congregational Council, Boston, 1920 - - - -	107
<i>Lineage of Locusts, The</i> - - - -	220
London Associate Congregations, 1805 - - - -	318
Martin Marprelate. See <i>A Whip for an Ape Mayflower</i> . See Pilgrim Fathers	
Ministerial Co-operation in Yorkshire, 1787 - - - -	162
Morisonian Controversy, The - - - -	226
Paternoster, The Presbyterian, 1681 - - - -	24, 85
Periwigs, Concerning - - - -	166
Pilgrim Fathers	
Voyagers in the <i>Mayflower</i> - - - -	3
Bibliography of the Pilgrim Fathers - - - -	16, 59
The Mate of the <i>Mayflower</i> - - - -	69
Some <i>Mayflower</i> Family Connections - - - -	81
Myles Standish - - - -	117
Edward Winslow - - - -	132, 208
The Psalmody of - - - -	75
Publisher, A Puritan - - - -	110
Religious Liberty under the Regency - - - -	54, 102
Religious Life in the seventeenth century - - - -	147
Scottish Independents, The Old - - - -	181
Southampton Documents, Religious Life in seventeenth century illustrated by - - - -	147
Staffordshire Covenanters, The - - - -	84
Standish, Myles - - - -	117
State Prayers—from the Niblock Collection - - - -	34, 144, 223
<i>The Abolishing of the Book of Common Prayer, 1605</i> - - - -	128
<i>The Lofty Bishop, The Lazy Brownist and the Loyal Author</i> - - - -	278
Tallents, Rev. Francis. See Harley	
Toleration Act, Registration under - - - -	49

INDEX

	PAGE
Turner, G. Lyon—In Memoriam - - - - -	104
Walker, Williston - - - - -	255
Whitefield and Congregationalism - - - - -	171, 237
Whitgift's Register - - - - -	285
Winslow, Edward - - - - -	132, 208
Yorkshire, Ministerial Co-operation in, 1787 - - - - -	162

REVIEW

Wood, H. G. <i>Venturers for the Kingdom</i> - - - - -	105
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EDITORIAL

WE much regret that a variety of circumstances—of which the greatly enhanced cost of printing is only one—rendered any issue of “Transactions” during the year 1919 impracticable. We trust subscribers will pardon the delay, and accept the present issue as an instalment of Good Things to Come. We have a large store of material in hand awaiting use; and hope to contribute acceptably to the approaching Tercentenary Commemoration of the historic voyage of the *Mayflower*.

* * * *

We have been favoured with a copy of “The Quarterly Magazine of Bethlehem Royal Hospital” for September, 1919, in which there is appearing a series of papers on “The Registers of Bridewell Chapel,” by Rev. E. G. O’Donoghue. This particular issue (Chapter XI) treats of “Congregationalists in Bridewell.” The writer’s sympathies are undisguisedly with Queen Elizabeth and those who were in authority under her; but he has stated the facts very fairly, and has given prominence to some points that are not always duly borne in mind. He reminds us that intolerance was not all on one side; that there were separatists who denounced conforming puritans as “semi-papists”; and that some of these, while lodged in Bridewell, “held services of the Geneva pattern in the Great Hall without interference.” We could wish, however, that he had not *seemed* to acquiesce in the judicial murder of Barrowe, Greenwood, and Penry.

* * * *

We have read with much interest a small book by Rev. Dr. Nightingale, entitled “From the Great Awakening to the Evangelical Revival.” It is the substance of a course of lectures given some time ago in Liverpool; and treats of the course of Religious Life in England from 1520 to 1800. It is *not* a History; but it is a useful *aid* to the study of history; being a serious endeavour to co-ordinate the leading historical facts, presenting them in their true relations, and passing over others which are of real but minor importance. Particularly instructive is the chapter dealing with

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the Arian movement in the 18th century, regarding which some prevalent misconceptions are cleared up. The book is especially designed for Study Circles, and its utility is increased by a condensed Bibliography of about 120 titles, and a list of seventy "Points for Examination and Discussion." It is published by the Congregational Union.

* * * *

Dr. Nightingale has also lately produced an interesting life-story entitled "Fidelity to an Ideal: the Story of a Successful Life." The Ideal is that of "Business continuously run to success on high moral lines"; and the author narrates the steady progress, from lowly beginnings to wealth and social eminence, of a friend of his, who consistently acted on the belief that it *is* "possible to make the best of both worlds." Incidentally much is told about Lancashire Congregationalism, with which the family are connected: and—what especially justifies the present notice—we read that in the 16th century one of their ancestors, a magistrate in Suffolk, endeavoured to protect his Puritan and Brownist neighbours from persecution.

* * * *

Congregationalists have not usually favoured set forms of prayer: and there was a time when the public use of a liturgy disqualified for membership in the London Board of Ministers. But several aids to domestic worship have at various times had considerable popularity. Dr. Alexander Fletcher's "Guide to Family Devotion" was in its thirteenth impression in 1851. Dr. John Harris's "Altar of the Household" (1853), and Dr. Joseph Parker's "People's Family Prayer Book" (1889) had a respectable circulation, but each had this serious fault, it bore too much the impress of one man. This error is avoided in "The Altar in the Home," edited by Dr. Garvie and Dr. Nightingale, the material of which is furnished by sixty different contributors. To those who find spiritual help in books of this class, "The Altar in the Home" may be confidently recommended.

The Voyagers in the *Mayflower*

THE halo of romance which encircles the *Mayflower* Pilgrims is apt to obscure our perception of the fact that, like ourselves, they were very human. It may be well to summarize, as briefly as possible, what can be gathered of their personality and mutual relations.

The company which finally set sail were 102 in number, of whom one died at sea; but two children were born on the voyage, so that 103 reached the New England shore. Of these fifty-one were men, nineteen women, twenty-three boys, and ten girls. Fourteen of the men were indentured servants, of whom only four signed the historic "Compact" (perhaps the other ten were minors); four were hired sailors, two of whom signed the Compact, and the other two returned to England after fulfilling their engagement. The "Compact," signed at Cape Cod on 16th November, 1620, received forty-one signatures, all of men. The signatures of the fathers were, no doubt, supposed to cover the allegiance of the sons; and, of course, in 1620, the women did not count in such matters.

Two or three deaths occurred, apparently by accident, in the early days of the colony; and in a few weeks an outbreak of sickness—supposed to have been of the nature of scurvy, the result of unwholesome food—threatened it with extermination. The *Mayflower* set out on its return voyage on 15th April, 1621, and by that time forty-seven deaths had occurred, which number was increased to fifty-two before the arrival of the *Fortune* on the 19th November, 1621.

These consisted of thirty-one men (including eight

of the indentured servants), fourteen women, and seven children. Four families were totally extinguished, and of six others only one representative was left to each. Only four of the mothers survived.

Beside the two sailors already mentioned, two persons (women or girls) returned to England after a short time, but not in the *Mayflower*; and three others (men) returned several years later. Of the original pilgrims, eight bachelors and eight maids married in the colony, as well as three who had become widowers and two widows. Altogether about thirty-five of the company, men and women (marked * in the schedule), left issue; and about 160 persons of their posterity were living in 1650.

The last survivor of the original pilgrims, Mary (Allerton) Cushman, died in 1699; but Peregrine White, "the first Englishman born in America," reached the patriarchal age of eighty-four, and died in 1704.

Tradition persistently affirms that among the passengers in the *Mayflower* were several who were connected either with the Church gathered in London by Henry Jacob in 1616, or with the remnant of "the antient Church" which had been scattered by persecution in 1593. There is nothing unlikely in this tradition, and much to be said in its favour; but unfortunately it is impossible to verify it, because no lists of the members of those churches are extant. It is possible, however, to limit the range within which perhaps future research may discover some corroboration. We must eliminate all those names († in the schedule) the bearers of which are *known* to have been resident at Leyden, and those (‡) who were *probably* there; as well as the hired sailors, and those who are distinctly stated to have come from Colchester, Billericay, Norwich, Southampton, or other places. The Billing-ton family must also be excluded, as they are repudiated by Bradford, being "shuffled into the company,"

he knew not by what influence. On the whole the London contingent are most hopefully to be sought under the names of Browne, Chilton, Clark, Dotey, Eaton, Hopkins, Margeson, Mullens, Rigsdale, and Warren ; fourteen names in all, not counting children.

Nothing can derogate from the honour due to such men as Bradford and Brewster, Carver, Fuller, Winslow, Standish, Mullens, and Alden. But there was a Judas among the twelve apostles, and there were one or two black sheep among the 102 who sailed in the *Mayflower*. Bradford ascribes to some who suffered in "the sickness" language and conduct by no means becoming saints ; and the family which he declares to have been "shuffled in" were, beyond question, a bad lot. The father, as early as 1621, was adjudged to be tied neck and heels "for contempt of the captain's lawful command, with opprobrious speeches" ; and he evidently went from bad to worse until 1630, when, having deliberately waylaid and shot one, John Newcomen, with whom he had a former quarrel, he was hanged for the murder. In 1636, his wife was set in the stocks and whipped for slander. His posterity are traced through a younger son, whose wife—a widow—was not one of the original colonists. It does not appear, however, that the scandals which, a few years later, afflicted the colony were to any appreciable extent due to the influence of this unhappy family ; but rather to later arrivals, who were actuated by no such religious impulse as moved the original pilgrims.

The Voyagers in the *Mayflower*

It may be worth noting that what are called Canting Names are proportionally more numerous among the pilgrim families than in the majority of Puritan lists. It would not be fair so to designate such aptly chosen names as Oceanus and Peregrine; while Desire is merely the French *Desirée*, and Constant the familiar Constance; but Remember, Love, Wrestling, Humility, and Resolved are canting names of the most pronounced order.

Order of Sig- nature	Name.		Whence.
7	Alden, John	M	London or Essex
5	Allerton, Mr. Isaact	M	London, formerly Suffolk
	„ Mary†	W	Newbury
	„ Bartholomew†	B	Born at Leyden
	„ Remember†	G	„ „
	„ Mary†	G	„ „
38	„ John	M	—
26	Billington, John	M	London
	„ Eleanor	W	„
	„ John	B	„
	„ Francis	B	„
2	Bradford, Mr. William†	M	Austerfield
	„ Dorothy†	W	Wisbech
4	Brewster, Mr. William†	M	Scrooby
	„ Mary†	W	„
	„ Lovet†	B	„
	„ Wrestling†	B	„
34	Britteridge, Richard	M	Prittlewell
33	Browne, Peter	M	Probably London
	<i>Button, William†</i>	M	—
	<i>Carter, Robert</i>	M	—
1	Carver, Mr. John†	M	Probably Essex
	„ Katharine†	W	Nottinghamshire

It is worthy of remark that, whereas exactly half of the *Mayflower* Company died within a year of their arrival on Plymouth Rock, at least eight attained to the age of seventy and upwards ; their actual years being 72, 76, 78, 80, 81, 84, 89, and 90.

In the following schedule is given as much personal information about the voyagers as it has been found possible to condense in the available space.

Date of death.	
1687	Married Priscilla Mullens, 1623 ; died at Duxbury, aged 89. Last survivor of the signatories.*
1659	Married (2) a daughter of W. Brewster ; died at Newhaven.*
7 Mar., 1621	Had a child, still-born, 22 December, 1620.
?	Afterwards returned to England.*
?	Married Moses Mavericke, of Salem ; living in 1652.*
1699	Married Thomas Cushman ; died aged 90 ; last survivor of the Pilgrims.*
Mar., 1621	Hired sailor.
Oct., 1630	"Shuffled into the Company"; hanged for murder.*
?	Whipped for slander, 1636 ; married (2) to Gregory Armstrong, 1638.*
1628 or '29	Died before his father.
?	Married Christian, widow of Francis Eaton, 1634 ; living at Yarmouth, N.E., 1650.*
9 May, 1657	Governor 1621-33, 1637, 1639-43, 1645-57 ; married (2) to Alice Southworth.*
17 Dec., 1620	Drowned in Cape Cod harbour, aged 23.
20 April, 1644	Ruling Elder ; died at Duxbury, aged about 78.*
1626	Died at Plymouth, aged about 57.*
1650	Married Sarah Collier, 1634 ; died at Duxbury, N.E.*
?	Died unmarried, date uncertain.
31 Dec., 1620	Died on board the <i>Mayflower</i> in Plymouth harbour.
1633	Died at Plymouth ; ancestor of John Brown, of Ossawatomie.*
16 Nov., 1620	Servant to S. Fuller ; died on board the <i>Mayflower</i> at sea.
1621	Probably servant to W. Mullens.
April, 1621	Deacon and Governor.
June, 1621	Maiden name White. (Probably a sister of Mrs. John Robinson.)

The Voyagers in the *Mayflower*

Order of Signature	Name.		Whence.
	Carver, Mrs. Carver's maid .	W	—
24	Chilton, James	M	Sandwich
	„ his wife	W	—
	„ Mary	G	—
36	Clarke, Richard	M	—
	Cooper, Humility	G	—
17	Cooke, Francis	M	—
	Cooke, John	B	—
25	Crackstone, John	M	Colchester
	„ John, junr.	B	—
40	<i>Dotey (Doughty?) Edward...</i>	M	London or Scrooby
23	Eaton, Francis	M	—
	„ Sarah	W	—
	„ Samuel	B	—
	Ellis or Ely	M	—
39	English, Thomas	M	—
27	Fletcher, Mosest	M	—
8	Fuller, Mr. Samuel†	M	North Ockendon, Essex
21	„ Edward	M	Essex
	„ Mrs. Edward	W	—
	„ Samuel, junr.	B	—
37	Gardiner, Richard	M	—
28	Goodman, John	M	—
	<i>Holbeck, William†</i>	M	—
	<i>Hooke, John†</i>	M	—
14	Hopkins, Mr. Stephen	M	London or Essex
	„ Elizabeth	W	„ „
	„ Giles	B	„ „
	„ Constant... ..	G	„ „
	„ Damaris	G	„ „
	„ Oceanus	B	—

Date of death.	
Before 1627	Married Francis Eaton (his 2nd wife), 1623, and died a year or two after.
18 Dec., 1620	Died at Princetown harbour.
Spring, 1621	Married to John Winslow (Brother of Edward); died at Boston.*
1679	
Spring, 1621	Related to E. Tilley; returned to England after 1627; probably died unmarried.
?	
1663	His wife and children followed him; died at Plymouth, aged about 81.*
?	Son of Francis; married Sarah Warren, 1634; living at Dartmouth, N.E., 1694; last <i>male</i> survivor of the <i>Mayflower</i> .*
Spring, 1621	Left a married daughter at Leyden.
1628	Died at Plymouth, N.E.
1655	Servant to Hopkins; died at Yarmouth, N.E.*
1633	Married (2) "Mrs. Carver's maid," (3) Christian Penn; died at Plymouth.*
Spring, 1621	
1684	An infant; apprenticed 1636; "presented for mixt dancing" 1651; died at Middlesborough, N.E.*
?	A sailor, who returned to England after fulfilling his engagement.
Spring, 1621	Hired sailor.
Early, 1621	Married 2nd time at Leyden, 1613.
1633	Surgeon and Deacon; died at Plymouth.*
Spring, 1621	Brother of Samuel F.
Spring, 1621	
1683	Died at Barnstable, N.E.*
?	A sailor, who died either at sea or in England.
Early, 1621	
Spring, 1621	Probably servant to White.
Spring, 1621	Probably servant to Isaac Allerton.
1644	Died at Plymouth.*
After 1640	Died at Plymouth.*
1690	Married Katharine Wheldon, 1639; died at Yarmouth.*
1677	Married Nicholas Snow; died at Eastham.*
After 1666	Married Jacob Cooke, of Plymouth; died there before 1669.
Before 1627	Born on board the <i>Mayflower</i> , at sea.

Children of Stephen by a former wite.

The Voyagers in the *Mayflower*

Order of Signature	Name.		Whence.
13	<i>Howland John</i> †	M	—
	<i>Langmore, John</i>	M	Billericay... ..
	<i>Latham, William</i>	B	Sherborne
41	<i>Lister or Litster, Edward</i> ...	M	Probably Scrooby ...
32	Margeson, Edmund	M	—
9	Martin, Mr. Christopher ...	M	Billericay... ..
	„ Mrs.	W	„
	Minter, Desire	G	Norwich
	More, Jasper	B	—
	„ Richard	B	—
	„ “Richard’s Brother” ...	B	—
	„ Ellen... ..	G	—
10	Mullens, Mr. William	M	Presumably London ...
	„ Mrs.	W	„ „
	„ Joseph	B	„ „
	„ Priscilla	G	„ „
29	Priest, Degory †	M	London
	<i>Prower Solomon</i> †	M	Billericay
20	Rigdale, John	M	—
	„ Alice	W	—
18	Rogers, Thomas	M	Chelmsford
	„ Joseph	B	„
	Samson, Henry	B	—
35	<i>Soule, George</i> †	M	—
	<i>Story, Elias</i> †... ..	M	—
6	Standish, Mr. Miles	M	Lancashire
	„ Rose	W	? Isle of Man
15	Tilley, Edward	M	Shipton
	„ Ann	W	—

The Voyagers in the *Mayflower*

11

Date of death.	
1673	Servant to Carver; married Elizabeth Tilley; died at Plymouth, aged 80.*
<i>Early</i> 1621	Probably servant to Martin.
After 1643	Servant to Carver; returned to England, and died in the Bahamas.
Before 1630	Servant to Hopkins; removed to Virginia, and died there.
<i>Spring</i> , 1621	Treasurer of the Company; had the victualling of the ship.
18 <i>Jan.</i> , 1621	
<i>Spring</i> , 1621	Returned to England, and died, apparently unmarried.
?	
<i>Dec.</i> , 1620	"Put to the Carver family"; died in Cape Cod harbour.
1656	Adopted by Brewster family; married Christian Hunt, 1636 assumed name of Mann; died at Scituate.*
<i>Spring</i> , 1621	"Put to the Brewster family."
<i>Spring</i> , 1621	"Put to the Winslow family." (These were four orphans.)
3 <i>Mar.</i> , 1621	Agent who negotiated with the Merchant Adventurers.*
<i>Spring</i> , 1621	*
<i>Spring</i> , 1621	Married John Alden, 1623.*
After 1687	
11 <i>Jan.</i> , 1621	His wife and children followed, she being Isaac Allerton's sister.
2 <i>Jan.</i> , 1621	Probably servant to Martin.
<i>Spring</i> , 1621	His children came later, some of whom left issue.*
<i>Spring</i> , 1621	
<i>Spring</i> , 1621	Son of Thomas, died at Eastham, N.E.*
1678	Child, six years old, cousin of Ed. Tilley; married Anne Plummer, 1636; died at Duxbury, N.E.*
1684	
1680	Servant to Winslow; married Mary Bucket or Becket; died at Duxbury.*
<i>Spring</i> , 1621	Probably servant to Winslow.
1656	Chosen Captain 17 February, 1621; married (2) Barbara [maiden name unknown], 1623; died at Duxbury.
8 <i>Feb.</i> , 1621	
<i>Spring</i> , 1621	
<i>Spring</i> , 1621	

The Voyagers in the *Mayflower*

Order of Signature	Name.		Whence.
16	Tilley, John... ..	M	—
	„ Bridget	W	—
	„ Elizabeth	G	—
19	Tinker, Thomas	M	—
	„ Mrs.	W	—
	„ (child unnamed)	B	—
	<i>Thompson, Edward</i> †... ..	M	—
	Trevors, William	M	—
22	Turner, John	M	—
	„ (unnamed)... ..	B	—
	„ (unnamed)... ..	B	—
12	Warren, Mr. Richard	M	London
11	White, Mr. William†	M	—
	„ Susanna†	W	—
	„ Resolved†	B	...
	„ Peregrine	B	—
	<i>Wilder, Roger</i> †	M	—
30	Williams, Thomas	M	—
3	Winslow, Mr. Edward†	M	Worcestershire
	„ Elizabeth†	W	Chattisham, Suffolk
31	„ Gilbert	M	—

It is customary in England to restrict the honourable title “The Pilgrim Fathers” to the company who sailed in the *Mayflower*. In America it is usual to include among “The Pilgrims” or “The Forefathers” those who followed in the *Fortune* and the *Anne*. It seems, therefore, desirable to add the names of these bold adventurers, the more so as several of them inter-married with the *Mayflower* pioneers, howbeit they attained not unto the first company.

Date of death.	
<i>Spring</i> , 1621	
<i>Spring</i> , 1621	
1687	Married John Howland ; died at Plymouth.*
<i>Spring</i> , 1621	
<i>Spring</i> , 1621	
<i>Spring</i> , 1621	
14 <i>Dec.</i> , 1620	Probably servant to Wm. White ; the first who died after reaching New England.
--	A sailor ; returned to England after fulfilling his engagement.
<i>Spring</i> , 1621	
<i>Spring</i> , 1621	
<i>Spring</i> , 1621	
1628	His wife and children followed ; the family was related to that of Cromwell ; died at Plymouth.*
<i>March</i> , 1621	
1680	Sister of Fuller ' s ; afterwards married Gov. Edwd. Winslow.
?	Born at Leyden ; living at Salem 1690.
1704	Born on board the <i>Mayflower</i> in Cape Cod harbour ; died at Marshfield, N.E.*
<i>Early</i> 1621	Probably servant to Carver.
<i>Early</i> 1621	
1655	Married Susanna White (Fuller) 22 May, 1621, the first marriage in the Colony ; Governor 1633 and 1644 ; died at sea.
3 <i>April</i> , 1621	
--	Brother of Edward ; returned to England after some years.

Passengers in the "Fortune" arrived 20th November, 1621.

Adams, John	died 1633	Cushman, Thos.	1691
Bassett, William	1667	Dean, Stephen	1634
" Elizabeth (?)	?	Dela Noye—	1681
Beal, William	before 1627	Flavel, Thos.	before 1627
Bompass, Edward	? 1684	" (his son)	do.
Brewster, Jonathan	? 1659	Ford, Martha (married Peter Brown)	?
Briggs, Clement	?	" William (Boy)	1676
Cannon, John	before 1627	" John (Boy)	1693
Connor, William	do.		

The Voyagers in the *Mayflower*

Ford, Martha (Child)	1684	Prence, Thomas	1674
Hicks, Robert	1648	Simonson, Moses	?
Hilton, William	before 1627	Statie, Hugh	before 1627
Morgan, Bennett	do.	Stewart, James	do.
Morton, Thomas	do.	Tench, William	do.
Nicholas, Anstin	do.	Winslow, John	1674
Palmer, William	1638	Wright, William	1633
" William, Junr.	?	Two others, probably children	
Pitt, William	before 1627		

Of the thirteen dated "Before 1627," some had *left the Colony* before that date.

Passengers in the "Anne," or its tender, the "Little James," which arrived late in July, 1623.

Annable, Anthony	died 1673	Heard, William	before 1627
" Jane	?	Hicks, Margaret (wife of Robt.)	?
" (Two Children)	?	" (Three Children)	
Bangs, Edward (married		Hilton, Mrs. William	before 1627
Lydia Hicks)	1676	" (Two Children)	do.
" Rebecca	?	Holman, Edward	?
" (Two Children)	?	Jenney, John	1644
Bartlett, Robert	1676	" Sarah	?
Bourchier, Edward	before 1627	" (Three Children)	?
" Mrs.	do.	Kempton, Manasseh	1663
Becket or Buckett, Mary		Long, Robert	before 1627
(married George Sonle)	1677	Mitchell, Experience, married	
Brewster, Fear (married		Jane Cook)	1689
" Isaac Allerton)	1633	Morton, George	1624
" Patience (married		" Julianna	1666
Thos. Prence)	1634	" (Five Children)	?
Clark, Thomas	1607	" Thos., Junr.	?
Cook, Hester (a Walloon)	166?	Newton, Eleanor (married	
" (Three Children)		John Adams)	1681
Connant, Christopher	before 1627	Oldham, John	1636
" Sarah	1633	" (Mrs.)	?
" (Four Children)	?	[Eight associated with	
Dix, Anthony	before 1627	them, who all left the	
Faunce, John (married		Colony before 1627]	
Patience Morton)	1654	Palmer, Frances	
Flavel, Mrs.	before 1627	Penn, Christian (married	
Flodd, Edmund	do.	1, F. Eaton, 2, F. Bil-	
Fuller, Bridget	?	lington) ?	
		Pratt, Joshua	1656
		Rand, James	before 1627

The Voyagers in the *Mayflower*

15

Ratcliffe, Robert before 1627 " Mrs. do. " (Two Children) do. Snow, Nicholas ? Southworth, Alice (Car- penter) 1670 " Barbara (?) 1662 Spragne, Francis ? " Anna ? " Mercy (married William Tubbs; divorced 1668) Tilden, Thomas before 1627 " Mrs. do. " (One Child) do. Tracey, Stephen ? " Tryphosa ? " Sarah ?	Wallen, Ralph before 1681 " Joyce ? Warren, Elizabeth 1673 " Mary (married R. Bartlett) ? " Anne (married Thos. Little) ? " Sarah (married John Cook) ? " Elizabeth (married R. Church) ? " Abigail (married Anthony Snow) ? Two servants of the ship- master; one, Abraham Pierce, was probably a negro; the name of the other is not given.
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About the names of Manasseh Faunce, William Palmer, and Phineas Pratt there seems a little uncertainty.

The tonnage of the *Mayflower* is reported as 180; that of the *Speedwell* which declined the voyage, sixty; of the *Fortune*, fifty-five; the *Anne*, 140; the *Little James*, forty. The tonnage of Drake's *Pelican* is said to have been only 120.

A Select Bibliography of the Pilgrim Fathers of New England

1. A HISTORY OF PLYMOUTH PLANTATION, by Wm. Bradford, Governor of the Colony. Written in the years 1630 to 1650.

Used in MS. by Nathanael Morton, Bradford's nephew, by Thomas Prince, and Governor Hutchinson. This important work disappeared after its use by Hutchinson, the Tory governor of Massachusetts, who fled to England before the revolution. It was given up by the historians of Plymouth in Massachusetts as utterly beyond recovery. A few leaves of one of Bradford's Letter Books were found in a baker's shop in Nova Scotia, but not a shred of the History, until the middle of last century, when it was discovered in the Bishop of London's library at Fulham, having been used by Bishop Samuel Wilberforce of Oxford in his *History of the Episcopal Church in America*. When the Americans, after a strange delay of some years, identified the precious document they naturally desired to gain repossession of it. After some fruitless attempts, it happened fortunately that when a fresh effort was made by Senator Hoare, through the popular Ambassador Mr. Bayard, Dr. Temple was primate and Dr. Creighton bishop of London. These righteous men overcame the official difficulties which lay in the way, and after taking a photographic facsimile of the complete book, despatched it to its proper home in New England.

Bradford's *History* is the fundamental document for the story of the Pilgrims, extending from 1606, before the Scrooby Church migrated to Holland, to 1646. Without it the early history of the Pilgrims would be a blank, and a noble chapter would be missing from the story of English Congregationalism.

It is written, as it claims to be, "in a plaine stile, with singular regard unto the trueth in all things." Generally the story is written in a quaint and charming way, though the miseries and delays and the long-winded letters of their faithless friends make the close of their stay in Holland somewhat tedious in the telling. The chief fault alleged against Bradford is vagueness in his allusions to persons and places. It needed the trained research of Hunter to identify and locate these. But

Select Bibliography of the Pilgrim Fathers. 17

something may be said for Bradford in his humility, not realizing that these particulars would grow into ever-increasing significance, as the world realized the far-reaching results of this great venture in Congregational colonizing. Who would have thought that little Scrooby, least among all the thousands of Israel, would become a name of renown.

Printed Copies of the complete work.

1. *a.* 1856. From a transcript taken while the MS. lay at Fulham. Published by the Massachusetts Historical Society with notes by Chas. Deane.
[1895. The photo-facsimile above mentioned was published.]
1. *b.* 1901. A complete reproduction by the State of Massachusetts; without notes, but with an account of the steps which led to the transference of the MS. to New England, with portraits of the chief personages concerned in the transaction.
1. *c.* 1908. Edited, with notes, by William T. Davis, of Plymouth (N.E.). [In the Series, "Original Narratives of American History."]
1. *d.* 1909. An edition rendered into modern English by Valeria Paget. (London, 8vo.) Miss Paget's transcript makes wonderfully easy and interesting reading.
1. *e.* 1912. Two Vols. issued by the Massachusetts Historical Society. A truly sumptuous edition, lavishly furnished with reproductions of old maps, documents, paintings, engravings, coins, signatures, and a full apparatus of explanatory notes and references, and two large scale maps.
2. 1622. MOURT'S RELATION.—London, printed by John Bellamie.

The earliest printed book on the history of the Pilgrims. Seven copies known to exist, all save the British Museum copy, in America.

2. *a.* 1865. 4 to. Boston (Mass.). An annotated edition of No. 2 by Dr. H. M. Dexter.

The signature "G. Mourt," at the close of the "Epistle to the Reader," gives the volume its name. Drs. Young and Dexter have proved that it was a thin disguise used by George Morton, one of the Leyden company and an Old Comer.

Half of the volume and more is occupied by Bradford's *Journal* of events, from the landfall, 20th November, 1620, to the second election of Governor Carver, 2nd April, 1621. It also contains four papers by Winslow, narrating the missions sent to the several Indian chiefs in 1621, and a letter by R. Cushman justifying migration from England to America.

Mourt's Relation, has been much used by later writers.

2. *b.* 1625. John Smith's *General Historie* contains an abridgment.

B

18 Select Bibliography of the Pilgrim Fathers

2. c. 1625. *Purchas his Pilgrims*—has a summary of about one-half, poorly done.
2. d. 1802. A reprint of *Purchas* by the Massachusetts Historical Society.
2. e. 1822. A reprint by the Society of the omitted portions. The Massachusetts Historical Society has printed what remains of Bradford's Letter Book. (1st Series, Vol. 3.) Its *Collections* and *Proceedings* contain very much valuable matter relating to the Pilgrims.
2. f. 1848. *The Journal of the Pilgrims*, edited by Geo. B. Cheever, D.D. N. York. 8vo. Two-thirds of Cheever's volume are taken up by his "Historical and Local Illustrations of Providences, Principles and Persons"—a homiletic commentary on the story of the Pilgrims. The volume was reprinted [?1849] by Collins at Glasgow.
3. 1624. GOOD NEWS FROM NEW ENGLAND. Published in London. Written by Edward Winslow to dispel false rumours and convey some reliable information about the Colony.
4. 1637. THE NEW ENGLISH CANAAN, by Thomas Morton. Written in a jocular, scoffing, vein. The author was one of the undesirables who found their way into the Colony. He was, in the year 1628, "for his Atheisticall and licentious practises," "apprehended by Captain Standish and sent home to England."
5. 1647. NEW ENGLAND'S SALAMANDER DISCOVERED, by Edward Winslow; written during a visit to England as "a satisfactory answer to many aspersions cast upon the Colony." [See Nathanael-Morton's *New England Memoriall*, pp. 68 ff.]
6. 1669. NEW ENGLANDS-MEMORIAL, by Nathanael Morton, Secretary to the Colony, and a nephew of Governor Bradford. Morton acknowledges his indebtedness to his "much-honored uncle," and to Edward Winslow. Up to 1646 his work is chiefly a transcript from these writers; after that date, when they fail him, his narrative becomes very meagre and jejune, and consists indeed chiefly of obituary notices of the chief personages deceased each year, with a selection of memorial verses written in their honour. Of a divine named Mitchell, his elegist says:

"The Scripture with a Commentary bound
Like a lost Callice* in his Heart was found."

John Cotton is described by his panegyrist as

"A simple Serpent or Serpentine Dove
Made up of Wisdome, Innocence and Love."

* Calais.

Select Bibliography of the Pilgrim Fathers 19

When the venerable Father of the Colony, William Bradford, deceased, many found relief in rhyme. One well-acquainted with his work wrote :

“The Ninth of May, about nine of the clock,
A precious one God out of Plimoth took;
Governour Bradford then expir'd his breath,
Was called away by force of cruel Death.”

The *Memoriall* was several times reprinted.

6. a. 1885. Reprint of the Congregational Board of Publication, with notes. (Boston, Mass.) This is called the Sixth Edition.
6. b. 1910. *New England's Chronicles*, with an Introduction by John Masefield. (Everyman's Library.)

This contains Morton's *Memoriall* and the *Supplement*, taken from the Congregational Board edition ; and Cushman's *Discourse*, and Winslow's *Relation* and *Brief Narration* (in part) from Young's *Chronicles* ; in each case the original notes are retained. The volume also contains Capt. John Smith's *New England's Trials*, which gives an account of several expeditions to the New England coast which came to nothing, with items on the geography and productions of the country--nothing immediately relating to Pilgrims.

7. 1684. HISTORY OF NEW ENGLAND, by Samuel Hubbard. Has no historical value. Palfrey is very severe, describing it as “beneath contempt.”

We have now reached the last of the authors in our list who had personal acquaintance with the original settlers. The remaining authors referred to have to depend upon literary sources for their matter.

8. 1736. CHRONOLOGICAL ANNALS, by Rev. Thomas Prince, Boston (Mass.).

Prince mapped out an ample scheme for his *Chronological History of New England in the form of Annals*. He begins with the creation of the world, goes through all the ancient empires, and follows the English monarchy to the Death of Elizabeth. This by way of Introduction. Then comes the New England chronology in two parts, carrying us to September, 1630. The work was never completed ; though had Prince omitted his Introduction, as well he might, there would have been some prospect of carrying his work to a completion. There was not enough public spirit in New England to see the old scholar's work through the press. He tried the device of issuing the second volume in “sixpenny parts.” Three parts were issued in 1775, bringing the story down to August, 1633. Prince records the affairs of the Colony and contemporaneous events in the great world secular and religious. The special value of his work, which was drawn from an extraordinarily wide range

20 Select Bibliography of the Pilgrim Fathers

of authorities, lay in the fact that he had access to sources of information about the Pilgrims and their immediate successions, which are no longer extant. He has done his work well—with care and without prejudice.

Reprints of Prince's *Annals*.

8. a. 1887, in a series entitled "Bibliotheca Curiosa." Edited by Edmund Goldsmid. (Edinburgh.) Five parts (or volumes) in one. Prince's references are omitted; but a list of his authorities is given.
8. b. 1887-96. THE ENGLISH GARNER, by E. Arber, Vol. II., contains the *Annals*, with the omission of the Introduction.
9. 1702. COTTON MATHERS *Magnalia*, an ecclesiastical history of New England, is an amorphous production—of the rag-bag order.
10. 1767. A HISTORY OF MASSACHUSETTS, by Governor Hutchinson, already referred to, in its second volume touches upon Plymouth; but it is of secondary value and may be neglected.
11. 1795. AN ACCOUNT OF THE CHURCH AT NEW ENGLAND, by John Corton. (Collections. Massachusetts Historical Society, 1795. Reprinted 1835.) A brief summary of the history of the first foundation of the Church at Plymouth and an account of its subsequent fortune. Additional particulars are given of Brewster's life, and the discussions in the Church on the ministry, ordinances, and so forth.
12. 1836. COLLECTION OF ORIGINAL PAPERS, by Peter Force. 4 Vols. Washington. 8vo. This collection contains two of Capt. John Smith's pamphlets on New England, and *The New England Canaan* and *Simplicities Defence*. The Collection, useful for the general history of American colonization, has no special value for Pilgrim history.

In the volumes published during the 19th century, the earlier works suffer from being written before the publication of Bradford's *History*, and before the fruitful researches of recent years, into the Pilgrim story, made in New England, and, with more important results, made in this country and Holland. The general histories of the United States, of the New England States and of Massachusetts—into which State Plymouth was incorporated—all contain sections devoted to the Pilgrim settlement.

A strictly chronological order may now be conveniently dispensed with.

A. GENERAL HISTORIES.

1834. Bancroft's HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES (13th Edition, 1847), has a good summary, occupying 24 pp. [Vol. I. (Edition 1847)], of the Pilgrim story. It is too early to embody the valuable result of later research.

Select Bibliography of the Pilgrim Fathers 21

1835. Thacher's HISTORY OF PLYMOUTH (2nd Edition). Boston (Mass.). Small 8vo. The recognized text-book in its day; containing much local information. It has an Index but no Table of Contents. An Appendix deals with the Indian Wars.
1855. HISTORY OF MASSACHUSETTS, by J. S. Barry. 3 Vols. Large 8vo. Vol. I. brings the Pilgrim story down to 1692. Barry makes excellent use of the material available in his day, and gives full references in convenient footnotes.
1857. THE NEW ENGLAND HISTORY, by C. W. Elliott. 2 Vols. 8vo. New York. The first volume gives us, after preliminary chapters on early discoveries in North America and the rise of the Puritan in England, an account of the Pilgrims from their church organization at Scrooby to their permanent settlement in the Plymouth Colony—from 1602 to about 1634. It is written picturesquely and with sympathy for the ideals of the Pilgrims. But historic research has added much to our knowledge of Pilgrims both here and in New England since 1853, the year when Elliott was writing this section of his work.
1859. THE HISTORY OF NEW ENGLAND, by John Gorham Palfrey, regarded by the New Englanders as their standard history. The critical American outsider is apt to regard this very able work as a pious tribute to revered ancestors, rather than a dispassionate history. But English Congregationalists reading Palfrey's admirable summary of the history of the Pilgrims do not find his sympathy with his subject a defect. The only defect of this excellent piece of work is its date.
1871. THE ENGLISH COLONIZATION OF AMERICA IN THE 17TH CENTURY, 8vo., by E. D. Neall, American Consul at Dublin, is useful for the general subject, and embodies some personal research. Of small use for our special study.
1886. A SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF NEW ENGLAND TO THE TIME OF ANDROS, by Chas. Dean. This is the New England section, by a very competent hand, of Justin Winstor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Vol. III.
1886. THE MAKING OF NEW ENGLAND, by Samuel Adams Drake. A popular work by a master of the subject, omitting all controversial matter, giving a clear view of the successive attempts to colonize New England; liberally supplied with sketch maps, portraits, topographical and antiquarian illustrations. Suitable for senior classes in schools. The Pilgrims are given a place of honour.
1887. THE ENGLISH IN AMERICA: THE PURITAN COLONIES. 2 Vols., by J. A. Doyle.
Mr. Doyle's work is well known and authoritative. In Vol. I., Chapter II., in a skilful way he tells the story of "*The Plymouth Pilgrims*," for the first ten years or more. He is tolerant

22 Select Bibliography of the Pilgrim Fathers

and sympathetic, and sees clearly the greatness of the achievement of these sturdy and heroic pioneers. All the available literature is at Mr. Doyle's command, and in less than a hundred pages he presents a well-proportioned and balanced picture of the Pilgrims, from their beginnings in England to their settlement in Plymouth.

1889. THE BEGINNINGS OF NEW ENGLAND, OR THE PURITAN THEOCRACY IN ITS RELATION TO CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY, by John Fiske. A great little book. Mr. Fiske commanding an intimate acquaintance with the facts discourses upon them in a large philosophical way. Well worth study.
1898. HISTORIC TOWNS OF NEW ENGLAND, 8vo, is a bright, attractive work. Thirteen of the principal towns—there are really more, for the Cape Cod towns form a collective chapter—are described topographically and historically, each by a selected competent writer. The whole is edited by Lyman P. Powell, who contributes an introductory chapter. The work is furnished with a couple of old maps and various excellent illustrations. The writing has an agreeable literary flavour. The student of the Pilgrim history will find the chapters on Plymouth, Cambridge, Boston and the Cape Cod Towns profitable as well as delightful reading.

B. ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORIES.

1880. CONGREGATIONALISM AS SEEN IN ITS LITERATURE., by H. M. Dexter. New York. This noble volume marks a stage in the literature of Congregationalism. It gives the life of the exiles in Amsterdam and Leyden, and afterwards in New England very fully and with a wealth of reference to the whole literature of the subject which no other writer, probably, could rival. The great Bibliography attached to this volume is a treasure to all students of the subject.
1889. THE PURITAN AS A COLONIST AND REFORMER, by Ezra Hoyt Byington.
1900. THE PURITAN IN ENGLAND AND NEW ENGLAND, by the same author.

Both of Mr. Byington's volumes are thoroughly readable and interesting; they tell the large story of the Puritan settlement of which the story of the Pilgrims forms an introductory chapter. This is told with sympathy, but as preparing the way for a socially superior and more substantial settlement by those who were Puritans in old England but not Separatists. They became Congregational Separatists by the logic of their religious

Select Bibliography of the Pilgrim Fathers 23

position, as well as by the force of temporal circumstances. They carried easily across the ocean their evangelical theology, the theology of the XXXIX. Articles, and had no mind to set up the ecclesiastical machinery of episcopacy and the subordinate priesthood. The logic of circumstances led them into Congregationalism—or rather into a modification of Congregationalism, for which the somewhat formidable name of Presbyterialism has been suggested. The introductory Pilgrim section in both books is done sympathetically. Both volumes are slightly documented.

W. PIERCE.

(To be continued.)

SOME MAYFLOWER AUTOGRAPHS.

William Bradford

Wittme Brewster

J^{dw}; Benson

Myles Standish

Isaac Allerton

The Presbyterian Paternoster, Creed, and Ten Commandments

ON 19th February, 1680, old style (1681 new style)—about midway between the dissolution of the third and meeting of the last Parliament of Charles II.—there was published under the above title a broadsheet which for scurrility, profanity, and real or affected ignorance respecting the persons assailed, is happily almost without a parallel. It amused cynical men of the world, delighted while it shocked extreme High Churchmen, made Papists chuckle over its absurdities, filled Presbyterians with hot indignation at its villainous imputations, made Congregationalists wince by its crass confusion of them with their Presbyterian brethren; and—we may well suppose—delighted the dissolute king as he saw the wild turmoil into which it threw all sorts of people, sowing seeds of mutual suspicion and distrust among the malcontents in his kingdom, and giving spicy encouragement to his friends.

Our transcript is made from a copy that was purchased at a stationer's shop in Cornhill, and has been "impounded," tied up with other documents in a Sessions Roll, and preserved among the city records in the Crypt of the Guildhall. To justify the reprinting of so discreditable a production it is necessary to summarize briefly the events which led up to the crisis at which it first appeared.

The "Convention Parliament"—so called—which invited Charles II. to the throne of his ancestors, met at Westminster on 26th April, 1660. It included a large number of persons friendly to the Royal Family,

although most of them were Presbyterians. To show their eager loyalty several Presbyterian ministers hurried to Breda to lay their homage at the feet of Charles, and received the fairest promises of Toleration, and even of Comprehension, in other words the fullest "self determination" in matters of Church government—all to be laid aside and forgotten as soon as the reinstated prelates began to press for ecclesiastical and ritual uniformity. Breda was to the Presbyterian clergy what Brest-Litovsk has proved to the Russian Bolsheviks of to-day.

Charles landed in England on 29th May, 1660, and found a nation mad with joy at his return. The ball lay at his feet, through the loyal welcome he received as well from Presbyterians, established and disestablished alike, as from the reinstated Episcopalians; any discontent felt by Oliver's disbanded army and the excluded Puritan and Independent clergy being "snowed under" by the wild orgies attending his triumphal entry and the re-establishment of the prelatric hierarchy.

The first Parliament which Charles summoned by his own royal authority met on 8th May, 1661. It consisted mainly of old Cavaliers and their sons, all enthusiastic Royalists and still more enthusiastic supporters of Episcopacy, the "Roundhead" or Puritan party being very small and uninfluential, and the vast majority, under the lead of Clarendon and Sheldon, ready to do anything to please their gracious and complaisant king. It proved to be almost as long a Parliament as the last summoned by Charles I; *that* sat, with intervals, for nearly twenty years (3rd November, 1640—16th March, 1660); *this* continued seventeen years and almost nine months, being dissolved on 25th January, 1679.

Charles convened his second Parliament six weeks later, on 6th March, 1679; but it sat only five months, being dissolved by Proclamation on 13th August.

His third was summoned for 7th October, 1679; but after seven prorogations had actually met only on 21st October, 1680, and was dissolved on 18th or 19th January following, after sitting barely three months. The bare recital of these facts is enough to suggest the electric state of the political atmosphere, charged with tempestuous forces, ready to burst into the wildest storms on the slightest provocation. It was just then when the "Presbyterian Paternoster" appeared, startling everybody, as "a bolt" not "from the blue," but from a sky covered with piled-up thunder-clouds.

How can we account for the contrast between 1660 and 1680, the change from enthusiasm to disgust, from confidence and hope to distrust and antagonism? Almost wholly it was a question of Religion; not of Puritanism and Prelacy, but of Protestantism and Popery. The nation and its Parliament was still distinctly Protestant. "The Days of Queen Mary," though 120 years distant, were still a potent memory; and Protestantism had its stoutest champions in the Puritans, whether Episcopalian, Presbyterian, or Independent. Charles had come to Whitehall in 1660 with the largest professions of a convinced Protestant—so purely Protestant that he had been willing more than once to take the "Solemn League and Covenant," professing that his one anxiety was that all his dear Protestant subjects should live in amity with one another, and not disturb his princely ease by their sectarian squabbles. Yet all the while whatever slight tinge of religion he had was derived rather from the Papistry of his mother than from the Protestantism of his father; so that though he wore the Protestant mask to the end of his life he was full of Papist sympathies, and in his last moments sought a *vade mecum* from all his profligacies and perfidies in a Papist Mass.

Charles, though the father of a numerous illegitimate progeny, had no legitimate issue; and the next heir to the throne was his brother, James, Duke of York,

an avowed Papist, who enjoyed as much of his confidence and affection as such a nature as his might have to bestow. Year by year the dread of a Popish Successor became more and more oppressive, and disaffection was growing rife, even among Anglicans of the Laudian type, who were still distinctly, though nervously Protestant. As for the disillusioned Presbyterians, after the bitter and persistent persecution they had suffered under the Penal Statutes of 1662, 1664, 1665, and 1670, we cannot wonder that they had grown cool toward their faithless king, and longed for change in the government of Church and State, beginning to share the sentiments which all along had animated their Independent brethren. The disaffection was but partially dispelled by the Indulgence of 1672; so that after its withdrawal in 1673 it was only the fear of worse calamity that kept them from breaking with king and Parliament altogether.

When, in 1672, by an act of unconstitutional autocracy, Charles proclaimed his Indulgence, suspending all Penal Statutes passed by Parliament against Non-conformists, he meant it much more for the relief of his brother James and his papist friends than of Protestant Dissenters. He was prevented from realizing this aim by the strong pressure of three members of the "Cabal" Ministry—Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale. And when, on the reassembling of Parliament, the king was compelled to withdraw the Indulgence, they determined to make him see that, much as they disliked Protestant Dissenters, they disliked and distrusted Popish Recusants infinitely more. This they did by passing the Test Act, which excluded all genuine Papists from every public office in the State; and of course, by enforcing the resignation of Clifford and Arlington, broke up the Cabal.

For the next four years, 1674-78, Charles was working secretly for the freedom of the Papists, and indirectly for the re-establishment of papacy, by base

intrigues with France, the unveiling of which roused the Protestant passion of the English people to indignant fury. That fury was intensified tenfold by Titus Oates's pretended discovery of a Popish Plot against the life of the king. For eighteen months the air was full of distrust and mutual suspicion; venal informers, by false accusations, brought about the judicial murder of many innocent persons, and all Roman Catholics in the nation lived under a veritable reign of terror.

The situation became so strained that at the end of 1678, Charles dissolved his first Parliament; but his second (6th March, 1679), proved no more complaisant. They passed an Exclusion Bill to ensure a Protestant successor to the English throne; and to guard against those summary commitments which place the freedom of every citizen in danger, they passed the Habeas Corpus Act, which has been such a safeguard to the liberty of the subject ever since. But Charles would on no account assent to the disinheriting of his brother, and dissolved his second Parliament in July, 1679.

Compelled to summon a third, he issued writs for 7th October, 1679; but (as already stated) it did not actually meet till 21st October, 1680. Prosecutions and judicial murders of innocent persons still went on under the pretence of the Popish Plot; and before long Protestant Dissenters were charged with designs as nefarious as those of the Papists to destroy the monarchy and the Church of England. In sheer desperation the Papists themselves played upon the dislike and contempt for Nonconformists, so openly and persistently shown by the Prelatists; and endeavoured to shift the odium of disloyalty and incipient rebellion to the shoulders of these their fellow-recusants.

In October, 1679, a Papist, Thomas Dangerfield, sought to provide an antidote to Dr. Titus Oates by first concocting and then pretending to reveal a Protestant Plot against the king, his brother, and the Church of England. Forged letters addressed to prominent

Whigs, members of both houses of Parliament, implying their knowledge of and sympathy with the alleged plot, were secretly left at the houses of several Nonconformist Ministers; so that on discovery after search they might be convicted as plotters against both Church and State. Some of these letters were hidden in a meal-tub, whence the name of "The Meal-tub Plot." Happily it was so clumsily contrived that it failed of its purpose, and Dangerfield received the due reward of his villainy. Still, the insinuation had been launched by Dangerfield that the Presbyterians were as bad as the Papists and as dangerous; and bigoted Anglicans were ready to believe it.

Meanwhile many of the Whigs (or Country Party) were fixing their hopes of a Protestant Succession on the Duke of Monmouth, the eldest and most popular of Charles's many illegitimate children; and many Nonconformists were too easily persuaded that concealed proofs of his legitimacy could be produced. They more or less openly expressed themselves as willing to intrigue for him as the rival of the Papist Duke of York; so that when at length the long delayed Parliament did meet, Protestant Nonconformists had been brought under a cloud of suspicion as really as the Papists themselves.

The new Parliament sat for less than three months. The Commons again passed, but the Lords rejected, the Exclusion Bill; and the former gave the king plainly to understand that they would grant no supplies until that Bill received the Royal Assent. Both houses passed a Bill to lighten the persecution of Nonconformists by repealing the Act, 35 Eliz. c. 1; but Charles contrived that this bill should be omitted from those to which, on the dissolution of the Parliament, he was to give the necessary sanction.

It was a month after this, when the city was so seething with excitement and flaming with indignation that in summoning another Parliament for the 21st

30 **The Presbyterian Paternoster, Creed, etc.**

March, the king showed such mistrust of London that he called it to meet at Oxford, that this strange broad-sheet appeared.

THE PRESBYTERIAN PATER NOSTER, CREED, AND TEN
COMMANDMENTS.

—*Manent veteris vestigia fraudis.* VIRG.

THE PATER NOSTER.

Our Father which art in Hell, magnify'd be thy name, thy Arbitrary Kingdom come, thy Tyrannical will be done in England, now as it was in Forty-One ; Give Us this our Day a holy occasion for Rebellion ; and forgive others their holy Hypocrisy for our good Cause, and lead us not into an agreement of King and Parliament ; But Deliver us from Monarchy and Hierarchy , and then thine shall be this Kingdom, its Power and Glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

THE CREED.

I believe in *John Calvin*, the Father of our Religion, disposer of Heaven and Earth,* and in *Owen, Baxter, and Jenkins*,† his dear Sons our Lords, (*x*) who were conceived by the Spirit of Fanaticism, born of Schism and Faction, suffered under the *Act of Uniformity* ; were Silenced, Dead, and Buried, and had descended into Hell but that they rose again in the year of Toleration ; (*b*) ascended into Tub-Pulpits ; and now sit at the right hand of the Lord S , (*c*) from whence they are coming to Judge the *Church and State*. I believe in the *Holy Assembly of Divines*, the *Holy National Synod*, the *Separate Meetings*, the *Act of Oblivion*, the *Resurrection from Dead Rites*, and *Toleration Everlasting*. (*d*) Amen.

THE TEN COMMANDMENTS.

The same which *John Presbyter* hath spoken in twenty Chapters of his " Works," saying. I am the *Lord thy God*, which brought thee out of the *Land of Antichrist*, out of the *House of Ceremonial Bondage*.

I.

Thou shalt have no other Gods but Me.

* Dominion is founded in Gr. † They the only Saints.

II.

Thou shalt not make any Image, or likeness of any *Saint* in Heaven above (except *S. Oliver*, etc.) or bow down at the Adorable name of Jesus here on Earth, nor use the Sign of the Cross in the Waters of *Baptism*; for I the Lord thy God in my Jealousie murdered the Father, and will visit his *superseditious Iniquity* upon his Children, unto the third and fourth Generation of them that hate me, but shew Mercy unto thousands in them that love me, and keep my Damnable and Rebellious Commandments.

III.

Thou shalt not make the *Solemn League and Covenant* Vain, nor subscribe the *Declaration*, nor take the Oath of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, unless (with a Jesuitical *Salvo* to obtain places of Honour and Power.

IV.

Remember that thou keep holy the Remembrance of *Forty-One*. Many years didst thou labour, yet could'st not do all that thou hadst to do. But in *Forty-One* the Lord thy God sent thee a Sabbath of Deliverance; Thou shalt therefore now remember to do all manner of work that thou didst then, Thou and Thy Son, and thy Daughter, thy Man-Servant and thy Maid-Servant, the Brutes and Proselytes that are within thy Conventicles, for in *Forty-One* the Lord thy God made England and Scotland Rebellious; thou shalt therefore Bless the year *Forty-One*, and hallow it.

V.

Honour *Fanaticism* thy Father, and *Schism* thy Mother, that thy Days may be long in the land which the Lord thy God will once more give thee.

VI.

Thou shalt do no Murder, but upon *Majesty*, *Episcopacy*, and *Loyalty*.

VII.

Thou shalt not commit Adultery, save with the *Holy Sisterhood*, to get Babes of Grace.

VIII.

Thou shalt not Steal, unless by *Sequestration*, *Composition*, or *Publick Faith*.

IX.

Thou shalt not bear False Witness against a *Brother*, but may'st swallow Perjury by a Popish Reservation for the good of the Holy Cause.

X.

Thou shalt Covet nothing but *Crown Lands, Bishops' Lands,*
and the Estates of Malignants.

POSTSCRIPT.

This is our New Religion
Model'd by that of Forty-One;
And we must root up Monarchy
To stop the growth of Popery,
And undermining Church and State
Rome's practices we'll Antedate;
The better to prevent the *Plot*
Ourselves will do what they could
not. (a)
We'll cure all fear of *French Invasion*
By ruining at home the Nation;
And since Petitions do no good. (b)
And all our Tricks are understood,
Since he who never used to fail,
Doth now, our little *Matchiavel* (c)

We'll to the World Proclaim aloud
The *King* and *Duke* Thirst after
Bloud,
Curtis, Harris, Smith and *Carr* (d)
Shall thrice a week the Kingdom
scare
As if the *Devil, Turk* or *Pope*
Were just arrived in the *Hope*
We'll Authorize Men to Rebel (Hell,
By Tales from Hatfield, and from
And then persuade the silly Nation
That Treason comes by Revelation,
And that Imaginary Ghosts
Are Envoys from the Lord of Hosts.
Nor will We cease till We pull down
Episcopacy and the *Crown*.

Printed for *Tom-Tell-Truth*, at the Signe of the *Old King's Head*
in *Axe-yard* in *King Street*, Westminster,

the 19th ffeb. 1680. W
D. H.

Such is this strange mixture of blasphemous wit and keen satire, of knowledge and ignorance, of coarse defamation of scrupulous chastity (universally admitted) and unscrupulous insinuations of nefarious designs against Church and State, against Episcopacy and the Crown.

Who can have written it? "Tom Tell-Truth" might be anyone who posed as an unveiler of the bitter bigotry, revolutionary aims, and secret sedition of the pious Presbyterians. "The signe of the Old King's Head in Axe-yard in King Street, Westminster" might be a covert allusion to the decapitation of Charles I. in 1649. But Axe Yard, King Street, was a turning a little south of Downing Street, almost opposite the Privy Garden of Whitehall Palace, and was the abode of an old ejected Presbyterian, James Innes, whose son was active in securing Licences under the Indulgence in 1672, and who had retained the favour

of Lauderdale, and had playful relations with the king himself. But that was only the author's clumsy way of trying to foist this strange farrago of sectarian bigotry and revolutionary sedition on a Presbyterian. The heartless and blasphemous cynicism of the libel might suit a practical atheist like Buckingham or the younger Rochester. There are flashes of biting wit that might bespeak a poor imitation of Andrew Marvell. Were it not for its utter lack of religious reverence, and its senseless dragging in of Oliver Cromwell and Dr. John Owen, some might be tempted to think of it as a cruel thrust at Presbyterian bigotry by an Independent who had suffered from it, like John Goodwin or Henry Burton. Its framework, and the familiarity it shews with every clause and phrase of the documents travestied, suggest an Anglican parson. There is an animus bitter enough, and an ignorance of his opponent's position lofty and contemptuous enough to warrant such a conjecture; but the coarse profanity is scarcely compatible with the decorous piety and reverence of a University-trained and Episcopally-Ordained Clergyman of the State Church. And yet that is exactly what the author was—by his own confession.

It would seem that the instantaneous popularity of the broadsheet had turned the author's head, and he was unable to keep the secret. It was soon known, or at least strongly suspected, that he was a country clergyman who had been a good deal about town of late—by name *Thomas Ashenden*, Rector of Dingley in the county of Northampton, scarcely more than a mile east of Market Harborough. So much being known the authorities would soon be on the track of the Printer and Publisher as well; and all three were indicted for it at the Guildhall in April, 1681.

G. L. TURNER.

(To be continued.)

State Prayers—from the Niblock Collection

(Continued from Vol. VII ; p. 381.)

(X) *A Form of Prayer and Solemn Thanksgiving to Almighty God for his Majesties' late Victories over the Rebels ; to be observed in all Churches and Chapels throughout the Kingdom upon Sunday, the Twenty-sixth of this Instant July, 1685.*

[The battle on Sedgemoor had been fought on 6th July. The proper Collect was that which now stands in the Prayer Book as a Thanksgiving "For peace and deliverance from our enemies"; and after the Litany was to be said that "For restoring Public Peace at home." In the Communion Service the following was appointed:—]

O Lord our God, who by thine Infinite Power and Wisdom dost govern all things, we adore and magnifie thy great and glorious name ; confessing that to thy good providence over us we entirely owe both our being and our preservation. We are here before thee this day to make this humble acknowledgment, as every one of us for himself in particular, so all of us together in the name of this whole nation, to which both now of late and heretofore thou hast vouchsafed so many great and publick Deliverances. Thou art our God, who hast so often and so wonderfully defeated the designs of ambitious, restless, and bloodthirsty men : to whom hadst thou given us up for a prey (as our sins most justly deserved) our blood would have been spilt like water on the ground, we must have lost all that is dear to us in this world, and we should have been overwhelmed in a deluge of sects and heresies, of wars and confusions, of which we could not have expected to see any other issue than the final ruin and destruction of this kingdom, and thy Church amongst us. O our God, how gracious hast thou been unto us all ; and to many of us even against our own wills ! How much better hast thou provided for us than we ourselves could, or would have done, hadst thou left us in the hands of our own foolish counsels ! Into thy blessed hands, O God, we entirely surrender and give up ourselves, and whatever concerns us ; beseeching thee to be still the same gracious God to us, and to our posterity after us. And the better to prepare and qualifie us for the continuance of thy care and good providence, enable us by thy grace to live like a people whom thou hast so often and so wonderfully redeemed ; not following the dictates of our own unruly lusts or passions, not listening any longer to those that go about with lies, and slander the footsteps of

State Prayers—from the Niblock Collection 35

thine Anointed ; but studying every one to be quiet, and to do our own business, fearing God, and honouring our King, and loving one another, and hereby adorning our most holy profession ; that so being delivered from our enemies, and from the hands of all that hate us, we may serve thee without fear in holiness and righteousness before thee all the days of our life, to the glory of thy name, which is exalted above all blessing and praise ; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

[*In the evening, before the two final prayers :—*]

A Prayer for our Enemies. Father of Mercies, and Lover of Souls, who art kind to the unthankful and to the evil, and hast commanded us also to extend our charity even to those that hate us and despitefully use us : We beseech thee, as to accept our prayers and praises which we have this day offered up unto thee in behalf of all that are faithful and loyal in the land, so also to enlarge thy mercy and pity even to those that are our enemies. O most wise and powerful Lord God, in whose hands are the hearts of all men, as the rivers of water, to turn them whithersoever thou wilt ; work mightily upon the minds of all parties among us. Turn the hearts of the children to the fathers, and the disobedient to the wisdom of the just ; and so make them a ready people prepared for the Lord. Thou that sittest between the Cherubim, be the earth never so unquiet ; thou that stillest the raging of the sea, and the noise of the waves, and the madness of the people : Stir up thy strength, and come and help us. Let the wickedness of the wicked come to an end. Take away his ungodliness, and thou shalt find none. Let the fierceness of man turn to thy praise, and the remainder of wrath do thou restrain. To this end take from them all their prejudices and all their passions ; their confident mistakes, their carnal ends, and their secular interests. Open the blind eyes, that they may see (at least in this their day) the things which belong to their peace, and wisely considering thy work may say. This hath God done ; and so hear and fear, and do no more wickedly. Soften the most obdurate hearts into a meek, humble, and docible temper, that they may no longer resist the truth. Bow down the stiff neck and the iron sinew to the gentle and easie yoke of thy most holy law. Take away the brow of brass and the whore's forehead, and make their faces ashamed, that they may seek thy name. Sweeten, if it may be, the gall of bitterness, and loose the bands of iniquity, and guide their feet into the way of peace. And thus redouble upon us, O Lord, the joys of this day, that we may not only triumph in the disappointment of their wicked imaginations, but with thy holy angels in heaven rejoice for their conversion. Which great blessing with the most ardent affections of our Souls we beg of thee, for thy tender Mercies sake, through the Merits and Mediation of Jesus Christ, thy blessed Son, our only Saviour. Amen.

36 State Prayers—from the Niblock Collection

(XI) *A Form or Order of Thanksgiving and Prayer to be used in London, and ten miles round it, on Sunday, the 15th of this Instant January, and throughout England, on Sunday, the 29th of the same month . . . in behalf of the King, the Queen, and the Royal Family.* 1688.

Proper Psalms—21, 127, 128, 132.

Proper Lessons—1st., Gen. 17 to v. 17; 2nd., Hebr. 11.

Versicles after the Creed—O Lord, save the King :

And evermore mightily defend him.

Present him with the blessings of Goodness :

And make him glad with the joy of thy countenance.

O Lord save thy servant the Queen :

And make her a joyful mother of children.

First Collect—O Almighty God, the Fountain of all Life, by whose only gift it cometh that mankind is increased. Blessed be that good providence which has vouchsafed us fresh hopes of Royal Issue by our Gracious Queen Mary; strengthen her, we beseech thee, and perfect what thou hast begun. Command thy holy angels to watch over her continually, and defend her from all dangers and evil accidents; that what she has conceived may be happily brought forth, to the joy of our sovereign lord the King, the further establishment of his crown, the happiness and welfare of the whole kingdom, and the glory of thy great name. Which we humbly beg of thy gracious goodness, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

After the Litany—Almighty and everlasting God, we most humbly acknowledge that in thee alone we live, move, and have our being, and that children and the fruit of the womb are a gift and heritage that cometh only of thee. We therefore devoutly beseech thee to preserve and protect our most gracious sovereign lord king James, and so bless him that he may see his children's children, and peace upon Israel. We pray thee also for his royal consort Queen Mary. Make her O Lord, as a fruitful vine upon the walls of his house, and his children like olive branches round about his table. Encrease and multiply the whole Royal family, that the king's seed may endure for ever, and his throne be as the sun before thee. So we thy people shall remember, and praise thy name from one generation to another, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

[There is more in the same strain, which it is not worth while to reproduce.]

(XII) *A Form of Prayer with Thanksgiving for the safe delivery of the Queen and happy birth of the young Prince. To be used on Sunday next, being the seventeenth day of this instant June . . . within the cities of London and Westminster, and ten miles distance, and on the first day of July next in all other places throughout this kingdom.* 1688.

State Prayers—from the Niblock Collection 37

Proper Psalms—72, 89.

Proper Lessons—1st, Isaiah 12; 2nd, Matt. 22, from v. 15 to the end.

First Collect—O Almighty and everlasting Lord God of heaven and earth, who madest the world and all that is therein, and givest to all men life and breath and all things; We devoutly offer our most hearty thanks to thy divine Majesty, that thou hast given our dread Sovereign his heart's desire, and hast not denied us the request of our lips, in blessing him and our gracious Queen with a son, and all his subjects with a prince. Stablish the thing, O God, that thou hast wrought among us. Grant the princely infant health, strength and long life, that he may live to grow up in thy fear, and to thy glory, and to excell in all virtues becoming his high birth, and the royal dignity to which thou hast ordained him. O prepare thy loving mercy and faithfulness, that they may ever preserve him, for the honour of thy name, and the establishment of the peace, security and happiness of these nations from generation to generation. And this we beg for Jesus Christ his sake, our only Mediatour and Redeemer. Amen.

After the prayer "for the Church Militant," the following:—

O Lord our Governour, whose Name is excellent in all the World, and who art king for ever and ever, We praise and bless thy divine goodness for all the marvellous protections and signal favours thou hast vouchsafed thy servant our gracious king James; particularly that after thou hadst preserved him from the dangers of war, from the rage of the sea, and from the madness of the people, thou didst in thy due time bring him to great honour, by setting him on the throne of his ancestors, and hast now enlarged thy blessings towards him, by this happy increase of the Royal Issue. We most humbly beseech thee to continue and multiply these thy mercies to him and us: that thou would'st give him sons to grow up as the young plants, and that his daughters may be as the polished corners of the temple. Bless, O Lord, the whole Royal family, with the blessings of the heavens above, with the blessings of the deep beneath, with the blessings of the breasts and of the womb: that when the king's days shall be fulfilled, and he shall sleep with his fathers in peace and glory, his seed may be set up after him, and his house and kingdom may be established for ever before thee. Grant this, O Lord, for Jesus Christ his sake our only Saviour. Amen.

[It is interesting to compare the above with that which was ordained by "the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, assembled at Westminster," on 22nd January, 1688/9.]

The Heads of Agreement, 1691

IN Dale's "History of English Congregationalism," pp. 474 fig., a fair and on the whole sympathetic account is given of the agreement of the Independent and Presbyterian Ministers of London—that "Happy Union" which Matthew Mead celebrated in a long remembered sermon on Ezek. xxxvii. 16-17, in view of which the saintly Flavel was prepared to adopt the song of Simeon, and which became the pattern of many Ministerial Associations in various parts of the country. As it is now seventy-five years since the "Heads" were last fully reproduced in England, it is thought that a careful reprint, *verbatim et literatim* from the original edition, may be acceptable to our subscribers.

It is worthy of notice that, of the five standards of sound doctrine enumerated in Head VIII., all but the first are definitely Calvinistic.

Heads of Agreement

Assented to by the

United Ministers

In and about LONDON

Formerly called

PRESBYTERIAN

AND

CONGREGATIONAL

Licensed and Entred according to Order.

LONDON :

Printed by R.R. for Tho. Cockerill, at the *Three Legs*, and John Dunton, at the *Raven*, in the *Poultry*. MDCXCI.

THE PREFACE TO THE READER.

*E*Ndeavours for an Agreement among Christians will be grievous to none who desire the flourishing State of Christianity itself. The Success of these Attempts among us, must be ascribed to a Presence of God so signal, as not to be concealed; and seems a hopeful Pledg of further Blessings.

The favour of our Rulers in the present Established Liberty, we most thankfully acknowledg; and to Them we are studious to approve our selves in the whole of this Affair. Therefore we Declare against intermeddling with the National Church-Form: Imposing these Terms of Agreement on others, is disclaimed: All pretence to Coercive Power, is as unsuitable to our Principles, as to our Circumstances: Excommunication it self, in our respective Churches, being no other than a declaring such scandalous Members as are irreclaimable, to be incapable of Communion with us in things peculiar to visible Believers: And in all, we expresly determine our purpose, to the maintaining of Harmony and Love among our selves, and preventing the inconveniences which humane weakness may expose to in our use of this Liberty.

The general concurrence of Ministers and People in this City, and the great disposition thereto in other places, persuade us, this happy Work is undertaken in a season designed for such Divine influence, as will overcome all impediments to Peace, and convince of that Agreement which has been always among us in a good degree, though neither to ourselves nor others so evident, as hereby it is now acknowledged.

Need there any Arguments to recommend this Union? Is not this what we all have prayed for, and Providence by the directest indications hath been long calling and

disposing us to? can either Zeal for God, or prudent regards to ourselves remissly suggest it, seeing the Blessings thereof are so important, and when it's become in so many respects even absolutely necessary; especially as it may conduce to the preservation of the Protestant Religion, and the Kingdom's Weal; a subserviency whereto, shall always govern our United Abilities, with the same disposition to a convenience with all others who are duly concerned for those National Blessings.

As these considerations render this Agreement desirable, so they equally urge a watchful care against all attempts of Satan to dissolve it, or frustrate the good effects thereof so manifestly destructive to his Kingdom. Therefore it's incumbent on us, to forbear condemning and disputing those different sentiments and practices we have expressly allowed for: to reduce all distinguishing Names, to that of United Brethren: To admit no uncharitable jealousies, or censorious speeches; much less any debates whether Party seems most favoured by this Agreement. Such carnal regards are of small moment with us, who herein have used words less accurate, that neither side might in their various conceptions about lesser matters be contradicted, when in all substantials we are fully of one mind; and from this time hope more perfectly to rejoice in the Honour, Gifts, and Success of each other, as our common good.

That we as United, may contribute our utmost to the great concernments of our Redeemer, it's mutually resolved, we will assist each other with our Labours, and meet and consult without the least shadow of separate or distinct Parties: whence we joyfully expect great Improvements in Light and Love, through the more abundant supplies of the Spirit; being well assured we herein serve that Prince of Peace, of the increase of whose Government and Peace, there shall be no end.

This Agreement is already assented to by above
Fourscore Ministers, and the Preface approved of.

HEADS OF AGREEMENT

Assented to by the
United Ministers, &c.

The following Heads of AGREEMENT have been resolved upon, by the UNITED Ministers in and about London, formerly called Presbyterian and Congregational; not as a Measure for any National Constitution, but for the Preservation of Order in our Congregations, that cannot come up to the Common Rule by Law established.

**I. Of CHURCHES and CHURCH-
MEMBERS.**

1. *WE acknowledge our Lord Jesus Christ to have One Catholick Church, or Kingdom, comprehending all that are united to Him, whether in Heaven or Earth. And do conceive the whole multitude of visible Believers, and their Infant Seed (commonly called the Catholick Visible Church) to belong to Christ's Spiritual Kingdom in this world: But for the notion of a Catholic Visible Church here, as it signifies its having been collected into any formed Society, under a Visible human Head on Earth, whether one Person singly, or many collectively, We, with the rest of Protestants, unanimously disclaims it.*

2. *We agree, That particular Societies of Visible Saints, who under Christ their Head, are stately joined together for ordinary Communion with one another, in all the Ordinances of Christ, are particular Churches, and are to be owned by each other, as Instituted Churches of Christ though differing in apprehensions and practice in some lesser things.*

3. *That none shall be admitted as Members, in order to Communion in all the special Ordinances of the Gospel, but such persons as are knowing and sound in the fundamental Doctrines of the Christian Religion, without Scandal in their Lives; and to a Judgment regulated by the Word of God, are persons of visible Godliness and Honesty; credibly professing cordial subjection to Jesus Christ.*

4. *A competent Number of such visible Saints (as before described) do become the capable Subjects of stated Communion in all the special Ordinances of Christ, upon their mutually declared consent and agreement to walk together therein according to Gospel Rule. In which declaration, different degrees of Explicitness, shall in no way hinder such Churches from owning each other, as Instituted Churches.*

5. *The Parochial Bounds be not of Divine Right, yet for common Edification, the Members of a particular Church ought (as much as conveniently may be) to live near one another.*

6. *That each particular Church hath Right to chuse their own Officers; and being furnished with such as are duly qualified and ordained according to the Gospel Rule, hath Authority from Christ for exercising Government, and of enjoying all the Ordinances of Worship within itself.*

7. *In the Administration of Church Power, it belongs to the Pastors and other Elders of every particular Church (if such there be), to Rule and Govern; and to the Brotherhood to Consent, according to the Rule of the Gospel.*

8. *That all Professors as before described, are bound in duty, as they have opportunity, to join themselves as fixed members of some particular Church; their thus joining being part of their professed subjection to the Gospel of Christ, and an instituted means of their Establishment and Education; whereby they are under the Pastoral Care, and in case of scandalous or offensive walking,*

may be Authoritatively Admonished or Censured for their recovery, and for vindication of the Truth, and the Church professing it.

9. *That a visible Professor thus joined to a particular Church ought to continue stedfastly with the said Church; and not forsake the Ministry and Ordinances there dispensed, without an orderly seeking a recommendation unto another Church. Which ought to be given, when the case of the person apparently requires it.*

II. Of the MINISTRY.

WE agree, That the Ministerial Office is instituted by Jesus Christ, for the Gathering, Guiding, Edifying, and Governing of his Church; and to continue to the end of the world.

2. *They who are called to this Office, ought to be endued with competent Learning and Ministerial Gifts, as also with the Grace of God, sound in judgment, not Novices in the Faith and Knowledge of the Gospel; without scandal, of holy Conversation, and such as denote themselves to the Work and Service thereof.*

3. *That ordinarily none shall be Ordained to the work of this Ministry, but such as are called and chosen thereunto by a particular Church.*

4. *That in so great and weighty a matter, as the calling and choosing a Pastor, we judg it ordinarily requisite, That every such Church consult and advise with the Pastors of Neighbouring Congregations.*

5. *That after such Advise, the Person consulted about, being chosen by the Brotherhood of that particular Church over which he is to be set, and he accepting, be duly ordained, and set apart to his Office over them; wherein 'tis ordinarily requisite. That the Pastors of Neighbouring Congregations concur with the Preaching Elder, or Elders, if such there be.*

6. *That whereas such Ordination is only intended for such as never before had been ordained to the Ministerial Office; If any judge, that in the case also of the removal of one formerly ordained, to a new Station or Pastorial Charge, there ought to be a like Solemn recommending of him and his Labours to the Grace and Blessing of God; no different Sentiments or Practice herein, shall be any occasion of Contenton or Breach of Communion among us.*

7. *It is expedient, that they who enter on the work, of Preaching the Gospel, be not only qualified for Communion of Saints; but also that, except in cases extraordinary, they give proof of their Gifts and fitness for the said work, unto the Pastors of Churches of known abilities to discern and judge of their qualifications; That they may be sent forth with Solemn Approbation and Prayer; which we judge needful, that no doubt may remain concerning their being Called to the work; and for preventing (as much as in us lieth) Ignorant and rash Intruders.*

III. OF CENSURES.

I. *AS it cannot be avoided, but that in the Purest Churches on earth, there will sometimes Offences and Scandals arise by reason of Hypocrisie and prevailing corruption; so Christ hath made it the Duty of every Church, to reform it self by Spiritual Remedies, appointed by him to be applied in all such cases; viz. Admonition, and Excommunication.*

2. *Admonition, being the rebuking of an Offending Member in order to conviction, is in case of private offences to be performed according to the Rule in Matthew xviii. 15, 16, 17, and in case of Public offences openly before the Church, as the Honour of the Gospel, and Nature of the Scandal shall require: And if either of the Admonitions take place for the recovery of the fallen Person, all further proceeding in a way of censure, are*

thereon to cease, and satisfaction to be declared accordingly.

3. *When all due means are used, according to the Order of the Gospel, for the restoring an offending and scandalous Brother; and he notwithstanding remains Impenitent, the Censure of Excommunication is to be proceeded unto; Wherein the Pastor and other Elders (if there be such) are to lead, and go before the Church; and the Brotherhood to give their consent, in a way of obedience unto Christ, and unto the Elders, as over them in the Lord.*

4. *It may sometimes come to pass, that a Church-Member, not otherwise Scandalous, may sinfully withdraw, and divide himself from the Communion of the Church to which he belongeth: In which case, when all due means for the reducing him, prove ineffectual, he having hereby cut himself off from that Churches Communion; the Church may justly esteem and declare itself discharged of any further inspection over him.*

IV. OF COMMUNION OF CHURCHES.

1. *WE agree, that Particular Churches ought not to walk so distinct and separate from each other, as not to have care and tenderness towards one another. But their Pastors ought to have frequent meetings together, that by Mutual Advice, Support, Encouragement, and Brotherly intercourse, they may strengthen the hearts and hands of each other in the ways of the Lord.*

2. *That none of our particular Churches shall be subordinate to one another; each being endued with equality of Power from Jesus Christ. And that none of the said particular Churches, their Officer, or Officers, shall exercise any Power, or have any Superiority over any other Church, or their Officers.*

3. *That known Members of particular Churches,*

constituted as aforesaid, may have occasional Communion with one another in the Ordinances of the Gospel, viz. the Word, Prayer, Sacraments, Singing Psalms, dispensed according to the mind of Christ: Unless that Church with which they desire Communion, hath any just exceptions against them.

4. *That we ought not to admit any one to be a Member of our respective Congregations, that hath joined himself to another, without endeavours of mutual Satisfaction of the Congregations concerned.*

5. *That one Church ought not to blame the Proceedings of another, until it hath heard what that Church charged its Elders, or Messengers, can say in vindication of themselves from any charge of irregular or injurious Proceedings.*

6. *That we are most willing and ready to give an account of our Church Proceedings to each other, when desired; for preventing or removing any offences that may arise among us. Likewise we shall be ready to give the right hand of fellowship, and walk together according to the Gospel Rule of Communion of Churches.*

V. Of DEACONS and RULING ELDERS.

WE agree, The Office of a Deacon is of Divine Appointment, and that it belongs to their Office to receive, lay out, and distribute the Churches Stock to its proper uses, by the direction of the Pastor, and the Brethren if need be. And whereas divers are of opinion, That there is also the Office of Ruling Elders, who labour not in word and doctrine; and others think otherwise; We agree That this difference make no breach among us.

VI. Of Occasional MEETINGS of
Ministers, &c.

1. *WE agree, That in order to concord, and in any other weighty and difficult cases, it is needful, and according to the mind of Christ, that the Ministers of several Churches be consulted and advised with about such matters.*
2. *That such Meetings may consist of smaller or greater Numbers, as the matter shall require.*
3. *That particular Churches, their respective Elders, and Members, ought to have a reverential regard to their judgment so given, and not dissent therefrom, without apparent grounds from the word of God.*

VII. Of our Demeanour towards the
CIVIL MAGISTRATE.

1. *WE do reckon ourselves obliged continually to pray for God's Protection, Guidance, and Blessing upon the Rulers set over us.*
2. *That we ought to yield unto them not only subjection in the Lord, but support, according to our station and abilities.*
3. *That if at any time it shall be their pleasure to call together any Number of us, or require any account of our Affairs, and the state of our Congregations, we shall most readily express all dutiful regard to them herein.*

VIII. Of a CONFESSIO^N of FAITH.

AS to what appertains to soundness of judgment in matters of Faith, we esteem it sufficient, That a Church acknowledge the Scriptures to be the word of God, the perfect and only Rule of Faith and

Practice, and own either the *Doctrinal part of those commonly called the Articles of the Church of England, or the Confession, or Catechisms, Shorter or Larger, compiled by the Assembly at Westminster, or the Confession agreed to at the Savoy, to be agreeable to the said Rule.*

IX. Of our *Duty and Deportment*
towards them that are not in Communion
with us.

1. **W**E judge it our duty to bear a Christian Respect to all Christians, according to their several Ranks and Stations, that are not of our Persuasion or Communion.

2. As for such as may be ignorant of the Principles of the Christian Religion, or of vicious conversation, we shall in our respective Places, as they give us opportunity, endeavour to explain to them the Doctrine of Life and Salvation, and to our utmost persuade them to be reconciled to God.

3. That such who appear to have the essential Requisites to Church Communion, we shall willingly receive 'hem in the Lord, not troubling them with Disputes about lesser matters.

As we Assent to the forementioned HEADS of AGREEMENT, so we Unanimously Resolve, as the Lord shall enable us, to *Practice* according to them.

FINIS.

Registration under the Toleration Act

THE following appears to be of interest as an illustration of the conditions under which a Measure of Religious Freedom was enjoyed two hundred years ago.

Extracted out of the Registry of the Consistory Court of the Lord Bishop of London :—

“ We whose names are hereunto subscribed, being inhabitants of the parish of Dedham in the county of Essex and in the diocese of the Bishop of London doe hereby Certifye that a Meeting house lately built in Dedham aforesaid is intended to be used as and for a place of Religious Worship for such Protestant Dissenters from the Church of England as are commonly called Independents, Bezaleel Blomfield being their pastor or teacher. We do hereby desire that the same place may be Registered in the Registry of the Bishop of London, pursuant to an Act of Parliament in that case made and provided ; as witness our hands this second day of September, 1738.

Henry Sida
Willm. Parker
Willm. Richardson
Richd. Peacock

Josp. Branston
Edm. Sherman
John Salmon
W. Skelton, registerar

(The Church Act is dated 30th September, 1741 ; only one name, that of Wm. Richardson, is common to both documents.)

The Fakenham Theological Seminary

FAKENHAM is a small market town in Norfolk, about twenty miles from King's Lynn, twenty-five from Norwich, and 120 from London. Its population at the commencement of the last century but a little exceeded 1,200; it is now about 3,200. It stands about the middle of an area of above 200 square miles, containing nearly 40 villages, in which, in 1795, evangelical Nonconformity was represented by one solitary Wesleyan Chapel. In that year a Congregational Church was formed in the town, and a Baptist Church six years later. For a time these were united under a Baptist minister, but on his death, in 1819, a separation took place, and a new chapel was erected. In 1827, Rev. William Legge, from Highbury College, undertook the pastorate, and was ordained on 2nd April, 1828.

For nine years Mr. Legge laboured with a fair measure of success, but amidst social difficulties such as are now happily unusual. In addition to his regular pastoral duties he had done an amount of evangelistic work in the surrounding villages which would have severely tasked the energies of a stronger man. In many of these villages ignorance, ungodliness, and social disorder abounded; while the claims of religion were only presented by representatives of the State Church, some of whom were habitually negligent, and some openly scandalous.

In 1837 the committee of Highbury College, and afterwards that of Homerton College proposed to Mr. Legge that he should undertake the preliminary training of students who were looking forward to the Christian Ministry, but whose early education had been defective, or whose aptitude required testing. The proposal received also cordial support from the Directors of the London Missionary Society. The instruction was to be of a preparatory nature, the men when qualified being transferred to one or other of the regular colleges; and they were to engage in definite evangelistic work in the villages. The institution was to be on a proprietary basis, and it was to be affiliated with Highbury College.

The first two students received were Joseph G. Pigg, afterwards for many years pastor of Marlborough Chapel, Old Kent Road, and Mr. B. B. Woodward, who devoted himself to literary pursuits, and became librarian at Windsor Castle. As the number of students increased, larger domestic accommodation became necessary. A

large house, about a mile from the town, was purchased ; and there for several years from ten to fourteen young men were constantly to be found receiving instruction and being exercised in Home Missionary work. No account is preserved of the course of instruction pursued ; it would probably vary with the varied deficiencies of the men. The whole household was regarded as a family ; and many letters are extant—confirmed by the testimony of survivors—bearing witness to the warm affection in which both Mr. and Mrs. Legge were held by their pupils. The students held services in cottages, farm houses, and in the open ; and the villagers were familiarized as never before with the truths of the gospel. There was occasional opposition from well-intentioned ignorance. Some members of the congregation were high Calvinists, and thought Mr. Legge dangerously lax both in doctrine and discipline—though in both he was more puritanic than is usual in these days. One deacon was horribly scandalized to find that the students actually played cricket.

There are indications that the proprietary basis of the Seminary was not quite satisfactory ; and that at one time it proved a drain on Mr. Legge's private resources. In this view the following card, which was prepared for circulation, is not without interest :—

“Theological Seminary, Fakenham. In this Institution, which is conducted by the Rev. W. Legge, Pastor of the Independent Church at Fakenham, candidates for admission into the Dissenting Colleges pursue a course of preparatory instruction. Opportunity is also afforded for the mature consideration of their important object, at a period when a secular employment may be most easily resumed. Mr. Legge has much pleasure in referring to all his former pupils, nearly a hundred in number—to their respective Pastors in all parts of England—and to the Tutors of the several Colleges to which they have proceeded.”

The Seminary was discontinued in 1853 ; but Mr. Legge continued to minister at Fakenham till his death, which occurred suddenly on 12th December, 1859. The only publication which bears his name is “*A Pastoral Letter*” addressed to the Church in 1852, on the completion of twenty-five years' ministry. But he published anonymously “*One Thousand Questions on the Old and New Testament*” ; and several manuals on Ancient and Modern History.

LIST OF STUDENTS AT FAKENHAM

The following list is not complete ; it is based on one lent by H. J. Legge, Esq., of Birkenhead, with additions from “*Year-Book*” obituaries and other sources.

Date.	Name.	Subsequent Training.	Pastorate, etc.
1838	Woodward, B. B.	Highbury	Harleston ; afterwards Librarian at Windsor Castle
..	Pigg, Joseph G.	do.	Wymondham ; Marlborough Chapel, London

The Fakenham Theological Seminary

Date.	Name.	Subsequent Training.	Pastorate, etc.
1839	Holford, J. A.	—	—
..	Griffiths, E.	Highbury	Merthyr; Wiveliscombe; Brisbane
..	Bendall, B. O.	do.	Stamford
..	Jeffries, D. F.	—	—
1840	Buck, J. D.	—	—
..	Jenkin, John	—	Rye
..	Strongman, J.	—	Chapmanslade, Wilts.
1841	Reading, Jas.	—	Walton; Wheathampstead
..	Hill, Micaiah	Springhill	East Retford; Brixham Birmingham
..	Lind, W. A.	Hackney	Missionary, South Seas
..	Willis, John	—	—
..	Sainsbury, T. B.	Highbury	Finchingfield; Waterloo; Duxford
..	Sleigh, Jas.	do.	Hockliffe, Beds.
..	Ray, A. S.	—	Sydenham
1842	Johnson, N. W.	—	—
..	Hebditch, Saml.	Highbury	Bristol
..	Gammon, A.	—	—
..	Tozer, Hy.	—	—
..	Amphlett, Hy.	—	—
..	Jeffries, G.	Highbury	Glastonbury
1843	Basden, F. T.	do.	Potton
..	Roe, W. H.	—	Portsea
1844	Chancellor, H.	Highbury	Ledbury; St. Heliers; Salis- bury
..	Fleming, J. P.	do.	Lancaster
1845	Hall, G. F.	do.	Linton, Camb.
..	Ray, Thos.	University, London	Hatfield; Bishop's Stortford; Clapham; &c.
..	Chambers, W. H.	—	—
..	Lawrence, H. B.	—	—
1846	Williams, R. Gould	—	Rochdale
..	Carpenter, Jas. Jos.	Cheshunt	Clavering
..	Lander, J. W.	—	—
..	Gur er, T. T.	—	—
1847	Pe c o c k, T. R.	—	—
..	Sil n g t o n, J. S.	—	—
..	W r i g h t, G.	—	—
..	Buzacott, Aaron	New Col.	Long Sutton; Romford; Peckham
..	Alexander, J. F.	do.	Chichester; Stretton-under- Fosse; Ipswich
..	Jones, R. Pierce	do.	Sedbergh; Saxmundham; Rotherhithe; Burgess Hill
..	Turquand, Paul J.	do.	Walworth
..	Thompson, W.	—	—
..	Kilpin, S. Wells.	—	—
..	Aylen, W. H.	—	—
1848	Foyster, Albert	Newport Pagnell	Cuckfield; Brighton
..	Baylis, Fred	Rotherham	Missionary, Neyoor, India
..	Kent, Wm.	—	Missionary, Berbice
..	Parkinson, H. W.	Coward	Rochdale
..	Bellows, G. C.	Highbury	Blackheath

The Fakenham Theological Seminary

53

Date.	Name.	Subsequent Training.	Pastorate, etc.
1848	White, F. M. ..	New Col.	Tisbury
..	Stuchbery, Jos.	do.	Tiverton ; Wakefield
..	Morrison, A. ..	Cotton End	Abbotts Roothing ; Richmond, Yorks.
..	Tarleton, R. A.	-----	-----
..	Green, Chas. ..	-----	-----
..	Saunders, Jas.	-----	-----
..	Manton, Matt. . .	-----	-----
1849	Davison, W. ..	Cheshunt	Bolton
..	Hope		
..	Soden, Frank ..	do.	Clapton
..	Taylor, Arthur	-----	-----
1850	Jones, John ..	Cotton End	Missionary, New Hebrides
..	Insull, J. G. ..	Cheshunt	Bedford
..	French, J. B. ..	do.	Richmond
..	Barker, Johnson	New Col.	Leicester
1851	Goward, Henry	Spring Hill	Luton ; Spring Hill
..	Davies, J. D. ..	Hackney	Blakeney ; Wareham
..	Sisterton, Walter	Cheshunt	Leamington
..	H.		
..	Mombert, J. ..	-----	-----
..	Miller, Geo. ..	-----	-----
1845(abt.)	Hirschberg,	-----	Medical Missionary at Hong-Kong
..	H. J.		
1841(abt.)	Roberts, W.	Hackney	High Wycombe ; Notting Hill.

Religious Liberty 110 Years Ago.

IN glancing over volumes of the Evangelical Magazine dated a little more than a hundred years ago, it is instructive to find reports of cases which illustrate the spirit that prompted Lord Sidmouth's Bill of 1811, and was barely held in check by the "New Toleration Act" of 1812 (52 Geo. III. cap. 155).

I. In September, 1810, a house in the parish of Childrey, Berks., was registered under the Toleration Act of 1689 as a Methodist meeting place; and duly certified in the registry of the Bishop of Salisbury. In this house preaching was usual once every Sunday, and a prayer meeting was held on the Sunday evening. Such a meeting was held on Sunday evening, 21st October, in which William Kent, William Franklin, and others took part. During part of the evening a woman servant of the parish clergyman, a constable, and others were present, evidently to play the part of informers. In the ensuing week the parson laid an information before a local magistrate, under the Conventicle Act (21 Chas. II.), against Kent and Franklin for "teaching and praying," they having, apparently, not qualified as Dissenting Ministers by making the Declaration required in the Toleration Act. They were fined £20 each; and Kent refusing to pay, the fine was recovered by distraint. Due notice of appeal was given; the appeal was heard on 15th January, 1811, before Lord Radnor and the Bench of Justices at Reading. Counsel for the respondent magistrate argued that although Kent had not preached, he had prayed, and "it is impossible to pray without teaching"; "When

it is said, 'Our Father which art in heaven,' is it not an assertion that God is in heaven?" The witnesses were quite unable to repeat any sentence that Mr. Kent had uttered, and the woman admitted that she did not see him, and could only swear to two detached words. Nevertheless the Earl of Radnor summed up as strongly as possible in favour of the respondent, fully endorsing the plea that praying audibly is teaching, and therefore within the purview of the Conventicle Act; and simply bullied the jury into returning a verdict accordingly. Mr. Kent's solicitor immediately took objection to the whole proceeding, as informal and illegal. The matter was removed by *certiorari* to the Court of King's Bench; the case was heard at the following Easter term, the conviction was quashed, and the £20 was returned to the defendant by the magistrate. But Bennett (Hist. Dissenters, p. 48), says that £300 was expended in resisting and annulling this monstrous conviction.

II. On 30th July, 1811, the Hon. G. Grey, Commissioner of H.M. Dockyard at Portsmouth, and John Maybee, a superannuated shipwright, were summoned before the Mayor of Portsmouth and a full bench of magistrates on an information under the Conventicle Act. Mr. Grey had gathered a Sunday School in his own office, in which he employed Mr. Maybee as a teacher; this was their alleged offence. The information was laid by one Dr. Scott, a clergyman of the Established Church, but in a fictitious name. On discovering this the mayor very properly rejected the information; whereupon it was renewed in another fictitious name. Mr. Grey, being informed of this, wrote to the Mayor, begging that no such irregularity might prevent his going fully into the case, which was heard accordingly.

It appeared that about a hundred boys were taught to read the Bible, and to learn the Catechism, collects, etc., from the Book of Common Prayer; and regularly

attended worship in the place where Dr. Scott officiated: that on a Sunday evening, as the school was about to close, Dr. Scott came in and interrupted Mr. Maybee, who was reading a prayer from a book which was not the B.C.P. The facts were not disputed; but the solicitor for the defence pointed out that the title of the Act was "An Act to prevent Seditious Conventicles," and that it would be absurd to call a Sunday School a Seditious Conventicle. The Mayor without hesitation dismissed the case as against Mr. Maybee; and the prosecutor then withdrew the information against Mr. Grey. Obviously if Dr. Scott's contention had been upheld, the result would have been to make every Sunday School an unlawful assembly.

III. In September, 1811, some months after the rejection of Lord Sidmouth's notorious Bill, J. Whitaker, of Drayton, Salop, was convicted before Lord Kenyon and fined £20 for preaching in the house of Edward Welch at Hanmer, in the County of Flint—that house not being registered under the Toleration Act. Welch was also convicted, apparently under the Conventicle Act, and similarly penalized. A warrant of distress was issued; but it being found that the man's goods would not produce the amount demanded, the fine was remitted. But his mother was deprived of an allowance of a shilling a week, which she had received from a local charity for poor widows; his wife was notified that she would be deprived of an allowance of £3 a year which she had for teaching ten poor children; several of the hearers were fined 5s. each and costs; and Welch was fined a shilling for not being present at the parish church—though he had been there the previous Sunday.

(To be Continued.)

EDITORIAL

OUR Annual Meeting was held at the Memorial Hall on 12th May, Rev. Dr. Nightingale presiding. The attendance was exceptionally numerous, being drawn by the prospect of a Lecture on "The Pilgrim Fathers," by Professor F. J. C. Hearnshaw, LL.D., of King's College. The business of the Society was quickly transacted, the officers being re-elected, and a message of cordial greeting being despatched to our venerable president, Rev. Dr. Brown. Dr. Hearnshaw's lecture was of great interest, not so much for any presentation of new facts as for the co-ordination of facts which are severally familiar, but of which the relations are commonly overlooked. Especial stress was laid on the widely different principles which actuated the original colonists of New England and those of Virginia; a diversity the outcome of which has been manifested not only in the old Colonial days, but in the War of Independence, the Civil War, and even in the relation of political parties at the present time. The lecture was highly instructive, and a hearty vote of thanks testified the appreciation of the audience.

* * * *

No more seasonable publication could have been offered in this Tercentenary Year than "John Robinson, the Pastor of the Pilgrim Fathers: a Study of his Life and Times," by Walter H. Burgess, B.A. The author "tells the story of the Pilgrims with Robinson as the central figure," claiming—and we think justly—that "in his Ministry at Leyden he moulded their opinions and guided their policy." Much interesting information is given as to the ancestry of the worthy pastor, their social standing, and their relation with others who were prominent in the Separatist movement. The controversies in which he was engaged at Leyden are sufficiently explained, as well as the entanglement of the Pilgrims with the London "Adventurers"; and many little-known documents are for the first time made generally accessible. The book deserves, and no doubt will obtain, an extensive circulation.

* * * *

Another seasonable publication is of somewhat complex authorship. It is entitled "New Light on the Pilgrim Story." The

inception, and much of the original research, is due to the late Mrs. Charlotte Skinner; on whose sudden death her papers came into the hands of her kinsman, Rev. T. W. Mason, whose diligence completed what she had well begun. The MS. was subjected to a careful review by Rev. Dr. Nightingale; and the result is to bring together a number of new facts relating to the *Mayflower's* Pilgrims, especially those who had local or family connections with the County of Essex. The book is well illustrated, and should find many readers in the Eastern Counties.

* * * *

Several other seasonable volumes deserve a passing notice, as especially suited to various classes of readers. The Religious Tract Society have republished Dr. Mackennal's "Homes and Haunts of the Pilgrim Fathers"; and also—in a cheap edition—Dr. Brown's classical volume on the same topic. In the "Every-Man" series has lately been included a volume of contemporary narratives, edited by John Masefield; it comprises Nathaniel Morton's "New England's Memorials"; R. Cushman's "Discourse on the State of the Colony"; Capt. John Smith's "New England's Trials"; and Ed. Winslow's "Brief Relation of the Present Estate of Virginia." Dr. Powicke has published "John Robinson, a Monograph"; and among volumes more especially suited to the young are "The Argonauts of Faith," by Basil Mathews; and "The Founders of New England," by W. Melville Harris. And a publication which the Pilgrims would scarcely have approved, but by the aid of which many will do honour to their memory, is "The Historical Pageant of the *Mayflower*," by Hugh Parry.

* * * *

To altogether a different category belong two recent publications by Dr. Peel. One is "A Treatise of the Church and the Kingdom of Christ," by R. H.—almost certainly Robert Harrison, printed for the first time from the MS. in Williams' Library; the other is "The First Congregational Churches," affording new lights on Separatist Congregations in London, 1567-81.

* * * *

The usual Autumnal Meeting of our Society will be held at Southampton on Wednesday, 29th September. Papers are expected from W. Dale, Esq., F.S.A., on "Southampton and the *Mayflower*"; and from the Rev. F. W. Camfield, M.A., on "Southampton and Nonconformity."

Bibliography of the Pilgrim Fathers

(Continued from page 23.)

C. BIOGRAPHIES.

[The British Museum press-mark of each is appended.]

1857. THE LIFE OF ELDER BREWSTER, by Ashbøl Steele, M.A.

The author was a minister at Washington. He goes with patient thoroughness, and with much research, through the story of the famous elder at Scrooby, Leyden and Plymouth. The earlier part of his biography is the more directly useful for the general story of the Pilgrims. Steele's wife was a descendant of Brewster's. A book still worth reading. [Brit. Mus. 10880. ee. 19.]

1851. THE WORKS OF JOHN ROBINSON, edited by Robert Ashton.
3 Vols. 8vo.

The Memoir prefixed to Vol I., and the Appendix, Vol. III., on "The Church of the Exiles," contain matters necessary for a full comprehension of the Dutch section of the Pilgrim history. One point is worthy of special note. Ashton vigorously defends the authenticity of John Robinson's Sermon, or address, given at the departure of the *Mayflower* party from Delftshaven, in July, 1620, and recorded by Edward Winslow. Under circumstances briefly noted above, Winslow wrote *Hypocrisie Unmasked*, the last section of which is a "Briefe Narration of the true grounds or cause of the first Planting of New England." This contains the celebrated discourse, remembered and treasured even to-day by reason of its broad outlook and its liberal sentiments. In the course of his valedictory, Robinson finely says that "he was very confident the Lord had yet more truth and light yet to breake forth out of his holy Word."* Now George Sumner, the American historian (in his "Memoir of the Pilgrims at Leyden," printed in the *Collections* of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 3rd Series, Vol. IX., 1846), greatly depreciates the historical value of Winslow's report of the sermon, given, he says, twenty-six years after the event. Ashton rightly stands up for its general reliability. A great

**Hyp. Unmasked* (1646), p. 97.

sermon, such as this clearly was, for the disputed sentence is by no means the only fine passage it contains, delivered on a very memorable occasion and by one whose word carried so great a weight of authority with Winslow and the Pilgrims, would be persistently recalled, its shining phrases endlessly repeated. Men's memories in those days were tenacious, and were specially trained to remember sermons. The writer of these lines has met men who could repeat great screeds of a sermon heard at some memorable cymanva thirty or forty years earlier; and evidently with great verbal accuracy. No doubt they had been rehearsed scores of times in the interval. Like enough, indeed it is more than probable, Winslow took notes, and these supplemented by a retentive memory, would enable him easily to make a full record of the famous discourse. Both as regards his trustworthiness and also his scholarly abilities, Winslow is an excellent witness. He does not actually give the report in the first person; the report in the first person comes from Cotton Mather, who recast and trimmed it. And in this form it was copied by Daniel Neal and others, who had not access to the original. Winslow introduces his account with the words "Hee used these expressions, or to the same purpose." But the sermon has all the internal marks of John Robinson's fine mind and magnanimous heart. [3755. b.]

1910. NEW FACTS CONCERNING JOHN ROBINSON, by Champlin Burrage.

An Oxford MS., already catalogued as a reply to a writing of John Robinson, prompted Mr. Burrage to follow up the clue, and on examining the document he has been able to settle one or two small but interesting points about Robinson and his residence at Norwich. When, however, he volunteers the reflection that Robinson, by being elected to preach in a church the right of presentation to which had been obtained by a simoniacal transaction with the former patron, the election also being restricted to episcopally ordained priests and subject to the approval of the ordinary, is anticipating the Congregationalism of Robert Browne, it is very evident that Mr. Burrage has not wholly understood what Congregationalism is. [4806. ff. 10 (4).]

D. PILGRIM AND NEW PLYMOUTH HISTORY.

1830. AN HISTORICAL MEMOIR OF NEW PLYMOUTH, by Francis Baylies. 2 Vols.

1866. New Edition, edited by G. S. Drake. 2 Vols.

A substantial work which has not received due appreciation. The fault lies partly in the work itself. Mr. Drake has supplied

his edition with a copious Index ; but its value for the student is still greatly diminished by its lack of all references to authorities. This is much to be regretted, for the work contains a full and interesting account of the Pilgrims. [10408. f. 10.]

1853. THE PILGRIM FATHERS, OR THE FOUNDERS OF NEW ENGLAND, by W. H. Bartlett. Large 8vo.

Mr. Bartlett was a clever artist and all his numerous books are finely illustrated. In that respect the present is one of the best ; its illustrations have found their way into many subsequent publications, though in none are the reproductions quite so beautiful as in the original. The text is interestingly written, with picturesque details. Bartlett's written descriptions of places are almost as good as his drawings. [4745. e. 30.]

1854. THE FOUNDERS OF NEW PLYMOUTH, by Joseph Hunter, 8vo. 250 pp. This is also known as Hunter's *Collections* from the first sentence on the title-page.

The value of Hunter's work is not yet exhausted. On its first appearance—originally, in a briefer form as one of the author's series of *Critical and Historical Tracts* (1849 [9005. c. 35])—it straightway secured public attention as a fresh and valuable contribution to our knowledge of the Pilgrims. It supplied a key to Bradford's *History*. From the vague allusions of Bradford, Hunter, an assistant keeper at the Record Office and a skilled researcher, identified Scrooby and its Manor House as the original home of the Separatist Church ; traced the appointment of Brewster as " post " at Scrooby, and unearthed much information about Bernard Clyfton and Bradford and kindred matters, now incorporated in all books on the subject. [4715. d. 11.]

1856. THE SEVEN ARTICLES OF THE CHURCH AT LEYDEN, 1617. With an Introduction by George Bancroft, the historian. A small pamphlet of 10 pp. reprinted from the *Collections* of the Massachusetts Historical Society ; noteworthy as representing the peaceable disposition of the Robinsonian Church. The members accept the XXXIX. Articles ; acknowledge the Christian character of all children of the faith, conformist and nonconformist ; the jurisdiction of bishops so far as derived from the king (probably Robert Browne's theory). The jurisdiction of all synods, etc., they repudiate ; also of all merely ecclesiastical officers, except so far as they are acting under the authority of a magistrate. Bancroft's Introduction has an important statement on the comparative toleration of the Pilgrim rule ; he points out how Anderson, in his *History of the English Church in the Colonies*, makes a false accusation

against the Pilgrims by confounding the Plymouth Colony with the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. It is a distinction, we have at last concluded, that Episcopalian writers have resolved not to remember. [3504. f. 10 (9).]

1896. NEW ENGLAND'S STRUGGLES FOR RELIGIOUS LIBERTY, by Rev. D. B. Ford. Philadelphia. 8vo.

The volume is published by the American Baptist Publication Society. Mr. Ford tells, in moderate language, all that can be alleged against the Pilgrims on the score of intolerance. He recognizes clearly enough the distinction between Pilgrim and Puritan; but occasionally, mixing up in the same narrative the affairs of both Colonies, he rather overweights the responsibility of the Pilgrims. He is temperate in speaking of both, and recounts some of the vagaries of the early Quakers in the Colony, men and women dancing in a state of nudity; enough surely to move the stern old Pilgrims to banish them from their territory. Roger Williams himself spoke against them vigorously; and whatever he personally suffered for his somewhat turbulent propagandism, he speaks highly of the leading men of the Pilgrim community. [4744. dd. 11.]

1870. PILGRIM MEMORANDA. H. M. Dexter, Boston, Mass., 8vo., 39 pp., contains a Chronology of events, with almost daily entries from 21st July, 1620, to 28th July, 1621. Also a series of interesting and pertinent extracts from a wide range of literature bearing upon "the Plymouth movement and men." [10413. h. 29.]

1874. THE GENESIS OF THE NEW ENGLAND CHURCHES, by Leonard Bacon. New York. 8vo.

Retiring from his honoured pastorate at New Haven, Dr. Bacon set himself to study systematically the complete body of printed literature upon the subject of his book. He made no personal researches into any remaining unpublished sources of information, using only such documents as had been printed and edited by previous scholars. He thoroughly assimilated his material, and used his authors with a scholarly understanding and discrimination. The result is a solid informative volume, covering the whole ground. [4745. bbb. 38.]

1883. ANCIENT LANDMARKS OF PLYMOUTH, by Wm. T. Davis. 8vo. Boston (Mass.). [10413. k. 11.]

1885. A HISTORY OF PLYMOUTH, by the same author. 4to. Philadelphia.

Reference has already been made to the annotated edition of Bradford's *History* by Mr. Davis. He was a native of Plymouth, and no son was prouder of his birth-city. He devoted

much of his life to the study of its history, and was for some time president of the Pilgrim Society. *Ancient Landmarks* is a substantial volume in two parts, each with a separate pagination. The substance of the two parts is occupied with Titles of Estates and a Genealogical Register. But it contains a competent Historical Sketch and much out of the way, but valuable, information upon the civil and ecclesiastical organization of the town and Colony.

The *History* of the town is taken from the larger history of Plymouth Colony. It covers the whole period from Scrooby to modern times in eight chapters. Added is an Appendix full of interesting details of the ancient institutions and occupations of the Colonists. [10411. h. 26.]

1888. THE PILGRIM REPUBLIC, by John A Goodwin. Large 8vo. 662 pp. Boston.

Of the larger single volumes this is probably the best complete history of the Pilgrims to the year 1692. The Introduction is an excellent survey of the literature of the subject; with references, by the way, to one book or more, presumably important, not to be found in English libraries. To many writers in this country Mr. Goodwin's volume may be commended for its clear and authoritative discrimination of Puritan and Separatist. We might then hope to have heard the last of the Pilgrim Colony burning witches. The narrative is documented, and has a good index. [9605. ff. 1.]

1891. THE PILGRIM FATHERS NEITHER PURITANS NOR PERSECUTORS, by Benjamin Scott, Chamberlain of the City of London. 8vo. 52 pp. London.

Mr. Scott was an enthusiastic vindicator of the Pilgrims, especially directing his defence against those who confounded Plymouth with the adjoining Puritan Colony of Massachusetts. Plymouth was distinctly the most tolerant of all the American Colonies, and much in advance of the mother country. [4535. c. 10 (6).]

1894. THE STORY OF THE PILGRIMS, by Morton Dexter, small 8vo. 363 pp. Issued by the Congregational Sunday School and Publications Society (Boston and Chicago). Excellent for its purpose as a handbook for Bible Classes; a straightforward, unencumbered, and attractive narrative, with illustrations; notes and references gathered into an appendix; last, not least, a good index. [9602. aaa. 33.]

1896. "MAYFLOWER" ESSAYS, by G. Cuthbert Blaxland. The notable feature in these interesting essays, based upon a close study of the text of Bradford's *History*, is their authorship.

Mr. Blaxland was the Keeper of the MS. when it was in the Bishop of London's library, and was also the Bishop's domestic chaplain. He shows much sympathy with the sufferings of the Pilgrims in their efforts to obtain religious liberty. [955r. bb. 29.]

1897. THE PILGRIM FATHERS OF NEW ENGLAND, by John Brown, B.A., D.D. (1st Edition, 1895). (R.T.S. 3s. 6d.)

Dr. Brown's book is the result of considerable personal research. It excels most of the works under our survey in its literary qualities. The venerable author has planned his work well, and his skilful pen enables him to tell his story with unflagging interest and vivacity. His book is embellished with some excellent illustrations of the English scenes. For general usefulness, for cheapness, and as a single volume of scholarly character and moderate dimensions, this remains the best book on the subject. [4430. f. 5.]

1897. THE STORY OF THE PILGRIM FATHERS, by Edward Arber. 8vo. 634 pp.

Professor Arber's story covers the years 1606 to 1623. His sub-title describes it as "told by themselves, their Friends, and their Enemies." He felt that the recovery and the publication of Bradford's MS. called for a fresh presentation of the Pilgrim narrative, and with characteristic thoroughness set himself to the task, as an act of piety to the memory of men who suffered for the Protestant faith. The work has all his excellencies as a dealer with the primary sources and authorities for history, and these excellencies were many. It also has some of his defects. We get a little uncertain now and then whether we are listening to Arber or his authorities. But we know that he deals everywhere with the originals, and we are thankful for his liberal and useful extracts. He supplies us with a wide range of interesting and unexpected information; but the manner of his presentation is not architectural and we are apt to lose our consciousness of the wholeness and continuity of the story. He has rendered good service by reprinting *Mourt's Relation*. [2398. b. 12.]

1899. HOMES AND HAUNTS OF THE PILGRIM FATHERS, by Alex. Mackennal, D.D. 4to.

The title will indicate to most readers that this is one of the series of finely-illustrated and popularly-written volumes issued by the Religious Tract Society. Dr. Mackennal was an authority on early Congregational History, and in the preparation of this volume extended his personal enquiries to Holland. The artist, also, Mr. Charles Whympster, with a little help from one or two photographs, has done his work well. He, more-

over, supplies the reading-matter for two of the shorter chapters; and the editor of the series, the late Mr. Richard Lovett, presumably, has written the accounts of Boston and Cambridge in old England. As we close this Bibliography a new and revised edition of the above is being issued for the R.T.S. by the Rev. H. Elvet Lewis. [10351. h. 15.]

1901. THE "MAYFLOWER" AND HER LOG.—July 15, 1620, to May 6, 1621. By Azel Ames, M.D. Large 8vo. 375 pp. Boston, 1901. A handsomely produced volume, giving the results of a minute research into everything relating to the famous ship, illustrated by maps, charts, and prints of ships of the age and type of the *Mayflower*. The volume is supplied with a Bibliography and an Index. Dr. Ames has chapters on the Name of the Ship (which is not mentioned by Bradford), on the *Speedwell*, her equipment and her voyage from Delftshaven, on the Charter of the *Mayflower*, a description of the ship, and her outfit, her officers and crew, passengers, quarters, food and clothing, her freight, and a Sailing-Log, from her departure from the Thames, to her departure from New England, on her return voyage. [2398. h. 1.]

1905. THE ENGLAND AND HOLLAND OF THE PILGRIMS, begun by Dr. H. M. Dexter and revised and edited by his son Mr. Morton Dexter. Large 8vo. 673 pp. Boston.

The volume is fully documented and has an excellent Index. Dr. Dexter, we are told, had, at the time of his death, almost finished his book. It was given to Prof. Franklin Dexter of Yale to complete. It was then rewritten with some additions by Morton Dexter, who, following the example of his father in writing history, visited the English and Dutch scenes and made further researches in the libraries of this country and Holland. So that we have before us a new work, the fruit of fresh study and research; the bulk of it from the pen of our greatest Congregational historian. For an account of the Pilgrims up to the departure of the first *Mayflower* contingent from Holland this work must rank as a first-class authority. [4715. f. 11.]

1909. THE PILGRIM FATHERS: THEIR CHURCH AND COLONY, by Winifred Cockshott. 8vo. 348 pp. Illustrated.

Miss Cockshott's book does her credit as an Oxford scholar. It is not a compilation of the scissors and paste-pot order. She has driven an intellectual plough through this particular field of history, and the serious student will find that with the familiar chapter-heading and the more or less customary references to authorities, this is a new book. But things are moving in this department of history, and a work completed in 1908

is not quite up to date. The author's point of view is tolerant and sufficiently sympathetic to give an attractive interest to her writing. Her statement (p. 21) on the persecuting proclivities of Puritans and Separatists is only partly true. I am satisfied that Miss Cockshott could not produce definite authority for her statement so far as it concerns the Separatists. But her competence to discuss the matters concerned in her historical survey may be seen in her acute comparison of Browne and Barrowe. Her study of the Dutch section of the Pilgrim story is also worthy of particular attention. [4744-gg. 6.]

1911. THE ROMANTIC STORY OF THE "MAYFLOWER" PILGRIMS, by Albert Christ. Addison. Large 8vo. London.

A volume produced with much artistic taste. The story is brightly told in six chapters, occupying 200 pages of large type, each page set in a tinted framework. The illustrations are an attractive feature and consist of photographic reproductions of the Pilgrim scenes and memorials in England and America, and of a number of the historic pictures and portraits issued by Mr. Burbank, the publisher of Plymouth (N.E.) [9555. s. 5.]

The local Guide supplied by Mr. Burbank at Plymouth is well-written and beautifully illustrated.

1910. THE STORY OF THE PILGRIM FATHERS, by F. J. C. Hearnshaw, M.A., LL.D. Southampton. 4to. Illustrated. 32 pp.

In a series of short chapters, originally contributed to a Southampton journal, Professor Hearnshaw succeeds in telling the whole story of the Pilgrims, omitting nothing essential to the full understanding of the great enterprise. The special chapter on Southampton in 1620 is excellent reading. (In the Congregational Library, London.)

1918. THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF RELIGION AND ETHICS (Dr. James Hastings), Vol. X., contains an article on the "Pilgrim Fathers," by Rev. D. Macfadyen, M.A. For busy students Mr. Macfadyen's article has many recommendations. It embraces the whole subject and leaves nothing vital out of account. Without being literary "pennicican" it is necessarily condensed. We are spared all rhetorical garnishings and homiletical expansions. The plan of the article traces the immediate origin of the movement; gives a brief account of the "Leading Personalities," particularly of Francis Johnson, Henry Ainsworth, John Robinson and William Bradford; describes shortly the sojourn at Leyden, the Migration, and the Settlement at Plymouth. A final section deals with the "Survivals of Puritan Influence." Appended to the article is a classified bibliography. [2002. c.]

1894. A volume second in interest to none of the works inserted in this list is *THE RISE OF MODERN DEMOCRACY IN OLD AND NEW ENGLAND*, by Charles Borgeaud. Translated by Mrs. Birbeck Hill; with a Preface by Professor Firth of Oxford. London and N. York. 8vo. 168 pp.

Coming from the pen of a great student of political constitutions and governments this is a remarkable work. Mr. Borgeaud, who was a member of the Faculty of Law at Geneva, had already published his studies on the foundation and growth of American and European constitutions. His present thesis is, that the derivation of modern democracies is to be found in the history of England: First, in the political influences springing out of the Reformation, and secondly and more definitely, in the political theories and experiments of the seventeenth century. Moreover, that the type or model was first crystalized in the Congregational Church, formed in the reign of Elizabeth, suppressed by the Queen and Whitgift, but again realized and transported to New England to be the prototype of the great American Democracy, which itself became the working model for subsequent democratic and republican movements in Europe. Truly a prophet is not without honour save in his own country. It needed the detachment as well as the historic imagination of this learned foreigner to see the significance of Robert Browne and his principles. [08276. e. 60.]

As aids in tracing works published in America the following books of reference are useful:

Sabin, J. *A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BIBLIOGRAPHY*. New York. 1877. [BBG. b. 24.]

Rich, O. *BIBLIOTHECA AMERICAN NOVA*. London. 1846. [2035. b.]

Larned, J. N. *THE LITERATURE OF AMERICAN HISTORY*. London. 1902. Suppl. Vol. 1901. Valuable brief notes. [2035. d.]

Evans, Charles. *AMERICAN BIBLIOGRAPHY*. 8 Vols. An exhaustive work, from the earliest press (1639) to the nineteenth century. [2035. g.]

The curious reader will perhaps notice that the second thing printed on an American press was "An Almanack calculated for New England," by William Pierce.

Whitcombe's *CHRONOLOGICAL OUTLINES OF AMERICAN LITERATURE* [11853 pp. 16], and

Tyler's *AMERICAN LITERATURE* [11850. m. 1], are shorter works, but useful.

Stevens, H. CATALOGUE OF AMERICAN BOOKS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM AT CHRISTMAS, 1856. A convenient list of older works. [2035. c.]

Professor Barrett Wendel's LITERARY HISTORY OF AMERICA, London, 1901, is interesting and informative. [2039. b.]

The Missionary Labours of the Pilgrims among the Indians.

Most of the works dealing with the Plymouth Settlement refer to the efforts of the Pilgrims to evangelize the Aborigines. Goodwin's *Pilgrim Republic* contains useful information. See especially p. 531 and the following fifteen or sixteen pages. The remark (quoted p. 546) of Dr. S. G. Drake should be noted. He says of the Pilgrims that "their immense labour to Christianize [the Indians] prove their sincerity to benefit them." Dr. S. G. Drake is the defender of the Indians in and out of season.

The following works will be found useful :

1649. THE GLORIOUS PROGRESS OF THE GOSPEL AMONGST THE INDIANS OF NEW ENGLAND. Published by Edward Winslow. A letter from Thomas Mayhew, Jr., and three from John Eliot. [E. 557 (11).]
1651. THE LIGHT APPEARING, etc. A FURTHER DISCOVERY OF THE PRESENT STATE OF THE INDIANS IN NEW ENGLAND, by H. Whitfield. London. 4to. Whitfield visited Mayhew and saw his work in Martha's Vineyard. [E. 624 (3).]
1794. COLLECTIONS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Vol. III., contains John Cotton's letter to Robert Boyle. And Eliot's reports of the state of the Indian Missions in Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay. [Ac. 8400.]
1848. MISSIONS TO THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS. London (R.T.S.). 12mo. An excellent short account of mission work in New England. [4419. f. 48.]
1897. THE NEW ENGLAND COMPANY AND THEIR MISSIONARIES. ALSO THE JOURNALS OF EXPERIENCE MAYHEW IN 1713-14. [4766. dd. 20.] London. 8vo.

W. PIERCE.

The Mate of the *Mayflower*

THE Pilgrim Fathers shed a radiance on all who were associated with them, even for one voyage only. The captain of the *Mayflower* was identified by Professor Arber as Christopher Jones, and his career has been worked out by Professor Rendel Harris. The owner has been shown by the latter scholar to be Thomas Horth of Yarmouth, who used the ship now to bring whale-oil from the Arctic for his soap works, now to bring bay-salt from Bayonne for his bloaters, with wines from Rochelle. Horth was apparently a Puritan with relations at Leyden, certainly was one of the Adventurers who financed the Pilgrims. The mate of the *Mayflower* is now identified by Miss Irene A. Wright, from the Spanish Archives at Seville and Simancas, whence she has produced two of his depositions, with kindred papers. These are printed with translations and notes in the *American Historical Review* for April, 1920. From them and other sources an interesting and important story unfolds.

This John Clark is not the Separatist examined on 5th April, 1593, who was then about fifty years old, a husbandman of Walsoken in Norfolk; but a Londoner born about 1573 or 1576. He took to the sea about 1605, visiting various parts of the world. In 1609 he became a pilot, and was in the harbour of Malaga when Don Luis Faxardo was captain-general of a great fleet about to start thence for Tunis, where it burned twenty-two ships of the Barbary corsairs. On one of these ships the pilot was an English Catholic

of Lisbon, Francis Lymbry, who had been a pilot on the Spanish Armada in 1588. Men of the old religion still felt as one, whatever the land of their birth. But Clark was of a younger generation, with the pride of race, and can hardly have esteemed Lymbry. Six years earlier, he himself could hardly have felt secure in a Spanish harbour where the Inquisition was established, but the treaty of London (1603) now secured that no English subjects should be molested for their religion unless they gave offence to Catholic feelings within Spanish dominions.

By Papal grant, and agreement between Spanish and Portuguese, all lands west of 50° west longitude belonged to Spain. The French were first to challenge this, but the Spanish exterminated a Huguenot colony at Beaufort "not as Frenchmen, but as Lutherans." The French avengers who hanged the Spanish garrison "not as Spaniards but as traitors, robbers and murderers" were equally silent as to the Papal award. The English had no restraint of religion, nationality or commerce, and in 1586 Drake almost destroyed the Spanish headquarters of San Augustine; but it was restored, and explorations were carried out as far north as Port Royal, especially by Captain Ecija, who noted the frequent failures of Gilbert and Raleigh to plant colonies. On the death of the latter, his plans were taken up by the London Company, who placed some colonists on the James River in 1607. The Spanish council of war in the Indies at once advised that this be forcibly suppressed, and asked for ten galleons building at Dunkirk. The home authorities, however, did nothing, but reinforcements at Jamestown in 1609 stirred deeper apprehensions. The governor of Florida was directed to make enquiries, and he sent Captain Ecija. Through a Frenchman of Havre, ransomed on purpose from the natives, a rather terrifying account of the military strength of the new settlement was obtained. So when in July Ecija descried off James-

town a ship far larger than his own, he remembered his country's maxim that "there was no peace beyond the line" of fifty west longitude. Hastily returning he drew up a report attributing to the English the intention of marching on New Mexico and launching a fleet on the Pacific. The council of war in the Indies kept this report for two years, then forwarded it home with a suggestion that two Jesuits should be chosen from the English seminaries at Valladolid and Seville, and should be sent to England to ship thence to Virginia, spy out everything, and report to Spain.

It is at this point that John Clark began unwittingly to play an important part. In 1611 Sir Thomas Dale equipped three ships to take out large reinforcements provided with mares, cows, pigs and goats. One of his pilots was Clark. They sailed towards the Canaries, then stretched across to Domenica and Nevis for water, past Port Rico and up the coast, reaching Point Comfort in May. This route through the Spanish Main shows an unbounded contempt for Spanish monopoly. But in their wake came a caravel from Spain itself, fully aware of their purpose, primed by the ambassador in London. Under guise of searching for the guns of a vessel of Florida supposed to have been wrecked, the intention was to reconnoitre and obtain details as to this audacious settlement. It was piloted by the Englishman of Lisbon, Lymbry; and at San Augustin took a pinnace as consort. The Spaniards arrived off James River six weeks later than the English, and it says something for their courage that they set ashore the commander of the expedition with an ensign, and Lymbry. Whatever chance they had was instantly destroyed when the lastnamed was recognized by Clark, and the three were disarmed. Clark in his turn took risks, and boarded the caravel, offering to pilot it up river. The master, however, would not bring it under the guns of the fort, and held Clark as hostage. Captain Davis would not exchange the three prisoners

for the one, and the master took Clark down to Havana. Here he was examined strictly, and his abundant nautical knowledge was duly recorded, together with what he chose to tell about Jamestown, an account that probably did not lose in the telling. And thus the Spaniards secured, in an unexpected way, exactly what they had desired. They also learned that the settlement, already too strong to be easily destroyed, was to be reinforced in August by another squadron under Sir Thomas Gates, who was to take over command from George Percy.

The Council in the Indies proposed to Philip that he should ask for the release of the three. London agreed to exchange the two Spaniards for Clark, and he was forwarded to Seville, thence to Madrid, being well treated. Here he was examined afresh in 1613, every possible detail as to English forts, settlements, and intentions, being enquired about. It does not increase our respect for Clark that whereas at Havana he had declared himself of the religion of his king, at Madrid he professed to be a Catholic. On his information, with more news from the Spanish ambassador in England, it was debated whether it were worth while sending an expedition to drive the English away. Finally it was agreed that as there were no gold or silver mines there, it would be good policy to let the English alone, for if they turned their attention to that worthless country, they would cease to annoy the Spanish settlements. The negotiations as to exchange of prisoners dragged slowly, and the unfortunate ensign died. In 1616, however, the matter was settled; Dale hanged Lymbry on a voyage homewards, and few will pity the Traitor-spy; Clark was handed over to the English ambassador in Madrid, on whose receipt the commander was delivered to the Spanish ambassador in London.

Clark at once re-entered the Virginian trade and made several voyages taking out many cattle from

Ireland in 1619. When, therefore, Robert Cushman next year was equipping an expedition in London to take the Pilgrims to Virginia, he was glad to hire Clark, which he did before he began negotiating for the *Mayflower*. Christopher Jones was not familiar with American waters, and probably he was willing to profit by Clark's knowledge of the routes. But they met such storms that for days together they "could not bear a knot of sail"; and when they made Cape Cod, they were unable to get further south. So Clark's Virginian experience was of no special value, and the pilgrims turned to the books and maps of Captain John Smith, which they had providently brought. These showed where they were, and indicated across the bay the mouth of a stream where Smith thought a town might be founded, on which he had conferred the name Plymouth. Without at once adopting his suggestion, they began to explore. Clark took a share in the "third discovery," and after a storm was the first to step on an island three miles north-east of the future Plymouth; this was named, in his honour, Clark's Island.

The modest isle of yonder bay,
Screened from the rougher blasts and spray,
There, long by storm and billow driven,
With mast and sail to fragments riven,
The wanderers sought its welcome shore,
And safe their struggling shallop moor;
There watchful met the earliest dawn,
Which first revealed the sabbath morn,
That prayer and praise might o'er the deep
Their swelling strains harmonious keep.

Clark was fortunate enough to escape the sickness that carried off many of the crew and officers, besides half the emigrants, and he set sail back in April, 1621, intending, according to Bradford, to return and fish for whale next winter.

Ten months later he was made a free Brother of the

Virginia Company, in consideration of his good service, and had some shares of land bestowed on him in July, 1622. It would be extremely interesting to know whether he took out Henry Jacob that year. The Puritans had been increasing their settlements, Blackwell going in 1618, Lawne in 1619, William Bennett in 1620, while Daniel Gookin transplanted others in 1621 to New Port-Newce, and Nathaniel Basse took more next year. Jacob had promised to go, was amicably released from his pastorate in London, and made his will in October, 1622, shortly before embarking, expecting his sons to follow in spring. Now Clark was engaged by Gookin to take out the *Providence*, which arrived in Virginia on 10th April. Jacob's will was proved in May, 1624, but search has not been made for Clark's will, though he died in Virginia about the same time.

His story reminds us that the Pilgrims were not the first successful colony of English, nor even of Puritans. Even more remarkable is it, that a project for a Spanish Armada to destroy these colonies had been abandoned, on the evidence given by Clark. Little did the Pilgrims know that but for the pilot of their *Mayflower*, Spain would have blotted out the English at Jamestown as she had the French at Fort Caroline. To his information that there was no gold or silver, that the only exports were timber and sassafras, was due the immunity from attack which allowed the foothold to be strengthened, and encouraged the Pilgrims to plan that emigration, whose success altered the destiny of the New World.

W. T. WHITLEY.

The Psalmody of the Pilgrims

EVERYONE is familiar with the lines of the poet who, narrating the Landing of the Pilgrims on Plymouth Rock, declares that

“ They shook the depths of the forest gloom
With their hymns of lofty cheer.”

Not so familiar is the testimony of Winslow that on the eve of their departure from Leyden, “ we refreshed ourselves, after tears, with singing of Psalms, making joyful melody with our hearts as well as with the voice, there being many of our congregation very expert in music ; and indeed it was the sweetest melody that ever mine ears heard.”

It is natural to inquire what Psalms did the Pilgrims sing ? The familiar “ Old Version ” of Sternhold, Hopkins, and their collaborators is, of course, possible, but unlikely, unless there were no available version more nearly approaching the Puritan ideal of close conformity to the Hebrew text. And there was such a version ready to hand, which had the additional recommendation of a Non-conformist Origin. Longfellow is in all likelihood right in his word-picture of Priscilla Mullens at her spinning-wheel :—

“ Open wide on her lap lay the well-worn Psalm-book of Ainsworth,
Printed in Amsterdam, the words and the music together,
Rough-hewn, angular notes, like stones in the wall of a church-
yard,
Darkened and overhung by the running vine of the verses ;
Such was the book from whose pages she sang the old Puritan
anthem.”

Henry Ainsworth, probably descended from a Lancashire family, was born in Norfolk about 1570. Of his early life nothing is certainly known; but soon after the judicial murders of Barrowe, Greenwood, and Penry we find him associated with the exiled church of Separatists at Amsterdam, in great poverty, but already in high repute for learning. He was chosen Teacher, and afterwards Pastor, of the Church, and beside numerous controversial writings he produced commentaries on several books of Holy Scripture, which continued to be much esteemed for quite two hundred years after his death. His Psalter appeared in 1612; and he died about 1623.

The full title of the Psalter is as follows:—

THE BOOK OF | PSALMS: | Englished both in
Prose | and Metre | with Annotations, opening the
words | and sentences, by conference | with other
Scriptures | By H. A. | Ephe. 5. 18. 19. | Be ye
filled with the Spirit: speaking to your- | selves in
Psalms and hymns, and spi- | ritual Songs: singing
and making | melodie in your hart | to the Lord. |
Imprinted at Amsterdam | By Giles Thorp. | Ao.
Di. 1612.||

There were impressions in 1617, 1626, and 1639, and a modern reprint in 1846. The original edition, a square quarto, is described as “a curiosity in the way of printing, as every available type appears to have been used from Old English to italics, and as these are jumbled together indiscriminately, the printed page displays a remarkable and certainly very unusual appearance.”

About one third of the whole version is in ballad metre; the remainder exhibits thirteen metrical forms, five of them being in ten-syllable lines. The verse is often very rugged; the use of the divine name “Jah” is frequent; and the Hebrew Musical Note “Selah” is always inserted (not as a parenthesis, but as part of the metre), and is often made to rhyme with “obey.”

Another interesting feature is that occasionally two or three words are joined by hyphens, to show that they together represent one word of the Original.

The following extracts may serve as specimens of Ainsworth's versification :—

Ps. 23, 1-4.—“ Jehovah feedeth me, I shall not lack,
 In grassy folds, he down dooth make me lye :
 he gently-leads me, quiet Waters by,
 He dooth return my soul : for his name sake,
 in paths of justice leads-me-quietly.
 Yea, though I walk, in dale of deadly shade,
 ile fear none yll ; for with me thou wilt be :
 thy rod thy staff eke, they shall comfort me.
 Fore me, a table thou hast ready-made ;
 in their presence that my distressers be.”

Ps. 24, 1-2.—“ The earth, it is Jehovah's, and the plenteousness of it,
 The habitable world, and they that in the same do sit ;
 For he upon the watry seas hath founded it secure,
 And on the flowing rivers hath the same established
 Sure.”

In view of the dangers and uncertainties before them, we may well suppose that one Psalm sung at the gathering of which Winslow tells us would be No. 121 :—

“ I lift mine eyes up to the Mounts
 from whence shal come mine aide ;
 Mine ayde it comes from with the LORD,
 Which heav'ns and earth hath made.
 Let him not give thy foot to slide,
 nor slumber that thee keeps.
 Loe, he that keepeth Israel,
 he slumbers not, nor sleeps.
 The Lord thy keeper is ; the Lord
 thy shade, at thy hand right.
 The Sun shall not smite thee by day,
 Neyther the Moon by night.
 The Lord wil keep thee from all ev'l,
 thy sowl he keeps-alway.
 The Lord, thine outgate and th' income
 keeps, henceforth and for aye.”

“Amid the storm they sang,” says our modern poet : and more than once on their voyage they would have occasion to give thanks for deliverance, probably in these identical words.

“ They that in ships unto the sea down goe
 that in the many waters labour doe,
 They see Jehovah’s operations
 and in the deep his wondrous-actiõn
 For he sayth, and dooth rayse the wind stormy,
 and it dooth lift the waves thereof on hye.
 They mount to heav’ns, down to the deeps they goe,
 their sowl, it melts away in evil-woe :
 They reel and stagger like a drunken-wight,
 and all their wisdom is upswallowed quight.
 And to the LORD they cry in their distress
 and he out-brings them from their anguishes.
 The storm he to a silent-caulm dooth set ;
 and then their waves alayèd-are-quiet ;
 And they rejoyce because they are made-still,
 and he them leads to haven of their will.
 Confess they to Jehovah his mercý,
 his marvels eke, to sonns of man-earthly.”

We may be sure that there was no ceremonial “Foundation” of New Plymouth ; but we may be almost equally sure that the builders of the original log-houses lightened their toll with song ; and what song could be more fitting to their circumstances and expectations than their own 127th ?

“ Unless the Lord doo build the house
 her builders toyl in vayn ;
 Unless the Lord the city keep
 the keeper wakes in vayn
 It’s vayn for you to rise early,
 to sit up late, to feed
 on bread of sorrowes ; so will We
 give sleep to his Lovèd.
 Loe, sonns are the LORD’s heritage,
 fruit of the womb his wage,
 As arrowes in a strong man’s hand
 are sonnes of youthful age.

O blessed is the man that hath
 his quiver fylld with those ;
 they shal not blush, when in the gate
 they speak shal with the foes."

With regard to the musical arrangement of the Pilgrim's Psalms, several of the tunes are those that were already familiar in the widely circulated "Day's Psalter," especially the Old 44th and 81st (D.C.M.), Old 51st and 100th (L.M.), Old 50, 112, 113, 124, and 148. There is also the C.M. "Windsor," from Este's Psalter of 1591; but the majority of the tunes are not found in the English Psalters of the time; they are "selected from the gravest and easiest tunes of the French and Dutch Psalters." And this, no doubt, in part accounts for the fact that Ainsworth's Psalms, notwithstanding their real merit, failed to gain extensive popularity; Englishmen are instinctively conservative, and by long usage were biased in favour of ballad metre, and against unfamiliar metrical forms imported from the Continent. Another reason was that, in spite of their all but idolatrous reverence for the letter of Scripture, those who objected to the use in worship of stringed instruments and organs as unmeaning sound could clearly perceive that Hebrew "Selah's" interjected into English Psalms were equally unmeaning. It thus came about that when "The Bay Psalm Book" appeared in 1640 it gradually supplanted the work of Ainsworth.

It is almost a misnomer to call this "Bay Psalm Book" (the first English book printed in America), one of the curiosities of *literature*; though a curiosity it certainly is, as it is doubtful whether more than about a dozen copies of it now exist.

This "Bay Psalm Book" was not the work of the Pilgrim Fathers, and it was only by degrees that it was accepted by their children. Its authors were Richard Mather, Thomas Weld, and John Eliot, members of the Massachusetts Colony, by which that of Plymouth

was ultimately absorbed. It was in ballad metre throughout, and literal enough to satisfy the most exacting Puritan; but from a literary point of view it is unmitigated doggerel.

Here are a couple of specimens of the Psalms which the men of the *Mayflower* did not sing:—

Ps. 50—"The Mighty God, the Lord hath spoke,
and he the earth doth call
from the uprising of the sun
thereof until the fall.
The Mighty God hath clearly shyn'd
out of the Mount Siôn,
which is of beauty excellent
the full perfect-i-on, etc."

Ps. 137—"The rivers on of Babilon
there when wee did sit downe
Yea, even then wee mournèd when
We remembred Siôn.
Our harps we did hang it amid
upon the willow tree,
Because that they that us away
led in captivitee
Required, etc."

A third edition, with considerable revision, appeared in 1650; it is doubtful whether the revision effected much real improvement. However, it was frequently reprinted, both in England and America, under the name of "The New England Psalm Book"; and was much used by English Dissenters till far into the eighteenth century.

T. G. C.

Some *Mayflower* Family Connections

IN the list of voyagers in the *Mayflower* (viii. 1, p. 8) there is an unfortunate omission in reference to Francis Cooke. He was the son of Richard Cooke of Gidea Hall, Essex, and grandson of Sir Anthony Cooke; nephew, therefore, of four ladies who were eminent both for learning and for the distinguished position they held in society. These were Lady Cecil, wife of William Cecil, Lord Burghley; Lady Bacon, wife of Sir Nicholas Bacon, and mother of Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam; Lady Killigrew, wife of Sir William Killigrew; and Lady Russell, wife of Sir John Russell. Whence it follows that our Pilgrim Francis Cooke was first cousin to the renowned author of the "Novum Organum" and the "Advancement of Learning." He has the further distinction of being an ancestor, on the spindle side, of Honourable W. H. Taft, who was president of the United States from 1909 to 1913.

Francis Cooke had three sons and four daughters. His eldest son John married Sarah Warren (of the *Anne*), and became a Baptist minister. His daughter Jane married Experience Mitchell of the *Anne*, from which marriage President Taft is descended.

Sir Ralph Warren, Lord Mayor in 1536 and 1543, had a son Richard and a daughter Joan. The latter married Sir Henry Williams *alias* Cromwell. His son Robert Cromwell married Elizabeth Stewart of Ely, said to have been related to the royal family of Scotland. This Robert and Elizabeth were the parents of the Lord Protector Oliver. It is *supposed* but *not certainly established* that Richard Warren, the brother

of Joan, who died in 1597, had a son of the same name, who was the Warren of the *Mayflower*. In that case the latter would be a second cousin of Oliver. This supposition is in some degree corroborated by the fact that the widow of Sir Ralph Warren married Sir Thomas White; and that the names of White and Warren are associated (Nos. 11 and 12) among the Signatories to the "Compact" signed on board the *Mayflower* at Cape Cod on 16th November, 1620.

T. W. MASON.

Robert Browne's Wife—A Correction

SURELY Mr. Burrage makes a bad slip in his "True Story of Robert Browne," p. 28, where he says, concerning the question where Browne met his [first] wife, Alice Allen of Yorkshire:—

"This difficulty is easily removed by the view that Alice Allen was one of Browne's own company, even the "Sister Allens" whom he had at one time unjustly criticized, and whom he mentions once toward the end of 'A True and Short Declaration.'"

It is difficult to see why Mr. Burrage did not correct this slip in his "Early English Dissenters"; for there (I. 108) he gives the persons named in the "Declaration" as Members of the Middleburg congregation as:

"Robert Browne (the pastor) and his wife; Robert Harrison, his sister, and probably his brother, William Harrison; Charles Munneman or Moneman (Moneyman?), John Chandler, and Tobie Henson."

The pertinent passages in "A True and Short Declaration" are:—

C. 3 recto. "There were sundrie meetings procured

against R. B. by R. H. and his Partkers for certaine tales and slanders were brought to R. H. which he straightway received and delt against R. B. the accusations in the first meettinge were that *R. B. condemned his Sister Allens as a reprobate*. Alsoe he saied, she had not repented of her abominations in England. Also that he saied, except she repented of her abominations that night, she would never enter into the Kingdom of God. To these it was answered and witnesses taken, first that he nether did call nor judge his sister for a reprobate, and that he had [too] hastlie harckned to tales in that matter, also witness came in that he saied not to his sister, she had not at all repented, of those abominations in England, But that neither she nor we all were sufficiently mortified for them."

It seems obvious from this that "his Sister Allens" is R. H.'s sister [and altogether distinct from the pastor's wife]. Any possible doubt, however, is removed on the next page:—

C. 4 recto (foot). "The faults they Laied Against him Were, For rebuking Robt. H. Sister of Want of Love AND off abhorring The Pastor; Which They Counted a Slander. Like Wise FOR REbuking her of Judgeing Wrong Fullie on the Printer, Which Was also made a slander."

Cf. also B. vers. B 2. "This R. H. confirmed saing that he found it true; because bie his meanes *certain sisters off his when* he taught and exhorted them were called and wonne. *But howe far thei and others were wonne it is afterward declared.*"

Evidently, therefore, "Sister Allens" is a sister of Robert Harrison; married or unmarried as Allens is surname or Christian name.

A. PEEL.

The Staffordshire Covenanters

WE have lately met with a scarce pamphlet bearing the following title:—
 “A Testimony of the Ministers of the County of Stafford to the Truth of Jesus Christ, and to the Solemn League and Covenant; as also against the Errours, Heresies, and Blasphemies of these times, and the Toleration of them: 1648.”

Documents of this character, differing in expression, but for the most part identical in substance, were published in each of the counties in which the Presbyterian settlement of 1646 took effect. Alike intolerant in principle, they varied in the degree—or perhaps in the frank avowal—of their intolerance. The Staffordshire testimony admits that “some of Eminent Worth and Piety” dissent from them in the particulars of Church Government; with whom they desire “a sweet accommodation,” if only the dissentients will “abate of their love to their yet unproved opinions,” and consider “how God hath blasted their Congregational Way with sects, schisms, separations, and sub-separations, to their shame, our grief, and the woful destruction of the whole kingdom.”

The following are the Signatories:—

JOHN TAYLOR, Checkley
 NICHOLAS PASTON, Kingswinford
 ITHIEL SMART, Wombourn
 THOMAS BURDALL, Walsall
 JOSEPH SOUNDE, Minister of God's Word
 JOHN JACKSON, Madeley
 ROBERT DOWLEY, Elford
 GEORGE CROSSE, Clifton Camville
 WILLIAM BROOKS, Assistant to Pastor of Cl. Ca.

RICHARD BELL, Stafford
SAMPSON NEWTON, Chebsey
THOMAS LIGHTFOOT, Uttoxeter
THOMAS ALLSOP, Cheadle
WILLIAM LANGLEY, Elaston
DELIVERANCE PHYNIHOUSE, Leigh
JOHN SMITH, Audley
ALEXAND. HOC, Rector de Dreycott-en-le Moores
ZACHARIAH CROFTON, Newcastle-under-Line
ISAAC KELLING, Wolstanton
CHARLES WINNE, Penne.
EDWARD BARTON, Wodnesbury
RICHARD BOURNE, Cannock
JOHN BOULD, Alrewas
PHILIP SHARP, Bromley Regis
ROGER SMITH, Norton juxta Cannock
EDWARD NEVILLE, Standon
NATHANIEL HINDE, Penkridge
JOHN DOLMAN, Brewood
WILLIAM JENNINGS, Church Eaton
HENRY STUBBE, Bloore
FRANCIS BOWYER, Leek
RO. WARD, Horton
CHRIS. TURNOR DE GRINDON
GARVIN HAMILTON, Alstonfield
THOMAS MOUNTENEYS, Ilon
JOHN BOWYER, Biddulph
FRANCIS STONE, School Mr., Walsall
SAML. FRANKLAND, Sch. Mr., Lichfield

The Presbyterian Paternoster, Etc.

(Continued from p. 33.)

THE case was heard by the Lord Mayor and the City Recorder. The Lord Mayor for 1680-81 was Sir Patience Ward, a considerable city Merchant, a member of the Merchant Taylors' Company; who had been married as a Friend with the homely Quaker rite to the daughter of Alderman William Hobson. He was elected Alderman for Farringdon Ward Within on 18th October, 1670, and Sheriff for the civic year 1670-71; he had been knighted 29th October, 1675, and was one of the leaders of the Whig party in the city. The Recorder was Sir George Treby, who had lately replaced the notorious Sir George Jeffries. The indictment runs as follows:—

“*Thomas Ashenden* of London, Clericus,

“*Nathaniel Thompson* of London, Printer,

“and *Joseph Hindmarsh* of London, Stationer,

“Being impious and profane persons with no fear of God in their hearts, on 19th February, 2 Car. 32, in St. Dunstons in the West, printed and published a certain impious and blasphemous libel intituled *The Presbyterian Pater Noster, Creed, and Ten Commandments.*”

The witnesses prepared to justify the description of it, by a knowledge of its contents were five, viz., *Daniel Watson, Bridget Bartholomew, Robert Ford, James Collins, and Ben Willis.* Of these Collins was a Bookseller; and we can well imagine that if he were a Tory (one of the Court Party), and had picked up a copy in the shop of his rival Hindmarsh, he would be eager so to use it as to compass that rival's ruin. His

shop was in Essex Buildings, behind the Temple; and he got a neighbour, Benjamin Willis, who carried on business as a tailor in the same buildings, to purchase a copy and bear witness against it. Two other of the witnesses were in the service of another bookseller, Ben Harris by name, viz., Bridget Bartholomew, his housemaid, and Robert Ford, perhaps his apprentice. His shop was in the Piazza in the Royal Exchange; and it looks as if he hoped, by sending these to purchase each a copy for him and to act under his instruction, to show his loyalty and penitence. For just a year before he had been fined £500 and set in the pillory for publishing seditious libels. But there was a yet more pungent personal motive; for Ashenden pillories him in the broadsheet as one of the four who "thrice a week the Kingdom scare" by their publications. The remaining witness, Watson, was servant to a Mr. Green, a glass-man in the Poultry, by whom he was sent to buy a copy and bear his testimony.

Evidently the bookseller, Joseph Hindmarsh, had warning of what was being done; for on 1st March he appeared at the Guildhall Court, and entered into recognizances in a sum of £100, with two sureties in £50 each, for his personal appearance at the next sessions to answer the charge of Printing and Publishing the impugned libel. His sureties were "William Palmer, of Ladbroke, Warwick County, Armiger, and John Barker of St. Mary Aldermanbury, Waxchandler." About the latter we have no information; the former belonged to the county family of Palmer, who for many generations owned the manor and park at Ladbroke, about two miles from Southam.

The next sessions were held at the Old Bailey from the 11th to the 14th of April. Hindmarsh pleaded guilty, and was ordered into custody—in other words, committed to Newgate. He seems to have been released soon afterwards, on promising to withdraw

from sale and destroy any copies of the broadsheet that he had in stock.

Whether or not the printer, Nathaniel Thompson, appeared at the same time and suffered a similar penalty I do not know. But I find that six months later he appeared before the Lord Mayor and Recorder, being indicted for printing and publishing three other scandalous and seditious pamphlets, viz. :—

- (1.) "A Dialogue between the Devil and Ignoramus Doctor Poore," *i.e.* Dr. Titus Oates.
- (2.) "The Prisoner's Complaints."
- (3.) "An Excellent New Ballad."

Of the Author, *Rev. Thomas Ashenden*, fortunately, we know more. The Sessions Roll does not tell us whether he appeared before the Lord Mayor and the Recorder—as did his Publisher (and probably his Printer), but we know that he was very promptly and drastically dealt with by his ecclesiastical superiors. However much tempted or inclined to condone his action—or even to rejoice at it—as a keen thrust at Dissenters, and as meant for a defence of the Church of England, they could not pass over such a scandal to "the cloth" as the publication by one of the Anglican clergy of such a blasphemous travesty of the most central, vital, and, therefore, most sacred parts of Divine Service as rendered in every Parish Church, as a caricature or Parody of the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, and the Decalogue.

He was doubtless "presented" at the Consistory Court in Peterboro', convicted of "profane abuse of all three," and sentenced to make a Public Recantation of his Offences. Only such a public penalty could save him from being unfrocked, and spare him to continue in Holy Orders. But this he eagerly consented to do.

The Public Recantation took place in Peterborough Cathedral on the 5th of June. The event made sufficient stir at the time to demand a mention of it in so

condensed a Chronicle of the bare facts of English History as Salmon's "Chronological Historian," published fifty years later, in August, 1732.

Under date 5th June, 1681, we find this :—

" Mr. *Thomas Ashenden*, having written a Libel against the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, made a publick Recantation of his Errors in the Cathedral Church of Peterborough."

And a full account of the incident was published in No. 1625 of the "London Gazette," for a transcript of which I am indebted to our friend Rev. Alex. Gordon. It reads as follows :—

" *Peterborough*. June 9 (Thursday).

Last Sunday, Mr. *Thomas Ashenden*, Rector of *Dingley*, in the County of Northampton, did publickly, as part of his Censures, make this Recantation in the Cathedral Church of *Peterborough* at the time of Divine Service, he being enjoyned thereunto by the Right Reverend *William*, Lord Bishop of *Peterborough*, who was present, together with the Reverend Dean, *Dr. Patrick*, some of the Prebends, with several Persons of Quality :

" I, *Thomas Ashenden*, being deeply sensible of the foul dishonour I have done to our most Holy Religion, and the great scandal I have given by a late profane abuse of the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, Which I wrote and caused to be Published, Do here, in the presence of God, and of his Ministers, and of this Congregation, most heartily bewail with unfeigned sorrow both that notorious offence, and also all my other sins which betrayed me unto it : most humbly begging forgiveness of God, and of His Church, whose heaviest Censures I have justly deserved. And I earnestly desire that none of my Brethren (*sic*) (much less our Holy Function, or the Church), may be the worse thought of by reason of my miscarriages : So I do faithfully promise by God's Grace, to endeavour to behave myself hereafter so Religiously in my Place and Calling, that I may not be any more a discredit to them. In which Resolution that I may persist, I beg and implore the assistance of your Prayers, and desire withal, that this my Retractation, and sincere profession of Repentance, may be made as publick as my Crimes have been, that none may be tempted hereafter, to do evil by my example.' "

Thomas Ashenden was naturally anxious to do what he could to rehabilitate himself in the good esteem of the Clergy and laity of his Church, and he hit upon the

expedient of writing and publishing a letter, addressed to his Publisher as from a member of the reading public who often frequented his shop, and who had casually lighted upon the broadsheet which had caused such scandal and brought its author into such disgrace; and who after carefully reading it had come to the conclusion that it and its author had been too severely handled—and that though there was culpable “gaucherie” in its form, the intentions of the author were good, and his representation of the positions and spirit of the Presbyterians were so true that such an *exposé* might be welcomed and its error of form forgiven by all genuine friends of the Established Church and convinced opponents of Nonconformity.

While there can be no doubt that it was written by *Thomas Ashenden* himself, it is so ingeniously conceived, and astutely carried out, that while it is manifestly intended to be taken as the verdict of an impartial stranger utterly ignorant of the authorship of the anonymous sheet, there is no single sentence, phrase, or word inconsistent with the fact that the writer of the letter was himself the author of the libel.

For the liberal extracts from it which follow, I am again indebted to Rev. Alex Gordon.

The letter is entitled :

“Some Reflections Upon A Late Pamphlet, In A Letter to J. H.”
[expanded to *Jos. Hindmarsh* in a contemporary hand].

“ Sir,

It is out of a particular respect to you that I write these
“ few hasty Lines, I being a Frequenter of your Shop, where I
“ always was sure to meet with things Ingenious and Loyal (I
“ mean in the way of your Trade) without any appearance of those
“ lewd and seditious *Pamphlets* which in these Licentious Times
“ swarm from the Deplorable Liberty of the Press. [Sixteen-and-a-
“ half lines against the liberty of the press.] But enough of
“ Preamble.

“ The Intent of these Lines is to make a few Reflections upon
“ a Pamphlet which met me Yesterday : I am sorry to hear your
“ Shop should Credit such a Scurrilous, if not Prophane Paper ;

“ However I am pleas’d to hear that you, by the immediate stifling
 “ it, have stopt the Mouths of those hot Zealots, who make
 “ Mountains of Molehills, and greedily snatch at any Occasions
 “ to expose the Failings of their Opposers, as they have done by
 “ this rash Author, whose Supereminent Zeal for Loyalty was
 “ perhaps the only Occasion of his Indiscretion in venturing upon
 “ such Irreligious Allusions, they themselves not thinking their
 “ Familiarity and Sawciness with God Almighty, hath been more
 “ directly and notoriously Prophane, and thereby given occasion
 “ to this and many the like *Pamphlets*.

“ Well then, it’s my opinion upon the perusal of that Paper, that
 “ the Author the more strongly to express the vile Hypocrisie of our
 “ Dissenters, was resolved to expose them in their natural Colours ;
 “ and I imagin he thought of no better way than under this Title
 “ to make their Principles and Practices, diametrically opposite to
 “ the very Fundamentals of Christian Religion ; for in that Pamph-
 “ let he hath dislodged the several Petitions of the Holy Prayer,
 “ and Articles of the Creed, etc., and in their room hath planted
 “ his own sharp Reflections. This (I suppose) he did, as thinking
 “ the Dignity of their new place and seat would make them appear
 “ with greater lustre, and a more advantageous state and pomp of
 “ Satyr. Besides (I suppose) he thought that as the Novelty of
 “ this odd Allusion would make his Descriptions more remarkable,
 “ by bearing relation to those familiar parts of our Religion, so it
 “ would fix the designed Contumely and Scandal against Dis-
 “ senters so much the deeper in the mind of the Reader, the Matter
 “ of Fact being undeniable, though unhappily represented under a
 “ sacred Title.

“ Sir, my general Charity obligeth me to think well of all men,
 “ and that the Sentiments of the Author were not designedly
 “ Atheistical or Profane, though an indiscreet Tale hath laid him
 “ under the Censure of both. The Picture of the Persons he de-
 “ signed to draw, comes very near the Life, but his Prudence might
 “ have chosen a more sutable Frame to set it in, than that of the
 “ Sacred Word. For though ’tis true, that *Scandalum acceptum*
 “ is not always *Scandalum datum* ; yet it is ill playing with such
 “ edged Tools, especially in a Juncture when very ill consequences
 “ may happen by the weakness of some, and malice of others. I
 “ am not ignorant that things of this nature have been done with
 “ less noise and outcry, than was yesterday made about this ;
 “ yet it was ill timed now, when as our tottering Affairs are so
 “ unsteddy, that the Sentiments of the People are made the Test
 “ of Truth. For my own part, I blush at the Author’s imprudent
 “ choice of his Title, but can’t conceive the substance of the thing
 “ absolutely Profane ; for it is evident the Author’s design was not
 “ at all to vilifie the Essentials of our Religion, but only by this

“ Ludicrous Allusion to render the Persons, there pointed at more familiarly and plainly detestable.

“ To conclude, I believe you (like me) thought that Pamphlet uncapable of giving such distaste, or that from so slight occasion so great a noise should arise, which made it at first find a place on your Counter, but since it hath been an occasion of so much Discourse, I commend your discretion in denying it a place in your Shop; it being wisdom in all persons who desire the Peace of the Nation, not to engage themselves in anything which may increase or continue our Aminosities.

I am,
Sir,
Your servant,
T.A.

Printed for *Joseph Hindmarsh* at the *Black Bull* in *Cornhill*, 1681.

There can be no question that this was meant to be an “apologia” alike for himself as the author and of *Joseph Hindmarsh* as the Publisher and Vendor of the *Presbyterian Paternoster, Creed, and Ten Commandments*.

In conclusion a few annotations may not be unacceptable as showing alike the animus, the ignorant unfairness, and the special timeliness of the publication.

I. *In the Title.* The use of the familiar Latin designation “Pater Noster” for the Lord’s Prayer may be intended to suggest the Roman Catholic usage; and so to link Presbyterianisms with Papistry, as if one were in league with the other in their common Recusancy.

The use here of the term *Presbyterian* convicts the author of great laxity. Properly it should have denoted the religion of the Directory, etc., issued by the *Westminster Assembly of Divines*; but much of what is here introduced belongs rather to *Congregationalism*.

II. *In the Paternoster.* The opening phrase, which at first strikes one as the very acme of blasphemy, is a close parallel to the words of our Lord to certain Pharisees of His day, “Ye are of your Father, the Devil.” [John viii. 44.]

III. *In the Creed.* (a) Among the sons of Calvin, described in the margin as "the only saints" recognized by the Presbyterians, only one was such avowedly and consistently; viz., William Jenkins, ejected from Christ Church, Newgate, whose licences under the Indulgence of 1672 are the very first in E.B. 27. Richard Baxter was perhaps nearer to Presbyterianism than to any other system; but he refused to be so described, or by any sectarian denomination, and insisted on being called simply a Nonconformist. "Owen" is, of course, Dr. John Owen, sometime Vice-chancellor of Oxford University, the great champion of Congregationalism. The fact is that Ashenden, like many State-Church parsons and laity through all the centuries since 1662, knew so little of Nonconformists that he lumped them all together, Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists, as if ignorant of the difference between them.

(b) "The Year of Toleration" is an inaccurate description of the year of *Indulgence*, 15th March, 1671-2 to 15 February, 1672-3; during which there was *no General Toleration*, but simply a permission to worship otherwise than according to the ritual of the Established Church, granted as of especial royal favour to those who sought and secured licences to do so under the signatures of the king and one of the Secretaries of State. This was a very different matter.

(c) "The Lord S. . . ." is of course Satan. [*Query if not rather Lord Shaftesbury, a prominent leader of the Whigs, and chief promoter of the Exclusion Bill; caricatured by Dryden as Achitophel.—ED.*].

(d) This last clause is rather unfortunate; for although, under the bitter persecution of the Clarendon code, they were driven to plead for Toleration, the Presbyterians when, in the heyday of their prosperity, they had the status of an Established Church, were strongly opposed to the Toleration of any form of worship or religion except what was formulated

in the Directory and the Westminster Confession of Faith.

IV. *In the Commandments.* (ii.) The exception of "S. Oliver" from the general unlawfulness of Image making or worship is most unfortunate; for Oliver Cromwell was a stern opponent of the bigoted exclusiveness of the Presbyterians, and espoused the greater freedom and openmindedness of the Independents.

(iv.) "Forty One" is of course 1641 the year immediately preceding the outbreak of the Civil War; the year which witnessed the Impeachment of Land and his committal to the Tower, the Attainder and Execution of Strafford, the abolition of the Star Chamber, the Commission of the North, and the High Commission, also of Ship Money; the abrogation of the king's authority to summon or dissolve Parliament at his pleasure; the passing of the Root-and-Branch Bill, threatening the extinction of the hierarchy and the Disestablishment of the Episcopal Church.

(vii.) This is particularly coarse, venomous, and malicious; for it is well known that the Presbyterians were especially strict in matters of sexual morality.

(ix.) An echo and endorsement of the insinuations of the Papist Dangerfield.

V. *In the Postscript.* (a) "The Plot" is that invented by Titus Oates; the line which follows is another attempt to foist on the Presbyterians the villainies of the "Meal-tub Plot."

(b) The reference is to the numerous petitions addressed to the king, between October, 1679, and October, 1680, to summon Parliament, which were practically refused by repeated Prorogations. These gained for the Whig or Country party the nickname of "Petitioners"; while the Tory or Court party were called "Abhorers," as professing abhorrence of such disrespectful pressure being put upon the king.

(c) Probably Shaftesbury is meant.

(d) Langley Curtis and Francis Smith were both con-

victed on 5th February, 1679-80 of publishing seditious libels; and Benjamin Harris, being the same day convicted on a similar charge, was fined £500 and set in the pillory. As to Carr, Evelyn in his Diary, under date 21st December, 1667, mentions seeing him in the pillory at Charing Cross for a libel. Pepys refers to him four times: (1) on the preceding day, saying that he was punished for a petition against Lord Gerrard, which he had printed before it was presented; (2) on 20th January, 1667-8, censuring Gerrard for the severity exercised against Carr; (3) on 7th February, 1667-8, that Gerrard "designs the ruin of this man" by a charge of "running from his colours"; (4) on the following day, that Carr had "cleared himself in open courts, gaining himself the pity of all the world."

It only needs to be added that on 21st March, 1680-1, just a month after the publications of the "Presbyterian Paternoster," Charles met his fourth and last Parliament. He found it no more compliant than the former, for it at once proceeded with a new Exclusion Bill, which the king frustrated by suddenly dissolving the Parliament when it had only sat a single week. From that date till his death on 6th February, 1684-5, his rule was a pure autocracy, unrestrained by Council or Parliament. But the four years next ensuing beheld in quick succession the ill-fated attempt of Monmouth, the Bloody Assize, the Second Declaration of Indulgence, the Trial of the Seven Bishops, and The Revolution—the Dawn of Religious Liberty.

G. L. TURNER.

THE
 FEMALES ADVOCATE :
 OR, AN
 ESSAY,

TO PROVE

That the Sisters in every Church of CHRIST,
 have a Right to CHURCH-GOVERNMENT as
 well as the BRETHREN.

Designed chiefly for the use of those of the *Congregational*
 and *Antipedobaptist* Persuasion; (who *Professedly* own, That
Church-Government is wholly committed to every *Particular*
Church of Christ) and may be of Use to all others, that own
 the Word of God to be the only *Rule*, and *Directory* for the
Right Order, *Discipline*, and *Government* of the *Church* of
 God.

Humbly Presented

By N.E. A Lover of the Just Liberty and Purity of
 the *Churches* of *Christ*, of every Denomination among
 us this Day.

LONDON :

Printed for the Author, and Sold by S. POPPING, at the *Black*
Raven in *Paternoster Row*, and the Booksellers in *London* and *West-*
minster. (Price 4d.)

The present writer, when a schoolboy, learned from an old Latin Grammar that "The masculine gender is more worthy than the feminine, and the feminine than the neuter." This opinion was long held in regard to matters social and ecclesiastical as well as grammatical; and outside the Society of Friends the Nonconformists of the seventeenth century seem generally to have accepted it as a part of their creed. Accordingly the franchise of the Church, the right to share in the election of ministers, etc., was commonly restricted to the male members. Occasionally the contrary was the case; the Ordination of Hugh Peters at Rotterdam furnishes a notable exception; but the rule was that of the Latin Grammar.

It is interesting therefore to meet with such a treatise as that of which the title-page is given opposite. It is a 32pp. pamphlet, anonymous, and apparently unknown to Dexter. There is a copy in the British Museum (701. f. 23), and one in the Congregational Library, but we cannot hear of any others. It is stated by its author to have been written several years before publication, in reply to "a then eminent Congregational Minister"; and only to have been printed at the urgent request of some who had seen it in MS.

The author begins by discussing "those two noted texts, I. Cor. xiv. 34-5 and I. Tim. ii. 12." These, he insists, can only refer to "Public and Authoritative Preaching, etc." They cannot be more binding than I. Tim. ii. 9 (about dress and adornment), "which the Ministers and Brethren at this day are willing to dispense with them in." If "all manner of speaking in the Church" is forbidden, what about singing the praises of God? or the custom which requires the sisters "to give an account of their faith, and of all work of Grace in them, in Order to their Admission into the Church"? If this be done in writing "it is really speaking, as much as God speaks to us by His written Word."

D

The passages quoted must surely be understood in a sense consistent with Matt. xxviii. 7-10, Mark xvi. 7, John xx. 17, 18, where women are commanded by an angel, and by Our Lord Himself, to proclaim to the Apostles the fact of His Resurrection. Luke also (xxiv. 9, 10) narrates their obedience, though not the command.

In Matt. xviii. 17 are instructions how to deal with an offending brother; if he be obstinate, "tell it to the Church." This surely applies equally to men and women, both being equally liable to be sinned against.

It is a fair presumption that it was in a meeting of the church that Sapphira was questioned by Peter, and returned an untruthful answer (Acts v. 8). Still more to the point is the case of Rhoda in Acts xii. 13-15, who comes into an unmistakable Church Meeting, "useth her Christian liberty, and is not blamed for it." A number of supposed examples are then quoted from both the Old and New Testaments, which tend rather to weaken than strengthen the argument. A reference to Acts i. 14, ii. 1, 17, 18 is more to the point.

The next refers to I. Cor. xi. 5, 6, 10, 13, 15. "There's something I conceive in those four verses that these times will not bear to speak much to; but there is nothing at all in them, unless they prove that women did speak *to* God, and *from* God in that Church."

Numerous duties are enjoined on Christians, that is Church members, in general, without distinction of sex. Moreover, II. John, v. 10 was written to a woman, and she is enjoined "to be active in opposing false teachers and false preaching, which cannot be done without speaking in, or to, the Church." And "I am apt to think that those brethren that are so much against the sisters speaking in the Church, would willingly dispense with it, were they themselves accused of a crime which none but a sister was able to prove them innocent of."

That it is the "duty, and undeniable privilege [of

Church Members] to choose their own officers," is taken as axiomatic. Acts i. 14 with 23-4-6, and vi. 1, 2 with 5 suggest no barrier of sex. To forbid speech to any, is a real depriving them of their right of election, "which is an Act of Church Tyranny."

I. Tim. v. 9, 10, shews that women held certain official positions in the Church. Surely the right to be elected implies the right to elect. "And if one in office has it, every sister has the same right; for it is not the office, but membership that gives both sisters and brethren a right to government."

"Another reason for the sisters' rights to Church Government may be taken from that great freedom and liberty Our Lord Christ Himself gave to women of free access to Him." "And it becomes not us men, under the name of the Church (which I am satisfied is abused as well in this as in many other respects) to deny those that liberty which Our Saviour so often gave them." There are references to Matt. xv. 23-8, Matt. xxvi. 7-13 with Luke vii. 37-50, Mark v. 25-34, Luke viii. 43-8, Luke xiii. 11-16, John iv. 9-26, viii. 3-11, xi. passion.

The author seeks to strengthen his position by references to Old Testament examples of women honoured by God as His messengers; as Deborah, Hannah, Huldah, King Samuel's Mother; some of whom "knew more of the Mind of God than the whole Church—more than the king, priests, Levites, and Governors." There are also references to Abigail, Esther, Elizabeth, the Mother of Our Lord, and Priscilla the teacher of Apollos.

He next reminds objectors that they enjoy their just rights and liberties, of which for many years they were deprived by Church Tyrants, rights which they have strenuously asserted and honourably maintained; yet they practically allow that evil in themselves which they justly condemned in others. Further, in every free community the minority are ruled by the majority. But in many Congregational and Baptist Churches this

order is reversed—where of the entire membership perhaps a hundred are women, and only fifty, forty, or thirty are men. It would be more reasonable if the majority were received on the understanding that “they are to come into the Church only as hewers of wood and drawers of water for the brethren”; or if “the brethren of the Churches had such a power over the sisters as parents have over their children; or did they pretend to such a right over them as the conqueror has over the conquered.” But no such pretence is alleged. Finally, is not the claim of men to exercise authority over women in religious matters closely analogous to the claim of the Pope to exercise a like power over the laity?

He goes on to deal with sundry objections:

(1) To allow women to speak in or to the Church is to allow them to usurp authority, contrary to I. Tim. ii. 12. This is nothing to the point, unless it be usurpation for a servant maid to speak to her master.

(2) Women have not capacity or judgment to manage Church Affairs as they ought to be managed. This is not true: many women have more knowledge and capacity than some men.

(3) “If sisters should be admitted to intermeddle in the Government of a Church it would bring confusion, etc.” As much may be said against the brethren’s governing, for they also are subject to manifold weaknesses and infirmities in respect to judgment. Let them not then deprive others of their right “on any imaginary objection, without so much as to make a trial.”

(4) What is demanded would bring us under petticoat government, which is contrary to the light and law of Nature. “This shows much pride, as well as want of due consideration of what is pleaded,” which is “not that women should serve the men as the men do now serve the women,” but that there should be an equality.

(5) The only other objection our author can think of is that in Rev. ii. 20 the Church is blamed for allowing "that woman Jezebel to teach and to seduce, etc." But her fault was falsely calling herself a prophetess, and teaching contrary to sound faith and good morals. He concluded with an earnest appeal to Christian women to strive, with all due earnestness and modesty, for the restoration of those rights which are now unjustly withheld; meanwhile to "make conscience of doing all you can in a more private way for your mutual edification"; and when those rights are restored, "beg of God that you may be made able, through His Grace, to carry it so that the brethren may be convinced that they have erred, and been mistaken in their judgments of your unfitness and inability to manage Church work; . . . and that they have for many years, been unfaithful to Christ and His Churches, in denying Him such servants, and His Church such helpers, that He hath appointed to be in His Church until the time of the Restoration of all things."

It is somewhat remarkable that our author makes no mention of Rom. xvi. 1 or Gal. iii. 28.

Religious Liberty under the Regency

(Continued from p. 56.)

IV. The Act of 1812 seems to have put an end to the penalization of Nonconformists under the Conventicle Act; but the spirit that prompted such persecution was far from being exorcised. Lord Barham, of Barham Court, Kent, founded a Sunday School in the village where he resided, and was accustomed to attend the evening worship carried on therein. On his lordship's death the Honourable Charles Noel came to reside in the same mansion, and carried on the Sunday School; but the state of his health making it imprudent for him to go abroad on winter evenings, he removed the evening service to his own house. This was no case of Nonconformity; Mr. Noel was an adherent of the Established Church, and his action had the approval of the vicar and the curate of a neighbouring parish. But the service was open to the neighbours, who attended to the number of twenty or thirty; and the house was not certified and registered as a dissenter's meeting under the Toleration Act. Whereupon the Earl of Romney laid an information against Mr. Noel for knowingly permitting two unlawful assemblies "for religious worship of Protestants," on 31st December, 1815, and 7th January, 1816. The case was heard on 1st April, 1816 (surely the most fitting day in the calender); Mr. Noel admitted the facts, simply pleading ignorance of the law; Lord Romney "thought it necessary to observe that, as *complainant and informer*, he took the whole matter upon himself." The full penalty of £20 for each offence was imposed, which was immediately paid by Mr. Noel's steward; in reply to whom

the chairman answered that after payment of expenses half the remainder *went to the informer*, and half to the poor of the parish.

V. On Sunday, 7th April, 1816, Mr. Robert Newstead, a Methodist preacher, preached in a field at Doddington, Cambridgeshire. Among his hearers was a servant of Rev. Augustus Peyton, rector of Doddington; on whose evidence Mr. Peyton and another magistrate convicted Mr. Newstead of "collecting together a congregation or assembly of persons, and preaching to them otherwise than according to the liturgy and practice of the Church of England, in a field which had not been licensed." The servant admitted that "he did not know what he preached, whether it were a prayer or a sermon . . . but he knew that it was contrary to the liturgy of the Church of England because he had not a prayer book in his hand!" Mr. Newstead appealed to Quarter Sessions, held at Wisbeach on 17th July following; the conviction was confirmed, and the preacher sentenced to a fine of £30 or three months' imprisonment. But a case was demanded for the Court of King's Bench; whereupon the prosecutors abandoned the prosecution, and engaged not to enforce the penalty.

VI. On Sunday, 17th June, 1821, Mr. Samuel Waller, a respectable manufacturer at Ashton-under-Line, and a member of the Primitive Methodist Society, committed the serious offence of preaching on the steps of a friend's house, opposite one of the widest streets in the town. The audience was vaguely estimated at "200 or 300"; the time, five in the afternoon; the place "within about twenty yards of the churchyard gate." For this crime he was, on 23rd July, convicted at the Salford Quarter Sessions of "a Misdemeanour and Nuisance," committed to prison for three months, and required to give security to keep the peace for two years. It was afterwards stated, on the authority of some persons then present, that "on

the same day the same punishment was inflicted for selling songs so grossly obscene that counsel for the prosecution thought it improper they should be read in Court."

Few will be disposed to say, in view of the above extracts, that "The former days were better than these."

In Memoriam

WE have to place on record, with deep regret, the death of our late esteemed Treasurer, Rev. Geo. Lyon Turner, M.A., which took place at Bramblecot, Hayling Island, on 13th August, in his 76th year. Professor Turner was a Cheshunt student, and took high honours in London University, gaining the gold medal in philosophy. After a short pastorate at Long Melford (1868-1870) he was called to a tutorship in Hackney College (1870-80), and thence to a similar post in Lancashire College (1881-89). He then resumed pastoral work at Lewisham, retiring from active service in 1903. His later years were devoted mainly to historical research; and students of Puritan History can never dispense with his monumental work, "Original Records of Early Nonconformity under Persecution and Indulgence," in which the Official Documents, 1665-1672, are reproduced with the minutest accuracy, and carefully classified and annotated. Three of his children are engaged in missionary service: a daughter in India, a son in Central Africa, and another in China. To them, and to Mrs. Turner, we offer our heartiest sympathy.

Review

VENTURERS FOR THE KINGDOM: A STUDY IN THE HISTORY OF THE PILGRIM FATHERS. By Henry G. Wood, M.A. [Hodder and Stoughton, 8vo., xiv.: 254 pp.]

It was a happy inspiration, for which the *Mayflower* Tercentenary Celebration Committee deserves credit, to select Mr. Herbert Wood to write this small but authoritative work to meet the demands of the many who desire to know more of the great "Venturers for the Kingdom," who sailed away to the mysterious West in 1620, and whose venture has proved so powerful a factor in the history of a continent, and, indeed, in the history of Christian civilization. Many books on the topic already existed; good books, too, among them. But another book, *this* book, as we easily recognize on reading it, was wanted. The study of the great Fathers, who were so profoundly unsuspecting of their greatness, had to be levelled up to the progress of historic research. Our knowledge of the events has advanced proportionately as the country involved in this story realized its greatness. Moreover, a book was wanted which would homologize our fresh conceptions of the character of the men, and of their ideals, and their deeds. The stores of fresh knowledge which have rewarded the labours of many diligent researches, have refurnished our imagination, and given us, as they are ably handled in Mr. Wood's pages, a better understanding of the great enterprise and the chief actors in it. And there is another justification for the writing of Mr. Wood's book. We were grieved a little while since at Mr. Roland G. Usher's *Story of the Pilgrim Fathers*, seeing there was a spice of malice about a book which libels the memory of the Pilgrims, timed to

mislead the public mind in regard to the Tercentary Celebrations. Mr. Wood, with the patience and the competence of a fine scholar, has answered Mr. Usher's slanders. From the standpoint of the admirers of the Pilgrims there is nothing more to be said. Chapter and verse are given, and the jaundiced view of the ecclesiastical partisan is unpleasantly obvious. If anything further were needed, it is given in Dr. Rendel Harris's brief appendix on "The Legal Processes Against the Pilgrims." But we warn Mr. Wood—Dr. Rendel Harris is a veteran and needs no warning—that the American Episcopalians, who regard the pre-eminence of the Pilgrims with such unconcealed jealousy, and the High Church historians of this country, will repeat the old fables for generations to come. They will still say that these unsociable and bigoted Separatists were never really persecuted; on the contrary, when they were comfortably settled in New England, they burnt witches, and flogged Quakeresses, while a quorum of their elders stood around chanting the imprecatory psalms.

Mr. Wood's book will serve its purpose admirably in giving instruction to those who seek it. It will supply them with a complete and lucid historic narrative, and even more importantly, it will present them with a fine statement and defence of the democratic and tolerant principles which, if falling short of ideal perfection, were admirable and pre-eminent for their time, and held by the Pilgrims and their successors with such tenacity. If Mr. Wood's study has any defect it is perhaps in the modified praise which is all he can accord to the Pilgrims and their descendants for their small effort to evangelize the natives. We think they were more active in their missionary efforts than Mr. Wood would indicate; as he would perceive if he would be good enough to glance at the authorities given in the last section of the Bibliography printed in the present issue of our *Transactions*.

W. PIERCE.

The Fourth International Congregational Council

Boston, Mass., June 29th–July 6th, 1920.

OUR *Transactions* do not normally deal with current events; but an exception may be made in this case, especially as the Council had among its objects a celebration of the Tercentenary of 1620. Most of the English delegates voyaged by the *Adriatic*. Like the *Mayflower*, the ship sailed from Southampton; and as was written of the Scrooby Church in its migration to Holland, so it might be written of us, "they were obliged to bribe and fee the mariners and give extraordinary rates for their passage." There the outward resemblances end. No one was washed overboard, no one died on the voyage, no little Oceanus was born. We were only one Sunday at sea, and in the morning listened to the Purser reading Matins; but in the evening, led by Dr. Horton, we had a service more congenial to our Pilgrim spirit.

We found the country more thickly populated than our forefathers did in 1620, but somehow or other it was not till we reached Boston, and, indeed, the Congregational House there, that we got into sympathetic touch with our spiritual kinsmen. The time of year was not the best, many Boston citizens being out of town, and the place of Meeting left much to be desired. The Mechanics' Hall is suited for exhibitions, but not for speaking and hearing. It was, therefore, an agreeable experience to get through the opening proceedings with a fair measure of comfort and satisfaction.

Now the Chronicles of the Council are, or will be, written elsewhere, and I have only to touch on a few matters particularly relevant to our journey. The

action of the *Adriatic* Company in sending a Marconigram of congratulations to Dr. John Brown on his ninetieth birthday was warmly endorsed by the Council under the able moderatorship of Dr. James L. Barton. Here let me note with mingled feelings the splendid way in which for months past *The Boston Congregationalist* has supplied its readers with Pilgrim information, and evoked new interest in the men of Scrooby and the *Mayflower*. Alas for our own poverty in this respect.

Some of us were greatly interested in a visit to Marblehead and Salem, with their many survivals and memories of olden days; and the present writer, with Rev. Sidney Berry, had a most enjoyable experience as the guests of the Essex Congregational Club at Gloucester. But naturally the excursion *par excellence* was to Plymouth. Most of the British delegates were taken there and back in motor cars, and so were enabled to see at least the externals of rural life in New England. The day itself was superb; unhappily the organization of the proceedings left much to be desired; what should have been a pilgrimage became a picnic, and of the five chosen speakers only one or two seemed to have anything like a fitting conception of the time and place. Where we should have had dignity and a call to new consecration we had persiflage, platitudes, or irrelevances. Some of us were glad to steal away to the quiet peace of Burial Hill, and to find there in communion with the spirits of William Bradford and his Pilgrim Company that for which our hearts were athirst.

It is surprising that amid the myriad names of English towns and villages that have been transplanted to America there is no Scrooby or Austerfield. I hope that, through the efforts of our friend Dr. Dunning, who has much to do with the forthcoming celebrations at Plymouth, these honoured names may be perpetuated in some Avenue or Square in that City.

I feel I am trespassing on space, but I must say how well one of our members, Dr. Peel, acquitted himself in presenting the Report of the Commission on our Polity, both in masterly handling of the past and in sagacious counsel for the future. I must also mention two very helpful exhibitions; one, at the Boston Public Library (where there is a noble statue of Sir Harry Vane), included a valuable collection of original editions of early Pilgrim and Puritan literature, many ancient and modern pictures, crude maps, facsimiles of autograph letters and documents. The other, at the Museum of Fine Arts, comprised loans of furniture, silver-ware, pewter, prints, etc. There was also an interesting exhibit at the new Widener Library in Harvard College, but this I did not see. But I did not fail to have a look at William Bradford's priceless manuscript, "History of Plymouth Plantation," in the Massachusetts State House; and in the Congregational Library at Beacon Street they show with pride a piece of an oak beam from Scrooby Manor House, and a piece of a carved pew from Scrooby Parish Church. They also rejoice in the possession of Bishop Stubbs's Library, which they bought a day ahead of an offer from Harvards, and keep as a separate collection.

Some of us, venturing through a torrential rain, made our way to the new Andover Seminary at Harvard, and had a delightful time with Dean Plattner. The new buildings are very worthy, and the Chapel and Library especially won our admiration.

We are glad to think that the Council has done much to strengthen old ties, and even more in forming new ones between ourselves and our American kinsfolk. Many of us feel that ten years is too long an interval; and that 1928, the Tercentenary of Bunyan's birth, would be a most fitting occasion for the next International.

A. J. GRIEVE.

A Puritan Publisher

JOHN BELLAMY.

IT is generally understood that, with the exception of an Almanack, The Bay Psalm Book (1640) was the first English book printed in America. It is, therefore, not without interest to enquire by what agency was the earliest American literature introduced to English readers.

The answer is furnished by the title-page of "A Sermon preached at Plimouth in New England, December 9th, 1621. Together with a Preface shewing the state of the contrie, and condicon of the inhabitants. Printed by I. D. for John Bellamie, and are to be sold at his shop at the two greyhounds in Corne-hill neere the Royal Exchange." The date of entry is 22nd March, 1621-2.

This John Bellamy was born at Oundle, Northants; was apprenticed to Nicholas Bourne, bookseller, "at the South Entrance of the Royal Exchange," and took up his freedom on 17th February, 1620. His name first appears on the Stationers' Register on 10th October in that year. He was a true-blue Presbyterian, and his earliest—indeed most numerous—publications were sermons, though he did not disdain poetry, philosophy, or general literature. "Virginia's God be thanked, or a sermon of thanksgiving for the happie successe of the affayres in Virginia this last yeare"; preached by P. Copeland before the Honble. Virginia Company in Bow Church, on Thursday, 18th April, 1622, was published by Bellamy in conjunction with Wm. Sheffard. But of greater interest is the fact that a "Relation or Journal of the Beginning and Proceedings of the English Plantation settled at Plymouth in New England" was entered by Bellamy on 29th June, 1622. This was the pamphlet well known as "Mourt's Relation"; it seems to have been re-entered on the

15th July next following, by Mistress Griffin and John Haviland, printers, as "A Brief Relation of the Discovery and Plantation of New England"; on sale by Bellamy, and also by Wm. Bladen.

On 14th November, 1623, we find entered "A True Relation of Things very remarkable." This seems to indicate "Good Newes from New England; or a true relation of things very remarkable at the Plantation of Plimouth in New England. Written by F. W. [*i.e.* Edward Winslow.] London, Printed by I. D., for Wm. Bladen and John Bellamie, and are to be sold at their shops, at the Bible in Pauls Church Yard, and at the three golden Lyons in Cornehill, neere the Royal Exchange, 1624."

John Robinson's "Observations Divine and Moral" was entered by Bellamy on 18th October, 1626; but no copy of that year's date is known. It is conjectured that Bellamy may have imported part of the Leyden edition of 1625, and prefixed a title-page of his own. He re-issued the book in 1628, calling it a 2nd edition.

The following, having special relation to the New England Colonists, were also published by Bellamy:—

"God's Promise to His Plantation," by John Cotton: 1634.

"The Humble Request of His Maiesties [Loyall Subjects, the Governour and the Company, late gone to New England," &c. Drawn up by John Winthorp, 1630. (This, of course, relates to the Bay Colony, not that of New Plymouth.)

"New England's Prospect. A true, lively, and experimentall description of that part of America, commonly called New England, &c." By Wm. Wood, 1634; 2nd Edn., 1635; 3rd Edn., 1639.

"A True relation of the late Battell fought in New England between the English and the Pequot Salvages, &c." By P. Vincent, 1637. This was published by Bellamy in association with Nathaniel Butler.

On the outbreak of the Civil War, Bellamy (who by

this time was Common Council-man for the Ward of Cornhill), took up arms for the Parliament and attained the rank of Colonel in the trained bands. When the rupture occurred between the Presbyterians and the Independents, he adhered strongly to the former. He it was who published the "Remonstrance and Petition" sent to the Parliament by a section of the Common Council, which demanded the suppression of private and separate congregations of Brownists and Anabaptists, and the immediate opening of negotiations for peace. This publication was followed by "A Vindication of the Humble Remonstrance," and "A Justification of the City Remonstrance and its Vindication."

In 1646 Bellamy published Winslow's "Hypocrisie Unmasked; By a true Relation of the Proceedings of the Governour and Company of the Masachusetts against Samuel Gorton, &c.": and the following year a remainder of the same pamphlet was issued with a new title, viz., "The Danger of Tolerating Levellers in a Civil State," &c.

But "business is business"; and, however strong the antipathy of Bellamy to the Independents may have been, it did not extend to the legitimate gains that might accrue from the sale of their writings. At various times we find him acquiring the copyright of Amsworth's Psalms, and of his Annotations on the Pentateuch. In 1648 he published "A Survey of the Summe of Church Discipline, by Thomas Hooker, late Pastor of the Church at Hartford upon Connecticut."

"The Way of Congregational Churches Cleared," by Rev. John Cotton of Boston.

"The Clear Sunshine of the Gospel," by Thomas Sheppard, of Cambridge, N.E.

Bellamy seems to have acquired considerable wealth, and to have retired from business some time before his death. This occurred at Cotterstock, a couple of miles from his birthplace, about the 20th January, 1653-4.

EDITORIAL

OUR usual Autumnal Meeting was held at Southampton on 29th September, 1920, the School-room of Portland Street Baptist Church being kindly lent for the occasion. The attendance was exceptionally numerous, and visitors were well rewarded by the paper read by Rev. W. Camfield, M.A., which we have pleasure in reproducing in our present issue. We were then favoured with a familiar talk by W. Dale, Esq., F.S.A., on "Southampton and the *Mayflower*"; after which, under Mr. Dale's guidance, a tour was made to the most notable points of historic interest in the town, terminating at the birthplace of Dr. Isaac Watts, where the proceedings were concluded by a brief devotional service in the garden.

* * * *

"The Story of Old Halifax" is an admirable little book from the pen of Mr. T. W. Hanson, who is a prominent worker in connection with the Square Congregational Church in that town, and a member of our Society. He is a keen antiquarian, and has more than once contributed to our "Transactions." Local History is now finding a place in our educational system, and the local educational authority has sanctioned the use of Mr. Hanson's book in their schools. The book is well written, beautifully illustrated, and attractively got up; and we are glad to know that the author is doing such excellent work.

* * * *

The Annual Meeting of our Society will be held at the Memorial Hall on Wednesday, 11th May, 1921. It is earnestly desired that all our members should strive to increase the number of our subscribers; the more so as the arrangement by which members of the Baptist Historical Society were regarded as Associate Members has been discontinued.

ASINUS ONUSTUS. | THE | *ASSE* | OVERLADEN. |
 TO | HIS LOVING, AND | DEARE | MISTRESSE |
ELIZABETH | THE BLESSED QUEEN | OF | ENGLAND.

This Booke was delivered to Queene | *ELIZ* : being
 at *None Such*, Jul. 27th | Anno 1589. | LONDON |
 Printed for *John Williams*, and are to be sold at his
 Shop, | at the *Crowne* in *Paul's Church-yard*, 1642.

The above is the title of a pamphlet of vi. + 69 pp., in the British Museum, press-mark 873. g. 33. It is a remonstrance against sundry ecclesiastical abuses, from the point of view of a cleric who has a grievance, but is altogether hostile to every form of Puritanism or Separatism. He begins with an apologetic preface, from which the following are some extracts :—

“The Effect of the Book, and the Asses intent, to the Re. der. The poore Asse to his Mistresse complains of three injuries; That he is Despised; That he is Overladen; That his Provender is taken from him. This Asse is the Ministerie and Clergie of England, compared to an Asse for strength, and for patience, and clemencie, etc. . . . For as the one, so is the other strong to beare burdens, patient to endure reproches; gentle, not seeking revenge, not envying others better fortune, but only desirous to relieve his owne. . . .

“This Asse speaketh but in the Name of poore Ministers of the Meaner sort, whereof this Asse is one of the Meanest. The great Masters of the Clergie feele

not yet this extreame misery. This Asse was bred on the backe side of the hill *Atlas* in *Affrica*. And being a Barbarian by nature, beare with his barbarous phrase, and uneloquent braying. The worst that you can say is but this : It was an Asse that did it. He confesseth it. So find him, So take him. Let your wisdome overreach an Asses capacity. A dull constitution breeds a dull conceit. If any list to gather captious and farre-reaching conceits, or constructions, their own fault it is, and their blame be it. Philosophy fits not an Asses braine."

The treatise is in three parts. The first remonstrates against the light esteem in which the clergy are held, the unwillingness of many to pay those charges which provide their legal maintenance, and the diversion of church property to private uses. "Martin Marprelate" is denounced as "a ringleader to the Raskall sort, to bring the Gospell of Christ, all Religion, and the Messengers thereof into utter contempt." The second part complains that "The Ministry is overladen of late with taxes"; and strongly denounces the abuse of ecclesiastical patronage. The third part affirms that "The Church is robbed by such as beg away her livings"; and cautiously alludes to abuses in appointments to bishoprics, etc. "The wise Admonitors," says the Ass, "would have Bishops' lands taken away, and given to preachers. But the Brownists, ungrateful Scholars to these Admonitors, would have all lands, and what livings else soever belong any way to any minister, to be taken cleane away : but they define not, who should have them, very earnest are they that Ministers and preachers should have none, secretly insinuating, belike, that they ought to bee divided amongst Noble Men, and Gentlemen. And as for the Ministers of what degree soever, these gentle Brownists will allow them to have no certainty at all, No, not to make any conditions for any thing, in any sort, but to

live *ex mera eleemosyna* of mere Alms : that is in plain English, their will is to set them all on begging." "They say they cannot find in the Scripture any certaine allowance for the Minister, nor yet Lord Bishops : Alas the while : these wise men, these diligent wise men, cannot find that which they never sought, and that which they will not find. What they find it availeth not. But I am assured that I find in the New Testament such Schism, Rebellion, and Division, and such manifest descriptions thereof, that lacking but only their names, the very natures of our Admonitors, Brownists, Precisians, Anabaptists, Familists, Mar-all Martinists, and such like Heretikes, are most lively deciphered." In the margin the Ass refers to II. Tim. iii. 1, II. Peter iii., I. Tim iv., Jud. viii.

He concludes with some doubtless very acceptable flattery to "his loving and deare Mistresse," to whom "the Lord hath given most singular gifts, above the capacity of women," and "hath so miraculously thus long preserved her for defending his Gospel"; in whose mercy "the hope of my life, the stay of my estate, and the only key of my comfort remaineth"; and for whom he prays "That the Church and Commonwealth in your days may flourish, as in the days of Solomon, and that the poor Ministry may no more complaine in our streets, of her Miserable Captivity."

Myles Standish

IT is scarcely open to question that the movement which culminated in the ever-memorable voyage of the *Mayflower* had its origin in the quiet old-fashioned village of Scrooby, on the northern border of Nottinghamshire. From the little company of Separatists who met in the old Manor-house there came several of the pilgrims; while others were from the Midlands, from Essex and the Eastern counties, from London and the South, and from the West. So far as can be ascertained the expedition was purely English; that is, neither Scotland, Wales, nor Ireland was represented.

It has been alleged that the *Mayflower* pilgrims "leave no impression of personality on the mind"; that they were "not remarkable"; that not one of them "had compelling personal genius or marked talent for the work in hand." Another writer will have it that the persecution which drove them out of the country was all too small and trivial in scale to be worthy of the name; that it was a bit of local trouble for which neither Church nor State was responsible. Yet a third says that they were simple uneducated peasants, without any social position. I confess that I cannot understand statements of this kind. There is a type of writer who appears to be obsessed by the idea that his special duty is to belittle the great characters of history, and we seem to have an unusually large number of them at the present time. Indeed I think the one thing from which the world is suffering, our own country as much as any, is lack of reverence—reverence for the historic past, for great historic personalities, respect and reverence for a just authority that can both restrain and compel. Writers of the type just described are not to be taken as trustworthy

guides, seeing that John Robinson and William Brewster were graduates of Cambridge University; with Edward Winslow as a young gentleman from Droitwich, and Myles Standish as the representative of one of the great ruling families of Lancashire, it cannot truthfully be said that the pilgrims were simple and ignorant peasants. Again, if history has anything at all to say to us it is that the religious repressions of Mary, Elizabeth and James were of far too serious a character to be made light of as some seem inclined to do. Moreover, to say that those outgoing pilgrims were "not remarkable," that they "lacked compelling genius," is to use language not easily understood. Those are the people who make history, who indeed have made it, some of the greatest and most wonderful history. And we of Lancashire may well feel pride in the thought that our county was represented in that movement; that in the person of Myles Standish it contributed to the little company in the *Mayflower* one of its most useful and illustrious members.

There is a Myles Standish problem, one of the most interesting and difficult of all those relating to the pilgrims. The Standish country is that part of south-west Lancashire which lies about Wigan, Chorley and Ormskirk. Because it is one of the great colliery centres of England we are apt to think of it as a sort of "Black Country"; in reality, however, it is anything but that. It is richly wooded, abounds in ancient halls and parks, and is as charming a bit of country as will be found almost anywhere in England. The Standish family, though no longer represented in the district, had their abode there at least from the time of the Conquest, and were one of the ruling families of Lancashire. Their home was Standish Hall, near the village of the same name. It still exists, though shorn of much of its ancient glory. An important branch of the family had its centre at Duxbury; and Duxbury Hall, which time has also greatly modernized, was their home.

Other branches were at Ormskirk, Eccleston, and even the Isle of Man. The original stock at Standish Hall were devoted adherents of the Roman Catholic faith, to which they remained loyal: but at the time of the Reformation the Duxbury branch became Protestant, and it is to this branch that Myles Standish is said to have belonged. It is claimed that he was born at Duxbury Hall in 1584 or 1585. His will is dated 7th March, 1655; and in it he bequeaths to his son and heir, Alexander Standish, "All my lands as heir apparent by lawful descent in Ormskirk, Burscough, Wrightington, Mawdsley, Newburgh, Croxton and the Isle of Man, given to me as right heir by lawful descent, but surreptitiously detained from me, my grandfather being a second or younger brother from the house of Standish of Standish." Whether any effort to recover these lost lands was made by the son, Alexander Standish, does not appear; but in Alexander's will, which was proved on 10th August, 1702, the matter is referred to in the following terms—"Whatsoever estate either in New England or in Old, which I have committed into the hands of Robert Orchard to recover in England by letters of Attorney from under my hand and seal, my will is that my wife have her third part."

In 1846 an effort was made by descendants of Myles Standish to recover the lost estate, and a Mr. Bromley was sent over to England to look into the matter. An inspection was made of the Chorley Parish Registers for the purpose of copying the birth entry of Myles Standish; but the years 1584 and 1585 were found to be defective and the condition of the pages, it is said, suggested that several entries had been erased by the use of pumice-stone. It was my privilege a few months ago to see this register, and my hope was that the state of the page might give some indication whether pumice-stone had been used upon it, or the entries had been made to disappear in some other way. But I was disappointed to find that the top part of the pages had been torn off,

how long ago I do not know ; but the result is that such evidence as the page might have given is gone for ever.

Thus far we have dealt with what may be called the traditional view of Myles Standish, to which Longfellow gives expression in the familiar lines :—

“ He was a gentleman born, and could trace his pedigree
plainly
Back to Hugh Standish of Duxbury Hall, in Lancashire,
England,
Who was the son of Ralph, and the grandson of Thurston
de Standish,
Heir unto vast estates, of which he was basely defrauded.”

This traditional view, at least so far as it relates to Myles's connection with Duxbury Hall, has been accepted without question until quite recently ; but a few months ago it was challenged in a book published by Rev. T. C. Porteus, vicar of Coppull, on “ Myles Standish, his lost lands and Lancashire Connections.” This writer maintains that the tradition is quite at fault ; and that if Myles is related to any branch of the Standish family in Lancashire it must be the Ormskirk branch. No one can read the book without being greatly impressed with its value as a bit of earnest and serious research-work ; but in reference to the main point in the problem, the relation of Myles Standish to Duxbury Hall, the matter is left unsettled. It is not difficult to detect a too great eagerness to upset the traditional view—a temptation to which the researcher is always exposed, while the arguments never advance beyond the stage of possibility, and probability. The parentage and birthplace of Myles Standish still remain a perfect riddle. Morton, writing only a few years after his death, says he was “ born in Lancashire, heir unto a great estate, surreptitiously detained from him ; his great-grandfather being a second or younger brother from the house of Standish.” There is an irritating vagueness about all this, which so far has not

been removed. I have examined the registers of Eccleston, Croxton, Ormskirk, Standish, Chorley, and elsewhere in this district, and have not been able to find a single Myles in the Standish family of that or any other period. What research may do it is impossible to say; but I confess to some hankering after the traditional view. At any rate that view by no means stands discredited, and is as much entitled to respect as any other. Mr. Porteus's explanation of the defect in the Chorley Parish Register in the years 1584 and 1585 is not in the least satisfactory. The defect is there, and it is a very real one; and, coupled with the fact that no trace of the name can be found in any other register, there is some significance in the occurrence of the defect in the very register and at the very period where, if there were a disposition to destroy the birth entry, we might expect it to be. Then it is not without significance that, when Myles Standish removed to the other side of Plymouth harbour, the name of Duxbury was given to his new abode. An attempt has been made to evade the force of this by falling back on the etymology of the name; Dux-bury, it is said, is Dux-burrow, "the town of the Leader." But this is mere trifling. It was the habit of those early colonists to transfer to their new homes the names that had become very sacred to them in the old country.

Bearing on this matter is a letter which I lately received from a friend who is keenly interested in the subject. "About thirty years ago (he says), I had a letter from some descendant of the Standishes in America, asking if there was any hill at Duxbury called Birchfield; because he said, there is a letter of Myles Standish which stated that the American Duxbury reminded him of the English Duxbury on account of a hill which he could see from his house. I replied that there was a hill, visible from Duxbury, called Birkacre, which is practically the same as Birchfield. It is the same name now, and goes back to early times." I have tried to

get in touch with the writer in America, but so far have not succeeded. If any such original letter of Myles Standish exists its evidence for the traditional view will be considerable. Enough has been said to show the difficult nature of the problem which still awaits solution; and that there is yet opportunity for the researcher who is in quest of an interesting bit of work.

Though in relation to the birth, parentage, and early life of Myles Standish, there is so much uncertainty, there are some things about him, and these perhaps really the most important, which are quite clear. We first meet with him in the city of Leyden. He was one of the soldier adventurers sent over by Queen Elizabeth to assist the Dutch in their struggle against Spain—then aiming at world-wide power. He held the commission of lieutenant; and it was at Leyden that he came into contact with the pilgrim band. He had their full confidence, attended their religious services, and was on terms of close friendship with John Robinson, the minister, who refers to him as a man whom he loved, sent among them he believed by the Lord for their good. How long he was with them in Leyden we have no means of knowing.

Why did he leave Holland and accompany them in the *Mayflower*? Usher, who claims to be an American historical scholar and of some repute, says that he was sent by the Merchant Adventurers as their salaried Servant; and Mr. Porteus inclines to this view. "They paid his stipend (it is said), that he might defend the emigrants and teach them to defend themselves." The evidence for this is not forthcoming, and Usher's book, in which the statement is made, is absolutely unreliable. A friend of mine, a distinguished historical expert, is of opinion that it is a mistake to speak of Myles Standish as the military leader of the pilgrims at this stage; and I am inclined to think that he is right. Doubtless his knowledge of military affairs would be of real service to them from the beginning;

but his appointment as Captain does not seem to have been definitely made until 17th February, 1621, some three months after the landing had been effected. In like manner an article in the *Manchester Guardian* a few months ago, by some writer entirely unknown to me, says:—"No pale-faced puritan this, but—one imagines—something of a swash-buckler, looking in the New World for Adventure rather than freedom to worship. He caused the brethren some perturbation, and seems not always to have been an easy man to get on with." Nothing could be further from the truth than this statement, which is typical of the whole article. It is long indeed since one read a contribution which so completely misrepresents the case with which it is concerned as that does. Myles Standish was as truly a pilgrim as any of the *Mayflower* adventurers. Their moral and religious ideals were his. He signed the "Compact" in the cabin of the *Mayflower* along with John Carver, William Bradford, Edward Winslow, William Brewster, and Isaac Allerton, being the sixth to do so. He attended their religious services in the new home as he did in the old. He watched all their interests with the care of one who was neither a mercenary, nor an adventurer, nor an outsider, in those terrible days when disease was sweeping away numbers of the little community. Bradford's testimony in relation to this matter is worth quoting:—"In the time of most distress there was but six or seven sound persons, who, to their great commendation be it spoken, spared no pains, night nor day, but with abundance of love, and hazard of their own health, fetched them wood, made them fires, drest their meat, made their beds, washed their cloaks, cloathed and uncloathed them, in a word did all the homely and necessarie offices for them, and all this willingly and cheerfully, without any growling in the least, showing therein their true love unto their friends and brethren; a rare example and worthy to be remembered. Two of these seven were named,

William Brewster the revered Elder, and Myles Standish, the captain and military commander, unto whom myselfe and many others were much beholden in our low and sicke condition." It was also Standish's unceasing vigilance, courage, and skill that saved the colony from extinction at the hands of the Indians. He lived and died in their midst. His character is further attested by the books which he read; for a man is at least somewhat known by the literary company which he keeps. Some forty books of his are known, which he left at his death, from which it would appear that History, Travel, and Theology were among his favourites. In particular Cæsar's Commentaries seem to have had considerable fascination for him, while his theological books indicate a distinctly Puritan type of mind. With regard to his religious position Mr. Porteus says:—"On the whole we incline to the opinion that he was neither—Separatist nor Romanist, but, like the great majority of his fellow country people, an English Churchman content with the compromise represented by the Reformed Church." I doubt if such a claim can be maintained. Apart from all else—and there is much that might be advanced to the contrary—his library points in the opposite direction. There is a large preponderance of books of a distinct Puritan character, and of the type that is not conformist. In their new home the Indian peril was with them from the first, and in 1623, about three years after the settlement, a great plot was hatched by the Indians which, had it been successful, would have wiped out all the white settlers. Partly, however, through the help of one or two friendly Indians, whose confidence he had won, Standish discovered the plot; and he forestalled the enemy by striking the first blow and killing the ringleaders. It was this which brought from the old pastor in Holland, John Robinson, the letter in which he says, "It is necessary to bear in mind the disposition of your Captain, whom I love,

who is of a warm temper. I had hoped that the Lord had sent him among you for good, if you used him right. He is a man humble and meek among you and towards all in ordinary course. But I doubt whether there is not wanting that tenderness of the life of man, made after God's image, which is meet. O how happy a thing had it been that you had converted some before you had killed any." There is nothing here that really reflects on the character of Standish; on the contrary the testimony in his favour is distinctly high, and it is not in the least difficult to understand why the aged pastor in his quiet retreat in Holland should have written in this strain. But the stern realities of the situation made necessary what we may well believe would be somewhat repugnant to the feeling of all the Plymouth colonists; and the peace and security afterwards enjoyed go far to justify the Puritan Captain's action.

In 1625, Standish paid a brief visit to England to arrange some matters for the Colony. And about 1632, he removed to the other side of Plymouth harbour, and made his home at the place to which the name of Duxbury was given. He was repeatedly elected to be the Treasurer and Assistant Governor of the Colony. He died on 3rd October, 1655, at the age of seventy-two years, and was buried on what came to be called Captain's Hill, the exact spot being unknown.

Among the victims of the epidemic which during the first six months swept away half the colonists was Rose, the wife of Myles Standish, who sailed with him in the *Mayflower*. She died on 29th January, 1621. Reference has already been made to Longfellow's poem, in which he represents Standish as seeking to win Priscilla Mullens, and in trusting the business of love-making to his friend and comrade John Alden, not knowing that John and Priscilla were in love with each other. I confess that poem has never greatly impressed me. That Longfellow had a very real admiration for Standish

is beyond question; but in the poem he makes him appear exceedingly unreal, foolish, and painfully weak, forgetting his own maxim where if anywhere it should have been followed:—"Serve yourself if you would be well served." Nor is he any more successful with Priscilla, when he makes her say to John, pressing his friend's suit, "Why don't you speak for yourself, John?" I very much doubt whether any Puritan maiden could have been found so forgetful of modesty as to ask that question. The poem is said to be simply the embodiment of an old tradition. But there are certain facts which cast very serious suspicion upon the story. It has already been stated that Rose Standish died on 29th January, 1621; and Myles's second wife, Barbara, came over in the ship *Anne* in August, 1623. In the allotment of lands at that date she appears as Mrs. Standish. Within the space of a little over two years we must put the death of Rose, the period of mourning, the Priscilla episode, communication with Barbara in England, his courtship, her voyage and marriage. I suppose all this is possible, but there is a considerable element of doubt in it. Barbara (with whom tradition has been busy, making her sister or cousin to Rose, and claiming both as members of some branch of the Standish family) survived Myles a few years; the children, all by her, being Alexander, Myles, Josias, Charles, and Lora. On Captain's Hill, as near the place where Myles Standish lies as could be ascertained, there was erected in 1872 a monument with a granite shaft 110 feet high, crowned with a bronze figure of the captain—"the man of men whom the pilgrims most needed."

One could linger long with profit over the result of that *Mayflower* adventure of three centuries ago, but two or three sentences must suffice. A distinguished American writer says, "It has been well said that 'the three most famous ships in history are *Noah's Ark*, the *Argo*, and the *Mayflower*.' The last is the

most illustrious of them all ; for she bore those who, hardly conscious of it themselves, carried within them the beginning of a great nation with ideas of loyalty to the truth revealed by God, of liberty in discovering it and of energy in putting it into practice, ideas which were to make it one of the most important factors in modern history." The fact which needs always to be remembered is that America is, above all else, British. There have poured into it immense streams of human life from almost every country in the world ; there is a larger proportion of foreign elements in it than will be found in any other land ; yet its English cast persists and outstands. It may at times have entertained a feeling of estrangement toward this country ; but this is always for it the Mother-land. It has given to America its people, its language, its love of liberty, its passion for freedom, its civic ideals, its religion ; and we may well take pride in the thought that this county of Lancashire furnished one of the most distinguished and notable members of that pilgrim band, out of which has grown that great Democracy across the sea which, uniting with ourselves in new bonds of affection and service, will make the future of the world radiant with fresh promise and hope.

B. NIGHTINGALE, M.A., D.LITT.

THE | ABOLISHING | OF THE BOOKE | OF | COMMON PRAYER,
 By reason of above fifty grosse COR | RUPTIONS in it,
 As also for that it commands the use of such cere | monie
 in the WORSHIP OF GOD (namely *Sur | plice, Crosse, and Kneelin*
 which man hath devised, | and which are notorious
 knowne to have beene | of old, and still to be abused t
 Superstition | and Idolatry, and are of no necessar
 use | in the CHURCH. |

Being the Substance of a Booke which the *Ministers*
 of *Lincoln* Diocese delivered to King JAMES, the |
 First of *December, 1605* |

Well worthy of the serious consideration of the High
 COURT OF PARLIAMENT. |

Reprinted, and are to be sold by SAMUEL —
 SATTERTHWAITE in *Warwicke. | Lane, 1641.*

The above is the title of a Pamphlet in the British Museum. [Press-mark E 178 (2).] It is interesting as a very Comprehensive list of the matters which the Puritans in 1605 deemed objectionable; and it must be owned that not few of them were things quite indifferent, had they not been unduly insisted on. We give in a condensed form the various points to which exception was taken.

1. Parts of the Canonical Scriptures are omitted in the course of public reading, as (*e.g.*), the Titles of the Psalms, and the name of the Lord many times; yet Apocryphal Lessons are appointed, as Susanna, part of which is certainly untrue.

2. Many ceremonies of human device are enjoined; as Romish usages associated with the Mass and other superstitions: especially The Surplice, Sign of the Cross, and kneeling at Communion.

The following are declared "contrary to the Word of God":

1. The whole matter and form of the Liturgy which too much resembles the Mass-Book.

2. The Service is so long as to leave little or no time for preaching.

3. It approves the ministry of men unable to preach.

4. It contains things tending to the maintenance of Romish superstitions, as:

1. It constantly calls the Minister a Priest.

2. Commands observance of sundry Holy days.

3. Appoints Saints' Eves to be kept as fasting days.

4. Perverts Scripture to find sanction for fasting in Lent.

5. Has full prescript service only in the Week before Easter.

6. Has three Special Collects for Good Friday, and for no other day in the year.

7. Every parishioner is required to communicate at Easter.

8. Prays "that God would give that which their prayers dare not presume to ask."

9. The Catechism is ambiguous as to the number of Sacraments, of which "two only as generally necessary to Salvation."

10. Private Baptism is allowed "as if Baptism were of absolute necessity."

11. Private Communion of the sick is allowed.

12. Interrogatories are ministered to infants before Baptism.

13. Every baptized child is said to be Regenerate.

14. None are to be admitted to Communion until confirmed, and that by a Bishop—wherein confirmation is dignified above Christ's Sacraments.

15. Objectionable ceremonies in Marriage are specified.

16. Priestly Absolution is to be granted to the sick, if desired.

17. Burial is made a Ministerial Duty.

B

130 Abolishing of the Book of Common Prayer

18. Needless Ceremonial is prescribed at "Churching" of Women.
19. Offertory and Offering Days are allowed.
20. In the Catechism it is affirmed that Christ has redeemed "all Mankind"—not only the Elect.
21. Sundry things tend to profanation of the Sacraments as :
 1. All priests and deacons in Collegiate churches are to communicate every Sunday.
 2. Discretion is allowed as to giving notice beforehand of intention to communicate.
 3. All New Married persons are to receive on the day of their marriage.
 4. Private Baptism is allowed without Prayer or Teaching.
 5. Several Statements are either untrue or doubtful as :
 - (a) That nothing is ordained to be read but the Word of God, or what is grounded on the same.
 - (b) That all the Ceremonies pertain to Edification.
 - (c) That the children murdered by Herod were Innocents.
 - (d) That there are Archangels.
 - (e) That every one who is buried is a brother.

Sundry things are appointed which bring disorder into the public Worship, as :

Repetitions after the Minister, and responsive prayers.

Directions are given about positions and attitudes in prayer.

Numerous vain repetitions are prescribed, as of the Lord's Prayer, the Gloria Patri, etc.

"Hol Scriptures are mangled into shreds and patches in the Epistles and Gospels."

The Churchwardens are to collect Alms in the midst of the service.

Several statements are denounced as absurd, others as contradictory ; and albeit the two books of Homilies are sanctioned as "agreeable to the Word of God," many things in them are indicated as doubtful or positively untrue.

Very severe censure is passed by the Authors upon the Ordinal ; this in particular :

"That the Lord's Supper is dignified above Baptism, and Confirmation above both, when the Deacon is permitted to baptize and not to administer the Lord's Supper, the Priest to minister both Baptism and the Lord's Supper, the Bishops only to confirm."

Abolishing of the Book of Common Prayer 131

Several absurdities, and contradictions between the spoken words of the Ordinal and the established practice, are pointed out ; concluding with this :—

“ The Priest is asked whether he will give his faithful diligence always to Minister the Doctrine and Sacraments and Discipline of Christ, as the Lord hath commanded ; whereas it is well known that no Minister is allowed to exercise the Discipline of Christ, as the Lord hath commanded.”

Edward Winslow, 1595—1655

I. THE FAMILY.

THE road from Worcester to Leominster passes just north of a hamlet named Winslow, commemorating the great bishop, Wini, better known from his see-town of Winchester. In the middle ages, peasants who wandered from their birth-place were often known by its name, and so there were husbandmen at Suckley and Mathon called Winslow. By the fifteenth century they had drifted further, to Hanley Castle and Upton. By the sixteenth there was a large colony across the Severn, at Earl's Croome, eight miles below Worcester. All seem to have been agricultural labourers, though one who went up the Avon became a mason and one a barber.

One branch moved nearer the city to the parish of Kempsey, containing the hamlets of Draycot and Kerswell. Here Richard throve so that in 1543 he was important enough to be assessed towards a subsidy, and the same standing was retained by John of Draycot in 1550, 1571, 1576.

Kenelm took a better position still in 1559, buying from Sir John Newport the property of Newport's Place, in Kerswell. On 17th November, 1560, he had a son and heir, Edward, who seems to have been born in Worcester, the parish of St. Andrew. But it probably cost him his wife, for the will of Agnes Winslow was proved that year. Kenelm also owned the farm of Clerkenleap, half-way between Newport's Place and the city; so although he never described himself as more than a yeoman, he was well-to-do. He sold Newport's Place to Sir John Bucke, and retired to spend his latter years in the city, where he died in 1607 leaving a widow Katherine.

Edward apparently followed him at Clerkenleap, and is said to have married Eleanor Pelham, who is erroneously said to have been daughter of Sir Herbert Pelham of Droitwich, a person who did not exist there. Edward, however, did have a son and heir Richard, who after his father's second marriage, which will interest us presently, lived with his grandfather Kenelm in 1601. About 1605 he married a widow, Alice (Hay) Hurdman, whose father was of Kempsey, a gentleman entitled to coat-armour. He lived till 1659, and she survived him ten years, each leaving 40s. to the poor. Their son and heir was John, who in 1717 gave 20s. yearly to pay the master

of the free school at Kempsey, and died two years later. With him the name of Winslow died out in and around Kempsey, as he left only three daughters, who all married.

Edward, son of Kenelm and father of Richard, after the death of his wife Eleanor, married a second time, his bride being Magdalen Oliver. Who she was is rather a puzzle, for her Christian name has not yet been identified anywhere. In the neighbourhood many families bore the name of Oliver. Those at Evesham, Bromyard and Suckley were somewhat distant, but there were others at Hagley, Agbarrow, Chaddesley Corbett, besides relations at Upton. Most probable is the family in Droitwich itself; whereof Joan, William and Henry died in 1583, 1590, 1592. Harry bound himself to marry Anne Barrett in 1576, Anna bound herself to marry John Gerse in 1593. A Margery Oliver, widow, paid 4s. subsidy at Droitwich in 1603.

But against this local family is the absence of any name Magdalen in the St. Andrew's registers, and the remarkable fact that Magdalen was married in London, at St. Bride's off Fleet Street, where the original register may still be seen, given the date as 4th November. As those registers only begin seven years earlier, they throw no light on her family; but the place invites attention to London. It is conceivable that she came of Huguenot stock; Isaac Ollivier from Rouen was a famous miniature-painter till 1617; but the Huguenot registers do not record a Magdalen.

Whoever she was, Edward brought her to Droitwich, beneath which still flows an inexhaustible subterranean river of brine. Pumping this and evaporating it, had for centuries supplied many parts of England with salt; the Salt Ways radiate straight from the town of Worcester, to Alcester, and to the Roman capital of York. Five hundred loads of poles were needed each month to supply the 350 salt-furnaces with fuel, so that the forests had well-nigh disappeared, and the Malvern hills stand out bare. As Edward could hope only that his heir Richard would be provided for at Kempsey when Kenelm passed away, he was bound both to support himself and to provide for his second family; and for this, salt-boiling seemed a promising method. It needed to be so, for within eleven years he had eight children, though indeed one died young.

All the registrations referring to these are to be seen at St. Peter's. The nine entries have much interest, being unlike any other of that place and time. The first four originally ran, like any others:—

1595 Christened.

October 20. Edward Wynsloe sune of Edward Wynsloe was baptized.

Edward Winslow

1597 Christened.

April 15. John Wynsloe sonne of Edward Wynsloe was baptized.

1598.

April 24. Elynr wynsloe daughter of Edward Wynsloe was baptized.

1599.

Maye 3. Kenelme wynsloe sune of Edward wynsloe (was baptized).

So far the only remarkable point is that the daughter was called not after her mother, but after the former wife, Eleanor. The fifth entry is in a new form.

1600.

October 29. Gilbert Wynsloe sonne of Edward wynsloe baptized and borne the Sunday next before.

And it would seem to be about this time that the vicar was persuaded to add to his previous entries some similar information, even at the cost of erasing two words relating to Kenelme in order to make room. We thus learn that Edward was "borne ye xviiiith of October being Saterdag," that John was "borne on Saterdag next before," 15th April; that Elynor was "borne on the Saterdag next before," 24th April; that Kenelme "was baptized and borne on ye Sundaye next before," 3rd May. The vicar was also induced to take the highly improper step of inserting in his register of marriages in Droitwich during 1594, the statement that on "Nov. 3, Edward Wynsowe and Magdalen married at London," a statement wrong by one day. The births of the next three children were all recorded in the same fashion, standing out conspicuously, different from all others:—

1601/2.

March, 8. Elizabeth Wynsloe daughter of Edward Wynsloe baptized and borne ye Saterdag before.

1604.

December 30. magdalen ye daughter of Edward wynsloe was baptized and borne uppon ye xxvi daye of ye same.

1605/6.

February, 16. Josias wynsloe ye sonne of Edward wynsloe was baptized and borne on the xv of the same being Tuesday.

But thirteen months earlier had been written:—

1604/5.

January 20. Elizabeth Wynsloe daughter of Edward wynsloe was buried.

In 1603 there was a new sovereign, and a subsidy was levied;

Winslow's holding was valued at only twenty shillings, and he had to pay only thirty-two pence, the lowest sum taken. But in 1606 he was important enough to be consulted as to the affairs of Hartlebury Grammar School. And next year he was put on a commission to investigate it. In each case it is worthy of note that while some of his colleagues were described as gentlemen, he was not. Even when, in 1607, his father Kenelm had passed away in Worcester, and Edward removed to his inheritance of Clerkenleap in Kempsey, he was at best only a yeoman, not bearing arms, nor even an esquire.

By 1608 Richard the eldest son was married, and as there were eight of the second family to provide for, it was getting nearly time for a lad of thirteen to consider his future. A chance allusion of later life suggests that he did not like the prospect of settling down as a salt-boiler, and so he broke away from all local ties, and sought another opening. As it was in London, it was perhaps due to his mother's family, but details are lacking for nine years; the only sure fact is that he became a journeyman printer.

2. PRINTER AND SEPARATIST.

At London there was more variety of religious experience than at Droitwich. The diocese of Worcester has seldom been in the van. Catholicism died hardly, and half-way between Droitwich and Worcester, at Hindlip Hall, when Edward was ten years old, there was an explosion of Catholic disappointment, and attempted revenge. The Gunpowder Plot showed how violent were the forces of reaction.

Now London was the stronghold of the Puritan party. From the theological standpoint there were only two parties, Catholic and Puritan; but there was a very practical division of opinion as to church government. Religion has never interested any but a small minority for any length of time, but every man is concerned as to the payments he has to make to support the ministers of religion, and every minister is concerned, not merely as to the type of service he has to conduct, but as to the people who enforce discipline upon him, and the opportunities offered him of joining the ranks of this governing body. Elizabeth had elected to continue the episcopal system, though at first she found few who really favoured it, and she had to govern even her bishops by High Commissions composed chiefly of laymen. Those who had imbibed the doctrines of Calvin, whether at Geneva or through the "Genevan Bible" which was in every religious home, soon came to favour his system of church-government as elaborated in his country of France, and adopted in Scotland. If Catholics were disappointed at the attitude of Mary Stuart's son when he became King of England, Puritans were equally disillusioned. After the Hampton Court Conference

had made it clear that bishops were to stay, and that very few concessions would be made to Puritan ideals, Separation began afresh. Some scores of people emigrated from the borders of Nottingham, Yorks and Lincoln to Amsterdam, where under John Smyth they formed the first modern Baptist church in 1609. A few of them united with the disciples of John Robinson from Norwich and formed another church which migrated to Leyden, where it was steadily augmented from East Anglia and Kent.

Now the difficulties of printing in England anything distasteful to authority were great. And as there was now a large colony of English in Leyden, anxious to find work, and some of them able to find capital, the idea was obvious that Puritan works might be printed there. Robinson had joined the university and obtained some credit by publicly supporting Calvinism in a debate against Episcopius, in which he was backed by Professor Polyander. William Brewster also was a member of the University, and as such had the right to print; Thomas Brewer had money. Therefore during 1616 type was bought, and two journeymen printers were brought from London, John Reynolds and Edward Winslow.

Among the motives that induced young Edward to go abroad, we may probably guess at one. Jean de l'Ecluse of Rouen had settled in Amsterdam, with his wife Catherine de l'Epine. He was a printer. In 1604 he married (2) Alice (Lewis) Thickins, a widow from Somerset. In 1609 he married (3) Jacqueline May of Wisbech. On 12th November, 1616, he married (4) Anne Harris of Hanbury, a hamlet two miles from Droitwich, who had other Worcestershire friends in Amsterdam. Now Jean de l'Ecluse was on good terms with the Leyden group, and Dorothy May, one of his sisters-in-law, was married to William Bradford, one of the Leyden leaders. Also Randall Thickens was a Londoner, now making looking-glasses at Leyden, whose wife's sister was married to John Robinson. Another member of the community was a Huguenot, Isaac Chilton, also making looking-glasses, who married a daughter of de l'Ecluse. Here then were people among whom Edward Winslow would readily feel at home, by whom perhaps his name had been suggested to Brewer and Brewster. So about the end of 1616, when he was just of age, he left for Leyden.

For three years he was busy setting up type, which was probably machined on a Dutch press. To a quarto Latin commentary on Proverbs by the late Thomas Cartwright, once a professor at Cambridge, Polyander furnished a preface, and so the new venture started auspiciously. It was very ingenious, but hardly ingenuous, for Cartwright had declared himself against Brownism, which was essentially the practice of this Leyden church. And another issue of 1617 was of the same kind, a short Latin pamphlet by William Ames against the Arminian minister of Rotterdam. Without any

imprint, there were re-issued at the same period Puritan programmes of reform first put forth under Elizabeth or at the accession of James. This was playing with fire. Brewster continued to hedge during 1618, setting up Cartwright's criticism of the Catholic New Testament executed at Rheims, in a fine folio, and a small exposition by Chaderton, Master of Emmanuel College at Cambridge: these, however, were balanced by a new Puritan objection to the liturgy, a reprint of a Brownist exposition, and a book by Robinson on the liberty of preaching.

The sky seemed clear, and on 27th April, 1618, Edward Winslow was betrothed to Elizabeth Barker from Chattisham; within a fortnight they were married.

The marriage records of the city illustrated what a cosmopolitan church this had become. The homes of 123 members have been traced; thirty-two were from Norfolk, seventeen from London, eleven from Essex, nine from Nottingham, six from South Yorks, five from East Yorks, five from Somerset, three from Cambridge, three from Suffolk, three from Sussex, three from Scotland, the others from Berks, Lincoln, Durham, Leicester, Hants, Wilts, Dorset.

It was a Scotchman who brought the match which fired the train. David Calderwood was prominent in upholding the Presbyterian system against James' attempt to convert it into an Episcopacy. He got Brewster to publish another edition of his Latin book on the point, and an English account of the proceedings of the Perth assembly. This excited King James, and his ambassador set to work to ferret out the printers. By September Brewer was in prison, his library was being examined, and the garret containing his type was sealed up by joint authority of town and university. Before this catastrophe, three smaller works had been issued, a Latin manifesto by Robinson, with English Puritan tracts.

By January, 1620, the States General issued an edict which forbade any such printing in future, while Polyander certified the ambassador that the type was all in the custody of the university. Thus Winslow's occupation was gone, and his reputation too, so that England was unsafe.

3. COLONIST AND AUTHOR.

Even in 1618, the church at Leyden had begun negotiating for leave to go to Virginia, whither in that year part of the sister church at Amsterdam did migrate. On 9th June, 1619, Brewster and Cushman secured from the Virginia Company a patent. But Brewster being now an impossible agent, negotiations fell into the hands of Samuel Fuller, from North Ockendon in Essex, a say-weaver with a knowledge of medicine, William Bradford the

fustian-weaver from Austerfield, Isaac Allerton, the tailor from London, and Edward Winslow, now twenty-five years old.

The books of Captain John Smith were bought, and his charts, including one of the New England coast, marking sites fit for towns. A pilot was engaged, John Clark, who had repeatedly been to Virginia. A small ship was chartered to sail from Holland; and by selling houses, money was raised to invest in stores.

Over in England even larger preparations were made. Many more decided to emigrate, and many financiers put a stake in the enterprise. A rickety old vessel, employed alternately in whaling and bringing from the Bay of Biscay bay-salt and wine, was chartered from Thomas Horth of Yarmouth, who had relations at Leyden.

The Leydeners agreed to send first their sturdiest, to prepare the way for more. The Winslows were of course in this contingent, and Gilbert Winslow, now aged twenty, joined at an English port. After repeated delays, some withdrew from the enterprise, the *Speedwell* was abandoned, and the *Mayflower* finally left on 6th September with 102 colonists, men, women, children, and hired servants. She was driven out of her course by severe storms, and reached not Virginia but Cape Cod in New England, behind which they anchored on 11th November.

Though they had the map of John Smith, recommending a site twenty-four miles westward for a town to be called Plymouth, and though the mate advised the same from previous knowledge, they explored for themselves, and let five precious weeks pass before they agreed on it, and by the end of the year they had simply staked out nineteen plots. By the end of January they had a few houses up, and their goods ashore under a shed. By the end of February they were in touch with the natives, and had landed their guns. By the end of March, Winslow had negotiated a treaty with Massasoit, the sagamore of the natives. Five days later the *Mayflower* set sail eastward.

Meantime there had been an epidemic which, even in an unusually mild winter, had wrought grievous havoc both on the ship among the crew and on the shore among the colonists. There had been two dozen households, of which four were utterly destroyed. Winslow's case is a good average. His wife died, also one of his two men-servants, and a little girl put in their care; leaving only himself and a man-servant. Another average case was where William White died, leaving a widow Susanna, sister of Samuel Fuller from Essex, with her boy Resolved and a baby born aboard the ship in the harbour; both their men-servants died too. This suggested an easy remedy, and in May the households united, Edward being married to Susanna by William Bradford the new governor. Only three other wives survived, with seven marriageable girls, as

against twenty-six other men, five men-servants, one maidservant ; five boys and two girls made up the total of fifty-one.

On this handful devolved the task of preparing homes and food for next autumn's ship. They had planted twenty acres with Indian corn, and built seven substantial houses besides four store houses. In November reinforcements of thirty-five young men and others arrived, including John Winslow. The little ship returned next month with timber and furs valued at £500 ; it also took letters for publication, with a sermon by one of themselves. The ship was plundered by a French privateer, but the papers were thrown into shape and printed. This step was apparently due to Winslow, from whose pen came most of the information ; and by the later testimony of Bradford, he might justly have said, *Quorum pars magna fui*. The advertisement did the colony good, though like most advertisements it laid on the colours thick, and ignored the shadows. Next year arrived the third great contingent for Plymouth, completing the Forefathers or Old Comers, as they came to be affectionately called ; and the return ships took home Winslow with a long manuscript which he published in 1624 as " Good News from New England."

It is not possible to trace the homes of all these pioneers, but the towns whence thirty-three families came can be identified. Duxbury in Lancashire provided one, York two, Scrooby and Austerfield two, Norwich two, Suffolk two, Cambridge one, Rayleigh, Colchester, Chelmsford and Ockendon one each, London six, Sandwich and Canterbury three, Dorking one, Budleigh one, Sherborne one, Barnstable one, Wrington one, Droitwich one, Shipton in Salop one, while three Netherlanders leavened the English. Of the English whom we can trace, only forty men, women and children, had ever seen Leyden or John Robinson. Elaborate lists in Dexter's " England and Holland of the Pilgrims " cover fifty pages, and deserve close study on these points ; a few more facts have been discovered since.

Bradford and Brewster stayed at Plymouth the rest of their lives, and did their best to keep all the colonists there. But Winslow was a great explorer, and very soon expressed his opinion that they ought to have settled on Massachusetts Bay. This was acted upon by other settlers within four years, and he was justified by their far greater success.

His visit home in 1623-4 was largely to negotiate with the Adventurers, in which he was only partially successful. He brought over supplies of many kinds, and cattle ; but the Adventurers hampered him by their choice of exports both material and personal. He pointed out that as there were great fisheries along the coast, it would be well if the colonists had a shipwright to build vessels that could share in this, and had a salter who could provide salt to sell to other ships. Yet whereas he had grown up in the salt district,

he allowed an incompetent man to be foisted on him, who burned down the house and ruined the works. And the shipwright seems to have been not very energetic, for after four years the total fleet consisted of "the pinnace, bass-boat, and shallop at Manomet."

Winslow was hardly more successful in his ecclesiastical negotiations. The Adventurers flatly refused to send Robinson over, and did send instead a clergyman from Ireland. But the Colonists would not accept him as their pastor, and when he was found to be intriguing for the subversion of their colony, they shipped him back, and Winslow proved to the Adventurers his general bad character. As Robinson had died meanwhile, the result was that they had no minister till Ralph Smith arrived in Massachusetts during 1629.

Winslow, however, was abundantly successful as an emigration agent. His sister Magdalen had married William Ware, clergyman at Wareham near Dorchester; with 1623, a company of merchants from this district sent an annual fleet to the trading post at Kennebec, in charge of his brother. They even settled men, first at Cape Ann, then at Naumkeak. In 1628, several knights and gentlemen about Dorchester bought from the Council of New England that part of New England lying north of the Old Colony as far as the Merrimac, including the two experimental settlements. The first reinforcement reached Naumkeak in September, when Winslow soon visited them, and Fuller was able to check a sickness that had broken out. The reports sent back were so encouraging that the enterprise enlarged vastly, more partners came in, a royal charter was obtained, and five ships came over in 1629, including a new *Mayflower* replacing the former. This little fleet brought not only colonists for the new towns to be planted where Winslow had recommended, on Massachusetts Bay, but also the last of the Leyden emigrants for Plymouth.

As the new company was not settling in the Old Colony, but was settling in between this and its outposts at Kennebec, it was clearly desirable to obtain some English title to the occupied territory. Application was made to the "Council established at Plymouth in the county of Devon" in old England, which readily granted a patent for the territory from the Cohasset rivulet on the north to the Narraganset river on the south and the Pacanokit or Sawamset country on the west; also a strip fifteen miles wide on either side of the Kennebec. But no royal charter was ever obtained.

The successful settlement at Salem, as Naumkeak was re-named, and then at Charlestown and Boston, broke down the policy of centering all the resources of the Old Colony at Plymouth. Myles Standish had a farm about nine miles northward, which he named after his father's village of Duxbury. Edward Winslow had another three miles further, which he in turn called after his father's home of Kerswell. Apparently the father died about this time,

though the parish registers are not extant to give the exact date, and no will is in the natural place, the Worcester registry. As the farm devolved on the half-brother Richard, Edward's full brothers Josiah and Kenelm emigrated in 1631.

It was in these circumstances that new churches were incorporated in 1632, at both Duxbury and Kerswell. And speedily a fourth was added by the settlement of a church from London under its pastor John Lathrop, at Scituate, yet further to the north. The establishment of these new churches, as we shall see, led to the incorporation of new townships by Edward Winslow. The estate of Kerswell was developed soon. Edward took up more land in 1636, and whereas the natural river communication was with the sheltered waters of Duxbury Bay, he cut a canal a mile and a half long, giving direct access to the ocean at Green's Harbour. When a township was laid off in 1641, including the estate of Kerswell, it was named Rexhame for a short time, then Marshfield.

4. GOVERNOR AND COMMISSIONER.

Edward Winslow was a good man of business, and was constantly chosen to office. Thrice he was made Governor, and when four colonies confederated, he was one of the two commissioners from the Old Colony. While commercially he won some success, this is ecclesiastically the turning period of his life, as we see the tolerant policy of John Robinson reversed under the influence of Massachusetts, and a stain fixed on the character not of a man alone, but of the state he ruled, though it never wholly lost the savour of its early days.

In 1631 there arrived at Boston a young minister, named Roger Williams, who in April was installed over the church at Salem, and in May qualified as a freeman of Massachusetts. But the prevailing temper of the new colonists was such that opposition was made at Boston to his being minister at Salem, and he preferred to come to Plymouth. Here he was welcomed, was invited to preach, was admitted a member of the church, and presently was appointed assistant preacher or "Teacher" under Ralph Smith. For two years all went well; Smith was nearly a nonentity, and Bradford saw well how Williams had the very spirit of Robinson, their late pastor. Brewster the elder was less satisfied, and detected the spirit of John Smyth. He feared that Williams would run the same course of rigid separation and anabaptistry, and advised that he be got rid of so that abler men on the Bay might deal with him. Some intrigues took place, a law was passed that a man who had served as governor two years might be exempt, that any one else elected must serve under heavy penalties, and then Winslow was appointed in 1633. The situation became very strained, and as the

church at Salem still desired Williams, he asked for his dismissal. Brewster urged it, and he with many adherents left Plymouth, returning to the premier church on the Bay. This move is plainly attributed in the Massachusetts History to Winslow being of one accord with the Massachusetts authorities against a full toleration in religious matters.

He had a keen eye, however, to what some would consider the main chance. In his year of office he opened a new trading post on the Connecticut river, and so negotiated with Massachusetts that the outposts on the Kennebec to the north was acknowledged as being within the Old Colony jurisdiction. And it is to his credit that he introduced more system into the government. Hitherto there were no official documents, beyond two town plans and a record of the division of the cattle; for minutes, Bradford had simply kept a private note-book. It was Winslow who, in 1633, instituted a Journal of Proceedings, and thus began the official records of the colony.

Beyond seas Charles and Laud were taking steps that might have recalled Winslow not only to a sense of the precarious status of the colonies, but to the noble principles he was loosing. Englishmen were now settled not only in Virginia and in Maryland, but in the Bermudas and on Providence Island off the Mosquito coast, besides around Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay. In the general reorganization of government undertaken under the inspiration of Wentworth and Laud, a commission was issued to six peers, one knight, two archbishops and two secretaries, to supervise all colonies, present and future. Express power was given to the commissioners, with the advice of two or three bishops, to regulate ecclesiastical matters and establish ecclesiastical courts.

When news of this reached the Bay, the General Assembly devised a new oath, which evaded all reference to the laws of England, and vowed allegiance only to the local commonweal. This was at first intended only for freemen, but in 1635 was imposed on every resident male aged sixteen and upwards, under penalty of punishment at the discretion of the court. And at the same time the churches were asked to consult as to a uniform order or discipline, and as to the power of the magistrate to enforce such. Williams preached against both these proposals, was tried by the court and condemned to be banished. As they prepared to ship him back to England, he fled in January, and after fourteen weeks steered into Narragansett Bay. It is at first sight remarkable that he had not simply gone twenty miles to Scituate, out of the Massachusetts jurisdiction, where he would have found a church lately arrived from London, with its pastor, John Lathrop, much akin to him in thought. It is to be feared that Winslow was the obstacle, as will appear from his doings meanwhile.

Massachusetts had not been content with local measures, but had sent Winslow home as agent to try and uphold their charter against the new powers conferred on the Commission. Laud elicited that he had taught publicly in the church, and had celebrated marriages as a magistrate. For these breaches of English law he was committed to the Fleet prison. Winslow was fortunate in having one friend at court, the lord keeper. Thomas Coventry, was son of Margaret Jeffreys of Earls Croome, the village whence the Winslows sprang. He had been M.P. for Droitwich, where a memorial of his son remains yet in the Coventry Hospital founded and endowed for poor old people. As Coventry was lenient by nature, and influential with Laud at the moment, he supported Winslow's petition to the Privy Council in November, and secured his release.

Winslow had learned little as to toleration. On his return to the Old Colony, he was chosen governor for 1636. He soon heard that Roger Williams had ascended Narragansett Bay, and had landed at Seekonk within his jurisdiction. He thereupon sent and asked him to cross the river and so save any trouble with Massachusetts. Williams did so, and Winslow in relief called on him, and gave his wife a piece of gold.

Massachusetts was disturbed by the party desiring uniformity. In 1636 the party of liberty carried the elections and put in Henry Vane. Intolerance, however, was so strong that several emigrations took place, and new towns were founded west of Williams' settlement of Providence, named Hartford, Windsor, and Westfield. It is significant that these emigrants from the Bay did not attempt to settle within the Old Colony; Winslow's subservience had been too discouraging. Then came a natural result; the narrow party was left strong enough to carry next elections on the Bay, whereupon Vane returned to England to spend his energy on a wider field, and the victorious bigots consolidated their position by banishing all the other leaders. These considered two sites, one in the Old Colony, and the island of Aquidneck. They went to Plymouth to negotiate, and for the second time the authorities urged them to move on further. So they appealed to Williams, who arranged with the Indian owners for their peaceable acquisition of the island, which they re-named Rhode Island. The pace was forced by Samuel Gorton, who, when he left Boston, came to Plymouth and began publishing his opinions; they proved quite as unpopular in the Old Colony so that Smith the minister complained of him to the court, which in December, 1638, fined him and banished him.

W. T. WHITLEY, LL.D.

(To be continued.)

State Prayers—from the Niblock Collection.

(Continued from Vol. VIII ; p. 37.)

(XIII) *A Form of Prayer and Thanksgiving to Almighty God, for having made his highness the Prince of Orange the Glorious Instrument of the Great Deliverance of this Kingdom from Popery and Arbitrary Power : to be used in the City of London and ten miles distant thereof on the 31st of January instant, and throughout the whole kingdom on the 14th of February next, 1688/9.*

Proper Psalms—46, 115, 124.

Proper Lessons—Zech. 8c. and Romans 12.

First Collect—O God, the Defender and Saviour of all that trust in thee ; we give glory to thy holy name for the blessed Reformation of this Church, in the days of our forefathers, from the detestable Superstitions and Corruptions of Popery, and for our deliverance from the intolerable yoke of the Romish church. We praise thee for that light of the Gospel, that purity of doctrine and worship, thou hast ever since vouchsafed unto us ; and for the many wonderful preservations by which thou hast manifested thy fatherly care of us, and presence with us. More especially at this time we magnifie thy goodness for our late great and happy deliverance, whereby we trust thou hast established to us all thy former mercies. Give us grace, O Lord, to walk worthy of this thy marvellous loving kindness ; that thou mayest still delight to dwell among us, and to do us good ; that the same temporal and spiritual blessings we now enjoy may, by thy mighty protection, be continued to us and our posterity for ever, and this we beg for Jesus Christ his sake. Amen.

After the General Thanksgiving—O Almighty and everliving God, who art glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, doing wonders; we most humbly present ourselves this day at the throne of thy Grace, to bless and adore the unspeakable wisdom and goodness of thy late gracious providence towards us. We acknowledge it was thy infinite mercy alone that hath raised this church and nation from their low estate, and caused light to spring out of darkness unto us. It was because thy compassions fail not that our holy Reformed Religion was not overwhelmed with Popish Superstition and Idolatry, that our laws and liberties are rescued from the hands of violence and oppression. We confess, our sins had justly provoked thee to pour down these fearful judgments upon us. This was the portion due to our unthankfulness and manifold backslidings. Yet thou hast not dealt with us according to our deservings, but in the midst of judgment hast remembered mercy. Blessed be thy name who hast raised up for us a mighty Deliverer, by whom thou hast wrought this great salvation without the effusion of Blood. It is thy doing, O Lord, and it is marvellous in our eyes. Wherefore not unto us, not unto us but to thy name be the glory, for thy loving mercy and for thy truth's sake, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

After the Prayer "for the Church Militant" :—

O Eternal God, the blessed and only Potentate, the Prince of Peace; accept, we beseech thee, the praises and thanksgiving of thy servants for our deliverance from those great and apparent dangers wherewith we were encompassed. It is of thy mercy, O Lord, that we were not utterly consumed, that our religion was not destroyed, nor our liberty subverted; but that we still freely profess thy sacred truth, and joyn thy most holy worship, and possess the rights and inheritances of our fathers. Go on to perfect, O gracious God, the work that thou hast begun among us, Bless and prosper

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the hands by which thou hast conveyed this mercy to us. Direct our Governors with the Spirit of Wisdom and Righteousness, Rule thou in the midst of our Public Councils, for the advancement of thy glory and the lasting welfare of this great people. Dispose the hearts of the whole nation to all lowliness and meekness and forbearance of one another in love ; that no seditions may disturb the State, no schism distract the Church ; but that as members of one body, professors of one faith, sons of one Father, and called to one hope, we may earnestly endeavour to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, and with one heart and one mouth glorifie God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ : to whom be ascribed all honour and praise now and for ever. Amen.

[It is worthy of note that this service was compiled by a committee of eleven bishops, appointed by the Convention on the first day of its assembling, and before the question of the Throne was settled. The committee consisted of Barlow, bp. of Lincoln, Compton of London, Frampton * of Gloucester, Ken* of Bath and Wells, Lake of Chichester, Lloyd of St. Asaph, Lloyd* of Norwich, Spratt of Rochester, Turner* of Ely, Trelawney of Bristol, and White* of Peterborough.]

*Five of these were afterwards Nonjurors.

Religious Life in the Seventeenth Century as Illustrated by the Southampton Documents.

THE most outstanding feature of the seventeenth century is, beyond question, its dominantly religious character. Especially is this true of the earlier portion of the Stuart regime. Constitutional questions, and questions which arose from commercial enterprise occupied men's attention greatly at that time; but it was religion which most profoundly moved them and urged them on to the most arduous enterprises. Religious zeal sent some of England's noblest sons away from their ancestral homes across the great ocean, into the "land of fevers and scalping-knives." It was religious zeal which kindled the flames of civil war; for although constitutional questions entered largely into the struggle between Charles I. and the Parliament, yet that struggle would hardly have developed into such a war as ravaged the land had it not been for the influence of religious ideals and fanaticisms. And yet the common people do not appear to have been greatly or universally affected by this wave of religious activity. They were certainly—speaking very generally—not Puritans. The generality of men and women were too ignorant to enter into a comprehension of deep religious problems, and too much obsessed with the present to care deeply for a system which so largely disregarded the passing and temporary.

(a) *Hatred of Popery*.—Among the sentiments which had relation to religion was one which appears to have been shared by nearly all; and that was, a deep and almost universal hatred towards the Roman Catholic faith, and towards all who professed that faith. During

almost the whole of the century men had an undefined dread of a gigantic Popish plot. The great idea which possessed the minds of Pym and his allies during the early years of the long Parliament was that there was in existence a far-reaching scheme to subvert the Protestant religion. Historians have charged Pym with designedly making a bogey of this idea in order further to widen the breach between the King and the Parliament; but Professor Gardiner dismisses the notion and shows how natural such fears as these were. Charles's relations with Papal emissaries, the many conversions to the Roman Catholic Faith which took place, the indiscretions of the Roman Catholic Queen, the readiness to accept help from any quarter which characterised the king; all these deepened men's suspicions—and made them put the most sinister explanations on his actions. Later on in the reign of Charles II. men regarded with grave suspicion—and, as it finally transpired, with the very best of reasons—the king's fidelity to Protestantism; and their pent-up hate and foreboding broke out in savage frenzy in the notorious Popish plot of 1678. His brother James made open and wanton attack on the religion of the great majority of Englishmen, and worked them up to a perfect fever of panic and wrath by his ill-judged project of bringing over Irishmen to hold his subjects in check. These things will account for—if they do not excuse—the intense dislike felt by the majority of people against Roman Catholics. Several extracts from the Southampton documents will show how this sentiment influenced men's minds. Southampton during the seventeenth century was the chief place for fishing expeditions to Newfoundland. In 1621 Sir G. Calvert (created Lord Baltimore by James I.) attempted to colonise the island, but was obliged to abandon the attempt. Lord Baltimore was a Roman Catholic, and this fact is in itself sufficient to explain the reason of his non-success. The fishermen who pursued their avocation round the

shores of Newfoundland were violently anti-papistical and not in the least likely to endure with equanimity the rule of a Roman Catholic Lord. A story taken from the town records is of interest in this connection. Stephen Day on September 14th, 1629, before the Southampton magistrates deposed that "on the 20th of April last past this relator set forth from Studland Bay in a fishing voyage to the Newfoundland in a shipp called the St. Claude this relator being master thereof, and he saith they carried outwards provisions to the Lord Baltimore at the Newfoundland aforesaid." At Newfoundland he came into contact with a gentleman belonging to Lord Baltimore's acquaintance named Mr. Gascoyne, who, wishing to embark for England, sent his clothes, as Stephen Day believed, on board a vessel named the "Sith" of Poole. Poole was for long the rival of Southampton in the fishing trade, and in the middle of the eighteenth century succeeded in making itself the principal starting place for expeditions to Newfoundland. Stephen Day was mortified that Mr. Gascoyne did not elect the St. Claude for his journey. "This relator said unto him that he this relator had heard that the said Mr. Gascoyne had sent his clothes aboard thother ship called the Sith of Poole, to which the said Mr. Gascoyne replied and said that they were none of his clothes which were sent aboard the Sith aforesaid, but that they were one Smithe's clothes, which Smith this relator saith is a seminary priest and hath exercised that office as this relator hath heard."

William Huntresse, boatswain of the same ship, "saith that there came one Gascoyne in the said voyage, from the Newfoundland in the said shipp, and that he heard the Mr. of the said shipp report that one Smith came in another shipp called the Sith of Poole, which Smith named himself Gascoyne—And he further saith that he know the said Smith to be a popish priest for that hee saw him bury a dead corps with burning tapers." So evidently Stephen Day got his passenger after all.

A certain Mr. Walker is implicated in this story. He went out as a passenger in the *St. Claude*, and on reaching Newfoundland paid daily visits to Lord Baltimore, returning to the vessel every evening. "The report was commonly given forth that the said Mr. Walker was heretofore a Minister of the Church of England and that he was now become a Popish priest.—In the voyage outwards while the companie of the said shipp were at prayers the said Mr. Walker did whoope and make a noyse to the greate disturbance of the said companie of the said shipp." Mr. Walker, put on examination, gave an interesting account of his life, wherein he stated that he was an Anglican clergyman, and denied the charge of popery in the most emphatic terms: "he saith that hee is noe priest neither secular, nor regular, nor Jesuite, nor semynarie nor of anie other order or degree whatsoever by any authoritye derived or pretended to be derived from the Pope or from the Church or See of Rome." Further he gave some interesting information about Mr. Smith; "he saith that hee knoweth one Smith that came lately from the Newfoundland who was a secular priest, but of what order he was he this examine knoweth not—. And he further saith that the said Smith that came from the Newfoundland was out of the new prison in London about two years since released by Monnsieur Bassompierre."*

Two or three more instances may be summarised which will throw light on the way in which the common people regarded the Roman Catholics. In 1642 Robert Coop was heard to say that he "wished the papists would rise for hee would be the first that would helpe cutt their throates." James Warton was of opinion "that the book of common prayer was most

* Francis Maréchal de Barsompierre, extraordinary ambassador, October, 1626—December 2nd, 1626. Cf. "Diplomatic Relations of England and France," by Firth and Lomas, p. 33.

parte of it Poperie and—he would maintaine it.” A certain John Wheat came to the magistrates with a story about some Roman Catholics whom he had met, in particular Mr. Breed and Mr. Musgrave. “In discourse upon the way between this Informant and the said Breed hee this Informant heard him say that hee had preached a hundred and a hundred tymes. And said that it was not a fitt thinge that every man should know what hee was. And further upon the way hee this Informant heard one Mr. Musgrave and the saide Breade (a greate p^{te} of the way) discourse in lattine together. And rideing ov. Alseford downe the said Bread mett with a Papist and tould him that some papists in Yorke from whence this Bread came did desire to remember theire loves to the said papists Master and Mistresse.”

(b) *Sabbatarianism*.—A notable feature about seventeenth century religious life was the growth of Sabbatarian sentiment. Whereas Sunday was previously regarded as a festival day of the church, the spirit of Puritanism tended to make it approximate to the old Jewish sabbath. James I. and Charles I. both attempted to arrest this tendency. In the year 1617 James I. issued a “book of sports,” inviting his subjects after service to indulge in out-door games. The outcry raised, however, was so great that he prudently withdrew his declaration. Charles I. in 1633 republished his father’s book, heedless of the angry protests of the Puritan section of Religious England. The book was publicly burned in 1643, and all games on the Lord’s day were strictly forbidden. In the year 1608 order was given to and accepted by the barbers of Southampton “that none of them shall hereafter tryme anie person or persons uppon the Sabothe daye unlesse it be such gentlemen stranger as shall at such dayes be in the Town or resort to the Town and desierous to be trymmed by them. And this they and ev^{ie} of them are duelye to performe and keep without breakinge the same upon

paine of forfeiture of VI's VIIIId the piece." In the year 1612 a barber named John Steptoe was complained of by other barbers of the town because "he hath and doth usually tryme p.sons upon the Sabbath day, and therefore he hath forfeited VI's VIIIId—he hath now paid the said forfeite of VI's VIIIId." The authorities were not hard hearted and gave him back $\frac{3}{4}$ of his fine. Several other extracts will illustrate the growing Sabbatarian feeling. In 1609 it was resolved that the watch at Trinity fair should not be set on Trinity Sunday "in that it is the Saboath daye and therefore not to be prophaned." In the same year John Jourdain "for sufferinge XII p.sons inhabitants of this Towne to continew a drinckinge inordinatlye in his house upon Sondaye last in the afternoone at sermon time contrarie to the Statut is ordered to pay XXShillings and not to be pardoned." The next year a man named Thomas Northye was ordered to pay five shillings as a fine for permitting two men to remain in his house drinking on the Sabbath day. In the year 1613 three men, "Isaak Tudd, Ezeckie Allies and Nichollas Harvye," were presented by the beadle "for there common drunckenes and espetially uppon the Sabboah dayes at Shovellbord in Widdow backley's house." For their misdemeanours they "were ordered to be committed to the stocks and weere presently comitted."

A man named George Linton was in 1633 committed to the Bargate "for hedging on the Sabboth day." The beades of the ward of St. Michael's and St. John's, in the year 1638, reported Thomas Long, an Alehouse keeper, for permitting "greate disorder and revelling—on a Sabbath day at night to the dishonor of God and the disturbance of the neighbours." It was resolved "That the said Long shalbee from henceforth utterly suppressed and disabled from keeping an Alehouse within this Towne. And—there shal bee III's IIIId a piece leavied on those persons that were drinking there at the time aforesaid." In the year 1641 it was ordered

that all the town gates except Bargate and the Water gates should be closed on Sundays. These instances illustrate the growth of a spirit in favour of strict Sunday observance which reached its culmination in the Commonwealth and Protectorate, and which has never really disappeared from our English life.

(c) *Lectures*.—Another striking feature of seventeenth century religious life was the increasing love of the people for preaching. Laud provoked extreme hostility by his efforts to crush the power of the pulpit, and to substitute an imposing ceremonial which might appeal to the senses, for the sermon which arrested the mind. In addition to the ordinary parochial clergymen there were a great many preachers or lecturers. These lecturers made preaching their especial business. They frequently remained in the vestry of the church until the service was completed, and then they would issue forth and mount the pulpit and preach sometimes very long sermons. They were a company of religious free lances, but very slightly attached to any religious organisation, and were generally Calvinistic in doctrine. These especially attracted the notice of Laud, who attempted, not with complete success, to put them down. Lectures were formerly delivered generally in Holyrood Church. The town lecturer from 1607-1615 was Mr. Thomas Hitchcock, who appears to have been a man of some note, and who evidently commanded the love and esteem of the people. A most interesting deposition has been preserved which illustrates the power of Mr. Hitchcock. "Forasmuch as we and the rest of the inhabitants of this towne by good experience doe find the great love and affeccon that our now lecturer Mr. Thomas Hitchcocke beareth unto this Towne, insomuch that his willingnes to contynewe and abide amongst us is such that he is verie ready and doth preffer to exchange anie lyvinge that shall befall unto him for any small thinge in this towne, although the same shall exceede by much the value of this, rather then to

depart from us. And more especially, wch is above all things to be regarded, havinge had nowe almost four yeres experience of his doctrine life and conversacon to be such and soe religious as he hath donn great good in this place by his extraordinarie zealous and laborious preaching whereby he hath bread great reformacon in many of the inhabitants of this place, as alsoe for his great paines taken in the vacancies of the two vicorages of St. Michael's and Holyroode, wee the sayd Aldermen and Assistants in consideracon of the promise and in farther hope of the greate good and blessinge of God that is like to come uppon this place by his faithfull p^rceedinge in his mynistry and contynuall labo^rs in Gods service by him, so well begun and hitherto countynued, and doe by theis p^rsents as much as in us lyeth constrane the said Mr. Thos. Hitchcock to be our lecturer soe longe as it shall be to his good likinge and he shall contynewe personally with this our towne, hoping and not doubting but that our verie good Lo Bisshop of Winton will give approbation thereunto."

In the year 1615 the vicar of Holyrood, James Rowlandson, the rector of St. Laurence and St. John's, William Pyne, and the vicar of St. Michael's, George Vernon, were appointed to deliver the Thursday lectures at Holyrood. They were "to have the contribucons equally betweene them. (They havinge agreed amongst themselves to yt purpose.) And two or three sufficient persons of everie parishe of this Towne shall be named and appoynted to repaire to such as will contribute to the same lecture and sett down in writinge what everie of them will yerely contribute thereunto." The king's declaration of 1629 in which he enjoined silence upon the conflicting voices in the Church of England, and the orders given concerning lecturers, must have made some alteration in the character of these lectures. The Archdeacon of Winchester sent a paper to the Borough authorities giving very precise directions as to the arrangement of lectures. None were now to

take upon themselves the function of preaching who were not attached to some cure. The preacher must not now mount the pulpit unless he had previously read the church service in his surplice, and when he entered the pulpit he must be clothed in his preaching gown. Still these lectures were continued, and we find among the lecturers of 1647 Nathaniel Robinson, who was a Presbyterian intruder.

(d) *The Separatists and the Rise of Organised Non-conformity.*—The contrary forces which were struggling for mastery within the Church of England finally resulted in a schism. In the year 1662, organised Dissent was born. Separatist communities arose in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and multiplied their number considerably during the Stuart period. Still until the passing of the Clarendon Code there had been no such things as Nonconformity on a large scale. It is noteworthy that neither the Anglican nor the Presbyterian regarded the toleration of independent religious communities with anything but the liveliest aversion. To permit them to realize their religious life in their own way seemed to most men of that day to open the flood-gates to an absolute deluge of individualism fatal to the very existence of revealed religion. The exigencies of the political situation under the Commonwealth and the Protectorate, together with the dominance of a mind—that of Oliver Cromwell—to which toleration was a congenial idea, swept away the barriers which Episcopalian and Presbyterian religionists had so zealously maintained. Cromwell established a Puritan state church, and extended his toleration to all those sects which maintained a religion consistent (to his way of thinking), with historic Christianity. Anglicanism which had identified itself with the Royalist cause was proscribed because it was politically dangerous, not because it was religiously heterodox. The Roman Catholic faith and the Socinian creed could not be recognised because to the Puritan they were utterly

subversive of the Christian religion. At the Restoration, when the Anglican came to his own again, the sects became the victims of bitter persecution; and it was only the attack of James II. upon Protestantism itself which induced the ecclesiastics of the Church of England to hold out the olive branch to the despised Nonconformists. When James II. was driven off the throne and William III. became king a Toleration Act granting freedom of worship to all orthodox Protestants was necessitated by the logic of events.

The authorities of Southampton were sometimes perplexed as to the treatment of Separatists. Two or three prominent inhabitants of the town were connected with the Nonconformists' cause; notably Nathaniel Robinson, Giles Say, Robert Thorner and Isaac Watts (father of the eminent divine and hymn-writer). In the assembly book an entry dated January 18th, 1646/7, runs as follows: "Ordered that Mr. Robinson bee sent for to the Audithouse and to bee advised to preach noe more excepte hee procure himselfe to bee legally ordained accordinge to the Ecclesiastical lawes of this Realme. But answeare was returned that hee was gon out of the Towne." Two days later a special meeting was convened "to consider what course is fitt to bee taken with Mr. Robinson who is not an ordeyned minister and yett preacheth publiqely." The matter was held over until Major Murford had been consulted; but on the same day orders were given to the constables to warn several suspected inhabitants of the town "that from henceforth they doe not meete at any conventicles or unlawfull assemblies to heare the word of God preached or expounded by any person whatsoever that is not lawfully ordeyned." Nathaniel Robinson, although he did not receive episcopal ordination, became rector of the combined parishes of St. Laurence and St. John's about the year 1648, and later on about the year 1653 he was intruded into the living of All Saints. Upon the passing of the Act of Uni-

formity, 1662, he was ejected from his livings and became the minister of an Independent congregation, which developed into the Above Bar Congregational Church. A fellow in misfortune with him was Giles Say, vicar of St. Michael's, who was expelled from his living at the same time, and who ended his days as minister of a nonconformist community at Guestwick in Norfolk. Both these men during the period of persecution which marked the reigns of Charles II. and James II. preached as opportunity occurred in private houses, and suffered imprisonment for so doing. The year 1683, which marked the complete triumph of the king over his Whig opponents, seems to have brought a resurgence of the persecuting spirit. In that year Nathaniel Robinson was bound over in a sum of £40 to appear at the next sessions; and the beadles were ordered to "make presentm^{ts} of all such persons within there severall wards that doe not repaire to their respective Parish Churches: and that those presentm^{ts} be made every Tuesday." The order was repeated the following year. "Ordered that warr^{ts} doe issue to ye Constables to require the Bidells to make present of all persons that refuse or neglect to come to Church." The Toleration Act was however not far distant. In July of the year 1687, "Nathaniel Robinson did this day come into Court and give notice pursuant to a late act of Parliament that the house he intends to preach in is the New built house above bar street in the pish of All Sts between the houses of John ffoy on the South part and the widow Palmer on the North." At the same time a certain Richard King named "the house where John Greenwood now dwelleth to be the house wherein he intends to preach." Richard King probably became minister of a Baptist Church, which it seems likely was the original of the congregation which now meets in East Street Baptist Chapel. The history of this Church prior to the year 1764 is unfortunately lost to view. Although Southampton, during the time when Dissenters

158 Religious Life in the Seventeenth Century

were subjected to a most bitter persecution, was in all probability a pretty safe refuge for the Separatists, yet Nonconformity did not flourish until many years after the Act of Toleration. The Above Bar Church seems to have been the only noteworthy Dissenting place of worship up to the year 1780. Concerning this chapel there are two or three features worthy of remark. It is noteworthy that in 1689 the Church consisted of a Minister (Rev. Nathaniel Robinson) two elders, four deacons and seventy-four members, of whom half were men and half women. Among the elders was Mr. Robert Thorner who died in the year 1690, leaving bequests for religious, educational and charitable objects. He had held the meeting-house where the congregation worshipped on lease, and at his death bequeathed the remainder of the lease to the officers of the Church together with a sum of £200. Among his other charities he left £500 to go to Harvard College in America and money to go to the establishment of an alms-house for poor widows in Southampton. One of the deacons was Isaac Watts, who had suffered imprisonment in God's House prison for his nonconformity, and who is chiefly noteworthy as the father of the famous hymn-writer. This latter was born in the year 1674. He was educated at the Grammar School of Southampton, and later on in life preached several times in Above Bar Church. A handsome monument in one of the town's parks celebrates his memory. It is worthy of remark that in the year 1680 the Quakers obtained possession of a piece of ground in the Avenue for a burial ground which is still in their possession.

The seventeenth century thus witnessed the only possible solution of the religious difficulty. Toleration, though granted after much struggle and grudgingly—for Unitarianism and Roman Catholicism were still proscribed—was the only course to which events irresistibly pointed. The full working out of the

principle of freedom in religion was only a matter of time. And to this consummation the labours and sufferings of men like Nathaniel Robinson and Giles Day contributed not a little.

There is one other feature of religious belief to which reference must be made in closing this chapter—a feature which was not peculiar to the seventeenth century, and which is less marked towards the close of that century—and that is the practically universal belief in witchcraft.

(e) *Witchcraft*.—The men of that day had as lively a belief in the powers of evil as they had in the powers of good. And their vivid realisation of the contact between the individual soul and the unseen spiritual forces surrounding it led them to inflict fearful punishments upon those whom they believed to be instruments not of the Divine but of the demoniac activity. Should any judge, influenced by humanitarian sentiment or common sense, refuse to sentence a so-called wizard or witch, grave doubts were entertained concerning his religious condition. It is fearful to think of the atrocities committed which were inspired by a belief that was regarded as bound up with the Christian religion. The responsibility for these atrocities cannot with justice be laid solely on any one section of religious England; “In its origin,” says G. M. Trevelyan in his book on “England under the Stuarts” (p. 33), “the witch-hunt was stirred up by no section; it arose out of a profound and universal belief.” Still, a special fanaticism with reference to witchcraft characterised the Calvinists, who, as Professor Gardiner has so well pointed out, regarded the law of God as a commandment forbidding what was wrong rather than as a living harmony of infinite varieties. James I., who neglected the higher aspects of the creed of his native-land, thoroughly believed in the activity of the spirits of evil. In the year 1603, a new law was made against witchcraft, and 70,000 people were put to death between the

160 Religious Life in the Seventeenth Century

dates of 1603 and 1680 for this impossible offence.* The principal things forbidden were to remove or conjure an evil spirit, to consult, covenant with, or feed one; to take up the body of a dead person for use in magic, to hurt life or limb, to seek for treasure or lost or stolen goods, to procure love, or to injure cattle by means of charms. In the year 1632, a certain William Barchseale was cited before the magistrates of Southampton for using witchcraft to discover the whereabouts of some stolen cloth. He was heard to state "that any man going about to find out stolen goods doth yt with greate difficultie, with fastinge and prayinge three daies together, and greate paines taken therein. And when a spirrit is rayzed none hath power to see yt but children of eleven or twelve yeares of age or such as are true maides." The magistrates asked this man "what arte or meanes hee used to discover theis parties" (those who had stolen the cloth), and he replied that "hee used noe magicall arte or comunicacon but onlie a key and a bible." He was referred for trial to the next assizes.

A most interesting story connected with witchcraft was narrated before the justices in the year 1636 by a certain John Primmer, who had had the misfortune to be lodged in the Bargate prison. He said that a fellow prisoner named Robert Keyes began to talk to him, one day, in a rather uncanny manner about weird and ghostly sights which appeared in the prison at night time—sights which it seemed this Keyes could summon "Betweene the houres of XI and XII at midnight" (runs the deposition) "the said Keyes blew out his candle and spake certain words w^{ch} this Exa^{ite} understood not and that thereupon presently appeared five strange things in sundrye shapes, one like a bull, another in the forme of a white beare, and the other three like little puppy dogs without heads tumbling on the

*Social England by H. D. Traill and J. S. Mann, Vol. IV., p. 120.

ground before him ; whereat this exa^{ite} being affrighted began to rise up where hee lay and the said Keyes willed him not to be afraid, for they should doe him noe harme, and that all the time theis apparitions were in the prison (being about the space of a quarter of an hour) the said Keyes spake certaine words to them w^{ch} this examine understood not, and that there was a greate light in the prison all that tyme. And that upon the suddaine they all vanished away, but how this exa^{ite} knoweth not." The whole story is redolent of Phosphorus, and recalls a certain vivid scene in Charles Reade's novel the "Cloister and the Hearth."

Such depositions as these show how real to our forefathers was the belief in direct communication between men and spirits, and how easy it was for a bad man to utilise this credulity to further his own ends. Indeed, we reach here a consideration which has not always been taken into account. It is of course impossible to justify the infamous laws which were made against an impossible offence. Yet it is worthy of note that not a few of those who pretended to be in possession of supernatural powers did so for some unworthy object. These merited punishment, but of course not punishment of such terrible severity as was dealt out to them. The growth of humanitarian sentiment and the predominance of the scientific temper have made witch-hunting an absolute impossibility.

W. CAMFIELD, M.A.

Ministerial Co-operation in Yorkshire, 1787.

The following interesting document has been communicated by Jas. Cocks, Esq., of Bredbury.

Rules to be observed by the Ministers engaged in preaching the monthly Lectures.

WE whose names are under-written, being Ministers of the Independent Churches in the West-Riding of this County, considering ourselves in Duty bound according to our Abilities, to promote the Interest of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Good of our Fellow Creatures in the Earth, with a View hereunto have agreed to the following Rules :

I. That there shall be a monthly Lecture for eight Months in each Year, to be held at our several Places of Residence by regular Rotation, except an Exchange of Places be mutually agreed upon by the Parties more immediately concerned.

II. That two Ministers in this Connexion shall preach at each Lecture: Subjects left to their own Discretion.

III. That the Ministers of this Association shall be called upon to preach at these Lectures, according to the Time elapsed since they were engaged on such Occasions.

IV. That if a Minister fall sick, or be otherwise unavoidably prevented from filling up his Place, it shall rest with him to appoint a Minister in this Connexion to officiate as his Substitute.

V. Such occasional Services done for an absent Brother shall not exempt the officiating Minister from being called upon in due Course to take his Part at these Meetings according to Appointment.

VI. That wherever the Church or Congregation shall of their own Goodwill choose to bear the expences of a Dinner for the Ministers, or any Part thereof, it shall be thankfully accepted, without any murmurings or hard Thinking against other Congregations.

VII. In order that the Expences of this Undertaking may fall upon the Ministers with as great Equallity as possible, We mutually agree, that every Minister in this Association, being absent at such stated times, shall, for every such Instance, forfeit one Shilling towards the Expences, to be laid out as Circumstances shall require. These Forfeits to be advanced by the Minister upon the Premises where the Lecture is held, and by him collected afterwards as Opportunity shall serve. Forfeits the same as at other Times altho. the Expences be born by the People belonging to the Place.

VIII. That the Place where, and time when each Lecture shall be held, together with the Nomination of Ministers to preach, with all other matters relative to this Business shall always be settled at the last Meeting in the Year. N.B.—No Alterations to be made but by a Majority at that Meeting.

IX. As the Scriptures call upon Ministers to be Ensamples to the People, we mutually agree, that if any Member of this Association shall be guilty of such Immoralities as exclude Persons from Church Communion, or deny the fundamental Doctrines of the Scriptures, viz., The Fall of Man and all his Posterity by Sin—The Deity of Christ—Atonement by his Death—Justification by his Righteousness and eternal Life by him, shall first be admonished as a Brother; but, if no Reformation take place, and a Majority appear against him, he shall be excluded from this Society.

X. Be it further observed, we have no objection to hear the Cases of contending Parties between whom Differences may arise, but give up all Pretensions to any Power in us to decide upon other Churches Matters

of Dispute. We can only give what we wish always to be ready to receive, viz., Advice in disputable Cases.

XI. That Company promiscuously shall not be admitted into the Minister's Room until the Business belonging to the Association be concluded.

Lastly. That any Expences occurring to the Secretary for the Time being, either by Postage for Letters or otherwise relating to these Lectures, shall, at the End of every Year be reimbursed out of the Monies raised by Forfeits.

Signed by Order of the Meeting

T. KNIGHT, Halifax

T. GROVE, Rotherham

J. TOOTHILL, Hopton

J. DAWSON, Cleckheaton

S. WALKER, Northowram

W. MOORHOUSE, Huddersfield

Robt. GALLAND, Holmfirth

J. COCKIN, Kippin

(W.) TAPP, Pontefract

(T.) HOLGATE, Bradford

(J.) SOWDEN, Morley

(S.) BRUCE, Wakefield

(E.) PARSONS, Leeds

S. LOWELL, Bridgehouse

(J.) BREWER, Sheffield

(O.) BENNETT, Heckmondwike.

HALIFAX, 11 *April*, 87.

NOTES.

REV. TITUS KNIGHT.—First Minister of Square Chapel, Halifax (1772-1791). Died 1792, aged 74. Author of "Dialogues on Important Subjects," etc.

REV. THOMAS GROVE—of Rotherham (1777-1793). "One of the Oxford Students expelled for praying, reading and expounding the Scriptures." At Wooburn (Berks), 1768-1777. Removed from Rotherham to Walsall. Died October 6th, 1817. (See Summer's "History of Berks to Congregational Churches," page 83.

Ministerial Co-operation in Yorkshire, 1787 165

- REV. JONATHAN TOOTHILL.—Educated at Heckmondwike Academy. Minister at Hopton, 1766–1826. Died June 1st, 1826, aged 83 years.
- REV. JAMES DAWSON—of Heckmondwike Academy. Minister at Cleckheaton, 1769–1795.
- REV. SAMUEL WALKER—of Heckmondwike Academy. At Northowram, 1775–1792. Succeeded Rev. Joseph Scott as Tutor of Heckmondwike Academy. Died in 1796.
- REV. WILLIAM MOORHOUSE.—First Minister of the Congregational Church at Huddersfield (1772–1823). A leading spirit in the foundation of Rotherham College. Died 1823, aged 80.
- REV. ROBERT GALLAND.—Heckmondwike Academy. At Holmfirth from 1779 to 1800. Previously at Ilkeston. Died 1801, aged 62.
- REV. JOSEPH COCKIN.—Heckmondwike Academy. Ministered at Kipping Church, Bradford, from 1778 to 1791. Removed to Square Chapel, Halifax, in 1792, where he remained until his death in 1828.
- REV. WILLIAM TAPP.—Details of his life are meagre. He removed from Pontefract in 1791.
- REV. THOMAS HOLGATE.—Horton Lane Chapel, Bradford, 1784–1806. Previously at Marple Bridge, Derbyshire. Died 1806, aged 58 years.
- REV. JOSEPH SOWDEN.—Educated at Trevecca Academy. Minister at Rehoboth Chapel, Morley (from Truro) in 1782. Ebenezer Chapel, Booth, 1787–1794, whence he removed to Sowerby. Went to Warrington in 1800, and died at Bolton, 1822.
- REV. SAMUEL BRUCE.—Heckmondwike Academy. Removed from Grimsby to Zion Chapel, Wakefield (1782–1826). Died June 1st, 1833, aged 79 (see "Evangelical Magazine," August, 1833).
- REV. EDWARD PARSONS.—Trevecca. White Chapel and Salem Chapel, Leeds, 1785–*circa*. 1833.
- REV. SAMUEL LOWELL.—North-end Chapel, Brighouse, 1782–1789. Removed to Woodbridge, Suffolk, and afterwards to Bridge Street, Bristol.
- REV. JEHOIADA BREWER.—First Minister of Queen Street Chapel, Sheffield (1783–1795). Removed to Carr's Lane, Birmingham, 1795. See "Independency in Warwickshire," page 179.
- REV. OBADIAH BENNETT.—Upper Chapel, Heckmondwike, 1786–1792, when he resigned.

Concerning Periwigs

(These curious verses may be taken as representing the decadence of New England Puritanism. The British Museum Press-Mark is 11623. a. 60).

SIGNS OF APOSTASY LAMENTED.

Dost thou the Name of *Christian* Profess ?
 Then let some Signs appear in *outward* Dress ;
 Or else a sore Suspition thou dost leave,
 That CHRIST indeed thy Soul did ne're receive ;
 So as of Him alone to make thy Choice,
 In saddest Sorrows in Him to Rejoyce.

ART thou one of CHRIST'S Sheep, where is the Mark ?
 Is that it on thy Head ? it's very Dark ;
 It hardly will be own'd at the last Day,
 But JESUS CHRIST unto all such will say,
 Away be gone, begone away from me,
 I am displeas'd *both* with thy Garb *and* Thee.

LET thy *Attire* be such in any case,
 As may bear *outward* Signs of *inward* Grace ;
 Then sure those Signs some carry on their Head,
 So plainly show the inward Man is Dead.
 LORD, pluck such Brands as these out of the Fire,
 So we thy Rich Grace shall the more Admire,
 And make us Blush, and be Asham'd that we
 Should *Glory* in that, which our *Shame* should be.

THE Word of GOD calls things by the right name,
 So do not we, lest we ourselves should blame :
 Pride by the name of Decency we call,
 Although to *Adam* it gave such a fall ;
 Which hath benumm'd our Senses, so that we
 Remain stark Blind, till GOD doth make us see :
 The greater is the Danger we are in
 By reason of that Toothsome Cursed Sin.

O what a shame to *Christians* should this be ;
 That *Sorcerers* should so affected be,
 As by *Paul's* Preaching from their Sins to turn,
 And readily all their ill Books to burn ?
 O that our *Top-knot* wearers would do so,
 Their foolish *Baubles* readily forego ;
 O what an Honour it would be to them
 In sight of GOD, and of all sober men ?

WHEN *Periwigs* in thrones and *Pulpits* get,
 And *Hairy Top-knots* in high seats are set ;
 Then may we Pray, have Mercy, LORD, on us
 That in *New England* it should now be thus,
 Which in time past a Land of Pray'r hath been,
 But now is Pray'r turn'd out of Doors by Sin :
 For *Pride* and *Prayer* can't together dwell.
 One leads to Heaven, the *other* leads to Hell.

Art thou a *Christian*, O then why dost wear
 Upon thy Sacred Head, the filthy *Hair*
 Of some vile Wretch, by foul Disease that fell,
 Whose Scul perhaps is burning now in Hell ?
 O therefore I do you most humbly pray,
 Your monstrous *Perriwigs* cast quite away :
 If JESUS CHRIST unto your Souls were sweet,
 Those *Toys* on Head you'd trample under Feet,
 And say to them with indignation
 As *Ephraim* to his Idols, be you gone ;
 We never will have more to do with you,
 Lest GOD in's wrath out of his Land us Spue.

A TENDER Conscience a great Blessing is,
 Sure willingly such will not do amiss ;
 But carefully will watch against all Sin,
 In *outward* Man as well as Heart within :
 Abstaining all appearances of Evil,
 Lest they therein resemble should the Devil.
 Many there are that say they do believe,
 But they therein do but themselves deceive ;
 For Faith that's true will purifie the Heart,
 And from the most beloved Sin will part.

WHAT Mercy is't, that GOD will chide and strike
 His dearest Children ; if they will walk like
 The foolish World, who Lust and Pride do mind,
 Reward thereof they in the end will find
 Bitter to be, if on they yet do go,

Concerning Periwigs

Because Sin leads to final overthrow.
 Then help us LORD to mend our way, that we
 In Heart and Life may wholly turn to Thee ;
 And cast away our *Foolish Fancies* all,
 Lest GOD in wrath take *Head and Crown* and all.

I AM amazed much to think how we
 Are backward gone from GOD, and cannot see
 Who're allow themselves in *one* known Sin,
 Satan hath got such safely in his Gin :
 And if that their Repentance come too late,
 All such will be shut out of Heaven's Gate ;
 If you therefore this Gate would enter in,
 You must be sure to fight against *all* Sin.
 No *Perriwig*, or *Hairy Top-knot* spare,
 Though they as dear as Eye or Right-hand are ;
 Else thou canst not with *David* say, Lord I
 Have kept myself from *mine* Iniquity !

A Caution to prevent Scandal.

A FALSE Report against thy Brother, thou
 Shalt not take up, much less thy self allow
 Him to defame, in Thought, a Deed, or Tongue :
 GOD is a just Revenger of such Wrong.
 And will *again* them pay in their own Coin,
 Who *thus* their Brother's Credit do purloin ;
 And will on such his Righteous Sentence pass,
 Which shall make them cry out, woe and Alas !
 That ever I my Brother's Name should tear,
 Whom I in Love upon my Heart should bear !
 As CHRIST my Saviour hath commanded me,
 Whereby thou mayst know He hath Loved thee.
 If thou dost not Love Him whom thou dost see.
 How can'st thou say in Heart thou Lovest Me ?
 Which Love, O LORD, in me increase, that I,
 Whilst I do Live, may longing be to Dye.

By a Friend, who though no lover of *Perriwigs* or *Top-knots*,
 yet is a real lover *of*, and well-wisher *to*, and a hearty petitioner
for the Eternal Salvation of your precious immortal Souls.

BENJAMIN BOSWORTH,
of New-England.

In the 81st Year of my Age, 1693.

EDITORIAL.

OUR Annual Meeting was held at the Memorial Hall on May 11th, 1921, Rev. Dr. Nightingale presiding. Owing to the arranging of important denominational meetings at the time usually occupied by our society, the attendance was small.

The usual routine business was transacted, and the officers re-elected. A cordial welcome was given to our treasurer, H. A. Muddiman, Esq., who had put the finances of the society in order, and by his expert knowledge of paper and printing had been able to get the "Transactions" advantageously printed, and further relieved the funds by having the issues posted to subscribers through his own clerical staff.

The accounts for the year ending December 31st, 1920, had been duly audited, and are summarized as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
Balance forward, 1919	52	3	6
Subscriptions	67	10	1
Sales	4	10	8
	124 4 3		
Printing, Vol. VIII., 1 and 2	68	5	6
Hire of Room, Memorial Hall	1	1	0
Postages and Sundries	4	13	3
Cash in Hand	50	4	6
	£124 4 3		

Several suggestions were made as to the better organization of the society; as that an effort should be made to form branch societies representing County or Provincial areas; and that an annual register should be printed of works published by members.

The secretary was instructed to send a message of affectionate greeting to our venerable President, Rev. Dr. Brown.

* * * *

The usual Autumnal Meeting was held at the Western College, Bristol, on Wednesday, October 5th, 1921. Owing in part to several simultaneous meetings, and in part to the remoteness of the College from the local centre of the Congregational Union the attendance was depressingly small; but those who were present were amply rewarded by the freshness of the paper read by Rev. C. E. Watson of Rodborough, on "George Whitefield and his Relations with Gloucestershire Congregationalism." In this were presented some facts not generally known, facts which the biographers of the great evangelist seem to have generally wished to conceal. A very hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Watson, who was requested to put his paper in the hands of the secretary for publication. To this Mr. Watson assented, subject to some preliminary revision of the MS., the first part of which appears in our present issue.

* * * *

We have received from Rev. A. S. Langley, F.R.H.S., of Louth, a transcript of some interesting correspondence between Rev. F. Tallents, of Shrewsbury—one of the ministers ejected in 1662—and Sir Edward Harley, K.B., father of the Earl of Oxford, so conspicuous in the days of Queen Anne. These letters were found in the library of the Duke of Portland, K.G., at Welbeck Abbey; and by kindness of His Grace, and the Courtesy of his librarian Mr. R. W. Goulding, F.S.A., we have permission to put them before our readers. We hope, therefore, to produce a first instalment of the series in our next issue.

* * * *

We would earnestly appeal to our subscribers to do what they can for the increase of our membership. We have a number of interesting papers in hand; but beside these there are several important treatises that need reprinting, but which our funds have never yet permitted us to undertake. Foremost is Robert Browne's "Book that Showeth the Manners of all True Christians" (1582, and never reprinted); then the "Spurious Marprelate Dialogue, not reprinted since 1640; Vavasor Powell's "Sufferers' Catechism," 1664, etc.

It is also very desirable to print correctly the "Survey of the Dissenting Interest," commenced in 1716-17 and corrected to 1729, commonly known as "The Evans MS." This has been carefully copied, but we have not yet been able to incur the cost of publication.

Whitefield and Congregationalism

IN the calendar of Whitefield's career probably no year was more critical, at any rate so far as our particular study of him is concerned, than the year 1751. And yet of this year so voluminous an authority as Tyerman gives very little account; and Gledstone goes so far as to say that "from January 1751 to December 1752 there occurred nothing that deserves detailed comment in a life like this."

Owing to the great preacher's careful editing of his own letters and journals, and to a like judicious censorship exercised by the biographer of the Countess of Huntingdon, the one great illuminating feature of Whitefield's public life has been hidden from the eyes of his recorders; and without this it is impossible fully to interpret his actions over the period of a number of critical years, and most especially so in respect to his attitude towards Nonconformity. With the material before them collated by Tyerman for example, few on scanning the national annals of 1751 would suspect that the dominating incident of that year for Whitefield and his Calvinist colleagues was the death of the Prince of Wales. Yet so it was; and for this reason: from the earliest days of his potent ministry Whitefield had indulged the hope that he would be raised to the episcopal bench. The first fabric of the dream was based on foundations that were fantastic enough, but as his popularity grew and his influence extended to many who had rank and power in the State, both the edifice and the foundation on which it rested became more substantial.

Looking over the intervening generations one can

realize something of the enormous difference that such a move would have made in the fortunes, not only of the Established Church, but possibly even of the growing Empire itself. It was not only the tax on tea that severed the American colonies from the Homeland.

But it was in its effect upon the revival movement as a whole that Whitefield and his friends were most intensely concerned. At one stroke the vast work of the Wesleys and Whitefield here and across the Atlantic, and of Howell Harris and Daniel Rowland in Wales, would have been claimed for the Church of England, for had Whitefield had the power to ordain, well, the full possibilities baffle imagination!

How near that dream came to fulfilment no one now seems likely ever to know, but it was dissolved by the death of the Prince of Wales, and as that event took place when Whitefield was thirty-seven years of age, it divides his working life into two fairly equal parts. For the purpose of our enquiry it will be found convenient to consider him as he was before and after that critical 1751; for in respect to Congregationalism the effect of that year was tremendous.

From 1718 to 1742 the Congregational Church at Gloucester had for its pastor one Thomas Cole, an earnest and evangelical minister of the Gospel. Young Whitefield, the son of the hostess of the neighbouring inn, though of Anglican birth and up-bringing, was no stranger to the interior of the Southgate meeting-house, and it is recorded that one of the elders or deacons, accosting the young fellow in the street one day, asked him what he meant to make of himself when he grew up. He replied that he would be a parson, and added, with a twinkle: "But I shan't tell stories in the pulpit like the old Cole"—an interesting declaration, not only because it was so utterly falsified in the event, but also because it reveals something of the unusual character of the preaching of the old Congregationalist. After his ordination Cole met the young curate in the street, and

laying his hand upon his arm he observed, "I understand that young Whitefield can tell stories in the pulpit as well as the old Cole!"

If this little incident serves to remind us that some of the earliest impressions of live religion that entered the great preacher's life were associated with Independence, we may perchance be disposed to do fuller justice to the memory of Thomas Cole than has been done hitherto. For this was the man who became the director of the revival forces in and around Whitefield's native city, and the recognized leader of the Methodist societies there. When Whitefield, driven out of the churches, made "mounts his pulpits and the heavens his sounding-boards," Cole added a circuit of preaching stations to his work as pastor of the Southgate Church; and when, in 1742, he was stricken for death, he was preaching in the open air at Nymphsfield.

On one of the great upland spurs of the Cotswolds above Stroud, and some eleven miles from Gloucester, lies a three-mile stretch of common with Rodborough at its nearer and Minchinhampton at its further extremities. This was a favourite preaching place with Whitefield, and here his audiences ranged from five to twenty thousand people. Here preaching in 1739 a young man of Minchinhampton, Thomas Adams by name, was brought to a sense of things divine, and began gathering a little company of earnest folk for prayer and scripture reading. From this he passed to offering a few words of exhortation and finally to preaching. When Cole died he became the leader of the Calvinist revival movement in Gloucestershire and finally an itinerating preacher of power and influence throughout the whole of the Calvinist area. By up-bringing and inclination he was an Anglican, but of the three men who were most closely associated with him in the Stroud district, two at least were of Nonconformist origin, one William Hogg of Painswick being a member of the Stroud Old Meeting, whose minister, Thomas Jenkins, was in full

sympathy with the Methodist movement. Hogg was a member of this church, however, because primarily he was a Methodist, for the great purpose of early Methodism was to avoid by all possible means the formation of a new sect. Their aim was to pervade and revive the existing churches. Hence the early rules that Methodist societies should not meet at the ordinary hours of service; that their lay preachers should be called "exhorters," and their assemblies "societies," and that every enrolled member of a society should be a communicant either at church or meeting.

The maintenance of these rules was by no means easy, and as the opposition of the Anglican clergy became more pronounced, and the rank and file of the revival began to find themselves marked men in most churches and many meeting-houses, the advocates of separation were hard to be withstood.

By this time John Wesley had made his famous attempt to "turn John Calvin out of Bristol," and had succeeded in rending the Methodist forces in twain. The Moorfields Tabernacle had been built largely by supporters from among the dissenters in order that Whitefield might have an assured pulpit in London. The Calvinist communities had been organized into societies, and these societies subdivided into bands and classes, while the preachers—clerical and lay—were meeting in associations, some of which were local, and some general. These associations embraced not only the Whitefieldian societies in England, but the more numerous societies in Wales which had been formed by Howell Harris and Daniel Rowland.

At the first of these general associations—it was held in 1743 at Watford—there were present three Anglican and one Nonconformist minister and eight laymen, public exhorters; and strange to say an equal number of ministers and laymen were minuted as absent, so that the recognized preaching forces of Calvinistic Methodism at this epoch was six Anglican and two Non-

conformist ministers and sixteen lay-preachers. At this association George Whitefield was appointed Moderator, Howell Harris was made Superintendent over Wales and Moderator for Whitefield whenever he went to America.

Howell Harris, an ardent, devout, and temperamental Welshman, was a layman of excellent education, who had failed, because of his Methodist qualities, to obtain ordination. A fervid and somewhat bigoted Anglican, he was the strongest opponent of separatism. His responsibilities as Moderator began very soon after the Watford Association, and for seven years he was the titular head of all the Calvinist societies from London to Pembrokeshire; and the minutes of conferences and societies which he made include records of Moorfields and the other English societies during a great part of that period. Amongst these records there is a list of the thirty-one Whitefieldian societies in England in the year 1747.

It is an interesting fact that of the thirty-one societies there enumerated, if the old Dane-law division of England were taken, one, and only one, society would lie within it. Three met in London—Moorfields, Deptford and Bird Street—and next in order of precedence, owing to Whitefield's close identification with the County, were the four Gloucestershire societies—Gloucester, Minchinhampton, The Roadway, and Stancombe. Of these the position of Minchinhampton has already been described—it is a little Cotswold town lying on the high ground some three miles back from Stroud. The Roadway is a diminutive group of dwellings situated near to Randwick on what was then the main road between Stroud and Gloucester, and Stancombe is a township in a hollow of Stinchcombe Hill, not far from Dursley.

Connected with the thirty-one societies were twenty-seven established preaching stations, of which seven were in Gloucestershire.

The spiritual and administrative condition of the Whitefieldian connection in that year was, however, far from healthy. Whitefield had been out of the country more than three years, and Howell Harris had not been able to control the forces that seethed and fermented in the new movement. He was himself too variable and autocratic. His fellow-workers were impetuous and impatient of restraint. Within a year the Moravians had made a cleavage, and John Cennick, who earlier had held the fort for Calvinism against the raid of Wesley, abandoned his place in the Whitefieldian ranks. With him went a number of other workers and nearly all the societies in Wiltshire. It was at this juncture that the Countess of Huntingdon came into active association with the Calvinistic section and began to use her influence in its interests. But nevertheless, when, in 1748, Whitefield returned he found affairs in a state of chaos.

In order properly to understand the situation then, and the course of events leading up to the critical year 1751, it is necessary to keep three or four facts prominently in view.

First—The Established Church, at any rate so far as her clergy were concerned, was hostile to Methodism, and that hostility was taking shape and gathering force. The Nonconformists officially were standing aloof, and were more disposed to be critical than sympathetic. Yet there were important exceptions. It had been Nonconformists who had built Moorfields Tabernacle, and Whitefield himself could count among his intimate friends many dissenters in England and in America. The rank and file of Nonconformists recognized in his preaching the Puritan note, and probably in the official attitude of coldness adopted by some of the leading English Dissenters there was more snobbishness than anything else. Those who remember the assaults made upon Doddridge will know what I mean.

Another feature in the situation to be remembered

was the welter existing among the Methodists themselves. Many of them had been drawn from a nominal attachment to the Anglican Church and were woefully ignorant of the elementary doctrines of Christianity, utterly unused to Church administration, and absolutely untrained in giving. These things gave the Methodists who came in from Nonconformity a preponderating influence. The separatist section was therefore at once the most useful and the most troublesome to the leaders.

Next to be borne in mind is the fact that with the notable exception of Whitefield himself almost all the prominent people in the revival movement were autocrats, and not a little of the turmoil among the opposing factions at this as at later times was due to that fact. Berridge once described a situation in which John Wesley and the Countess of Huntingdon found themselves, as a contest between "Pope John and Pope Joan," and in these earlier days we must add Pope Howell Harris and Pope Daniel Rowland, just as at a subsequent date we have to add Pope Rowland Hill.

But most potent of all the troublesome factors at this critical juncture was that conviction of Whitefield's that he was destined for the episcopal bench. For the thing was not hidden from his friends and colleagues, and among the preachers a number were only held back from the separatist position by their hopes of ordination at his hand. A few indeed it is to be feared had chosen an itinerant ministry among the Methodists as offering a cheap and lazy way into the Anglican Ministry, and when Whitefield, still un-mitred, lingered in Georgia, these became untractable and unreliable. Even Howell Harris, earnest Methodist and loyal Anglican though he was, clave to Whitefield, of whom he was jealous, largely because his only hope of orders rested in him. In this connection we must note Howell Harris' expressed belief that Brother Whitefield himself, had it not been for his hope of episcopal rank, would

have been much more disposed to adopt a separative attitude. In his diary we find the following among five reasons that he gives for thinking that God did not intend a separation :—

“He has impressed it on Brother Whitefield’s heart that he shall be a Bishop, and by that means keeps him . . . as he is.”

It is perhaps fitting at this point to call into review the origin and growth of this confident anticipation of a bishopric which Whitefield and his followers indulged and on which so much rested. It is in a letter to John Wesley as early as 1735 that it makes its first appearance. He wrote—“I have mentioned his bishop; alas! how should I tremble to tell you how I have been continually disturbed with the thought that I, a worm, taken from a common public house, should ere I die be one myself! If you remember, sir, in my greatest affliction last Lent it was told me I should be a bishop, and therefore must be poor in spirit. That thought came home to me with so much force, and so many circumstances have since occurred to favour the temptation that I know not what to do.”

That the circumstances did not cease to tempt, we have the evidence of a letter he wrote some four years later to his friend Samuel Mason. He begins :—

“And are the Methodists talked of at Court? I verily believe one day or other I shall be called thither. God prepare me for that hour.”

Now unless it be urged that Whitefield’s reference to the source of his dream is to a direct and Divine revelation—which is very doubtful—the prophet who counselled him in that hour of darkness must have been one who could and did command his utmost respect. Yet who, with any weight of character, even before he

had preached his first sermon, would have ventured upon so definite a prognostication? Can it be that Thomas Cole was responsible? Whitefield was in Gloucester about the time referred to, and the old Independent might easily use, in the Puritan way, the term "Bishop" of any one about to be ordained to the Ministry. Can it be that when the Congregationalist was thinking of his call to the Ministry—his bishopric in the New Testament sense—the young graduate was interpreting the word in the Anglican way? It is certainly a possibility.

Be that as it may, Whitefield did not shake off or, as time went on and his gifts became manifest, even continue the attempt to shake off the impression. Howell Harris made a memorandum of a conversation with him which took place in November, 1742. He records that he spoke "of the various promises set on his heart—about going to the King and to be made a Bishop, and how the Lord honours him."

Of friends at Court Whitefield had no lack. The Countess of Huntingdon was not the only one "turned Methodist" among those to whom Whitefield was wont to refer as the "great and noble," and there is some reason for thinking that George II. was willing that the English Chrysostom should find a place on the episcopal bench. Lord Bolingbroke in a letter to Lady Huntingdon wrote—"Your ladyship will be somewhat amused at hearing that the king has recommended to his Grace of Canterbury that Mr. Whitefield should be advanced to the bench, as the only means of putting an end to his preaching." This piece of sarcasm appears to mark either the beginning or the end of the King's efforts, for seemingly the hopes of the Methodists were much more set on the Prince of Wales. It will be remembered that the King and the Prince were on bad terms with one another, so much so indeed that the latter had established his own Court and was become the centre of the opposition to the Government.

The Countess of Huntingdon and many of the most influential people of the day attended the Court of the Prince and hopes were high of an accession to power when the death of the King or the collapse of his ministry should offer the opportunity. I am not suggesting that the Countess of Huntingdon and the other titled Methodists were involved in any of the political intrigues of the day, but inasmuch as the Prince of Wales was himself either a Methodist or so sympathetic to the movement as to convey the impression that he was, they had some reason to hope as they faced the future.

C. E. WATSON.

(To be Continued.)

The Old Scottish Independents

OF the various secessions from the National Church of Scotland which have occurred within the last two centuries, the greater number were due to the offensive exercise of patronage—i.e. the legal claim of landholders to appoint parish ministers without regard to the desire of the parishioners. The recognition of this claim by the General Assembly led to the constituting in 1761 of the Relief Synod. About the same time the magistrates and town council of Glasgow obtained a judicial decision confirming to them, as against the general kirk session of the city, the patronage of the Wynd Church. They thereupon appointed a minister who was unacceptable to a large section of the congregation; and these, under the leadership of Mr. David Dale, seceded, built a “Relief Meeting-house,” and secured a minister of their own choice.

Meanwhile the ministers of two adjacent parishes in the County of Fife, Rev. Robert Ferrier of Largo and James Smith of Newburn, had become secessionists of a much more advanced type. Mr. Smith had published “A Compendious Account taken from Holy Scripture only, of the form and Order of the Church of God.” (Edinburgh, 1765.) In this he pointed out that the Church Order described in the New Testament was Congregational; and though there is scripture precedent for taking counsel with another Church on a doubtful question, and for representation by delegates to arrange matters of common concern, there is no precedent for one Church exercising authority over another, or for such authority being exercised by a Church court, or by

the civil magistrate. Mr. Ferrier was of the same mind, and both these gentlemen finding it impossible to reconcile this view with several statements in the "Confession of Faith," to which they had subscribed at their ordination, as honest men they retracted their subscription, resigned their benefices, and published a statement and defence of their position. The title of the pamphlet is "The case of James Smith, late minister at Newburn, and of Robert Ferrier, late minister at Largo, truly represented and defended: Edinburgh, printed for the authors by A. Donaldson, 1768."

In this pamphlet it is assumed that the ecclesiastical arrangements which the New Testament shows to have existed in the lifetime of the apostles, must have been divinely ordained, not only for the time then present, but for all the after ages. And since the New Testament seems to know nothing of a National Church Establishment, nor of "kirk-sessions, presbyteries, provincial synods, or general assemblies, which are commonly called Church courts," all these things are to be repudiated as illegitimate.

Having replied, not without asperity, to various objections which Presbyterian apologists would naturally make against the Congregational Order, Messrs. Ferrier and Smith proceed in a brief appendix to enunciate their views on some points of doctrine. (1) While clearly affirming the doctrine of the Trinity in Unity, they take exception to the scholastic terms in which that doctrine is usually formulated. (2) They disapprove of the statement (in the "Confession of Faith") that "The principal acts of saving faith are accepting, receiving, resting upon Christ alone for justification, sanctification, and eternal life." Faith they say, is "not a complex, but a very simple thing; it is that knowledge which we get of a truth or fact by means of testimony"; it "does not consist in a train of mental actings, as above mentioned . . . which are indeed inseparable effects of faith, but are not so many

ingredients in its precise nature." (3) They deny in the most emphatic manner the claim of the civil magistrate "to take order that unity and peace be preserved in the Church, that the truth be kept pure and entire, that all blasphemies and heresies be suppressed, all corruptions and abuses in worship or discipline prevented or reformed, and all the ordinances of God duly settled, administered, and observed." The whole doctrine of the "Confession of Faith" as regards the relation of the civil magistrate to the Church they declare to be "unscriptural, opposite to the spirit of Christianity, and inconsistent with the rights of conscience."

An independent Church was constituted on these principles at Balchristie in Co. Fife, of which Messrs. Smith and Ferrier were elders. Their pamphlet came under the notice of David Dale and others at Glasgow, and so impressed them that they came to regard Congregational Independency as the only legitimate order. They therefore deemed it their duty to separate from the recently constituted Relief Church. For a time they held meetings in a private house; but as their numbers increased they built a meeting-house in Grey Friars' Wynd. Their speciality, at this stage, was that the Lord's Supper ought to be observed every week as the principal service of the Lord's Day, and that that all who thus came together to break bread should be known to each other by a joint profession of faith.

The society at Glasgow now sent a deputation to that at Balchristie, as a result of which intercommunications became frequent, and at length it was arranged that Ferrier should go to Glasgow as colleague with Dale in the oversight of that Church, while a local colleague was associated with Smith at Balchristie. For a time the Glasgow society, nicknamed "Daleites," endured much persecution in the way of mob violence; but this subsided, and many new adherents were gathered from Hamilton, Paisley and New Lanark. Churches at Perth, Methuen, and Kirkcaldy are represented as being

offshoots from that at Balchristie. A vigorous Church was also gathered at Dundee by a Mr. Andrew Scott, late a minister of the Antiburgher section of the Original Seceders; who had been deposed and excommunicated by the Antiburgher synod for denouncing the practice of swearing to the national covenant, which they insisted upon as a term of communion. Mention is also made of "Daleite" congregations at Edinburgh (from which there was a numerous Baptist secession), Airdrie, Earlsferry, Galashiels, Montrose, Marykirk and London.

Unfortunately in the space of two or three years dissension arose in the Glasgow fellowship. It was proposed to slightly vary the traditional order of worship; to stand while singing as well as at prayer, to make the Lord's Prayer a regular part of the weekly service, to respond with an audible Amen, etc. Dale urged mutual forbearance on these and similar matters; but Ferrier was insistent, and, with a few others, joined the small sect of the Glasites, otherwise called Sandemanians. Between these and the "Daleites," there was little if any appreciable diversity in doctrine; but the Glasites maintained an extremely rigid discipline, and strongly insisted on various usages which they deemed necessary to an accurate reproduction of the original and apostolic church order. Such were the necessity of a plurality of elders in each congregation; Second marriage a disqualification for eldership; a weekly social meal to correspond with the primitive "agape"; the "holy kiss," as a token of brotherhood; ceremonial foot-washing; prohibition of eating blood or things strangled, and of all games of chance; decision by lot in cases of uncertainty, and ultimate unity of judgment to be secured by the exclusion of resolute minorities.

The history of the "Daleites" or "Old Scottish Independents" as a distinct denomination extends from first to last over about forty-six years. During

this time the principle of a plurality of elders was generally, though not universally, adopted. Some of the churches received accessions from societies gathered by the labours of the brothers Haldane; others had losses through the growth of Baptist opinions. About 1799 "the church at Hamilton was much reduced by Arminianism, which carried with it one of their Elders." In 1810, a vacancy having occurred in the eldership at Dundee, "many in the church disapproved of the practice so often followed of calling a stranger who had been educated for the ministry at some academy; they thought it more scriptural to look out from among themselves persons to take the oversight of the church: to this those of more popular sentiments could not agree, and therefore withdrew from the church." In 1813 two other small societies came into being, one at Dunfermline, Co. Fife, and one at Strathaven, Co. Lanark.

The "Old Scottish Independents" were never numerous. It is to their honour, however, that there is only one serious ministerial scandal recorded among them, and this was speedily followed by frank confession and well-manifested penitence.

* * * * *

We now proceed to give some account of "The Churches denominated Inghamites," between whom and the "Old Scottish Independents" a union was effected in 1814.

Among the coterie of devout scholars at Oxford, whose meetings for mutual edification gained for them the nickname of "The Holy Club," by no means the least conspicuous was Benjamin Ingham of Queen's College. He was born at Ossett, near Dewsbury, in June, 1712, and "took orders" in 1735, in which year he accompanied the Wesleys on their mission to Georgia. He was strongly attracted by the Moravian missionaries who were his fellow-voyagers, and joined them in their work. Returning to England in 1738 he was

one of the founders of the religious society in Fetter Lane in which Moravian influence was strong, and from which Wesley and his adherents seceded. Ingham preached in various churches in Leeds, Wakefield, Halifax, and elsewhere, until, his zealous evangelical ministrations being distasteful to the bishop and many of the clergy, he was inhibited from preaching in the Episcopalian pulpits in the diocese of York. He continued to work with the Moravians in various places, and, being a wealthy man, gave the site for the Moravian settlement at Fulneck. He now preached wherever he could obtain a pulpit, and in the open air; and formed numerous religious societies on a plan similar to those of Wesley, but with features borrowed from the Moravians. He built several chapels and welcomed the co-operation of several capable lay-preachers, who looked to him as their head.

In 1741 he married Lady Margaret Hastings, sister of the Earl of Huntingdon. By this union he was brought into close relations with the Countess, who received from him not a little spiritual enlightenment, though it is inaccurate to represent him as the instrument of her "Conversion."

About 1753 he formally severed his connection with the Moravians, and after a year or two formed a new organization in which the discipline was generally modelled on the Moravian, but with less rigidity. The doctrine was distinctly Calvinistic, much stress being laid on the theory of "Imputed Righteousness," i.e. that the guilt of a repentant sinner is imputed to Jesus Christ and punished in Him, while the Active Righteousness of the Saviour is imputed to believers for their justification. In 1755 the number of Ingham's societies, mostly in Yorkshire and Lancashire, amounted to at least eighty. In that year a general meeting of his lay-preachers was held at Winewall, near Colne, where Ingham was elected "General Overseer" of the societies. In that capacity he formally ordained two of the

preachers, William Batty and James Allen, as his colleagues in the ministry, thus breaking with the Episcopal Church by recognizing and conferring Non-prelatic Ordination. He thus anticipated the action of the Countess of Huntingdon by twenty years, and that of Wesley by thirty-four. At this time the connection seemed to have reached its highest measure of prosperity; and the "Kendal Hymnbook" was edited for the use of the societies by Messrs. Allen and Batty in 1757.

Soon after this, Ingham became aware of the rapid development of the movement initiated in Scotland by Messrs. Glas and Sandeman, and sent Batty and Allen to report upon it. They were strongly attracted by a movement which promised an accurate reproduction, even in minute details, of primitive Christianity, and devoted their energies to the task of leavening the Inghamite societies with Sandemanianism. In this they were only too successful. Ingham, in the hope of arresting this development, published "A Discourse on the Faith and Hope of the Gospel" (Leeds, 1763); but internal dissensions soon broke up the connection. Some of the societies became Glasite, some Methodist, some Baptist, and only about thirteen remained in the fellowship. It is believed that Ingham's life was shortened by grief at the collapse of the organization which he had built up. He died in 1772, and no second General Overseer was appointed.

The detailed accounts that have come down to us of the Inghamite societies are very fragmentary, and contain many references to dissensions, scandals, and secessions. Of those which were "set in order" in 1762 we find mention of Tadcaster, Leeds, Wibsey, Salterforth, Rothwell and Tosside, and probably Pateley Bridge in Yorkshire; Winewall, near Colne, and Wheatley, in Lancashire; and Kendal in Westmorland. At somewhat later dates we meet with Howden, Yorkshire, 1786; Nottingham, 1787; Todmorden, Yorkshire, 1792;

Bulwell, Nottingham, 1804; Haslingden, Lancashire, 1805. The names also appear of Birks and Thinoaks, in Westmorland, the dates of which are not specified, but which, as well as Pateley Bridge, were extinct before 1813.

About the middle of 1813 correspondence took place between elders of the Daleite and Inghamite societies with a view to intercommunion. It was made evident that there was now no doctrinal divergence, and but little difference in usages. Both were Calvinistic, both held the theory of Imputation, and both repudiated Antinomianism. The Daleites were jealous lest the yearly conference of the Inghamites should in any way infringe on the independence of the local societies. The Inghamites wished to be assured that their Scottish brethren (1) did not "allow of what some call innocent amusements," (2) did not consider a second marriage to disqualify for office-bearing, (3) did not forbid sharing a common meal with an excommunicate person, (4) did not forbid reinstatement of an erring member after a second exclusion, (5) did not allow eating of blood and things strangled, and desired clearer definition of the terms used respecting the Trinity. On these points they received satisfaction; and both agreed that "Occasional communion" with persons outside their own societies was unwarrantable. The only matter about which there seems to have been any disagreement was whether the sacraments could be duly administered in the absence of an elder, and on this mutual tolerance was found practicable. Accordingly a formal union was concluded in February, 1814.

The union comprised fifteen Daleite societies with 512 members, and thirteen Inghamite with 252 members, or a total of twenty-eight societies with 764 members. The largest societies were those at Glasgow, 185, Paisley, eighty-four, and Wheatley, fifty-six; while six or eight of the societies had less than ten

members each, and five or six were destitute of elders.

In reading the correspondence which led up to this union, one is unpleasantly struck with a note of spiritual pride on the part of some of the writers, as if they or the societies which they represented were the sole depositories of the unadulterated gospel. One writes of "these perilous times, when men are lovers of themselves, proud blasphemers, etc. When the true faith shall scarcely be found on the earth; times in which the falsely professing Church of Christ and the world appear to be fitting themselves by their wickedness for their final destruction." "God has reserved to himself a people who, influenced by His fear, refuse to bow down to the great and fashionable idols of this generation, Universal Charity and Infidelity." Another writes—"This country is of late very religious; but I am sorry to say of the imperfect kind. A perverted gospel is worse than no profession."

So far as we have been able to discover there are now not more than eight Daleite or Inghamite congregations on this side of the Atlantic. There is said to be an offshoot of the body in Canada; and according to Hastings' "Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics," the total number of adherents on both sides the ocean is about 2000. This is probably a liberal estimate.

A Whip for an Ape

IN Rev. W. Pierce's "Historical Introduction to the Marprelate Tracts" is a valuable Bibliography, showing the exact order and proximate dates of those celebrated Satires, and of the various rejoinders which they elicited. From this it appears that the "Epistle," and the "Epitome," had been in circulation for some months when Bishop Cooper put forth his ponderous "Admonition to the people of England," to which Martin promptly replied in "The Minerals" and "Hay any Work for Cooper." These the anti-puritan party sought to counter by enlisting the services of John Lyly and Thomas Nash, who in May 1589 produced the scurrilous "Mar-Martin," which was reprinted in C.H.T. Trans. V. 357. The Latin "Antimartinus," followed about six weeks later. Within the same month Martin junior put forth the "Theses," and Martin senior the "Just Censure and Reproof." Early in August appeared the Anti-puritan "Countercuffe," commonly ascribed to Nash. The last of the Marprelate Tracts, the "Protestation," was printed in September; and early in October a rhymster who, whatever his faults, was not destitute of wit, published "A Whip for an Ape." This is probably to be accredited to Lyly. All the other Anti-Martinist publications, such as Pasquill's Return and Apology; Martin's Month's Mind; Pap with a Hatchet; An Almond for a Parrot; the Mirror for Martinists, etc., are of later date; but mostly in 1589-90.

A | WHIP FOR AN APE : | or | MARTIN DISPLAIED |

*Ordo Sacerdotum fatuo turbatur et omni,
Labitur et passim Religionis honos.*

Since reason, (*Martin*), cannot stay thy pen,
We'il see what rime will doo : have at thee then.

A Dizard late skipt out upon our stage ;
But in a sacke, that no man might him see :
And though we know not yet the paltrie page,
Himselfe hath *Martin* made his name to bee.
A proper name, and for his feates most fit ;
The only thing wherein he hath show'd wit.

Who knoweth not that Apes men *Martin's* call ;
Which beast this baggage seemes as t'were himselfe :
So as both nature, nurture, name and all,
Of that's expressed in this apish elfe ;
Which Ile make good to *Martin* Mar-alls face
In three plaine poynts, and will not bate an ace.

For first the Ape delights with moppes and mowes,
And mocketh Prince and peasants all alike ;
This jesting jacke that no good manner knowes
With his Asse heeles presumes all States to strike.
Whose scoffes so stinking in each nose doth smell,
As all mouthes saie of doll's he bears the bell.

Sometimes his choppes doo walke in poyntes too hie,
Wherein the ape himself a woodcock tries :
Sometimes with floutes he drawes his mouth awrie,
And swears by his ten bones, and falslie lies.
Wherefore be what he will I do not passe,
He is the paltriest Ape that ever was.

Such fleering, leering, jarring fooles bopeepe ;
Such hahaes, teehees, weehees, wild colts play ;
Such sohoes, whoopes, and hallowes, hold and keepe ;
Such rangings, ragings, revelings, roysters ray,
With so foule mouth, and knave at every catch,
Tis some knaves neast did surely *Martin* hatch.

A Whip for an Ape

Now out he runnes with Cuckowe, king of May,
 Then in he leapes with a wild Morrice daunce ;
 Now strikes he up Dame *Lawsons* lustie lay ;
 Then comes Sir *Jeffries* ale tub tapde by chaunce :
 Which makes me gesse, (and I can shrewdly smell)
 He loves both t'one and tother passing well.

Then straight as though he were distracted quite
 He chafeth like a cutpurse layd in ward ;
 And rudely railes with all his maine and might,
 Against both Knights and Lords without regarde :
 So as *Bridewell* must tame his drunken fits,
 And *Bedlem* helpe to bring him to his wits.

But *Martin*, why in matters of such waight
 Doest thou thus play the Dame and dancing foole :
 O sir, (quoth he) this is a pleasant baite
 For men of sortes to traine them to my schoole.
 Ye noble States how can you like hereof,
 A shamelesse Ape at your sage heads should scoffe ?

Good Noddie now leave scribbling in such matters,
 They are no tooles for fooles to tend unto ;
 Wise men regard not what mad monckies patters ;
 T'were trim a beast should teach men what to do.
 Now *Tarleton's* dead the Consort lackes a vice :
 For kn: ve and foole thou maist bear pricke and price.

The sacred sect and perfect pure precise,
 Whose cause must be by *Scoggins* rests maintainde,
 Ye shewe although that purple Apes disguise
 Yet Apes are still, and so must be disdainde.
 For though your Lyons lookes weake eyes escapes,
 Your babling bookes bewraies you all for Apes.

The next poynt is, Apes use to tosse and teare,
 What once their fidling fingers fasten on ;
 And clime aloft and cast downe everywhere,

And never staies till all that stands be gone.
 Now whether this in *Martin* be not true,
 You wiser heads marke here what doth ensue.

What is it not that *Martin* doth not rent :
 Cappes, Tippetts, Gownes, blacke Chiners, Rochets
 White ;
 Communion bookes, and Homelies, yea so bent
 To teare, as womens wimples feele his spite.
 Thus tearing all, as all Apes use to doo,
 He tears withal the Church of Christ in two.

Marke now what things he means to tumble downe,
 For to this poynt to looke is worth the while,
 In one that makes no choyce 'twixt Cap and Crowne.
 Cathedrall Churches he would faine untile,
 And snatch up Bishops lands, and catch away
 All gaine of learning for his prowling pray.

And thinke you not he will pull downe at length
 As well the top from tower, as cocke from steeple ?
 And when his head hath gotten some more strength,
 To play with Prince as now he doth with people ?
 Yes, he that now saith, Why should Bishops bee ?
 Will next crie out, Why kings : The Saints are free.

The *Germaine* Boores with Clergie men began,
 But never left till Prince and Peeres were dead :
Jacke Leydon was a holie-zealous man,
 But ceast not till the Crowne was on his head.
 And *Martins* mate *Jack Strawe* would alwaies sing
 The Clergies faults, but sought to kill the King.

Oh that quoth *Martin* chwere a Noble man !
 Avaunt vile villaine : tis not for such swads,
 And of the Counsell too ; Marke Princes then :
 These roomes are raught at by these lustie lads,
 For Apes must climbe, and never stay their wit,
 Until on top of highest hilles they sit.

What meane they els, in every towne to crave
 Their Priest and King like Christ himselfe to be :
 And for one Pope ten thousand Popes to have,
 And to controll the highest he or she !
 Aske *Scotland* that, whose king so long they crost,
 As he was like his kingdome to have lost.

Beware ye States and Nobles of this land
 The Clergie is but one of these men's buts :
 The Ape at last on masters necke will stand ;
 Then gegge betimes these gaping greedie guts,
 Least that too soone, and then too late ye feele,
 He strikes at head that first began with heele.

The third tricke is, what Apes by flattering waies
 Cannot come by, with biting they will snatch :
 Our *Martin* makes no bones, but plainlie saies
 Their fists shall walke, they will both bite and scratch.
 He'll make their hearts to ake, and will not faile
 Where pen cannot, their penknife shall prevail.

But this is false, he saith he did but mocke :
 A foole he was that so his words did scan.
 He only meant with pen their pates to knocke :
 A knave he is that so turnes cat in pan.
 But *Martin* sweare and stare as deep as hell,
 Thy sp ite thy spite and mischevous mind doth tell.

The thing that neither Pope with Booke nor Bull
 Nor *Spanish* king with ships could do without,
 Our *Martins* here at home will worke at full :
 If Prince curb not betimes that rabble rout,
 That is, destroy both Church and State, and all ;
 For if t'one faile, the other needes must fall.

Thou *England* then whom God hath made so glad
 Through Gospels grace and Princes prudent raigne
 Take heede lest thou at last be made as sad

Through *Martins* makebates marring, to thy paine ;
 For he marres all, and maketh naught, nor will,
 Save lies and strife, and workes for *Englands* ill.

And ye grave men that answer *Martins* mowes,
 He mockes the more, and you in vaine loose times,
 Leaves Apes to dogges to baite, their skins to crowes.

And let old *Lanam* lash him with his rimes
 The beast is proud when men wey his enditings,
 Let his worke go the waie of all wast writings.

Now *Martin*, you that say you will spawne out
 Your broyling brattes in every towne to dwell,
 Wee will provide in each place for your route
 A bell and whipp, that Apes do love so well.
 And if ye skippe and will not wey the checke,
 We'll have a springe and catch you by the necke.

And so adieu Mad *Martin* Marre the land,
 Leave off thy worke, and more worke, hear'st thou me :
 The worke's nought worth, take better worke in hand,
 Thou marrst thy worke, and thy worke will marre thee.
 Worke not a anewe, least it doth worke thy wracke,
 And thou make worke for him that worke doth lacke.

And this I warne thee *Martins* monckies face,
 Take heed of me, my rime doth charm thee bad :
 I am a rimer of the Irish race,
 And have already rimed thee staring mad.
 But if thou ceasest not thy bald jests still to spread,
 He never leave, till I have rimde thee dead.

FINIS

[Except the title and mottoes, the whole is in Black Letter. There was a second impression, with title "Rhythms against Martin Mar Prelate," in other respects identical. So far as we can learn there is no later reprint.—Ed.]

Congregational Benefactors to the Deaf

Contributed by Selwyn Oxley, Esq., Secretary of the Guild of St. John of Beverley.

[This Guild was founded for the teaching and otherwise assisting the deaf, especially deaf mutes. Its title was taken from an English saint of the seventh century, the founder of Beverley Minster, who is said to have received many remarkable answers to prayer, including the enabling of a dumb man to speak.—Ed.]

Introductory

AS a Church of England lay-worker for the deaf, I feel that much may be done for the cause we all have at heart—the cause of Christian Unity—along indirect lines, it may be, but none the less effectively, by fuller knowledge of each other's efforts in the same fields of beneficent enterprise. As a student of the history of the deaf, I have been led to discover or to recognize in this work many links in common between our two branches of the Universal Church; and it is these links that form the main theme of this paper.

The cord which binds us together is a threefold one, and each part of it is of special significance. The three men whose careers are to engage us were not only great benefactors to the deaf, but also outstanding figures in the history of Christian philanthropy, for whom any Church might whole-heartedly thank God.

These three worthies are:

1. The Rev. John Townsend (1757-1826);

Congregational Benefactors to the Deaf 197

2. The Rev. T. H. Gallaudet, U.S.A. (1787-1851) ;

3. The Rev. T. Arnold (1816-1897) ;

and I propose very briefly to survey the work each did for our cause.

I. THE REV. JOHN TOWNSEND.

John Townsend was born at Whitechapel in 1757, and educated at Christ's Hospital ; entering the ministry as pastor of the Independent Church at Kingston-on-Thames, June 1st, 1781. In 1784 he removed to the Jamaica Road Chapel, Bermondsey, where his life-work was done, and where he remained until his death in 1826.

His work for education alone, as the founder of what is now Caterham School, is enough to render his name memorable. To us, however, who know and love the deaf, an additional reason is manifest ; for it is due to his persistent energy that the first public "Asylum and Manufactory" for the deaf in this country was established in Grange Road, Bermondsey, on November 14th, 1792.

It is an interesting fact that it was through a certain Mrs. Creasy, a member of his congregation—whose deaf son had been educated privately by Mr. Braidwood at Grove House, Mare Street, Hackney—that Mr. Townsend's interest was aroused on behalf of the deaf. Mr. Braidwood's school was one of the first two private academies for the deaf—the other being that of Mr. Henry Baker, son-in-law of Daniel Defoe—to be established in this country. Mr. Braidwood's fees being prohibitive, Mrs. Creasy approached her pastor with a view to his taking up the subject.

Some years previously George III. had subscribed £105 to an abortive effort to found a public institution for the deaf ; and, on hearing that Mrs. Creasy had had to pay no less than £1,500 for the education of her son, Mr. Townsend felt that something ought to be done.

198 Congregational Benefactors to the Deaf

His preliminary inquiries confirmed this view; for very soon he had a list of twenty families with 155 children, of whom seventy-eight were totally deaf and doomed, if nothing were done, to grow up totally illiterate. The matter thus proving important and urgent, he decided, with Mrs. Creasy, that it was practicable and necessary to found an institution for the deaf children of the poor.

The first subscriptions were received on Sunday, June 1st, 1792: three friends contributing a guinea apiece, to which Mr. Townsend added a fourth. Mr. Thornton, a banker, on being asked to receive the money, thought the scheme would fail for want of sufficient pupils, since he did not know of any cases himself. However, the lady of the committee (probably Mrs. Creasy) told him that she knew of several, so he consented to receive subscriptions. Prospectuses were sent to the *The Times* and *The Morning Chronicle*, which brought in many applications and an offer from Dr. Joseph Watson, a nephew of Braidwood, to be the tutor. Mr. Townsend took a tour to visit his brother at Ramsgate, and distributed papers about the new school as he went. He also about this time called on the Rev. Henry Cox Mason, the Vicar of Bermondsey, who, on being convinced of the need for the proposed school, became one of his most enthusiastic fellow-workers, and helped on the committee until his death in 1804; in fact, the strong friendship between the brother ministers is a telling example of one way in which we may unite in the work of the Church as brethren.

At the first meeting of the school subscribers, in August, 1792, Mr. Cox Mason was secretary and Mr. Thornton treasurer. The first election took place on November 14th, in the same year, when four children were admitted, and by the end of that year two more were added. In 1804 Mr. Cox Mason died, and in 1809 the school was moved to Old Kent Road, the foundation stone of the new building having been laid by

H.R.H. the Duke of Gloucester in 1807. In the collection of funds both energy and enterprise were shown. Collections were made in various churches and chapels, a deaf boy repeating the Lord's Prayer on these occasions, thus leading to the discovery of a large number of these handicapped persons. Mr. Cox Mason and Mr. Townsend together preached all over the south of England. At Bristol, for example, Mr. Townsend received £44 on behalf of the school, and on another occasion a lady was so much moved that she put her trinkets in the plate. At Romsey a party of players postponed their performance when they heard of his sermon, attended the service and contributed to the collection. In 1809 he interested the Bishop of Norwich and obtained his hearty co-operation, and at Bury St. Edmunds received £150 in one day, whilst from a tour in Kent he received over £600.

Some extracts from his diary may be of interest. In 1821, though unwell, he went by coach to the school election on January 10th, and on the 12th he writes that he "rose with less pain and difficulty in breathing, and went to the Bank to receive dividends for the Deaf and Dumb."

On April 16th he records that he "went to the Missionary Society (i.e. the London Missionary Society, which he did much towards founding) 11 a.m., and to the Audit of Deaf and Dumb at 1."

Later in 1821, we read that though still ill, he is unable to absent himself from the school election, and is "thankful to see how wonderfully God has prospered the Institution, which was begun with three names as Annual Subscribers and now has nearly 8,000 on the books. Some of the candidates had more than 5,000 votes"!

In 1822 he visited Ireland, where he had heard of over 3,000 deaf and dumb children.

In 1810 he met Dr. Jenner, of vaccination fame, at breakfast at Cheltenham, and the doctor gave him

two guineas for the deaf, and another member of the party gave one guinea.

In 1796 Bishop S. Horsley, of Rochester, preached on behalf of the school, and mentioned that there were twenty pupils, but that fifty more were awaiting admission whom the slender finances of the Society would not permit to be received.

Mr. Townsend died in his sixty-ninth year, February 7th, 1826, and was interred in Bunhill Fields.

There is a bust to his memory in Jamaica Road Chapel vestry, also a tablet on the chapel wall; and a marble bust of him is to be seen at the Royal School for the Deaf at Margate, the magnificent development of the school begun on so modest a scale in 1792.

In taking leave of this good man, it may be mentioned that many of his MSS. are extant in a book that is kept in a safe at the Jamaica Road Chapel, which book we hope to have photographed by one of the deaf pupils of the present-day school. In addition, there is much valuable literary matter connected with Townsend and the Asylum (as it used to be called) in the care of Mr. John Frowde, the energetic librarian at Bermondsey Public Library. All this historical material is well worth the attention of our Society; among the items of special interest being a sermon printed at the Deaf and Dumb Asylum in 1809, which had been preached at Ebley Congregational Chapel, Stroud, Gloucestershire; and a Spanish New Testament printed under the superintendence of Mr. Powell at the school-manufactory in 1812.

We are indebted to our valued friend, the Rev. W. Raper, Church of England Chaplain to the Deaf of S.E. London and an ardent disciple of Mr. Townsend, for nearly the whole of the facts recited.

In January of the current year there was presented in the Inner Temple Hall, by the "Time and Talents Guild," a series of tableaux of old Bermondsey. One of the scenes introduced Mrs. Creasy and her son,

together with Messrs. Townsend and Cox Mason ; these latter being personated by the present minister of Jamaica Row, Rev. J. Rofe, and his brother.

2. THE REV. T. H. GALLAUDET.

Turning to the second great Congregationalist who helped our work, we observe that his influence was predominant in the New World of America, not only as the pioneer of work for or among the deaf on that continent, but also of all organized philanthropic work whatsoever.

Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet was born in Philadelphia on December 10th, 1787, being the eldest of a family of twelve. He never was at all robust, though precocious and very studious in disposition. In his thirteenth year his father moved to Hartford, Connecticut, which removal had an important bearing on his after life. Having completed his school education at Hartford Grammar School, he entered the sophomore class at Yale in the autumn of 1802, and during his stay there won considerable distinction. The MS. is still in existence of an address that he gave at the close of his college career ; he being one of six in a class of forty-two to graduate with the honours of an oration ; the Rev. G. Spring, D.D., the eminent New York divine, was the valedictorian. He then in 1805 took up the study of law in the office of the Hon. Chauncey Goodrich, of Hartford, his work herein, as in everything that he undertook, being methodical and accurate, and he showed the greatest promise. The state of his health, however, precluded his continuance in this career, and in 1806 he accepted a tutorship in Yale College. Little is recorded of his life at that time, though several entries in his diaries and certain incidents that we have on record prove that his religious life, hitherto dormant, was slowly but none the less surely developing ; still, he suffered much from periods of scepticism and

depression, which gave him many an anxious hour before he finally decided for Christ. On one occasion he had been carried away by the hilarity of some companions and had taken too much wine ; but his mortification afterwards was so great that he confessed his sin publicly to the officers of the Congregational Church at Hartford, where his father attended and which he himself hoped soon to join, the result being that he had become a total abstainer long before the temperance movement proper was inaugurated.

Another incident that made a deep and lasting impression on his mind was the announcement of the drowning of a companion while Gallaudet was attending a public dance or assembly of Hartford inhabitants, a form of gaiety which greatly attracted him. At first he appealed to the bearers of the news not to tell the ladies for fear of breaking up the dance ; but the next moment his conscience so smote him that presently he hurried away from the gathering, and was never seen at a dance again. From that time, too, he was a strenuous opponent to dancing generally.

His health still being precarious in 1810, he felt he must take up outdoor work of some kind, and consequently became a traveller in Kentucky and Ohio for a New York firm, which involved his riding everywhere on horseback. Although more of a scholar than a business man, his business faculties were excellent and served him well. Religion, however, eventually claimed him for her own, and he decided to train for the ministry, though it was not until after this, as we learn from his private diary, that, on October 11th, 1812, he "made a public profession of his faith in Christ and was admitted a member of the first Congregational Church in Hartford, the Rev. Nathan Strong being Pastor thereof." His health continued to give anxiety, but his reputation for scholarship and his success as a preacher grew, with the result that he received several flattering invitations to the Pastorate, as, for example,

at North Parish, Portsmouth, New Hampshire. These he felt unable to accept, owing to his poor health. In fact, so easily did he appear to live during 1814-15 that at least one fellow-student took him to task for his supposed idleness.

The real truth, however, was far otherwise ; for this "under-sized invalid," with eyes and lungs both weak and who could devote but little time to study, was ready to spring joyfully to his life's work when plainly called to it ; for in that weak body dwelt a spirit great and strong enough to make him practically the pioneer, if not the actual founder, of all systematic philanthropic work in America.

One of his father's nearest neighbours was a Dr. Cogswell, who had a lovely girl of nine on whom the blight of total deafness had fallen, as the result of a severe attack of meningitis when she was but four years old. Loss of speech followed, and, although the parents did what they could to develop her education, with some slight success, they were none the less severely handicapped in their ignorance of the proper way to approach this problem. During a vacation Thomas Gallaudet's attention was attracted to this girl when meeting her in her father's garden at play with her younger sisters and brothers. Even on that occasion he was able to teach her to speak a word or two, and it was from this time that the practical interest in the deaf was awakened and led him to study literature on the subject. The result was that the child slowly acquired language from him and from her first teacher, the poetess Lydia Sigourney, then Miss Hunter. Dr. Cogswell's interest becoming active, he began to hope that a school for the deaf on the lines of that established by Mr. John Townsend in London might be founded in Hartford itself ; and the intimacy between Gallaudet and the Cogswells presently raised these hopes into practical schemes for their realization—the medium thereof being this young clerical friend of

the family. Thus it was that at Dr. Cogswell's invitation, on April 13th, 1815, a meeting was held at his house to consider what could be done in the matter. The result, after prayerful deliberation, was a decision to send some suitable person to Europe to look into the question of educating the deaf, and to acquire the art of it. Dr. Cogswell and a Mr. Woodbridge were appointed a committee to select the man and to meet expenses. So much interest was aroused in the project that they were able to raise the amount needed in a single day, and Gallaudet was their choice. After considering the proposition for a week, his innate modesty holding him back, he felt it his duty to accept this distinct call from God to definite work on April 20th, 1815; and, after visiting the blind-deaf-mute girl, Julia Brace, with Dr. Cogswell, he set sail from New York on the *Mexico*, burden 300 tons, for Liverpool on May 25th, among the passengers being Washington Irving. He landed exactly a month later, and, after seeing a small school for the deaf at Birmingham (started 1812), he reached London on July 5th, and presented himself with suitable letters of introduction at the Old Kent Road institution, fully expecting a warm and cordial welcome. How different was the reality! For, owing to the fact that the teaching of the deaf had been for two generations the monopoly of one family (the Braidwoods), he was unable to make any progress whatever. So disgraceful a monopoly was this that at the time of which we are speaking all efforts to start a school for the deaf in Ireland were frustrated, and another not too satisfactory member of the Braidwood family was in America, seeking to establish a similar state of things there.

Gallaudet actually met and conversed with Mr. John Townsend, who no doubt did what he could to gain him a fair hearing, as did other members of the committee; but, beyond his being introduced to Dr. Watson, nothing was done. Dr. Watson, himself a member

of the monopolizing family, made every possible excuse to delay and complicate the negotiations, and did his utmost to bind Gallaudet down under an agreement for a term of years; he also tried to induce him to join forces with the Braidwood then in America. He kindly offered to allow Gallaudet to go over the school, if he wished, as an ordinary visitor; but, under the circumstances, Gallaudet felt obliged to decline the offer.

Thus baffled in London, Gallaudet turned his attention to Scotland, and, after a formal intimation to the Old Kent Road committee that he was unable to accept their terms, he reached Edinburgh in September of the same year. Here again he found himself confronted by the monopoly of the Braidwood family, Mr. Kinniburgh being under bond not to reveal the secret method for seven years, of which only four had expired—a situation which we believe went much against Mr. Kinniburgh's natural benevolence.

Thus, to our lasting disgrace as a nation, was lost to us for ever a unique opportunity of forwarding God's work for the world—a loss which we shall never cease to regret. The immediate result was that Gallaudet, after studying several books on the History of the Deaf, sought what he required in France.

Arriving in Paris on March 9th, 1816, within three days he was cordially welcomed by the Abbé Sicard, head of the Royal School for the Deaf, who offered him every possible facility for the objects he had in view, even permitting him to have private lessons from his distinguished pupil and assistant, Massieu. For two months this training went forward, and on May 20th another deaf man—Laurent Clerc—who had some knowledge of teaching, offered to accompany him back to America. Gallaudet, as may be imagined, was most grateful, and lost no time in asking for Sicard's consent to the offer, which he obtained on May 27th. Under the circumstances he felt justified in binding Clerc to a not disadvantageous three years' agreement at a handsome

salary, with the option of returning to France at the end of the three years. Three weeks later Gallaudet sailed homeward, leaving Havre on June 18th. During his stay he had preached a series of sermons at the Chapel of the Oratoire, and otherwise had made good general use of his spare time. These sermons were published in 1818.

The voyage was a protracted one, but the time was by no means wasted, for he improved himself in instructional methods and also taught his companion English. He reached New York on August 9th and Hartford a few days later, where general interest was aroused. For it must be remembered that in 1816 there was no public benevolent institution of any sort in America, saving a small hospital for the insane in Virginia.

Those at home had not been idle, for they had secured an Act of Incorporation for the new institution from the Legislature of Connecticut, May, 1816, and raised a large sum of money by subscription.

In October, 1816, the Connecticut Legislature granted the sum of 5,000 dollars, which is believed to be the first appropriation of public money ever made for any charitable institution in the history of America. Gallaudet went here, there and everywhere—to New York, Boston, Albany, Philadelphia—promoting this cause, with the result that before the institution was opened he raised upwards of 17,000 dollars.

The presence of an educated deaf Frenchman contributed very largely to the success of these efforts—the exhibition of realized possibilities being an adroit move on Gallaudet's part. Nevertheless, he was subjected to much of the usual annoyance which falls to the lot of the pioneer.

In February, 1817, a solemn service on behalf of the success of the institution was held, and it was on April 1st—a date deserving to be commemorated as the birthday of organized philanthropic effort in America—that Gallaudet's heart was made glad by the actual opening of the school.

Here for thirteen years, under great difficulties and on a very small salary for work of the most exacting character, he laboured as its first principal, until ill health compelled his retirement in 1830. In the meantime, he had contracted a most romantic and happy marriage with one of his former pupils, a Miss Sophia Fowler, in 1821.

During this time he took keen interest in other affairs, notably mission work in Africa, and subsequently he received many important invitations, as, for example, to inaugurate the education of the blind in Washington, to take professors' chairs in several colleges, and to inaugurate a professorship of the Philosophy of Education in New York University. He declined all these offers, and spent his time in preparing books for young people and in conducting an interesting and important correspondence with the King of Siam. Later he took a great interest in the insane, and in 1838 was invited to take the post of Chaplain for the insane at the Retreat, Hartford, which he accepted, and began his duties on July 15th, 1838. He also during these years started and conducted a Home School in this place, in which his children and those of his neighbours could be educated.

In the summer of 1851, he was seized with severe dysentery, and died in late August, mourned by a multitude of deaf and other friends. His eldest son, the Rev. T. Gallaudet, succeeded to his work for the deaf, and subsequently became Rector of St. Ann's Church for the deaf in New York, and to this day members of the family continue in this necessary, but not yet sufficiently known work, which the Congregational Church, as we hope we have proved, has played so important a part in propagating.*

(To be Continued.)

* For the greater part of our information on this good man we are indebted to the biography written by his son, E. M. Gallaudet and published by Henry Holt & Co., New York.

Edward Winslow

(Continued from p. 143.)

WINSLOW'S second term of office was marked by another constitutional advance. Various resolutions had been passed, various decisions had been given ; he now gathered them up, and codified them into a little body of law, prefixing an account of the settlement of the colony. The legality of these proceedings was very questionable, and many people began to wonder how far the laws of England held, how far they could be modified locally, whether any appeal lay to England, whether any royal governor could come and override these petty jurisdictions.

Many ministers came from England, all of them Puritans, and objecting to episcopal rule. They had, however, no clear ideal of church government, and certainly were not imbued with the principles of Smyth or Robinson, of Harrison or Browne. Despite minor differences they worked out substantially alike. Critical enquiries came from Puritans in England as to what was taking place on the Bay ; replies were sent by Davenport of New Haven and Richard Mather of Dorchester, in 1639. The gist of them was that in each church the officers held all the initiative, and that each church was all but independent of the others. What was left obscure was that the magistrates were in practice the tools of the ministers, and that the laws were used to enforce uniformity. The singularity of the position is accentuated by two curious incidents on opposite sides. Three women were charged at the Salem Quarterly Court with denying infant baptism ; they were admonished by the church, and to avoid further trouble, they too emigrated, settling on Long Island. But on the other hand, the Puritans of Virginia having asked for faithful ministers to be sent, and three having gone south from Massachusetts, Governor Berkeley insisted on conformity to the episcopal system and the prayer-book, and so punished them that they returned to the Bay.

It was, therefore, with a clear understanding that the "New England way" was illegal according to English law, and was distasteful to most English Puritans, that the four colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Newhaven and Connecticut confederated, and Winslow was appointed one of the eight Commissioners. They refused to take in Rhode Island and Providence, and the

excluded settlers sent Williams home to guard their interests. In March, 1644, he procured a charter from the Parliamentary Commission which had succeeded to Charles' Commission for Plantations, and brought it back with an official letter to Massachusetts, commending his work among the Indians, and deploring their exclusive policy.

At this time Winslow was Governor of the Old Colony for a third time. It is to be noted that his policy was to decentralize and to promote new settlements. In his former terms the townships of Scituate, Duxbury, Marshfield and Taunton had been incorporated. This time Bridgewater was planted from Duxbury, and Nauset was recognized, an offshoot from Plymouth, presently to be known as Eastham. More interesting yet was to be the case of a daughter church of Weymouth, organized under Samuel Newman at Seekonk. The practical abilities of Winslow were more and more widely recognized. Since the Pequod War of 1637, self-defence had become important. And at the close of his third term of office as governor, he was appointed President of the Council of War. This indicates the confidence felt in him by the other colonies, and prepared the way for him to act for them on the wider field of Old England, where he spent the next nine years.

5. COLONIAL AGENT, COMMONWEALTH COMMISSIONER.

The errand on which Winslow was sent to England raised great constitutional questions. There were three separate cases, the first being Gorton's appeal home against his local banishments. The second arose at Scituate in the Old Colony. William Vassall was a charter-magistrate of Massachusetts, but found himself so out of touch with the predominant party that he removed hither. Hence he sent a petition to the General Courts of both colonies that they would abolish the new local peculiarities in civil and church estate, and would abide wholly by the laws of England. Winslow wrote to Winthrop in November, 1645, that in the Old Colony motion had been made "to allow and maintain full and free tolerance of religion to all men that would preserve the civil peace and submit unto government." The motion found much support, but Bradford actually refused to put it! The third case arose at Hingham in Massachusetts, on an issue concerning Winslow as president of the Council of War. The townsmen chose a captain, whom the magistrates of the colony disallowed. The town was firm, the magistrates arrested and fined the leaders repeatedly, and at last fined the minister. The town then forcibly resisted, and appealed home to the Parliament, setting forth local laws of 1641 and 1642 as repugnant to the laws of England. Moreover, there were Baptists at Hingham, who were liable to banishment under a law of 1644. As the law was due to the activities

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of Roger Williams, he published in London a discussion of the Bloody Tenet of Persecution for Conscience. And thus much attention was being given in England to the intolerance of Massachusetts.

The movements now coalesced, and seven prominent men presented a petition to the General Court of Massachusetts, asking for an extension of the franchise, for a wider door into the churches, and for leave to embody new churches according to the best reformation of England and Scotland. The petition closed with formal notice that were it rejected, application would be made to Parliament.

It is to be borne in mind that the civil constitution was most oligarchic. Massachusetts with a population of about 15,000, had only admitted 1,708 citizens in all, of whom many had emigrated in disgust. The Old Colony with about 3,000 people had only 230 voters. In Massachusetts the franchise was avowedly confined to church members, and the ministers now presented to the Court a bill requiring each church to send messengers to a Synod which should determine a uniform practice for all churches; in deference to the protests of the deputies, the call was softened into a request. This went out, specifying in particular the questions of baptism, church-membership, and an order of government and discipline. And because "Plimoth, Connecticut, and Newe Haven" were civilly confederated, the invitation was extended to the churches in those colonies also. For this kind of action there was the important precedent of the Long Parliament, which, to its own committee of ten lords and twenty commoners, had added a number of divines chosen by the Commons from all parts of the country. This Westminster Assembly had under skilful Scotch manipulation drafted a scheme of church government on Presbyterian lines, a directory for ordination, a confession of faith, and was considering two catechisms with a psalm-book. Parliament had adopted most of these, with amendments, and in March, 1646, had ordained that that system be put in operation. So Massachusetts had every reason to think that a uniform plan was in line with most Puritan desires, though the probable New England plan was likely to differ widely from the Westminster plan.

It took months to overcome the opposition of Hingham, Salem, and Boston, but in September a fortnight's session was held, when a Committee was appointed to draft a plan of church government. One member was Ralph Partridge of Duxbury in the Old Colony; a second was Cotton, the antagonist of Roger Williams in the matter of persecution; and the third was Richard Mather, joint author of the Bay Psalm Book, author of a plan of government, a man whom Plymouth church had vainly tried to secure as pastor.

Even while the Synod was sitting, a shock was received by the General Court. Gorton and his friends had already laid complaint

about its action against him, before the Commissioners for Plantations, a board of six lords and twelve commoners appointed to supervise all the colonies. This board had already advised that all men should enjoy their liberty of conscience, and it now furnished Gorton and his friends with an order to Massachusetts to allow them free passage, and to send answer to their complaints.

It was in this situation that Winslow was asked by Massachusetts to go to England and watch the interests of the majority party, which was determined upon uniformity and intolerance. There is nothing to show that he felt any reluctance in accepting the invitation. One of the appellants bluntly said that his object was to uphold the church franchise. And it is regrettable that all the confederated colonies joined in defraying his expenses. Winslow was furnished with instructions, and after conference with the ministers, the magistrates agreed that no appeal to England was permissible; some appellants were arrested, their papers were confiscated, and others were fined. Yet, before the year was out, two appellants got away to England, as well as Winslow. He speedily published a case against Gorton under the title, "Hypocrisie Unmasked." It has an interesting supplement with anecdotes as to the church at Leyden which has become far better known than the main work. For while his earlier pamphlets had given an excellent and graphic account of the adventures at first settling in New England, this supplement told, for the first time, something about the earlier history of that group of emigrants to which Winslow himself had belonged, the church at Leyden.

The appellants had strong sympathizers on many sides; the brother of one of them was on the Commission for Plantations whose authority was defied by Massachusetts, the minister of Hingham was of the Presbyterian type and could confidently look to both Assembly and Parliament, while a third had a brother in the army, who in April, 1647, published a lively account of the amazing proceedings in Massachusetts. Winslow replied within six weeks, and tacitly admitted nearly all that was alleged. He apparently relied really upon a military revolution that favoured him. Since Parliament had agreed with the captive Charles to establish Presbyterianism for three years, and was ready to disband most of the army without paying its arrears, therefore the army seized Charles, marched on London and secured the expulsion of eleven leaders from parliament. With this transfer of power to the Independents, it was easy for Winslow to secure from the Commission for Plantations an acknowledgment that they would encourage appeals from the colonies, and that what they had done in Gorton's case was not a precedent to limit the local jurisdiction. Ten months later he was able to report that he had defeated the appeal of the petitioners from the Old Colony and Massachusetts.

Under these circumstances the Synod which reassembled in August, 1648, shelved the awkward questions of baptism and Church-membership, concentrating on government. The draft by Partridge of Duxbury was rejected, and much authority on matters of religion was given to the magistrates. With tact the doctrinal Confession of the Westminster Assembly was adopted, and the Synod dispersed. The Massachusetts Court approved the Platform of government. The records of the Old Colony do not state whether any action was taken there, and we can only note that its twelve churches had been represented at each session, that they are not known to have objected, and that they did in practice fall into line. They thus committed themselves to the propositions that the form of church government "is one, immutable, and prescribed in the word of God," "only congregational," "the ordinary power of government belonging only to the elders," "the magistrate is to see (that the) ministry be duly provided for," that members of the church could be "born in the same," that separation was unlawful and sinful, as also abstinence from the sacraments, that magistrates "have power to call a Synod," to punish "idolatry, blasphemy, heresy, venting corrupt and pernicious opinions that destroy the foundation, open contempt of the word preached, prophanation of the Lord's day, disturbing the peaceable administration and exercise of the worship and holy things of God, and the like," and to coerce any church that "shall grow schismatical, rending itself from the communion of other churches."

Long before the Massachusetts Court had approved this Platform, it had taken other action as here indicated. At Seekonk in the Old Colony, John Clarke and Mark Luther had baptized thirteen or fourteen people, as Roger Williams wrote to Winthrop, in 1649. The Court promptly sent to the Old Colony and begged that steps be taken to suppress errors. The magistrates did prosecute, and this place was again found to give no room to those who offended Massachusetts. In this action the ministers of the Old Colony were involved, as well as the whole church of Taunton, formed in 1640 by immigrants from the west of England.

Winslow in England was putting up another ambiguous record. That same year he published "The Glorious Progress of the Gospel," emphasizing the fine work done among the Indians by the Independents, especially since 1646 by John Eliot. This was very politic, for by this time the Independents had seized power. But who would have guessed from one grudging line naming no man, that Roger Williams had been working among the Indians for years before, and that he actually had published two books on the matter in 1643 and 1645?

A fine result was that in July the Rump Parliament chartered the Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England, and before long, under its president, William Steele (a Baptist

awyer who rose to be chancellor), funds were gathered from the universities, the parishes, the regiments, which secured an endowment of nearly £600 a year.

Winslow's activity before the Commission for the Colonies brought him into notice as an able man of business; and his support of the cause of missions gave a reputation in other quarters. President Steele wrote that, though he desired to return to his family, he was too valuable to be spared from England. Earnest of this was given by his appointment to the Committee for Compounding, and when this was recast in 1650 with larger functions, he was assigned a salary of £300, as much as Massachusetts had paid him for his four years' work on its behalf. That year he obtained leave to export munitions for the colonies; but next year he had to warn the Old Colony that the Commission for Plantations was awaiting an answer to its orders.

He bought a fine library belonging to Jenner, to augment the books of Harvard. His status as representative for the Confederate Colonies was recognized in that he was used by Parliament to circulate in New England a thousand copies of a pamphlet, telling of the "crowning mercy" at Worcester in 1651. Next year he arranged to supply the navy with timber and other materials previously obtained from the Baltic. In return he applied for confirmation of the ancient grant to the Old Colony of the strip fifteen miles on each side the Kennebec, where his brother had been the resident agent.

When the Nominated Parliament met in July, 1653, he became involved in another unpleasant matter. An old man named William Witter had settled at Lynn in Massachusetts. Since 1643 he had been a Baptist, and was in membership with the church at Newport in Rhode Island. As he was blind and unable to go thither, the church sent three brethren to visit him, John Clarke, the pastor, John Crandall and Obadiah Holmes, once of Didsbury. While holding service in his home on a Sunday, they were arrested, obliged to attend the Standing Order church worship in the afternoon, carried off to Boston, examined most irregularly. They were sentenced to fine or whipping; the fines of two were paid quietly by others, but Holmes was flogged.

The scandal outside Massachusetts was great.

Roger Williams appealed to the governor to grant toleration, in vain; Clarke published an account in England which compelled the minister of Lynn to reply. It is something to Winslow's credit that he did not intervene directly. His action was to put out an accurate reprint of the Cambridge Platform, superseding an unauthorized and inaccurate reprint; it will be remembered that this closes with a clear assertion of the magistrates' right to coerce. But behind the scenes he was leagued with Hazelrigge and others, seeking to thwart the confirmation of the charter which Clarke

had obtained for Rhode Island. This we learn from a letter by Roger Williams, who was staying with Sir Henry Vane, the erstwhile champion of liberty in Massachusetts.

With April, 1653, there had come a second military revolution, when Cromwell in person expelled the Rump of the Long Parliament, and with the advice of his officers appointed an interim Council of State, which on 1st July reduced the Committee on Indemnity to four members, dropping Winslow. Apparently he was not in favour with the grandees of the Army; while the Nominated Parliament sat, from July to December, he seems to have held no office; whereas in June he had been using influence with the Navy Commissioners to obtain the place of Clerk of the Check for one Langley. But his knowledge as to colonial affairs was used in October, when he was summoned to give evidence as to the relations between the Dutch and the natives of New England.

In December a new constitution was adopted, and Cromwell was installed as Lord Protector. A commission on compounding was set up, and on 25th January, 1654, Winslow was added to this, being made also, in June, a commissioner for sequestrations at £300 a year. These appointments betoken that he was recognized as a good man of business and figures. But whereas it has been said that he was entrusted by Cromwell with important posts, it must be noted that these were quite minor administrative offices, that his name never occurs in all Cromwell's letters; and that he was not made a member of the Commission for Trade and Plantations, though there is a trace of his being concerned in an arbitration between Massachusetts and Rhode Island. The only other work he was offered was to value the ships seized and destroyed by the King of Denmark.

6. GOVERNOR OF A NEW COLONY ?

The last chapter in Winslow's life is connected with a spirited foreign policy, and takes us to the West Indies.

Under papal grant and treaty with Portugal, Spain steadily claimed everything beyond 370 leagues west of Cape Verde. The first actual English settlement had been in Virginia, far from the Spanish towns; yet the Spanish had seriously considered stamping it out, and it was only on the evidence of John Clarke, afterwards pilot on the *Mayflower*, as to its not having any gold, that they decided to leave it alone as a harmless safety-valve. Since then the Bermudas and Bahamas had been claimed, nearer to Cuba, the headquarters of the Spanish Council of the Indies; and in 1625 there began systematic attempts at settlement in the lesser Antilles. The Spanish were stirred by these invasions, and cleared St. Christopher. When the displaced English went to Providence

Island, off the Mosquito coast, they followed them up, and rooted out the intruders by 1641.

To the general strife there was one marked exception: the coral island of Barbadoes, claimed by James for twenty years, was actually settled in 1625, and was never attacked. As the civil wars developed in England, the colonies were perturbed, and Barbadoes held by the crown, becoming a royalist stronghold, with fifty thousand inhabitants. But when the parliamentary forces won at home, the little island was easily brought to heel by the politic action of Ayscue, backed by a strong squadron. At one time Winslow was considered as a possible governor for it, but it came to be regarded in a rather new light. Instead of being valued solely for its sugar, it was converted almost into the first of the convict plantations. Men were sent to Barbadoes because they were a trouble at home, and because once on the island they could not easily get away. They were really military prisoners, some of them at hard labour, especially those from Ireland.

Hitherto there had been little attempt to work out a colonial policy, and view the Atlantic problems as a whole. There were isolated settlements, on islands or on mainland, with different types of government. With peace restored in England, the time arrived for a connected view to be taken, and for an overseas empire to be founded. Cromwell equipped two fleets which sailed with sealed orders; one under Blake, one under Penn, the vice-admiral. On this second fleet sailed Winslow.

From the beginning there were ill omens. The vice-admiral had actually offered this very year to carry the fleet over to Charles, being already involved in those intrigues which had the one happy result that as a reward his son was afterwards given a huge proprietary province between Maryland and the Jerseys, still bearing the name Pennsylvania. The land-general, Robert Venables, despite five years of good service in Ireland, was second-rate in ability, and is labelled by Carlyle as covetous and lazy. There were two veteran regiments, but there were also some new forces, levied out of the discontented classes who were good fighters, and whose absence would strengthen Cromwell's government.

Winslow was the chief of three Civil Commissioners, whose business would begin when the naval and military forces had succeeded, and there was a new territory to govern. For a new colonial policy seems to have been thought out. Spain had actual possession of vast territories, Mexico and Peru, with no definite boundaries, and she claimed everything. In practice she held islands in the Gulf of Mexico, and had established a strong fort at Saint Augustine in Florida as early as 1565; but had no settlement further north.

Cromwell now came to the conclusion that the mere harrying and raiding which had been frequent was futile. He decided to

make a deliberate capture of some of the Spanish islands in the West Indies, and fixed upon Hispaniola as the first objective. This was the second largest in the group, just east of Cuba, and had developed a flourishing sugar industry, worked by negro slaves imported from Africa to replace the natives who had died under the forced labour. If this became another of the British island colonies, a flourishing trade might be developed. And from Hispaniola it might be possible to reach out towards Cuba itself, where the Council of the Indies sat at Havana, and annex all the island-empire of Spain.

While these plans were concealed from the world at large, Winslow's commission to govern the expected conquest was made out on 12th December, and he, at least, must have had some knowledge of what was in view, even if his comprehension of the New World had not framed the scheme. His practical experience came out promptly. He knew the awful mortality among the first settlers at Plymouth, and the importance of Samuel Fuller the surgeon. So in January, apparently after the expedition had left Portsmouth, he wrote asking for an apothecary to be put aboard the *Little Charity*. A captain who for the last three years had been taking the new *Mayflower* to Boston, bearing supplies for Eliot's work among the Indians, and bringing back masts, received fresh orders. He had gone in January to Barbadoes, thence up to Boston. Here he contracted for provisions and arms to take down to the "Governor of Hispaniola," as it was hoped Winslow would be, when he could reach there.

Well out at sea, the orders were opened, and Penn knew whither he was dispatched. The sixty vessels sailed for Barbadoes, which was thronged with sturdy fighters transported thither to give peace to the Commonwealth. Five thousand of these were enlisted, making up the land forces to a creditable army. But it could hardly be esteemed experienced, or particularly attached to its general. So when Penn brought the fleet to San Domingo where Drake had landed, Venables shrank from repeating his exploit, and attacking the town direct. After some reconnoitring, the forces were put ashore sixty miles from the capital, and proceeded to march through the forests in a heat quite new to most of them. Falling into an ambuscade, they were panic-stricken and fled back to the shore and the fleet, infected with fever, and beat a shameful retreat aboard.

Pestilence raged through the ships, carrying off two hundred daily, and on 8th May Edward Winslow died, in the sixtieth year of his age. Had he lived to see Jamaica captured, he might have figured among the founders of two colonies. But it was his ill hap to pass away in the very wreck of the expedition, and it was their ill fate to lose the only man who had any experience of settlement and administration, and who could have fulfilled

Cromwell's hopes of bringing down settlers from New England to populate the island. Captain Webber, direct from Boston with supplies, was carried off too, and so dramatically the great Pilgrim Father and the last link with the *Mayflower* passed away together.

7. CHARACTER.

The career of Edward Winslow shows the possibilities of the yeoman class realized almost to the full. It reveals the powers latent in the English stock, trained for one or two generations in rural management, and proving equal to developing a new land, organizing local self-government, negotiating with rulers, administering a conquered province.

To estimate the man, we must measure him against men of his own time and origin and function. He has been compared with Bradford and Brewster; in so far as they were weaver and postmaster, while he was printer, the comparison is just. But their plans were petty, their horizon was parochial, they lived and died within a mile of Plymouth Rock. On the other hand, they did try to impress the fine tradition from John Robinson on the Colony, whereas Winslow became the willing agent of intolerance. And while he appreciated the openings for missionary work among the natives, and did no little to further them, he was not just in ignoring the pioneer work of Roger Williams; there seems grounds to suspect some personal feeling. His treatment of the natives was, however, creditable, even before Williams appeared on the scene. He displayed honesty, bravery, ability to negotiate. Though there was a century of Spanish tradition that natives were to be enslaved, he dealt with them as free, and as owners of the soil.

He was the only Pilgrim Father to publish anything beyond a sermon. His writings have two great merits, historical and practical. He gives an account of the last few years at Leyden, including the farewell address of Robinson: in 1622 a large part of the long Journal of the voyage, arrival, building of New Plymouth, and the relation of the early discoveries: in 1624 a further long account of subsequent proceedings, with a description of the country and of the natives. He also initiated public records, and drew up for them a historical preface, which seems quite overlooked in England. All this was done fifteen years before Bradford followed his example and began to compose his manuscript "History of Plimoth Plantation." And it must be plainly said that undue attention has been given to this later work, since its publication in 1856, which has given the very mistaken impression that the Old Colony was due to the Scrooby group. The only family from Scrooby at Plymouth was Brewster's; most from Scrooby and district were followers of Smyth; most who went to Plymouth were, like Winslow, later adherents of Robinson from many parts of England, of

which the coast from Yarmouth to Sandwich was predominant ; and the whole Leyden element was swamped within twenty years by other immigrants into the Old Colony.

Many men can write history who cannot make it ; but Winslow had vision and energy. He was one of the promoters of the emigration, a leading explorer, negotiator with the natives and new settlers ; it was he who imported stores, developed trade, opened outposts far away, fostered new towns, advised the occupation of Massachusetts Bay, systematized the administration of the Old Colony, leagued it with the newer and greater, formally initiated the confederacy of New England, successfully ensured practical independence of England, whether king or parliament. He was the only colonial who won confidence at home ; he was chosen to be the link between the tropical and the temperate settlements, economically the complements one of another. While narrow-minded statesmen at home were meditating Navigation laws in imitation of Spain to monopolize colonial trade, he was fostering intercolonial commerce. His untimely death stifled the project, or rather its legality, for by stealth it always went on. Not till 1920 was a treaty actually made to regulate that flow of exchange which he foresaw, and was beginning to develop.

Compare him with other colonial statesmen. The senior colony of Virginia produced nobody more important than a Wyatt ; the stronger colony of Massachusetts had a Winthrop, educated at Cambridge and the Temple, but he achieved not so much as the man who at best had been at a provincial grammar school. The one man worth comparing is Sir Henry Vane, the younger. This man started with great advantages, son of a courtier, trained at Westminster and Oxford, on the embassies to Vienna, Leyden and Geneva. Winslow and Vane both emigrated to secure the free practice of their religion, they became governors of adjoining colonies in the same year ; they took opposite sides on the question of granting the free practice of their religion to others. Winslow won, Vane lost, and, therefore, returned to fight the same battle at home. In the great questions of war and of the English constitution, Vane played a prominent part, while Winslow never was called upon even to express an opinion. But after the king's defeat and capture, the two men clashed once again on the question of toleration, when for the second time Winslow won the round. A third time their destinies were entwined, for the navy which bore out Winslow as governor-elect of Hispaniola, owed its splendid equipment to Vane as the chief commissioner. The contrast leaves the impression that if the Worcestershire farmer could have given his son the early advantages that the Essex knight gave to his, Winslow could have held his own on the wider stage. On the other hand, the man who for three years had been in contact with John Robinson, shows poorly beside the antagonist of Laud and of Baillie.

Yet there is more to say. Winslow in his last phase was commissioned to uphold the ideals of England against those of Spain. The exact cause of quarrel was that Spain would permit neither freedom of navigation and commerce, nor freedom of worship. Had he actually taken up duty as governor of Hispaniola, and become in natural sequence governor of all British possessions in those seas, he would have found himself once again, as in the days of Leyden, champion of liberty, on a field wider than Vane ever saw. It was ill fate that prevented him removing the one blot on his career, and rounding off his life-work as striving alike for freedom of the seas, freedom of the individual, freedom of conscience.

THE DESCENDANTS OF THE WINSLOWS.

Edward Winslow senior, of Droitwich and Kempsey, has descendants in both hemispheres bearing his name to-day. The children of Richard, his heir, at Kempsey, indeed died out, leaving no Winslows of his stock in England by 1720. But Governor Edward arranged a marriage for his son Josiah with Penelope Pelham of Bures, and it was in connection with this wedding that a portrait was painted in 1651, on a copy of which figures a coat-of-arms and a motto. If there ever was any authority for these, it was ignored at the Restoration, and the College of Arms disclaims any grant at all. The Winslows were not "esquires" or "gentlemen"; only yeomen at the best, and to say that Edward, "of old and honourable lineage, surrendered wealth and position and forsook his property near Droitwich," is to accumulate blunder upon blunder. What he did was to found a family. Josiah became governor in his turn; his son Isaac held many important posts in Massachusetts; his son John entered the army, took part in the attack on Cuba in 1740, and in the capture of Tonisbourg in Nova Scotia. Just after his death the quarrel between the colonies and the mother-country came to a head, and some of his children took each side. The soldiers sided with England, and from their stock are descended such men as Octavius Winslow, the Baptist D.D., with his brother, Forbes Benignus Winslow, a specialist in lunacy, whose work was extended by his son Forbes Winslow. There was also a Boston branch, senior to this. But it seems to have been outshone by the descendants of Edward's brothers, John, Kenelm and Josiah, which have ramified extensively in Massachusetts.

W. T. WHITLEY, LL.D.

“The Lineage of Locusts”

AMONG the early Puritan tracts included in “Part of a Register” (1593) is one entitled “A View of Antichrist, his lawes and ceremonies, in our English Church Unreformed.” It is believed to be the work of Anthony Gilby, and to have been printed in 1570: but no original copy exists. From this tract is taken, with some omissions and changes that are not improvements, the following undated Broadsheet. It was probably issued about 1640. The British Museum Pressmark is 669 f. 4. 21.

Heading :

L.H. The Pope seated, charged by a Unicorn which pushes off his crown.

R.H. The Pope erect holding a torch, three dwarfish figures worshipping him.

Come, come all you that are with Rome offended,
Come now and heare from whence the Pope descended.

THE LINEAGE OF LOCUSTS

OR

THE POPE'S PEDEGREE.

Beginning with his prime ancestor the Divell, plainly set forth, to be noted of all good | Christians and true Catholicks, for the avoiding of those subtill snares | continually layd for them by his insinuating Agents.

THE PEDEGREE.

- L.H. 1. THE Divell begat darknesse.
 2. And darknesse begat ignorance.
 3. And ignorance begat error and his brethren.
 4. And error and his brethren begat free-will and selfe love.
 5. And selfe love begat merits.
 6. And merits begat forgetfulness of Gods Grace.
 7. And forgetfulness of Gods Grace begat mistrust.
 8. And mistrust begat satisfaction.
 9. And satisfaction begat sacrifice of the Masse.

“The Lineage of Locusts”

221

10. And sacrifice of the Masse begat Popish priest-hood.
11. And Popish priest-hood begat prayer for the dead.
12. And prayer for the dead begat sacriledge of soules.
13. And sacriledge of soules begat superstition.
14. And superstition begat hypocrisie the king.

And these are foureteene Generations.

1. AND hypocrisie the king begat lucre.
2. And lucre begat purgatory.
3. And purgatory begat foundation of irreligious houses.
4. And foundation of irreligious houses begat patrimonie of the Church.
5. And patrimonie of the Church begat mammon of iniquity.
6. And mammon of iniquity begat abundance.
7. And abundance begat crueltie.
8. And cruelty begat domination.
9. And domination begat pompe.
10. And pompe begat ambition.
11. And ambition begat intrusion into the Church right.
12. And intrusion into the Church right begat symonie.
13. And simonie begat universall superintendence.
14. And universall superintendence begat the Pope, the Cardinalls and all his brethren.

And these are fourteen generations, in the transmigration of abomination.

1. AND the Pope begat mysterie of iniquity.
2. And the mystery of iniquity begat divine sophistrie.
- R.H. 3. And divine sophistrie begat rejection of the Scriptures.
4. And rejection of the Scriptures begat tyranny.
5. And tyranny begat murder of the Saints.
6. And murder of the Saints begat the despising of God.
7. And the despising of God begat dispensation.
8. And dispensation begat licence to sinne.
9. And licence to sinne begat abomination.
10. And abomination begat confusion.
11. And confusion begat travell in the spirit.
12. And travell in the spirit begat disputation.
13. And disputation begat matter to write of:

By which writing the sonne of perdition Antichrist specified in so many places of scripture was revealed.

“The Lineage of Locusts”

THE PROTESTANTS CONCLUSION.

The Pope, himselfe (the simple to beguile)
Servum servorem Dei doth instile,
 The servant of God's servants, who (we finde)
 To seeme his masters better is inclin'd.
 Christ humble was, humility requiring,
 The Pope is proud to honour still aspiring,
 Christ was content to weare a crown of thornes,
 But the Popes head a crowne of gold adornes,
 A triple crowne which hardly him sufficeth,
 But of his foule ambition what ariseth?
Hunc capit infernus, quem deserit ordo supernus.
 Forsaken by the Quire supernall
 Hee's taken by the friends infernall,
 For let false Catholicks say what they can
 Hee's neither God nor angell, nor a man,
 But a prodigious beast, a monster fell,
 With all his brood hatch'd or begot in hell,
 And so I leave him.

State Prayers—from the Niblock Collection

(Continued from Vol. VIII ; p. 146.)

(XIV) *A Prayer for all the Reformed Churches.*

[*This first appeared in the Service appointed for a Fast Day on June 5th, 1698, "to Implore the Blessing of Almighty God upon their Majesties' Forces by Sea and Land, and Success in the War now declared against the French King." It recurs, with some variations, and lately with more or less abridgment, in most of the Fast Day Services from this date to the Peace of Utrecht.*]

O God, the Father of Mercies, who of thy great goodness hast united us into the mystical body of Christ (that is his Church), we as living members thereof, mourning with them that mourn and rejoicing with them that rejoyce, do now present our Supplications and Prayers at the throne of Grace in behalf of all the Reformed Churches ; beseeching thee to look down with an eye of mercy and pity upon the sad and mournful estate of such of them whom thou hast delivered over to the hands of superstitious and merciless men, [who have compell'd so many of them to defile themselves with their Idolatrous worship : stretch out thine arm against those deceitful and bloody men ;] suffer them not still to triumph over thy heritage. [How long, Lord, shall thine anger burn for ever ? How long wilt thou forget thy people that prayeth ? O let the cry of the blood of thy saints, and the sighing of the

prisoners, come before thee. Deliver thou those that are as sheep appointed for the slaughter. Hear us, O God, for thy mercy's sake, and for the honour of thy Great Name. Plead thy cause with them that blaspheme thy truth, and persecute thy people,] that so all men may say Verily there is a God that judgeth in the earth. †Purge all thy churches from their dregs, and make them meet for a glorious deliverance; that so all the world may see the Salvation of our God, and that though he hides his face from his people for a season, yet he will not cast them off utterly. Grant that thy true Religion may so shine as to become the joy of the whole earth; and that all Antichristian Idolatry, Superstition, and cruelty being cast out of thy house, all that name the name of Christ may depart from iniquity, and walk worthy of their holy profession, that the kingdom of thy dear Son may come quickly; and that, all his enemies being made his footstool, he who is the Lord of lords and King of kings may reign to all the ends of the earth: to whom, with thee, O Father, and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory for evermore. Amen.

[In Queen Anne's time the portions in brackets are omitted and all from † is much altered and abridged.]

EDITORIAL

OUR Annual Meeting was held at the Memorial Hall on May 10th, 1922 ; in the absence of Dr. Nightingale the chair was taken by Rev. W. Pierce.

The retiring officers were re-appointed ; but the Editorial Secretary intimated his desire to be relieved of his responsibilities at an early date after the next issue of " Transactions." The appointment of his successor was referred to the Autumn Meeting.

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An instructive paper on " The Morisonian Controversy " was read by Rev. M. D. Kirkpatrick : to whom a hearty vote of thanks was accorded, with a request that the paper might be published in our forthcoming " Transactions."

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Since the commencement of the year our society has suffered the loss by death of both its former presidents. On January 16th, Rev. John Brown, D.D., formerly of Bedford, departed this life at the venerable age of ninety-two. His pastoral labours alone would have entitled him to honourable mention, but it is by the fruits of his Historical research that he will be best and longest remembered. His *Life of Bunyan* can never be superseded, and his *History of The Pilgrim Fathers of New England* has long been recognized as a standard work on both sides of the Atlantic. His Yale Lectures on *Puritan Preaching in England*, and his Congregational Lectures on *Apostolic Succession*, are of permanent value ; and several minor works deserve respectful recognition. His interest in our Society was deep and lasting, and he rarely missed one of our meetings until he was disabled by infirmity.

* * * *

Sir John D. McClure, LL.D., Mus.D., presided at the earliest meetings of our society, but gave place to Dr. Brown in May, 1903. In 1891 he had undertaken the Head Mastership of Mill Hill School, which was then in a pitiable state of depression, the number of boys having declined from 180 (in 1880) to sixty-one. Under his management, at once vigorous and genial, it soon began to revive ; in 1907, the boys numbered 260 ; and by the end of last year the total was little short of 300. Sir John died after a few days illness, on February 18th, in his sixty-third year.

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The Morisonian Controversy

DISSENT in Scotland has had other characteristics than dissent in England. In Scotland it has been ecclesiastical rather than theological. The religious struggles of its people have turned mainly on the polity of the Church, its constitution, government, rights; hardly ever on the doctrines it has professed and taught. "There are two Kings and two Kingdoms in Scotland," said Melville to the King, "There is Christ Jesus the King and His Kingdom the Kirk, whose subject James the Sixth is, and of whose Kingdom no King, or head, or lord, but a member." That was the idea that inspired Knox and Henderson and their associates. The principle expressed in the motto that gleamed on the blue banner of the Covenant, upheld by the men who fought at Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge and died on the Moors of the West, or in the Grassmarket of Edinburgh, was ecclesiastical. It was for Ecclesiastical freedom and right the Erskines contended, and in vindication of the same the Secession and Relief Churches were formed. The Free Church of Scotland is built on a political principle, and has no testimony to bear which transcends the sphere of Ecclesiastical theory and action. There has always been intenser passion for polity, than for doctrine. In no other land has there been the same strange co-existence of theological uniformity with ecclesiastical difference, sects and churches multiplying while adhering to the same creed and teaching the same doctrines.

Now, ecclesiastical nonconformity has been to the Scotch people a signal good. They owe to it their political progress and freedom, the keen interest in politics, as well as the almost scientific grasp of their problems which distinguishes them. But think what it must have meant when its distinctive doctrines were questioned or denied. Here and there the frozen forms of thought seemed to liquefy in the warm sunshine of intense evangelical enthusiasm—as, for example, the Marrow Men, the Seceder Fathers, and the Congregational Missionaries; but the recognized and acknowledged national theology did not cease to be represented by a "confession" that teaches that "God has foreordained whatsoever comes to pass," has elected some to everlasting life, predestinated others to everlasting death, and has made the numbers in each case so "certain and definite" that increase and decrease are alike impossible. Man is born with his destiny fixed. Those for whom Christ died must be saved, those for whom He did not die must be lost. The redeemed are effectually called by

the Spirit ; the rest of mankind, denied his effectual operations, are left to perish in their sins. These were the doctrines that obtained in Scotland in the middle of last century, and still remain as the foundation of the Presbyterian Churches, though the popular and practical theology taught in its pulpits is better and freer than the national creed.

Few systems have been so successful in presenting God in a character offensive to sensitive and reflective minds.

We know, for example, how it sent thinkers like Rosseau, sick of artificial thoughts and systems, to praise the state and religion of nature ; or how it contributed to the subtle scepticism of Hume, supplying him with subjects and seasoning for his ironical humour ; or how the Calvinist teacher led Gibbon from Rome to cynical scepticism ; or its responsibility for the Atheism of Shelley expressed in "Queen Mab," where he sketches the only God his childhood had known. It was the merciless theology of Jonathan Edwards that made Channing, and with him much of New England, Unitarian. The Calvinism of Newton and the English Evangelicals contributed to the later and sadder depression of Cowper, which made him live in despondency and die in despair ; drove the sensitive soul of Charlotte Brontë almost to madness ; paved the way in the Church of England for the recoil from Evangelicalism to Ritualism on the one hand, and so-called Rationalism on the other, as is confessed by two representative men—John Henry Newman, who fled to the Church of Rome, and Francis William Newman, who wandered into the bleak uplands of naked Theism. The brothers Wilberforce became, the one an easy convert to Rome, the other a leading High Churchman ; the brothers Froude followed the brothers Newman, and as the outcome of a theology that had no conception of beneficence and love. It was under the shadow of such a system of thought that my fathers dwelt, dreading lest the decrees of God did not ordain their salvation, and fearful lest the Divine Spirit should never strive with them. I can remember the tale told at my own fireside of how the mother-heart felt when a child was taken, lest being the child of an unbelieving parent it should be denied a place among the angels who behold the Master's face.

It was into such a world of thought that James Morison was ordained. We sometimes say that when God has a work to do, He always provides the man to do it. It was so in this conflict. John Knox had freed the land from Papal and priestly tyranny, Ebenezer Erskine had given church patronage its mortal wound, Thomas Chalmers had called the land to a new venture for God, The Haldanes had cried aloud, "Ye must be born again" ; but still there was a want ; the doctrine of unconditional election, as I have said, brooded like a terrifying nightmare over the Church

of the most religious people in the world. A man was needed; and, in the providence of God a man arose.

James Morison was licensed to preach the Gospel in the Spring of 1839. He gave promise of great scholarship, which those familiar with his later work of exposition regard as amply fulfilled. But his conception of the evangel was to be determined not in the Academy, but in contact with men. His earliest preaching appointments led him to discover that, with all his academic accomplishments, he had not yet found "the one thing needful" for preacher and hearer—the "knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus." So real was this consciousness in young Morison, that he actually began to fear there was some serious defect in his experience. Like many another, while he had been deeply studying theology as a science, he had never thought it necessary to bring these studies to bear upon his own heart, or the state of his soul before God. To speak figuratively, the divergent lines of the parabola approached one another at the Cross, and the earnest student of divinity found in the simple scriptural theology to which the needs of men drove him back, that which bathed his soul in bliss.

My narrative, gentlemen, must necessarily at this point be of a personal character. Morison had accepted a call to Clerk's Lane Secession Church, Kilmarnock, but not before he had discovered that Christ had died for all and therefore for him. The lines converged and met which had been kept distinct before. Theology and religion met in the conversion of the soul. It was the knowledge of God as a Saviour, that made men good. He had thought it to be his chief duty, as a minister, to expound the Word of God, *seriatim*, from Genesis to Revelation; but now he saw that there was *one truth* more excellent than all the others and to which all others did obeisance, as the sheaves of Joseph's brethren.

The Church at Kilmarnock to which Morison was invited, let me note, was one of the best country vacancies in the Secession Church at the time. Before the union of 1822 it had belonged to that section of the Seceders who deemed it to be inconsistent with their conscientious convictions as dissenters to take the burgess oath, and were, therefore, called Anti-Burghers. It had enjoyed the ministry of two remarkable men whose fame travelled far beyond their own country—the Rev James Robertson and Dr. Ritchie. The former was author of a pamphlet on the "Death of Jesus Christ," which created considerable discussion in Ayrshire, and gave rise to Burns's "Kirk's Alarm," which was written as a satire on the Doctor's opponents.

Well, to this Church Morison was ordained on October 1st, 1840. He had taken the "trials" which every minister-elect under the Presbyterian system has to undergo at the hands of his future colleagues. These in his case were unusually severe, partly

because he came to the Presbytery with a high reputation for scholarship, but chiefly because of his discourse on the topic, "Can a Sinner do anything acceptable to God without the influence of the Holy Spirit?" The difference of opinion, however, was not marked as yet, and the "trials" were in the end sustained with high approbation. Between the date of the "trials" and that fixed for his ordination a tractate from his pen and bearing the title, "The Way of Salvation," made its appearance, and created a wide diversity of opinion. To some the statements seemed too strong, to others they were of a cognate character to the wild excitement of the early Methodists. Some of the fathers of the Presbytery felt constrained in all honesty of purpose to "deal" with their young brother before ordaining him, with a view to inducing him to withdraw the pamphlet or modify its statements.

On the day of the Ordination the first mutterings of the storm were plainly heard. When the time of service arrived there was no appearance of either Presbytery or Minister-elect. The overflowing congregation had learned that the Presbytery were meeting in the Session-house, and became indignant when they found that the young pastor was being exposed to a "heckling" as to his religious views. It was a curious scene that was being enacted in the Session-house. The cause of the offence was the tract which one of the Ministers had read in its entirety, while others had not even seen it. As a matter of fact they had gone upon hearsay evidence and rumour. At last Morison produced the pamphlet, and claimed boldly that the doctrines it promulgated were really those of his late teacher Professor John Brown. The matter was compromised by the Presbytery "enjoining Morison to be more guarded in his utterances and to suppress the tract." This he finally consented to do. But the thunderstorm was only postponed.

Fifty years before, the graphic and sarcastic pen of Robert Burns had made the world familiar with the fondness of Ayrshire artisans and rustics for theological discussions in connection with the case of Dr. McGill of Ayr; but a fresh, and in some respects, a healthier, proof of the same liking, was given in the case of James Morison of Kilmarnock. Indeed the public mind had been sharpened and prepared by great historic movements. The agitations about the not too remote Reform Bill had given occasion for many a keen debate. The voluntary controversy had whetted both the temper and the tongue of many a local Hampden, and the Great Chartist Movement had predisposed multitudes of the working classes to see similar inequalities in the National Creed and to welcome any divine who would sweep away the appearance of partiality and the "respect of persons" from the decrees of God.

In January, 1841, Morison published his third pamphlet, entitled "The Nature of the Atonement," which was to bring to a

head the secret agitation which had been conducted against him ever since his ordination by members of the Presbytery. During November and December, 1840, he had preached a series of sermons on the text I. John ii. 2, "He is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world." In these he had traversed the whole doctrine of the Atonement, and naturally had evoked a number of important questions from enquirers. To furnish a reply to these his pamphlet was written. It contains six sections. In the first five Morison confines himself to the negative aspect, and shows "what the Atonement is not," thus clearing the ground of ideas often confounded with it. The Atonement is not Pardon; it is not Justification; it is not Redemption; it is not Reconciliation; it is not the Payment of a Debt. "The Atonement is an expedient introduced into the divine moral government, consisting of the obedience unto death of Jesus Christ, which has completely removed all the obstacles standing between man and salvation, except the obstacles within him."

It must be noted that the view taken at this time by Morison, while modifying materially the high Calvinistic doctrine, must not be supposed to be as yet either professedly or in tendency Arminian. As Dr. Cairns remarks, "the Arminian controversy not only raised the old Pelagian question that God willed the salvation of all men *equally* by the death of Christ; but also that other which was at issue between Godeschaleus and his opponents, that Christ was not put to death for the *redemption* of the whole world, but only of those who are saved, viz., the predestinated. At least as far back as the Synod of Dort, probably much further, John Cameron asserted that while the elect are by an effectual and irrevocable calling saved through the death of Christ, the latter died for *all men*, with the intention that they might be invited and called to repentance." This view was warmly championed by many of the French Protestant theologians and many of the Reformed Churches. Morison could plead that his statement of the doctrine of the Atonement was practically that subscribed to by the Congregational and Baptist Churches, both in Britain and in America. Also in *some* respects, though not in *all* by Dr. John Brown, *clarum et venerabile nomen*, who, however, did not push his promises to their ultimate logical conclusion, while Morison did. (See Dr. Cairns' Memoir of Dr. John Brown.) The simplicity of the grand doctrines of Redemption was long obscured by a crowd of hair-splitting distinctions which rather tended to perplex than to persuade. In the hope of making clear those issues which had so long been darkened, Morison stated his views as they were related to the Atonement. His fate was the fate of all who are in advance of their time.

It is not surprising that the dissatisfaction of the Presbytery

grew so great that they appointed a committee to confer with Morison concerning his alleged errors in doctrine. The Committee met him twice at Irvine—on January 20th and February 16th, 1841. They could not agree. In March, 1841, he was summoned to meet the Presbytery in his own church at Clerk's Lane to answer to a charge of teaching doctrines inconsistent with the standards of the Secession Church, also to reply to a memorial addressed to the reverend Court by forty-one members of his congregation, who professed to be perplexed by the strange doctrines preached by their new pastor. Against this, a long Memorial was sent in by the Congregation, signed by four elders in the name of between 400 and 500 members, and nearly 200 adherents, intimating their entire satisfaction with Morison's teaching, and throwing out a broad hint, that if any attempt were made to interfere with their minister, the memorialists would withdraw from the jurisdiction of the Presbytery at once. At the Presbytery Meeting, the charges against him were drawn up in tabulated form by a sub-committee and centred round two points. (1) *The alleged* doctrinal errors regarding the Atonement, and how saving faith in its efficiency was made possible to each separate individual. (2) *Whether* Mr. Morison had been guilty of disingenuous conduct over the suppression of his first tract. The first charge was sub-divided into eight heads, dealing respectively with the various errors supposed to have been affirmed by Mr. Morison; viz.:

(a) *that the* object of saving faith to any person is the statement that Christ made Atonement for the sins of that person, as He made Atonement for the sins of the whole world; and that the seeing of this statement to be true is Saving faith, and gives the Assurance of Salvation.

(b) *that all* men were able of themselves to believe the Gospel unto Salvation, or in other words to put away unbelief, the only obstacle to salvation which the Atonement has not removed;

(c) *that no* person ought to be directed to pray for grace to help him to believe, even though he were an anxious sinner; and that no person's prayers could be of any avail till he believed unto salvation, which believing must immediately give knowledge that the person is saved;

(d) *that* repentance in Scripture meant only a change of mind, and was not godly sorrow for sin;

(e) *that* justification is not pardon, but is implied in pardon; that God pardons only in His character of Father and justifies only in the character of Judge—that justification is the expression of the fatherly favour of God;

(f) *that* Election comes in the order of nature after the Atonement;

(g) *that there* are in Mr. Morison's publications many expressions

unscriptural, unwarrantable, and calculated to depreciate the Atonement.

Morison answered the charges, but he stood absolutely alone. Only his aged father came from a distant Presbytery to stand by his son. It was proposed that he be admonished and suspended until he should retract his errors, and express sorrow for the offence given to his brethren. The resolution was carried, Morison protested, but "the Presbytery," to quote Dr. Adamson's account of the meeting, "took the case so thoroughly into their own hands that as far as possible they attempted to carry out their own sentence, being determined that they would have nothing to do with him whom they had condemned, that his mouth should be closed, and his pastoral work ended. At an after meeting of the Presbytery, held before the meeting of the Synod, they removed Mr. Morison's name from the roll as a member of the Presbytery, and gave the few who seceded from his Church the name of the Clerk's Lane Congregation. Such conduct was without precedent, and ran counter to the rules of their denomination and all ideas of justice."

Morison, as was to be expected, appealed to Cæsar. This separation from the Secession Church could not be complete until his appeal to the Synod had been disposed of. This was the highest court of the Church and was appointed to meet in Glasgow on June 7th, 1841. If Napoleon's "hundred days" between his departure from Elba and his final struggle at Waterloo were days of fighting, James Morison's ninety days between the Presbytery and the Synod were days of holy calm and usefulness. He prepared and issued the largest of his Gospel publications entitled, "The Extent of the Atonement," in which he discussed the central point in the controversy evoked by his views, viz., "Did Christ, or did He not die for All Men?" It was this pamphlet that Dr. Candlish is supposed to have had in view, in his unsatisfactory work on the Atonement, published some years later, in which he ridiculed the procedure of "those writers who strung so many texts together and called it theological argument, much after the fashion of children who heap stones together on the seashore and call their tottering fabric a house." The third of the four sections into which this treatise was divided was the most important for it contained the discussion of 'objections usually alleged against the Universality of the Atonement.' For example, "If Christ died for more than those who shall ultimately be saved, has He not died in vain for many?" "If Christ died for the ultimately unsaved, is it *just* in God to make them pay the penalty of their Sins over again?" and so on. In this discussion Morison laid Usher, Williams, Wright, the writings of Boston of Ettrick and the two Erskines under contribution much to his own advantage. It can be imagined what the effect of such a pamphlet would be issued

only a week before the meeting of the fateful Synod. The principal business was "the Atonement Controversy," and it brought together a large representation of the "Fathers and Brethren." There were speeches as notable for their fairness and moderation as there were others characterized by injustice and violence. The speech of the Debate was that of Dr. John Brown who reasoned with brilliant logic, but without avail. Indeed, the speech of Dr. Brown did Morison's cause more harm than good. The bare idea that their new views could find any favour amongst the professorate of the Secession sent such a thrill of pious horror through the breasts of those good, godly men, that they never really judged the case upon its merits. Heresy, even though only incipient, must be crushed out. The "suspension" pronounced upon Morison by the Presbytery of Kilmarnock was ordered to be continued, and a committee appointed to deal with him. But the Synod had to endure more than one startling surprise on that eventful night.

No sooner had the Moderator pronounced these words—"Mr. James Morison, in the name of the great King and Head of the Church and by decision of this Venerable Court of the Church of Christ, I suspend you from the office of the ministry in connection with the United Secession Church,"—then, amidst profound silence, Morison stretched forth his right hand, and in tones tremulous with emotion said, "Sooner shall my right hand forget its cunning, and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, than that this decision shall prevent me from preaching the glorious Gospel of Jesus Christ . . . I will hold myself at liberty to maintain and preach the same doctrines as if no such decision had been come to."

"We have this day cut off from us the ablest of our younger men," said Dr. Heugh to the late Principal Harper, "and one who need never have left us, had his honesty not been in excess of his worldly wisdom." "Ay, mark my words," said one of the Presbyterians when Morison had sat down, "this day a new denomination has been born in Scotland." The prophecy was in due time fulfilled. But the end was not yet. In 1842, Morison's father, the Rev. Robert Morison of Bathgate, was also libelled and suspended from his sacred office. Then, in 1843, the same fate was meted out to the Rev. Alexander C. Rutherford of Falkirk, and the Rev. John Guthrie of Kendal, their offence being that they had indicated sympathy with the Morisons. But the same ferment was also at work elsewhere. In 1844, the Rev. John Kirk of the Hamilton Congregational Church, through the publication of two volumes in which he strongly affirmed the doctrines of Universal Atonement, Man's ability to believe the Gospel, and the Universality and resistibility of the Holy Spirit's operations, found himself at variance with many of his congregational brethren. About the same time also, nine students belonging to the Congregational

Theological Hall at Glasgow, were expelled for holding the "New Views," as Morison's opinions began to be called. Then, five of the Congregational Churches in the neighbourhood of Glasgow and four in the North of Scotland, were "disowned" from the Connection. And so the small Society formed after Morison's suspension under the name of "The Evangelical Union" grew until, in 1850, there were about twenty ministers and a considerably larger number of Churches and Mission Stations. And the blessing of the Lord was upon them all.

With Morison's subsequent fortunes I am not supposed here to concern myself. Let me before bringing this review to a close gather up the main points to be kept in mind, and also suggest to you the service Morison rendered to theological thought.

I have pointed out to you that the "Morisonians" were theological Nonconformists. They formulated no new ecclesiastical principle; they had no peculiar and distinctive church policy to expound or defend. To this day you will find that while the independence of the churches is conserved, the government of some of the churches is after the Presbyterian method, and that of others of the purely congregational order. The Evangelical Union had a very distinct view of the Ministry and demanded that all its ministers should be first of all licensed by the Annual Assembly as fitted to preach the Gospel to the churches to which in the providence of God they might be called; and again by the solemn laying on of the hands of the brethren when ordained to the churches which they had consented to serve. This practice has become somewhat irregular, I believe, since the union with the Congregational Union in 1896. They dissented from the dominant, in a sense, national, theology, and the ground of dissent was its Calvinism.

The points of difference may be exhibited under two aspects—(1) *as regards* God, (2) *as regards* man; that is *first* as regards the divine purpose in redemption, and *second*, as regards the mutual action and relations of the divine truth and the human will. They affirmed that the truths of the Gospel are universal in purpose and provision, designed to secure the salvation of all men everywhere, and conditional in action, becoming effective only through faith. The first of these has always been well described as standing for the three universalities—that God as the real Father of all men loves every man; that Christ made atonement for every man, and so made the salvation of every man possible, in opposition to a limited propitiation; and that the Holy Spirit in its work seeks to reach and teach all men, to secure their conversion, in opposition to the limitation of its work to those whom God had predestinated to faith.

These were the distinctive principles of Morisonians on its Godward side. Its messengers lived to proclaim the absolute, all-embracing

graciousness of God. He is never partial, has in His purposes and decrees no respect of persons. He is love to the individual man, to the collective race. "Men, though they seem but bubbles floating on the stream whose channel is time, are yet godlike spirits, born of Eternal Love, nursed, guarded, guided by it, designed, though not predestined, to the happiness it delights to see and bestow." Whatever man may be, he is a being God did not think it beneath Him to make, and having made and seen fall, to redeem. God is not first creator and sovereign, and then only to a limited extent, and in an adoptive sense, Father; but first and last and always Father; His sovereignty being of the grand and paternal, and not of the artificial, regal sort. And His universal fatherhood implies man's universal sonship; the desires on His side that seek our good, the aspirations on ours that seek His grace, the home whence we came, and to which even in our worst estate, we now and then yearn to return. Though He does what He pleases, He pleases to do only what is good. He has more than the potter's power, He has not less than the potter's heart. The potter has power over the clay—no man questions it; but he will use it to obtain the greatest possible number of honourable vessels, every one doomed to destruction being a loss to the potter, not the clay. That God has power over men, Morison never questioned, but declared that He will use His power for ends prescribed by His universal benevolence and, therefore, so as to lead the greatest possible number to the greatest possible happiness, loss being loss to God as well as to man. The divine purpose is worthy of the Purposer, broad and generous as His love, deep and exalted as His righteousness. "The Lord is good to all and His tender mercies are over all His works." That was the basal and fontal principle of Morisonianism. On that the system was built and from that its several distinctive doctrines flow. Where Calvinism placed the absolute sovereignty, Morison placed the Universal Fatherhood. As Calvinism reasoned from its premiss to a salvation determined and destined to a definite number by a divine decree, Morison reasoned from his premiss to an Atonement determined in extent and intention by the divine paternal benevolence. The will of God can never attempt less than His heart desires. To be a universal father is to be universal love, and to be universal love is to seek the happiness of the universe. Hence the Atonement made by the Son, but designed by the Father, cannot aim at less than universal ends. The brotherhood of Christ is as broad as the fatherhood of God. Hence also it follows that no living man is forsaken of God's spirit. God has poured out His Spirit upon all flesh, that all lands may see the Salvation of our God." "And the Spirit and the Bride say, come, and let him that heareth say, come. And let him that is athirst come; and whosoever will, let him take of the water of life freely."

On the manward side Morison's theology is throughout consistently and essentially conditional. Man as fallen is ever free, and God respects his freedom. The virtues of the heathen are not splendid vices, but virtues as genuine and virtuous as the Christian. In salvation the human will is as free as the divine, and its action as necessary. Salvation is of our God, but only when man believes is it experienced—does the eternal righteousness become ours. These conditionalities are the necessary counterpart and completion of the universalities. An unconditional Salvation, dependent on the decree of God alone, making God the only real actor, man a mere mask for the divine energy.

A word in closing as to the effect of Morison's views upon subsequent thought. The religious world in Scotland found in course of time that smashing the tables of stone was no way to get rid of the truth they contained; a fool might cut the divine roll into fragments with his penknife, but he does not in that way escape from its eternal demands. Soon the "new views" began to modify the old Calvinism, until it came to pass that while Presbyterian Ministers continued to sign the Confession of Faith, at their ordination, they ceased to preach it in their ministry. At length in the most liberal section of that Communion an Act was called for and passed giving relief to consciences that had become too sensitive to handle the word of God deceitfully. It is not saying too much that Scotland owes to James Morison the present broad and liberal doctrines regarding a full, and free, and present Atonement. Had he done nothing else than break down the middle wall of predestinarian partition separating the great mass of sinful humanity from the elect few whose Calvinism would have shut up, in a sort of reserved compartment entitled the "Covenant of Grace," he would still have achieved a work fraught with immeasurable beneficial consequences to his fellow countrymen. The battle with the Synod over the Universality of the Atonement was in reality a Spiritual Victory, the fruits of which are enjoyed by us to-day. Thank God, no despairing human soul need now seek refuge in the spiritual suicide of scepticism, driven thereto by the Nemesis of a predestinarian creed. That consummation for which we ought to be devoutly thankful we largely own to the heroic stand for the Truth as it is in Jesus, made eighty years ago by James Morison.

"Well done! Thy words are great and bold.
At times they seem to me
Like Luther's in the days of old,
Half-battles for the free."

LONGFELLOW.

Whitefield and Congregationalism

(Continued from p. 180)

IT was the misfortune of the Calvinist section that political conditions so promising coincided with internal conditions that were troublesome and disturbed. Obviously a strong move was necessary if the hour was to yield success, and in the Countess of Huntingdon it had gained a friend capable of controlling the issues. A plan of campaign was inaugurated and Howell Harris refers to it as a new "Defence and Apology for the Methodists." Of this plan of campaign the main features are not difficult to trace.

Justice to Whitefield demands that we should recognize that this movement was engineered into readiness before he arrived again in England; but he was the centre of it, for it is evident from all that followed that its chief purpose was to lift him clear of certain stultifying entanglements and present him to the kingdom in general and the bishops in particular as involved in no sectional or separatory movement, and also, if possible, to clear him and other Methodist clergymen from the charge of canonical irregularity in their method of preaching at large.

Some of the great preacher's proceedings during the ensuing few years which have puzzled his biographers become easy of interpretation if these aims are kept in view.

His first step consisted in accepting the post of Chaplain to the Countess of Huntingdon. As Private Chaplain to a peeress it was assumed that he could not be regarded as a mere parochial clergyman when he intruded into another man's parish. Immediately after this he gathered together the preachers of his own

connection and "read the Riot act"—demanding discipline and administering a cold douche to those who had been advocating separatism. Having by these means rid the connexion of all its most headstrong preachers he promptly resigned his Moderatorship, and, while owning himself "in connection," proclaimed himself free from all responsibility for oversight or propaganda and bent upon serving all sections of the Protestant Church without regard to their denominational or theological complexion. At the same time he began to publish to all and sundry that henceforth he intended to form no societies and to head no party. This cry—"I have no party to head and no particular interest to serve" was the burden of his lay for many months, and on the strength of it he formed a new compact with the Wesleys and was admitted to the pulpits of their societies. He even went so far in the course that had been set as to resign the oversight of Moorfields Tabernacle, his own private Chapel. By these means, in the course of a year or two he had succeeded to some extent in clearing himself of all official responsibility for any one section of the revival work and in establishing himself as a sort of apostle among all, and, withal, a zealous upholder of the forms and formulas of the Church of England.

Not that there had been no set-backs. Far from it. He hoped to have established Lady Huntingdon in his place as leader if not as Moderator, and so far as can be discerned the plan did not break down because she was unwilling. It broke down because the Whitefieldian Societies as a whole were not at all keen for the new arrangement. The supremacy of Whitefield and Howell Harris was established on personal grounds. They were themselves the spiritual fathers of most of the members in the different societies. Their leadership was apostolic far more than it was official. The Countess of Huntingdon, devoted Christian and born leader

though she was, had no such claim upon their allegiance. Moreover, there was a strong leaven of dissent among the rank and file as well as among the preachers. Whitefield shed the latter, but the former remained and seemingly refused to accept the Countess of Huntingdon as their head. Bereft of Whitefield they elected to retain Howell Harris; and thus the only scheme which, Whitefield afterwards declared, he ever made for the perpetuation of his Societies, broke down.

But by this time Howell Harris's position in Wales was threatened. Rivalry between himself and Daniel Rowland was driving the Welsh societies into two camps, and matters were in the greatest confusion among them when, early in 1751, the tidings went through the land that the Prince of Wales was dead.

Whitefield's letters were always "selected" before being published. One reference only to the Prince of Wales' death have I been able to discover. "It hath given me a shock," he says. "It hath given me a shock." Such must indeed have been the case for, so far as can be seen, that event put an end to Whitefield's dream of a bishopric, and the effect is to be discerned almost immediately in the withdrawal of Howell Harris from the ranks of Calvinistic Methodism. The one hope that had held him, despite the equivocal character of his position in England and the uncomfortable character of his position in Wales, had been his hope of ordination, and that was buried along with Whitefield's bishopric in the tomb of the Prince.

With the collapse of its chief feature it might be thought that the whole of the new edifice of Methodist reorganization would come to the ground. That it did not is due to no little extent to the tenacity and pertinacity of the Countess of Huntingdon. The policy pursued by Whitefield was necessarily modified, but it was not changed sufficiently to endanger the pact between himself and the Wesleys—at least for some

years to come. The "irresponsible" preaching of the Gospel to all, in which Whitefield so much delighted, remained still his plan, and if anyone must organize he was content to let it be Lady Huntingdon or John Wesley.

But at the same time it was obvious that this hand to mouth method had its limitations. Especially in London, it was felt, Whitefield must be assured of a pulpit of his own. We may see the effect of the loss of the Prince of Wales in the fact that whereas Whitefield in 1748 was prepared to resign the oversight of Moorfields Tabernacle to any other of the Calvinist preachers who would undertake it, in the summer of 1751 (that is, within a few months after the Prince's death) a scheme for rebuilding the Tabernacle on a larger scale was on foot, and the new edifice was opened in 1753. In this year also the Bristol Tabernacle was erected; and in 1756 Whitefield, in order to have a pulpit in the fashionable quarter of London, erected the Tottenham Court Chapel. This building of new Tabernacles marks, of course, a modification of Whitefield's declaration that he was not out to form Societies or lead a party. Circumstances had been too much for him, and, while keeping within the letter of his proclamation he was being quietly pushed by his environment into a position of responsibility.

The first intention was to place the Tottenham Court Chapel under the protection of Lady Huntingdon as a private Chapel. Hence the name "Chapel" and not "Tabernacle." It was designed to be served by Anglican Clergy only. All this was in line with the earlier scheme. When, however, Counsel's opinion was taken it was found that the privilege of a peer did not extend to the licensing of a Chapel, unless indeed the Chapel was so private that it did not open on to the public way at all. As a result of this finding the building had to be licensed as the other chapels. Still its object

was to accommodate the most aristocratic portion of Whitefield's adherents, and no dissenter or layman was asked to minister within its walls until some nine years later, when Whitefield's plans had undergone still further modification.

Meanwhile Whitefield had, in effect, if not in form, assumed his place as head of the Whitefieldian Societies in England, making periodical circuits among them. But at the same time the Tabernacle Connexion was never formally re-organized on the old plan. Instead the Societies gathered themselves into geographical groups, and what "Associations" were held were group associations only. During these days the position of Thomas Adams as Whitefield's first lieutenant and the virtual administrator of Whitefieldian affairs outside London placed the Rodborough group of Societies in an outstanding position.

In 1763 an event occurred which put another stumbling-block in the way of the Anglican schemes of the Countess of Huntingdon and hastened George Whitefield along the way towards dissent. Daniel Rowland, leader of the Calvinistic Methodists in Wales, was a fully ordained clergyman of the Church of England. On the charge of persistent irregularity in preaching out of his own parish he was excluded from his ministry. This action by his bishop marked the lengths to which opposition to the methodists was now prepared to go, and a significant happening of that same year, which must be regarded along with the Welsh incident, was the ordination of Andrew Kinsman.

Kinsman, like Thomas Adams, was one of Whitefield's own spiritual children. He became a preacher among his own neighbours at Plymouth, and finally built the Tabernacle at Devonport. The sacramental difficulty in those Western parts was felt very keenly, and the separatist spirit at last became so pronounced that Kinsman formed the Society into an Independent

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Church and was ordained at Broadmead Chapel, Bristol, by a number of Ministers—some Baptist and some Congregational. Whitefield himself was not present, but that he acquiesced in the deed is evidenced by the fact that he appointed Kinsman to officiate at the London Chapels shortly after.

The need for preachers and more especially for ordained Ministers was acute in these days. The position of Methodists in Church and Meeting was precarious, and many of them were openly in favour of separation. The ordination of Andrew Kinsman therefore marks an epoch in Whitefield's career, and in connexion with that the fact that in the following year Moorfields Tabernacle and the Tottenham Chapel were registered as "Independent" must be taken as a corollary of the expulsion of Daniel Rowland. It also means that, to all intents and purposes, the pre-1751 pact was at an end.

Whitefield was away on one of his visits to America at the date of the Welsh Minister's exclusion from his office, and it is an indication of his changed outlook that immediately upon his return he appointed Thomas Adams, a layman, and Andrew Kinsman, a minister of Dissenters' ordination, to officiate in Tottenham Court Chapel, as well as at Moorfields.

Time will not permit of our reviewing Whitefield's attitude towards the dissenters in America. Suffice it to say that it was, especially in his later years, of the most intimate description.

During the last few years of the great preacher's life others of the Societies that had been formed by his converts adopted the Independent plan—notably those at Exeter and Gosport, their Ministers receiving ordination at the hands of dissenting ministers.

Whitefield died in 1770, and in the same year also Thomas Adams and Howell Davies of Pembrokehire passed away, and Calvinistic Methodism was bereft of three out of its five leaders. Only the Countess of

Huntingdon, in England, and Daniel Rowland, in Wales, were left.

At this critical juncture the case of the Gloucestershire Societies becomes interesting.

The Rodborough Connexion, as it was now termed, was of wider reach than Gloucestershire; it embraced the Wiltshire Societies as well. Moreover, the death of Howell Davies had removed the leader from the Pembrokeshire group of Societies and the Calvinistic Methodists in that "little England beyond Wales" were not anxious to join the Welsh Connexion, so they allied themselves with the Gloucestershire group and Rodborough became, to some degree, responsible for Haverfordwest and Narberth and a few smaller Societies.

We have now come to the last phase of our enquiry. The course of Whitefield's Societies has been traced through the period when the Connexion was a closely woven association under a Moderator; and later we have seen how they became loosely confederated, cohering under the informal sway of Whitefield and two or three of his lay colleagues. How this condition of things was tending to end in a type of independency has been marked in the case of two or three particular Societies. It remains to us very briefly to trace the steps by which after the death of their leaders the Gloucestershire Societies adopted that course.

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At first the preachers were appalled by the difficulties they were called upon to face. There was now no Anglican Clergyman left to whom they could apply to administer the Sacrament among them. Moorfield's Tabernacle and Tottenham Court Chapel, left under the charge of two Managers by the terms of Whitefield's Will, were almost as sore beset. How even to meet the claims made upon them for preachers they scarcely knew. It was when they were in this pass that William Hogg, now the senior preacher at Rodborough, laid hold

of Rowland Hill, a rising young preacher who managed to obtain deacon's orders—but no more in the Church of England, and he with them set to work to organize their resources. Torial Joss, a sea captain of great preaching powers whom Whitefield a few years previously had made his assistant at London, was now ordained—it is said at Rodborough—and Cornelius Winter was ordained also and was set in charge of the Wiltshire Societies which were constituted an Independent Church.

At this period it was that the Rodborough Connexion fell foul of the Countess of Huntingdon. The cause of the trouble was not simple. Trevecca College, founded by the Countess for the training of young men for the Christian Ministry, was now doing a good work, and some of the students had been allowed to labour among the Gloucestershire Societies. Suspicion arose that the Rodborough Connexion was trying to capture them before they had fulfilled their obligations to the College. In particular one of them, Jehoida Brewer, a very promising preacher and afterwards Minister at Carr's Lane, Birmingham, was persuaded to settle at Rodborough itself and was ordained to the Ministry there, the Society being constituted an Independent Church at the same time. This was in 1778, and the Dursley Society followed suit some six years later by calling another Trevecca Student, whether with the imperious Countess' consent or not history does not definitely say, but the latter is to be suspected.

Out of Whitefield's labours in the County of Gloucester, therefore, without taking any account of their vivifying effect on existing Churches, the following Congregational Churches directly sprang : Bristol and Kingswood Tabernacles, Rodborough Tabernacle and Dursley Tabernacle, and, indirectly, at a later day, Wotton-under-Edge Tabernacle, Nibley, Frampton-on-Severn, Stonehouse and Ruscombe.

In concluding one would enter a caveat in respect of

two possible misunderstandings. In an essay of this character where one phase of a man's life is tracked and described with necessary limitations of time and space, it is possible to suggest a very false view of the man as an "all round" personality. Whitefield must not be judged from the meagre details given here. He was no time-server, and had very much higher motives in submitting himself to the course of action he pursued just prior to 1751 than this story can suggest.

In connecting the name of George Whitefield with any one type of Christian theology or Church polity we are brought immediately into the presence of contradictions and confusions. Perhaps this is to be expected, since the great preacher's happiest qualities lay nearer to the emotional than the intellectual side of his nature. The elements of the Gospel, rather than those developments which ripen into Churchmanship, absorbed him, and though they are in error who tell us that he never took any share in matters of organization, yet the part he took was so trifling as to call for very little attention. The real organizers of his work were Howell Harris, the Countess of Huntingdon, Thomas Adams, and others of his own converts. So far as his denominational position is concerned, the hopelessness of any attempt to do it justice will be realized when I describe him—as the facts justify me in doing—as a priest in the Church of England, who considered Presbyterianism the best form of Church government, and who died the owner of two private chapels both registered as "Independent."

And, lastly, it should be borne in mind that the independency into which the Whitefieldian Societies emerged when they first constituted themselves Churches is not to be identified with the Congregationalism of the Brownists and other early Congregationalists. Indeed in most cases it represented very little more than a negation of Anglicanism, and a claim to self-determination. We may say that it opened the way to the real thing, and there it must be left.

C. E. WATSON.

Congregational Benefactors to the Deaf

(Continued from p. 207)

3. THE REV. THOMAS ARNOLD.

IN passing to the third member of this great trio—Thomas Arnold—it is of no little interest to note that he was an Irish Moravian by birth, who later in life became member of a Congregational Church. For several generations back his family had been connected with the Moravian Colony in West Cavan, Ireland.

He was born in 1816 at Gracehill, between Londonderry and Belfast, where there was a Moravian settlement. Here he received his early education, which did much to influence him in his zeal for missionary work, in his case demonstrated chiefly in caring for the deaf and dumb. His first connection with these people came about through his friendship with the local pastor of his district, the Rev. George Kirkpatrick, who visited his father's furniture shop one fine spring morning in 1830. This meeting was the beginning of a firm friendship between the two, and it was on one of his visits to the parsonage that he came in contact with James Beatty, a deaf lad from Claremont Institution. Mr. Kirkpatrick was greatly interested in the education of the deaf; he had been for years a liberal subscriber to that school and always entertained the annual deputation, and had sent several children handicapped in this way to be educated there. On Beatty's leaving, the secretary of the school had written to Mr. Kirkpatrick about his being taught some suitable trade, with the result that Thomas Arnold's brother agreed to take him in and employ him in his business. Thus Thomas

Arnold came to know him really well, and did what he could to aid him in his pursuit and add to his knowledge of the world : in this way becoming, as it were, baptized as a teacher of the deaf. Soon afterwards the family moved, and Arnold was sent to Mr. Martin's school in Bridgend, where he learned mathematics and book-keeping required for his father's trade. After two years he entered his father's shop and did his best to assist him, though his heart was in other things. On one occasion Mr. Kirkpatrick called on his father for the purpose of offering him free and full training for ministry in the Church of England at his own expense ; but, since he was needed at home, his father refused the offer, much to the youth's regret. Two years later his brother Samuel married and took over the business, with the result that Thomas was able to take a mastership in the Moravian school at Gracehill, thus paving the way for his future educational and literary career. A casual meeting with Mr. McKellen, one of the superintendents of the Manchester City Mission—some of whose superintendents were themselves Moravian, and in one case at least connected with his father's business—caused him to apply to the Committee with a view to undertaking this work among the factory hands in that great city of cotton. So it came about that Thomas Arnold arrived in England.

In Manchester he made several friends, and while dining on one occasion with a certain excellent Moravian couple—Mr. and Mrs. Hull—his attention was drawn by them to an advertisement in *The Manchester Guardian* intimating that an assistant teacher was wanted at the Yorkshire Institution for the Deaf at Doncaster, which had been started in 1829 under Charles Baker, the uncle of Archbishop Benson of Canterbury. Being still interested in this work, Arnold applied to Mr. Baker, giving some account of his education and experience as a teacher of the young. A favourable reply was received,

with a cordial invitation to visit the institution for the purpose of seeing the methods that were used, and also to enable Mr. Baker to form his own opinion of his qualifications for the post.

The institution at Doncaster is situated close by the racecourse, and some of its buildings at one time formed part of its grand stand ; and even now we believe it is not unknown for a sheet or other receptacle to be let down for the purpose of receiving any gifts the generous-hearted Yorkshire spectators are kind enough to bestow on the deaf children within. After a friendly reception from Mr. and Mrs. Baker, Arnold was shown over the school and saw the teachers at work in their classes. These were taught by the manual alphabet, after printed or written lessons. There were more than a hundred scholars, and to instruct them was a difficult and trying task that made the most exacting demands on human patience and experience. To be a teacher of the deaf means that self must always be subordinated to the great task of initiating others into the fulness of life. For the sanguine and energetic to attain to this state of abnegation is a veritable self-crucifixion : " but with God nothing is impossible." On Arnold's leaving, Mr. Baker said : " You may expect to be appointed, for the Committee will be guided by my opinion " ; and so indeed it fell out, for within a very few days he received the appointment.

During his stay in Manchester, Arnold met a certain Miss Sarah Simpson, the second daughter of eighteen children, her father being connected with the Society of Evangelical Friends and a native of Wellington, Somerset. This acquaintance ripened into friendship and eventually marriage, Arnold himself telling us that " after forty-six years of married life I can now say we were married by lot, for the Lord gave her to me to be all I wanted as the helpmeet of a minister, schoolmaster and an abider at home."

During his interview with Mr. Baker a wish was expressed that he should attempt the oral instruction of some of his pupils ; so he was given a letter of introduction to Mr. J. Hind, headmaster of the Liverpool Institution, who taught a class by this method. Though he was able to pay a short visit only to this school, he saw enough to convince him that it would be an efficient method if employed exclusively ; for it must be remembered that, although signs come naturally to the deaf, deafness is not the cause but only the occasion of dumbness. In the great majority of the deaf the organs of speech are as sound as in the hearing, and Arnold was perfectly right in doing what he could to make the so-called dumb speak. "Lip-reading," he says, "is nothing more than carefully noting the motion of the lips and other facial organs : first in uttering one sound and then two or more in syllables ; thus lip-reading will be learned in teaching speech. In reading anything that is printed or written the forms of letters to which we mentally attach the sounds are used ; the position of the lips and other organs in speaking are seen, and the deaf mentally associate the vibrations of the same sounds with them, and so they are read, just as we mentally reproduce the words in reading.

"To learn to speak is not learning language ; it is only preparatory, for a word used as a name has no resemblance to its subject and is destitute of meaning till they are visibly associated ; and it is because children who hear have the object and its name at once presented to sight and hearing that they learn language as they learn to speak. Let the deaf be treated in the same manner. Collect the objects, point to each, name it, and, as they repeat it let them point to the object, and they will soon associate them."

Since this method had not been attempted as yet at Doncaster, Arnold had it all to begin under what might be considered the most unfavourable conditions. He

had to deal with twenty new pupils who had a rooted preference for signs, and he had all the initial difficulties to solve encountered in making a change which involved his pupils being unable to associate with their friends in their natural way; since experience had led him to consider that the oral pupils should be taught apart from those educated by silent methods. Progress therefore was slow at first, but great encouragement was found in the rapid progress of one youth—George Cochin, son of a Methodist minister—who soon articulated well and acquired a very fair knowledge of lip-reading; with the result that much attention was attracted to the school and numerous visitors came to see and hear for themselves. A most touching interview between the father and the boy, when the former heard his son's voice for the first time, did much to strengthen their perseverance in this method and greatly influenced Arnold in his future literary and other pioneer efforts. In fact, he was not only convinced but converted, and as result subsequently resolved to form a school of his own; and from this period, too, dates his resolve to draw up what is now one of the most famous books in the world on the History and Teaching of the Deaf, his historical *Manual for Teachers*—a book that has been reissued and improved by his famous pupil, Mr. A. Farrar, of Chislehurst. Probably every worker for the deaf has again and again given thanks to the author of this book for the valuable information comprehended therein. In those days, too, there were no courses of lectures, or teachers' congresses, though such amenities were just beginning in America; and, excepting for isolated books by Dr. Watson and Mr. Baker, nothing was published on the subject. No one to-day thanks Thomas Arnold more gratefully than the writer of this paper for his wonderful achievement in forming what now is known throughout the deaf world as the Arnold Library, a large collection of books which he left on his death to be

for ever available for the use of teachers of the deaf, and which is housed at the National Deaf Bureau, 104, High Holborn, where no doubt members of this Society will be able to see and study this unique collection for themselves. We should like to say here how much honoured we feel in being allowed to pay this poor tribute to a great man, and it is an occasion for regret that we never had the opportunity of meeting him in person.

Reverting to the Doncaster period of his life, we find that he was at the cross-roads, as it were, of his religious experience, the crisis being precipitated by an invitation from the committee of a newly-formed school for the deaf to take sole charge as its headmaster—an offer he felt bound by his religious opinions to refuse, for the influence of the Oxford movement so repelled him, as indeed it did many others, that he felt called on to take the definite step of leaving the Moravian and English Church to which he had belonged in youth, and to cast in his lot with the Congregationalists. It is not a little striking to remember that each Church to which he belonged at one period or another earnestly besought him to prepare for the ministry; and this he was eventually persuaded to do—the more so since he saw clearly that no institution for the deaf would appoint him headmaster so long as he stayed outside the Established Church, and this he felt he was called to do. After a formidable *vivâ voce* examination of his faith, on the application of Mr. McCall, of Doncaster Congregational Church, he was accepted for training at Rotherham College, under the presidency of the Rev. Dr. W. H. Stowell. During his training he took charge of the country district of Kimberworth, and subsequently was at Hamburg, in Germany, for a few months; after which he was appointed to Burton-on-Trent, and his marriage with Miss Simpson became an accomplished fact. After a short stay here he was appointed to

Smethwick, near Birmingham, where much good was done by means of an outdoor mission and by the erection of a new and enlarged chapel for the benefit of the large "black country" population who were to be reached.

In a year or so (1868), however, a call came from Sydney, Australia, to which his missionary spirit led him to respond; and in a very short time he and his family had a wonderful trip of three months from London on the beautiful Aberdeen clipper, *Damascus*, *viâ* Madeira and the Cape to that wonderful Australian port, possibly the finest harbour in the world. The voyage was saddened by the death of a consumptive sailor to whom he had ministered frequently, and this led to his conducting regular Sunday services in the fore-castle, with the result that two at least of his congregation themselves became keen Churchmen in Sydney. Though a warm welcome awaited him at Balmain, the post was a far from easy one, since the late minister, with part of his flock, had separated from the Congregational Church and joined the Presbyterians, and all had to be reconstructed and re-established. This Arnold effected by refusing to hear of the past and by making an entirely new beginning; the matter being handled in so tactful and Christian a spirit that in less than twelve months the Church began to prosper again.

The Hon. T. Holt, a member of the legislative council of New South Wales, on learning that Arnold was a teacher of the deaf, applied to him to educate his deaf son, then twelve years old. After consulting his congregation, who cordially approved, he undertook the task, taught the lad orally, and through this incident was brought in contact, at a later date, with his famous pupil, Abraham Farrar. He then suffered from a serious spinal illness, and, after baffling the doctors, practically cured himself by lowering a boat, and, with his wife at the helm, rowing three miles each way.

Being now warned by his medical advisers to return

to England, he accordingly gave up the Church and returned to this country, visiting Palestine on the way for the benefit of his deaf pupil, Holt. He was welcomed and entertained by the Bishop in Jerusalem, and by other members of the English colony at Jaffa and elsewhere. On arrival at the docks he was greeted with a call to the charge of Doddridge Chapel, Northampton, which call he accepted ; and it was here that Farrar and others were privately educated, he being able to instruct them individually on the oral method. Thus was established his well-known School for the Deaf Sons of Gentlemen, so successfully carried on by him and by Mr. H. N. Dixon, and which to-day is under Mr. Ince Jones. After resigning the cure in 1884 to devote the remainder of his life to literary and educational work connected with the deaf, Arnold breathed his last in January, 1897, in Northampton, when he was well over eighty. Tablets were erected to his memory in Doddridge Chapel and Beverley Minster.

Among many who were influenced by Arnold to give life-service to the deaf, may be mentioned Mr. Fisher, head of the Hugh Myddleton School for the Deaf, Clerkenwell.

In concluding this paper, it is safe to say that the memory of these three great men will live throughout the deaf world so long as history is recorded ; and, if these few notes on their distinguished careers have done anything to bring fresh but richly deserved merit and distinction to the Church to which all three belonged, we shall feel amply rewarded and satisfied that our effort has not been in vain.

Another slight but interesting link with Congregationalism is the fact that the training college for Congregationalists, built at Homerton in 1822, is now an institution for the deaf, under the care of one of the most distinguished teachers the deaf world possesses, Mr. F. G. Barnes ; which institution, we understand, is to be

254 Congregational Benefactors to the Deaf

removed this year to a new site in the historical Penn and Chalfonts country.

The Rev. Bodvan Anwyl is an example of a living minister of the Congregational Church who has done good service in the cause of the deaf, having been for several years missionary at Pontypridd. His literary interests, however, have led him to resign this post, and he is now doing much useful linguistic work in the National Library of Wales at Aberystwith. We once had the honour of taking his anniversary services when he was at Pontypridd, and we have now visited both Doddridge Chapel and Springfield School for the Deaf on more than one occasion; so have felt naturally drawn to the task we have set ourselves of strengthening the link that binds us together as brethren who aim to propagate the Christian Faith.*

SELWYN OXLEY.

* The greater part of these facts are taken from the Rev. T. Arnold's own Reminiscences of his Life, written for his *History of Doddridge Chapel, Northampton*.

Williston Walker

IT would not be fitting for this number of the "Transactions" to appear without some reference to the death of one who was the leading Congregational historian of his time in the United States, perhaps it is safe to say, in the world. On March 9th Professor Williston Walker passed away, all too soon, at the age of sixty-one.

The son of one of the best-known ministers in Connecticut, he had for over thirty years filled various professorial chairs with honour to himself, advantage to learning, and benefit to the Church and the community. First at Bryn Mawr, where he succeeded Woodrow Wilson, then at Hartford, and finally at Yale, where besides being Professor of Ecclesiastical History for twenty years, he has during the last two years held the responsible office of Provost of the University—he has instructed and influenced successive generations of students.

Of Walker as teacher and administrator we on this side know comparatively little; it is as writer and friend that we have been able to appreciate him best. On my shelves there stand, side by side, his "John Calvin" (1906), his "History of the Christian Church" (1918), the "Approaches Towards Church Unity," edited by him and Newman Smyth; and then there is a space which should be occupied, did we live in a world where borrowers return books, by his "Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism."

All these volumes one lays under constant tribute. The last named, published when its author was little over thirty, is an indispensable work of reference for all concerned with the development of thought and

practice in the Congregational churches ; the " Calvin " has been translated into French, and is highly esteemed by French Protestants ; the " History of the Christian Church " succeeds in the very difficult task of combining in a book of outlines accuracy, proportion, and " readability."

The " Approaches Towards Church Unity "—I value my copy because it was sent to me by Walker—ought to be much better known in this country than it is. Walker contributes the first chapter, on " The Early Development of Church Officers," a chapter so packed with information and judicious comment, that one could readily understand the writer's statement that he had put as much work into it as into any one of his writings. In 1920 Walker had it in mind to expand this chapter into a volume, and it is to be hoped that he has been able to carry out this plan.

Perhaps the best known of Walker's writings to the general public are his biographical sketches—" Ten New England Leaders " (1901) and " Great Men of the Christian Church " (1908). The first of these, with his " History of the Congregational Churches in the United States," brought him recognition from all sides as the foremost authority on the history of the denomination in America, while the active part taken by him in many departments of Congregational activity made him one of the best known figures in state and national assemblies.

Before 1920 I knew Walker through his books and letters only, and had been indebted to him many times for help in various lines of research. I met him first at the International Congregational Council in Boston in that year, and when afterwards I spent some weeks at work in the Yale University Library, he helped me in many ways—welcoming me into his home, allowing me to browse in his library, and showing me the beauties of Newhaven and its surroundings. One recollection of many conversations remains clearly in my mind.

Referring to one who is now the most courageous member of our Episcopal bench, he said :—

“ In that very chair where you are now sitting, he uttered in 1909 a most remarkable prophecy about the war. We were at dinner, and he began to say that war between England and Germany was inevitable, that it would break out in 1912 and would last a long time, and its issue would be determined by the decision of the U.S.A. to fight. Everybody laughed at this as absurd, but he was so much in earnest that he rose from the table and walked about the room to emphasize his words,—and he proved right in every particular except the date ! ”

Walker's home and home life were alike charming, and he was quick to acknowledge all he owed, first to the past, and then to the one who has been through a married life of thirty-five years his partner in many-sided service. He had many blessings, but he was dominated by a sense of responsibility, and by voice and pen, by research in the library and discussion in committee, he laboured to serve the church he loved. He has lived a full life, and left behind him books which will carry on his work for many years. Thanking God for him, we can confidently apply to him the words by which the Yale Memorial Window describes his predecessor, G. P. Fisher, “ A Scholar, A Teacher, and A Servant of God.”

ALBERT PEEL.

The Early Independents and the Visible Church

IN all criticism of movements or of societies from an outside point of view there lurks the peril of misunderstanding and therefore of unconscious misrepresentation. Alike by the width of his scholarship and by his eminent fair-mindedness, Bishop Creighton was an historian admirably fitted for the difficult task of describing with sympathy an ecclesiastical position far removed from his own. And yet it is safe to say that no Independent would accept as accurate the following description (occurring in his "Historical Lectures and Addresses") of Congregationalist ideals:—

"What the Congregationalists deny is the conception of the Church as a visible body. Luther asserted that the Holy Catholic Church, consisting of those who were justified by faith, was not the same thing as the Church of Rome. But in his eyes the invisible Church stood to the visible as the soul to the body, the primitive principle which was always striving to find a fit expression. Calvin in like manner contended that his system was universally the true and only expression of the form of the invisible Church in Scripture. The Congregationalists recognized the futility of such claims at the bar of history, and threw away the idea of a visible Church altogether. Believers might meet and worship as they pleased; through faith they had direct communion with their Lord; what more was needed?"

Now, as a matter of fact, the Church Visible has always been a more vivid fact, a more constantly present reality, to the Independents than to the "Low-Church" section of the Church of England. As to the first two generations of English Independents (the Church Fathers, martyrs and exiles of Independency)—it is impossible to study their writings, or even to make acquaintance with them at second-hand through such works as Dexter's "Congregationalism of the Last Three Hundred Years" or Powicke's "Henry Barrow and the Exiled Church of Amsterdam," without discovering that these men erred, if they erred at all, rather by excess than by lack of devotion to the Church Visible. So far from tending to conceive of the Christian life as a life of communion with Christ apart from the Church, they inclined to think of the Church as speaking with the voice of Christ, and possessing the authority of Christ, in its dealings with its members.

Early Independents and the Visible Church 259

(1) Not a few of them, far indeed from allowing believers to "meet and worship as they pleased," were fanatically eager to regulate the government and worship of the Church, down to the smallest detail, in exact accord with Apostolic patterns. To these first Independents joining the Church meant putting themselves under the direct rule of Christ. Nothing could have been further from their thoughts than the emancipation of the human spirit, if emancipation be understood to mean liberty for each man to live his own life as he chooses, or, in popular phraseology, to "get to heaven his own way." The Church was to them the visible kingdom of Christ on earth (2): outside that kingdom, apart from its Divinely directed discipline, there was no promise of salvation, no certain path to heaven. This "High-Church" character of early English Independency comes out most clearly in Henry Barrow and John Greenwood, the martyrs of 1593, and founders of the Independent denomination, and again in John Smyth and Thomas Helwys, pastors of an exiled Church in Amsterdam and subsequently founders of "the first Baptist Church." But sentiments very similar to theirs may be found in the writings of Robert Browne, "the first Independent" (3) and of Francis Johnson and Henry Ainsworth, pastors of two of the exiled Amsterdam Churches, in some of the earlier works of John Robinson, pastor of the exiled Church which sent out the "Pilgrim Fathers," and in many other Independent tracts.

Now this tendency of the Independents to exalt ecclesiastical authority and to contend for forms of ecclesiastical government or details of worship, is the more remarkable by reason of the contrast which it presents with the prevailing trend of opinion in both the Puritan and the anti-Puritan parties in the Church of England. No doubt, throughout the reign of Elizabeth there must always have been a host of inarticulate "Catholics": and as early as 1588 Richard Bancroft (afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury) created a considerable stir by affirming, in a sermon at

(1) For instance, John Smyth actually applied to the Church such sayings as "In none other is there salvation: for neither is there any other name under heaven that is given among men wherein we must be saved," and "I am the Way, the Truth and the Life." ("Principles and Inferences Concerning the Visible Church," p. 252 of "Works of John Smyth," Cambridge University Press.)

(2) See, for instance, Smyth's "Parallels" (Works, p. 353):—"The visible Church which is Christ's Kingdom"—a thought which permeates the writings both of Barrowe and of Smyth.

(3) Robert Browne, the first Englishman to publish to the world (about 1580) the doctrines of Independency and the founder of an exiled Church, subsequently recanted and resumed his ministry in the Church of England. Greenwood, speaking for himself and Barrowe, declared: "We never had anything to do with Browne." See p. 54 of Powicke's "Henry Barrowe and the Exiled Church of Amsterdam." (James Clarke.)

Paul's Cross, the Divine right of episcopacy. But until the preaching of militant Presbyterianism began seriously to menace the security of the Anglican settlement of religion, Presbyterian orders were accepted in the Elizabethan Church as sufficient to qualify a man for an English benefice. And, in the main, Barrowe correctly described the position of the *articulate* parties in the Church of England as he knew her during the latter half of the reign, when he protested:—(4) "And sure most de'ilish and detestable are these two generally received opinions of these contrary factions of English clergymen. The one" [*i.e.*, the party which persecuted the Puritans for their refusal to conform to the requirements of the Act of Uniformity or the Queen's regulations when these seemed to conflict with New Testament models of ecclesiastical discipline or worship] "giving out that the form of ecclesiastical government prescribed in Christ's Testament, practised by the Apostles and primitive Churches in the time of persecution, is not necessary or tolerable under a Christian Prince. The other" [*i.e.*, the Puritan party, many of whom believed the Presbyterian discipline to be the only form of Church Government with any warrant in the New Testament while nevertheless remaining in an episcopally governed Church where discipline was very lax] "that those ordinances which they acknowledge Christ to have instituted and prescribed unto His Church unto the world's end, may not now under a Christian Prince be put in practice by the Church if he forbid the same as they might ought and were under heathen Princes by the faithful in all ages." The "judicious" Hooker and Archbishop Whitgift may fairly be taken as spokesmen for the Church of England of Barrowe's day. Now Hooker, in his famous "Ecclesiastical Polity," while insisting that episcopacy was an institution dating back to the days of the Apostles, at the same time recognized the right of the Continental Reformed Churches to substitute the rule of presbyteries for the rule of bishops out of regard for the extraordinary circumstances of the early years of the Reformation and the special needs of their own countries. And Whitgift (who, as Archbishop of Canterbury during the last twenty years of Queen Elizabeth's reign, was largely responsible for the Elizabethan persecution of the Puritans both Conformist and Nonconformist) maintained (as Dr. Powicke has shown), in opposition alike to Presbyterian and Independent "High-Churchmen," an ultra-"Low-Church" and ultra-Erastian position. "The essential notes of the Church," he insisted, "be these only: the true preaching of the word of GOD and the right administration of the sacraments." (5) "The controversy is not whether many of

(4) "Plain Refutation of Mr. Giffard."

(5) Works: Vol. : p. 185 (Parker Society's Edition).

the things mentioned by the Platformers" (the Presbyterian propagandists) "were fitly used in the Apostles' time or may now be well used in some places . . . neither do we take upon us *as we are slandered*" (Italics mine) "either to blame or to condemn other churches for such orders as they have received most fit for their estates; but this is the whole state of our controversy, when we of this Church, in these perilous days, do see that we have a great number of hollow hearts within this realm that daily gape for alteration of religion and many mighty and great enemies abroad, busily devising and working to bring the same to pass and to overthrow the state both of religion and of the realm—whether, seeing we have a settled order in doctrine and government received and confirmed by law, it may stand with godly and Christian wisdom, with disobedience to the Prince and law, and with the unquietness of the Church and offence of many consciences to attempt so great alteration as this platform must needs bring, and that for matters external only." (6) "The continual practice of Christian Churches (in the time of Christian magistrates), before the usurpation of the Bishop of Rome, hath been to give to Christian princes supreme authority in making ecclesiastical orders and laws, yea, and that which is more, in deciding of matters of religion, even in the chief and principal points." (7) "I perceive no such distinction of the commonwealth and the Church that they should be counted, as it were, two several bodies, governed with divers laws and divers magistrates, except the Church be linked with an heathenish and idolatrous commonwealth." (8) "It cannot yet sink into my head that he should be a member of a Christian commonwealth that is not also a member of the Church of Christ, concerning the outward society." (9) Now a comparison between two Puritan petitions presented to James I. on his accession—the petition of various independent bodies and the famous "Millenary" Petition of Puritan clergy—brings out very clearly the fact that the Conformist Puritans accepted, while the Independents repudiated, this conception of a State Church embracing all the citizens of the State.

The Independent petitioners describe their Churches as companies of people "separated from the world by the word of GOD and in a voluntary profession of the faith of Christ." "Separated from the world," "voluntary," these are deeply significant expressions. The first explains the meaning of that frequently misunderstood name of "Separatist" borne by the earliest English Independents. The great "separation" was made not primarily between these Nonconformists and the Church of England but

(6) Works 1, p. 4.

(7) Works 3, p. 306.
(9) Works 1, p. 388.

(8) Works 1, p. 22.

between them and the world. (10) In the word "voluntary" we have the whole doctrine of religious liberty in the germ. This "separation" was no self-willed revolt against authority: it was simply the assertion and putting into practice of an ideal of the Church. The great question at issue between the Separatists and the Established Church was this question of what John Smyth called the "constitution" of the Church: Did the "true matter" of the Church consist of "saints" (11) voluntarily uniting together or of citizens compelled to Church fellowship by the law of the State? In other words: were Church and State (as Archbishop Whitgift insisted, the same entity in two different aspects, or were they two totally distinct entities?

It would be easy to multiply quotations from all these early Independents to prove that in their eyes the whole constitution of the National Churches of their day—Anglican, Scottish (12), Genevan or Lutheran—was a heinous offence, a negation of the very essence of the true visible Church. Barrowe and Greenwood were wont to protest that "at the blowing of Her Majesty's trumpet at the

(10) John Cotton, a prominent New England Independent, tells us (in his "Way of Congregational Churches Cleared"), concerning John Robinson, pastor of the "Pilgrim" Church, that "when some Englishmen that offered themselves to become members of his church would sometimes in their confessions profess their separation from the Church of England, Mr. Robinson would bear witness against such profession, avouching they required no such professions of separation from this or that, but only from the world."

(11) See his "Principles and Inferences." (Works, p. 253.)

(12) The militant Presbyterians of the first half of Queen Elizabeth's reign resembled the Independents in exalting ecclesiastical authority and in reverence for New Testament models of Church government, but differed from them in conceiving of Church and State as co-extensive. Thomas Cartwright, who, as the leader of a Presbyterian revolt against the established church order, crossed swords in the early seventies with Whitgift, maintained (against the "Low-Church" position of the future Archbishop) the "High-Church" position with regard to the importance of Church government, even going so far as to declare—"à propos" of the rules which he thought that he found in the Scripture regulating the office of the Church:—"If all the world might be gained with a little breach of GOD'S word it were not to be done: better it were that the whole world should perish than one jot of GOD'S truth be slipped."

But the Presbyterians desired simply to effect, by the arm of the secular law, certain important repairs in the structure, and alterations in the status, of the National Church. It was left to Browne, "the first Independent," to preach, some ten years after the Cartwright-Whitgift controversy, the revolutionary doctrine that "the Kingdom of GOD" was not to be begun "by whole parishes, but rather of the worthiest, were they never so few" ("True and Short Declaration"), and to demand the total rebuilding of the Church on a new foundation. Declaring war on the idea of a State Church, he attacked the Presbyterians equally with the Episcopalians:—"Sathan is that envious and malicious man which hath builded again this city (of Jericho). His eldest sons were the first beginners of this lamentable state, whom GOD did scourge and call to repentance in the time of Queen Mary and brake their enterprise: and his youngest sons are these latter reformers, whom GOD also will certainly plague except they repent."

coronation" the whole nation was "in one day received without conversion of life by faith and repentance" into the reformed Church of England, and that "the profane, ungodly multitudes without exception" of any one person are with them received into and retained in the bosom of the Church." (13) These startling assertions become intelligible when we realise that at the accession of Elizabeth out of 9,400 parish priests (many of whom were too scandalously ignorant to have any clear conception of the Christian faith at all) only, at the highest estimate, 250 resigned their benefices. In many parts of the country a sermon was the rarest of luxuries. (14) Deprived of that teaching by image and ritual which had at all events provided some kind of food for their souls, the illiterate people received no instruction whatever in the faith apart from the only half intelligible gabbling of the Liturgy by some ignorant "mass-priest." We can well believe the frequent and definite statements of contemporary Puritan writers to the effect that great numbers of the people threw off all regard for religion of any kind and often for morality and decency as well. No doubt, as the reign progressed and the "mass-priests" were gradually replaced by educated Protestant clergy, ignorance and irreligion became less wide-spread. But as late as 1585—*i.e.*, just at the time of the first rise of Independency—the author of "A Lamentable Complaint of the Commonality by Way of Supplication to the High Court of Parliament For a Learned Ministry" represented the average parishioner of his day as totally uninstructed in the very elements of Christianity. (15) It was the thought of this great mass of ignorance, worldliness and open ungodliness within the fold of the State Church which moved Barrowe and Greenwood to hurl at the heads of the clergy the indignant accusation:—"You stand ministers to all the land in high sacrilege." (16)

With a sense of infinite refreshment and relief the Separatists turned from the depressing spectacle of the State Church to con-

(13) For the first quotation see Barrowe in conference with Sperin, Greenwood in conference with Hutchinson, and Barrowe's "Brief Discovery of the False Church." For the second quotation see a Separatist manifesto ("A Brief Summe of the causes of our separation") included in the 1605 edition of Barrowe's "Plain Refutation of Mr. Giffard," and reprinted in Appendix II. of Powicke's "Henry Barrow."

(14) For details with regard to conditions in the early years of the Elizabethan settlement of religion, see pp. 145-6 of Powicke's "Henry Barrow," Frere's "English Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I." (Macmillan) (pp. 104-7), Dexter's "England and Holland of the Pilgrims" (Archibald Constable) (p. 92), Marsden's "Early Puritans" (Hamilton Adams and Co.) (pp. 100-102).

(15) See pp. 151-2 of Dexter's "England and Holland of the Pilgrims."

(16) Conference with Sperin and Cooper.

temple "the true visible Church, which," said Smyth (17), "is the Temple of GOD, II. Corinthians vi. 16" and "consisteth of a holy people which must come out from the unrighteous and unbelievers that are Belial even without the yoke of the Lord's ordinances, and must be a separated people." The act by which the separation was made was the taking of a solemn covenant to walk TOGETHER in the ways of the Lord (18); the yoke which every individual member of the Church bore was the yoke of subjection to the admonitions of his fellow-members, gathered together in Church meetings. Church fellowship was to these men and women an intensely precious thing, without which the leading of a full Christian life was impossible. Smyth was fond of arguing (19) that loving watchfulness over the spiritual life and growth of his fellow-Churchmen is an absolutely essential part of that duty of "brotherly love" which every Christian is called upon to fulfil towards other believers. He bluntly told a self-willed and eccentric clergyman:—"So long as you are not under . . . the Lord's ordinances, the censures of the Church, you shall find little rest to your soul." (20) To the same clergyman (Richard Bernard, a well-known Puritan, but a scoffing opponent of "the Separation") John Robinson gave the following description of the "Pilgrim" Church:—(21)

"If ever you saw the beauty of Sion and the glory of the Lord filling His tabernacle, it hath been in the manifestation of divers graces of GOD in that heavenly harmony and comely order wherein by the grace of GOD we are set and walk. Wherein if your eyes had but seen the brethren's sober and modest carriage, one toward another, their humble and willing submission unto their guides in the Lord, their tender compassion towards the weak, their fervent zeal against scandalous offenders and their long suffering towards all, you would (I am persuaded) change your mind."

Now the Conformist Puritans had as strong a sense as the Separatists of the necessity for "separation" between the "saints" and the world. But with them this idea of separation did not embody itself in any ecclesiastical shape. The "Millenary" Petition contains no hint of any wish to protest against the close union of Church and State. On the contrary, it opens with an explanation that the signatories are not "aiming at the dissolution of the

(17) "Parallels" (Works, p. 364).

(18) See pp. 386-7 (with footnotes) of Dexter's "England and Holland of the Pilgrims" for several typical examples of a Church covenant.

(19) See, for instance, p. 359 of Works ("Parallels").

(20) P. 528, Works ("Parallels").

(21) "Justification of Separation."

state ecclesiastical" but are merely "desiring reformation of certain ceremonies and abuses of the Church." The Petitioners do indeed ask that the discipline and excommunication may be administered "according to Christ's own institution" and not "under the name of lay persons, chancellors, officials, etc.," and "that examination may go before the communion." But they were not prepared to fight even for such a half "separation" as the granting of these very moderate demands would have involved.

But the Independents were tormented by an urgent conviction that a Church which suffered within her fold persons known to be evildoers, unbelievers or indifferent to religion, thereby became so corrupt that none might hold communion with her without sharing in her pollution. (22) The dread of being involved in the apostasy of a polluted communion drove the fanatical section of the Separatists into the ultra-"High-Church" practice of "rigid separation" from "false" Churches. The rigid separatists, whose harshness and intolerance brought early Independency into a good deal of disrepute with the charitably minded, prohibited all attendance at the preaching of any clergyman of the Church of England, however "godly" and evangelical the preacher might be. "Whatsoever company or communion of men do worship God being not of the communion "of a visible Church sin," declared Smyth, (23) and he admitted (24) that in the Church over which he presided persons persisting in "hearing the word" of Anglican ministers were excommunicated. Francis Johnson, pastor of the Church which had once numbered Barrowe amongst its members, went so far as to warn a perplexed soul that the more truth the minister of a false Church preaches the more is he to be avoided, lest his wholesome words should prove decoys to lure his hearers on into the acceptance of his errors. (25)

Over and over again the Separatist and Conformist Puritan came into sharp conflict over the question as to what constitutes a valid ministry. The two Petitions bear witness to the wide divergence of opinion on this point. The Separatist petition demands that ministers shall be elected by the Church and shall be

(22) See, for instance, Smyth's words to Richard Bernard:—"That one sin of one man publicly and obstinately stood in and not reformed by a true constituted Church doth so pollute it that none may communicate with it in the holy things of GOD till the party offending be by the Church put out after lawful conviction . . . is the most comfortable and holy truth we hold in walking one with another in communion of GOD'S ordinances." ("Parallels") (Works, p. 440). See also "Principles and Inferences" (Works, p. 263).

(23) "Principles and Inferences" (Works, p. 252).

(24) "Parallels" (Works, p. 541).

(25) Reply to Hildersham's "Letter to a Separatist Gentlewoman."

266 Early Independents and the Visible Church

only such as are "appointed by Christ in His last will and testament"; while the Millenary Petition confines itself to the request "that none hereafter be admitted into the ministry but able and sufficient men, and those to preach diligently." To the Conformist Puritans a man inwardly conscious of a call from Christ was a true minister provided that this inward call was ratified by those whom the law appointed to be governors of the Church, approved by the people of the parish where he ministered and attested by the conversion of souls. In conference after conference with Puritan clergymen, Barrowe and Greenwood argued with vehemence against this "Low-Church" doctrine of the ministry, maintaining steadfastly that the only entrance into the true ministry is through "the holy and free election of the Lord's holy and free people" (26)—not the parishioners of a particular parish or even a congregation assembling in a particular Church, but a people definitely "gathered" to Christ and separated from the world by a solemn covenant. (27) Those entering into the ministry by other means Barrowe compared to the "thieves and robbers" who climb into the sheepfold by "some other way" than the door. (28)

M. DOROTHEA JORDAN.

(To be continued.)

(26) "True Description of the Visible Church," reprinted in Powicke's "Henry Barrowe."

(27) See Barrowe's conference with Sperin, in which the Puritan clergyman was told that, even though he had been called by the congregation to which he ministered, "They being as yet ungathered to Christ . . . neither may in this estate choose a minister nor any exercise ministry unto them without heinous sacrilege."

(28) "True Description of the Visible Church" and various conferences with Puritan clergy. See also Smyth's "Parallels" (Works, p. 353).

Correspondence of Sir Edward Harley, K.B., and Rev. Francis Tallents

IN our last issue we promised a first instalment of an interesting correspondence between Rev. Francis Tallents, of Shrewsbury, one of the Ejected ministers of 1662, and Sir Edward Harley, K.B. This promise we are now able to fulfil; and in doing so must express our obligations to His Grace the Duke of Portland, K.G., in whose library at Welbeck the letters were found; to Mr. R. W. Goulding, F.S.A., the librarian at Welbeck; and to Rev. A. S. Langley, F.R.H.S., of Louth, by whom they have been transcribed and placed at our disposal. The correspondence altogether consists of nineteen letters of Tallents and one of Harley; but several of them have no particular interest, and are therefore omitted.

SIR EDWARD HARLEY, K.B. (1624-1700), was the eldest son of Sir Robert Harley, of Brampton Brian, Herefordshire. A colonel in the Parliamentary Army, 1644; general of horse for Herefordshire and Radnor, 1645; M.P. for Herefordshire, 1646-1656; impeached for supporting the disbanding ordinance, 1648; member of the Council of State, 1659; Governor of Dunkirk, 1660-1; and opposed the sale of Dunkirk, 1661. After the Restoration, being a strong Presbyterian, he was closely associated with several Nonconformist ministers in Herefordshire and frequently attended the ministry of Richard Baxter in London. "He vigorously opposed all the Acts for persecuting Dissenters, and the Act that made the Sacrament a civil test (1673) . . . foreseeing the King (James II.) would attempt to set up Popery, he declined all manner of public employment, and neither he nor any of his family ever took any oath to that King." He sat in the First, Third and Fourth parliaments of William III. Although often spoken of as "a mortal enemy of the Church," he is called by Calamy "an ornament and support of religion." He published several theological tracts, the most important appearing in 1695, from a London press, with the title "*A Scriptural and Rational Account of the Christian Religion; particularly concerning Justification only by the Propitiation and Redemption of the Lord Jesus Christ.*" This correspondence passed on Sir Edward's death to his son Robert, who forsook the principles in which he had been educated, became leader of the High Church and Tory party, and was created Earl of Oxford and

Mortimer by Queen Anne. He was the founder of the Harleian collection of books and MSS. These letters of Tallents went along with other MSS. to Welbeck Abbey in 1741 on the death of Edward, the second Earl of Oxford; for his MSS., etc., were inherited by his only daughter and heiress, Lady Margaret Cavendish Harley, who in 1734 had married William Bentinck, second Duke of Portland. Most of the Harleian MSS. were transferred to the British Museum in 1759, but many historical papers and letters remain at Welbeck Abbey. The treasures of the library are only partially known to the readers of the Reports of the Historical MSS. Commission.

FRANCIS TALLENTS (1619-1708), eldest son of Philip Tallents, whose father, a Frenchman, accompanied Sir Francis Leake to England after saving his life, was born at Pilsley, in the Parish of North Wingfield, Derbyshire, in November, 1619. His father dying when he was fourteen, Tallents was sent by an uncle, Francis Tallents, to the free schools of Mansfield and Newark, where he was said to have "not silver, but golden talents." He entered Peterhouse, Cambridge, in 1635, but removed to Magdalen College, to become sub-tutor to the sons of Theophilus, Earl of Suffolk. He graduated A.B. 1640-1 and A.M. 1645. In 1642 he travelled abroad with his pupils, and resided for a time at Samur. Upon his return he was chosen Fellow of Magdalen College, and was afterwards Senior Fellow, and President or Vice-Master of the College. He was ordained at St. Mary's Woolnoth, London, on 29th November, 1648, by the third classical Presbytery in that province. In October, 1649, he was chosen one of the twelve graduates who had power to preach without episcopal licence. In 1652, Tallents was invited by the mayor and aldermen, and urged by Baxter, to become lecturer and curate at St. Mary's, Shrewsbury. His nomination was dated 4th January, 1653, and the committee of plundered ministers added £50 to his income. In 1656 he was moderator at a public dispute about baptism in the church of Ellesmere, in Shropshire, between Thomas Porter, M.A., of Whitchurch, and Henry Haggard, Baptist minister of Stafford. It was a reference to this dispute that led to the discovery of this correspondence. At the Restoration the commissioners appointed to restore deposed ministers were petitioned to allow him to remain, his predecessor, one Prowde, concurring. On 10th October, 1661, he received confirmation of his office, but the next year was several times imprisoned in Shrewsbury Castle for preaching, and, on his refusal to receive further ordination, he was ejected in September, 1662. After that he regularly attended worship at St. Mary's, only preaching himself at different hours, and thus he escaped molestation. From February, 1670-1 to about 1674, he resided with his pupil John Hampden, the Younger, near Paris.

On his return he joined with John, eldest son of Dr. J. Bryan, in ministering to the Presbyterian congregation at Oliver Chapel, High Street, Shrewsbury. An indictment was framed against him for holding a conventicle in December, 1680, but he was able to prove an *alibi*, having spent the whole of the winter in France. He was under suspicion after Monmouth's rebellion in 1685, and was lodged in Chester Castle, but was soon released, and on the progress of James II. to Shrewsbury, he joined in the presentation to the King of a purse of gold in recognition of the Indulgence of 1687. He died at Shrewsbury, on 11th April, 1708, aged nearly eighty-nine years, and was buried on the 15th, in St. Mary's Church, having composed his own epitaph. Besides a sermon preached at the funeral of Philip Henry, Tallents published the following, viz. :—

1. *A View of Universal History*, a series of chronological tables which he had engraved on sixteen copper plates in his own house.
2. *A Sure and Large Foundation*, designed to promote Catholic Christianity. A copy of this was given by him to the school library at Shrewsbury, in 1696, but the work is not otherwise known.
3. *A Short History of Schism*, for the promoting of Christian moderation. This was written in the eighty-fifth year of his age, and was answered, with great indignation, by "S.G." *i.e.*, Samuel Grascome, in "Moderation in Fashion, or an Answer to a Treatise." Tallents wrote a reply in a manner becoming a Christian, a gentleman, and a scholar, according to Calamy, in 4. *Some few Considerations upon S.G.'s. Large Answer to the Short Treatise*. Grascome answered in "Schism triumphant, or a Rejoinder to a Reply."

Letter from Tallents to Sir E. Harley, K.B.

(1) Salop. Oct. 19, 1689. Sends a MS. entitled: "If Persons ordain'd by Presbyters may be received as Min^{rs} of Christ amongst us without a new Ordination or imposition of hands by some of our Diocesan B^{ps}. This hath been done; This may be done according to o^r B^{ps} principles; This ought to be done now."

(2) Salop. April 16: 1695.
Hon^d Sir,

I am very glad to heare that some in London are promoteing a Contribution for our good Mr. Taylor,¹ a Nonconformist Minister, and that you are pleased to enquire concerning him.

What you are Informed of him is very true and I know not a greater and more deserveing object of Charity (of that kind) then He, for this 42 yeares that I have been in this County, Mr. Bryan² and I have knowne him a savoury holy ingenious man and a good preacher; and I knew him before a godly studious youth in the University. His House with his Bookes and goods were burnt in the ffire at Wem ab^t 17 yeares agoe. He is not quite blind, but his sight is soe farr gone that he cannot Read any thing to any purpose with the help of any Spectacles, yet Continues to preach tho' he be also weake and sickly. His Loveing usuall Hearers are soe poore that they can give him little, scarce 6^l a yeare, and his supplies from other places are inconsiderable, and his straites are very great. His wife is Liveing and 9 of his Children (some of which his Christian ffreinds help'd him to put out) yet none of them able to helpe him much if at all and some of them yet depend on him.

These things are generally knowne and that he is in debt, and I know he owes above 25^l besides other smaller matters that I know not.

And S^r if the Journey was not soe farr I would upon some little Concernes have come to London and have done my best with some persons of note there, and particularly with yo^r honoured ffreinds Mr. Hampden and Mr. Boscawen,³ for his effectuall Releife that he might not sink under his Burthen. But Blessed be God I hope it is in better hands and that through your Incouragem^t which you will Condescend to give for yo^r Blessed Lord's sake it will have a good effect.

Good Mr. Bryan Reco^mends him to you as I doe p^sente his most humble service to you ; is Recovered in a good Measure, preached this day as hee hath done for 2 or 3 Months.

Wee begg S^r the Continueance of yo^r life & health, a Blessing on yo^r endeavors for God both in greater & Lesser and a great Reward from him to you, & all others that ffaithfully serve him.

I am, wth much Respect, Honoured S^r, Yo^r most humble & most obedient servant,

FRA : TALLENTS.

Yo^r son M^r Harley will accept of my humble service. I hope S^r you Continue yo^r kindnesse for young Mr. Hampden.⁴

I pray S^r Lett yo^r man Informe me what this Colleccon shall come to, for he may easily be acquainted of it.

[Addressed: "These To the Hon^{ble} S^r Edward Harley, a Member of the House of Co^mons in Westminster."]

(3) Wem, Frid : June 28, 95.
S^r,

I lately heard by M^r Edward Harley⁵ that you was pleased to promote a collection for Rev : M^r Samuel Taylor of this Countie ; God reward y^t your work & labour of love. I think fit to acquaint you that it hath

pleased God to take him from us to his rest early on Wedn : morning last, & I am now at Wem to shew my true respects to him at his funerall, & to his poor desolate widow, who is left overwhelm'd with debt as well as sorrow. Your kindness, & other her friends, I hope will be continued, & I send this to desire you to finish that good work, & not let it fall upon y^e report of his decease. I pray you, let me know what you shall have collected, & let it be returned to his widow as she shall direct.

I am S^r Your very respective friend & servant in o^r
Bl : Lord,

FRA. TALLENTS.

A letter directed to me in Salop will come to my hands.
[Addressed : "These For my honoured Friend Mr. Fisher, London." Fisher sent the letter to Sir Edward Harley.]

(4) Sir Edward Harley to the Rev. Francis Tallents.
Kinge Street, Bloomesbery, July 2^d 1695.

S^r,

By yo^{rs} of June y^e 28 to M^r Fisher⁶ Certified The Death of M^r Taylor. The money Collected and Contributed for him by M^r Fisher was fourteen pounds and five shillings Sealed vp in a browne paper with a Letter Directed to yo^rself, all which was Delivered about a week since to Madam Beal^r who promised to Convey it safe to yo^r self at Salop so that I hope it will be Comfortable Reliefe for M^r Taylor's Desolate widdow.

It pleased God Last week to visit my son Harley with a Dangerous Inflammation in his Throate, but through Gracious mercy hee is in a good way of Recouery. M^r Richard Hampden⁸ is at Bath, as I hear Receives Benefit by Drinking of those waters. His son is in this Town not well. I Beseech M^r Brian to Accept y^e affectionat Service of, S^r, Y^r most humble servant,

EDW. HARLEY.

(5) F. T. to Sir E. H.

Salop, July 29, 95.

(After thanking Sir Edward for a book he had written and given to him, Tallents proceeds :—)

Yong M^r Henry,⁹ who is Min^r in Chester, told me that on Lord's day sevenight, M^r Weld,¹⁰ who succeeded M^r Mather¹¹ in Dublin, preach'd an Excell^t Sermon for him ; and sais, one end of his journey to London was to endeavour to unite M^r Williams¹² & M^r Mather, being well acquainted with both, but especially y^e latter. God prosper such endeavours.

I have received the 14^{li}. 5^s from Madam Beal ; when she opened y^e paper to pay it to be return'd to me, y^e Person y^t was to receive it, refused 16^s as bad, w^{ch} she (good Gentlewoman) made good, & will make y^e best of what was refused. I have paid it as M^{rs} Taylor ordred (w^{ch} I think she did in the best way) & have help'd her to 17^l more, which may help her to pay her debts & subsist a little. Good M^r Fisher sent me a kind letter with it, for whose great illness I am very sorry.

1. SAMUEL TAYLOR (1672-95), Matriculated as pensioner at Magdalen College, Cambridge, in 1645, B.A., 1648-9; Curate at Edstaston, then a chapelry in the parish of Wem. Though in very low circumstances, with a wife and many children, he quitted his living in 1662, choosing rather to beg his bread than wrong his conscience. He continued in Wem, and preached then as his strength and liberty would permit. Licensed as Presbyterian to preach in his own house at Wem, 8th May, 1672. His house was burnt down, with nearly half the town, in 1676. In the survey of 1691 the report concerning him was "maintenance next to nothing." He received from the Presbyterian Fund £6 per annum from 1690 to 94, and £5 in 1695, in which year he died on June 26th. Philip Henry preached his funeral sermon from II. Corinthians iv. 7

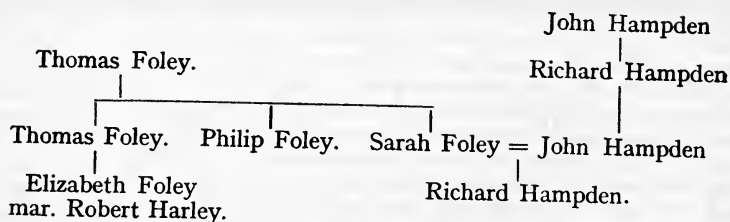
2. JOHN BRYAN, was the eldest son of Dr. John Bryan, of Coventry. Admitted pensioner at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, 10th January, 1643-4, aged sixteen; removed to Peterhouse, 3rd December, 1644; B.A., 1647; M.A., 1657; became domestic chaplain to the Earl of Stamford and lecturer at Loughborough; Vicar of Holy Cross (the Abbey Church), Shrewsbury, 1652;

274 Letter from Tallents to Sir E. Harley, K.B.

minister of St. Chad's, Shrewsbury, 27th March, 1659; ejected 1662. He was twice imprisoned for preaching before 1666. He removed, under the Five Mile Act, to Shifnel, Salop; visited Shrewsbury congregation by night. Received in 1672, a general licence as a teacher, and special ones for the houses of Charles Doughty, Salop, 13th May, and Elizabeth Hunt, 10th June. In 1683, he was fined £40 for preaching. Tallents became his colleague at High Street, in 1674. Their ministry was much disturbed until 1687. Died, 31st August, 1699, and was buried in St. Chad's Churchyard.

3. HUGH BOSCAWEN, who, in 1720, was raised to the peerage as Baron Boscawen and Viscount Falmouth. Died, 25th October, 1734. The leading Cornish politician of his time in the Whig interest. In 1671, Tallents had with him in France a pupil called Boscawen, but unfortunately he died of the smallpox at Strasburgh.

4. JOHN HAMPDEN, THE YOUNGER (1656-1696). Second son of Richard Hampden. In 1671, went to France to travel under the tutorship of Tallents. February and August, 1679, elected M.P. for Bucks. Played a very insignificant part in Parliament. Left England for sake of his health in 1680, and remained in France till September, 1682. Elected in his absence in 1681 member for Wendover, and his father took his place as member for the county. While in France got into trouble with the French Court, who suspected Hampden of intrigues with the Protestants there, and at the same time the English Ambassador thought he was carrying on some secret negotiation with the agents of Louis XIV, on behalf of the English opposition. Condemned for complicity in the Rye House Plot. Committed to the Tower and fined £40,000. After Monmouth's rebellion he was charged with high treason. Pleaded guilty and threw himself on the mercy of the King, because his condemnation was absolutely certain. Sentenced to death. The King was content with his humiliation and fine of £6,000. He had stooped to supplication which saved him and his house to him but from that moment he never knew peace of mind. In 1689, he represented Wendover in the Convention Parliament. He supported the granting of indulgences to Nonconformists, and opposed the provision in the Toleration Act, which restricted its benefits to Trinitarians. Failed to secure re-election for Bucks, on 10th December, 1696, cut his throat, dying two days later. He married twice, his first wife being Sarah Foley, daughter of Thomas Foley, of Witley Court, Worcestershire, and widow of Essex Knightley, of Fawsley, Northants, by whom he had issue Richard (the "dear son" of the letter 13th June, 1696) and Letitia. She was the sister of Philip Foley mentioned in the letter of 6th April, 1696. She was also aunt of Elizabeth Foley, wife of Robert Harley (Sir Edward's eldest son). In pedigree form it would appear thus:—



Hampden's first wife died in 1687. His second wife was Anne Cornwallis, by whom he had two children John and Anne. She is the Madame Hampden of the letter 13th June, 1696.

5. EDWARD HARLEY (1664-1735), second son of Sir Edward. Educated at Westminster School; Barrister of Middle Temple; Auditor of Imprest; Acted in Revolution of 1688; Recorder of Leominster, 1692; M.P. for Leominster, 1698-1722; one of the Executors of Richard Baxter and along with his father an original trustee of the Charity founded by Philip, Lord Wharton. Published anonymously, in 1733, *A Harmony of the Gospels*.

6. SAMUEL FISHER, son of Thomas Fisher, of Stratford-on-Avon. Born, 1617, and educated at Oxford. Matriculated at Queen's College, 1634; graduating at Magdalen College, B.A., 1636; M.A., 1640. He took holy orders, and officiated at St. Bride's, London, at Withington, Salop, and at Shrewsbury, where he was curate to Thomas Blake. Both were turned out for not taking the Engagement against the King and the House of Lords in 1650. He afterwards held the Rectory of Thornton-in-the-Moor, Cheshire, until the Ejectment. He spent the rest of his life at Birmingham, where he died, "leaving the character of an ancient divine, an able preacher, and of a godly life." In 1672, by petition to the King he applied for a licence as a teacher, and also for licences for his own house and the Town Hall as meeting places. These were granted, except the Town Hall, and later he applied in vain for one for "the Scool House." He published three of his sermons.

7. Probably the widow of WILLIAM BEAL, who was ejected, in 1662, from the Rectory of Stow-on-the-Wold, Gloucestershire. Calamy is wrong in saying that he died in London not long after his ejectment. Beal applies for, and, through Joshua Churchill, receives licence to preach in his own house at Cripplegate in 1672. His will, proved April 14th, 1679, shows that his family belonged to the city of Gloucester and that he was living, seven years after obtaining his licence, in 3, King's Court, Whitecross St., London.

276 Letter from Tallents to Sir E. Harley, K.B.

8. RICHARD HAMPDEN (1631-95). Second son of the great John Hampden. In 1656 returned to Cromwell's second parliament, as member for Bucks. One of the members of Cromwell's House of Lords, M.P., for Bucks in 1681 and 1690. Wendover, 1660, 1661, 1679, and in the Convention Parliament of 1689. A strong Presbyterian, he befriended many ejected ministers. In 1665, R. Baxter found refuge at Great Hampden, and describes Richard, his host, as "the true heir of his famous father's sincerity, piety, and devotedness to God." Hampden first became prominent in politics by his zealous advocacy of the Exclusion Bill, and of a full investigation into the popish plots. In the convention Parliament he seconded the proposal that William of Orange should be asked to undertake the government pending the settlement of the succession.

On February 14th, 1689, appointed a Privy Councillor. In April of the same year became one of the Commissioners to the Treasury. March 18th, 1690, Chancellor of the Exchequer. Resigned 1694. It is said that King William offered him a peerage and a pension. He is reported to have replied "that he would die a country gentleman of ancient family as he was, which was honour enough for him, that he had always spoken against giving pensions to others, and at such a time it was oppressive, whilst he had a roll or a can of beer he would not accept sixpence of the money of the nation."

9. MATTHEW HENRY (1662-1714), born at Broad Oak, Flint. Second son of Philip Henry, M.A. Entered, 1680, the academy of Thomas Doolittle. Admitted Gray's Inn, 1685. On 9th May, 1687, he was ordained by the presbyters in London, and began his ministry at Chester. One of the founders of the Cheshire Classes. A meeting-house was erected for him in Crook Lane in 1700; a gallery was added to accommodate the Independents in 1706; Daniel Williams named him as a trustee to his foundation, but he did not live to enter on the trust. Removed to Mare St., Hackney, London, in 1912. Died on a visit to Nantwich, and was buried in Trinity Church, Chester. His greatest work was his "*Exposition of the Old and New Testaments*." He got no further than the Acts, leaving his notes on the remainder in a very imperfect state. It was completed by thirteen Nonconformist Divines after his death.

10. NATHANIEL WELD (1660-1730). Independent minister at Eustace St., Dublin, and grandfather of Isaac Weld (1710-78) his successor.

11. SAMUEL MATHER (1626-1671), born at Much Woolton in Lancashire. His father Richard Mather emigrated to New England in 1635. Samuel had his education at Harvard College, and was

the first Fellow of that College who took his degree there. Returning to England in 1650, he became Chaplain of Magdalen College, Oxford, by the favour of Thomas Goodwin, who was then President. He frequently preached at St. Mary's. Took his degrees, by incorporation, both at Oxford and Cambridge. Attended the Parliamentary Commissioners to Scotland, 1653; he went to Ireland with Lord Henry Cromwell. Was made a Senior Fellow of Trinity College, and again took his degree, 1654; ordained at Dublin, 1656; curate at Burton Wood, Lancashire, 1660; ejected, 1662; erected meeting house in New Row, Dublin, 1662. His successor, on his death, was his younger brother, Nathaniel Mather, M.A. (Harvard.) He wrote several works, including one entitled "*An Irenicum, in order to an Agreement between Presbyterians Independents, and Anabaptists.*" This was published in 1680, in London, after his death. Is this the one Tallents refers to in his letter of October 11th, 1700?

12. DANIEL WILLIAMS (1643-1716). Born at Wrexham, in the county of Denbigh. He declares in his preface to "*A Defence of Gospel Truth,*" that from five years old he had no employment besides his studies; and adds, that before nineteen, he was regularly admitted a preacher. Chaplain to the Countess of Meath, 1664; preached at Drogheda; joint minister of Wood St., Dublin, 1667-87; Presbyterian minister at Hand Alley, Bishopgate, London, 1687-1716. Succeeded R. Baxter as Merchant's Lecturer at Pinner's Hall. Published, in 1692 "*A Defence of Gospel Truth,*" founded on his lectures and giving rise to controversy because of his handling of Antinomianism. He founded the Salter's Hall Lectureship in 1694; opposed the bill against occasional conformity in 1704; Edinburgh and Glasgow Universities both sent him their D.D. diploma in 1709; he headed the deputation of Protestant Dissenting Ministers which presented an address of congratulation to King George I., on his accession, 1714. He was a man of substance, which came to him chiefly through his wives. He left large sums to be devoted mainly to scholastic and religious purposes. His extensive library formed the nucleus of the "Dr. Williams' Library."

**The Lofty Bishop, The Lazy Brownist, and the
Loyal Author**

(From a volume of Broad-sides in the British Museum.
Pressmark 669 f. 8. 32.)

I. THE BISHOP SINGS

What would yee lazie Brownists have ;
 You rage and runne away,
 And cry us downe, our Church, and eke
 the forme therein we pray.
 Oh Monstres great ! Abortive sonnes
 Your Mother to forsake.
 To church you doe refraine to come,
 Your prayers there to make
 You will admit no government
 in Church at all to stand.
 Without the which, would soon be seene
 Strange errors in the land.
 You do assume yourselves to be
 More holy than all people ;
 Therefore 'mongst all you will not come
 to pray in Church or steeple.
 You'l speake as faire and soberly,
 You will protest in speech,
 With eyes and hands eke lifted up,
 Yet will us overreach.
 You doe presume, you have no sinne,
 And that you have the spirit ;
 And though you cozen and deceive,
 You heaven shall inherit
 O fie upon your idle life !
 how dare you zeale pretend,
 To loyter here, and there all day,
 a prating life to spend.
 What separatist in your Rout
 makes conscience of all sinnes,
 And in his calling paines doth take
 so soone as day beginnes ?

2. THE BROWNIſT SINGS

Your lofty Lordſhip tearmes us lazie
and runagadoes too ;
But I could wiſh you Biſhops would
but labour as we doe.
Sure yee be monſters, for ſuch members
of Chriſt his Church as yee
I have not read of in God's word
allowed by him to be
Then you muſt rather be out of Chriſt,
and in his church impoſtors,
For Chriſt allows you Lordſhips none,
if you will be his Paſtors.
You did preſume, you were cockeſure,
and in your glory firme,
Chriſt's little flock to tyrannize,
with countenance full ſtearne.
The Apoſtles of our Saviour Chriſt
you pleade you doe ſuccede ;
And yet would ſtarve thoſe ſoules which they
did labour for to feede.
Though with your mouth you Rome deny,
yet ſtill her wayes you take ;
A ſtrumpet you confeſſ ſhe is,
yet doe her not forſake.
How dare you, who appointed are
to Preach God's holy word,
Sit in pompe and preſume to bear
in hand the temporall ſword ?
Is any Paſtor made a Lord,
but ſoone's from preaching taken ?
Yea, though he laboured much before,
this makes all be forſaken.

3. THE AUTHOR LAMENTS

Here's lazie Brownists, lofty Bishops,
 and both accuse each other
 As runagadoes, Monsters eke,
 unto the Church their Mother.
 And yet were both bread up by her,
 and yet Church Monsters too ;
 The one would quite forsake the Church,
 the other would her undoe.
 But now the Parliament no doubt
 these Monsters will destroy ;
 Or else will set them such a forme
 whereby the Church may joy.
 The one in pride, the other in
 conceited puritie
 Doth trouble both the Church and State
 such Monsters for to see
 Whilst one dissembles, th' other doth
 affirm vaine things for truth ;
 Whilst one in pomp his time doth wast
 the other it spends in sloth ;
 Whilst both doe wander from the way
 wherein the Church of God
 Directed is by him to walk,
 both other paths have trod.
 The Brownists noses want a Ring
 (to draw them with a Rope ;)
 The Prelate's wings do cutting neede,
 (least they fly to the Pope.)
 That so the one in Church may Preach
 Gods word, the other heare ;
 That both may honour God, and eke
 his lawes may love, and feare.

EDITORIAL

LONDON, *September, 1923.*

AS this is the last issue of the *Transactions* which will appear under the editorship of our venerable friend, the Rev. T. G. Crippen, the honourable duty has been assigned me of writing the necessary editorial notes in his stead. It enables me in the first place, on behalf of the Society, to recognize with gratitude the many years of service which he has rendered us as our Editorial Secretary. His competency for this post was obvious from the beginning. All who have made use of the Congregational Library for research into the history of Congregationalism or of early Nonconformity generally, must have at once discovered how extended and yet how exact and particular was his knowledge of the literature of their subject. But Mr. Crippen has not only the librarian's and bibliographer's knowledge of his books, but a scholar's acquaintance with their contents and their authors. This exceptional knowledge of the older Theology of Nonconformity and its literature, and his keenness and unwearied industry in research, made him the most competent Literary Secretary for our Society that could have been found within the ranks of Congregationalism. And we cannot part with him in this capacity without recording our indebtedness to him for his gratuitous and most efficient service to the Society.

* * * *

But we have not only to record the close of Mr. Crippen's editorship; we have also to welcome the advent of Dr. Albert Peel, who will take over both Mr. Crippen's duties and my own, an arrangement which will have many practical advantages. This combination of related duties is possible under Dr. Peel. His capacity for editorship might naturally be taken for granted, from his appointment to the responsible post of editor of the *Congregational Quarterly*. But he had earlier given proof of his special gifts in his edition of *A Seconde Parte of a Register*, which is an exemplary work, both in the arrangement of its material and in the learning and research shown in its notes and elucidations. Dr. Peel also possesses, in a degree denied to his predecessors, the gift of administration and management. I only regarded my own tenure of office as an emergency arrangement; but it had to be continued for a good many years. Now that Dr. Peel takes

up the work of the secretaryship, we can look forward to the prosperity of the Society with much confidence.

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The May Meeting of the Society was made noteworthy by the presence of Professor Claude Jenkins, the Archbishop's Librarian at Lambeth, who read a most interesting paper, and has added to his most generous service by permitting it to be printed in our *Transactions*. The Library under Professor Jenkins's care is the most valuable collection of books and manuscripts in existence, for the purposes of the student of English Ecclesiastical History; and for the special needs of the historian of English Nonconformity, it has some excellencies which naturally no other library can share. And to add to it all, the courtesy and helpfulness of its learned Librarian make it a pleasure to work at Lambeth. Professor Jenkins's appearance at a gathering of the Congregational Historical Society is not only evidence of his own kindness and catholicity. It is a sign of the times. And concerning his paper, I would add, that the evidence it gives of Dr. Whitgift's serious religious character and his constant and whole-hearted devotion to his Church, we accept fully. The Archbishop had many virtues, virtues not too common in the Elizabethan hierarchy. And he was, to boot, an out and out evangelical in theology, and had most liberal views in regard to the ministry. If he had not been a convinced persecutor, he would have been the most attractive personality of the Elizabethan Church.

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The Programme of the Society's engagements in connection with the October meetings of the Congregational Union at Northampton, the first under Dr. Peel's direction, is clearly the most attractive that has been offered to the members for years past. I hope the engagements of the Society will be a conspicuous success, and greatly advance its interests. Sir Rylands Atkins, K.C., D.L., M.P., a Northampton man, can be trusted to give a brilliant account of the saintly Dr. Doddridge as a preacher. And Mr. Hugh N. Dixon, M.A., F.L.S., for many years a deacon of the Church, in his quiet scholarly way, will not miss any picturesque or quaint entry in the old Doddridge Church Books. Then, under Mr. Dixon's guidance, an Exhibition has been organized which will be unique of its kind, and should by no means be missed. The meeting will be held at Doddridge Memorial Church—which is in the St. James' district, on the west side of the Railway Station—on Wednesday, October 3rd, at 3 p.m.

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The unveiling of the Memorial to Robert Browne in the churchyard of St. Giles's Church, Northampton, on a day to be

announced, when an address will be delivered by Dr. J. D. Jones, of Bournemouth, will be a function of the greatest importance to the Congregational world. It marks a trend in the amenities of inter-denominational relations, which should gladden all hearts. It also marks, though this can only be mentioned with some little shame, the recognition by Congregationalists of the eminence of their illustrious founder. Never was a great historical personage so buried beneath a weight of slander and misrepresentation. Fortunately, some twenty years ago or more, the Rev. F. Ives Cater, then a young student from New College, settled at Oundle; and being of a studious and enquiring mind, he began to interest himself in the career of the Founder of English Congregationalism. The results of Mr. Cater's persevering researches, though I believe they have never had the slightest official recognition, contained in the excellently written series of articles to be found in the second and third volumes of our *Transactions*, are the most important contribution made in recent years to the history of Congregationalism. They have vindicated the character and standing of the genius who, transcending the moral conceptions of his age, gave to the world the truth that democracy is integral to Christianity, and that full religious liberty was of the essence of the faith of Christ. The unveiling of the monument to Robert Browne is a milestone in the history of our Churches.

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Mr. B. Cozens-Hardy, who is one of the secretaries of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society, contributed to the printed Proceedings of that society a paper on "The First Seventy Years of Guestwick Independent Church," an off-print of which, making a pamphlet of 20 pp., has come to my hands. I value it very highly; it makes excellent reading. Guestwick is a village about eighteen miles, as the crow flies, to the north-west of Norwich, a considerable distance in the years long before railways or motor-cars were dreamt of. All the more significant is it that the Old Meeting Congregational Church at Norwich sent two representatives to be present at the formation of the new Church of their order at Guestwick. So says the entry in the Old Meeting House Church Book, under date 5 Sept., 1652. Mr. Cozens-Hardy gives us a brief account of the first minister, Richard Worts, a man well worth knowing. He was apparently for a time Rector of Foulsham, and also minister of the Independent Meeting at Guestwick. But after Black Bartholomew he showed his faith by choosing the path of suffering, for years enduring the filthy imprisonment accorded at the time to Nonconformists. We have glimpses of the life of the little Church; among other things, a record of a day of humiliation and prayer, when Sister Lydia Codling was, for grave reasons, "cast out of y^e Church," and

the minister delivered a solemn discourse. After the sentence was pronounced, the plain old record states, "all present were greatly affected and hardly a drye eye in ye whole meeting." Mr. Cozens-Hardy tells his story with an easy simplicity which hides its skill, and makes his pamphlet all too brief. A charming photogravure is added of the old Guestwick Communion Plate.

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Our readers may have seen in the religious papers the announcement that, by the kindness of Mrs. Turner, the papers of the late Professor G. Lyon Turner, including valuable transcripts from records and registries relating to the religious life of London and a number of English and Welsh shires, during the Commonwealth and the Restoration, have been deposited at Dr. Williams's Library. Students of Nonconformity will be grateful to Mrs. Lyon Turner for making this valuable material easily accessible.

WILLIAM PIERCE.

An Elizabethan Episcopal Register

IT is related of one of the most magnificent of English deans that having on the occasion of a great ecclesiastical gathering proceeded up the nave of his abbey church with an archbishop on either side, himself in the midst, he spoke subsequently of venturing as a presbyter to address the Fathers of the Church of God. Remembering the declaration of the Congregational Union at Hull in 1889, that your pastors are bishops, a simple presbyter who belongs to the ranks of what authority as well ecclesiastical as civil has frequently called "the inferior clergy" might hesitate in addressing your right reverend paternities, to use the designation which a mediæval clerk would have adopted as usual in such a case. I would prefer rather to speak to your Historical Society as a brother student of history, a field in which the humblest may have something to contribute when once he has learnt to use a spade, if only he have eyes to see what he has turned up, and laying aside prejudice, or at least allowing weight to his consciousness of its existence within him and around him, will endeavour to be a faithful reporter of what he has seen and to understand and correlate the results of his exploration.

It has seemed to me that it might perhaps be interesting to others as well as to myself if I were to try to describe some features of ecclesiastical records of the latter part of the sixteenth century. It may be a dangerous temerity to choose a period which has been the subject of far wider study in regard to printed sources than I have ever been able to give, and of embittered controversy for which I have the strongest natural distaste. Controversy has often led to investigation, and investigation has often produced results of permanent value as materials for forming a judgment; but judgment is, and will remain, one-sided, unless we have the grace to invite the co-operation of that Christian charity which the entrance of controversy usually succeeds in frightening from the room. It is not enough that we should judge the sixteenth century by the standards of the twentieth or of the first; we must, if our estimate is to be just, endeavour, even if the effort be great, to see things as the men of the sixteenth century saw them, and from more than one side. Few of us would claim to understand our own age, and, though distance may lend enchantment to the view and a certain detachment is necessary for impartiality, there are far greater disadvantages than we always remember in being separated by some centuries from a period which we are studying. I propose

to speak chiefly of official and for the most part unprinted records of the primacy of John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury (1583-1604), for three reasons apart from limitation of time. In the first place most of the printed material available is already known to you in Dr. H. M. Dexter's extraordinarily valuable book "The Congregationalism of the Last Three Hundred Years as Seen in its Literature,"⁽¹⁾ and in subsequent studies by others in the forty years which have elapsed since the publication of his volume in 1880. Secondly, because it seems unlikely that Whitgift's papers and records as a whole will ever be published—at least in the lifetime of any of us here—for the three great volumes of the Register alone contain 1,133 folios, or more than 2,250 pages of between forty and fifty lines to the page. And thirdly, because I would fain hope that what I say may suggest to some of you a field in which something may be gleaned, even where Strype has reaped, and that judging of the possibilities of other registers and papers from what is said of one section, students may be induced to give more attention than they do to the great series both of Registers and Chartæ Miscellanæ deposited in the Muniment Room at Lambeth, and placed gladly and freely by the Archbishop at the disposal of all qualified students in Lambeth Library for the purpose of historical research.

There is one general characteristic of the Registers at Lambeth which is well known and yet is not sufficiently appreciated. They are provincial and not merely diocesan. The record of the actual consecration of a bishop will occupy perhaps nine to twenty-three lines in each case: the recital of the forms by which secular and ecclesiastical lawyers have sought to secure that all things shall be done decently and in order may fill in the sixteenth century a dozen pages. In the vacancy of the see the whole of the ordinary administration of the diocese will devolve upon the Archbishop as metropolitan or upon persons delegated by him. The records of that administration equally in Surrey, or in the remotest parts of Pembrokeshire or Cornwall will normally, therefore, be found entered in the Provincial Register. Whether or not it will yield matter of interest for the student of the religious life of the country may seem to be a matter of chance, and sometimes the search may be as tedious as the turning over of Assize rolls in the Public Record Office; but one may be allowed to bear witness that in neither case has it always gone unrewarded.

There will also not infrequently be commissions to enquire into the state of dioceses or cathedrals during the vacancy of a see, and articles of enquiry during a metropolitan visitation, of which the character may be judged from the great collection edited

(1) London: Hodder & Stoughton [1880].

by Dr. Frere for the Alciun Club. More interesting still sometimes will be the letters of the Archbishop to the Bishops bidding them make enquiry and to make return of the clergy in their dioceses, with note of their intellectual attainments and spiritual abilities that he "may be the better furnished to govern." (2) The consequent returns have been bound up in many cases in the enormous volumes of *Chartæ Miscellanæ*, and it is permissible to urge that they deserve to be studied side by side with Dr. Peel's admirable edition of "The Seconde Parte of a Register," (3) to which I have found myself turning again and again and never without instruction and interest. In one case, as many know from Strype, the Register itself contains the Archbishop's "Orders for the better increase of learninge in the inferior Ministers and for more diligent preachinge and Catechisinge" in 1587. (4).

"Everie minister havinge cure and beinge under the degrees of mr of arte and Bach. [fol. 131b] of Lawe and not licensed to be a publique preacher shall before the second daye of februarie next provide a bible and Bullingers decades in latin or Englishe and a paper booke and shall everie daye reade over one chaptre of the holie scriptures and note ye Principall contentes thereof breiffie in his paper booke and shall everie weeke read over one Sermon in the said Decades and note likewise the cheife matters therein conteyned in the said paper and shall once in everie quarter (viz. within a fortnight before or after the ende of the quarter) shewe his said note to somme preacher nere adioynge to be assigned for that purpose.

"Then the Bushope Archdeacon or other Ordinarie beinge a publique preacher shall appoint certain grave and learned preachers who shall privatlie examine the diligence and vewe the notes of the said ministers assigninge sixe or seaven ministers as occacion shall require, to everie such preacher that shalbe next adioyning to him so as the ministers be not driven to travill for the exhibitinge of their notes above six or seaven miles (if it may be)."

Certificates of performance are to be sent to the Archdeacon or to the Bishop himself and equal care is taken as to diligence in catechizing and ability to perform it.

It may be said, and no doubt with truth, that it is one thing to make regulations and another to secure obedience to them, and so Whitgift and also some of the bishops themselves found. But what it is fair to remember is that the returns shew a genuine frankness in stating the true position so far as it could be ascertained. We may take examples of favourable as well as of unfavourable returns, especially as it is not always remembered that fairness demands this. Thus Alexander Nowell *status married ordo minister gradus M.A. qualitas "gravis, prudens et sobrius" eruditio* a man learned in every kind of letters, rector of

(2) Reg. Whitgift, i. 90b.

(3) Cambridge University Press, 1915.

(4) Reg. Whitgift, i. 131ab.

Hadham Magna and Dean of St. Paul's; and Robert Key, B.A., Vicar of Ware, "gravis et sobrius," and laudably versed in things sacred and human(5), are to be found followed by others of less learning and some of none, a real effort being made so far as one can judge to appraise them fairly. This illustration is in a record probably to be dated in 1576, and, therefore, strictly outside the period with which we are dealing. Another, which may belong to Grindal's time, relates to the Archdeaconry of Leicester: Baldwin Dereham, parson of Goodby, is "understanding in the Latin tonge but lackinge iudgmt in the Scriptures"; John Bringhurst, parson of Waltham, is one "knowing the Latine tonge indifferentlie and reasonably entred in the knowledge of the Scriptures"; Richard Woodward, Vicar of Peatling Magna, ordered by B. Bonner, is "mere ignorant in the Scriptures and Latine tonge"; Robert Hampton, vicar of Shakerston, is "reasonably welllearned in the Latine tonge and in the Scriptures an habile man and teacher in his owne charge"; while the next man, the parson of Newbold, is "resident," but also "mere ignorant."(6) Take one undoubtedly of Whitgift's time—a return from the diocese of Oxford—important as giving not only dates of ordination, etc., as well as character, but other details. If John Oliver, curate of Chalgrove, is "weake in learning" and the parson of Sendcombe is "sufficient in learning, but scandalouse in behaviour," there are many others who are "sufficient" and a few who are "tollerable." The official did not award high classes, and his return ends with a significant note: "The last Bushope of Oxon did order none to our knowledge. Nether was their anie deprived for insufficiency in his tyme or since."(7)

There is a general insistence upon the things which matter most, such as diligence in study of the Scriptures and in the performance of duty, as great as any Puritan would have desired. Nor can anyone who reads Whitgift's repeated censures of the abuses of excommunication and the grounds upon which it was inflicted, fail to recognize that he was as keenly aware of the tyranny and vexatious exactions of minor legal officials as he found them difficult to control. And the same may be said of the abuses connected with the commutation of penances for money payments.

It is no part of the purpose of this lecture to serve as an apology, nor even to enquire how far Whitgift's position was representative of the mind of the Church of England then or now. But it may be of interest, as an indication of what may be found in a Register to refer to the case of certain Ministers of Sussex in 1583, reproduced, though not quite accurately, in Strype. (8) It is unnecessary to

(5) MSS. Lamb. *Chart. Misc.* xii. No. 1.

(6) *Chart. Misc.* xii. No. 4.

(7) *Ibid.* No. 3.

(8) *The Life and Acts of . . . John Whitgift, D.D.* (London, 1718), pp. 129, 30.

labour the fact that the age of Elizabeth was an age of insistence upon the requirement of uniformity in public worship, so far as it might be had. We live in a generation which does not love uniformity, and especially an uniformity imposed by authority. The English clergyman of Whitgift's time who read his *Decades* as he was bidden, in English, would have learnt that they "are very fools and godless people, or, to use a more gentle term, they are shuttle-witted, and ignorant of all good things, whose stomachs do rise at the ceremonies that God hath taught, and whose ears are offended to hear a sober and godly treatise upon the exposition of those divine ceremonies." (9) And this sentiment may well have appeared worthy of careful note in the paper book in which he entered the fruits of his reading for inspection by authority. But there were some who doubted what ceremonies might mean, especially when there was required of them subscription to the "boocke of Commond prayer set fourth and allowed by the lawes and statutes of this Realme." (10) In December, 1583, eight of the Sussex ministers—William Hopkins, vicar of Salehurst, Samuell Norden, parson of Hamsey, Anthoney Hobson, vicar of Leemister, Thomas Underdowne, parson of St. Maries in Lewes, John German, vicar of Burfeham, Richard Wheataker, vicar of Ambreley, John Bingham, Preacher of Hodeleigh, and Thomas Helye, Preacher of Warbleton, appeared before Archbishop Whitgift, the Bishops of London, Sarum and Rochester, and Gabriell Goodman, dean of Westminster, and being required to subscribe.

"Alleaged that there were certeyne Rubrickes in the said booke wherin ther was conteyned some ambiguity or doubtte which moved them to enquire of the said most reverend father and the rest affore-named the interpretation of the said Rubrickes, which being made and geiven accordingly the said most Reverend and the rest declared and signified unto them that (touching the Rubrickes w^{ch} they thought doubtfull and named unto the said reverend fathers) their subscription was not required to anie other sence then such as was not against the word of god and agreable to the substance of Religion now professed in this Church of England and by law established and according to the analogie of faith. And that ther subscription is most (*sic*, for 'not') to be extended to anie thing not expressed in the said boocke. And hereuppon they did voluntarily subscribe."

To this is appended the objections that they raised and the explanations given to them.

"The Rubrickes in the former Acte specified and w^{ch} they named unto us and made ther doubties of was that in the latter ende of the preface set before the Catechisme in the Communion boocke in these

(9) *The Decades of Henry Bullinger*, "Parker Society" (Cambridge University Press, 1850) iii. v. 129.

(10) Reg. Whitgift, i. 349.

woordes And that noe man shall thincke that anie detriment shall Come to childerne by deferringe of ther Confirmation he shall knowe for trewth that yt is certeyne by godes worde that Childerne beinge baptised have all thinges necessarie for there salvation and be undoubtedlie saved. Upon w^{ch} wordes they moved this doubt whether by these woordes the boocke confirmed this opinion that the sacrament of Baptisme did of ytsel Conferre grace Tam quam ex opere operato that is, that whosoever is baptised must of necessity be saved ex opere operato, though otherwise an hipocrit or Infidell. Whereunto yt was answered. That the boocke had noe such meaninge, and that by these wordes yt onlye diswaded from the opinion w^{ch} the papistes had of there Confirmation Called bussopping w^{ch} they beleeve to be necessary to salvation. And therefore they make Confirmation a sacrament and bring there childerne therevnto beinge Infantes, whereas this Church of England hath noe such opinion thereof but doth use yt to this ende specially that Childerne may knowe what there godfathers promysed for them in there baptisme and also learne to performe the same and likewise that it may be knowne whether the godfathers have performed ther promyse in seeinge these Childerne instructed as the boocke requireth. And therefore that Rubricke to contayne nothings in yt contrarie to goddes word to the substance of Religion nowe professed in this Church of England and by lawe established or to the Analogy of faith wth w^{ch} answeere they were satisfied.

“ The second doubt was of this Rubricke in the forme of baptisme. Then the prieste shall make a crosse upon the childes forehead sayinge: whether thereby the crossinge of the child were made an addition to the sacrament as a parte thereof And as though baptisme were unperfect without yt. Whereunto it was answered that the boocke had noe such meaninge And that the crossinge of the child was only a ceremony significant and a profitable circumstance according to the wordes expressed in the booke wth w^{ch} answeere they were also contented

“ The third doubt was of these wordes in the boocke of orderinge Deacons and preistes etc Receive the holy Ghoste and whether therby it was meant that the bushopp had authority to geeve the holy ghoste I[t] was answered that the bushopp did not thereby luke (*sic*) upon him to geeve the holy ghoste but only instrumentaliter even as the minister geiveth baptisme when he saith I baptise the in the name of the father etc whereby he doth not take upon him to be the author or geiver of baptism, but the minister thereof only as John the baptist did, for Christ only is the geiver of the holy ghoste and of baptisme, John and others are the ministers of the sacrament and of the Ceremony.

“ The wordes are Christes wordes used in the admittinge of the Appostelles to the ministerye and therefore used by us in the like accion to signify that god by our ministery and imposition of hands as by his Instrumentes doth geve his holy spirite to all such as are rightlie called to the ministery. Wth w^{ch} answeere they were likewise satisfied.

“ The last doubt was of baptysing by woemen Whereunto yt was answered that the boocke did not name woemen when it spake of private baptisme. And that there subscription was not required

to anie thinge that was not expressed in the booke: upon these answeres geiven unto them by us they did voluntarily and wthout anie protestacion at all subscribe to the three articles set downe for all Preachers and ministers to subscribe unto."

We are not here concerned with this as a statement of doctrine but as an illustration of what a Register may contain and beside it may be set a long letter (11) eight years later, in which the Archbishop expresses his deep sorrow that "the Bishoppes of my Province of Canterburye doe so generallie begin to neglect to confirme," a letter which contains some striking passages about the training of the "yowth (beinge as it were the frie and seaminarie of the Church)" in their "Duetie to God, to their prince, their countrie and their neighbours." And it may be noted in passing that in the register of Archbishop Abbot, in the following century, there will be found many things connected with theological teaching to which attention has seldom, if ever, been called. Some of them would seem to reflect the meditations of King James I. and VI. upon that curious passion for metaphysics and preternatural skill in dividing the Word which as all Southerners know is best nurtured and developed north of the Tweed.

But we are not all theologians, though most of us may be preachers, and there were other topics upon which Whitgift deemed it desirable that the clergy should instruct their flocks. The letter which I am about to quote (12) is equally characteristic of the sixteenth century. It is written in August, 1596.

"Upon advertisement out of all partes of the Realme of the dearth of all manner of grayne, and that in most partes of the Realme the pryces thereof are excessively risen: her ma^{tie} consideringe howe the same is inhaused especiallie wthin theis two or three monethes doth impute the fault thereof as well to the covetous dispocicion of the farmers and engrossers of corne that seeke all excessive and ungodlye lucre by hordinge upp of corne and makinge more scarcytie then there is, and in some part of the neglect of the execution of such good orders as have been devised for the due servinge of the marketts and avoidinge those abuses that are practized by covetous persons . . . hath published a proclamacion . . . Howbeit forasmuch as this covetouse humor doth grow chieflie by want of that Christian charitie w^{ch} men ought to have, And for that alsoe of all other kynde of lucre, that is most ungodlie, that is gotten by pinchinge and starvinge of the poore people. It is most fitt and necessarie that the preachers should generallie in their sermons admonishe the ffarmers and owners of Corne of this dishonest and unchristian kynde of seekinge gaine by oppression of their poore neighbourss and recommend to the richer sorte keepinge of Hospitality for the relief of the poore. And likewise that howsekeepers beinge of welth would be content in their owne dyet to avoyde excesse and to use fewer dishes of meate in this tyme of

(11) Reg. Whitgift, i. 181.

(12) Reg. Whitgift, ii. 145b.

dearth And to forbear to have suppers in their howses on wendesdaies ffrydaies and fastinge daies whereby much might be spared that would be better bestowed a great deale on the reliefe of the poore. And in like manner to admonishe gentlemen and others of meaner sorte that keepe kennelles of howndes that they should better to forbear the keepinge of dogges in theis tymes of dearth and to convert that they spend superfluously that waye to the reliefe of the poorer sorte, And in noe case to forgett to reprove that untollerable excesse of eatinge and drinckinge that is commonlye used in Alehouses and other like places of common resort. Theis and other such like exhortacions I earnestlye praye and requier yo^r Lo: in her ma^{ties} name to recommend to the preachers and ministers of your dioces to be used with all earnestness and discretion."

Those clergy who do not reside are to be ordered to do so to give example of hospitality, an injunction with which one many imagine that many of them would find it easier to comply than to deal in their exhortations with earnestness coupled with due discretion with the rich farmers or sport-loving squires or yeomen of their parishes.

At the end of December, 1596, Whitgift issued urgent letters (13) to the bishops of his province in favour of enforcing abstinence by all manner of persuasion. The famine and scarcity are treated as God's judgment upon "our excesse and ryott in dyett and the wastfull consuminge of his good creatures" and every effort is to be made to secure the observance of Wednesdays and Fridays both by services for prayer and by abstention entirely from flesh meat. The Queen has done her part by causing "great store of graine to be provided from forreine partes freely without payinge anie custome," (14) her subjects must do theirs. Householders are required "not for sparinge to discharge anie of their household to shifte for themselves, on days appointed for fasting days noe suppers att all are to be provided or taken by anie." The clergy are to be exhorted to set a good example and to recommend the observance of the injunctions.

"And . . . soe doe from tyme to tyme in their sermons and exhortacions earnestlie and pythelie exhorte and stirr upp everie of them to fervent prayer both publique and private, to abstinencye fastinge true humiliatione to forbear all excesse to relieve the poore and needie by good housekeepinge, by settinge them one worke and by other deedes of Almes and brotherlie compassion . . . the people must be duellie taught to endure this scarsitie with patience and especiallye to beware howe they give eare to anie persuasions or practizes of discontent[ent]ed and idle braines to move them to repine or swarue from the humble[r]e duties of good subiectes to the further offence of God and discontentinge of her Maiestie." Certificates both of disobedient

(13) Reg. Whitgift, ii. 149.

(14) See the very numerous directions for the regulation of the corn trade in *Acts of the Privy Council*, N.S. vols. xxv., xxvi., 1595-6, 1596-7 (Stationery Office, 1901, 2).

delinquents and of the well disposed are to be transmitted monthly to each diocesan bishop. Special care is to be taken against "callinge or sufferinge persons of other parishes to assemble themselves as some heretofore offensivelie of their owne headds have attempted under colloure of generall fastes."

It is an utterance curiously characteristic of the Elizabethan era, and from another side we can see tendencies developing which converged in the same direction of prescription of modes of assembling for worship and otherwise by a style of regulation which we may call "grandmotherly" or inimical to freedom, but which was conceived of as necessary to national well-being. There are many references in the Register to the dark designs of the Pope and of the King of Spain, to the danger of foreign invasion and the requirement of arms and equipment, from the clergy as from others, in order to repel it. It is not a question of trying to justify the official efforts to enforce uniformity in all directions, but of an effort to understand the causes from which it proceeded. To scruple at taking the oath of supremacy, even though it were a scruple based on the question of lawfulness of taking any oath at all, to scruple at attendance at the parish church, to shew an undue fondness for debating points of divinity, to display a predilection for private assemblies where no one knew what might happen and still less what might be said—these things were possible symptoms of disloyalty, or at least of disaffection, and a disregard of her Majesty's "princelie care and gracious tender affection." And it is, one may be justified in thinking, doing no dishonour to the men and women who felt bound for conscience' sake to resist, if we try to understand a little better the point of view of those who stood in their eyes for an illegitimate attempt to fetter liberty of conscience, and could not appreciate a loyalty which did not express itself in the acceptance of what Authority saw fit to enjoin. And there is one other feature in the regulations of the period to which it is necessary to direct attention: they were at any rate in intention, and generally in fact, to be applied without respect of persons. A very noteworthy instance of this is to be seen in regard to the prohibition of clandestine marriages which a vigorous effort was made to abolish, for the regulations were put into force not merely against ordinary folk, but against even the Lord Keeper himself, who had broken the law in respect of the marriage of his daughter "in privatis edibus vulgariter vocatis Russell house infra vel iuxta le Strond in com. Middlesex." (15)

There are many other features in the Register to which it would be interesting to call attention if time allowed. The briefs for the collections for captives of the Turks in Argier (16), where often the

(15) *Reg. Whitgift*, iii. 120.

(16) *Ibid.*, i. 108, 118b, 119; ii. 146.

names of the sufferers are given, for the inhabitants of Pensance "spoyled and brent by a sodaine incursion of the enymie" (17) in 1595, or for the sufferers in the great fire at Namptwich in 1583 (18) or Tiverton in 1598,(19) the licences or revocation of licences for schoolmasters, all yield something for the student of local history. The same may be said of the account of the proceedings against certain persons at Wye and at Faversham for contempt of the Book of Common Prayer. (20) And curious and illuminating as are the licences to practice medicine and surgery in their indication of what our forefathers suffered, they are probably not less important in their accounts of the persons to whom the licences were given. The licence was granted to those who had proved their skill before receiving it, and usually in desperate or nearly desperate cases. (21) They are of great variety, ranging from a general licence to a restricted one for the cure of persons suffering from melancholia or frenzy, (22) or of others who suffered from diseases of the limbs, from spasm and diseases of the eyes, called in English "the gowte," or from "crampe and sore eyes,"(23) a condition of licence being willingness to take an oath to recognize the royal supremacy. And the last volume of the Register contains some pages of very human and enduring interest. On one page there is the form of prayer for the great Queen in her last illness, and below it the style ordered in bidding prayer for King James and his family. (24) Here, too, are contained the letters of King James, in 1604, for the new translation of the Bible (25) inserted in this volume, though not issued until after Whitgift's death. The object of the letters is the provision for the expenses of maintenance of the translators, which Bancroft, the Bishop of London, explains that "his ma^{tie} was verie ready of his most princely disposicion to have borne; But some of my LL. as thinges nowe goe did holde it inconveniente."(26) His Majesty himself with the greater caution says: "And yet we of ourselfe in any convenient tyme cannot well remedy it," and so the duty is passed on to bishops and deans and chapters, and "anie of the Laitie when we shall in tyme move them to so good and religious an acte . . . that so our said intended Translacion may have the helpe and furtherance of all our principal learned men within this our Kingedome."(27)

(17) *Ibid.*, ii. 139.

(18) *Ibid.*, i. 93.

(19) *Ibid.*, iii. 99b.

(20) *Ibid.*, i. 184, 185b, 197.

(21) *Ibid.*, i. 90.

(22) *Reg. Whitgift*, iii. 122.

(23) *Ibid.*, iii. 110.

(24) *Ibid.*, iii. 148b.

(25) *Ibid.*, iii. 155b.

(26) *Ibid.*, iii. 156.

(27) *Ibid.*, iii. 155b.

And above it is the record of the breaking with an iron hammer of the Archbishop's seal in a certain room called "le Waytinge Chamber," in the house of the late most reverend father John Whitegifte, Archbishop of Canterbury, within the manor of Lambeth in the County of Surrey. Whitgift was dead, a great chapter in English history was closed, and we may do well to remember in regard to a man of whom English Protestants have found it hard to think kindly that among the last of his official acts here registered is a letter transmitting to his clergy a royal brief for the relief of the City of Geneva, and commending it to them "the intente and purpose beinge so charitable and christian and for releife of a Cittie which meinteines the Gospell, and for professinge thereof endureth these troubles."(28) It is, as I have said, not in the spirit of an apologist that I have desired to speak to you of the founder of the great library at Lambeth, for it is to Whitgift as well as to Bancroft that the title belongs, but rather to shew something, however imperfectly, of the interest of the official record of his acts. The evil that men do lives after them. The good is oft interred with their bones: Let us try to recall in a different age and in different circumstances something of a larger charity in the labours and plans which filled his dying thoughts *pro ecclesia Dei*.

CLAUDE JENKINS.

(28) *Ibid*, iii. 152.

The Early Independents and the Visible Church

(Continued from p. 266)

IT was quite an usual thing for these Separatists to quote, in support of their opinions, the very passages of Scripture which are, or have been in our own day, appealed to by High-Church Anglicans—for instance, the story of Korah, Dathan and Abiram (29) and the mistranslation of “John x., 16”—“There shall be one FOLD and one Shepherd” (30). Again, Barrowe, like a modern High-Churchman, incurred the reproach of “popishly abusing” “John VI. 53” by expounding it as having some connection with the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper. And in defending himself against this accusation, he thus explained his position (31).

“Though I acknowledge that many thousands that never attained the symbol of the supper yet do feed of that body and blood of Christ by faith unto eternal life; yet this I say that such as by censure are put back from the Table of the Lord are cut from the communion of Christ and His Church and so from life: for if he have not communion with Christ and His Church he can have no life. . . . They that pluck away the seal cancel the deed. . . . Therefore they (as far as man can do) cut him from Christ and His covenant.”

We find an equally startling resemblance between “rigid” Separatists and High-Church Anglicans of our own day when we inquire into the attitude of the former towards the worship, ritual and organization of the Church. The Separatist petition of 1603—which was evidently drawn up either by the moderate party or by persons sufficiently worldly-wise to refrain from prejudicing their cause with the King by obtruding extremist opinions—contains only one slight trace of this zeal over matters of detail, in the request already mentioned that the officers of the Church shall be those “appointed by Christ in His last will and testament”—*i. e.*, pastor, teacher, elders, deacons and deaconesses, whose credentials the Separatists believed that they found in the first epistle to Timothy. (32) Concerning the worship and ritual of the Church the Separatist petition has less to say than the

(29) Barrowe’s “Plain Refutation.”

(30) See, for instance, Smyth’s “Parallels” (Works, pp. 353 and 361-2).

(31) “Brief Discovery of the False Church.”

(32) See, for instance, Smyth’s “Principles and Inferences” (Works, p. 259).

"Millenary" Petition. For, whereas the latter enumerates a list of specific grievances concerning the established worship and ritual, the former, neglecting matters of detail, sets forward primarily great general principles—for instance, making a revolutionary protest against the formalism of liturgical worship. It is only when we study the writings and the actions of "rigid Separatists" like the uncompromising Smyth that we are reminded, in the oddest and most paradoxical way, of certain Anglican or Roman Catholic "ritualists." "This true and visible Church is called Christ, I. Cor. 12, 12," declared Smyth. (33) "Whosoever taketh upon him . . . to appoint new officers, laws, ministry, worship and communion in the church is Antichrist, I. John 4, 3. 2 Thes. 2. 4. Revel. 13-16, 17." And during a brief period of extreme fanaticism (described by himself in his "Last Book" (34) as "the days of my blind zeal") he broke with his fellow-Separatists, attacking them (in his "Differences of the Churches of the Separation") largely because they recognized (as he himself had formerly done) the threefold eldership of pastor, teacher and "ruling elders" in the place of the uniform eldership of a number of equal pastors (which by 1608 he had come to accept as the Scriptural plan) and because they consulted their Bibles during sermon-time, contrary to the practice of the primitive Church and in a fashion which he held to be incompatible with the "spiritual worship" of the New Testament. Throughout the writings of Barrowe and other rigid Separatists the curious plea is constantly reiterated that GOD could not be less careful "for the structure, forms, orders and ordinances" of the Christian Church than He was for those of the Jewish Tabernacle and Temple. (35)

The early Independents devoted a vast amount of pious ingenuity to the task of piecing together from various passages of Scripture a pattern of the Christian Church and of its worship, concerning which Barrowe declared (36) that it was "Christ's last will and testament, whereunto nothing may be added, nothing diminished, nothing altered or changed, violate or wilfully neglected, without most heinous transgression, sacrilege and impiety. . . . Neither hath any angel in heaven, any mortal man, no, not the whole Church,

(33) "Principles and Inferences" (Works, p. 268).

(34) "The Last Book of John Smyth, Called the Retraction of His Errors and the Confirmation of the Truth"—a most touching and beautiful little tract (published after his death and re-published in Barclay's "Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth," as well as in "The Works of John Smyth") in which he confessed the sins that he had committed, during the period of his controversial activity, against "the rules of love and charity, which is the superior law."

(35) "Brief Discovery of the False Church" (see Powicke, p. 95). The Presbyterian Cartwright had made the same curious point. See p. 132 of Dexter's "England and Holland of the Pilgrims."

(36) "Brief Discovery of the False Church."

298 Early Independents and the Visible Church

power or prerogative to alter or neglect the least jot or tittle thereof," adding: "For as there is but one truth, so whatsoever is diverse more or less than that truth is faulty and to be repented." But in order to see this ultra- "High-Church" intolerance in its extremest form we must study the writings of Thomas Helwys (Smyth's co-adjutor and pastor of "the first Baptist Church") who taught (37) not only that every man who had ever borne the office, name or power of a bishop and died without repenting of this error had perished, but also that his own fellow-sufferers for the cause of "the Separation" would be eternally lost if they remained obstinate in defending infant baptism. He insisted that the "simple-hearted . . . being led by their teachers, if they justify ANY ONE error or false way and condemn ANY ONE truth" will share in their leader's condemnation. According to him, everyone was in imminent, awful peril of damnation who had in any one particular deviated from the Apostolic pattern of the true Church, "the exact rule of the law of Christ Jesus distinctly and most perfectly set down in the New Testament which he hath purchased and sealed unto us with his blood, to stand for a law of election and ordination" (*i.e.*, of the ministers of the Church) "for ever: unto which whosoever addeth or taketh away either by word or action, by doctrine or example, the Lord will add unto them all His judgments and take away all His mercies."

This exclusive loyalty to the Bible as the sole authority in matters of Christian faith and practice is one of the most striking differences between "High-Church" Separatism and High-Church Anglicanism of our day. It suggested, and was bound up with, all the other differences—the absence of a sacerdotal or clerical order, the decision of vital questions by the brotherhood, the bare simplicity of worship. "I took the whole word of GOD to be the foundation and faith of Christ's Church and servants," declared Barrowe (38), "and that this whole faith of the Church ought not to be called upon, limited or restrained unto a few articles only." "The King's people," Helwys complained to James I., "must not understand the Word but as the Lord Bishops will have it understood, and they must not pray nor administer the holy things but as they appoint. . . ." "This hierarchy of Archbishops and Lord Bishops doth nothing differ from the first Beast: for the first Beast keeps both the word and the spirit from the people; and they keep the spirit of GOD in bondage and then is the word of GOD of no effect, debarring the people of GOD thereof, tying them to their spirits in the understanding of the Scriptures."

(37) All the quotations from Helwys in this article are taken from his "Short Declaration of the Mystery of Iniquity," a brief tract which may be seen in the Bodleian Library. The italics are mine.

(38) "Few Observations of Mr. Giffard's Last Reply."

Smyth protested (39) that the assemblies of England " (*i.e.*, the Church of England) " do neither themselves profess the true faith of Christ contained in the New Testament, their faith being stinted and limited under certain devised articles and convocation house synodical decrees or constitutions . . . neither therefore do they baptize into the New Testament of Christ indefinitely and simply, but respectively and definitely into that faith and doctrine which is taught in their stinted book of articles."

But if the faith and practice of the Church was not to be " stinted and limited " by decrees of synods, by what means was the teaching of the New Testament to be applied to those problems of the Christian life which the Church has to face and resolve? The Separatists would have replied to that question by a quotation from the famous passage on which their Church polity was based." (40)

" Where two or three are gathered together in My Name there am I in the midst of them." " Here is the controversy," Smyth explained (41), " here is the state of the question " (between Separatists and Catholics) " whether the holy things with Christ be given originally to the body of the Church, to the faithful; or whether the holy things with Christ be given to the ministry originally and that the Church hath all from the ministry: and that is the point of succession " (*i.e.*, of Apostolic Succession). Throughout his " Parallels "—a voluminous treatise written in exposition and defence of the Separatist faith as taught by Barrowe—he contended with the utmost earnestness and with a wealth of argument and illustration that " the power of binding and loosing "—*i.e.*, the power to decide questions of conscience arising in the Church, to censure and excommunicate or to acquit alleged offenders against the Christian law—is vested in " the whole multitude of the faithful " and in thus insisting he was only claiming what Barrowe and the Petition of 1603 had claimed before him.

But this power of binding and loosing was a law-interpreting and law-enforcing, not a law-making, power. " It is not the men but the word of GOD which bindeth and looseth," Greenwood explained to an objector. (42) The decision of difficult questions

(39) " Parallels " (Works, p. 466).

(40) Matt. xviii., 15-20. See, for instance, Barrowe's " Brief Discovery " (*e.g.* p. 166) and his " True Description of the Visible Church," Smyth's " Principles and Inferences " (a pamphlet reprinted in Vol. I. of his Works), and his " Parallels " (*e.g.* pp. 433-4 of Works).

(41) " Parallels " (Works, p. 529).

(42) The words were uttered in answer to an objector who asked whether the Church might excommunicate the Queen, to which awkward question Greenwood very tactfully replied:—" I doubt not but Her Majesty would be ruled by the Word: for it is not the men," etc.

by counting heads Barrowe pronounced to be "unheard of and insufferable" (43) in the Church of Christ. "There all from the highest to the lowest in all actions enquire the will of GOD, which being known they all then walk by the same rule and with one consent do the will of GOD accordingly. There is no division in that body." Smyth explained (44) that "if the matter be not evident but doubtful and controversial, communion still must be preserved peaceably, notwithstanding diversity of judgment, till the truth be discovered . . . during which time all men must carefully search out the truth and labour for information." In cases where unanimity could not be attained, or where different congregations came to different conclusions, it was always possible for a number of Churches to take counsel together: this was the usual practice of the Congregationalist Churches of New England. (45) But no Congregationalist synod could force a Church to act against its own conviction. Independency stood—and stands to-day—not for any idea that each congregation is entitled to do "as it pleases" nor for the theory that truth is too complex to be apprehended in all its aspects by one any community, but simply for the great principle that reluctant, enforced obedience to a Divine command or unintelligent acquiescence in the doctrine of the New Testament is worthless in the sight of GOD—that, as Helwys put it, "they that obey the truth in love, whom the love of GOD constraineth, their obedience only shall be acceptable to GOD." Just as an individual defying the Church of which he was a member suffered no penalty save that of excommunication, so an individual Church defying the verdict of her sister-Churches could be subject to no other form of constraint than that of exclusion from their fellowship. (46) The subjects of Christ must be willing subjects: for not only had they to be "saints"; they were also to declare and administer the will of their Lord. Every soul, therefore, was in so far set free that it was not compelled, nay, was not suffered, to enter the true Church unless inwardly persuaded of its trueness: nor, having once entered the Church, might a man lawfully

(43) "Plain Refutation."

(44) "Principles and Inferences" (Works, p. 265).

(45) See Dexter's "Congregationalism of the Last Three Hundred Years," and article on Congregationalism in *Encyclopedia Britannica*.

(46) For the Independent view of the power of synods see pp. 105 and 125-6 of Powicke's "Henry Barrow." See also Smyth's "Principles and Inferences" (Works, p. 267). "Every true visible Church is of equal power with all other visible Churches . . . and hath power to reform all abuses within itself, which power is spiritual, as is Christ's Kingdom, not worldly, bodily or carnal." For the Independent view of excommunication, see the previous page of "Principles":—"The end of excommunication is not the destruction of the offender but the mortification of his sin and the salvation of his soul. The party excommunicate is not to be counted as an enemy, but to be admonished as a brother."

submit to its authority (47) if he believed that that authority was not being exercised in accordance with the will of Christ, as declared in the New Testament. (48) That is to say :—the earliest Independents believed devoutly, often indeed fanatically, that the one and only sure method of salvation was set forth in great detail in the Bible : but they also held that every man must discover this method for himself and yield a conscientious, intelligent obedience to the Church—*i.e.*, the brotherhood.

The Church as conceived by the Independents was the monarchy of Christ the King, acting not through a code of law or a governing class, but in every instance directly and immediately through the agency of His convinced and willing people (49)—a “demos” which knew no division and which refused all blind submission either to its own officers or to any outside body. “We hold all true believers ecclesiastical,” declared Barrowe (50) : and he protested against the terms “clergy” and “laity” as “popish.” (51) Amongst these earliest Independents a pastor, once chosen, approved and instituted to his sacred office, was bound to his flock by a bond which, save in the case of some fault or disability of the first magnitude on his side, was almost unbreakable. (52) It was his duty to be the guide and teacher of his people and to preside at every act of the Church : it was his right to be treated

(47) See, for instance, Smyth's “Parallels” (Works, p. 539) :—“The true constitution” (of the Church) “must be taught, and men must be brought to the faith, before the Church can be constituted.”

(48) See, for instance, Barrowe's “Brief Discovery” :—“The least member of the Church is not subject to the Church neither to follow it further than it followeth Christ.”

(49) This deep desire to maintain unceasing, direct contact with the Holy Spirit explains, and partly excuses, the fanaticism with which some of these early Independents inveighed against set forms of prayer and the prescription by authority of particular “lessons” from Scripture for each day of the year. See, for instance, the following passages from Barrowe's “Brief Discovery” :—“Is the Church of GOD still in wardship and such infancy? Shut up as under a garrison that it must have such tutors and rudiments? Is not Christ now dead, risen and ascended? And hath freed His Church from such tutelship? He Himself now becoming their lawgiver and minister in person and hath now given them His Holy Word and Spirit to administer wisdom unto them in all freedom to use the same His Word according to His Will and their own occasions unto His glory and their comforts”; and again :—“Shall we think that GOD hath at any time left these his servants so singly furnished and destitute of his grace that they cannot find according to their necessities and faith to express their wants and desires, but need to be taught line unto line, as children new weaned from the breasts, what and when to say, how much to say and when to make an end, to say this collect at the beginning, that at the end, that before, the tother after, this in the morning, that at afternoon.”

(50) Barrowe and Greenwood's “Collection of Certain Slanderous Articles.”

(51) See “Collection of Certain Slanderous Articles” and “Brief Discovery of the False Church.”

(52) See Smyth's “Principles and Inferences” (Works, pp. 256 and 264).

with reverence, and, within the limits imposed by Holy Writ, to receive the willing and loving submission of his flock. But outside his own congregation he exercised no authority: while inside it he had no power to over-ride the Church if he could not convince it. To the Separatists the true Church, which had a right to speak in the name of Christ, was a company of humble believers united for the purpose of MUTUAL assistance in the duty of understanding and obeying their Lord's commands, MUTUAL loving correction and admonition; renouncing the pride and self-will which makes men of the world delight in the exercise of authority; ready to hear the voice of Christ in the rebuke of the lowliest "brother" who could convict either the Church as a whole or any individual member (were it the pastor himself) of transgressing His law as laid down in the New Testament. (53)

It was such a kingdom as this that Smyth had in mind when, in the course of his controversy with Richard Bernard (54) he insisted that, whatever "invisible" faith a man might have in his heart towards GOD, the only unmistakable *visible* sign of true faith and obedience consisted in humble submission to the kingly rule of Christ over His Visible Church. (55) "The sum of the

(53) See Powicke's "Henry Barrow," particularly the chapter on "Barrow's Doctrine of the Church," for an excellent account, illustrated by copious quotations from the Church Father's own writings, of the status of the ministry, and the share of the ordinary member in exercising the authority of the Church, amongst the Separatists.

(54) See his "Parallels, Censures, Observations," the bulk of which treatise consists of a letter which he wrote to Bernard in 1607 and of a defence of that letter point by point, which he published in 1609, in reply to Bernard's "Separatists' Schism" of 1608.

(55) See, for instance, a strongly worded sentence in his "Parallels" (Works, p. 561):—"Therein" (*i.e.* in the "government" of the Church of England) "can no good Christian join except it be lawful for a good Christian which is *or ought to be*" (italics mine) "a subject of Christ's Kingdom which is His Visible Church, to submit to the utter enemy of Christ and to his authority, which what is it else but to be a traitor against the Lord Jesus?" That clear conception of the distinction between "visible" and "invisible" Churchmanship which pervades his "Parallels" and "The Character of the Beast" (a treatise of 1609 against infant baptism) was expressed by Smyth as early as 1607 (in his "Principles and Inferences"), in the following explicit terms (Works, pp. 251-2):—"The Catholic Church is the company of the elect, and it is invisible. . . . It is one thing to be a saint, another thing to be of the visible communion of saints. . . . Invisible communion with Christ is by the spirit and faith. . . . Communion with the elect living is prayer proceeding from love, for them that are uncalled that they may be called, for them that are called that they may be confirmed. Communion with the elect angels is the help of their ministry, reverence of them and love unto them. A visible communion of saints is of two, three, or more saints joined together by covenant with GOD and themselves freely to use all the holy things of GOD, according to the word, for their mutual edification and GOD'S glory. This visible communion of saints is a visible Church. The visible Church is the only religious Society that GOD hath ordained for men on earth."

Gospel is this," so he pleaded with his opponent (56)—"that Jesus Christ the Son of GOD and the Son of Mary is the only King, Priest and Prophet of His Church, governing, sacrificing, making intercession, and prophesying after that holy manner and according to those rules which He hath prescribed in His Testament. Now to believe truly concerning the person of Christ and to believe falsely concerning His office, as you do, is not to believe the whole gospel but only a piece of it."

It was chiefly because the Puritan clergy acquiesced in, or at best did not totally dissociate themselves from, the bishops' attempt to suppress by force the holy societies of meek believers that Barrowe, from his gloomy dungeon, assailed them in such fiery invectives as the following (57):—"The Christ these men preach is utterly without power to put anything of His own will in practice but is sold as a bonds slave to these anti-Christian bishops and preachers"—*i.e.*, the Puritan preachers, (58)—His enemies. He cannot by virtue of His own word and authority redress anything, be it never so heinous, or enormous; neither can He establish or bring in anything that is wanting, be it never so necessary and important, without humble suit and attendance unto the high court of Parliament or upon the high court of commission. If they reject His suit, though it be by thirty years together . . . yet must this poor Christ, with all His servants, even the whole Church, still surcease the practice of the Gospel and continue under these abominations, yea, if He anger His lords the bishops much, He shall be whipped with scorpions, with new rods, and this by the universal consent of all His learned preachers in the land."

The liberty which the first Independents preached was most certainly NOT based by them upon any theory that men have a natural right to worship GOD as they think fit—a doctrine of the later seventeenth century which would have amazed most sixteenth century Englishmen. Nor yet was it founded on faith in democracy, if democracy implies the right of an adult community to govern itself as it chooses. For the Independents of the first generation were quite as incapable as their compatriots of even conceiving such an idea: to them, as to practically every Englishman of their day, it came naturally to think and speak of "the Prince" as the ruler of the State. It was no RIGHT to liberty, no RIGHT to become a member of a self-governing body, that they preached, but the DUTY of refusing a blind obedience to man which hampered the soul's endeavour to learn and to do the will of Christ,

(56) "Parallels" (Works, p. 471).

(57) "Brief Discovery."

(58) Rigid Separatists habitually styled "false" Churches "Anti Christ" (and their members "Antichristians")—no doubt partly because they usually persecuted the "true" Church.

304 Early Independents and the Visible Church

the DUTY of living in subjection to the admonitions and censures of the saints. Resistance to man was the outcome of the humblest desire to submit to Christ : each soul in these Separatist churches was summoned to " stoop low within those bounds " that men of the world " o'erlooked."

But, alas, there were fanatics amongst the early Independents who displayed a perverse ingenuity in making the bounds as narrow as possible. A whole catalogue of manufactured sins might be drawn up out of Barrowe's writings. Paradoxically enough, most of these sins were sins against Christian liberty. (59)

Out of the fear of being brought into bondage to man Barrowe and some of his followers created a new kind of bondage. They so expounded and applied the doctrine of liberty as to debar the Church from regulating her public worship from time to time as she might think fit : while Smyth and Helwys were for ever tormenting themselves and their fellow-Separatists by their feverish eagerness in evolving new scruples (60). All this fanaticism, this " preposterous zeal "—as Smyth himself, in his wiser and later days saw it to be, (61) sprang from a strange kind of fetich-worship of that model of the Apostolic Church which the Scriptures were supposed to contain.

For, alike for good and for evil, the first Independents were above all things Churchmen, deeply and eagerly concerned about matters ecclesiastical, jealous in asserting that it was at once the right and duty of the Church to be governed by her own law and not by that of the State. On the other hand, the Conformist Puritans of the Elizabethan period were indifferent about the structure and government of the Church and even about Church fellowship, content to acquiesce in the rule of the " magistrate " over the Church so long as he abstained from interference with the preaching of the Gospel of individual salvation through individual repentance and faith : while Queen Elizabeth's bishops were for the most part extremely " Low-Church " in their readiness to accept whatever government and worship the civil power might

(59) For instance, while holding it lawful to take a voluntary " oath," Barrowe refused in his first examination before Archbishop Whitgift to take an oath imposed by authority (basing his refusal on " I. Cor. vi. 12 ") and persisted in this refusal even when it involved him in imprisonment without trial.

(60) See, for instance, Smyth's " Differences of the Churches of the Separation " (1608) and a piteous complaint by Henry Ainsworth Teacher in the principal Separatist Church in Amsterdam :—" He increaseth daily " (his differences) " with deadly fued and open opposition, as all men may see " (" Defence," 1609).

(61) His actual words (in his " Last Book ") were :—in the days of my blind " zeal and preposterous imitation of Christ—I was somewhat lavish in censuring and judging others."

Early Independents and the Visible Church 305

prescribe for the National Church (62). In short, the popular conception of the Anglicans of the first generation as pre-eminently "Churchmen" and of the Separatists as disbelievers in a Visible Church with a fixed structure, government and laws, is the exact reverse of the truth.

M. DOROTHEA JORDAN.

(62) See, for instance, in addition to the quotations from Whitgift in this article—Powicke's chapter on "The Bishops of Barrowe's Day" for examples of episcopal subservience to the royal will. See also pp. 94-101 of Dexter's "England and Holland of the Pilgrims" and pp. 25-33 of Marsden's "Early Puritans."

**Correspondence of Sir Edward Harley, K.B. and
Rev. Francis Tallents**

(Continued from p. 277)

Tuesd : Dec. 17. 95.

(6) Honoured S^r,

It's a rejoycing to many y^t your Houses begin wth seeking God for wisdom & a blessing, & calling others to it. There's great need of it as ever, for your work is difficult, & far beyond the wisdom of y^e greatest Men; but if we truly ask it of God, it may be had. Even that of y^e Coin, which may seem little, but is of main concern, how hard is it? If made of a lower valew, y^e foraign merchants will undo us; And if of the old Valew, it will be exported; as the Scotchmen y^e pedlars now daily by divers arts buy up all y^e milled money (w^{ch} provokes many) so that now very little of that is to be found among us. S^r, we are very sensible of the pains & inconveniences you endure in attending the House; but it's for God, & that sweeter; all to you. The land fund wherein your son M^r Edward is engaged, will be, I suppose, at some stand, till y^e money be new coined. I shall take it for a favour, if you please to order your man to let me know how that stands; and if good M^r Fisher who took such pains in that charitable work, be living, & in health. I hope, S^r, you take some fit occasions to continue your faithfulness & kindness to M^r John Hampden, whose happiness, with his honoured fathers, I much desire, tho' at this distance I know not how to be serviceable to them. Good M^r Bryan is tolerably well, & heartily joins with me in most unfeigned service to you, & both your honoured sons, and in our poor

prayers for your lives, & prospering in all things (y^t concern yourselves or the publick) especially in your souls. I am with much respect,

Honoured S^r,

Your most humble and most obedient
servant.

[Addressed

These To the Hon^{ble} S^r Edward Harley, a Member
of y^e House of Co^mons at Westminster.]

(This letter is in the handwriting
of Francis Tallents, but it is not
signed. It is endorsed by Sir
Edward Harley : " Mr Talents. Dec :
17.95.)

Tuesd : Dec.31.95.

(7) Honoured S^r,

I humbly thank you for yours wherewith you was pleas'd to honour me, and for the particular account of the decease of the much honoured M^r Hampden (which our News letters mention'd in generall) with which I was much affected; for He was certainly a truly good Man, and so, a great loss; as also of the weak condition both in body and mind of my dear M^r John Hampden, which affects me much. I have scribbled something as I can, but far short of what I would; and not knowing which way to send it, make bold to give you the trouble of it to Him.

I bless God from my heart for His great goodness to you and both your worthy sons, whom I beseech God to keep upright, humble, and near to Himself, in the midst of their Honours, & varietie of weighty businesses they are, and may be concern'd in. The Devil Negotium is a chief One; And I am glad, S^r, you are so near them, to advise, direct, and encourage them. My humble service to them both I humbly pray you. They onely are safe whom God keeps. S^r, you began well with a fast, & good reason for it; and if it shall please God to give success to our counsels

& forces, as I hope he will (tho we be very unworthy) I wish our thanksgiving may not be crouded into the Lords day (to gratifie or force some perhaps y^t else would not keep it) but may have a solemn time for itself, & be more publickly own'd. However, S^r, we are in the hands of J: C^t our King; who hung upon the tree once for us, & rules alwaies for us, and will reign till (he) shall have put all His & our Enemies under His feet, & rais'd us up to Everlasting glorie. O that we may be His true subjects & soldiers, & act for Him, & suffer for Him if He call us to it, & be glorified with Him. M^r Bryan honours you in his heart, as I also do, who am with much respect,

Honoured S^r,

Your most humble and most obliged Servant,
FRA. TALLENTS.

Be pleasd, S^r, to order your man to let us know, how your little grandson at Brampton doth.

[Addressed These To the Hon^{ble} S^r Edward Harley, a Member of y^e House of Co^mons at Westminster.]

Mond : Apr.6.96.

(8) S^r

Some months ago Mr Bryan & I took the boldness to write to you, to desire your and your sons help to procue. some place of employment for his son in law M^r Jⁿ Cooper; (13) and he writes that he sent up the letter to you by your man, & hath been severall times at your lodgings but could never get admittance to you. Nw, S^r, it's possible that letter never came to your hand, and therefore if he should come again to wait upon you, I entreat you to give order to your servant y^t if such a one do come he may have y^e libertie of access to you. Possibly, S^r, it may not be in your or your sons way to help him; & if so, it will be an advantage to him to know it. I write this without any order of M^r Bryan's, who is troubled for his

daughter's condition, and you will be pleased to pardon this freedom in

S^r

Your most humble Serv^t in our Bl : Lord

FRA. TALLENTS.

M^r Philip Foley (14) shows great willingness to help him if he could.

[Addressed

These To the Hon^{ble} S^r Edward Harley a Member of y^e Hon^{ble} House of Commons in Westminster.]

(9)

Salop. June 13.96.

Honoured S^r,

I bless God that hath graciously freed you from your troublesome distemper, and continues in you a heart devising good things ; and amidst your thoughts of the weightiest things of our Church & Nation, to condescend to think of that poor widow, & to direct how she (& some others too I hope) may be relieved. I have writ to S^r Thomas Rokesby, (15) and desired my good friend M^r Richard Stretton (16) to sollicite the matter as effectually as he can, being myself unknown to y^e Judg. He y^t minds the low & y^e poor, & rewards those y^t honestly give but a cup of cold water to a disciple, bless you y^t consider the poor, preserve you in time of trouble, & strengthen you when you shall be upon your bed of languishing.

And, honoured S^r, as you have opportunitie, I pray you be as a father to poor M^r Hampden. I wrote lately to him, but know not what my letters may signifie to him. His dear Son is at M^r Woodhouses, (17) was with me a little, & will ere long I hope see me again. Madame Hampden his mother favoured me with a very kind letter dated Apr. 18 ; complains in it y^t her son hath sold Dunton [Bucks] one of his best Mannors, & y^e onely place y^t was free for him to make away, & is cutting down y^e woods & Timber ; y^t he

casts off y^e seeming to own any thing or any body y^t looks to Religion, hath married a — & y^t he came once to see her since his fathers death, w^{ch} is all she supposes she shall see of him. I hope, S^r, she is mistaken in some of her thoughts. I have writ to her again. Possibly, S^r, if you gave her a Visit, it might be much for y^e good of both of them. My humble service to your worthy sons. God guide y^e hearts & Counsells of all y^t mean well & seek His glory. I am with much respect,

Your most humble servant,

FRA. TALLENTS.

M^r Bryan presents his service & returns his humble thanks for y^r fav^r to his son.

[Addressed These For the Hon^{ble} S^r Edward Harley in King street in Bloomsbury London.]

(10) (To Edward Harley, second son of Sir Edward Harley.)

Tuesd : Oct. 6.96.

Honoured S^r,

Having an opportunite of sending the inclosed papers by so sure a hand, & so speedily by M^r Beal, who knows not what they are, & I desire y^t neither he nor any others may, but onely your honoured Father & dear brother Harley. (18) You may wonder to see such a thing from me ; but so it is. If you please to peruse them, & think it may be well to print them, let it be so. I wholly leave the matter to your honoured father, brother, & you, but if you think it best to suppress them, after some time I pray you send them safely to me again.

But if you publish them, I pray you let my Name be concealed, & be pleased to blot out of the extract what you Judg fit—and change the preface as you think fit, & add what you will. And as for y^e comparison at y^e later end, possibly it may be best to leave

it out wholly; I have scribbled it hastily, & do not greatly approve of it. But I leave all wholly to you.

Some time ago, I heard one had offered to print an abstract out of Hacket, (19) but was opposed; whereupon he threatened to put out severall passages that had been left out of Hacket's when it was printed; But I have heard nothing of that since.

God guide your hearts, & give you wisdom fit for your great employment, & good success, & so work in y^e hearts of our Kings & Parliam^{ts} that it may not be said our historie w^{ch} may be writ hereafter—Stultorum Regum et Populorum continet iras.

With my heartie thanks ffor all your kindness & especially for the last opportunitie you gave me of converse with you, & y^e charitie you left for others, I take leave & rest,

Honoured S^r

Your much obliged and most humble Servant,
F. T.

I pray you let me know what you shall intend to do with those papers.

[Addressed
These

For Edward Harley Esq^r.]

(11) Salop. Tuesd: Aug: 10.97.

(Recommends the following persons for charitable help:—)

Widdows

Mrs. Jane Heath (20) of Shrewsbury

Mrs. Taylor of Wem

Mrs. Cooper of Moseley [Mowsley]

Y^e last sumer M^r Edward your son gave me 3^l for

Mrs. Heath, 3^l for Mrs. Taylor, & 1^l for Mrs. Cooper.

Yong Students

Isaac Owen, son to Mr. James Owen (21) of Oswestrie—
a hopeful youth, & you know his father

William Cook, son to W^m Cook, a farmer—a very
 a hopeful youth every way, & his father but low
 Daniel Madox, near Whitchurch, his father dead, &
 his mother has many children, & he very hopefull
 M^r Evance (22), N.C. Min^r of Wrexham his son (23)

—I promised to reco^mend him to you.

Mr Jⁿ Lewis who preaches near Braginton [Salop] is
 well known to you, & hath but very little given him
 for his labours.

S^r, I will mention no more lest I clog you. They y^t
 are nearest & most importunate usually speed best;
 but I have confidence you will think fit to remember
 them y^t are afar off, & modest, & have great need, &
 hope you will consider these I have mention'd according
 to y^t need, & to what you have to dispose of. You will
 be pleased, S^r, to let me know you have rec^d this, &
 what can be done.

(12) Salop. Frid: Sept. 8, 99

“I am now naked by the decease of my old Fren^d
 M^r Bryan, by whose means I first came to be known
 to you.”

(13) Salop. Apr. 20. 1700.

What am I, Honoured S^r, that I should have such a
 place in your most serious thoughts? I bless God
 that I have, & beleeve I fare better for it, and the
 kindness of some others also. God is gracious in
 freeing me from torturing pains, & exercising me onely
 with such gentle ones as I may easily bear, & yet mind
 me of that better world before. I have, S^r, with M^r,
 Owen done our best to find out such a one as you
 desire, and y^e Messengers return will shew the issue.
 How few are there, of any rank near to yours, that
 mind such things? Rejoyce, honoured S^r, & beleeve
 more & more that since you beleeve in Jesus Christ
 you are freed from condemnation, are a child of God,
 & an heir of glory, & shall be carried on by His Power
 to it. This strengthens as well as comforts, & glorifies

Letter from Tallents to Sir E. Harley, K.B. 313

our Gracious God. Even He bless all the branches of your familie, & make them blessings alwaies. I am, Honoured S^r, Your much obliged & most humble servant,

FRA. TALLENTS.

(14) Frid: Oct. 11, 1700.

I know not, Honoured S^r, how to move you better to favour good D^r Long, (24) in bestowing some of my Wharton's charitie upon him, then by sending his letter inclosed, which I hope will be prevalent, if all be not dispos'd of alreadie. I lately read over a late little piece cal'd Irenicum Magnum; I am much for Large Foundations, but not so large as that designs, to bring in Socinianism, &c. (which yet may be excluded by a Confession of Faith in Scripture words w^{ch} he insists on) & destroy y^e inward vitals of true Religion many waies; of w^{ch} one is to have no Prayers in Publick but in such generall terms as all Persons can agree in, &c. With all due respects, begging a remembrance in your prayers, I rest Your much obliged and humble serv^t in our Lord

FRA. TALLENTS.

(15) Salop, Sept. 23, 1700.

"I cannot let this opportunitie pass wthout a thankfull acknowledgment of all your great love and kindness to me for many years, as well as from your most honoured Father & Brother, which I shall never forget. And I am very sensible of your readiness to have assisted my nephew Hutchinson (25) in his concern, which tho it was just, I was sory he engaged himself in."

NOTES.

13. JOSEPH COOPER (1635-99), the son of Hugh Cooper, a worthy minister at Preston, in Salop. He began to live the life of a man and of a Christian in his twentieth year. Became skilled in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. Became curate at Mowsley, a chapelry of Bromsgrove, in Worcestershire. A poor place. The inhabitants made up the income to £50. Ejected 1662, but continued to

314 Letter from Tallents to Sir E. Harley, K.B.

preach till December, as there was no one else to supply his place. A troop of horse came, he was taken out of the pulpit and confined in Worcester jail six months. He had the courage to preach again the day of his release. He had a licence to preach in 1672 in his own house. He died in 1699, having published three works.

14. PHILIP FOLEY, of Stourbridge, son of Thomas Foley, the founder of the Hospital of Old Swinford, Worcestershire. His brother Paul was Speaker of the House of Commons, 1695-98. Bishop Burnet says of Philip that he was "one, who from mean beginnings, had by ironworks, raised one of the greatest estates that had been in England in our time."

15. SIR THOMAS ROKEBY (1631-99), whose father was an officer in Cromwell's army, and killed at the battle of Dunbar, was a strong Presbyterian, and confidential adviser of the Nonconformists in the North. B.A., Catherine Hall, Cambridge, 1649-50; Fellow, 1650; Barrister, Gray's Inn, 1657; elected ancient, 1676; possessed of large estates and influence at York, he exerted himself on behalf of the Prince of Orange in November, 1688. He was appointed by William III. one of the Judges of the Common Pleas (1689), knighted at Whitehall (1690), and made a Judge of the King's Bench (1695). After his raising to the Bench "he was constant to his principles, and always attended the preaching of good Mr. Stretton to his dying day," which was November 26th, 1699. He died in London, but was buried in the Church at Sandal Magna, near Wakefield, his ancestral home.

16. RICHARD STRETTON (1632?-1712) was born at Claybrook, Leicestershire. Matriculated, 27th November, 1652 (signing Streaten), at New College, Oxford. B.A., 1655-6., M.A., 1658. Became Chaplain to the College. Received Presbyterian ordination at Arundel 26th October, 1658; and in the same year became curate to Dr. Francis Cheynel, who held the sequestered Rectory of Petworth, Sussex. Ejected 1660. Chaplain in Yorkshire to Thomas, Third Baron Fairfax, till the latter's death. Licensed 29th May, 1672, as Presbyterian teacher in the house of Francis Richardson, Cawood, Yorks. Subsequently ministered at Leeds. Removed to London, 1677, and ministered to a Presbyterian congregation in the Haberdashers' Hall, Staining Lane, Wood Street, Cheapside. Imprisoned 1683, for refusing the Oxford oath (1665) against endeavouring alteration in Church and State. He was an original manager of the Common Fund. He was very generous in furnishing books to students and academies. Stretton, who was one of the Lady Hewley Trustees, proposed (2nd June, 1712) to free the London Fund from its obligations in the five Northern Counties, but his co-trustees would not agree to the proposal. He died July 3rd, 1712, was buried in Bunhill Fields, and Matthew

Letter from Tallents to Sir E. Harley, K.B. 315

Henry preached his funeral sermon from II. Cor., viii. 16. He published at least two works.

17. JOHN WOODHOUSE (1627-1700). Third son of John Woodhouse, of Womborn Woodhouse, Staffs. Commoner at Trinity College, Cambridge, but did not matriculate. In 1662 was silenced when chaplain to Lady Grantham, in Nottinghamshire, unordained. The Episcopal Returns of 1689 report John Woodhouse, gent., as preaching at Saxelly, Leicestershire, to about fifty ordinary persons, denomination "not known." Had a large fortune by his wife, Mary Hubbert, of Reresby, Leicestershire. Conducted at Sheriff Hales, Salop, an Academy of note. Many students went to him with bursaries from the Presbyterian Fund; Robert Harley, first Earl of Oxford, was amongst his pupils. In 1697 he succeeded Samuel Annesley, D.D., as minister of Little St. Helens, London, still continuing to train ministers. Buried at Reresby, October 17th, 1700. Published three works.

18. ROBERT HARLEY, the first Earl of Oxford and Mortimer.

19. JOHN HACKET (1592-1670), born in St. Martin's, Strand, 1st September, 1592; was educated at Westminster School, and Trinity College, Cambridge. Matriculated 1609; A.B., 1612-3; A.M., 1616; S.T.B., 1623; S.T.D., 1628; Fellow immediately on taking his degree; Chaplain to Lord Keeper Williams; in 1621 inducted Rector of Stoke Hammond, Bucks., 20th September; and to Kirkby Underwood, 2nd November; incumbent St. Andrew's, Holborn, 1624-45; and Cheam, Surrey, 1624; Chaplain to King James, 1623; prebendary of Lincoln, 1623; archdeacon of Bedford, 1631; attempted to moderate Laud's zeal; as member of committee of religion made able speech before Commons in defence of deans and chapters, 1641; after Restoration resumed preaching at St. Paul's as canon residentiary; bishop of Coventry and Lichfield; 1661-70; restored Lichfield Cathedral, partly at his own expense; bequeathed money to Trinity College, Cambridge; and his books to the University.

In 1648 he published in Latin a comedy entitled "*Loyola*," which was acted before King James; his great work was the life of Archbishop Williams; in company with Ben Jonson he translated Bacon's "*Essays*" into Latin. In 1675 there appeared "*A Century of Sermons, on several remarkable subjects*," which was edited, with a memoir, by Thomas Plume. In 1671 a book called "*Christian Consolations*" was wrongly attributed to him.

20. WIDOW OF RICHARD HEATH. Educated at Christ's College, Cambridge. Great Oriental scholar. Corrected the Arabic and Syriac of the Polyglot Bible. Ejected 1662. Under the Five Mile Act he removed to Wellington, March 25th, 1666, and there

316 Letter from Tallents to Sir E. Harley, K.B.

died on May the 28th following. Though he was learned and able, he printed nothing.

21. JAMES OWEN (1654-1706), born at Bryn, parish of Abernant, Carm. Second son of John Owen. His parents were Episcopalian Royalists, but all their nine children became Nonconformists. Having been grounded in Classics by James Picton, a Quaker, and at Carmarthen Grammar School, he studied philosophy (1672) under Samuel Jones. After acting as tutor, he spent six months with his godfather, James Howell, a clergyman. Deciding on Nonconformity, he went and studied at Swansea under Stephen Hughes. His first settlement was at Bodwell, Carm., his next as assistant to Hugh Owen. In November, 1676, he became chaplain to Mrs. Baker, of Swinney, near Oswestry, and minister of the Oswestry congregation founded by Roland Neavett. From this town he conducted a North Wales Mission which led to a public disputation with William Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph, at Oswestry, in 1681. In 1690 he opened an academy for ministerial training. The Presbyterian Common Fund granted him for Oswestry £8 a year from 1690-94, and then £5 a year until 1699. In 1700 he became colleague to Tallents, and removed his academy to Shrewsbury. Owen translated the Shorter Catechism into Welsh. He also had controversies with B. Keach and Thomas Gripps. Mr. Owen was the author of several works in both the Welsh and the English languages. In his dispute with Keach he issued in 1693 the first book in Welsh on the baptismal controversy, "*Bedydd Plant o'r Nefoedd*" (Infant baptism from Heaven). It was answered by Keach in 1696 in "*Light broke forth in Wales.*" He also wrote the account of the Welsh ejected ministers in Calamy.

22. JOHN EVANS, born at Great Sutton, near Ludlow. His father and grandfather were successively Rectors of Penegos, in Montgomeryshire. Educated at Balliol College, Oxford. Left the University rather than submit to the parliamentary visitors. Returned to Wales, ordained at Brecknock by Dr. R. Mainwaring, Bishop of St. Davids, on November 28th, 1648. Changed his views on Conformity. Admitted one of the itinerant preachers of Wales, and was successively master of the free schools of Dologelle and Oswestry. Ejected, 1662. Had to sell his library to provide for his family. Went to Wrenham. Chosen pastor of an Independent church there in February, 1668, and continued until his death in 1700.

23. JOHN EVANS (1680-1730), son of the last named. Born at Wrenham. Educated under the Revs. Thomas Rowe, Richard Frankland and Timothy Jollie. Lived for a time in the home of Mrs. Hunt, the sister of Lord Paget. Perused, under the direction of the aforementioned James Owen, the Christian writers of the first

three centuries : ordained, 1702, at Wrenham, as minister of a new Congregational church. Invited to Dublin, but dissuaded by Dr. Daniel Williams, whose assistant he became at Hand Alley, Westminster, until 1716. Then chosen his successor. Came to London an Independent but threw in his lot with the Presbyterians. Lecturer at Salters' Hall until 1716. In 1723 elected a Merchants' Lecturer at the same place. Edinburgh and Aberdeen Universities created him a D.D., both about the same time. He took a leading part in the Arian controversy, siding with those who refused to sign the Articles. In 1729 a new chapel was built for him in New Broad Street, Petty France, Westminster. Died 16th May, 1730, from dropsy and a complication of other disorders. Buried in Dr. Williams' vault, in Bunhill Fields. Wrote over twenty works, the most notable being his "Discourses on the Christian Temper," which passed through many editions.

24. GEORGE LONG (1628-1712). Matriculated at Trinity College, Cambridge, 1646; Scholar, 1649; B.A., 1649-50; Fellow, 1650; M.A., 1653; deprived of his fellowship, 1660, because he refused conformity before they certainly knew the terms that would be fixed. Riding through Newcastle-under-Lyme, he found the people without a minister and preached. Invited to settle, which he did. Ejected, 1662. Qualified, M.D., at Leyden, and returned to practise medicine. In July, 1672, living at Leicester, and licensed as Presbyterian teacher "in any allowed place." After the revocation of the Indulgence he was successively driven by persecutions from Newcastle and Birmingham; went to Ireland, returning 1689. He was at Darlington, and also at Coventry, in 1690, but apparently not as settled minister in either place. Returned to Newcastle about 1692; retired about Midsummer, 1705. Died at Bristol, December 26th, 1712. According to Calamy his retirement was necessitated by mental decay.

25. FRANCIS HUTCHINSON (1660-1739), second son of Edward Hutchinson. Born 2nd January, 1660, at Carrington, Derbyshire. His mother was Mary Tallents, sister of Francis. Matriculated as a pensioner at Catherine Hall, Cambridge, 1678; B.A., 1680; M.A., 1684; Tallents directed his historical studies, and employed him, about 1680, in taking his MSS. of his "*View of Universal History*" to Stillingfleet, Beveridge, and Kidder, for correction before it was printed. He was Vicar of Hone, Suffolk; before 1692 incumbent of Bury St. Edmunds. Besides several single sermons and small pamphlets he published "*Historical Essay concerning Witchcraft*," 1718; "*Life of Archbishop Tillotson*," also in 1718; "*Church Catechism in Irish*," 1722; and, in 1734, "*A Defence of the Ancient Historians*."

ARTHUR S. LANGEY.

The Associate Congregations, London, 1805

ABOUT the beginning of the nineteenth century there were, in and around London, several Independent congregations which were not strictly Congregational. They generally used a more or less liturgical form of service, carefully avoided any appearance of antagonism to the Established Church, and were commonly called "Calvinistic Methodists," though not by any means to be confounded with the Welsh body so named. A few of these Societies are still flourishing, having been reorganized on the regular Congregational model; most of the others have long been extinct.

In 1805 a number of the aforesaid Calvinistic Methodist Societies entered into a union for mutual co-operation, to which they invited the adhesion of others that might be like-minded. In their "Address to the Religious Public" they expressed their opinion that "while each congregation is left to its own discretion in the choice of the form . . . Church order and discipline ought to be established in all; and especially with regard to the terms of admission to the Lord's Table, and expulsion from the benefit of Christian Communion." They claimed that union on such a basis was "countenanced by the Apostles and the usage of the Churches in the first ages of Christianity. . . . That the Church at Antioch considered itself connected with the general body of Apostles, and Elders, and Brethren meeting at Jerusalem; and therefore agreed to refer to their decision a point which . . . they could not amicably settle among themselves; choosing Paul and Barnabas and some others to be their representatives in the Council. From

the Apostolic age till the time when a corrupt Christianity usurped the civil authority of the State, individual Churches of the same district, or province, seem to have formed a general association among themselves; their Pastors or Bishops meeting in periodical Assemblies, and discussing those subjects which related to the common good of the Union, while every particular congregation (as Cyprian and others inform us) was deemed competent to the government of its own internal affairs." The Address proceeds to quote at length a noteworthy passage from Watts's "Rational Foundation of a Christian Church," in which the author maintains the legitimacy of *any* form of Ecclesiastical Polity, Democratic, Presbyterial, or Episcopal, on which a Christian Community may agree, subject to this one reservation:—"that though all the Churches in a nation should be united by their representatives, and call themselves one National Church, they could acquire no divine right or authority thereby to impose any new doctrines or practices in religion, any creed, or articles, or canons, or rules of worship of their own making, on any particular Church or person whatever, without their own consent."

The projectors of the Association desired to establish a Common Fund, which should be applicable

1. "To assist in defraying the expenses occasioned by the education of gifted and pious young men for the Gospel ministry." It was desired to provide for "all the dark villages of our Country, a well-informed and respectable Itinerant Ministry."

2. "The relief of our aged, afflicted, and destitute ministers, and occasionally of their widows and orphan children."

Quarterly and annual meetings were to be held, in which attention should be given to the welfare of particular congregations and plans formed "to extend the knowledge of Christ in our respective districts; and

measures concerted to promote the general progress of religion.”

The signatories of this Address agreed, under the appended regulations, to form themselves into a general body, designated

THE ASSOCIATE CONGREGATIONS, Comprehending that large body of Christians throughout the United Kingdom, who have been commonly called Calvinistic Methodists.

RULES.

i.—In order to facilitate the accomplishment of the grand objects of this associate body, a fund shall be raised by the united exertions of its various branches, for the purpose of affording aid in the instruction of godly and gifted young men who are to be devoted to the ministry:—for ameliorating the condition of ministers of limited incomes, who are members of this Association:—And also for the relief of their widows and orphan children.

ii. There shall be a Committee, a Treasurer, and a Secretary chosen annually, to whom all letters relative to the business of this Union shall be addressed.

iii. A meeting shall be held four times in the year (or oftener if advisable), viz., on the first Tuesday in January, April, July, and October, at each place of worship in rotation (in every district where it may be practicable) a sermon shall be preached by one of the pastors in the morning, and the afternoon of the day shall be devoted to the business of the Union. Besides the above, there shall be an Annual Meeting to be held on the Tuesday after the second Wednesday in May. Every minister or deputy of a congregation belonging to this Union has a right to vote at all the said meetings.

iv. No minister or congregation shall be admitted to this Union that does not profess to believe in the

Sovereign everlasting love of God the Father; the particularity and efficacy of the redemption of God the Son; the special and effectual sanctifying operations of God the Holy Ghost;—and that does not maintain the necessity of a strict conformity to the whole revealed will of God.

v. Every minister or congregation desiring to join the Association shall be proposed by a member, at a quarterly meeting; and provided a ballot of two-thirds of the members present be favourable to the proposal, such minister or congregation shall be admitted to the Union.

vi. Every Society shall be left to its own discretion as to the mode of public worship, and of admission to the Lord's Supper, as well as to expulsion. But we are decidedly of opinion, that no persons applying for membership should be admitted except the minister be satisfied of their real conversion and moral deportment.

vii. Every congregation in this Union shall be expected, on all occasions, to show a firm attachment to the person of our Sovereign, and to the Constitution of our country, under which we enjoy so many privileges.

The following are some of the Special Regulations of the UNION.

I. All the business of the Union shall be attended to immediately after the public service.

III. The minister at whose place the service is held shall be chairman for the day.

IV. The afternoon shall be employed in the discussion of some theological subject, proposed at a prior meeting.

VI. We will sign no case for the erection or repair

of places of worship, but such as is sanctioned by the Union at their usual meetings.

VII. Every case presented must be accompanied by a testimonial, that the congregations and friends in the neighbourhood have actually subscribed at least one-third of the sum to be expended.

VIII. Every minister, or layman, presenting a case, must have testimony from the neighbouring ministers to the purity of his moral character.

IX. Every case must have had the pecuniary aid of those congregations whose ministers have joined in the recommendation.

X. Where these testimonials are presented the Union will not limit itself to any given number of cases yearly, nor bind itself to any rotation; as it is possible some cases may be more urgent than others.

The Undersigned form the COMMITTEE of the UNION for the year 1806, to either of whom Subscriptions and Contributions for the general fund may be paid:—

REV. JOHN BALL	(Jewry Street).
ROWLAND HILL	(Surrey Chapel).
THOS. JACKSON	(Stockwell).
E. J. JONES	{(Silver Street and Islington Chapel).
J. A. KNIGHT	{(Tabernacle and Tottenham Ct. Rd.)
THOS. LEWIS	(Islington, Union Chapel).
J. S. NICHOLSON	(Mulberry Gardens).
W. F. PLATT	(Holywell Mount).
JAS. SAFINE	? ?
MATT. WILKS	{Tabernacle, and Tottenham Ct. Rd.)
GRIFFITH WILLIAMS	(Gale Street).
JOHN DYER	{Managers of Greenwich New
WM. ROUT	{Chapel.

The first meeting of the "Associate Congregations" was held in Silver Street Chapel on 10th February, 1806, when Rev. John Ball preached on Romans xiv., 5 and 19 verses. A meeting described as "First Annual" was held in Surrey Chapel on 20th May in the same year, when Rev. Rowland Hill spoke on "Qualities Indispensable in the Successful Itinerant." But we can find no further trace of the Union, either in the Evangelical Magazine or elsewhere. It is worth noting that in the same year 1806 the first attempt was made to constitute a "General Union of Independents," really an incipient Congregational Union. This maintained a struggling existence for a few years, and was ultimately merged in the more efficient and vigorous Home Missionary Society; which—strange to say—was at length absorbed by the *new* Congregational Union of 1831.

T. G. CRIPPEN.

Letters of Dr. Philip and Mrs. Doddridge

[These two letters have been transcribed by the Rev. T. G. Crippen from a group of original letters, which has not previously been printed. Doddridge's letter contains one or two amusing touches ; " w^{ch} cost me 9d." is worthy of Pepys.]

Letter of Mrs. Doddridge to Her Husband

[June 17th, 1745.]

MY DEAREST,

Every new proof of tenderness from a person so very dear to me must be agreeable ; such was your last, for which I most heartily thank you, and rejoice to hear you got so far well on y^r journey. I hope and you may be asurd I sincerely pray y^t every future stage of it may be equally safe and pleasant. I am sorry it was not in my power to comply with your request in writing to Lady Jane ; but Mr. Fergusson on his return, wh was not till . . . a clock found a letter from my Lord to inform him that . . . was waiting for him at Loffbourough which determined him . . . early yesterday morning ; beside this Mrs. Stoonhouse stayd with me till ten in the evening ; after which, to say nothing of my spirits, which my Dear seems to have taken along with him it was impossible for my stomach to perform such a task. I received last night a very sensible and obliging letter from Mr. John Wainman, in which he expresses his great surpriss at y^e three letters you mention in your posscript, as he never wrote any of y^m, nor knows at all what they contain. As to his brother he say notwithstanding what is past he should be glad to serve him, or to ingage any of his Friends to do it as far as he can consistent with Truth, honour & conscience ; he hears he has got a small charge, and if in his future behaviour he approve himself he shall be very thankful for your good offices, if ever it should be in your way to help him to something better. In the meantime he thought it is [*sic*] Duty to give you y^s information, to clear himself, and to prevent your being impose [*sic*] upon in the affair : I am in some pain least y^r interview with dear Miss Scott should to [*sic*] much oppress your spirits. I want extremely to know how she does ; and hope at least by Friday post to have ye pleasure of hearing of your safe arival at Norrich and allso of her better health. I beg you will asure her of my best wishes, & present both her & y^e good old gentleman with my most affectionate complements. Pray

take care of your dear self & of me [?] a Little in not exceeding y^e Limmet of y^e time you have fixd for your return ; for really I find your absence peculiarly grievous to me in this state of confinement, tho I bless God I have been rather better y^s afternoon, than I . . . been since you Left me ; & with that I shall conclude. I believe . . . ad nothing that will be more agreeable to you I shall content myself with wishing you a good-night and asuring you I am, My Dearest, most intirely and affectionately yours.

M. DODDRIDGE.

Monday, June y^e 17, 1745.

P.S.—I hope my good Dear will write as often as he can. Y^e dear children are well & send duty. Many services attend you. My [sic] to all friends. I am sorry to hear you dont Take your horse.

Letter of Dr. Doddridge to His Wife.

Cannon Street, July 25. 1747.

Sat Morning.

MY DEAREST LOVE,

On my return from Walthamstow yesterday in the afternoon in the Company of Dr. Grosvenor in a good Ladies Coach, I had the joy to receive you [r] two most affectionate and obliging Letters for each of which I return you a thousand Thanks. I am glad if any of mine can in any Degree entertain you, & I look upon it as a great proof of your Love to y^e Writer when I consider how very little there is in them ; but truly I write in such Hast at odd Times & amidst so many Interruptions that it is the less to be wondered at that they are often so empty and some times so short, tho as our good Friend says I could wish to write a Volume to you. I am much Comforted my Dear to find you are well & your Spirits a little revived : if my being perfectly well & you being however absent in Body hourly present with me in Thought can contribute to keep them up I see no Sign of their Sinking. But indeed my two last Days have been so peaceful & sweet a Recess at Walthamstow in the midst of such kind amiable Friends, who have thought themselves so much obliged to me for receiving obligations from them that I had almost every Advantage for being well that you could your Dear Self have wished me : & had I been in any Danger of forgetting you, their Affectionate Friendship wh. engaged them at almost every Meal to drink your Health, and often to say the most respectful Things of you, would have prevented my being able to do it. Tis a pleasure to me to hear you are so agreeably entertained wth y^e Company of your Friends in my Absence ; and especially that you take so much care of your Health, on which under God so much of the Happiness of my Life

depends. Accept therefore my best Thanks for that Care. I have not yet had an opportunity of seeing Mr. and Mrs. Roome, but hope for it on Monday on my Way to Mr. Lyttelton with whom I am to dine by an appointment made by a Letter w^{ch} I exchanged wth him last Night on receiving his inclosed in yours w^{ch} cost me 9d. The Portmanteau is come safe, good Mr. Jackson was so kind that he fetched it himself. He and the Family send you their best Services. I am just going to open it and shall take immediate care of its Contents. I am always glad to hear y^e Dear Children are well. Mr. Johnston whom I met yesterday at Mr. Parker's brought me news that you were well on Monday, and that he met Philly on his way to Harborough, where he was very sorry that he could not stay to receive him. I hope you will this Day receive the Sugar about which I know that immediate and repeated Orders were given. As for Shoes and Gloves, they are to be met wth in London, and as I have recd Mr. Graham's Bill I am in no immediate need of that which answereth all Things. As I would willingly have my Cane in Town, where I shall want it in every Journey, & would not buy More gloves than are necessary you may if you please send it, unless it w^d occasion y^e additional Expence of a Case, of w^h I think there is already one. You understand my Dear I w^d not have my best w^{ch} is in y^e Trunk but y^e lighter cane wth y^e Pinchbeck head which is in the Parlour or at least used to be there. I heartily wish your apprehension of Disturbance from Mr. K. may not appear too well grounded, but he really behaved very well at St. Albans. It will be a great Concern to our Friends there as well as to me that you cannot meet me there according to our proposal, & so much the rather as it will disconcert my whole Scheme. However, I am ready to think that on the whole it will be y^e Cheapest way for Matthew to bring my Horse thither on Wednesday Fortnight, that I may return on Thursday if the Weather be good and you hear Nothing to y^e Contrary. If Mr. Hoghton, to whom I desire my particular Services, stay at Northampton during Mr. Robertson's Absence, I beg he would have an Eye on poor Mr. Kennedy. I have little news to send you but what y^e papers contain, on the goodness of which as to y^e Victory in Italy I congratulate you. Of poor Mr. Raymond nothing is heard, w^h suggests the most terrifying Fears. I am astonished to observe and hear with how much serenity & Christian Fortitude the Calamity is born [*sic*] by his Lady and our Walthamstow Friend, while it is felt wth the utmost Tenderness. How thankful am I to God that you My Dearest Creature are not in y^e like anxiety & Distress, tho perhaps few in y^e world would bear such a circumstance in a more exemplary Manner. I heartily recommend you to continued Divine Protection and support, and am, my Dearest. Yours wth all possible Tenderness. P.D.

[*Postscript*]

I have now stripd the Portmanteau of its Covering, and impute it entirely to the Greatness of your Love or mine either that you, my Dear, have not sent the Key or that I, unenlightened with the Lustre of your Eyes, am not able to find it. I am the more concerned as I must break it open, not being able to stay for the Contents till Mr. Robertson comes to Town. It is very agreeable to me to hear that good Dr. Stonhouse is like to buy a House at Northampton. My Compliments attend him and his Lady. I shall remember the Memorandum I made in my last, tho I have not yet had an opportunity of despatching any of that Business having been only a few Hours in Town.

Having now broke open the Lock, to our great amusement we found the Key withinside. This threw us into great Astonishment, till at length I conjectured that possible [*sic*] the Lock might shoot in the passage, for that it was really fast Locked is most certain.

Since I wrote this I made a Visit to Newington, where I found Dr. Watts much better than I expected, and Lady Abney, Miss [*sic*], Mrs. Richiere, and Miss Ashurst, as also Mr. and Mrs. Cooke, Miss Cooke and Miss Dolings all very well. This last good Lady brought me part of y^e way Home in her Chariot. I called on Dr. Guyse. Many Services attend you. I bless God I continue very well, eat light Suppers, & rise rather earlier than at Home, to which you, my Dear, owe your long Letters.

We hear nothing of poor Mr. Raymond, wh suggests the most terrible Fears. May God support our good Friends. I am very apprehensive that the Severest part of their Trial is behind. [?]

Assure my Dear Friends at Northampton that I often think of them and am daily praying for them.

[Address]

To Mrs. Doddridge
in Northampton.

TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
CONGREGATIONAL
HISTORICAL SOCIETY

VOL. IX.

1924—1926.

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ALBERT PEEL, M.A., Litt.D.

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INDEX.

CONTRIBUTORS :—	PAGE
COZENS-HARDY, B. A	A Puritan Moderate : Dr. Thorowgood, S.T.B. 1595-1669 205
CRIPPEN, T. G. ...	Nicholas Lockyer: A Half-forgotten Champion of Independency.. .. 61
	State Prayers from the Niblock Collection 87
	John Moore of Tiverton 180
	The Covenant and Confession of Faith of the Church Worshipping at Blanket Row, Kingston-upon-Hull, 1770 248
	Review 143
DIXON, H. N.....	Gleanings from the Castle Hill Church Book, Northampton 5
	Ryland Adkins 98
EASTERBROOK, J. C.	The Chapel Library at Matlock Bath.. 86
GRIEVE, A. J.	The Congregational Historical Society. A Survey, 1900-1925 195
	Reviews 44, 286
KEEP, H. F.	The History and Teaching of Carrs Lane, Birmingham 53
MANNING, B. L....	Some Hymns and Hymnbooks 122, 170
MATTHEWS, A. G. .	A Censored Letter : William Hook in England to John Davenport in New England 262
MARTIN, R. G. ...	John Howard 255
NICHOL, D. L.	The Story of the Beginning of Congrega- tionalism in Newfoundland .. 243
PEEL, ALBERT	An Eighteenth Century Church Cove- nant 261
	An Eighteenth Century Ordination Certificate 284
	Reviews 46, 94, 96, 143, 191
PIERCE, WILLIAM .	The Contribution of the Noncon- formists to the Building of the Mansion House 146
	<i>John Penry, His Life and Times.</i> A Correction 237

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Index

CONTRIBUTORS—Continued:

	PAGE
POWICKE, F. J. The Independents of 1652	21
Dr. Lewis Du Moulin's <i>Vindication of</i> <i>the Congregational Way</i>	219
TROUT, A. E. Nonconformity in Hull	29, 78
VEITCH, G. S. Thomas Raffles of Liverpool	100

ARTICLES.

ADKINS, RYLAND	98
BIRMINGHAM The History and Teaching of Carrs Lane, Birmingham	53
BLANKET ROW [See Hull]	
CARRS LANE [See Birmingham]	
CASTLE HILL [See Northampton]	
CONGREGATIONAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY A Survey, 1900-1925	195
CONGREGATIONAL WAY [See Moulin, Du]	
DEDHAM Church Covenant, 1741	261
HACKNEY [See Smyth, George]	
HOOKE, WILLIAM A Censored Letter: William Hooke in England, to John Davenport in New England, 1663	262
HOWARD, JOHN	255
HULL The Covenant and Confession of Faith of the Church Worshipping at Blanket Row, Kingston-upon-Hull, 1770	248
Nonconformity in	29, 78
HYMNS AND HYMNBOOKS	122, 170
INDEPENDENCY ... [See Nicholas Lockyer]	61
INDEPENDENTS ... The Independents of 1652	20, 64
LIVERPOOL Thomas Raffles of	100
LOCKYER, NICHOLAS A Half-forgotten Champion of Independency	64
MANSION HOUSE .. The Contribution of the Noncon- formists to the Building of	146
MATLOCK BATH .. The Chapel Library at	86
MOORE, JOHN	180

Index

	PAGE
MOULIN, DR. LEWIS DU <i>Vindication of the Congregational Way</i>	219
NEWFOUNDLAND . . . The Story of the Beginning of Congregationalism	243
NIBLOCK COLLECTION State Prayers from	87
NONCONFORMITY . . . In Hull	29, 78
<i>Penry, John, and His Times : A Correction</i>	237
PURITAN MODERATE, A Dr. Thomas Thorowgood	205
RAFFLES, THOMAS	100
SMYTH, GEORGE Ordination Certificate at Hackney, 1716	284
STATE PRAYERS . . . From the Niblock Collection	87
THOROWGOOD, THOMAS	205
TIVERTON John Moore of	180
<i>Vindication of the Congregational Way.</i> Dr. Lewis Du Moulin's	219

BALANCE SHEET	239
CORRESPONDENCE	240
EDITORIAL 1, 49, 97, 145, 193,	241
FINANCIAL STATEMENT	142
MEMBERS, LIST OF	287

REVIEWS.

MATTHEWS, A. G. . . . <i>The Congregational Churches of Staffordshire</i>	143
PIERCE, W. <i>John Penry: His Life, Times and Writings</i>	44
HORNE, C. SILVESTER <i>A Popular History of the Free</i> AND PEEL, ALBERT <i>Churches</i>	286
WHITLEY, W. T. <i>A History of British Baptists</i> ALBERT PEEL	46
BERESFORD JOHN [Ed]. <i>The Diary of a Country Parson: The Rev. James Woodforde, 1758-1781.</i>	94
PORRITT, ARTHUR . . . <i>John Henry Jowett</i>	96
POWICKE, F. J. <i>A Life of the Reverend Richard Baxter</i>	143
PEARSON, A. F. SCOTT <i>Thomas Cartwright and Elizabethan Puritanism</i>	191

EDITORIAL

WE hope all our members have started out on a campaign to increase the membership and the usefulness of the Society. We ought to have at least ten times as many members as we have at present, as probably all will agree when they see the following figures :

Life Members	..	..	..	..	6
Honorary Members	..	..	..	..	6
Subscribing Libraries and Colleges				..	18
Ordinary Members	..	..	..	..	115
Total					145

There are about 3,000 Congregational ministers, and perhaps 300,000 members of Congregational Churches. Can we not make our Society worthy of the name Congregational ?

The Balance Sheet for 1923 is as follows :

<i>Receipts.</i>	£	s.	d.	<i>Expenditure.</i>	£	s.	d.
Balance from 1922 ..	44	9	7	Printing <i>Transactions</i>	20	15	0
Subscriptions (including 1 Life Member)	44	7	0	Postages	2	0	6
Sale of <i>Transactions</i>	4	17	8	Friends' Hist. Soc. (4 years' sub.) ..	1	0	0
				Hire of Room for Meeting	1	1	0
				Printing Notices ..		8	0
				Balance in Hand ..	68	9	9
	93 14 3				93 14 3		

When it is remembered that our six Life Members have paid sixty guineas this balance cannot give us much satisfaction. We ought to make it a rule to employ the subscriptions of Life Members, not for the *Transactions*, but for publishing special works—a collected edition of the writings of Browne, Barrowe, Greenwood, and Penry should be our aim. Now that we are to issue two

A

numbers of the *Transactions* each year, our printing bill will be double that of the 1923 Balance Sheet, and we shall soon dissipate our balance if the number of members is not considerably increased. We do not believe, however, that there are only about a hundred people in the country keen on Congregational history: all that is needed is publicity, and our numbers will soon represent the denomination more adequately.

* * * *

Dr. Powicke has rendered another service to Nonconformist history by his article on Thomas Hall (in the *Rylands Library Bulletin*, January, 1924, and separately). Thomas Hall, B.D., 1610-1665, was a Presbyterian minister and teacher at King's Norton, and Dr. Powicke has discovered an authentic biography of him among the Baxter MSS. in the Dr. Williams's Library. Hall, like Baxter, suffered from chronic ill-health, and he was also a keen controversialist. His biographer is not without a sense of humour, as two references will show. Hall had such a bad time with his housekeeper that he often used to say "Felix cui uxor, felicius cui bona, felicissimus cui nulla." After 1662 "devotion [was] like to a three-halfe-penny ordinary where a man must swimme thro' a great mass of brothe before he can come at a little chip of meat, and y^t many times mixt wth poysson." Hall's chief interest to us at present lies in the fact that by his will he gave his books partly "to the Library at Birmingham as a monument of my best respects to y^t Towne and the ministers there, wth the rest of the adjacent ministers," and the rest "for a Library at Kingsnorton for the use of the Minister of Kingsnorton, Mosely and Withall, etc., and of the two Schoolmasters there."

Dr. Powicke prints the list of 150 books for Birmingham, but the instructions of the will were not carried out, and the volumes remained with the others at King's Norton until 1892, when the whole Library, about 600 volumes in all, was transferred to the Birmingham Public Library.

It was described by Mr. W. Salt Brassington, F.S.A., in a paper entitled "An old Birmingham Lecturer: The Rev. Thomas Hall, B.D.," published in 1887 in the Birmingham and Midland Institute's Proceedings (Archæological Section), but the Library deserves a more thorough examination than it has yet received. We have lately had an opportunity of glancing at it, and it is to be hoped that ere long some student will make a systematic catalogue.

Dr. Powicke has for many years been at work on the life and writing of Richard Baxter, and we believe he considers the resulting biography to be his *magnum opus*. We are looking forward to its appearance in print at an early date.

* * * *

We rejoice to know that students are at work in different parts

of the country preparing denominational county histories. Much good work has been done on these lines in the last half-century, but many counties still await historians. The Rev. Francis Wrigley has recently given us a useful history of the Yorkshire Congregational Union, and the Rev. A. G. Matthews has a history of Staffordshire Congregationalism ready for the press. We hope to see the day when our shelves will contain the histories of Congregationalism in every county in the land.

* * * *

The Autumnal Meeting of the Society was held, appropriately enough, in the Doddridge Memorial Church, Northampton. Dr. Nightingale presided, and there was an excellent attendance. A characteristic address on Doddridge was given by Sir Ryland D. Adkins, an address which we hoped to print in the present issue. It was delivered extempore, however, and Sir Ryland has been unable to prepare it for publication. We are glad that the other address, Mr. H. N. Dixon's "Gleanings from the Castle Hill Church Book," marked as it is by the writer's careful scholarship and sound judgment, finds a place in our pages. Members are reminded that the next meeting of the Society will be held on Thursday, May 15th, at the Memorial Hall, at 3 p.m., when the Rev. H. Wheeler Robinson, M.A., Principal of Regent's Park Baptist College, will speak on "The Value of Denominational History." We hope that the alteration of day from Wednesday to Thursday (caused by the appearance of "Assembly (if necessary)" on the May Meeting programme on Wednesday afternoon) will not prevent a large number of members from attending the meeting. Friends will be welcomed.

* * * *

Our plans for the *Transactions* in the future include a regular issue, appearing in April and September each year. With the present number is included title-page and index for Vol. VIII. Mr. Crippen has handed over a large number of articles he has prepared for publication, and these, together with articles accepted by him from contributors, will be used as opportunity permits. Herewith we include the first part of the paper on "Nonconformity in Hull," read by Mr. A. E. Trout at the Society's Meeting in Hull, in October, 1922.

* * * *

It is a pleasing feature of our denominational life at the present time that our Young People's Department keeps denominational history well to the fore in the Young People's Examination. Not long ago "The Pilgrim Fathers" was the subject for study; last year it was "John Milton"; this year it is "Oliver Cromwell." It looks as if one day we may have a generation that knows some-

thing about Congregational history! Incidentally, a book for young Congregationalists that can be very strongly recommended is the Rev. N. Micklem's *God's Freeman*.

* * * *

The Memorial to Robert Browne was unveiled in the St. Giles' Churchyard, Northampton, on Thursday, April 24th. A dignified and impressive service, attended by a large congregation, was held, first in St. Giles' Church, and then at the Memorial. The Memorial is like a cenotaph, stands eight feet high, and bears the following inscription :

To the Memory of

ROBERT BROWNE,

A Founder of the Brownists, or Independents,
Rector of Thorpe Achurch, 1591-1631,
Who was buried in this Churchyard, 8th Oct., 1633.
A tribute to a life wherein, among many things
obscure, one thing shone brightly, that Christ was
by him exalted as Head above all.

Erected by Congregationalists in connection with
the visit to Northampton, October, 1923, of the
Congregational Union of England and Wales.

Various Congregational ministers took part in the ceremony, and also the vicar of St. Giles'. Addresses were delivered by Sir Ryland Adkins and by the Rev. Arthur Pringle, the Chairman-elect of the Congregational Union, who also performed the unveiling ceremony.

The total cost of the memorial has been £105 of which £54 has been received or promised. Members of the Society desiring to contribute may send donations to Mr. H. N. Dixon, M.A., F.L.S., 17, St. Matthew's Parade, Northampton.

* * * *

The fact that the Index to volume VIII. has had to be made by an Editor not responsible for the volume has, we fear, caused at least one mistake. In preparing the Index we attributed all unsigned articles to Mr. Crippen, but we have since discovered that the article on the correspondence of Harley and Tallents was by the Rev. A. S. Langley. Will members please make the correction on their indexes at once, and so save themselves future inconvenience.

**Gleanings from the Castle Hill Church Book,
Northampton¹**

IN a moment of weakness I consented to read a paper at this meeting. Had I known then that the members of this Society would be having the privilege of hearing an address on Doddridge himself from one so well qualified in so many directions and by so many circumstances to occupy this platform this afternoon, I should certainly have thought anything further superfluous. As it is, I hope my paper will be recognized as in quite a different category. In fact, it is to be understood as labelled "not for competition."

I have nothing new to unfold—at least, nothing of historic value. Practically all that is of such value in this old book has already been published in the *History of the Church of Doddridge*. But it is quite probable that that is a work not known to many of the delegates here; and it may be that the interest that is being aroused, we hope, in Doddridge's life, through these meetings being held in the place where he lived, wrote, and preached, may make you willing to go with me a-gleaning, for a few minutes, in this church book, so much of which was written by his own hand, and all of it concerned with the church to which he ministered, and over which, as many of the entries show, he yearned as a shepherd over his flock.

This old book, bound and re-bound, its edges worn and trimmed, its pages here and there defaced or lost, its ink faded, dates from 1694. On its first page we have the clear evidence of the pre-existence of a Church, already, at that date; for the heading runs:—

Acts & Memoirs

of Y^e p^ticular Church of Christ in Northampton of which Mr. Samuell Blower was Pastor.

¹Read at a meeting of the Congregational Historical Society, October, 1923.

6 Gleanings from the Castle Hill Church Book

In Y^e year 1694.

This Church did upon Y^e departure [of] Y^e Reverend Mr. Blower their for[mer Pastour] give their Unanimous Call to Thom[as] Shepard to succeed him in Y^e pastora[l] Office who thereupon accepting Y^e Call did actually succeed him in [Y^e] office aforesaid.*

Then follows the Covenant; and appended to it the names of the 164 members who subscribed to it. It is notable that a considerable proportion of them were not residents in Northampton, but in the villages around, as far as Olney and Towcester, though some of them are scarcely to be recognized in the quaint garb of their seventeenth century spelling. Duston, for instance, is Dusson; Wootton, Wosson; Collingtree is spelled Collingtrough; Olney, Oulney; Dallington is Dalliton; Kingsthorpe is Kingstrup, an interesting variant, agreeing with the old pronunciation, and, no doubt, indeed, the phonetic spelling of the name. Those who knew the fifth Earl Spencer, the Red Earl, as he was called, will recall that he always spoke of Althorp as Althrup.

The names of the members themselves were not actually signed in the book, for they are mostly, if not all, written in the same hand, that of Thomas Shepard.

There are some familiar names among them, at least to residents in Northampton, for it is a very noteworthy thing how the local surnames familiar to us here and now, but many of them scarcely known in other parts of the country, are to be found in these lists of 200 and 250 years ago—such names as Tebbut, Latimer, Mellows, Wodom, Dunkley, Buswell, Hollowell or Hallowell, Sandell, Earl, Emery, Dadford, Wilby, Cockeril, Saul.

Richard Pendred is one of the earliest names on the list, and against it Doddridge's later hand has written: "died June 10th, 1736; the oldest member of Y^e Church when I came, w^h. was 1729."

Malory Weston has against his name: "from 1736" (*i.e.*, from the death of Richard Pendred) "Y^e Father of Y^e Church. Died May 3, 1748."

A familiar name is Joseph Bunyan, of Abington. The Bunyan names run down the pages of this book at frequent

* N.B.—The words in square brackets are conjectural emendations, the originals being lost.

intervals for many years, and Henry Bunyan was one of the leaders of the church in Doddridge's time. We have, I believe, no information as to their connexion with John Bunyan of Bedford, but it is probable, from the proximity of the homes, and the name being an uncommon one, that they were related.

There is one rather interesting deduction to be made from this list of names. The use of scriptural, or "canting" names among the Puritans has been a favourite gibe of writers from Sir Walter Scott downwards. Praise-God Barebones is a well-known historical character; but it is perhaps not so well known that the story went that Praise-God had two brothers, one named "Christ came into the world to save Barebones," and the other, "If Christ had not died thou hadst been damned Barebones." If boys were then at all like the present generation, there is little doubt of the abbreviation by which the latter was known to his playmates!

Such names there were, no doubt, but it does not seem that they were in any way prevalent. If they had been at any time and anywhere at all frequent, one might surely look to find them among a body of Nonconformist Independents, who in 1694 signed this Church Covenant, and who may be supposed to have been then for the most part in middle age; that is to say, they would be born and baptized just about the time when the Cromwell Independent party was in the ascendant. So far, however, from finding such names, there is in the whole list scarcely a single one of them. Actually the first names on the list read: Matthew, Wm., Mary, John, Thomas, John, Richard, Francis, Richard, Wm., Samuel. The few biblical names there are are such as have always been common in Christian homes, and manifest no eccentricity; such as Hester, Susanna, Martha, Judith, Hanna; and even these form only a small proportion. Christiana occurs once or twice; may we find here an echo of *The Pilgrim's Progress*?

Charity occurs once, and Patience; Magdalen, Priscilla, and Balthazar once; and in later times, under Doddridge, one Malachy Blake. Malachy, one fears, did not live up to his name as one of the sons of the prophets, for Doddridge has written against him: "Removed, 1747." Later on, too, among those received into the church in Mr. Tingey's time, March, 1715, we find Tubal Cain York, of Kislingboro (Kislingbury). Was he, one wonders, the son of the village blacksmith?

Most of these covenanting members remained in communion

8 Gleanings from the Castle Hill Church Book

with the Church until their deaths, but a few were lost in other ways, some quite commendably, as when John Blundle was dismissed to Mr. Watts of London (*i.e.*, Dr. Watts); others less happily, as Ann Ashby, who was "rent offe to Y^e Quakers."

Under Rev. John Hunt, pastor from 1698 to 1709, there was almost a schism. Hunt was a strong controversialist, and a pugnacious adversary. He had much tenderness for those of his flock who walked in the orthodox way; none at all for those who lapsed from it, whether as supra-lapsarians or sub-lapsarians, Calvinists or Arminians, Pædo-baptists or adult Baptists. Mr. Moore, of College Lane Baptist Church, must have been a thorn in his side, for about 1710 we have quite a few entries like this:—

"Mary Yates. Gone offe to Mr. More.

"Judith Davis. Rent from Y^e Church and gone to Mr. More.

"Sarah Spicer. Rent offe to Mr. More."

The names are entered on the right hand pages of the book, the left hand pages being reserved for resolutions of the Church and similar matters. Those of importance in the Church life have been printed in our Church history; but one or two of lesser importance may be referred to.

On October 6th, 1695, an entry was made (P. 4) which was afterwards scored out; great pains being taken to obliterate every word of the writing as far as possible. Needless to say, one's curiosity was the more provoked. Was some Antinomian or supra-lapsarian heretical pronouncement of the Church there indited, to be subsequently revoked and ordered to be expunged root and stock? Or had some audacious intruder of the ungodly, still in the gall of bitterness and in the bond of iniquity, obtained access to the Church book and written there some ribald charge against Rev. Thos. Shepard or his Ruling Elders? I have succeeded in deciphering it at last, after taking as much pains as if recovering an early Christian palimpsest, but with much less valuable results. The entry ran thus:—

"It was agreed Y^e Brother Owen should look after Y^e Meeting House; Y^e his work should be to sweep it weekly and open and shutt it every Lord's Day, for which six pence should be his weekly allowance at present."

No very terrible blot on the good name of the Church, after all. Was it expunged as savouring too much of the secular and worldly? Or as too trivial a matter to be allowed a place among Church Covenants and such high matters? Or was it perhaps for a quite different reason? For after five or six years' service, John Owen apparently demanded a rise in wages—chapel keepers have been known on occasion to do so even in later years—and on April 4th, 1701, as the next entry shows: "It was A Greed Y^t John Owen should have 10 Shill. for Looking after the meeting every quarter." We may then surmise that the said John Owen stipulated that the original entry with its poor sixpence a week should be blotted out from remembrance for ever. Mr. Hunt, however, for I think it is his hand, took a mild revenge on this seventeenth century Oliver Twist by writing "agreed" in two very distinct words, with a capital G for greed, so that the entry as it stands reads like a standing witness to the greed of John Owen!

An entry in the early pages (p. 10) of the book greatly puzzles me. Perhaps some one more learned in these matters will be able to enlighten me upon it.

1694. December 11. I married Mr. Buswell's Son and Daughter of Kettring in o^r Meeting House.

T. Shepard.

Now were marriages celebrated in a Dissenting Meeting House at that time? Meeting Houses were licensed for preaching under the Indulgence, and I believe for baptisms, but were they licensed for marriages?

Anyhow, this is the only entry of a marriage in the whole book.

But the entry has a further puzzle. The Meeting House was built in 1695; how could a marriage be celebrated in it on December 11, 1694? We do not know in what building the services were held at this time, prior to the building of the Meeting House; whether in Robert Marley's house, licensed for the purpose, or whether in some cottage, as Mr. Arnold suggests in his history, fitted up for worship. In either case I should scarcely have thought it would be called the Meeting House. The entry certainly remains to me a riddle.

The original body of Church members, gathered together from different preaching houses under Rev. Samuel Blower, evidently included Presbyterians, as well as Independents, for Ruling Elders, a Presbyterian institution, had the governing

10 Gleanings from the Castle Hill Church Book

of the Church in its early years. In John Hunt's time, however, in 1707, the following resolution was passed by the Church :—

“ May 7th, 1707.

“ It was agreed upon by Y^e whole church asembled at a publick Church-meeting for weighty reasons for Y^e time to come Y^t Y^e Church shall be governed without ruling Elders. . . . ”

As the whole Church agreed upon it, it appears to have been a change that commended itself to all; but it seems to indicate that the Independent section of the Church had increased as against the Presbyterian element.

The Church was not, however, under Mr. Hunt, free from dissentient elements, nor, apparently, could they always see eye to eye with their pastor. An entry (p. 24) on September 28th, 1699, in John Hunt's hand, runs :—

“ It was then agreed upon by this Society Y^t it should be [left] to Mr. Hunt our Pastor to determine whom [it] shall be lawful for us to [hear] preach; and Y^t it shall be judged an offence to Y^e church to act in Y^e case contrary to his determination.”

Under which is written, as a comment, in Doddridge's hand, the following quotation :—“ Those Ministers who will rule by Love and Meekness need no Laws or Canons to rule by other than those of the Holy Scriptures. P. Henry's Life, p. 121.”

The entries in the Church Book are by no means confined to the spiritual concerns of the Church. It contains records of business transactions, such as the following :—

“ 1699.

Feb. 1. Agreed on then by the Church that Mr. Dust and Mr. Sanders should have Y^e use of Y^e Meeting garden for the space of twelwe years paying 10 shill. a year. As witness our hands. . . . ”

And again :—

“ Mar. 31, 1706.

“ Whereas Mr. Hunt our Pastor [to keep] the Church safe and easey hath [paid] the sume of one hundred and forty Pounds as a debt which the church owed for the Meeting House, we whose names are underwritten do solemnly promise that if ev[er] the said Mr. Hunt shall any way susta[in] any damage in the S^d. Meeting House we will (as in duty we should)

Gleanings from the Castle Hill Church Book 11

bare each others Burdens by paying our parte with the rest of our Brethren who have bound themselves in that case, according to the ability God shall give us."

Nine names follow, including Joseph Bunyan, Malory Weston, and John Owen (who seems to have had a hand in most doings at this period, as well as sweeping out the Meeting House).

It is a matter of some little interest in connexion with the Church polity to note the relative position in early times of the Deacons and Elders.

Deacons had been chosen as early as 1694, while the Church was still governed by Ruling Elders; but there is little to indicate the position they held or the duties they fulfilled. We should, however, not be surprised if it should be a rather subordinate position. When, however, in 1707 the office of Ruling Elder was abolished, one would suppose that the deacons would to some extent take their place, even if without exercising their full powers; they were, at any rate, the only body apart from the minister to take the management of Church affairs. And when in Doddridge's time the Church chose three of its members to be Elders, we are naturally inclined, judging by our own practice, to suppose that their duties would be of an administrative nature, to carry out the decisions of the deacons rather than to initiate procedure or to take the management of Church affairs. This is, however, by no means the case. They begin at once to hold a prominent position. They hold a series of meetings among themselves, "aided" (as Doddridge writes) "by Mr. Samuel Hayworth, a member or elder" (he seems uncertain which) "of the Church at Rowell, but by Divine Providence resident amongst us"; and they drew up a careful scheme for the maintaining of discipline in the Church, "with the concurrence," as Doddridge goes on, "of the pastor," and then, by an afterthought he interlines it "and the deacons." They drew up a letter to the Church, and decided to hold "a church meeting extraordinary 'to consider of Y^e motion made by Y^e Elders and Deacons in their said Letter'" (Doddridge recollected the Deacons that time, but they are named *after* the Elders); and the subsequent sentences leave all the conduct of the matter in the hands of the Elders, the deacons not being mentioned.

The elaborate letter is headed "The Elders and Deacons of Y^e Church, &c.", and is signed by four Elders and six Deacons. And for some time on all the important acts of the

12 Gleanings from the Castle Hill Church Book

Church are determined by the Elders, and the deacons are rarely mentioned. When Richard Wilson, in 1771, was chosen as an Elder, Mr. Samuel Mellowes and Mr. Thos. Smith were chosen to be his assistants; a proceeding which surely seems to magnify the office. And in 1776 they were called to take upon them the Office of full Elders.

After Doddridge's time, however, there are many entries of the election of deacons, but little said about the elders. And in Rev. John Horsey's time, in a rather elaborate minute (about 1829), setting forth the general practice and constitution of the Church, the authority of Pastor and deacons is acknowledged, without mention of elders.

From the Rev. Thos. Tingey's time in February, 1708 (old style) the entries of the new members—hitherto the name only—become rather fuller, and we are informed that they were received by way of Covenant and prayer, or some similar entry. Later on in the book such an entry as this is at first sight rather startling:—"Elizabeth Lattimer was admitted as usual." It needs, however, to be read in connexion with previous entries. At first they read somewhat like this:—

"Y^e experiences of Ruth Welford, Jane Oldham, &c., were read and accepted by Y^e church, and being read Y^e church meeting before they were all received by way of covenant and by prayer."

Or, "Sept. Y^e 3rd, 1710. Mr. James Hackleton having given Y^e church satisfaction of Y^e grace of God in him was received into Y^e Communion of this church." These formulas repeated over and over again were felt to be rather unnecessary, and the entries become abbreviated to:

"Lewis Rye admitted into Communion by way of Cov. and prayer," and later: "Rebecca Rappit was admitted into Communion after Y^e usual manner."

From this it is a slight step only to the form above referred to: "Elizabeth Lewin was admitted as usual."

Into some of these entries there creeps occasionally a more personal note. Thus:—

"March: 2: 1709-10. Stephen Bennet spake his experience *viva voce* to Y^e satisfaction of Y^e Church, and was received by way of cov. & by prayer. 1714: rent from Y^e church refusing Y^e trial of his gifts for publick ministrations."

Gleanings from the Castle Hill Church Book 13

What does this mean? Was Stephen Bennet a timid soul who could not bring himself to take part in the public exercises of the meetings? If that was it, how did he manage to give his testimony *viva voce* upon admission? And, if so, it would surely be a harsh punishment for so venial a fault. Does it not rather mean that Stephen Bennet left the Church in a huff because the Church refused the trial of his gifts for public ministration? "Rent offe," not "Cut offe," seems to imply this. I fear we have needlessly expended our sympathy; rather that "*viva voce*" reveals him one of those who feel themselves to have the gift of prophesying, and who had a conviction that he was called upon to exercise this gift in the public ministrations of the Church, a conviction, alas, which the Church—no doubt after adequate experience of these gifts—unluckily did not share. Let us waste no more pity on Stephen Bennet.

In January, 1710, was received Jane Mellowes; under whose name Doddridge has written: "Dead, 1745; continued with them 33 years; an unspeakable loss." And a little later—"Mar. 31, 1715, Samuel Mellowes"; with Doddridge's comment—"Died Oct. 20, 1740. An unspeakable loss."

One would like to picture these two as a saintly married couple, going in and out of the church and ministering to the necessities of the saints through their long life of union. But Samuel is described as of "Kislingboro," and Jane as of Harleston, not of Kislingbury. This, however, was five years earlier. Perhaps the couple had moved from Kislingbury to Harleston before 1715.

It is perhaps worth pointing out that Harleston is always correctly spelled so, without the final e, which so many people, including our local authorities, are in the habit of tacking on to it at the present time.

When Mr. William Worcester died on January 24, 1731-2, Doddridge writes feelingly: "A severe blow to the Church; may God Sanctify & repair the Loss."

Of Mr. Thos. Oliver, received in 1732, Job Orton (I believe it is his hand) writes: "This dear and excellent youth died April 12, 1734."

On June 1, 1749, were admitted, as Doddridge writes, two members, "Roger Corby of Moulton, and My dear daughter Mary Doddridge."

There are twenty pages or more of entries in Doddridge's firm, clear, regular hand; then, in 1750, the few entries are

14 Gleanings from the Castle Hill Church Book

more irregular and less distinct ; then five entries in a different ink and somewhat different, less regular style ; and on May 2, 1751, the names of three members admitted constitute the final entries by him, just before the final voyage to his death at Lisbon.

The following entry (p. 66) of Doddridge's shows how seriously the Church took such a matter as the election of an Elder, in those days.

“ At a Church Meeting Feb. 2, 1748/9.

After several Hours spent in Prayer for Divine Direction in the Vestry in the Morning & some further Time in the Afternoon the Church chose Mr. John Harns to the Office of an Elder & desired the Rev. Mr. Robertson & Mr. Rudsell to assist him & the other Elders.”

At a certain period, about 1765–1770, in Wm. Hextal's pastorate, there are many entries of “ Baptisms in private.” Thus : “ Baptized in private October the sixth Arshin the son of William Arshin a Dragoon in the Inishilling Regiment —born October the second in St. Giles' Parish, Northampton.”

“ Baptized in private May 28th 1769 George the son of — Latimer born May 21th.”

The circumstances of the parentage might in some of the cases account for the privacy of the ceremony, but not as a rule. Perhaps it was that public baptism did not find favour in Mr. Hextal's sight.

Discipline had become lax in Doddridge's time, and he found it necessary to introduce a more stringent examination into a certain number of cases. A long letter (p. 61) from the Elders and Deacons to their Brethren of the Church deals with the difficulty at length, and requests the Church to take it into consideration and deal with “ such irregularities in the Behaviour of members as have given Scandal & Offence.” They recommended that such offenders should be solemnly admonished by the Church, “ and where the offence has been great and publick should be separated from our Communion till God shall give them Repentance to the Acknowledgment of their Sin, after which it is our undoubted duty, on a suitable time of trial with proper Declarations of their Repentance to admit them again in the spirit of Love and rejoicing in their Recovery.”

Accordingly, a Church Meeting was held on Thursday, April 16, 1741, in which “ after solemn Prayer the Elders mentioned the cases of a number of Persons,” each case set out

fully by Doddridge. The first was John Bassett, a case of "drunkenness and profane swearing, and a proud contempt of the admonitions wh. had been given him." John Bassett was, by the unanimous vote of the Church, cut off from its Communion.

Mr. Barnes and John and Sarah Sharman, who, "having had a difference for Sometime, had absented themselves from Communion, but on a Reconciliation Y^e Church declared its readiness to restore them all."

"John Cole was charged (pp. 63, 64) w. having failed, whereby many of his Creditors had received much Detriment, a conduct w. the church could not but severely condemn considering the Circumstances of High Imprudence w. which it was attended, nevertheless considering the many Afflictions that have attended his Family, the Church tenderly judged it proper to forbear at present any Severer Censure against him. Nevertheless as they were then informed that he seems not to be humbled as he ought for the irregularities of his Behaviour & has censured this Society in a very uncharitable and indecent Manner, it was unanimously agreed that he should be admonished by the Elders in the Name of Y^e Church, & Exhorted to give the Church those evidences of his Humiliation w. are necessary in order to his being restored to Communion, & on refusing wh. we shall think it our Duty to animadvert farther upon him."

And later :—

"At a Church Meeting May 1, 1741.

"As it was reported to Y^e Church by Y^e Elders that Samuel Howe and John Cole instead of humbling themselves under Y^e Solemn Admonition they had received continued to behave in a very haughty & indecent Manner it was judged proper to cut them off from Y^e church as corrupt and dishonourable Members, and they were accordingly cut off. . . ."

There were no Sunday Schools in those days, no Boys' Brigades, Girl Guides, or Y.P. Institutes. Yet the young people were not quite neglected. There are two pages devoted to them by Doddridge, January 16, 1741/2. He gives a list of books received from the Coward Trustees, mostly for young people: viz., forty first and forty second Catechisms, forty Songs for Children; one Book of Catechism for myself; twenty Assemblies' Catechism (does this indicate that there were still some Presbyterian families in the community?).

Then follows a list of the young people to whom they were given. Was it as prizes for good behaviour in divine service? Or were they distributed more generally, rather as incentives to good behaviour in the future than rewards for it in the past? The long lists would rather indicate the latter. Some notes as to the ages of the children are occasionally interspersed. Among those who had the first Catechism we read: Eliz. Marley (ten); Sarah Marley (four); Eliz. Johnston (seven); Anne Treslove (six); John Roebottom (six). Twenty-seven in all, and later lists of five and two.

The second Catechism went, I suppose, to older ones, twenty-six.

Watts' *Divine Songs* comes next, and George, Kitty and John Bunyan no doubt learned their "How doth the little busy bee" and "Let dogs delight to bark and bite" out of them. One hopes they had the illustrated edition, for though the wood-cuts leave something to be desired as pictorial art, still they *were* pictures, and probably the only ones that these children possessed, at any rate for Sunday use; and I fancy poor little four-year-old Sarah Marley, with her first Catechism, must have felt a wee bit jealous of Kitty Bunyan and Sarah Bugles with their *Divine and Moral Songs*. Twenty-eight of these.

Anne Kilpin, Sarah Saul, and a dozen names follow as recipients of the Sermon on One thing needful. Poor Anne Kilpin and Sarah Saul! But stay! compensation awaits them; for on the next page are two lines:—Sixpences and Shillings; and among the recipients of Shillings figure most at least of those who had been served with the Sermon on One thing needful. No shilling, however, or even sixpence, for poor little four-year-old Sarah Marley with her first Catechism!

Then there were "Bibles of my own" given away, and lists of the recipients; these, however, were not all children and young people, for Mrs. Plumpton and Mrs. Brian received a larger Bible each, in company with Amaretta Allison.

The evolution of the *name* for the place of worship through its various stages is rather interesting. It was first termed the Meeting House. I have already quoted an entry in 1694, "I married Mr. Buswell's Son, &c., in O Meeting House." Meeting House soon became abbreviated to Meeting, a somewhat unfortunate and confusing usage, which the Friends have adopted.

Gleanings from the Castle Hill Church Book 17

At other times it was designated by its site alone. Thus in 1741 : "The Church of Christ assembling on Castle Hill."

Meeting place is used at an unmentioned date in an entry in Doddridge's hand. "The Meeting Place was settled on the following Persons."

Meeting House or Meeting seems to have been the usual designation until a very late time. When the name of Chapel came into use is not shown ; probably only when in 1837 it was registered for the solemnization of Marriages, and the certificate terms it "the Building named Castle Hill Chapel." Only four years earlier Rev. John Bennett, in accepting the call to the pastorate, addressed his letter to "The Church of Christ assembling in the Castle Hill Meeting House, Northampton," so that this appellation was used until quite modern times. However, Chapel it became in 1837, and Chapel it remained until very recent years, when the modern, and, as it seems to me, very unfortunate fashion set in of calling it a Church ; a fashion which I venture to hope may pass away, as fashions do, and the quite suitable name of Chapel be restored. I have no word to say against our borrowing from our friends of the Church of England any terms or uses or forms of service that are appropriate or helpful or an improvement on our own, and these are many ; but I ask why, in the name of reason and common-sense, should we want to ape the Church of England by abandoning that one outstanding usage which was far superior to theirs, in order to adopt their most degrading and confusing use of the consecrated name of Church, the *ecclesia*, the community of believers, the visible body of Christ, for a temporary, material building, whether of precious stones and marble, or of bricks and mortar, or of corrugated iron ?

The confusion of mind that its use or misuse produces in the uneducated classes—not to say the educated or half-educated—is constantly being manifested ; as when a pupil of my own in describing a parish church near here said : "She had beautiful painted windows" ; and justified it by saying that the clergyman then preparing him for confirmation had told him : "We always speak of the Church as she."

If anyone would argue that the name of Chapel implies a slight or an indignity—the only argument I have ever heard in favour of the change—I would ask him to pay a visit to St. George's Chapel at Windsor, or King's College Chapel

18 Gleanings from the Castle Hill Church Book

at Cambridge, or the Capello Palatino at Palermo, and *then* say whether there is any indignity in calling *any* of our buildings by the same name as these.

A rather interesting page is Doddridge's Register of the "Briefs published at our Town since my Settlement here," with the sums of money collected.

Briefs in those days were a common method of raising money by public subscription for the needs of local communities under special stress of calamity or distress. They were very frequently employed to recoup losses from a fire, and, in fact, they formed a rough and ready anticipation of fire insurances. A Brief was properly a royal warrant, authorizing collections to be made in places of worship, though there were also episcopal Briefs and others more local, issued under the authority of Justices of the Peace. A list of Briefs at Stapleford Abbots in Essex refers to the Brief on 9 Aug., 1676, "for Northampton toune being burned by Fire," and one of the largest sums raised there for a purely local appeal, viz., £3 16s. 0d., was collected.

Doddridge's list of Briefs on the first page (unfortunately, the succeeding page or pages are lost) enumerates fifty-four, opening with "Protestants at Copenhagen, Apr. 26, 1730. . . . £1 16s. 0d."

Many of the names of the places referred to are followed by a capital F, indicating, I suppose, Fire.

Some of the cases appealed for, as was natural, aroused much greater interest than others, but in only one case besides the one mentioned was as much as a pound collected, and in many cases nothing at all. They came with rather appalling frequency (fifty-four in less than ten years, an average of about six a year), for a church that had to support its minister and meet all its other expenses from voluntary offerings; and a church, too, few of whom, in Doddridge's own words, "made any great Figure in life."

Aberbrothock, for example, one would not expect to make great appeal to a community none of whom, probably, had ever heard of the place, and it is scarcely to be surprised at that Aberbrothock got nothing from Castle Hill. The sum total, however, raised by some of these Briefs throughout the country was often no inconsiderable amount; thus, collections for the French refugees between 1681 and 1694 amounted to £93,000; for the rebuilding of St. Mary's on the wall, Colchester, after the siege, £1,595 was collected. But the expenses of collecting

Gleanings from the Castle Hill Church Book 19

this last amount were heavy. The cost of obtaining the Brief was about £150, and of collecting, £400; and this great expense of collection, together with the burden caused by their frequency, led to the abolition of Briefs in 1828. In another part of the book we find the receipts given by the official collector, and one can readily see that the fees received by the collectors might easily swallow up a great part of the returns; especially if they often took this form:—

Sept. Y° 30th 1738 Recd. of Mr. Doddridge (not Rev., be it noted) Y° under written Briefs	£	s.	d.
Stoney Stratford	0	0	0
Puttenham	0	0	0
	0	0	0

BRIAN HODGSON Coll.

The list only goes down to April, 1739, whereas there are several *receipts* much later, down to 1744; one containing the curious entry "Medway Dredgers"; whatever their sufferings were, however, the Medway Dredgers got nothing from Castle Hill.

And so I bring to an end my gleanings from the records of this old book. A poor harvesting, you may say. Superficially, perhaps, it must seem so. What does it yield? Little more than a few lists of names, baldly inscribed resolutions of the Church and bare records of its meetings; stereotyped entries of members received, dismissed, and deceased.

But how much more does it yield to those who can read between the lines, and scan the history with the eye of the imagination, and realize how, underneath these bare records, there lie unrecorded histories of spiritual struggles and spiritual victories; how any one of these entries "Received into the church by covenant and prayer" may mean a life rescued, a soul redeemed, a new pilgrim escaped from the City of Destruction, his feet set firmly on the path to the Celestial City, with the Covenant of the Church for his way-book, and the prayers of the Church for his encouragement and cheer?

With what grief and mourning and sometimes tears were those frequent words, "dead, deceased, died," appended to the names of the faithful? How eloquent are some of its briefest entries, and how eloquent, often, its silences!

20 Gleanings from the Castle Hill Church Book

Behind that bare list, alone, of 164 names with which the book commences, what romance of spiritual life and conflict lies! They signed that covenant at risk of obloquy, of persecution, of violence. It meant the severing of many ties, the loss of many friends, the taking up of new burdens and heavy responsibilities. Law and custom, established authority, peace, safety, all united to hold them back, and bid them walk in the well-trodden highways of religious life; but they heard a higher call, and they followed it, and in following it they established a new Church, which for nearly 250 years has sought to hand down their traditions and follow in their ways, and in following them, often failing, often stumbling, sometimes falling, to follow, too, in the footsteps of Him Who was their Leader, the great Head of the Church, the author and finisher of their faith and ours.

H. N. DIXON.

The Independents of 1652

ON the 20th March, 1653-4, Cromwell, with the consent of his Council, issued an Ordinance ⁽¹⁾, which established in London Commissioners for the "Approbation of Publique Preachers," and on August 28th of the same year an Ordinance ⁽²⁾ which set up Lay Commissioners in every county of England and Wales (to be assisted by a nominated number of Divines) "to eject, after trial, all ignorant, scandalous, insufficient or negligent clergymen and schoolmasters." Thus came into operation the well-known system of "Triers."

But Cromwell's action was not unprepared. It carried out (substantially) what had been debated and aimed at by the "Rump," which he dissolved in April, 1653, and by the Little Parliament, which "laid down its life" in the following December. ⁽³⁾

In fact, the question of inducting and ejecting ministers had engaged the attention of the Commons from time to time ever since the disestablishment of Episcopacy. ⁽⁴⁾ At length ⁽⁵⁾, on 10th February, 1651-2, it "appointed a committee to receive proposals from certain divines or others for the better Propagation of the Gospel." These had done their work by the 18th, when their proposals were submitted. The committee, however, kept them to itself till a year later. Then, on 11th February, 1652-3, it embodied them in a report to the House. ⁽⁶⁾ They were, it seems, subscribed by the following names ⁽⁷⁾ :—

I. EDW. WHALLEY	P. ADONIRAM BYFIELD
I. *JOHN OWEN	I. JOHN GOODWYN
I. *PHILIP NYE	I. JOHN PRICE

⁽¹⁾ *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum*, II., 855-858.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, 968-990.

⁽³⁾ W. A. Shaw, *English Church under the Commonwealth*, II., 246, 283-4.

⁽⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, II., 80-83n. ; 279-284.

⁽⁵⁾ *Ibid.*, II., 245.

⁽⁶⁾ *Ibid.*, II., 80.

⁽⁷⁾ I=Independents. P=Presbyterian. Those marked * were among the Triers appointed by Cromwell's Ordinance of August, 1654. It is noticeable that the List includes four of the Regicides—Whalley, his son-in-law Goffe, Okey and Harrison.

I. *WM. STRONG	AUG. PLUMSTED
I. *WM. CARTER	I. MATT. BARKER
FRANCIS WHITE	RICH. LEE
I. *SID. SIMPSON	I. T. HARRISON
I. *WM. GREENHILL	I. EDW. WINSLOW
I. WM. BRIDGE	JOHN STONE
GEO. MARSHALL	JOHN BAKEWELL, Junior
I. JOHN OKEY	RICH. CARELL
JOHN DURY	JENKIN LLOYD
I. *WILL. GOFF	NATHANIEL ANDREWS
RA. BUTTEN	

Now in 1652 there was printed (at London, for Robert Ibbetson) a pamphlet with the following title :—

THE HUMBLE
PROPOSALS
of

Mr. Owen, Mr. Tho. Goodwin, Mr. Nye
Mr. Sympson, and other Ministers, who
presented the Petition to the Parliament, and
other Persons, Feb. 11, under debate by a Com-
mittee this 31 of March 1652 ⁽⁸⁾, for the fur-
therance and Propagation of the Gospel
in this Nation.

Wherein they having had equall respects to all
Persons fearing God, though of differing Judgments,
doe hope also that they will tend to union and peace
with

Additionall Propositions humbly tendred to
the Committee for propagating the Gospel, as, easie
and speedy means for supply of all Parishes in England
with able, godly, and Orthodox Ministers ;

For

Setling of right constituted Churches ⁽⁹⁾, and for prevent-
ing persons of corrupt Judgments from publishing dangerous
Errours, and Blaspemies in Assemblies and Meetings,
by other godly Persons ⁽⁹⁾, Ministers
and others.

⁽⁸⁾ The sense seems to be "Ministers . . . and other persons" presented a Petition for the Proposals under debate. . . .

⁽⁹⁾ *i.e.*, "Setling . . . by other godly Persons . . . so as to prevent persons of corrupt. . . ."

PROPOSALS. ⁽¹⁰⁾

1. That Persons of Godlinesse and Gifts, in the Universities and elsewhere, though not Ordained, may be admitted to preach the Gospell, being approved when they are called thereunto.

2. That no Person shall be admitted to Trial and Approbation, unlesse he bring a Testimoniall of his Piety, and soundnesse in the Faith, under the hands of six godly Ministers and Christians, gathered together for that end and purpose, unto whom he is personally knowne; of which number two at the least to be Ministers.

3. That a certaine number of Persons, Ministers, and others of eminency, and known ability and godlinesse, be appointed to sit in every County, to examine, judge, and approve all such persons, as being to preach the Gospell, have received Testimony as above, and in case there shall not be found a competent number of such persons in the same County, that others of one or more neighbour Counties be adjourned to them.

4. That care be taken for the removing the residue of the Ministers who are Ignorant, Scandalous, Non-resident, or disturbers of the publick peace; and of all School-masters who shall be found Popish, scandalous, or dis-affected to the Government of the Common-wealth.

5. That to this end a number of Persons, Ministers and others of eminent piety, zeale, faithfulness, ability and prudence, be appointed by Authority of Parliament to goe through the Nation, to enquire after, examine, judge of, and eject all such persons as shall be found unfit for the Ministry, or teaching of Schooles, being such as above described.

6. That for the expediting this work, these persons may be assigned in severall Companies, or Committees, to the six Circuits of the Nation, ⁽¹¹⁾ to reside in each of the Counties for such a convenient space of time as shall be requisite, untill the worke be done; and calling to their Assistance in their respective Circuits, such godly and able Ministers, and others, in each of the Counties where they shall reside, to assist them in this worke, as they shall thinke fit.

7. That these Persons so sent and commissioned, may be empower'd, before they shall depart out of each County, to returne, and to represent, unto the Parliament the Names of fit and sufficient persons, Ministers, and others to be appointed and approved of, such as shall be called to preach the Gospell in such Counties, and, in the mean time, the Persons so commissioned as aforesaid, shall

⁽¹⁰⁾ These are printed after the original Propositions, but, of course, they ought to stand first here.

⁽¹¹⁾ Apparently the six Justiciary Circuits.

have power while they reside in each County, to examine, judge, and approve of such persons, as having a Call to preach the Gospell in such Counties, shall upon such Testimoniall as aforesaid, offer themselves to such examination .

8. That it be proposed, that the Parliament be pleased to take some speedy and effectuall course, either by empowering the persons in the severall Counties to be appointed for Triall and Approbation of such persons as shall be called to preach the Gospel there, or in such other way as they shall think fit, for the uniting and dividing of Parishes in the severall Counties and Cities within this Common-wealth, in reference to the Preaching of the Gospel there—saving the Civill rights and priviledges of each Parish.

9. That all Ministers so sent forth and established, be enjoyned and required to attend the solemne Worship of God in Prayer, Reading, and Preaching the Word, Catechizing, and Expounding the Scriptures, as occasion shall require, visiting the sicke, and instructing from house to house, residing amongst the people to whom they are sent, and using all care and diligence by all wayes and meanes to win soules unto Christ.

10. That it is desired that no persons be required to receive the Sacrament, further than their Light shall lead them unto. Nor no person sent forth to preach, and already placed, or which shall be placed in any Parish within this Nation, be compelled to administer the Sacrament to any but such as he shall approve of, as fit for the same.

11. That a Law may be provided, that all persons whatsoever within this Nation be required to attend the publike Preaching of the Gospel every Lord's day, in places commonly called Churches, except such persons as through scruple of Conscience do abstain from those assemblies.

12. That whereas divers persons are unsatisfied to come to the publike places of hearing the Word, upon this Account, that those places were Dedicated and consecrated: That the Parliament will be pleased to declare that such places are made use of, and continued, only for the better conveniency of persons meeting for the publike Worship of God, and upon no other consideration.

13. That all persons dissenting from the Doctrine and Way of Worship owned by the State, or consenting thereunto and yet not having advantage or opportunity of some of the publike meeting-places commonly called Churches, be required to meet (if they have any constant meetings) in places publikely known, and to give notice to some Magistrate of such their place of ordinary meetings.

14. That this Honourable Committee be desired to propose to the Parliament, That such who do not receive but oppose, those principles of Christian Religion without acknowledgement whereof the Scriptures do clearly and plainly affirm that Salvation is not

to be obtained, as those formerly complained of by the Ministers ; may not be suffered to preach or promulgate anything in opposition unto such Principles.

15. And further, That the Parliament be humbly desired to take some speedy and effectual course for the utter suppressing of that abominable Cheat of judicall Astrology⁽¹²⁾ whereby the minds of multitudes are corrupted, and turned aside from depending upon the Providence of God, to put their trust in the lyes of Men, and delusions of Satan.

THE ADDITIONAL PROPOSITIONS.

I. For supply of all Parishes in England with able, godly and orthodox Ministers, it is humbly propounded :

1. That the Sheriffe of each County, do speedily give account to this, or some other Committee, of every respective Parish within the said county that hath no Minister, and what maintenance each of the said vacant Parishes have belonging to them.

2. That each of the said Sheriffes doe also certifie to the Committee the Names of such Ministers as have no Livings, that reside in each County, and that so many of them as shall be found able, godly, and Orthodox, be placed in such vacant Parishes as by the said Committee shall be thought fit.

3. That for the further supply of those Parishes who shall yet want Ministers, the Propositions from Mr. *Owen*, and the rest of those Reverend Ministers be proceeded in.

II. For settling of right Constituted Churches, it is humbly propounded :

1. That all present Churches that are gathered, and others so soon as they shall be gathered, do signifie to the Committee of the Universities, or elsewhere, whom they have chosen, or shall choose for their Pastor ; and that such, and only such, be declared right Constituted Churches, whose Pastor shall be approved by the said Committee to be able, godly, and orthodox.

2. That when any of the said Pastors dye, or leave them to take up some other call or employment, they choose and present another Pastor within six months, and to have one settled with them within twelve months, by approbation from the said Committee, or to dissolve or disperse themselves into other Churches.

3. That the Committee for the Universities, or where shall be appointed, keep a catalogue of all right Constituted Churches in all parts of England, and the Pastor's Names.

⁽¹²⁾ A reference to Arthur Dee (1579-1651) and Nicholas Culpeper (1616-1645)—especially the latter—in the D.N.B. will throw light on this point.

III. For preventing persons of corrupt judgements, from publishing dangerous Errors and Blasphemies in Assemblies and meetings, it is humbly propounded :

1. That every Pastor of each right Constituted Church, give under his hand a testimony to every individual member in fellowship with him, that shall be approved by the Church to be orthodox, and himselfe judged to be able to speake in Assemblies and meetings.

2. That none presume under a penalty to speake in any Assembly, or meetings, but Ministers of the Word, Members of Churches, with such approbation as aforesaid, or which shall freely be permitted by those whose proper place it is to speake in the said Assemblies and meetings, except onely upon liberty granted to propound, or desire their opinions, and acquiesse without replies, or disturbance by disputes, except it be meetings purposely for disputes.

3. That where Assemblies or meetings of people be kept up, some person or persons, undertake to speak and mannage the same, who are either Ministers of the Word, have emission from some right Constituted Church, or Certificate from two or more, able, godly, and orthodox Ministers of their sufficiency to speake, and soundnesse in the faith, except Masters to their families, or Schoolmasters to their Schollers, or others, to such as by their callings fall under their Government and charge.

Several observations on these Proposals may be made :—

(a.) Comparing them with those quoted by Shaw, ⁽¹³⁾; their identity is evident—though the numbering makes it clear that between 6 and 10 (which is 9 in Shaw) one proposal has been omitted by the Committee, or added by the Petitioners since first subscribed.

(b.) Shaw says ⁽¹⁴⁾ that in adopting the proposals the Committee omitted several, which, nevertheless, the House resolved to have before it, *viz.*, 13, 14, 15, and the character of these suggests that the Committee was inclined to be less definite, or scrupulous, in its treatment of dissenters from the established doctrine and way of worship, or of “ detached ” persons, or of the unorthodox and superstitious.

(c.) The additional Propositions (after the first three, which are meant to supplement and round off the Proposals) have a special reference to the said omissions ; and reveal an acute

⁽¹³⁾ *Ibid.*, I.-IV.=II. 286 ; V.-VI.=II. 246 ; X.-XIII.=II. 82-3.

⁽¹⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, II., 83.

anxiety to provide that "gathered Churches" (*i.e.*, Churches standing outside the Church scheme) shall be rightly constituted, and, also, protected from such uncontrolled "assemblies" as might by their licentious opinions or disputes or management expose them to scandal.

(*d.*) Whether or no the twenty-seven who subscribed the Proposals also subscribed the Propositions is not certain, but it is probable; and it is noteworthy that most of the subscribers were Independents, or, at any rate, closely allied to them for the purpose in hand.

(*e.*) The general effect, therefore, is to give us the measure of the limits within which the leaders of Independency⁽¹⁵⁾ in 1652 were prepared to practise the principles of toleration—which were not very generous; and the extent of their reliance on the State—which was pretty thorough-going.

(*f.*) Though the Rump was dissolved (April, 1653) before it could find time to consider all the Proposals⁽¹⁶⁾, and the Little Parliament found itself unable to do more than pass a resolution declaring for Liberty to all "who fear God," and for the suppression of all blasphemers, damnable heretics or licentious persons⁽¹⁷⁾, the subsequent Cromwellian Ordinances prove how closely, on the whole, the schemes of the Independents was adopted, and so their prevailing influence in the Cromwellian Church-State. The chief difference lies in the direction of greater doctrinal freedom. Subscription to the thirty-nine Articles is "to cease and be void." And nothing is put in their place. There is no iteration of the word "Orthodox" as in the Proposals and Propositions. The nominee is to bring a written testimonial, signed by three "persons of known godliness and integrity," of whom one at least must be "a Preacher of good standing"; but the testimonial is to his "holy and good conversation." Doctrine is not mentioned—either theological or ecclesiastical. Cromwell's mark is plain.

(15) *Not* including John Goodwin, who was much more tolerant and consistent. The Pamphlet shows that "John" in Dr. Shaw's list is a mistake. It was "Thomas."

(16) *Ibid.*, II., 84.

(17) *Ibid.*, II., 85.

(g.) Thirty-eight commissioners for approbation were named in the Ordinance, and eight of them occur among the twenty-seven—all Independents. Others, like Hugh Peters, Peter Sterry and even John Tombes, were Independents of a very positive type. And some of the laymen were not less so.

But, if proof were needed of Independent predominance, we have it in the fact that the assertion of the Proposals that ordination is not a necessary preliminary to approbation for preaching or the pastoral office, is implicitly repeated in the Ordinance by its express direction to the Triers not to regard their work as having to do with ordination or “a solemn and sacred setting apart to the Ministry.”

(h.) If the historians of Independency—Vaughan, Waddington, Hanbury, Dexter, Dale, etc.—say little or nothing about the matter, their silence may be due to the accident that the above recited Pamphlet and the light thrown upon it by Dr. Shaw’s list of names have escaped their notice.

F. J. POWICKE.

Nonconformity in Hull

Let strangers walk around	The orders of Thy house,
The City where we dwell,	The worship of Thy court,
Compass and view Thine Holy	The cheerful songs, the
ground,	solemn vows,
And mark the building well ;	And make a fair report.
	I. WATTS, <i>Ps.</i> 48.

THE Parish Church has so remained through all vicissitudes and changes of religious opinion. With few exceptions these "national churches," as we may call them, have been kept in use as places of worship since their foundation.

Not so, however, has it been with the meeting-places of Dissenting Christians. Possessing no State-backing, they have fluctuated in their fortunes, generally, though not always, in an upward direction. This has necessitated the abandonment of small places from time to time, the alteration or extension of existing premises, the erection of larger buildings or the removal of the cause into newer districts, and the story of these places is highly interesting, sometimes gladdening the heart, sometimes saddening it. Within the precincts of this city are many buildings, once places of worship and now printing establishments, law offices, masonic lodges, warehouses, or workshops. Others have passed for ever from our ken.

Dissent or Nonconformity represents those people who could not, from conviction, conform to the opinion of those worshipping in, or controlling the fortunes of, the State Church. At first many of them still endeavoured to remain in communion with the Establishment—as, *e.g.*, the early English Presbyterians of the "Old Dissent" and the Methodists of the "New"—but necessity eventually drove them outside. Hence it is that the history of Nonconformity is one long record of worship in dwelling-house, meeting-room, meeting-house, chapel and Nonconformist church, and of struggles for religious liberty against the "powers that be."

Prior to 1640 and until a much later period the town of Hull was enclosed by walls which ran roughly round the inside edge of the present "town docks" and the south side of the town, supported across the river by the Garrison buildings. Within the walls were many narrow streets, lanes and passages, and

even gardens, though not a single one of these latter exists to-day within the "Old Town."

The proximity of Hull to Scrooby and Gainsborough, down the Trent, and to Killingholme Creek, upon the Humber, from whence the Pilgrim Fathers set out to Holland on their first journey; the fact that Hull was the port from which Ezekiel Rogers, the Rowley vicar, and his parishioners sailed in 1638, to found the new Rowley in Massachusetts; the great trade carried on between Hull and the Protestant Low Countries—without a doubt Hull was the port through which *most* of the books and pamphlets of the exiles were brought into England—these are some of the incidents that suggest there must have been in Hull a good leaven of Puritan and Nonconformist thought. There is, however, direct contemporary evidence that Nonconformity was gaining a hold upon the town.

The Rev. A. Marvell, father of Hull's noble patriot M.P., was famous as a Calvinist preacher at Holy Trinity Church and the Charterhouse between 1624 and 1640. He was a broadminded man, and the more advanced spirits of the town looked to him for advice and guidance. He complained that some of them held "separate meetings not according to Law," and advised them to meet in small parties rather than large companies considering the times.

Prior to his death—in 1640¹—the Anabaptists and others (presumably the Independents) were invited to come and talk matters over with him—with but small results. Sir Henry Vane, M.P. for Hull in 1640, was an Independent and possibly attended some of these early meetings.

In 1641 the Rev. William Styles, a pronounced Puritan and Presbyterian, followed Rev. A. Marvell in 1641 as Lecturer at Holy Trinity and Master of the Charterhouse, and in 1644 he was appointed Vicar of Hessle-cum-Hull.

He was in turn followed (as Lecturer, not as Vicar) by Rev. John Shawe, M.A., a worthy divine who "had but lately come to Hull as a place of visible rest and quiet after many and troublesome pilgrimages," in response to "a pressing call to the work of the ministry at the low church in Hull" (in 1644). Yet he found no quiet here but, as elsewhere, great turmoil.²

¹ He was drowned in 1640 whilst crossing the Humber one stormy day in an open boat.

² In 1653, J. Shaw was made Master of the Charterhouse.

Here we may point out, briefly, the dividing line between the two main Puritan parties. The Independents held that a church was simply one congregation of professing Christians under the ruling of its own officers. The Presbyterians considered that a number of congregations should be grouped together under a "classic" or classical presbytery, and they desired to remain within a State Establishment.

Until the Restoration, the Hull Presbyterians were enabled to remain within the "fold," but not so the Independents, who followed the injunction "Come out from among them and be ye separate."

Leaving, for the moment, the Presbyterians we will follow the fortunes of the Independents.

One of the most zealous promoters of Congregational principles and worship in the town was the Rev. John Canne,³ who had been driven, as a Separatist, to Holland, where he was chosen pastor of the Brownist congregation previously under the ministry of Henry Ainsworth. In 1634 Mr. Canne had published a pamphlet *On the Necessitie of Separation*, proving that the Apostolic Churches were Congregational in principle.

It would seem that when he returned from Holland in 1640 he brought with him the great Philip Nye who had been over there for some time.

At any rate, though they may not have returned together, it is certain that they were friends⁴ and that Mr. Nye came to Hull about this time.

On May 22, 1643, a small band of persons formed themselves into an Independent Church.

"The first Constitution of this Church was in Seaven members who first entered into a Church-state by confession of faith and solemne Covenant with God and one another *in the presence of that church whereof Mr. Nye was pastor* upon the 22nd day of the 5th Month being a day of Solemne fasting and prayer in the year 1643."

³ In the handbook issued in connexion with the Congregational Union's visit to Hull in 1922, Canne is said to have been *successor* to Richard Luddington, instead of *predecessor*.

⁴ Their names, with that of Hugh Peters, were forged in 1659, in connexion with the *Parliamentary Intelligence*, published in their name. Another proof of his connection with Philip Nye is that their names, again with that of Hugh Peters, were forged in 1659 in the "Parliamentary Intelligence" published in their name.

Here we have a direct statement⁵ of a church formed in the presence of a *then existing* church of which "Mr. Nye was pastor."

Mr. Nye must even then have left (or he must have been on the point of leaving) the town, as the record states "was" pastor not "is," for on June 12th, 1643 he was chosen (as representative of Kimbolton) one of the assessors of the Assembly of Divines.

He was also appointed in the same year a Commissioner, with Sir Henry Vane and others, to procure the assistance of the Scots on the side of the Parliament, and he arrived in Scotland August 9th, 1643. He was accused by the Presbyterian Edwards of having preached "toleration," "particularly at Hull."

We find another local reference to Mr. Nye in a letter (dated July 13th, 1643) from the town magistrates to Peregrine Pelham, M.P. for Hull (then in London), which expresses discontent at the appointment of Sir Matthew Boynton over the East Riding, for it is "feared that he and Mr. Nye whom you wrote of in your letter may so comply together about interrupting that forme of Church Government already established and thereby factions, if not fractions, occasioned."

Who were the members of this little church, established in 1643 amidst the terrors of that worst form of strife, civil war? Seven in number at the outset, they included the Rev. Robert Luddington, vicar of Sculcoates, Stephen Blyth,

⁵ Hull holds, I think, an unique position in possessing this early record, which is still extant in the first minute book and register of the congregation which later became the Dagger Lane Chapel Society. Every page of this book I have scrutinized with care, having had it on one occasion in my possession for some weeks, and viewing it on other occasions by kind permission of the present possessors, the pastor and church-members of the Spring Bank Presbyterian Church.

The earlier names from 1643 to 1669 are apparently transferred from another book, for an entry says the book was "begunne in the year 1669."

For 200 years this large book was in constant use, and the church to which it belonged and its descendants form an unbroken chain from 1643 to the present day.

What a story the book can unfold! Who hid it and where when informers were as plentiful as blackberries in September, when the church-members were hauled before the magistrates, to be fined—and often imprisoned?

It speaks to us of life and death, of ministers good and bad, of growth under Gospel showers and sunshine, of faults and failings, and of the triumph of righteousness.

George Kitching, John Pecket, Walter Andrew, Hugh Wilson and Ralph Casse. In the first year five others were added, and the next year eleven more. It is possible that this little meeting was the one of which during the siege of Hull John Shawe speaks in his "Memoirs." "Sometimes many well-affected persons were met in a chamber to repeat sermons and pray; as soon as ever they were departed and gone down the stairs (and not till then) came a red-hot bullet through the place where they met. . . ."

The Hull garrison, in common with most of the Parliamentary Army of this time, was strongly Independent; Canne, their preacher, was also Chaplain to the Governor.

The Proceedings of Council of State, December 2nd, 1650 orders⁶ Lt.-Col. Salmon, Deputy Governor of Hull that "Mr. Cann is to forbear preaching in the High Church (*i.e.* Holy Trinity) at the time Mr. Shaw, their Minister, is doing so, it being agreed by the town that in the week-day Mr. Cann may preach in that Church when the others are not lecturing there and that upon the Lord's Day Mr. Cann may preach in the Garrison side or . . . other convenient place."

Abraham de la Pryme, a Hull antiquary, thus refers to the period:

"In these times of trouble and confusion there was *another* hotheaded preacher whose name was Mr. Can, who being a mongrel Independent, preached openly to the soldiers both in the streets of the town and in the garrison and won himself so much into their favour that they called him their preacher and petitioned the Council of State to grant them the Chancel (of Holy Trinity) to meet in, and though that the parishioners complained and petitioned against it, yet they got the grant of it in the year 1652 and walled up the arches between it and the Church (*i.e.* the Nave) that the one might not disturb the other in their devotions . . . and kept their filthy conventicle here until the same was purged and they cast out by our good Josiah, King Charles II."

This arrangement was officially confirmed by an order of Council of State, April 6th, 1652, which granted the Chancel for the services of soldiers under Col. Overton, conducted by Canne on the principles of the Independents whilst the nave was occupied by the townspeople and Presbyterians, to whom Shawe, as Lecturer, preached.

⁶ Corlass, *Hull Authors*, and *Col. D.S.P.*, 1650.

Canne's connection with Hull, though broken on several occasions, was a long one. An author of great repute, he wrote many works of religious controversy, some of which have been reprinted.

His *Voice from the Temple* (1643) was dedicated to "Col. Robert Overton (then governor of Hull) and his religious lady, with all other dear Christian friends in and about Hull" and it has been suggested that this work was possibly the cause of his banishment from Hull about 1657. *Truth with Time*, another of his works, is dated "from Hull 1656."

It must be noted that not once does Mr. Canne's name appear, either as member or preacher, in the old minute book of the Independent congregation of townspeople.

It thus appears that there were two Independent congregations, one being composed of the soldiers of the garrison under Mr. Canne, the other of the few men and women of the town under the Rev. Robert Luddington. It is quite probable that the garrison church was the earlier one previously referred to, for as we have seen, Mr. Nye and Mr. Canne were friends and both returned from Amsterdam in 1640.

Col. Robert Overton, who was stationed in Hull in 1642, distinguished himself in its defence with much "Honour and gallantry." After being Governor of Pontefract for some time from 1645, he was appointed Governor of Hull, and he and his wife, Mrs. Anne Overton, joined the little Independent Church whose fortunes we are following in 1650. In 1660 he was removed from Hull for opposing the Restoration of Charles II. and committed to the Tower, where, it is supposed, he died some years after. Another soldier, Corporal Baylis, and his wife also joined the Church in 1649.

Joshua Marsh and Ellerker Potts were both blind. In 1629 (October 29th) the former was found vagrant and wandering in Hull streets.⁷ In accordance with the cruel custom of the time he was whipped as a "vagrant rogue" and sent to Marfleet, the place of his birth, with the pass which every beggar or wanderer had to have given him, as stated in the Statute. A controversy arose as to which place should maintain him, for he had evidently resided in Hull for some time (the qualifying period, according to the Act, was three years). It was referred to Sir Thomas Craven, Justice of Assize, who ordered Hull to pay 12d. per week and Marfleet to

⁷ See my *Bench Book Extracts*, 1929-30, 1657. B.B., V., p. 110. B.B., V., p. 113, B.B., VI., p. 27.

maintain him, or vice versa. Hull decided to pay the money, with 6d. per week awarded before, and Marfleet to keep him.

Later, Joshua was evidently permitted to return to Hull, for a month or two after the Independent Church was formed in 1643, he and Ellerker Potts became members, and from time to time various members of their families also joined.

Fourteen years later (9th October, 1657) our Magistrates' Bench Books record that it was entreated that Joshua Marsh and Ellerker Potts, who by this time had become inmates of the Hull Charterhouse (Almshouses) might be re-admitted to their weekly pay, which had been stopped because "they had committed the grievous sin of matrimony and having plunged into crime, recklessly aggravated their guilt by annoying the Magistrates."⁸

The blind men had petitioned the Council of State and upon their cause being known and an apology made for their offence and uncivil carriage to the Bench, they were re-admitted to pay.

They were still members of the Church in 1669, but a later hand remarks against their names, "mort." This is written against most of the early names in this unique old register, signifying they had died in membership with the Church.

Some, however, are followed by the words "Quak" or "Quack," one bears the addition "Catabapt," and another "eject and mort," showing they had left the little Church and joined the Quakers or Baptists, or had been cast out for some serious offence.

For a long time the little church met in private houses. Deacons were chosen from time to time, the first recorded being Mr. John Bethell in July, 1656, and Mr. Samuel Carter on January 23th, 1659.

On this latter date (I quote from the Minute Book) "Mr. Edward Atkinson was made choice of for a ruling Elder" (for the Independents had elders as well as Presbyterians) "as a person fitly qualified for the same, with liberty to teach."

This Edward Atkinson was afterwards imprisoned (about 1663, the time of the Farnley Wood plot) with other Nonconformists in York Castle, but was liberated through the efforts of Lady Dorothea Norcliffe, daughter of Sir Thomas Fairfax, she being another member of this congregation. Later deacons were Mr. John Robinson, Mr. Scale, Michael Bielby and Thomas Goodlad.

⁸ *Hist. of Hull Charterhouse.*

In 1660 came the Restoration of Charles II. with its great flourish of trumpets, its beer-drinking and bell-ringing. The Presbyterians were still worshipping in the nave of Holy Trinity, the Independent garrison church in the chancel, and the little Independent church under Mr. Luddington was holding its meetings privately—as the Old Minute Book proves, for under the date 1660 we have “These were all members in the tyme and under the ministry of Mr. Robert Luddington, their Pastor.”

Let us now turn to the Presbyterians. Through the Civil Wars, the Commonwealth, and the Protectorate, they had been able to worship in the Parish Church as an integral part of the national State Church. They had supported the Restoration, believing that under Charles II. they would be able to carry out their desires for the Presbyterian form of Church Government.

How little reliance could be placed in the word of a Stuart they soon realised. The Presbyterian lecturer at Holy Trinity and Master of the Charterhouse, John Shawe, was in June, 1661, ordered to give up his duties as lecturer and master, “he being one,” says the order, “whose doctrine has been abominably seditious and scandalous.” (They spared no language in these days!) For a whole year he resisted, but in June, 1662, was compelled to give up the fight and retired to Rotherham “a wronged man.”

The Presbyterians and the Independent garrison church were cast out of Holy Trinity and, as with Mr. Luddington's church, though still meeting when and where possible, their records for the next few years are scanty.

The causes were still in existence but they were driven underground by the persecutions which came upon them. Then came the Act of Uniformity and the Great Ejectment of 1662. No minister was ejected on that date from either High Church (Holy Trinity) or Low Church (St. Mary's, Lowgate) nor from the two churches at Sculcoates and Drypool.

What information we have has been gathered chiefly from outside sources such as Bench Books, the Domestic State Papers, etc.

One entry only from 1660 to 1669 is to be found in the old register. “Mr. Robert Luddington died 20th of February, 1662, being full of days and after he had been pastor to this Church 19 years. Vivit post funera virtus.” Amidst all the rough and tumble of the Civil War and the comparative quiet

of the later Commonwealth, he had kept on his way, adding members to his church.

Some of these are remarked "Distant," signifying they were too far away to attend. Col. Overton is written down "Prisoner," and "Mort" is added later.

"Upon the day and yeare above written, being ye 10th July, 1669, Mr. Richard Astley was added as member of this Church and consented to come and preach unto them and reside amongst, or nere unto them. . . . Who was afterwards elected as pastor by universall consent upon a solemn day of fasting and prayer being the . . . day of . . . 1669."

The Nonconformists now began to be a little bolder and even some who were in authority supported the oppressed worshippers. An agent of the Government writes on July 5th, 1669 :

"Multitudes of disaffected persons in these parts. A meeting gathered to hear the address of an illiterate Scotchman was suppressed by Cap. Carteret, at present Governor of the Garrison and several of them prosecuted."

In 1670 (May 23rd) Dissenters at Hull "have their private meetings still and there was a great disturbance in the Chief Church yesterday occasioned by a Nonconformist, who thro' a cunning contrivance of the Major (John Tripp) got into the pulpit to preach and was commanded down by Mr. Crowle, a Justice of the Peace, which caused a great hubbub. . . . had it not been for the soldiers from the garrison, it would not have so quietly ended, as they all went home grumbling. . . . I hope the Lord will keep the King in safety . . . there is no question but the Presbyterians⁹ have some design in hand."

"May 29th, 1670. There have been great disturbances in the garrison, by the seditious meetings in conventicles. "1670 June 12th. Since I came to Hull I have prevented the meeting of the sectaries by placing spies in every street."

"June 22nd. The magistracy here are too much disaffected to the government of the Church and too backward in the prosecution of the law against Conventicles."

"July 1st. The Presbyterians are so high at Hull that London cannot exceed them and are so excited by private letters from London—telling them how their party despise the laws, and openly speak against the Government—that they generally think the King cannot reign long. The Presbyterians

⁹ The term "Presbyterian" was frequently synonymous with "Nonconformist."

(i.e. the Nonconformists) "compose two-thirds of the people . . . here."

The town by this time must have been in a very excited state, but on August 6th the agent reports.

"Meetings not so numerous as formerly and since the affidavits were taken before the Mayor about Billingsley, they have much slackened."

"December 7th 1670. Hull is now free from any disturbance, Hayes and Jekells business¹⁰ having much discouraged the Nonconformists." In 1671 he says: "I find the fanatics here pretty quiet."

A similar instance of this quietening down was noted by Hadley, one of our chief local historians. He says "In Hull, the preachers, particularly a Mr. Thornberry,¹¹ the principal holder forth, was silenced and for a time, there was a cessation of the fanaticism which had so long prevailed."

The beginning of a lawful organized Nonconformity as a recognized element in national life was made possible by the Declaration of Indulgence (March 15th, 1672). Although the Nonconformists did not admit that the king had any constitutional right to make this Declaration they felt they were entitled to any relief that could be obtained.

Meeting-houses might now be licensed in the name of the occupier of the premises and individuals could obtain licences to preach. The Hull Independents immediately bestirred themselves, followed very quickly by the Presbyterians.

The former applied as early as May 15th for several licences, and the document,¹² with its quaint spelling, is worth quoting, as it definitely settles the vexed question as to the denomination of the forerunners of the Dagger Lane congregation.

It is addressed ;

" Sir Joseph Williamson

At the Earle of Arlington Office
in Stone Gallery.

" Mr. Richard Astley, minister to a Congregacon in and about Hull. he is of the Congregationall way.

A Licence for him to p^rach &c in the house of Mr. Jo :
Robinson in Kingston upon Hull.

¹⁰ Whitaker, *History of Bowlalley Lane Chapel*, says Hayes and Jekell were London conventiclers.

¹¹ I can find no trace of this Mr. Thornberry in any local record.

¹² S. P. Dom., II., 321.

A licence for Mr. Jo : Pakland to preach at John Newton his house in Auleby in Hullshire. he is of the Congregationall way.

A Licence for Mr. Jo : Marr's house in Newlands in Yorkshire for Mr. Thomas Oliver who is of the Congregationall way.
(signed)

May 15 [1672]

ROBT. COLLIER."

Mr. Astley's licence was issued June 15th, 1672, giving the denomination as "Independent." John Mare's house at Newland, then two miles from the city gates, was duly licensed for Thos. Oliver to preach in as an Independent, and John Newton's at Anlaby for Jo : Packland.

The Presbyterians obtained two licences for their preacher, a general one on June 10th, applied for by Joseph Wilson Junr., on behalf of Joseph Wilson, Presbyterian, at Newland Near Hull (formerly of Beverley St. Mary's and Hessle-cum Hull, the other (granted July 25th) for the house of Richard Barnes in Hull as the preaching place of Joseph Wilson (Presbyterian).

Not a month later there is still another licence, issued for a new meeting-house built by Presbyterians at Blackfriarsgate (*sic*). This was, if not the first, certainly almost the first, meeting-house built in the north.

No doubt Mr. Astley and Mr. Wilson stood as colleagues under the rising sun of their religious freedom, for, after all, they had much in common. Both had been clergymen, both ejected, Mr. Astley from Blackrode, Lancs., Mr. Wilson from Beverley St. Mary's. Both had congregations of earnest believers, hungry for the Word with the hunger of men who had been long starved through a spiritual famine. The narrow lanes of the south end of the old town, Blackfriargate, Blanket Row, Posterngate and places between, are consecrated ground.

But very brief was the taste of freedom. Within a year the Declaration of Indulgence was withdrawn,¹³ and in 1673 persecution again broke out. The congregations were harried like vermin and the ministers were hunted from place to place.

It was dangerous to keep any records, yet someone not only kept the register of the Independent congregation from destruction, but added to it the names of those who, in spite of

¹³ Note that Great Seal of Declaration of Liberty of Conscience was broken at Whitehall by His Majesty's hand. (Williamson's Journal) State Papers (Domestic), 1673.

persecution, joined the little band meeting in John Robinson's House.

Following the withdrawal of the Indulgence came the Test Act, which compelled all holders of public offices to take the Sacrament according to the Service of the Church of England.

This caused the removal of Lord Bellasis from the Governorship of Hull and the appointment of the ill-fated Duke of Monmouth in his stead.¹⁴ As the Duke of Monmouth was favourable to Protestant liberties, Hull had relief from most of the terrors of religious strife for a time.

1679 (February) witnessed the sudden death of the veteran Presbyterian leader Joseph Wilson, whose long life-story is the record of a "stormy petrel." He was succeeded by the Rev. Samuel Charles, who came to Hull about 1680 and began at once to make his influence felt. Tradition makes him the real founder of the Bowlalley Lane Presbyterian Church. He won great respect from all classes, and had a large following of Presbyterians.

There had been in Mr. Wilson's later time two Presbyterian congregations, one at the house of Richard Barnes (not the Independent of the same name, for one was a grocer and the other a joiner), and another at the Chapel in Blackfriargate, but from the coming of Mr. Charles to Hull we hear of only one, that being in Bowlalley Lane (where it probably met when he first came to town).

Mr. Charles had been ejected from Micklever in 1662 and had led a wandering life prior to coming to Hull. He was an excellent scholar,¹⁵ well versed in the Oriental languages, a great historian, an accurate, lively and successful preacher, indefatigably studious, very retired and devout, but of a warm and courageous temper and a zealous reprover of reigning vices, as the sermons that have come down to us amply prove.

In December, 1682, the Earl of Plymouth was made

¹⁴ Dom. State Papers, 1673, April 30th. Duke of Monmouth appointed Lord Lieutenant of East Rdg. and Governor of Hull.

¹⁵ The original catalogue of the library of Rev. James Bayock, minister at South Cave, near Hull, from 1672 to 1737, lies before me. It contains works of all kinds, theological, political, medical, scientific, and abundantly proves that these early Nonconformist congregations were not all the ignorant sectaries they have often been considered, neither were their ministers rude and unlearned men. The Hull Presbyterian congregation had a very valuable library bequeathed to them by one of their early members, Leonard Chamberlain.

Governor in place of the Duke of Monmouth, and the Hull Bench Book contains this entry :—

“Dec. 20th, 1682. His lordship did intimate to this bench that two conventicles is comonly reputed to be held within this town, upon which this Bench proceeded to send for Mr. Asthley and Mr. Charles supposed to be preachers to the said Conventicles and for Mr. John Robinson, Mr. Anthony Iveson, Mr. Michael Bielby, Mr. John Graves and Christopher Fawthorp, supposed amongst divers others to be hearers of them and Mr. Bielby and Mr. Graves only appeared and they two were admonished by the Court to forbear to meet any more at the unlawful assemblies . . . and upon the messenger sent to Mr. Asthley’ and Mr. Charles’ houses who returned answer that they were gone out of town, the court ordered that they should have notice to forbear preaching to such assemblies within this town and county.”

De la Pryme supplements this bare official account by saying that the Earl, addressing the Magistrates, wished that “the two conventicles which were here contrary to the laws of God and Man . . . might be suppressed, to which the Bench pleaded ignorance, but assured him if there were such as it were probable there might, that nobody had given in any Information upon Oath, against them, and so they could not proceed against them if there were such, upon which several of the Burgesses present declared there were two of them in the town, much frequented by a company of fractious, blind, zealous and superstitious fellows, disaffected both to Church and State, and that their sanctified Preachers were called Ashley and Charles.”

It will be evident that the persecuted people had the sympathy of some upon the Bench, which is further proved by the remark of an old Alderman, Humphrey Duncalf (Sheriff in 1683 and Mayor in 1668), who told the Earl that by many years observation he found that the Dissenters who lived among them were pious, peaceable men, and loyal subjects of the king ; and therefore, he being an old man, and going into another world, would have no hand in persecuting them.

Who were these men called to appear before the Bench in company with the two Ministers ?

John Robinson was now an elder of the Independent Church which met, as we have seen, in his house. Michael Bielby was also an Independent and was Chamberlain of the town in 1681. Anthony Iveson, another Independent, was Sheriff in

1679 and Mayor in 1690 (after these troubles).¹⁶ Chris. Fawthrop was Chamberlain in 1683 and was a Presbyterian and owner of the land upon which he built the Presbyterian Chapel in Bowlalley Lane. John Graves was possibly the son of Ald. John Graves (Sheriff in 1595, Mayor in 1598-9, and M.P. in 1601).

The Bench Book January 11th, 1683, says, "John Marshall Constable of Austin Ward informs the Bench that on December 3rd last he did heere Samuel Charles, Clark, preach and teach within this Corporation in an unlawful assembly or conventicle contrary to the liturgy of the Church of England and the said John Marshall saith that Mr. Charles is an inhabitant here."

Eleven days afterwards (Jan. 22nd, 1683) the Bench Book records that Alderman Johnson neglected the Town Sessions and refused to join with the Bench when requested to act with them when convicting several persons who frequented conventicles.

Mr. Astley escaped but Mr. Charles was "caught" and hauled before the magistrates February 2nd, 1683, and recounts the trial in his diary, a very spirited defence being put up.¹⁷ But to gaol¹⁸ he had to go.

Regaining his freedom, Mr. Charles retired to Welton in 1683, under the "Five mile Act," where he stayed some years, sending to his people in Hull written sermons from time to time, and travelling up and down in the Wolds preaching wherever possible.

"Thus was the town," says our "genteel" historian Hadley,

¹⁶ An interesting Bench Book record in 1665 states: "His house shut up owing to plague and watchman appointed."

¹⁷ An extract from the trial:

"But," said Mr. Charles, "are there no malefactors in Hull, but two ministers of the gospel, Mr. Ashley and I? Are there no drunkards, no swearers, no Sabbath-breakers. . . ?" etc.

¹⁸ What holes the Hull Gaols were; John Howard visited them afterwards and describes them as follows:—The House of Correction (or Detention) in Fetter Lane (called by Howard the Bridewell):—"Two rooms below and two upstairs about twelve feet square; very offensive; no fireplace; court only twenty-two by ten; not secure, and prisoners not permitted to go to the pump; no sewer, no allowance, no straw. Not whitewashed since it was built. Debtors from the Court of Conscience sent hither." The other prison, "Town and County Jail," was called the Bell Tower. Howard says: "The ground room is a damp dungeon. Leads for debtors to walk on: no court: no water accessible to criminals: no sewer, and the felons' rooms are offensive. Gaoler no salary: fees 13s. 4d."

“for awhile cleared of these wretched vermin, the miserable guides of a deluded multitude.”

The Bench Books of this period make interesting reading for they show the harvest which was reaped by spies and informers. The chapel and meeting-houses were closed, and those who attempted to meet were repressed with great harshness.

Three examples may be given.

“1684, Michael Bielby, Jho Yates, and John Robinson estreated in ye Excheq(uer) for 11 (? two) months at 20 lb. per month for not repairs to their par^h Church.”

“1685 February 9th, John Robinson fined for keeping a conventicle in his own house 20 lb.” (This was our own little Independent meeting.)

“1685 October 13th. Wm. Harrison for the same 20 lbs, John Green for preaching there 20 lbs.” (This was the Baptist meeting)

Few members were added to the Independent congregation during this trying time. The old register shows that from 1679, when 12 new members were added, the figures dropped the next year to three only and the same in 1681. In 1682, 1683, and 1685 not one was added, and only four in 1684.

The Chambers MSS. includes the following reference to Monmouth's rebellion :

“1685 Upon receipt of a letter from Lord Middleton that ye King had received advice of ye entire defeat of ye Rebels and that they should take care to examine all persons that are travelling and are not well known and secure them, the Bench ordered severall people to be confined to their houses till further order ; amongst which were Michael Bielby and his son Jonathan (Mayor 1719), Leo^d. Chamberlain (a Presbyterian leader) Anto. Iveson, Jno Baker, Richard Cook &c and afterwards Daniel Hoare, Sen^r. (Alderman. Put out of Aldermanship on the charge that he had not received Sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England) and Wm. Idle. Capt Copley, Governour complained to the Bench that Jno Baker who was confined to his house, did not observe his confinement ; and that he opened a letter sent by the post to ye said Baker in which were treasonable words, upon which the Court committed Mr. Baker to Prison.” This man was a remarkable stirring character, dubbed “the Protestant tinker,” being a brazier or pewterer.

A. E. TROUT.

(To be continued)

John Penry: His Life, Times and Writings

BY WILLIAM PIERCE. HODDER AND STOUGHTON. 20s.

MR. PIERCE prefers not to think of this solid and substantial work as the sequel to his earlier volumes on the Marprelate controversy. But most of us will link the three together as a trilogy of honest and painstaking investigation into one of the manifold aspects of English religious life under Elizabeth. Mr. Pierce has made this field particularly his own, and though he rather gives us the impression that with this crowning labour he may rest from his toils, those toils are so fascinating that we do not despair of seeing some further contribution from his pen.

Mr. Pierce has peculiar qualifications for the long task which he has now completed, and the present reviewer can only follow him afar off. It is true there was a Grieve in the Penry business from the beginning (p. 211n.), and that his modern namesake has tramped the road between Mynydd Epynt and Brecon, published a reprint of the *Æquity*, and transcribed three or four of the other writings in readiness for the day when we shall produce our overdue *Corpus Independentium Patrum*. But only one who has lived in and for his theme as our author has done, is competent to weigh and appraise a work into which so much research and sympathy have been poured.

The book is considerably enlarged through Mr. Pierce's decision to give us a background as well as a portrait. Many of his readers will appreciate this, and be glad to have his sketches of Cambridge life and discipline in the sixteenth century, of the social and religious conditions of Wales, and of the rise of English Separatism, though these are available elsewhere for those who know their way about. Less necessary, perhaps, are the pages that deal with the school curriculum and the road from Cefnbrith to Cambridge, the ecclesiastical situation in Scotland and "the tenets of the persecuting hierarchy." Two of the most valuable features of the book are the detailed analysis given of Penry's writings, and the bibliography. These in themselves testify to the amazing industry of the author, and if further proof were needed, it can be found in the transactions Mr. Pierce has had with Dr. Caroline Skeel and the Bursar of Peterhouse. Text and footnotes alike evidence a vast field of reading and consultation; Mr. Pierce has burrowed in every likely quarter, and has cast his net far and wide. I do not know that very much that is new has come to light beyond

the fact that Penry was absent from Cambridge between August, 1584, and October, 1585. The definite facts relating to his stay in Edinburgh are given with greater fulness than I have previously seen, but they are still tantalizingly meagre, which, of course, is not Mr. Pierce's fault. His real objective, to straighten out the story that has hitherto been inaccurately and inadequately told, and to give some sense of the spacious stage on which his hero played his part, has been thoroughly attained.

On some points, indeed, we could wish a little more light. The circumstances of Penry's introduction to the circle at Northampton are very vague. How did he come to know Sir Richard Knightley (p. 74)? Snape he could hardly have known as early as 1584-5 (p. 73). Why, when Burghley counselled him on the 23rd May, 1589, after the first appearance at King's Bench, to write to the Queen, did he delay till two days after his condemnation on the 25th? Mr. Pierce says (p. 476) the delay was "wholly due to his lack of writing materials." Could he not have asked Burghley for these at the interview, or at least, when every moment was precious, sent for them at once rather than four days later? And this above all, might not Penry have done more for the cause he had at heart, his "one thing," by devoting himself to an itinerating mission among his countrymen, or, at least, settling down in Wales, and showing what was possible, than by persisting in the course he chose, and getting ever more and more angry with "Archb. and Ll. Bb." so that the evangelization of his country falls more and more into the background? For a lover of the principality he gave it rather a wide berth. This is a question that teases me, and though it will probably be regarded as pedantic or trivial, I should like to know Mr. Pierce's real thought about it.

Mr. Pierce contends stoutly for 1. Eliz., cap. 2, as the sole statute under which Penry was charged. In this he follows the early evidence of the Court Record and Coke's Book of Entries. He does not spare Mr. Champlin Burrage, who in 1913 challenged the application of the title "Congregational Martyr" to Penry. Mr. Burrage may not be the ideal collaborator in research, but I rather feel that the method and tone of Mr. Pierce's references to him detract, to some extent from the value of the present work. It must be remembered that not Mr. Burrage, but Dr. W. S. Holdsworth, was responsible for the suggestion, not of the "gratuitous" substitution of 23 Eliz., cap. 2 for 1 Eliz., cap. 2, but of its addition. "He (Coke) should have said that it (the indictment) was founded upon both statutes." But Mr. Pierce falls upon Mr. Burrage much as Whitgift fell on John Penry, and I find myself almost using Mr. Pierce's own words on Penry with reference to this new sufferer—"Poor young man, he little suspects the course the prosecution will take. . . ."

The following misprints should be noticed : p. 75, note 2, read p. 150 ; p. 143, l. 1, read Marmaduke ; p. 166, l. 14, read oathes ; p. 192, l. 16, read p. 217. On p. 218, n. 3, on the principle that " to him that hath it shall be given," Dr. Peel gets an additional e ; on p. 202, third paragraph, " the beginning of this chapter " should surely be " the beginning of this division "—the reference is to p. 148. Perhaps worst of all, after protesting soundly on p. 5 that Penry was *not* born in 1559, Mr. Pierce, on p. 17, makes him eleven years old in 1570. One might also ask why (p. 15) there should be any expectation of finding Penry's name in a list of schoolboys drawn up in the reign of Edward VI. " Lord Bacon " (p. 336) is an error that seems immortal. There is no need to describe the Cymmrodorion Society as " learned and patriotic " (p. 131), true though it be.

A. J. GRIEVE.

A History of British Baptists

BY W. T. WHITLEY, M.A., LL.D.

(Chas. Griffin, 1923. 10s. 6d.).

WE opened this book by the learned editor of the *Baptist Quarterly* with great interest. Dr. Whitley has done so much for Baptist history during the last twenty-years that we knew we were certain to find a scholarly account of the denomination to which he belongs. We are sorry to have to confess to a measure of disappointment—caused, no doubt, by the fact that our expectations were so high. Dr. Whitley will not be alarmed at criticism, for his own John Smyth put the matter truly enough :

" Credit through writing bookes, is a thing of such dangerous hazard, by reason of the varietie of censurers, that it is doubtfull whether a man shall winne or lose thereby."

To write a history of British Baptists is no easy task : the main division of the Baptists into General and Particular, and the other minor divisions, make the story a complicated one to tell. Dr. Whitley's volume is full of information, and some of his chapters are very valuable, while he does not hesitate on occasion to express his own opinions—about Roman Catholicism, for example, or about the attitude of the Baptists to education in day and Sunday Schools, concerning which he is very severe.

Dr. Whitley is perhaps a wee bit too much of the advocate to be an ideal historian. His chief aim is to make the Baptist "the senior Free Church denomination," and to that end he magnifies Smyth while depreciating Fitz, Browne, and Harrison (is there any authority for saying Harrison was executed, as Dr. Whitley does in *The Works of John Smyth*, p. cxviii.?). In the present work, strange to say, he seems to have a special grudge against Congregationalism (cf. pp. 75, 208, 269, 303). He claims that while the Independents, except for a moment in 1658, consisted of isolated congregations:—

"From the beginning Baptists were not 'Independents'; they always sought for fellowship between the different Churches, and they were very successful in arranging for permanent organization."

One challenge to Congregationalists might well be taken up by some member of the Congregational Historical Society. Dr. Whitley points out that while it is usual to refer to Cromwell's Army as an army of Independents, "no Congregationalist has troubled to identify any number of officers who held his views or belonged to an Independent Church."

Our main quarrel with modern Baptist historians, however, is that they take so much pains to dissociate themselves from the Continental Anabaptists: they still seem to live in the sixteenth century, when the Munster atrocities made all men shun the "Anabaptist" label. We are glad to note that Prof. Farrer has protested against this reading of history (*Baptist Quarterly*, January, 1924), and we trust he will follow up what is a very important point. The Anabaptists made a glorious witness for religious freedom, and present-day advocates of toleration ought to be proud to be descended from them, for they were real pioneers. No doubt they had non-resistance as an article of their belief; no doubt they objected to the taking of oaths and the occupying of civil offices; but the John Smyth for whom our British Baptists claim so much held that the disciples of Christ "are not to goe to law before the magistrates, and that all ther differences must be ended by (yea) and (nay) without an oath." Possibly, however, Smyth changed his mind about this, as he did about most things. In order to preserve a right perspective the present writer, while admiring Smyth, has found it well to write, on the title-page of Dr. Whitley's *Works*, under Mandell Creighton's dictum about Smyth—"None of the English Separatists had a finer mind or a more beautiful soul"—the words of John Robinson, who knew Smyth: "His instability and wantonness of wit is his sin and our cross."

At times Dr. Whitley's meaning is not quite clear—we had to stop twice on p. 197—and there are one or two slips which should be corrected in a latter edition. Among them we note:—

104. *fanatique secteries*. Modernise or put quotation marks.
112. *mistook* their opportunity.
179, 227. Should not *Rawden* be *Rawdon*?
180. "*who did lift Bridlington*."
355. "*wrought these wonder ends*."

Barclay's very valuable *Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth* might have been mentioned in the bibliographies.

We do not desire to end on a critical note. Dr. Whitley has given us the best history of British Baptists yet written, and all students will find his volume of great use. We are indebted to him for this latest contribution to the study of Nonconformist history.

ALBERT PEEL.

EDITORIAL

THE Spring Meeting of the Society was held at the Memorial Hall on Thursday, May 15th. The attendance was not large, but the keen discussion showed that those present were greatly interested in the Society's work. Affectionate messages were sent to the President, Dr. Nightingale, who was unable to be present through illness, and to the Rev. W. Pierce, for many years the Society's Secretary.

Principal Wheeler Robinson read a most interesting paper on "The Value of Denominational History," illustrating from an unpublished Church book of the 17th and 18th centuries. Those present will look forward to reading the paper, though Principal Robinson thinks the proper place for it—as the Church book is that of a Baptist Church—is in the *Baptist Quarterly* rather than in our own *Transactions*. It appears in the July number of that journal.

* * * *

The Autumnal Meeting of the Society is to be held in the Berkley Street Congregational Church, Liverpool, on Wednesday, October 15th, at 3 p.m. The President, Dr. Nightingale, will be in the chair, and an address will be given by Professor G. S. Veitch, of Liverpool University, on "Raffles of Great George Street." Dr. Veitch will be warmly welcomed to the Society, not only for his own contributions to historical study, but for the sake of his father, whose services to Congregationalism in the Midlands still bear fruit. We hope all members of the Society will be present, and that Liverpool Congregationalists will appear in good numbers to hear about Liverpool's most famous Congregational minister.

* * * *

We offer our hearty congratulations to the Rev. William Pierce, for so long Secretary to the Society, on the conferment of the degree of Master of Arts by the University of Wales. Year after year Mr. Pierce has pursued his researches in the life of Penry and the Marprelate problem, and it is fitting that Wales should have recognized the labours of her distinguished son.

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We warmly welcome Mr. B. L. Manning's *This Latter House (The Life of Emmanuel Congregational Church, Cambridge, from 1874 to 1924)*. It is a model for local historians—clear and concise, well written and well proportioned. A Church in a University town naturally plays an important part in a denomination's life, and Emmanuel, Cambridge, has not only stimulated the spiritual life of thousands of undergraduates, men and women, but its influence has been felt in University and town alike. Mr. Manning summarizes the history of the Church in Downing Place, and then passes on to the fifty years' work under Dr. Robertson, Mr. Houghton, Dr. Forsyth, Dr. Selbie and Mr. Carter. The Church has been fortunate in its ministers—some of them men who lacked neither courage nor humour; witness Joseph Hussey, who preached on "I saw a great wonder in Heaven—a woman," and G. B. Bubier, who held that "an Independent minister who is timid is the most unhappy man on earth." We have been glad to enrol Mr. Manning as one of the members of our Society.

* * * *

A good many other new members have recently been enrolled, and among them we give a special welcome to Dr. Sidney Berry, the Secretary of the Union. We count Dr. Berry's association with the Society as a good augury for the future: the Historical Society has been somewhat of a Cinderella among denominational organizations, but now we may begin to hope that it will take its appropriate place in denominational consciousness and activity. If members will only do a little judicious advertising, and inform likely people of the Society's existence and aims, prosperity will be secured.

* * * *

An increased membership, which means increased interest, is, of course, the Society's greatest need. There is, however, one other requisite if the work we ought to do is to be done in the near future—the advent of a fairy prince who would subsidise the Society to the extent of two or three thousand pounds, so that the works of the pioneers of Congregational life in this country might be reprinted. Our present income will enable us to continue the publication of two rather slight numbers of the *Transactions* each year, but it will not do more than that. Will not some Congregationalist, whose generosity is not exhausted by the Forward Movement, step into the breach?

We are looking forward with eagerness to two publications which will no doubt be of great service to students of the history of Nonconformity. The Rev. Dr. A. F. Scott Pearson, of the Church of Scotland, has in the press a life of Thomas Cartwright, the leader of the Presbytero-Puritans in Elizabeth's reign. From personal knowledge of the amount of work Dr. Pearson has put into this volume, we believe that it will become the authoritative life of one who played a prominent part in the ecclesiastical controversies of the time. Dr. F. J. Powicke's *Richard Baxter* is also promised in the immediate future. In recent years some of the first-fruits of Dr. Powicke's Baxter researches have appeared in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands' Library*, and we are glad that now what will assuredly be a careful and thorough study of the great 17th century divine is to be available.

* * * *

It would be of service if readers would keep us informed of any research work they themselves have in hand or with which they are acquainted. The Rev. A. G. Matthew's volume on Staffordshire Congregationalism will soon be ready, and we hear that work is being done on similar lines in Shropshire, Essex, Hampshire, and other counties. Meanwhile it would be well, too, if Congregational communities in places of historic interest should prepare short histories which would be of public service. Recently we suggested to the minister of Chalfont St. Giles that it would be well that our church there should be kept open, and a little summary of the church's history and a list of its ministers should be visible. The Milton house, in which Milton lived during the Plague of London, and in which *Paradise Lost* was finished, is just across the way, and many visitors from the other side of the Atlantic, as well as our own countrymen, would like to step into the building which represents the community with whom Milton would frequently worship during his stay in Chalfont. We understand that while there was no meeting-house erected then, there was a "gathered church," and the people worshipping in the Congregational Chapel to-day are descended from it.

* * * *

It was suggested at the Annual Meeting of the Society that occasionally articles that were not strictly historical might appear in our pages. It should be possible to print such articles, though, of course care must be taken not to

trespass on the province of *The Congregational Quarterly*. There is a good deal of historic significance in our own times, and, if readers will co-operate, this need not be overlooked. We are glad to include in our present issue a paper by Mr. H. F. Keep, the Treasurer of Carrs Lane, Birmingham, which brings the story of the Church right down to our own times. Meanwhile we are drawing on the vast stores of manuscripts which the industry of our veteran and beloved editor, the Rev. T. G. Crippen, has gathered together.

* * * *

The tercentenary of George Fox has revived interest in the beginnings of the Quaker movement. We hope it has stimulated some scholar to investigate the debt owed by the Quakers to the Anabaptists and the Independents: here is a wide field for research which is, as yet, largely unworked.

* * * *

If any reader of this journal is endeavouring to complete his collection of the portraits of Congregational ministers that appeared in the *Evangelical Magazine*, Miss Rudd, 57 West Hill, Wandsworth, S.W. 18, daughter of the one-time headmaster of Caterham, will be happy to supply copies in her possession free of cost.

The History and Teaching of Carrs Lane, Birmingham

(An abridgement of a Paper read to the Carrs Lane Young Men's Sunday Morning Class.)

ON one of the plates used at our Communion services and on the silver chalice now kept in the vestry appears the following inscription :

“The Gift of John England. In trust for the use of the Calvinistical Independent Church assembling in Carrs Lane or elsewhere. 1771.”

Wrapped up in that dedication lies the story of the origin of Carrs Lane. For it was to enable John England and his seven friends to worship in the company of like-minded Calvinistical Independents that they dared to break away from the Church that had become untrue to its traditions and to build on the spot where we now meet an unpretentious house where their convictions would not be outraged by hearing false doctrines.

That was in 1748 and it is necessary to say something of the religious movements which were at that time sweeping England like a flowing tide.

At the beginning of the 18th century the Church, both Established and Nonconformist, had fallen on evil days. Cynicism, formality and unbelief were rife in pulpit and in pew. Religion had little to do with the realities of men's lives. Sincerity and earnestness were relegated to men of ill-breeding and lack of culture. And then, into this hard, frigid world was born that great revival of religion associated with the names of the Wesleys and Whitefield, which is distinguished from all similar movements by the name of The Evangelical Revival. It breathed on the barren land like the coming of spring, and woke to a new and wonderful life the starved seeds that slumbered in men's souls. Whitefield's audiences of miners with the tears washing channels on their grimy cheeks were typical of the experiences through which men and women in all ranks of life were passing. Religion became a vital force and soon found itself cribbed, cabined and confined within the respectable forms of public worship

which the churches at that time provided. As new wine bursts old wine-skins, so in many places the starched and rigid formulæ of orthodoxy gave way before the fermenting zeal of the new life. Religion was striving to express itself in reformed lives and saved souls, instead of in repeating moral platitudes, and in theological hair-splitting. I will say something more about the Evangelical Revival in its general aspect a little later on, but now confine myself to mentioning its effect in Birmingham and particularly in relation to this Church.

In 1748 the provision made for the public worship of God in Birmingham was very meagre. There was a population of about 23,000 (to-day it is nearly 1,000,000) and there were three Anglican churches (St. Martin's, St. Philip's and St. John's). There were five Nonconformist churches, namely, two Baptist (Cannon Street and Freeman Street); two nominally Presbyterian, but by this time frankly Unitarian (the Old and the New Meetings); and the Quakers' Meeting House in Bull Street. Besides this, the Jews and Roman Catholics had their own places of worship, and probably other small groups of religious folk met in obscure rooms.

The first Presbyterian Chapel in Birmingham was built in 1688 on a site now covered by the Midland Railway Station. Twice was this building destroyed by fanatical mobs, in 1715 and 1791, probably with some connivance on the part of the better educated but equally intolerant leaders of orthodoxy. This was the "Old Meeting," so-called to distinguish it from the "New Meeting," which was a mean-looking building in Digbeth, almost on the very spot where our Institute now stands. In 1732 this building was closed and the congregation built a new chapel in Moor Street, which later on was bought by the Roman Catholics. This quaint old House of God still stands adjacent to our own chapel, and I was surprised to find on a recent visit how little the trappings of Catholicism have affected its austere and puritanical appearance.

The Old Meeting was pulled down in 1881 and its successor in Bristol Street is known to us all. The New Meeting migrated to the Church of the Messiah in Broad Street. Although these churches were originally Presbyterian in theology as well as in government (relics of the days when Scotland was called in to the aid of persecuted Puritanism in England in the time of the early Stuarts) they had become Arian (or as we now say Unitarian) by the middle of the 18th century. Under their utterly undemocratic form of government by

Trustees, the congregation had little or no voice in the appointment of ministers. Therefore, it seemed to John England, John Humphries, George Davis, Richard Jukes, Thomas Allen, Clement Fisher and Messrs. Kendall and Halford, whose souls were starved by the hard, cold doctrines preached at the Old and New Meetings, and who had seen a new vision of the Kingdom under the inspiration of the Evangelical Revival, that their only course was to break away and form a new church. Accordingly, in 1748, land was secured between Carrs Lane and New Meeting Street, and a chapel built at a cost of £700. There was a row of very poor cottages between it and Carrs Lane, and, perhaps, it is owing to this obscurity that the chapel survived the riots of 1791.

The chapel was twice rebuilt, in 1802 and 1821, but in this short paper I only want to indicate the history of the Church, which is recorded in the progression of thought expressed by its pulpit teaching and by the active Christian life of its members.

Too often in our Nonconformist churches we are inclined to measure our importance by the success of our ministers in attracting large audiences. While this is greatly to be desired, and enables such churches to be delivered from what Dr. Mackennal calls "the disabling influences of smallness" which narrow the outlook of Nonconformity, great congregations are no more successful than smaller ones unless the minister enthralls his listeners with a zeal for the things of God equal to his own. Such zeal may be shown in different ways—in some cases by evangelical work at home, through Sunday Schools, Mission work or lay preaching; in others sacrificial support of foreign Missions by the whole congregation, and in others, again, by the development of a strong sense of public duty and the sending forth of a succession of truly patriotic men and women who worthily fill the posts of civic government. I hope a properly qualified historian will some day adequately deal with the influence which Carrs Lane has had on the religious, social and political life of six generations in these respects.

The first minister was Mr. Gervas Wylde, who had been assistant minister at Castle Gate, Nottingham. It is recorded in the books of Carrs Lane that "for many years the place was crowded with hearers and his ministry was much owned," also that he was "singularly laborious in catechizing both young and old." He died in November, 1766.

His successor was Mr. Punfield, who had been for eleven years at Winburn (?Wimbourne), in Dorsetshire. John Angell James records that "he was a sound divine, but a very unpopular preacher": while he quotes from the old church records that "his sermons were sound, scriptural, savoury and solemn."

Of the organized work of the Church I can say even less, but we must remember that it had to build up a new cause amid many difficulties, and probably its work would be more intensive than external. That the congregation was devoted to the Church is evidenced by John England's benefactions, not only of a Silver Communion Service, but by a gift of £600. Another worthy Carrs Laner, Joseph Scott, presented to the Church some land through which part of Corporation Street now runs. In the course of 100 years this Trust became so valuable that the income increased to about £1,500 a year. Owing to the unexampled magnanimity of Dr. Dale, the Trustees only return to Carrs Lane £500, the rest being devoted to chapel extension and educational scholarships for Birmingham boys and girls—prizes which are eagerly competed for.

Thus early was manifested that personal attachment to the Church which is still so marked a feature of its life.

The next minister was a much more distinguished man, Dr. Edward Williams. He came from Oswestry, and was only at Carrs Lane for 3½ years. He was a theologian of great distinction, and although he fought his battles for causes which no longer excite us, they were of immense service to religious Truth in those days. "Antipædobaptism" is a forbidding word, and we may wonder why two bulky volumes were needed to confute it. But it was really a learned defence of infant baptism, a rite we still cherish and practise. Two editions of *An Essay on Equity and Sovereignty*, and a treatise on *Modern Calvinism* denote the profundity of his studies. But he was eminent in other directions, for it was largely owing to a letter of his to a meeting of ministers at Warwick in 1793 that the foundation of the L.M.S. is due, while he was also one of the founders of the Congregational Union. He left Carrs Lane to become Principal of the Yorkshire Independent College at Rotherham. His successor was the Rev. Jehoiada Brewer, who stayed at Carrs Lane for six rather tempestuous years. He was a man of fine presence and a first-class preacher, but subject to strong passions which

eventually involved him in some scandal and led to a considerable disruption of the Church. Mr. Brewer and his followers withdrew to a disused circus, or riding school, in Livery Street, which seems to have been the temporary home of more than one migrating Nonconformist church. His people built for their future home Ebenezer Chapel, but Mr. Brewer died a few days before it was opened for worship. At this time, fifty years after its formation, there were certainly Sunday Schools at Carrs Lane, for in 1793 new premises were built, and hired rooms in Shut Lane were used when these proved too small. A good deal of evangelistic lay-preaching was done, which later on became organized and led to the formation of most of the Congregational churches in the district.

And so we are brought to 1804 when a young student of 20, named James, was recommended by the Principal of the Academy at Gosport to the Church at Carrs Lane, and modern history may be said to have begun. Mr. James received an immediate invitation, but wisely insisted on going back to finish his training. The patience and wisdom of the Church in waiting for two years brought its own reward, but for Mr. James's first six years success was doubtful. Then, by his own admission, he pulled himself together, and from 1812 till his death on October 1st, 1859, the prosperity and prestige of both minister and church form an unbroken record of progress. To what, principally, was Mr. James's commanding position due? It is not quite easy for us to answer this. Dr. Dale, in his masterly and courageous biography of Mr. John Angell James, does not hesitate to criticize severely some of the great man's most sacrosanct achievements as, for instance, *The Anxious Enquirer*, and such a celebrated discourse as the historic sermon on behalf of the L.M.S., which was preached in the Surrey Chapel, London, in May, 1819.

One of our most respected members, Miss Jane Taylor, happily still with us, speaks from her own recollection and says his power could not be dissociated from his personality. Mr. James had what may be called the "grand pulpit manner." His snow-white bushy hair: his dignity: his exquisitely modulated voice: the simplicity and pathos of his prayers, and his tremendously solemn message ("as a dying man to dying men") magnetized his hearers. To our modern minds Mr. James's teaching presents few points of contact. I have studied with some care one of his well-known books, *The Christian Father's Present to his Children*, and the outstanding

impression left with me is one of ponderous dullness. There are no flashes of wit or humour: illustrations from secular history scarcely appear, nor do references to current literature, though Mr. James was a very wide student of books. Indeed, he expressly advises that young people should confine their reading to "moral and educative works." Poetry, in particular, was to be carefully selected. Mrs. Hemans, Jane Taylor, Cowper, and Montgomery combined "poetry and piety," but the latter element was declared to be entirely lacking in Scott, Southey, Wordsworth, Coleridge and Tennyson! "Wish not to know what can be said against the Bible," is his advice to young men, and if we get hold of all which that dictum implies it will help us to understand, I think, the main lines of his teaching. I can find no suggestion that he ever admitted that intelligent young people could honestly entertain any reasonable difficulties. The "Plan of Salvation" was clear and definite and must be accepted as it stands, or rejected at the peril of eternal torments. But to continue such criticism is uncongenial to me, and I would rather point out that the urgency and conviction with which Mr. James treated the great problems of Sin, Salvation and the Future Life marked an immense advance on the cynical and polite indifference to religion which was the note of the years preceding the Evangelical Revival. We must place his teaching in its proper historical setting and realize what it left behind and to what it was leading. How, indeed, can we translate our impartial judgment to a period when, according again to Miss Taylor, such a verse as the following was possible in a collection of children's hymns?

"There is a dreadful hell, And everlasting pains,
Where Sinners must with devils dwell, In darkness, fire and chains."

At this point I must say something more about the Evangelical Revival, which awoke the torpid and moribund religious emotions of masses of the people in all ranks of society. Its motive force is even now not fully spent, but can be traced in a good deal of the religious thought and church life of our own times.

I do not know of any complete history of the movement, but the following extract from a great sermon by Dr. Dale at Bath in 1881 contains an acute and succinct appreciation of it. He says:

"The characteristic doctrines of the Evangelical Revival

were : (1.) The death of Christ as the ground for the forgiveness of our Sins. (2.) Justification by Faith. (3.) The supernatural work of the Holy Spirit in Regeneration, and (4.) The Eternal suffering destined for those who rejected the Christian Gospel. The Evangelical Revival was the ally of individualism : it cared nothing for the idea of the Church as the one great Society of Saints. It had very little to say about the relation of the individual Christian to the general order of human society, or about the realization of the Kingdom of God in all the various regions of human activity. It was wanting in a disinterested love of Truth, and it had little of that passion of adventure which strives to find its way into regions where the thought of the Church has never penetrated. It loved Truth, not for its own sake, but as a necessary instrument for converting men to God. Its power and glory were this—that it cared supremely for men, for living men who were to be saved or lost, and on whom it had to press with tears and agony and prayers the gospel of Christ in order to save them. It cared little for any truth which had not a direct relation to Salvation. What it did care for was to save individual men from eternal death.”

I venture to think that this luminous description of the who'e movement may also stand as a fair summary of Mr. James's teaching, for he was a typical child of the Revival. The dominant note of this teaching was “Salvation.” I think it had already slightly receded from the extreme Calvinistic doctrines of predestination and election, which were certainly held by the seceders from the Old Meeting in 1748. Probably the Calvinism it still professed to believe in consisted principally in what Professor Allan Menzies describes as the great contribution of Calvin to the religion of his own and succeeding generations “—a profound sense of the Sovereignty of God.” Such a message of Salvation, preached with authority and conviction, naturally produced willing evangelists among its hearers. Zeal for the salvation of others marked the Church at Carrs Lane, and it became a staunch and generous supporter of Foreign Missions. At home the same enthusiasm was evident. Writing in 1849, Mr. James records that Carrs Lane, entirely at its own cost, had built chapels at Lozells, Smethwick, Garrison Lane, Palmer Street, Yardley and Minworth, while Carrs Lane members were also active in forming other Congregational churches in the district.

In 1852, Mr. James secured the help of a young student

at Spring Hill College, Robert William Dale by name, to conduct the services once a month. A year later he became assistant minister, and on Mr. James's death, in 1859, he was elected sole pastor. Carrs Lane was his only church; he declined invitations to Clapton Park, London, Cavendish Street, Manchester, and Australia. From 1806 to 1895 there were only two pastors at Carrs Lane. Both men were of outstanding personality and distinction, and it was inevitable that this remarkable continuity (so creditable both to ministers and church) should have had a great effect in welding together a powerful society, whose influence and reputation spread far beyond the confines of one city.

I picture Dale, when he became sole pastor at Carrs Lane at the age of thirty, as shrinking from much of the crude evangelicalism which formed the staple of so many sermons. Mr. James's own son tells us that the constant repetition of this theme did not appeal to the younger generation, and that comparatively few young men were found at Carrs Lane. Dale showed wisdom as well as courage in deciding to appeal to the intellect more than to the emotions. He struck a distinctive note both in regard to the theory of Congregationalism, and to those great theological doctrines which he saw required to be restated in terms of modern thought. The Evangelical Revival had led to a very large increase in the number of Independent churches, but so far as I can discover few of these churches cared little for Congregationalism as such. It was enough for them that they were independent of the Establishment, and independent of one another and of that Presbyterian ecclesiasticism which Milton had long ago said was "but old Priest writ large." Few Congregationalists troubled to find any more positive reason to justify their separate existence. Dale insisted on our scriptural ancestry. He contended that it was Christ's own authority that constituted the charter for Congregationalism. Two or three believers gathered in His name represented the Church. He was present and endorsed their decision giving them power to loose and to bind. The ideal Church was any body of people who tried to make Christ's will supreme, and so became the body to a Divine Head. It is a noble conception, and there have been historic occasions when the members of the Church here have thrilled to it, and in self-forgetfulness have come to great decisions in the spirit of their Master. But I think we do not press the claims of Congre-

gationalism quite as firmly and with as sincere conviction as Dr. Dale did. We admire the theory, but treat it too much as if it had little to do with us. Unlike Dr. Dale, we are not "willing to be hanged for Congregationalism"!

When I turn to Dr. Dale's theology, I recognize my utter inability to present an adequate estimate. Dr. Fairbairn supplied to Sir Alfred Dale's biography of his father a very wonderful appreciation of his place as a theologian. I can only attempt here some deductions drawn from Dr. Fairbairn's conclusions. Puritanism had led to a conflict between Calvinism (insisting on the supreme sovereignty of God) and Arminianism (which stood for the freedom of man to choose his own path), but into such academic disputes, Wesley and the Evangelical Revival burst like sunshine into fog. They proclaimed a Gospel of Free Salvation by the Grace of God. But many orthodox Nonconformist theologians did not accept this teaching entirely. They produced a modified theory which ran into barren wastes of verbiage and lost itself in refining definitions of Divine Justice. We read of Vindictive Justice, Distributive Justice, Commutative Justice, Public Justice, and many other academic varieties. Then a new school rose, led by such men as Maurice and F. W. Robertson, that insisted on the primary importance of the idea of God as Father, rather than Sovereign, and Christ as the Mediator between Him and man. Dale was beginning his theological life about this period, and he hammered out his own conceptions. His most reasoned contribution to the theology of his time is found in his book on the Atonement. He had to steer his way between rigid theories on the limitation of salvation to the elect and the innate depravity of man, and the school which preached an indiscriminate Universalism, with its tendency to minimize the fact of sin. "Dale's mind," says Fairbairn, "ever moved between two poles—the awful majesty of God; and his own unworthiness and sinfulness, not by original transmission, but by his own perverted will." If, from my own study of this great book, I dare put into one sentence the essential argument of Dale's doctrine of the Atonement—not the *fact* of the Atonement, which he insists is a very different matter—it is that God is the embodiment of the Eternal Law of Righteousness and to vindicate that law He himself, in the person of Christ, underwent the extreme penalty of sin, the loss of the sense of God's presence. Here again, I think, it is doubtful if this

great conception quite expresses the modern mind, which seems to me to take a less objective view of the death of Christ. But Dr. Dale's great work has had an amazing influence in forming the opinion of men of all Churches, and one feels that Dr. Fairbairn is right in saying that "our generation has had no abler interpretation of Evangelical thought in the high realms of speculative theology." But I suppose the note of Dale's teaching which most deeply affected the lives of his hearers is embodied in the title of one of his most famous books—*The Laws of Christ for Common Life*. Far more than abstract theology such practical preaching went home and sent Carrs Lane people out into the world of business, and politics, and education, and into the relationships of home and friendship filled with a passionate desire to translate God's Will as revealed in Christ into every department of life.

The effect of Dale's virile teaching was apparent. Carrs Lane responded to it and rose to a commanding place among the churches.

And now the nearer I get to our own days the more difficult it is to see the history and teaching of Carrs Lane in a true perspective. A few words must suffice. In Dr. Jowett a leader was sent who preached gloriously the old evangelical doctrines, but illuminated them with the light of his own peculiar genius. If his sermons had not the massive masculinity of Dr. Dale's they strove with success to bring home to the simplest understanding those great doctrinal themes which Dale clothed in sonorous phrases, or hammered into a logical system on the anvil of sheer intellectuality. Dr. Jowett extracted the essence of the evangelical gospel and presented it in the form of word pictures that had the advantages and limitations of such a medium of expression. Justification, for instance, became adjustment; the setting right of some physical dislocation illustrated the restoration of right relations between the soul and God. There are tremendous sermons by Dale on the illimitable possibilities of the redeemed life in Christ; but when these are forgotten, some of us will remember the picture of the little child, stooping to pick a sprig of heather by the roadside, who lifts her head to see the whole hillside blazing with purple glory. But Dr. Jowett was a great and resourceful organizer as well as a mighty preacher. He saw that our scattered missions meant diffusion of energy and loss of power. He felt, too, that drab and dreary mission rooms failed to give to drab and dreary

lives a worthy picture of what Christianity can do, and so he pondered, and at last produced Digbeth Institute as another picture in his great gallery. In its brightness and fine architecture, as well as in its manifold equipment, it was to appeal to all the highest senses and so help to lead men and women and children away from the common and sordid, and to associate religion in their minds with beauty and strength and joy. And he crowned his work at Digbeth by inspiring the host of workers who gathered round William Jones.

* * * *

Since the foregoing paper was written another chapter in the history of Carrs Lane has closed and a fresh one opened. Mr. Sidney Berry's ministry lies too near us to see it in its proper perspective, while that of Mr. Leyton Richards lies in the future. But this must be said, that the distinctive note of Carrs Lane preaching during nearly 180 years, namely, the Fact of Christ, is still the dominant note in the pulpit message of these latest days. I believe with all my heart that whilst rooted in the primary truths that lay at the heart of the Evangelical Revival the thought of Carrs Lane has been progressive and has been divinely guided by a succession of devout preachers. And I am equally sure that the old church is still moving forward catching fresh beams of light on many an ancient doctrine.

H. F. KEEP.

Nicholas Lockyer : ¹ A Half-forgotten Champion of Independency

IN the *Trans.* (IV. 98ff) was given some account of Nicholas Lockyer, with selections from his prayers, as reported in a MS. in the Congregational Library. As the author of a little known but vigorous defence of a somewhat idealized Congregationalism, it seems fitting to give some further details of his life, with a summary of his treatise of the subject.

He was the son of William Lockyer, of Glastonbury, born about 1612. At the age of 17 he was entered either as "Batler" or "Commoner" at New Inn, Oxford, and in due course commenced B.A., but the date is not recorded. In 1635 he seems to have been incorporated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge; and proceeded M.A. in 1642. He "took orders," and was appointed to the Rectory of St. Bennets Sherehog, sequestered from Matthew Griffith. At a later date he was also appointed rector of St. Pancras, Soper Lane. There, on 15th October, 1641, Christopher Good had been chosen for Lecturer, the then rector, George or Gerard Eccop not consenting. The rectory was sequestered in 1643, but Lockyer's appointment was somewhat later. At this time he inclined to Presbyterianism, and took the Covenant: but afterwards he became an uncompromising Independent. On 28th October, 1646, he preached a Fast sermon before the House of Commons. In 1652 he was in Edinburgh, and preached a sermon in defence of Congregationalism, which was intended to be the first in a series of three; but for unspecified (but easily guessed) reasons the others were not delivered. However, he lost no time in publishing the substance of the whole. On 29th July, 1652, the Council of

¹ See Wood, *Athenæ Oxoniensis*, pp. 738 and 777ff, and *Fasti* 107. The last-named passage is as follows:—"1654 June 5. It was ordered by the Delegates that Nicholas Lockyer, sometime of New Inn, might have the degree of B.D. conferred on him, which was conferred by the Doctors delegated by the Chancellor. Yet it doth not appear that he was created or diplomated." [The Chancellor at that date was Cromwell.]

State appointed Lockyer, with John Owen and Sidrach Simpson, to confer about sending able and godly persons to preach the gospel in Ireland. In December, 1653, it was intended that certain Commissioners should travel in threes on circuit, for the purpose of settling or removing ministers, and of these Commissioners Lockyer was to be one; but the project did not take effect, and a little later he was appointed one of the Commissioners for the Approbation of Ministers, commonly called "The Triers."

At this time Lockyer was Chaplain to Cromwell; and in that capacity, on 16th December, he delivered an "Exhortation" to the Court in the Banqueting House at Whitehall, immediately after Cromwell had taken the Oath as Lord Protector.

In June, 1654, he was constituted Fellow of Eton College, and on the 5th of that month it was "ordered by the delegates that Nicholas Lockyer, sometime of New Inn, might have the degree of B.D. conferred upon him; which was confirmed by the doctors delegated by the chancellor"; but there is no record of the diploma being actually issued. Toward the end of 1658, on the death of Francis Rous, Lockyer succeeded him as Provost of Eton; and on 3rd August, 1659, we find him once again preaching a Fast Sermon before the House of Commons.

Then came the Restoration, and as a matter of course, Lockyer was deprived of his provostship and, not long after, of his two benefices. Attempts were also made to implicate him and Philip Nye in an alleged plot for which some persons were put to death in November, 1662.

In 1669, it was reported that "Mr. Collins, Mr. Lockyer, and others were accustomed to preach in a conventicle in Bell Lane, Spitalfield." The following year he found it expedient to take refuge beyond sea; this may have been on account of a "seditious pamphlet"—so called, in which he had undertaken to prove that the Conventicle Act was void because unconstitutional. Afterwards we find him living at Woodford in Essex, and "attending" if not "keeping" Conventicles; *where* is not stated, and he does not appear among the holders of licences under the Indulgence. But his reported prayers, which range from January, 1671-2 to November, 1678, must have been spoken within the metropolitan area. He is believed to have possessed considerable wealth. He died on 13th March, 1684/5, and was buried in St. Mary

B

66 Nicholas Lockyer : Champion of Independency

Matfellow Church, Whitechapel. He left two daughters, Abigail and Elizabeth.

Writings of Nicholas Lockyer¹

- A Divine Discovery of Sincerity, according to its proper and peculiar nature, &c. Delivered in three sermons on 2 Cor. 11, 12, 8vo. Lond., 1643.
- Baulm for bleeding England and Ireland; or seasonable Instructions for persecuted Christians, &c. Contained in the sum or substance of 20 sermons on Colos. I: 11, 12. 8vo L. 1643; 4to 1646.
- Fast Sermons before the House of Commons, 28th October, 1646, on Isaiah liii. 10. 4to, Lond., 1646.
- England faithfully watched with in her wounds: or Christ as a Father sitting up with her Children in their sowning (*sic*) state. Painfully preached on Colos. i. 4to, Lond., 1646.
- Christ's Communion with His Church Members: First preached and afterwards published for the good of God's Church in general. 8vo, Lond., 1647; 5th Edn., 8vo with portrait, 1672.
- An Olive Leaf; or, a Bud of the Spring, viz., Christ's Resurrection, and its End, viz., the Correction of Sinners, and a Christian's Compleat Relief. 8vo, Lond., 1650.
- Spiritual Inspection, or a Review of the Heart; needful for this loose and lascivious season. 8vo, Lond., 1650.
- A Little Stone out of the Mountain: A Lecture-Sermon, preached at Edinburgh, concerning the matter of the Visible Church. 12mo, Leith, 1652.
- § The Young Man's Call and Duty. 8vo.
- § Useful Instruction for the people of God in these evil Times: Delivered in 22 sermons. 8vo, Lond., 1656.
- § Fast Sermons before the House of Commons, 3rd August, 1659. (A. Wood remarks: "This I have not yet seen.")
- Some Seasonable Queries upon the late Act against Conventicles. Tending to discover how much it is against the express Word of God, the positive Law of the Nation, the Law and Light of Nature, and Principles of Prudence and Policy. And therefore adjudged by the Law of the

¹All, except those marked §, are in the Congregational Library.

Land to be void and null, &c. 4to, 1670. (Anon., but assigned to Lockyer by A. Wood, who calls it "this Seditious Pamphlet.")

A Memorial of God's Judgments Spiritual and Temporal : or Sermons to call to remembrance, &c. 8vo, Lond., 1671.

The title page and summary of the treatise on Congregationalism follow :

A LITTLE STONE OUT OF THE MOUNTAIN.

CHURCH-ORDER

briefly opened by

Nicholas Lockyer, | Minister of the Gospel.

EZEK. 47.3. | —the waters were to the ankles. |

PSAL. 27.4. | One thing have I desired, &c. |

Printed at Leith by Evan. Tyler. | Anno Dom. 1652. |

The Epistle Dedicatory ; (8pp.) begins

"To the LORD'S afflicted People in SCOTLAND, Be tender mercy by JESUS CHRIST." [Signed 'From my Quarters in Edinburgh, April 20, 1652.']

"To The Reader" [6 pp. Same date]

"To all those of | SCOTLAND | That can read with a seeing | eye, grace, mercy, and peace." 8 pp. [Signed, 'Joseph Caryl, John Oxenbridge, Cuthbert Sidenham.' Dalkeith, April 22, 1652.]

"THE—ORDER—of the—GOSPEL,—In some more main parts thereof, briefly and plainly handled, (as such a Subject will permit.)"

The first portion of the treatise, pp 1-62, is the substance of a sermon on Acts 15³, from which the following extracts may suffice to present the argument :—"The principall things in this verse are these, viz., a Church of the New Testament, described by its proper matter, and by a proper effect and operation which this hath, upon such who are indeed turned to the Lord, and able to discern spirituall beauty and glory, it causeth great joy to all such. . . . What the matter of this Church is, read the next words, and they will tell you :—*they declared the conversion of the Gentiles.* What conversion was this ? A meer outside conversion ? Surely if the Brethren had apprehended no more in them, they would have had little matter for great joy" (pp. 1, 2).

"The complexion of a visible Church under the Gospel is here said to be *conversion* : the constituting matter, *converted ones* . . .

Paul and Barnabas, who were master builders, and surely very seeing men, that they might not make a meer report, took of these converted ones with them . . . what they are, see for yourselves, here they are, discourse with them, see if they have not the same Soul-complexion with yourselves, whether they have not received the same Spirit of adoption, owning and experiencing the same grace of God as you do " (pp. 3, 4).

"In particular Churches, some competent judgement may be made of every particular Member, by able men, in a long tract of time ; and so are these Worthies elsewhere said, with the Church, to have had intimate communion, *Act 14*^{27, 28}. . . . Add to this *Acts 15*, where you shall see what is solemnly asserted of these converts, . . . that they had like powerfull, spiritual purifying receptions with the best of them at Jerusalem. And indeed I think it dangerous for any to affirm, that all these expressions might not mean effectual grace, or else be spoken of some only, but not of the whole " (pp. 5, 6, 7).

"Having thus . . . laid the foundation by the Word,—I build thereupon this doctrine. That the proper and allowed matter of a visible Church now in the dayes of the Gospel, is persons truly converted, such as God, who knoweth the hearts of all men, can bear witness of, as indeed sealed for his, by his Holy Spirit. I say, this is the matter we ought now to take, to raise again the Tabernacle of David, and none other, not one other, no, not in a whole church, so far as men truly converted, and very spiritual, are able to discern and judge " (pp. 7, 8).

He urges, by way of illustration, that the church at Jerusalem did not receive Paul until Barnabas had testified that he had "ventured his life in the practice of his Profession." He maintains that if this principle of purity of communion be surrendered, the Lord "will cast such a Church wholly off, which thus suffers his institution to be corrupted ; and so indeed did he write *Lo Ammi* upon the first Christian churches, quickly after the Apostles time, for this thing " (p. 11).

Quoting *Matt. 16*^{17, 19}, he observes : "First, that Christ doth not speak here of the Invisible Church ; for he speaks of the power of the Keyes, binding and loosing on earth ; the invisible Church is the greatest part in heaven. . . . Then secondly observe, of what matter he saith this building should be ; to wit, of such as have a Faith which flesh and blood cannot reveal ; and to a body thus constituted is the power of the Keys given, and both these represented and personated to us in Peter " (pp. 12, 13).

An illustration is found in *Rev. 11*² : "By the Temple is meant the visible Church What then is meant by the Court which is without the Temple ? Men which have only an outside religion and an outside worship and devotion, but destitute of the power

of Religion. What is meant by the not measuring of these ? . . . Do not embrace them to be matter in the Spiritual House ; they are without, and let them be cast out. . . . Such kind of Professors, and outside Christians, will soon in time of temptations conform themselves to the worst of men, Heathens, Turks, yea, and be worse than they " (pp. 14-16).

He proceeds to review the several churches to which the New Testament Epistles are addressed, which " were all thus constituted, with Persons truly godly, so far as a godly man can make judgement of one like himself. Ergo, if these be denied as Precedents, then I would ask our Brethren of the Presbytery, according to what rule they walk ? But if these be confessed as precedents, then I have only to shew unto you that these Churches did all thus constitute, though I think did not long carefully keep and maintain this pure constitution, for which bore their judgement, and yet do. What the Church of the Romans was, read Paul, who surely was able to discern in Spiritual matters, and who surely durst not complement with Persons in things of Eternal concernment. Rom. 1⁶,⁹ ." (pp. 19, 20).

" If it be objected, that there were wicked persons in those Churches . . . therefore we may constitute visible churches now in the dayes of the Gospel, with good and bad, with truly good and seemingly good, such as make only a profession, though we cannot discern the power of Religion in them : To this I answer, ' because such things are, therefore they ought to be ' will not hold. Because bad men were in the Churches, the general state of which in such a time of the world John speaks, *Rev.* 11^{1,2}, therefore they should be there, will not follow ; for then why is John bid to cast out that which is without, and not measure it, nor embrace it ? . . . If Churches do not mind diligently their rule, to look well who they add to them, and how congruous in weight to the balance of the Sanctuary, they may have evil persons amongst them enough, and yet not be able to maintain that it should be so. 'Tis like that the Asian Churches, and most of the first Churches, quickly after the Apostles' time, grew faulty in this kinde, opened the door wider than they had warrant for, by which they corrupted themselves, and for which God turned them all out of his house as defiling it " (pp. 25, 26). " We are . . . to use all care, as much as in us lies, to prevent by the first judgement of the Church all that are not godly from coming into a state to which they are not approved by God ; but if men by their subtily creep in, as the serpent into the garden, where they should not be, we are to cast out that which is without, whilest within, by the after judgement of the Church, which is excommunication, when it doth evidently appear that men are hypocrites, though not drunkards and such kind of bodily sinners, as I may say, which is far less,

simply considered, than hypocrisy : which after-judgement is an ordinance to cleanse the house of God and keep it pure. . . . The matter of a visible Church . . . should be real saints ; the proper and approved complexion of a visible Church is sanctity, saving grace ; and not one known to be otherwise can justifiably enter or abide within God's Holy hill " (pp. 28, 29).

He proceeds to defend this thesis from 1 *Cor.* 3^{10,17}, and urges that otherwise the Church could not realize the description given in 1 *Tim.* 3¹⁵, nor fulfil the prediction in *Mal.* 1¹¹. He goes on to ask : " How else shall the Jews be provoked, and this particular house be swallowed up in that general, and be made a Pillar in that to go no more out ? It's said that God will provoke his ancient people by us Gentiles : and how will God provoke them ? By the glory and purity of his worship and worshippers. See for this *Isa.* 66^{18,20} " (pp. 36-7).

Our author then expatiates on the ingathering of the Jews, and the descent from heaven of the New Jerusalem ; when " all Jews and Gentiles, that shall be formed into this House, shall be all one ; and the Lord shall be King over all the earth : in that day shall there be one Lord, and his Name one, one people, one faith, one love, one conversation, all in heaven : This Church will not be a speckled bird as they were for which [they were] cast off ; no, although we Gentiles [be] then joynd to them ; Consequently, the allowed matter of a visible Church, now in the days of the Gospel, is Persons truly holy. Take heed, then, of setting against a Church of such a complexion and constitution. Wilt thou oppose a thing because it is as it ought to be ? This is a meer spirit of contradiction, which borders upon malice and blasphemy " (p. 42).

He next deals with some objections :

(1) " But they gather Churches out of Churches, whom you plead for. Nay, 'tis but Churches out of a Church, Gospel Churches out of a Legal National Church ; and the one being abolished, there may be, yea, there ought to be a departing from it, and a gathering out of it into that Order which God hath instituted, So we find Churches gathered out of that one Church of the Jewes. *Gal.* 1²² " (pp. 46-7).

(2) " Those men are full of heresies and dangerous opinions who lean this way. Many monsters come out of your Independent Churches, therefore surely 'tis not of God. If it were a state congruous to the Word, surely it would not bring forth so many heresies, divisions, confusions. To this I answer, first, All is not true that is said of Congregational Churches, and of their friends ; it hath been an old wile of the Divell to caluminate much, and something will stick. . . . Nay, I know all is not true which is Printed of persons loving and honouring Churches, of such a constitution and complexion as I have mentioned. Witness Mr.

Edwards Gangren[a]. Nay, witness Mr. Rutherford's *Spiritual Antichrist*, pag 250, 251, etc. ; where you shall find the Lord Gen. Cromwell charged with public scandal and unsoundness in the faith, because of a Letter which he wrote to the Parliament ; which letter I here give the Reader, as taken out of Mr. Rutherford's book, that all the world may read and judge what unsound doctrine is in it, 'Presbyterians, Independents, all have here (i.e. in the army) the same spirit of faith and prayer, the same presence and answer ; they agree here, and know no names of difference ; pity it is it should be otherwise anywhere. All that believe have the real unity, which is most glorious, because inward and spiritual in the body, and to the Head. . . .' What heresy is in this letter I know not. . . . All that Mr. Rutherford hath inferred may be collected from the text ; as true, as kind, and as Christian is his construction of that letter, as humble, holy, and true is that assertion of his concerning all Independents in England, viz., 'To my knowledge there is not this day in England any that is a meer Independent, which maintaineth nothing but Independencie, with most of those of New England, and does not hold other unsound and corrupt tenets ?' . . . Surely there be many Independents in England that this good man is a stranger to ; and how he should then dare to speak so of them all as he does is fearful" (pp. 47-51). "Secondly, I would answer this, that there is a difference between a cause and an occasion. That we walk in any fundamental truth in the power of it, many take occasion from hence to scoff, break forth into much wickedness. What now ! Is it not therefore the Truth which we follow, or must we leave following it, because many take occasion from hence to run into all evil. . . . I think the things about which the Divell doth make such ado may rather be thought to have something in them, rather than from hence to conclude they have nothing of God in them ; because the Divell doth not usually set against his own ; doth not divide against the Divell" (pp. 52-4).

(3) "But till Independencie, no such sharp and bloody stirs and dissensions." (Reply) "Presbyterians began it, and their bitterness and baseness hath heightened it to that to which otherwise in likelihood it could not have come. . . . If God had not been more gracious than they ingenuous, they had undone themselves and others too" (pp. 54-5).

(4) "Simon Magus was a man in the Gall of bitterness and in the bonds of iniquity : yet upon his Profession of Faith in Christ he was received into Church Fellowship." (Reply) "Surely it was not shows but substance which was lookt at, and conceived to be in this man, so far as man can judge. There were surely Outward signs of Repentance, and such as Peter, who received him into fellowship, was satisfied in. . . . That Simon did deceive the

Apostle, just as Demas did Paul, and give such outward appearance of real inward grace that the Apostle thought him to be suitable to the Rule of Church-triall before mentioned, is evident by what is said of him . . . otherwise the Apostles had not received him : and when that his hypocrisie did appear the Apostles rejected him as one not in Christ, and as one who had no share in real grace ; and upon that ground rejected communion with such a hypocrite " (pp 55-60).

(5) "The Apostle saith that in a great house there are not only vessels of Gold and of Silver, but also of Wood and of Earth, and some to honour, and some to dishonour : By house he meaneth the Visible Church ; therefore the visible church may consist of good and bad."

(Reply) "That there may be bad men in a Church hath not been denied in all this discourse. . . . But he saith not that these vessels of earth and wood are there allowedly ; but they are there to dishonour ; that is, being crept in where they should not be . . . they are to be cast out of the Church as dishonourable ; and so indeed was Hymenaes and Philetus . . . which shews that when men put away that which they seemed to have, Faith coupled with a good Conscience, they are to be put away to their master, as vessels of dishonour and appointed to wrath " (pp. 60-1).

It was the intention of Lockyer to follow up this discourse with others "upon other points of Church-Order." But this being impracticable, he added an "Appendix" (occupying pp. 62-138 of the volume) of which the following is a condensed summary :—

PROPOSITION 1. "That the Eldership which is within the particular Congregation is not in most weighty things to exert power without the consent and approbation of the Church whereof they are. By things most weighty I mean those things which are most essential to the state of a visible Church, as Admission of Members, Ordination of Officers, and Excommunication of either."

In defence of this position he urges :—

1. That the "power of the Keys" was not at first given to Peter as an Apostle or as an Elder, but as a Believer ; therefore to the Church of Believers was this authority primarily given, and afterwards to the Elders.

2. That Elders are set over the Church by the voluntary choice of the Church, who choose them to be their ministers in the Lord, and may depose them if they prove unworthy.

3. That otherwise the Elders cannot but offend the little ones of the Church, yea, the tender consciences of stronger brethren ; because acts of discipline may be performed concerning which they can have no sufficient knowledge.

4. The Spirit of discerning, both in respect of persons and

things, is not confined as a peculiar to the Presbytery or Eldership of the Church ; when business of great weight is in debate, the greatest cannot say to the least " I have no need of thee."

5. In weighty matters, such as Censures, Ordinations, &c., the Scripture is express that the whole Church should be jointly authoritative. " Tell it to the Church " means the Church, and not merely the Elders.

In the Jerusalem Synod (*Acts 15*) the Whole Church, not merely the Apostles and Elders, decided the question that was put before them. Even in so subordinate a matter as the appointment of deacons " to attend Tables " the Apostles would not act by their own authority," but only confirmed the choice of the Church. And *Acts 14²³* is explained in the sense that Paul and Barnabas ordained such Elders as the several Churches elected.

Even Whitgift, who " wanted not wit nor learning," was yet constrained to confess that " in the Apostles' time the state of the Church was Democratical, or popular ; the people or multitude having a hand almost in every thing."

To the objection that Timothy was ordained by imposition of the hands of the Presbytery, it is replied that his ordination was not to an ordinary Eldership, but to the extraordinary office of an Evangelist. To the plea that Timothy and Titus were instructed what manner of Elders, &c., they were to ordain, it is replied that there is no evidence that they ordained any except by the suffrage of the people.

To the assertion that " if the eldership cannot act without the consent of the Church, then church government is a Democratic, all are Elders, and Officers, and Pastors, and Teachers, and Rulers alike," and it is " confusion for all to have a hand in these great things " ; the reply is that we must distinguish between " an essential or fundamental power . . . in which the being of the Church consists, and is a right, not in one individual, but in many individuals as united in one Brotherhood," and " an organical power . . . which is that by which everyone keeps his place and rank . . . some to judge, others to declare, act, and exercise that Judgment in the name of the rest." This is illustrated by the relation of soul and body : " the senses are radically and potentially in all the soul, and the soul radically and potentially in all the body ; and yet . . . the soul acts all its works by such organs as are proper to each work." Finally, to the argument that " the Elders of the Church are called Overseers, Stewards, Shepherds, Fathers, all which in their analogie hold forth a peculiar and sole power to do things " ; our author replies that the Scripture " doth not intend by these terms Lord Bishops, or Lordly Presbyters, or Lordly Overlookers : Elders are so Rulers, and so Overseers, and so Shepherds, that they are also Fathers, and so Fathers as also

Brethren . . . linked in bonds of mutual and equal power fundamentally together ; which no organical power doth destroy and pluck up, but teach men rather more exemplarily to fulfil ; as we see in Christ, by washing his disciples' feet, although He was the Great Bishop of our Souls, and sole Ruler indeed, and Lawgiver " (pp. 62 and 64-92).

PROPOSITION 2. "That Presbyteries or Elderships which are without the particular congregation, exercising authoritative and coercive power over it, are an invention of man. By Presbyteries or Elderships without the Congregation I mean such an Eldership as is chosen out of several particular Congregations, assuming to themselves superior and decisive power over them." This he defends as follows :—

1. A coercive Eldership out of each particular Church is "without foundation in the Word." The precedent of *Acts 1⁶, 2³*, &c., does not apply ; for "the station of the apostles was extraordinary, it being the formality of their office to take care of all the Churches." "Extraordinary practices are not fit matters to make up ordinary precedents."

2. Moreover, in that case there were no "concurring Elders of other Churches ; they could not have this, being the first and only Gospel Church extant."

3. No precedent is afforded by *Acts 4³⁵*, *Acts 6²⁻⁵*, or *Acts 20²⁸* ; for "here is no joynt voice of various commissioned Elders" from diverse particular Churches.

4. In *Acts 15²⁸* : "Here is an Eldership of several Churches (indeed) met ; but as touching the coercion of their power, as such an excerped Eldership enforcing their results upon other Churches," this remains to be proved. The decision of that meeting "was not therefore Scripture or Canonical and binding because they decreed it," but because "what they decreed was by debate found out to be expresse in the Scripture, or undeniably deducted from thence." It is true that "A Forrain Eldership rightly constituted hath peculiar authority, i.e. a power of pre-eminent council ; though not a power of jurisdiction to constrain their results to be practised, or to censure ecclesiastically in case persons who have the result of things produced by them do not follow them." Indeed the decrees of the Jerusalem Synod "are said to bind those to whom they are sent ; and . . . they were sent to all the Churches of the Gentiles (*Acts 21²⁶*). . . . Now these had no commission else of that kind delegated to that Synod, and therefore what they did there could not bind them by way of any authoritative jurisdiction . . . where there is no delegation of messengers by mutual consent, there is no right of jurisdiction."

5. In *1 Tim. 4¹⁴* : "Here seems to be two things, a sojourning Eldership or a collegiate church which did ordain Timothy." This

would be much to the point if this were "an ordinary Eldership, such as consisted of ordinary pastors or teachers, and brethren commissioned from several particular churches." But as before stated—"an ordinary Eldership cannot institute an extraordinary officer, as Timothy was, to wit an Evangelist."

6. Furthermore, a coercive eldership outside the particular congregation is not only without precedent in Scripture, "it is a device of man, for it opposes the Word." "That the extent of Church Officers power to rule is no further than the extent of his place to feed, instruct, and diffuse knowledge and doctrine appears by these Scriptures; *Acts 20²⁸, 1 Peter 5², Colos. 1¹⁷, Heb. 13⁷* . . . Where we are chosen and fixed to feed, to speak the word of God, there are we to rule and exert judicial power, the use of the Keys in each part thereof."

7. "It may be said, Elders may preach in this church and that, in many particular churches; therefore they may, according to this you have said, rule over many particular churches." But "'Tis not occasional preaching, which one church by consent and desire may admit to another, that the Scriptures forementioned mean and make the bound of rule; but where men's fixed call and work properly lies." See *1 Thes. 5¹²* and *1 Tim. 1⁷*. "'Tis not bare labouring in the Word in a place which notes an Elder, but being over them, fixed and commissioned in such a station over them; and then when this is pitched and bounded, this bounds his work of conduct and discipline."

8. "A sojourning coercive eldership is surely a device of man, and no instituted ordinance of God, because it eludes that end to which it would seem to pretend." This aim is "an effectual remedy of offence, that nothing may be undone, or all done, as to the relief of anyone's complaint, or as to the appointing of anyone his right." But in practice these "sojourning Elderships" are less effective to this end than the eldership of the congregation. Indeed "this whole frame and series [of Presbytery and Synod and General Assembly and Commission of the Kirk] looks more like to entangle and perplex poor creatures than effectually to extricate and issue their distress."

9. "The particular Church is complete without them; for God would not appoint useless things. Every particular Church rightly constituted . . . hath sufficiency in itself to exercise all the ordinances of Christ, to ordain, to excommunicate, without Forrain Elderships of what degree soever." And it would still be the duty of the particular church to preach and dispense the Sacraments, even were the Classis to forbid it. As to discipline, the church at Corinth is blamed for not having exercised it of themselves, without either the apostle's direction or a Collegiate Church sentence sent them.

Various objections are now considered ; as that " particular churches cannot make up a sufficient eldership " to ordain or excommunicate. Yet for this purpose it is admitted that four or five elders may suffice ; and " a particular congregation may have and yield so many upon any occasion." And " If one particular congregation, so constituted as is before mentioned, be not sufficient to exercise the full power of the Keys without a forrain eldership, then the first church, that of Jerusalem, was lame in its power till others were erected." " And other congregations which were scattered up and down in Pontus, Cappadocia, &c., which in all likelihood by distance of place and by violence of Heathens were in an utter incapacity to any standing, extrinsecal elderships and associations . . . must needs sink from a defect intrinsecal ; and in their make and constitution, not being able without forrain power to relieve themselves in the mainest things." And finally, " if the particular Church has not been complete to do its own work without a forrain eldership the apostles would have mentioned something " thereof. But of this there is no trace, not even in *Acts 20²⁹*, where it might have been most expected.

Another group of objections is briefly considered.

(a) " We find no example of separation but in case of idolatry." But idolatry hath had several shapes, according as the light hath broken out in every age, in several degrees. " What is not warranted by the Word is an idol, let present times and abused affections call it what they will."

(b) " We have had many converted under the Presbyterian Government ; doth not this seal it to be of God ? " But " so there was under Episcopal government, yet Presbyterians gave witness to that not to be of God."

(c) " But many godly being in the Presbyterian way, is it not more proper to purge than to pull down all ? " " 'Twas just so objected by the godly in England when Presbyterians would have down the Episcopal Church. Many of the godly . . . were for purging . . . but the controversie of the Lord meant, the axe to the root, and so I humbly judge doth the same controversie now mean. . . . Purging doth suppose an encouraging foundation to work upon. . . . Where the form of Government, or the matter of Government be right, something of purging may do the work. . . . But when matter and form are both corrupt and naught—for form knit by situation, and by forrain forensical Elderships and associations : for matter three parts of four naught, prophane, atheists, of elders and people both—how can such a state and constitution . . . purge itself ? The bad will cast out the good, sooner than they will condescend to cast out themselves. . . . So that Church State is in this case quite dead, 'tis not a man but a carcase. . . . Therefore to depart from the dead is proper ; but to talk of purging

the dead . . . is discourse full of weakness, if not of unwillingness to see and censure our own shame."

(d) "But will not my protest serve the turn? . . . What doth others' wickedness in abuse of ordinances prejudice those ordinances to me? If protesting were only words, then such a thing would do; but to say the precious should not mingle with the vile, and yet the man doth this daily and continually is not to protest, but to mock and dissemble. . . ."

(e) "But doth not Baptism give the form of a true Church? . . . Now we are all baptized." The assertion is denied; for "There may be a Church, and consequently Members of a Church, before Baptism: Ministers are before Baptism, and a Church is before Ministers. . . . Besides, how much this gratifies the judgment and practice of the Anabaptists, any one may see, who constitute Church Members by Baptism: and how much Presbyterians are against Anabaptists all their writings shew."

(f) "But since this opinion prevailed we see a vast toleration of all strange and damnable doctrines." . . . "We are not so well skilled in divine things as to tell what everything is in the bud; we are patient more than some would have us till the bud blossom and bear, and when we see the fruit naught we give our witness against it, by dispute, discountenance, and otherwise as we understand the Word to warrant us. . . . Not by might nor by power civil, but by God's Spirit in his word and other ordinances we fight in these quarrels; which weapons, though not so terrible to look upon as the temporal sword, are yet mighty through God to cast down strong imaginations of vain men" (pp. 92-138).

* * * * *

James Wood, a Scotchman, published in reply to this treatise "An Examination and Refutation of Mr. Lockyer's Lecture concerning the Visible Church." (4to Edinburgh, 1655.)

T. G. CRIPPEN.

Nonconformity in Hull

(Continued from page 43.)

An interesting entry appears in the old Independent Minute Book under date March 31st, 1682: "paid for John Kirkus, his enlargement out of captivity £27." John does not appear in the list of members of the Church, altho' it includes several members of his family. Probably he was a sailor captured by the Barbary Pirates or Salee Rovers, like "Robinson Crusoe." That this is no fanciful idea is proved by an entry in the Parish Register of Holy Cross, Canterbury, which states that Simon Louth, Vicar from 1666 to 1679, subscribed 5s. for "redeeming the Captives in Turkey."

In 1686 matters began to improve, and in April 1687 King James II.'s "Declaration of Indulgence" to Roman Catholic and Protestant Dissenters was issued. A few months later came the Revolution and the liberty under William of Orange.

Ministers came out of their hiding-places and their meeting-houses were reopened, amongst them the Hull Independent meeting-place and the Bowlalley Lane Presbyterian Chapel. Mr. Charles, of the latter, was now able to preach in security for a few years, but on December 23rd, 1693, he finished his earthly course. "The stern old Puritan," says one writer, "was carried to his burial two days later through the streets where Christmas merry-makers held revel such as he had turned away from."

Not long did his Independent colleague survive him. After all his labours and sorrows, his trials and tribulations, "Mr. Richard Astley dyed ye 7th day of April 1696 having served ye Lord as pastor to this Church about 27 years. Flere et mememisse relictum est,"¹⁹ He was buried in Drypool Parish Churchyard.²⁰

An important event now occurred in the life of this hitherto harassed congregation. Having met for many years in the

¹⁹ Extract from old Minute Book.

²⁰ "1688 Bur'd a child of Mr. Richard Astley. 18 Jan. 1688." "1696 Buryalls; Mr. Richard Astley Buryed ye 9th of April." "1696 Mr. Benjamin Astley buryed ye 6th of March." (Extracts from Drypool Parish Registers)

house of John Robinson, elder of the Church, secretly at first and later under licence, they were now able to launch out into full publicity. In 1697 a good tobacconist named John Watson, a member of the church, gave a site in Dagger Lane for the erection of a chapel. Passing down Dagger Lane you may yet notice the Chapel at Prince St. Corner. About twelve feet above street level is a stone faintly inscribed "This Chapel was built in 1698."

Gone now were the meetings held in secret, fearful of interruption by spies and watchmen, although from time to time private houses were still licensed for the purpose of small gatherings for religious worship, for example:—

"1705 To Mr. Jonathan Bielby for occasional religious worship in the house where Thomas Wallis Master Mariner now lives" (This was Independent).

1713 (p. 59B Bench Book).

"Application was made to the court that Mr. George Bielby's dwelling-house in this town being designed as a place for religious worship might be allowed accordingly the same was granted and a certificate ordered."

On July 3rd, Jeremiah Gill came as a probationer to the congregation. In his own writing in the old minute book he says: "The summer following (1698) by the good hand of God upon us our new meeting place was erected at the sole charge of the Church and other assisting friends belonging to the congregation. We begun in't Aug. y^e 21st in the year above mentioned, the first text preached from (by J. G.) being Exod. XX.v. 22" ("In all places where I record my name I will come unto thee and I will bless thee.")

The Trust Deed of this Chapel (like many others of this period, Bowlalley Lane, South Cave, etc.) makes no mention of doctrine or forms of government but says . . . "In case it shall please God that the said congregation . . . be by Force or public Authority broke up . . . or permitted to preach and teach in public Churches . . ." the property is to be employed for the benefit of the poor.

In September, 1698, Gill was elected to full Office as pastor and at the close of the year he was able to write, "1698. The Lord was now pleased after a time of breaking down, to begin to repair the breaches of this little Tribe by the addition of some new members, for which the following pages must account." On December 20, 1698, four were added; in 1699 thirty-one joined the Church.

In this same year of 1698, the "Society for the Reformation of Manners in Kingston-upon-Hull" was formed.²¹ This was a new departure, for although the members of the society were nearly all, probably all, members of the various churches existing in the town, the management of its affairs was entirely distinct from Church Authority. Popular Societies were just beginning.

Amongst the early members of this Society were John Watson, the Bielbys, the famous Ald. Daniel Hoare, who was Mayor in 1674 and 1700, of the Independent Church, and Leonard Chamberlain, John Waite, Ralph Peacock, Joseph Turner, Richard Cooke, and Thos. Lightfoot, of the Presbyterian congregation in Bowlalley Lane.

A letter²² from Jeremiah Gill to Rev. Mr. Whitaker, Leeds (Mill Hill), dated April 7th, 1704, is interesting.

"This day eight years my worthy predecessor" (Richard Astley, 7th April, 1696) "was dismiss'd to the purest church . . . Mr. Billingsley (the Presbyterian Minister of Bowlalley Lane) is going to leave us at Hull. He has fully declared his purpose to's people this week and I presume they now take it for granted . . . Mr. Brook, who had been with'em at Swanland about a year, should be there (Deo Annunte) solemnly separated to's work on Wednesday next. . . ."

Mr. Gill was a minister of no mean ability and of untiring energy but died in 1709 at the comparatively early age of forty years.²³

In 1709 (May 24th) Mr. Joseph Sutton was elected pastor (and came with his family October 4, 1709). He was ordained at Swanland, a little village near Hull.

"The several houses of Mr. Joseph Sutton in Mytongate and Mrs. Sarah Jackson, Widow, in Scale Lane in this towne were (as certified by Thomas Lee to be used for that purpose) allowed by the Court for assemblies for the religious worship of Dissenters called Independents."²⁴

²¹ A full account of this Society is given in the *History of Bowlalley Lane*, p. 88. Mr. Bayock of South Cave, Presbyterian Chapel may have belonged the Society, for I find in his Library catalogue (already referred to) "An account of y^e Societies for y^e Reformation of Manners."

²² Birch MSS., 4275, Brit. Museum.

²³ "Mr. Jere Gill Min^r at Hull and Mrs Spencer married abt Michaelmas 1704." "Mr. Jeremiah Gill, Min^r at Hull died at York abt Jan. 23. 1709." Northowram Register.

²⁴ Hull Bench Books, 1712, p. 37B.

"Mr. Joseph Sutton (Min^r at Hull) died Aug. 25 1712," says the Nonconformist Register. "A young man of rare parts; a great loss to the congregation, his wife and children. Cease Lord, help Lord!"

T . . . Fletcher was pastor from 1st January, 1714-5. He died in 1733.

In that year (Dec. 10th) *Ebenezer Gill* "unanimously (*sic*) accepted the pastorate and submitted to keep ye Minister's house in repair and to permit Mrs. Fletcher to dwell . . ." (therein) "rent free until 1st May next."²⁵

The Bench Book²⁶ thus records his taking the oath required of a dissenting minister.

"Mr. Ebenezer Gill, a Dissenting Minister or teacher, then also appeared and took the oath and also made the declaration of the 30th year of King Charles the 2nd and subscribed his name to the said oath of declaration. He also then declared his approbation of the Statue (*sic*) made in the thirteenth year of the reign of the late Queen Elizabeth except the 34th, 35th and 36th and those words in the 20th.

He was ordained May 5th, 1734 (by fasting, prayer, imposition of hands, etc., according to the minute book), but had to resign owing to illness and died November 4th, the same year.

Just before his death²⁷ a new pastor was appointed in the person of Tobias Wildboar, who comes upon the scene in October, 1734.

Writing in the old Dagger Lane minute book some time later, Mr. Wildboar says he "received in Oct., 1734, an invitation from ye *Congregational Church* at Hull, lately under the pastoral care of Ebenezer Gill."

This is a definite statement, proving that the church was still in principle an Independent one, but, as will shortly be seen, changes were creeping in.

As he seems to have been unable to settle finally at Hull until 1736 (he came to Hull, he says, April 16th, 1736), the Rev. W. Martin was appointed as assistant preacher in 1735.

The following year Mr. Wiseman gave £200 for the use of the minister and in 1744 Mr. Howsom or Howson left £100.²⁸

²⁵ Old Minute Book.

²⁶ P. 120B.

²⁷ "Mr. Ebenezer Gill, Min^r in Hull died, 1734." Northowram Register.

²⁸ In 1743 the £200 was in the hands of J. Bielby and Samuel Watson. members; the £100 was placed in the hands of Alderman Bielby. See Lawton's *Collections*, 1840—payment was afterwards suspended.

A silver candlestick and snuffers were presented by Christopher Hemloc in 1746 (September 28) for the use of the chapel.

From about 1700 there was much interchange between the Presbyterian and Independent ministers of the district, which is proved by their entries of baptisms in the various registers, several of which I have examined. As the historian of Bowlalley Lane says :

“The differences of Presbyterianism and Independency seem, in the first part of the 18th century, to have worn down considerably and thus helped the congregations of early Dissent to fraternize to an extent that seems strange in the light of later events.”

Yet sometimes it has been the cause of trouble. In this church, we notice Mr. Wildboar's entry on October 30, 1748—“Mr. Townsend was chose at a church-meeting as a co-pastor, to which, for the sake of peace, I consented.”

Evidently there was some difficulty. “1748 Nov. 13, Mr. M. Townsend complied with the choice.”

Mr. Wildboar's entry regarding the ordination of this young man is still more interesting:—“1749, May 10th, Mr. Townsend ordained by fasting and prayer and by the hands of the Presbytery. N.B. Bro. Walker of Leeds preached Acts, 28. v. 22, Self prayed over him and Mr. Whitaker of Scarborough ga' the charge.”

“Bro. Walker” was the Rev. T. Walker of Mill Hill Presbyterian Church, Leeds, and the other minister was the Rev. W. Whitaker, Presbyterian, of Scarborough.

Only fifteen years separates this statement of Presbytery from the remark *re* “Congregational Church.”

Mr. Wildboar would have left before this (he having had an invitation to Birmingham) but the majority of the members pressed him to stay, a vote being taken on the matter.

In 1759 Mr. Wildboar died, having been (says the record) “afflicted with the palsy.”

Mr. James Cunningham, who had been elected co-pastor after Mr. Townsend had left, was appointed to the full pastorate and remained until 1762, when he removed to Ellenthorpe.

He was followed by the Rev. Rest Knipe, who only stayed until 1766, and in 1767 came the Rev. John Burnett.

Long before the foundation of the L.M.S. and similar societies, the churches of Hull took an interest in missionary work, and the state of the Red Indian people across the

Atlantic attracted much attention. In an account of an Indian Charity School in Lebanon, Conn. (carried on by Dr. E. Wheelock), I find that in 1769 Dagger Lane under Mr. Burnett contributed £24 and the Bowlalley Lane Church under Mr. Beverley £17.

Mr. Burnett was invited as a Calvinist in faith and an Independent in order, but he was in matters of church-government apparently a Presbyterian and in doctrine an Arian. He visited the congregations of other ministers in the district who were suspect and they returned the visits, as shown by the various baptismal registers.

Amongst these were Thomas Ellis of South Cave (at that time a Presbyterian Church); John Harris, Beverley; Titus Cordingley, John Beverley and J. Witter of Bowlalley Lane; John Argier, Swanland; and Benjamin Clegg, Cottingham.

This suspected Arianism led to a considerable secession of members, who formed the Blanket Row Independent Church. In tones of gentle reproach the seceders referred to their pastor's failure to live up to the terms of his appointment and also referred to their former unhappy settlements, *i.e.* Mr. Wildboar and later. From this secession branch out practically all the Independent or Congregational Churches of the city.

Continuing our account of Dagger Lane, we now enter upon quite a different phase in its history. In 1783 came the Rev. Robert Green, who embraced the doctrine of Emanuel Swedenborg, and remodelled the Church along those lines. The place was much altered, new galleries erected, etc.

Struggles between the trustees and the Swedenborgians were continuous; minister after minister came and went; the trustees had the keys seized from them, lawsuits and Chancery proceedings followed one after another.

The words written to the Church at Ephesus might well have been written to Dagger Lane:— "I know thy works and . . . (that thou) hast tried them which say they are apostles and are not. . . . Nevertheless I have something against thee, because thou hast left thy first love. Remember . . . and repent and do the first works or else I will remove thy candlestick out of his place."

Yet who am I, that I should judge? No doubt amidst this turmoil of conflicting views there were some members of the congregation who got a blessing from time to time.

From the coming of Robert Green in 1783 to 1840 there were eight ministers (Geo. Nicholson, Robt. Brandt, F. M. Hodson, Thos. Wallworth, James Bradley, James Rhodes, John Parry, and Wm. Hill).

We must now return to the Hull Presbyterians as a Church-party. The Bowlalley Lane Presbyterian Church, having become Unitarian during the Arian disputes of the latter half of the 18th century, and the Dagger Lane Church being largely Swedenborgian, the Presbyterians opened the old Tabernacle in Sykes St. on April 8th, 1838, as the "(Hull) United Associate Presbyterian Congregation."

This chapel had been erected in 1826 by an Independent minister, Rev. Samuel Lane, formerly of Ebenezer Chapel (usually called Myton Walls Chapel), on the other side of Dagger Lane.

On November 18, 1840 (or December 1, 1840) the United Presbyterians took over the Dagger Lane Chapel, the Swedenborgians using various other premises until they erected their present church on Spring Bank.

The Revs. James White, Alex Renton, and James Little Rorne followed one another from 1840—1870. With the coming of John Forrest in 1871 the affairs of the church took a new turn. The town having increased greatly since the building of the chapel in 1698, it was felt that the migration of the population to the suburbs necessitated a new church. A site was secured on Spring Bank and the new church was opened in 1875 at a cost of about £3,500.

Our story is told! We may only just link up our existing Congregational Churches with those that have gone, but their history, though highly interesting, must be entirely omitted.

The seceders from Dagger Lane in 1769 built a little chapel in a Court down Blanket Row and called to their pastorate, George Lambert, who attained a wide reputation, being a founder of the L.M.S. and other Societies.

The church prospered and, needing larger premises, built the Fish St. Congregational Chapel in 1782.

From time to time this latter transferred some of its members who, with others, formed churches at Nile St. (1827), Salem (1832), Albion (1841), Wycliffe (1868), Latimer (1869), Hessle Rd. (1877), and Fish St. Memorial (1898-9).

Other Congregational Churches, which I have not been able to directly connect with Dagger Lane and Fish St., are Hope St. (1797), with "Hope St. Memorial," Newland (1903);

“Ebenezer,” Dagger Lane (1804-5), with its descendants, “Tabernacle,” Sykes St. (1826), and “Bethesda,” Osborne St. (1842); Holborn St., Witham (1830); Moxon St. (about 1851); Porter St. (prior to 1856) and Lower Union St. (1882).

Of all these chapels only five remain as Congregational Churches, Albion, Wycliffe, Hessle Rd., Princes Avenue and Newland.

We have spoken of the *past*. What of the *future*? We must leave it in the hands of God and his Children of Hull Congregationalism.

A. E. TROUT.

The Chapel Library at Matlock Bath

IT was the express desire of Rev. Jonathan Scott, the first minister of the Congregational Church at Matlock Bath, that the books in his study adjacent to the Chapel should remain for the use of his successors. A catalogue was drawn up, and it was arranged that every succeeding minister should acknowledge the custody of the books, and see to it that they were not diminished.

The original donation consisted of 678 volumes, of which seventeen were duplicates. Unfortunately, the list is arranged "Alphabetically by Titles," and is not easy to use: another list, "Alphabetical by Authors," was left incomplete, ending with letter *k* (292 volumes). In 1832 about thirty-six volumes were disposed of by way of exchange, and thirty or thirty-two others substituted: a few later additions having been made. A new Shelf Catalogue was made in 1858, when the number of volumes recorded was 693. At that time forty-six volumes were noted as not in the original list; and it was stated that about seventy volumes of that original list were no longer to be found.

The collection is very miscellaneous. About 112 volumes date from the seventeenth century and 470 from the eighteenth, the remainder being either early nineteenth or undated. A few are said to be imperfect. The most valuable of the books, according to the catalogue of 1858, were works of the Old Puritan Divines, together with some controversial treatises of a later date. There is a respectable collection of Practial Divinity and Devotional literature, but not much which would attract the cupidity of a book collector. Indeed, among the volumes cleared out in 1832 were some which were of interest as curios, though not of much practical utility. It would be well that the collection should undergo a careful revision. A number of odd volumes and broken sets, and other things of little worth, should be eliminated, and their places filled *either* with solid old-time divinity or with modern religious biographies of permanent interest.

J. C. EASTERBROOK.

State Prayers from the Niblock Collection

(Continued from *Trans. VIII. 224*)

(XV) *Additional Prayers, to be used together with those appointed for the Fifth of November. 1689.*

Second Collect :—O God, whose name is excellent in all the earth, and thy glory above the heavens; who on this day didst miraculously preserve our Church and State from the secret contrivance and hellish malice of Popish Conspirators; and on this day also didst begin to give us a mighty deliverance from the open tyranny and oppression of the same cruel and bloodthirsty enemies: we bless and adore thy glorious majesty, as for thy former so for this thy late marvellous loving kindness to our Church and Nation in the preservation of our Religion and Liberties. And we humbly pray that the devout sense of this thy repeated mercy may renew and increase in us a spirit of love and thankfulness to thee its only author; a spirit of peaceable submission and obedience to our gracious Sovereign, whom thou madest the blessed instrument of it; and a spirit of fervent zeal for our holy religion, which now again thou hast so wondrously rescued and established, a blessing to us and our posterity. And this we beg for Jesus Christ his sake. Amen.

In the Litany :—Accept also, most gracious God, of our unfeigned thanks for filling our hearts again with joy and gladness, after the time that thou hadst afflicted us, and putting a new song into our mouths, by bringing his Majesty who now reigns over us, upon this day, for the deliverance of our Church and Nation, from Popish tyranny and arbitrary power. We adore the Wisdom and Justice of thy providence, which so timely interposed in our extreme danger, and disappointed all the designs of our enemies. We beseech thee, give us such a lively and lasting sense of what thou didst then, and hast since that time done for us, that we may not grow secure and careless in our obedience; but that it may lead us to repentance, and move us to be the more diligent and zealous in all the duties of our religion, which thou hast in a marvellous manner preserved to us. Let truth and justice, brotherly kindness and charity, devotion and piety, concord and unity, with all other virtues so flourish amongst us, that they may be the stability of our times, and make this church a praise in the earth. All which we humbly beg, together with thy continued blessing on all orders and degrees of men among us, and the perfect

deliverance of our brethren in Ireland, that they may rejoice together with us, and triumph in thy praise, for the sake of our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ ; to whom with thee, O Father of Mercies, and the Holy Ghost, be eternal praises. Amen.

In the Communion Service :—Eternal God, and our most mighty Protector, we thy unworthy servants do humbly present ourselves before thy Majesty, acknowledging thy power, wisdom, and goodness, in preserving the king, and the Three Estates of this realm assembled in Parliament, from the destruction this day intended against them. Make us, we beseech thee, truly thankful for this and for all other thy great mercies towards us ; particularly for making this day again memorable, by a fresh instance of thy loving kindness towards us. We bless thee for giving his Majesty, that now is, a safe arrival here, and for making all opposition, fall before him, till he became our king and governour. Continue, we beseech thee, to protect and defend him, the Queen, and all the Royal Family, from all treasons and conspiracies ; preserve them in thy faith, fear, and love ; prosper their reign with long happiness here on earth ; and crown them with everlasting glory hereafter : through Jesus Christ, our only Saviour and Redeemer. Amen.

(XVI) A Prayer for the King : to be used instead of that appointed for his Majesties present expedition. Whitehall, July 11, 1690. The Queen does approve of this Prayer, and commands it to be Published.

[This refers to King William's preservation at the Battle of the Boyne.]

Almighty and most gracious God ; we bless and magnifie thy holy name for thy late mercies to us of these kingdoms, in raising up thy servant King William to be a deliverer to us in the day of our distress, and to rescue us from Popish Tyranny when we were so near sinking under it. We also acknowledge with all due praise and thanksgiving that thou hast graciously heard the prayers of thy church for him whom thou madest the happy instrument of our preservation ; in preserving him in so wonderful a manner from those great and apparent dangers to which he exposed his royal person for our safety, and for the deliverance of our suffering brethren. Blessed be thy name that thou hast given such visible tokens of thy gracious presence with him in this expedition : that thou hast not only covered his head in the day of battle, but encompassed him with salvation round about ; that the messenger of death which came so near could not hurt him ; that his enemies who rejoiced over him are clothed with shame ; and that thou hast crowned him with victory and success even above our expectations. We beseech thee to continue him under the wings of thy gracious providence ; to bless his arms by sea and land against the common enemy ; and in thy good time to bring him back in peace and safety

to our comfort. And give us grace to live worthy of these mercies, in all thankful obedience to thy divine Majesty, in dutiful subjection to them whom thou hast set over us, and in entire dependence on thy will, which we have found so gracious to us of this church and nation. Grant this for thy mercies sake, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

(XVII) *A Form of Prayer and Thanksgiving to Almighty God, to be used on Thursday the sixteenth of April next. . . . For Discovering and disappointing a horrid and barbarous Conspiracy of Papists and other trayterous persons, to Assassinate and Murder His most gracious Majesties Royal Person; and for delivering this kingdom from an Invasion intended by the French.* 1695.

[This is chiefly compiled, with necessary modifications, from No. VII. (Titus Oates, 1679) and No. IX. (Rye-House Plot, 1683)]

Proper Psalms; M., 9, 21, 118; E., 62, 92, 124, 145.

1st Lesson; M., Job 5c; E., Numb 16 to 36v.

2nd Lesson; M., Acts 23; E., 1 Peter 2 to 18v.

1st Collect:—Almighty God, who of thy great mercy towards us hast discovered the designs and disappointed the attempts of those bloody Conspirators who had maliciously contrived our destruction, and designed, by the Assassination of his Majesties person, to make way for a foreign Invasion, and thereby to enslave both the bodies and souls of thy servants: We yield thee praise and thanks, &c [as in VII. with slight verbal alterations.]

After the Litany:—O God, whose Providence, &c. [as in IX, with slight verbal changes and omissions.]

In the Communion Service:—Almighty God, who hast in all ages, &c. [as in IX., with slight verbal changes.]

O Lord our God, abundant in goodness and truth, whose mercies are over all thy works; We beseech thee to extend thy compassion and favour to all mankind; more particularly to the Reformed Churches abroad, and especially to those who are still under persecution for truth and righteousness sake. Relieve them according to their several necessities; be a shelter and defence to them from the fury of the oppressor; and in thy good time deliver them out of all their troubles. And whatsoever they have lost for Thy sake, return it to them, according to thy gracious promise. in the blessings of this. and a better life. And we humbly beseech thee to enlighten all those who are in darkness and error, and to give them repentance to the acknowledging of the truth; that we may all become one flock under the great Shepherd and Bishop of our souls, Jesus Christ, our blessed Saviour and Redeemer: To whom with Thee, O Father, and the Holy Spirit. be all honour and glory for evermore. Amen.

A PRAYER FOR OUR ENEMIES.

O Father of Mercies, and Lover of Souls, who art kind to the unthankful and to the evil, and hast commanded us also to extend our charity even to those that hate us : We beseech thee as to accept our prayers and praises, which we have this day offered up unto thee in the behalf of all that are faithful in the land, so also to enlarge thy mercy and pity even to those that are our enemies. Take from them all their prejudices and inordinate passions ; give them a meek and humble and docible temper, and guide their feet into the ways of peace. And thus redouble upon us, O Lord, the joys of this day ; that we may not only triumph in the disappointment of their mischievous imaginations, but with the holy Angels in heaven rejoice in their conversion, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

[It is interesting to compare this with a prayer having the same title in X.]

(XVIII) *A Form of Prayer to be used . . . on Wednesday the Nineteenth day of January, being the Fast Day appointed by Proclamation, to be observed in a Most Solemn and Devout manner. For the Imploring of a blessing from Almighty God upon her Majesty and her Allies, engaged in the present war ; as also for the Humbling of ourselves before Him in a deep sense of His heavy displeasure, shew'd forth in the late dreadful Storm and Tempest, &c. 1703 (3/4).*

Proper Psalms : M., 107 from 23v., 144 ; E., 44, 86.

1st Lesson : M., 2 Chron. 20 to 31v. ; E., Lam. 3 from 22v.

2nd Lesson : M., Luke 13 to v. 10 ; E., Hebr. 11 from 32v.

*First Collect :—*Great and Glorious Lord God, just and terrible in thy Judgments, and unsearchable in all thy ways ; at whose rebuke the earth trembles, and the very foundations of the hills shake ; who also commandest the winds and the sea, and they obey : We, vile dust and miserable sinners, in a most awful sense of thy amazing judgments, our own great and manifold provocations, and thy tender mercy to the penitent, do with all humility of soul cast ourselves down before thy footstool, bewailing our unworthiness and imploring thy pity and the bowels of thy compassion. We beseech thee, O Lord, to awaken our consciences, that we may see and duly consider thy hand, which in so astonishing a manner has been lifted up against us. Pardon our own crying sins, and those of the whole nation, which have drawn down this thy heavy displeasure upon us ; and grant us such a measure of thy grace, that we may no more disobey thy laws, abuse thy goodness and forbearance, or despise this and other thy chastisements, lest a worse thing come unto us. It is of thy goodness, O Lord, that we were not all consum'd by the late winds and storms which fulfill'd thy commandment, and that in the midst of judgment thou didst

remember mercy, shewing forth the care of thy providence in so many wonderful preservations of thy people. Let the remembrance of them work in us such a thankfulness of heart, and such a seriousness and watchfulness of spirit, that no calamity may ever be a surprise to us, nor death itself come upon us unawares; that so we may at length arrive safely at that blessed kingdom which cannot be shaken: for the sake of Jesus Christ our only Mediator and Advocate. Amen.

[A second Collect follows, on similar lines, but including petitions for the queen, the army and navy, the allies, and for victory. After the Litany (also in the evening) the following :—]

O Almighty God, who delightest not to grieve the children of men, yet as a wise and gracious Father dost chasten every son whom thou receivest; behold with tender pity all those who have suffered by the late public calamity, in body, estate, friends, or relations. Give them patience and submission to thy holy will: let them not murmur or repine, seeing it was thy doing, whose judgments are always righteous, though they are a great deep. Be thou the comforter of those who are cast down, O thou God of Consolation, and make up their temporal losses by spiritual advantages, and by future blessings of this world, as thou seest necessary or convenient for them; and so sanctifie to all of us both the mercies and judgments which thou sendest, that at length we may be made happy in that perfect state which is not subject to time or chance, where we shall sin no more, be no more disquieted, and die no more, but enter into that everlasting rest which thou hast promised through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

(XIX) *A Form of Prayer and Thanksgiving, to be used on Thursday the first day of May next . . . For rendering most hearty thanks to Almighty God for the wonderful and happy conclusion of the Treaty for the Union of her Majesty's Two Kingdoms of England and Scotland. . . . And for beseeching Him to give all her Majesties subjects Hearts disposed to become One People.* 1707.

Proper Psalms :—122, 133.

Proper Lessons :—Isaiah II. from 12v. ; Galat. V. from 22v.

First Collect :—O almighty God, whose mercies are over all thy works and endure for ever; we bless thy holy name for all the signal providences by which the Union of this island is brought to a happy conclusion; so that as we were before under one head, so we are now become one people. Thou hast given the Queen her heart's desire, and hast encompassed her with thy favour as with a shield. Thou hast directed her councils, and taught her senators wisdom; and hast made all to see, in this our day, the things that belong to our peace. O suffer us not again to return to folly, or to those sins that may separate us from thee, or from

one another. Give us one heart and one mind; unite our hearts in thy fear, and in true charity to one another, which is the bond of perfectness; so that by such a blessed temper the world may know that we are truly sensible of thy favours unto us. Root out from among us all the seeds of anger and envy, of murmuring and jealousy, which the Enemy has sow'd; make us all zealous to promote the glory of thy great name, the honour of our Sovereign, and the common Welfare and happiness of this great United Nation; that so thou mayst still continue to bless us, and make us more and more the joy of the whole earth, till at last thou bringest us to thy kingdom and glory, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

After the Litany :—O Lord our God, who hast been pleas'd already to make the reign of our most gracious Queen exceedingly glorious, by giving to her arms and those of her Allies so many and so great successes both by Sea and Land; and likewise in vouchsafing further strength to her government, by the long-desired Union of her kingdoms of England and Scotland being so speedily and completely accomplish'd: We laud and magnifie thy holy Name for these eminent dispensations of thy good providence, beseeching thee to bless these wonderful beginnings with a suitable progress; and to crown them with a happy issue. Increase in us a spirit of meekness and charity, that we may live as becometh Christians, assisting and helping one another. Continue to her majesty and her allies thy wonted protection and favour, in the just war in which they are engaged: never leave them nor forsake them, till we be all settled upon the lasting foundations of Righteousness, Truth, and Peace; through Jesus Christ our only Lord and Saviour. Amen.

In the Communion Service :—Most gracious God, by whose good providence the kingdoms of this island have enjoyed a long course of prosperity, and are at length happily united into one people, while the nations about us are grieved by foreign enemies or intestine wars, although our sins have justly provoked thee to punish us with the like calamities; we in most solemn manner do, on this day, magnifie thy glorious Name for these thy unspeakable mercies. And we beseech thee to inspire us with such unfeigned thankfulness to thee the author of them, and with such hearty affection towards one another, that through thy grace and favour this Union may tend to the perpetual welfare of thy Church and People, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

(XX) *A Form of Prayer and Thanksgiving to Almighty God, to be used throughout England &c. on Thursday the Twentieth day of January next, for bringing his Majesty to a peaceable and quiet possession of the Throne, and thereby disappointing the designs of the Pretender and all his Adherents.* 1714.

[Unfortunately, the transcript does not indicate the respective places of these collects in the ritual.]

(1) O most merciful and gracious Lord God, who art the Blessed and Only Potentate, and rulest over all the kingdoms of the earth : We thy unworthy servants here assembled do humbly desire to adore thy mercy, and celebrate thy goodness towards us, in safely bringing our gracious sovereign King George, and giving him a quiet and peaceable Accession to the throne of these realms. Grant us grace, we beseech thee, to shew ourselves unfeignedly thankful for this great blessing, and to live like a people whom thou hast so often and so wonderfully made the especial care of thy providence ; that we may no longer walk in the lusts of the flesh, in envy and hatred, malice and strife, sedition and variance ; but studying to be quiet, and to do our own business, we may fear thee our God, honour our King, and love one another, adorning the doctrine of our Saviour in all things ; that so, being delivered from our enemies, and from the hand of those that hate us, we may serve thee without fear, in holiness and righteousness before thee, all the days of our life. Grant this, O merciful Father, for thy dear Son's sake, Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

(2) Most gracious and merciful God, who governest all things in heaven and earth, and whose providence in especial manner watcheth over states and kingdoms professing thy true religion ; we acknowledge thy great goodness towards these nations, not only in securing our Religion and Liberties under the government of a Protestant prince, but also in giving us a comfortable pledge of the continuance of the blessings to us and our posterity by a numerous issue descended from him. We beseech thee to direct and support our gracious Sovereign in all his counsels and endeavours for the publick good, and to vouchsafe to him and the royal progeny all temporal and spiritual blessings ; that we thy people, having a thankful sense of thy fatherly care over us, and paying all dutiful submission and obedience to our gracious king, may lead quiet and peaceable lives in all godliness and honesty ; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

(3) O God, the Creator and Governor of the World, whose mercies are over all thy works : We beseech thee to extend thy compassion and favour to all mankind ; more especially to the Protestant Churches abroad, giving them all blessings convenient for them. And we humbly beseech thee to enlighten all them that are in darkness and error, and to give them repentance to the acknowledgment of the truth, that we may all become One flock, under the great Shepherd and Bishop of our souls, Jesus Christ our blessed Saviour and Redeemer : To Whom, with, &c.

[(4) *The prayer "For unity," substantially as it still stands in the service for the Anniversary of the king's Accession.*]

The Diary of A Country Parson :
The Rev. James Woodforde, 1758-1781.

EDITED BY JOHN BERESFORD (Oxford University Press, 12s. 6d.).

THERE are not many direct references to Nonconformity in these delightful extracts from the diary of James Woodforde, Fellow of New College, curate in Somerset, and Rector of Weston Longeville, Norfolk, but so much light is thrown on English life in the eighteenth century, and every page is so entertaining, that no student of history ought to miss this volume.

It is gratifying to read that a "dissenting Minister," with whom Woodforde travelled in the coach from Oxford to Bath, was "a very well behaved man." That is more than can be said for some others who appear in the diary. "Brother Jack," for example, is "rather wild," often in want of money and the worse for drink, and "is very indifferent by his being too busy with Girls." Perhaps it was for brother Jack's benefit that the diarist obtained "a pamphlet called a sure Guide to Hell, and a very good moral book it is, taken properly." We hope Jack took it properly!

We are reminded once more in perusing this volume how common drunkenness was. Here we have the Bachelor's Common Room at New College :

1761, November 4. . . . Dyer laid Williams 2s. 6d. that he drank three Pints of Wine in 3 Hours, and that he wrote 5 verses out of the Bible right, but he lost. He did it in the B.C.R., he drank all the Wine, but could not write right for his Life. He was immensely drunk about 5 minutes afterwards." Thirteen years later Woodforde is back at the College and entertaining friends :

"We were very merry and pushed the bottle on very briskly. I gave my Company for dinner, some green Pea Soup, a chine of Mutton, some New College Puddings, a goose, some Peas and a Codlin Tart with Cream. Madeira and Port Wine to drink after and at dinner some strong Beer, Cyder, Ale and small Beer. . . . I had a handsome dish of fruit after dinner. At 7 o'clock we . . . had Coffee and Tea. . . . I gave my company only for supper cold mutton. After supper I gave them to drink some Arrac Punch with Jellies in it and some Port Wine. I made all my Company but Dr. West quite merry. We drank 8 bottles

of Port, one Bottle of Madeira besides Arrac Punch, Beer and Cyder. I carried off] my drinking exceedingly well indeed."

Perhaps the over-eating strikes one even more than the drinking. Woodforde always describes the menu at his own and other tables. A large part of his diary is taken up with entries like this :

"We had for dinner for the first course a dish of fish, a Leg of Mutton roasted and some Ham and Chicken Tarts. The 2nd Course an Orange Apple Pudding, some Asparagus, Veal Collops, Syllabubs and Jelly."

That he was somewhat critical of the fare may be gathered from entries like the following :

"I dined at the Chaplain's table . . . upon a roasted Tongue and Udder, and we went on each of us for it 1. 9. N.B. I shall not dine on a roasted Tongue and Udder again very soon."

"We had for dinner a loin of Mutton roasted, rost Beef, a boiled Chicken, Soup, Pudding, etc., first course. A Turkey roasted, a roasted Hare, Mushrooms, Tarts, Maccaroni and a Custard Pudding, etc. Neither Turkey nor Hare above half done. I never made a worse dinner I think."

Woodforde had no hesitation about using means other than legitimate to obtain his goods. We read :

"1778. Feb. 23. To my smuggler Andrews for a Tub of Gin had of him January 16, pd. him this Morning 1. 5. 0."

"1780, May 17 . . . I did not go to bed until after twelve at night, as I expected Richard Andrews the honest smuggler with some Gin."

He is interested in cock-fighting and chronicles a two days' fight between Somerset and Wilts—"Wilts was beat shamefully. I believe my Brother John won a good deal of money at it."

Nevertheless his conscience troubles him about shaving on Sundays :

"As I was going to shave myself this morning as usual on Sundays, my razor broke in my hand as I was setting it on the strop without any violence. May it be always a warning to me not to shave on the Lord's Day or do any other work to profane it pro futuro."

One wonders if drastic measures like the following would be any use against the influenza fiend :

"My boy (servant) Jack had another touch of the Ague about noon. I gave him a dram of gin at the beginning of the fit and pushed him headlong into one of my Ponds and ordered him to bed immediately and he was better after it and had nothing of the cold fits after, but was very hot."

These samples are taken at random from one of the most diverting books we have read for a long time.

ALBERT PEEL.

John Henry Jowett, C.H., M.A., D.D.

By ARTHUR PORRITT (Hodder & Stoughton, 7s. 6d.).

THE industry of Mr. Arthur Porritt has given us a biography of Dr. Jowett within a year of the great preacher's death—and a very good biography it is.

Local historians can turn to the chapters that deal with Jowett's boyhood at Square Church, Halifax, and with his ministry at St. James's, Newcastle. Carrs Lane, Birmingham, and Westminster, for old facts and new details, while there are interesting glimpses of College life in Edinburgh, Airedale, and Oxford.

Jowett was a man of one supreme gift, which he developed to the full. He lived to preach, and it is safe to say that to-day there is no preacher like him—in the Free Churches or without.

Mr. Porritt's task was far from being an easy one, but he has performed it with a marked degree of success, and many who have benefitted by Jowett's preaching will be grateful for this account of his life and personality. The Archbishop of Canterbury contributes a Foreword

ALBERT PEEL.

EDITORIAL

THE Autumnal Meeting of the Society was held at Emmanuel Church, Bootle, on Wednesday, October 15th. The meeting had been well advertised, but some local official changed the venue at the last moment with disastrous effect on the attendance. Professor Veitch's paper, which is printed in this issue, deserved many more hearers.

* * * *

The Annual Meeting will be held at the Memorial Hall on Wednesday, May 13th, at 3 p.m. Officers will be elected, and the Rev. William Pierce, for many years Secretary of the Society, will read a paper on "The Contributions of Nonconformists to the Building of the Mansion House." For many months Mr. Pierce has been working on the Guildhall Records, and his researches throw much light on this episode in Nonconformist history. We trust that there will be a large attendance of members at the meeting, and that they will bring with them friends interested in the subject.

* * * *

Hymnology is a branch of its activity that our Society has not over-worked. Members will therefore welcome the first instalment of Mr. B. L. Manning's paper, which appears below—probably not less so because of the vigour with which the writer lays about him. Behind the contentions of the paper lies the question whether or not a committee is any more competent to edit a hymn-book than it is to run a campaign. Most members of the Society, we imagine, without endorsing all Mr. Manning's opinions, will rejoice in the tribute he pays to the work of Dr. Barrett.

* * * *

Our Society is very fortunate in its Treasurer, Mr. H. A. Muddiman, who not only keeps the accounts and despatches the *Transactions*, but also secures new members and does much of the routine secretarial work. His financial statement for the year ending March 31st, 1925, is on page 142.

▲

Ryland Adkins

IT is a rare thing for anyone to touch life at so many points as did the late Sir W. Ryland Dent Adkins, K.C., D.L. ; rarely does one man's death leave so many lives the sadder, so many causes the poorer. His versatility, his varied range of interests, his wide field of study, joined with his unusual abilities, were the cause of his eminence in many walks of life, were perhaps the cause that he did not attain pre-eminence in any one. But if he did not attain the height in any one direction that some of his friends had hoped, most of us might be very well pleased to reach such a position in any one sphere that he attained in many.

This is not the place to enlarge on his personal religious life—which was deeper than would, perhaps, be known to many—on his political and judicial career, on his contribution to Local Government, on the charm of his conversation, the brilliance of his repartee, his eloquence as a speaker ; but something may be said of his intellectual position in regard to Congregationalism. His steadfastness to the Congregational ideal rested probably on two bases. First of all it was an inheritance from a long line of Nonconformist ancestors, all of worth, some of eminence. It was securely rooted in him ; bound up with local history and family tradition. And these appealed to him very deeply. Few men knew better than he the value of a great family tradition ; nothing was dearer to him than the history of his native soil. Every side of it appealed to him—he was in a very true sense *adscriptus glebæ*—every field, every road, every flower, every tree, every landscape, every country house and noble mansion, had for him its spell and its story. His minute and detailed topographical knowledge of his own county came as a constant surprise. He saw all the charm, all the historical interest, of country-side and village, and he had the gift to make others see it.

All this helped to bring near to his heart the village life of Congregationalism, which few understood as he did, and in which, amidst all his varied pursuits and public duties, he never lost interest.

Combined with this was his profound historical sense.

History was his subject at Oxford, and history his great pursuit in reading. There is little doubt that if he had devoted his life to it, he might have been a great historian. His introduction to the Borough Records of Northampton has been spoken of as an almost unrivalled piece of writing. An important part of the Victoria History of Northamptonshire was from his hand. His address—sympathetic but discriminating—on Doddridge at the meeting of the Congregational Historical Society at Northampton summed up Doddridge's place in the history of his times in a masterly way. Bringing a philosophical mind to bear on this close study of history, he was able to form a very clear judgment as to the value of the Congregational conception, and of the part it had played not only in the narrower range of the religious life of England, but in its impact on the wider fields of social and political history; and while far from blind to the extravagances and limitations which from time to time have marked its course, he never undervalued the essential soundness of its intellectual position, and was at all times true to the Congregational ideal, and a strong and able advocate of Independency.

Nihil tetigit quod non ornavit might be very truly said of Sir Ryland Adkins, and one illustration of its truth, though only one of many, would be his contribution to Congregational life and thought.

H. N. DIXON.

Thomas Raffles of Liverpool

(Read before the Society at Emmanuel, Bootle, at the meeting held during the Autumn Assembly, Wednesday, 15th October, 1924.*)

IT is good to "praise famous men and our fathers that begat us." Liverpool Nonconformity has been richly served by men worthy of praise—by John Kelly, among the Independents, by Charles Birrell, famous father of a more famous son, among the Baptists, and by James Martineau, among the Unitarians, to name only three of the giants long gone from us. With these may be fitly remembered Dr. Charles Beard, a friend of historical studies and one of the founders of University College.† But I have chosen to speak of Thomas Raffles since his work began in a period to which I am drawn by my own special studies, and since the Autumn Assembly of 1924 is meeting in Great George Street Chapel, which is his visible monument.

Thomas Raffles was born in Spitalfields on 17th May, 1788.¹ It was a time of expectation for Dissenters. Mr. Beaufoy was preparing, with good hope of success, to renew his efforts for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. In 1789 he came within sight of victory.² But across the Channel discontents were

*As delivered this paper was prefaced by a welcome to the Society in the name of the Heads of the Departments of Medieval and Modern History in the University. Prof. Veitch also expressed his pleasure at being enabled to address the Society when the Assembly was meeting in a City where his Father laboured for 10 years as minister of Crescent Chapel. [ED.]

† Since 1903, the University of Liverpool.

¹ Baptised at Spitalfields Church, 13 June, 1788. Extract from the register in *Memoirs of the Life and Ministry of the Rev. Thomas Raffles, D.D., LL.D., etc., etc., etc.*, by Thomas Stamford Raffles, Esq., B.A., London, 1864. p. 3. There is an excellent short notice of Raffles by Dr. Alexander Gordon in the *D.N.B.*, and a sketch by Rev. J. Baldwin Brown, London, 1863. I am indebted to the Deacons of Great George Street for the use of their records, freely accorded to me, and especially to Mr. G. A. Redford, who guided me in my searches. I am further indebted to Mr. L. B. Phillips and Mr. W. Vincent Edwards for the loan of publications relating to the history of the Church.

² Beaufoy's motion was only lost by 20 votes (8 May, 1789) and the debate indicates that its opponents regarded themselves as fighting

fermenting which altered the course of politics in England, as well as in France. The fear of change engendered by the French Revolution postponed the emancipation of Dissenters until 1828 as it postponed political reform for some years longer. And it may be of help to recall that Raffles spent the years of his youth and early manhood beneath the dark shadow of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, and of that prolonged hostility to liberal ideas which issued from them, even though little evidence survives of the influence upon his mind of either the warfare or the politics of his early days.

Raffles owed a comprehensive debt to the Churches. His father, William, an attorney-at-law, was for seventeen years clerk to the vestry of Spitalfields Parish. His mother, Rachel, was a Wesleyan.³ Thomas himself, a Wesleyan at the mature age of ten⁴, was schooled by a Baptist.⁵ And the deciding influence in his career came from Dr. W. B. Collyer, himself an Independent, who ministered in Peckham to a Church of the old Presbyterian order which, before Collyer's pastorate, had been, like others of its kind, in effect what is now called Unitarian.⁶ There was "no dull uniformity" of creed or experience in the sources from which Raffles drew his early impressions of religious thought and practice.

His serious schooling was brief—probably not more than

a rearguard action in a battle which had already gone against them. *Parl. Hist.* XXVIII., 15-41. On the renewal of the motion by Fox in 1790, when anti-revolutionary alarms had grown formidable, the opposition had manifestly hardened. The motion was rejected, 294-105. (*ib.* 387-452.) For political effects perhaps I may refer the reader to my *Genesis of Parliamentary Reform*, London, 1913, *passim*.

³ *Mem.* p. 2. Before 1834 the office of Vestry Clerk had frequently, however, an administrative and legal, rather than an ecclesiastical significance. See S. and B. Webb, *History of English Local Government. The Parish and the County*, *passim*. Expecting to preach in a Methodist Chapel, Raffles writes on 22 December, 1807, "tell my Mother this." *ib.* 22.

⁴ *ib.* p. 4. At his ordination Raffles spoke of a sermon heard "in the tenth year of my age," attributed to Rev. John Aikenhead, a Wesleyan, who calls himself "your affectionate father in the gospel," and to whom Raffles refers as his "spiritual father." *ib.* p. 46 and *n.* See also pp. 179 and 196.

⁵ Rev. Martin Ready.

⁶ Reminiscences of his schoolfellow, Rev. Richard Slate, of Grimshaw Street, Preston, quoted from his funeral sermon on Raffles, 30 August, 1863, *ib.* pp. 5-6. "You are my Timothy," Collyer writes to Raffles (10 August, 1803) *ib.* p. 8. And Raffles pays tribute to Collyer in his ordination statement *ib.* p. 47.

four years at most.⁷ Even this was broken for a short time in 1803, when he was a clerk in Doctors Commons.⁸ It is improbable that Doctors Commons was any more attractive in 1803 than it proved to be a little later in the experience of Mr. Tony Weller and Mr. David Copperfield. In any event it was disagreeable to Raffles.⁹ His thoughts had already turned towards the ministry, and when he resumed his schooling in September, 1803, it was already with the definite object of preparing himself for his future calling.¹⁰

Early in 1805, when still a few months short of seventeen, Raffles entered Homerton, then a theological academy.¹¹ His training lasted scarcely more than four years.¹² It was much broken, for he early became a popular preacher, and yielded too soon to what he himself calls in his diary "the luxury of doing good."¹³ It is, indeed, hard to reconcile his engagements during some terms of his collegiate life with any consistent or consecutive course of study.

Raffles had already refused at least two invitations¹⁴ when he accepted a call to the Church at Hammersmith, first to be its temporary pastor, and then on the 24th May, 1809, to be its stated minister.¹⁵ He had only passed his majority by a single week when he accepted the charge, and he had then already occupied the pulpit, with few breaks, since the end of the previous September. He took formal leave of Homerton on 30th May, six days after his acceptance of the call.¹⁶

All this seems like a perilous beginning. Brief and probably inadequate schooling, interrupted training, the exaltation of precocious and much lauded preaching before crowded congregations, the too early strain and responsibility of a stated charge,—this, as every college professor knows to his sorrow, is the sequence of dangers and temptations that has wrecked the career of many a man, whose early promise raised the greatest hopes. For most men, perhaps, it would have proved as dangerous as it seemed. But when Raffles

⁷ *ib.* pp. 5, 9, 13.

⁸ *ib.* pp. 8-9.

⁹ See Collyer's letter of 8 August, 1803, which refers to some such statement by Raffles. *Mem.* p. 8.

¹⁰ Definitely stated by Collyer *ib.* p. 8.

¹¹ His tutors were Rev. Thomas Hill and Dr. John Pye Smith.

¹² *ib.* 14 and 43.

¹³ Diary, 20 Oct. 1807, quoted in *Mem.* p. 18.

¹⁴ *ib.* 32-5. Probably more, including one to Liverpool. *ib.* p. 80.

¹⁵ The correspondence is given in full in the *Memoir* pp. 37-43.

¹⁶ *Mem.* p. 43.

settled at Hammersmith he was already a preacher of acknowledged power, and though he was never a scholar or a theologian in the strictest sense he had a mind of remarkable quickness and of unusual vigour. He absorbed knowledge, ideas and impressions with restless energy wherever he went and whatever his circumstances.¹⁷ During his training, and in the earlier years of his ministry he pursued valuable, if informal, processes of self-education, and the result was not less serviceable because some of the processes were only half-conscious. As he travelled about he constantly turned aside, even at some inconvenience, to visit places of historic or antiquarian interest, or to satisfy some literary curiosity. During his ministry at Hammersmith he haunted the London book-stalls; acquired much curious learning of a bibliographical kind; and laid the foundations of a valuable library.¹⁸

On 22nd June, 1809, Raffles was ordained to the work of the ministry at Hammersmith, in Rev. John Leifchild's chapel at Kensington.¹⁹ For two and a half years—for three, if one counts his preliminary pastorate—Raffles laboured with happiness and success at Hammersmith. Then a tragic accident at Liverpool interrupted his ministry and turned the current of his life.

The Church worshipping at Newington Chapel in Renshaw Street, Liverpool, had called to its ministry Thomas Spencer, a youth to whom even Raffles was senior by some years.²⁰ Spencer had left school at thirteen years of age, and for a time “*twisted worsted every day with a heavy heart.*”²¹ Afterwards he was for some months with a firm of glovers in the Poultry. But in January, 1806, when he was scarcely fifteen

¹⁷ It is only fair to add that, according to his son and biographer, the note-books and manuscripts which survived from his College days at Homerton showed that “he must have made good use of his time.” But compare the recollections of the Rev. J. N. Gouley on the same pages. *Mem.* p. 16.

¹⁸ *Mem.* p. 28 and pp. 52-4, based apparently on letters and on his diary on his antiquarian and bibliographical interests see *eg.* 94-5, 116-118, 124, 165, 172, 191-2, 232, 246, 326, 335.

¹⁹ *Discourses delivered at the Ordination of The Rev. Thomas Raffles . . . on Thursday, June 22, 1809 . . .* London. 1809. Extracts in *Mem.* pp. 44-52.

²⁰ Spencer was born at Hertford, 21 Jan., 1791. *Memoirs of The Life and Ministry of the Late Reverend Thomas Spencer of Liverpool*, by Thomas Raffles, A.M., fourth edition, corrected and improved. 4to. Liverpool. 1817. p. 3.

²¹ Spencer's own words, quoted *ib.* p. 11.

years of age, he went to reside with the Rev. William Hordle, of Harwich, in order that he might be prepared for entrance to Hoxton Academy,²² to which, not without some doubts on the score of his youth, he was admitted in January, 1807.²³ No sooner had he begun to preach than crowds flocked to hear him wherever he went. The same dangers beset Spencer at Hoxton as threatened the studies of Raffles at Homerton.²⁴ Though his tutors seem to have made some attempt to guard Spencer against importunity, the calls upon him were a strain upon his health. Had he been less earnest or less modest they might have ruined his character. Before he left the Academy six churches had been eager to welcome him to a settled ministry.²⁵ But in the summer of 1810 he was sent to Liverpool, sorely against his private wishes, to supply the pulpit at Newington.²⁶ Contact with the people overcame his misgivings without altering his wishes. He spent six weeks in Liverpool and soon after his return to Hoxton he was called to the pastorate. After seven weeks of doubt, he surrendered his desire for a southern pastorate, in part, it would seem, because he felt that it was good for him to make a sacrifice, and he accepted the call to Liverpool. Spencer was singularly gifted. It is impossible to doubt either his eloquence or his charm. Raffles—reflecting the impression which he left in Liverpool,—speaks of “his delicate sense of holiness.”²⁸ And his fine spirit is amply attested by his letters.²⁹

Spencer's ministry, begun in February, 1811, had appealed so strongly to the people of Liverpool that the tiny chapel at Newington proved too small to hold the crowds gathered to hear him. It was decided to erect a new chapel, and on the 15th April, less than six weeks after his settlement, Spencer laid the foundation stone of a building designed to hold two thousand persons. He never ministered there. On 5th

²² *ib.* pp. 18, 20 and 26; also Spencer's letters to his friend Thomas Heward pp. 30-31, 42-76, and to Mr. Hordle pp. 78-9.

²³ Spencer to Hordle, 21 Jan., 1807, *ib.* 84-5.

²⁴ See Part II., Chh. I. II. III. (pp. 86-148) of the *Memoirs of Spencer*. It is curious to note that Raffles, acutely conscious of the dangers in the case of Spencer, makes many pertinent observations on the subject, which he argues backwards and forwards as if realising that much of what he says has an application to his own career.

²⁵ *Memoirs of Spencer* p. 173.

²⁶ *ib.* pp. 59-165.

²⁷ *ib.* p. 166-172.

²⁸ Raffles to his father, 5 March, 1812. *Mem. of Raffles*, p. 83.

²⁹ *Memoirs of Spencer*, *passim*.

August, 1811, he was drowned while bathing in the Mersey, off the Dingle foreshore.³⁰

His stricken people, who had held the young minister in warm and deserved affection, were almost overwhelmed with grief. But their leaders had to do more than indulge it. They had to carry on Spencer's work. Without delay some solution must be found of the very serious problem which Spencer's death created—that of providing for the work of the ministry in the large chapel already beginning to rise in Great George Street. None but a man of power could save this cause from disaster.

The thoughts of its leaders at once turned to Thomas Raffles, whose fame had spread through the denomination, and whom others had sought in vain to lure from Hammer-smith. Raffles was invited to visit Newington. In the conditions of travel that obtained in 1811 it was useless to expect a southern minister to make a series of flying visits to Liverpool. Such visits were impossible—nor did the people want them. They induced Raffles to stay with them for three successive Sundays and to dwell amongst them for the intervening weeks. In November he preached at Newington on three Sundays, as well as on several week-nights, and on two of the Sunday afternoons he preached in other chapels.³¹

Like Spencer before him, Raffles paid his first visit to Liverpool with reluctance and something like misgiving. He accepted the invitation to preach there almost in spite of himself and as if under the compulsion of some external power. In many ways he was a complete contrast to Spencer. Yet the people took him at once into their homes and hearts, Their friendliness impressed him deeply. It is plain that the ties formed in these few weeks had much to do with the ultimate decision of minister and people. And it may be that the procedure of those days deserves imitation in our own. By it the mutual distresses of some uneasy settlements might be avoided, while ties, at present too easily sundered, might be strengthened into happy pastorates.

Raffles was called to the pastorate in Liverpool at the end of November.³² He struggled long with himself, torn between

³⁰ The accounts in Raffles' *Mem. of Spencer* and in the *Mem. of Raffles* should be read in conjunction. I have not found the Minute Books relating to the time prior to the opening of Great George Street Chapel.

³¹ *Mem.*, 63-69, mainly from Raffles' own letters and diaries.

³² *Mem.*, pp. 70-2, where the text of the "call" is given in full.

affection for old friends at Hammersmith and the strength of new attachments at Liverpool, between the conflicting claims of work successfully begun and of new opportunities which he seemed specially called upon to grasp and turn to profit. But at last, "amid the ruins of the old year," the struggle ended, and he decided that the new call was one which he could not, without unfaithfulness, resist.³³ His formal consent was given on 11th January, 1812.³⁴

Raffles began his ministry in April, and on 27th May the new chapel was opened. The first meeting of the Church was held at Great George Street on 4th June, 1812, when Raffles, with his own hand, entered the names of seventy-nine members in the first folios of the minute-book.³⁵ There is reason to think, however, that the original members are to be reckoned not as seventy-nine, but as seventy-three. For there are some emendations of the record. These are due to the fact that the old cause at Newington was, after all, maintained. It persisted until 1870, when, according to a volume of its minutes preserved at Great George Street, the last meeting of the Church broke up after "an altercation," as to the compensation to be paid to the minister out of the money received from the purchasers of the chapel. Two—perhaps three—of those whose names are entered on the original roll at Great George Street ultimately stayed at Newington. Three others subsequently returned there. But these secessions did not affect the strength of the Church, as other members were quickly added to the roll. Indeed the entries in the minute-book were for some time mainly records of the proposal and admission of new members.³⁷

³³Letter from Raffles to Rankin (one of the officers of the Church), dated "midnight," 31 Dec., 1811, printed in *Mem.*, 74-5.

³⁴Letters printed *ib.* 76-9.

³⁵The first book is a thick folio volume, stoutly bound, and additionally protected by a strong leather case, or envelope, slipped over the binding. The volume is, unfortunately, neither paged nor foliated, and references to it must, therefore, be by dates only. This book served for almost the whole of the ministry of Raffles. The last entries, written on one of the end-papers, were made in 1859. This book is hereafter referred to as *I.M.B.*

³⁶Last *Minute-Book of Newington* (also a stout folio volume) kept in the safe at Great George Street.

³⁷There is some uncertainty as to the original roll. Raffles, who kept the minutes himself—they are written throughout in his own hand—seems to have made them serve the purpose of a Church Roll. Notes and corrections are frequently made in the text or on the margins, addresses are altered and removals recorded. But none of these emendations

It is only by a strong effort of the imagination that we can fix in the mind an accurate picture of the Liverpool to which Raffles came in 1812. The old town is now encompassed and overlaid by a new city. Much of the town as Raffles first saw it is now almost as far beneath the surface of memory as the buried cities of Troy. In particular it is hard for those who know Great George Street to-day to realise that the chapel first planned for Spencer in 1811,³⁸ and burnt to the ground eighty-five years ago, was built on the edge of the town.

In 1812 Liverpool had a population of close on one hundred thousand. But its topographical limits were still narrow. The stranger in Liverpool will most quickly realise them if he bears in mind that a penny ride on a tramcar, taken in any direction from the Pier Head, will carry him beyond their regular bounds. Even the district comprised within these narrow limits was not fully built upon. Not far beyond the chapel there were fields. If the cathedral had then stood where it stands to-day there would have been some houses on the lower side of it, a few at the North end, looking towards the great arch between the transepts, and a small group at the South end, facing the choir window. But the Institute was not yet built, and the houses, demolished fifteen years ago, which once stood upon its playground, looking northward over St. James's Cemetery, had not yet risen there. Above the cathedral, where the tall houses of Gambier Terrace now look down upon the cemetery, there was open ground. St. James's Cemetery itself was still a stone quarry.³⁹ It was still "the New Cemetery" in 1830, at the time of the public funeral of William Huskisson, after the first, tragic railway accident, which deprived the town of its most trusted representative in Parliament. Even then Gambier Terrace was only in course of erection, and people crowded the windows of the unfinished houses in order to witness the funeral.⁴⁰

is dated. I have, however, considered the record carefully, and I think that my interpretation of it is probably correct.

³⁸Raffles (17 Feb. 1812) called the chapel "the most beautiful place I ever saw." In fact it was rather barn-like.

³⁹See *The Stranger in Liverpool; or an historical and descriptive view of the town of Liverpool and its environs*, third edition, with corrections and revisions. Liverpool 1812. This contains a map of the town in 1812. It may be useful to explain that the Cathedral is not orientated in the usual way, but lies, roughly, North and South. The choir is, therefore, at the South, instead of the East, end of the building.

⁴⁰See the extracts from the *Times* quoted in the biographical memoir of Huskisson which prefaces his *Speeches*. London. 1831. Vol. I., pp. 245-6.

The visitor to the cathedral who turns sharply down hill at the southern end of its site, passes Great George Street on his right a few hundred yards beyond the chapel. In 1812 he would have been passing down a street not fully completed. To his right he would have found fairly regular streets, interspersed with open sites ; to his left streets already planned, but as yet occupied in the main only by scattered buildings. Pursuing his way to the river he would have reached it almost at the southern limit of the then existing docks. If, instead of turning down hill he had made his way from the upper side of the quarry, along the lower brow of the hillside up which the town climbed from the river, he would have found himself passing through its outskirts, with fields and scattered buildings on either hand ; to his right the present site of the Philharmonic Hall was a field, and, further on, the site of the University buildings a quarry. Still further to the northward Everton and Kirkdale, like Wavertree to the eastward, were separate villages. Along the riverside the old system of docks is now either obscured by buildings or transformed by change. The Prince's Dock, at the north end of the present landing-stage, was still only a project. The modern visitor who makes his way uphill from the Prince's Dock, keeping at right-angles to the river, will have passed, roughly, along the whole northern extremity of the Liverpool of 1812 shortly before he reaches the now hopelessly "down-town" site of Crescent Chapel. Its site was then a field, though some of the streets which surrounded it were already planned.⁴¹

From this brief and very rough description it will be seen that Liverpool in 1812, although already one of the great towns of England, was still small by modern standards, and housed a compact community. It was a bold venture to erect a vast meeting-house on its outskirts. To draw a congregation of two thousand people within its walls was a great task for a young man of twenty-four. Yet from the first Raffles succeeded. And his success was not one of mere numbers but of deep and abiding influence.

Perhaps the compactness of the community, as well as its rapid growth, helped Raffles to gather his people together. But also these were times when Liverpool was astir not only with religious but with varied political and intellectual activities. "Everything here," wrote Raffles to his sister, "is

⁴¹See *The Stranger in Liverpool*, already cited, with the attached map.

life and animation."⁴² The year 1812, in which Raffles came to Liverpool, was the year in which George Canning attempted to create a new Tory Party "within the bosom of the old"; the year in which Mr. John Gladstone brought Canning to Liverpool to fight, indeed, as a Tory, yet on principles which commended themselves to commercial men who were little enamoured of Tory orthodoxy; the year in which Canning did battle, in the most famous of all Liverpool elections, against Henry Brougham, the future Lord Chancellor of the Reform Bill Cabinet, and against Thomas Creevey, since famous as the most scandalous, but most amusing of letter-writers. And in Liverpool a group of men who would have kept alive intellectual interests anywhere, gathered round William Roscoe, poet and historian, and William Rathbone, the philanthropist and politician. Moreover the Evangelical movement in the Church of England was deeply affecting the town, and was in some ways a stimulus to religious interests. Mrs. Gladstone came with her young son William to hear Raffles in the early days until Sir John built a church in Renshaw Street where a preacher might be heard whose teaching was congenial to Evangelical Churchmen.

The atmosphere was, then, bracing, though it was also testing. But the young minister was equal to the opportunity. He not only made himself beloved and respected by his own large flock. He became a man of mark in the town and district. And the position which he earned, he kept.

To follow the merely local career of Raffles in any detail would be tedious for those who live in other districts. It is my purpose rather to display the foundations of his strength, to trace the origins of the cause to which that strength was devoted, and to illustrate the life of a minister in the earlier years of the last century. Yet one episode deserves more than a passing word, for it evoked a very remarkable testimony to the influence of the minister and to the courage of his people.

In 1840 the chapel was "utterly consumed by fire. The flames were first seen about twenty minutes before nine, and in less than one hour the work of destruction was completed"—so thoroughly completed that the site required little clearing for a new building.⁴³ Raffles was attending a College Committee at Manchester when the news reached him. He returned by the first train to Liverpool and drove at once

⁴²24 Feb., 1812. *Mem.* p. 82.

⁴³*I.M.B.*, 19 Feb., 1840.

to the chapel. "The crowd was immense; and all seemed uproar and confusion. . . . When . . . I emerged from the carriage, and was recognised by the crowd, instantly the tumult was hushed; the silence of death prevailed; they made a clear gangway for me, and I walked to the melancholy scene of desolation and ruin, as if at my own funeral. . . . The same solemn and respectful silence was maintained till I had departed."⁴⁴

With remarkable promptitude arrangements were made for the building of a new chapel. "Not a moment was lost," says Raffles.⁴⁵ The following night the deacons took counsel together. Next morning the trustees met "at Mr. Morecroft's office and appointed a Building Committee and a Finance Committee with a view to the rebuilding of the Chapel."⁴⁶ The task of raising the money required was begun next day.⁴⁷ "Several friends met this evening at the Pastor's House," runs Raffles' own entry in the minute book, "when subscriptions were entered into for the rebuilding of the Chapel to the amount of £3,672 5s." A debt of £2,000 still remained on the old chapel which was insured only for £4,000.⁴⁸ With the first subscriptions, therefore, the Church had altogether rather less than £6,000 in hand towards the cost of the new building.

⁴⁴Autobiographical Recollections, *Mem.*, p. 356. The fire was due to some defect in a newly installed heating apparatus. But for the promptitude of Raffles in insisting that the Insurance Company should be notified about it on the previous Saturday, no insurance would have been payable on the destroyed buildings. The apparatus was inspected, and the policies were endorsed on Tuesday, 18 Feb., the day before the fire. Raffles' account might be read as a little homily by Ministers and Deacons—especially Deacons. *Mem.*, pp. 354-5.

⁴⁵*ib.*, 357.

⁴⁶*I. M. B.*, Friday, 22 Feb., 1840. There is a discrepancy between the dates entered in the Minute Book and those given in Raffles' recollections, and neither series is quite reconcilable with the calendar, but the sequence is unaffacted.

⁴⁷Raffles says "the same day" in his recollections, but the date in the Minute Book is Saturday, 23 Feb., which I take to be an error for Saturday, 22 Feb.

⁴⁸*Mem.*, p. 357. Apparently the debt was in course of gradual liquidation between 1812 and 1840 out of the surplus of ordinary income. This was possible owing to the low salary paid to Dr. Raffles. His stipend was as follows: 1812-1816, £300 per annum; 1816-1837, £400; 1837-1841, £500. Just before the opening of the new chapel in Oct. 1841 the stipend was raised to £700. See *Mem.*, p. 364.

Meantime the Church was not left altogether homeless. The Governors of the Mechanics' Institution placed their large hall at the disposal of the congregation on Sundays, and since it was only a few hundred yards from the site of the chapel, it was fortunate that so convenient a refuge enabled Raffles to prevent the dispersion of his flock. The new chapel, designed by Mr. Franklin, the town surveyor, is familiar to the Assembly. It was opened in October, 1841, just twenty months after the destruction of the old chapel. It cost, with the organ and some yards of additional land, £13,922,⁴⁹ and it has been well said that the building was a tribute to the workmanship of those times, for nearly seventy years later it was possible to affirm that the building still caused a minimum of expense for structural repairs.⁵⁰ Perhaps another word may be added. Spencer laid the foundation stone of the first building, Raffles of the second. Is there any significance in the fact that our ancestors preferred to entrust this duty, not to duchesses or politicians, but to their own chosen leaders and spiritual guides?

I have said that Raffles was not, in the strictest sense, a scholar. But he was a lover of books and a great collector of them. He gathered materials for the History of Lancashire, subsequently passed on to Baines, and for the History of Nonconformity in the county, afterwards entrusted to Dr. Halley.⁵¹ And he was active in forms of literary composition other than sermons. Of his verse I can only say that such of it as I have seen has little music to my ears.⁵² With two friends he published a small volume of juvenile verse, shortly after he settled in Liverpool. The preface apologizes for these

⁴⁹*ib.* 363. The Minute Book reveals one item of curious interest in the present day. There was, it would seem, no sex discrimination as to subscribers, but "the men members" of the Church alone decided how the subscriptions should be spent. How much times have changed is indicated by the fact that the present excellent secretary of the Church is a lady.

⁵⁰This is the testimony of the late Mr. W. M. Kirkus, for many years Treasurer of the Church, in his brief history of Great George Street, prepared for the centenary in 1912. *Raffles Centenary Celebrations*. Liverpool, 1912.

⁵¹*Mem.*, 53 and note, 175, 180-1, 184, 235. I understand from Dr. Grieve that these materials are now at the Lancashire Independent College.

⁵²A little 'album piece' of two stanzas is not, however, without charm, *i.e.*, *Cowper's Rose Bushes*. Newcastle-on-Tyne. 1829. It is prefaced by an explanatory note, signed J. F.

verses on the ground that most of the poems were composed before the authors had completed their twenty-first year.⁵³ Perhaps we may leave the matter there. Raffles wrote a number of hymns, some of which were printed as a supplement to Watts' collection for use in the services of the chapel. Two of them were amongst the half dozen or so of his favourite hymns which Raffles repeated frequently to himself during the weary hours of his last illness. But they have disappeared from the usage of the Church, and they never, so far as I can learn, gained much acceptance outside his own congregation.⁵⁴

The biography of Spencer, already mentioned, is still a readable book. Parts of it are written with great tenderness and sympathy, and it conveys a noble and charming impression of that "wonderful boy." But it is, of course, designed to "improve the occasion" in a fashion which may be distasteful to a later generation. The book went through many editions, here and in America, and there is evidence that not a few were influenced by it to prepare for the ministry. Raffles would have been satisfied with this as both justification and reward.⁵⁵

But, amongst those of his writings which I have been able to examine, the book which would most appeal to the modern reader is a little, unpretentious account of his tour on the continent in 1817 with his cousin, Sir Stamford Raffles, who had recently been Governor of Java. It is not easy to illustrate its simple and natural charm without quoting passages too long for this paper. It must suffice to say that it is written in the form of familiar letters and that the style is easy and

⁵³*Poems by Three Friends* [Thomas Raffles, J. B. Brown, and J. H. Wiffen] London. 1813. Preface, p. 5. The volume is a small octavo in pale grey paper boards. The authorship of the individual poems is not indicated. In a later edition they were assigned to their respective authors, but this edition I have not seen.

⁵⁴A collection of his New Year hymns was made and printed by Mr. David Marples, one of the Deacons of the Church, after the death of Dr. Raffles. *Hymns written for the New Year's Morning Prayer Meetings in Great George Street Chapel . . . with a preface by the Rev. James Baldwin Brown, B.A.* Liverpool. 1868.

⁵⁵The catalogue of the British Museum indicates at least six editions published in England by Raffles, as well as one including a selection of Spencer's papers and a poem on his death by James Montgomery. Exactly how many were published in America is not known, but see *Mem.*, p. 92. Other references to the book are on pp. 91, 93, 106-7, 140, 153. When this paper was read the Rev. W. Pierce, M.A., who was in the Chair, mentioned that the book was still read in his youth and that its special mission had not then ceased to be effective.

flowing, without the slightest pretence of fine writing. It gives a useful and candid account of France, Savoy, Switzerland and the Rhineland just as they appeared to Raffles in the early years of the Forty Years Peace, and it ends with a description of Liège and Brussels. It has almost a contemporary flavour, for the experiences of Raffles and his cousin after the Napoleonic Wars were in some ways not unlike those of many of us who visited France and Germany after the still more destructive contest which is yet fresh in memory. This little book is sometimes amusing, always interesting, and invariably based on honest observation. It now deserves to be reckoned as an historical document, which can rank without disgrace alongside the more fashionable "tours" of the period. Like the *Memoir of Spencer* it passed through several editions; it was often used as a guide-book; and it was even recommended for this purpose to Raffles himself by a stranger, unaware of his identity, with whom he fell into chance conversation in an inn. Seldom does so honest a book meet with so honest and spontaneous a testimonial.⁵⁶

Literary work was only the bye-product of an intensely active life, though in the long run Raffles' publications were fairly extensive.⁵⁷ In his early days Raffles showed an energy

⁵⁶*Letters during a Tour through some parts of France, Savoy, Switzerland, and the Netherlands in the Summer of 1817.* By Thomas Raffles, A.M., second edition Liverpool, 1819.

⁵⁷They were, in addition to sermons and other works named elsewhere:—

(1) *The Messiah*, by Klopstock. A new translation from the German. The five last books prepared for the press by the Rev. Thomas Raffles. In three volumes. London. 1814. The book is dedicated to Queen Charlotte. The "Advertisement" says that Raffles' part was to "recompose" a too literal translation, "with the assistance of an accomplished foreigner." He hoped that it would be found to possess the double advantage "of a close adherence to the original of Klopstock, combined with the native ease of the language into which his Poem is translated." "The last, namely the twentieth book of the Messiah," he adds, "now for the first time makes its appearance in an English dress."

(2) *The Self-Interpreting Bible . . . by the late Rev. John Brown . . . A new edition revised and corrected, with many additional notes, by the Rev. Thomas Raffles, A.M.* London. 1815. 2 vols. 4to.

(3) *Hear the Church. A word for All. By a Doctor of Divinity, but not of Oxford.* London. 1839. This is a plain statement of the view that "the Church" entitled to a hearing is the band of disciples gathered together in an assembly of believers. Before this conclusion is reached there is, however, some pleasant though dignified fooling at the expense of those who hold a more monopolistic opinion.

almost feverish in its intensity. His life would seem too strenuous for belief, did not his own letters and diaries bear constant witness to his activity. He frequently preached thrice on Sundays. He engaged with tireless energy in preaching tours. It was by no means uncommon for him to preach, either on these occasions, or during his visits to London, as many as eight or nine times in one week.⁶⁸ He himself lamented his too yielding disposition.⁶⁹ He preached even during his honeymoon. His marriage to Mary Catherine, only daughter of James Hargreaves of Liverpool, took place on the 18th April, 1815,⁶⁰ two months before Waterloo. The date has some significance. Raffles had planned a honeymoon in France, but Napoleon's return from Elba forced him to change his intentions. He took his wife to London instead. The result was disastrous to the honeymoon, as honeymoons are commonly understood, and Mrs. Raffles must have been more or less than human if she was ever again able to hear Napoleon's name with patience. For Raffles set off with the best of good resolutions against preaching, only to be assailed by the importunate as soon as he got to town. He preached thrice

(4) *Form for the Solemnization of Matrimony by Protestant Dissenters Adapted to the Requirements of the Act of William IV.* [By T. R.] Second edition. London. 1842. This is a simple order of service. It omits all distasteful matter, and even now only the retention of the word "obey" would be likely to provoke objection.

(5) *The Norwegian Sailor: a sketch of the life of George Noscoe.* Written by himself. With an introductory note by the Rev. Thomas Raffles, D.D., LL.D. Fifth edition. With an account of his [Noscoe's] death. London. 1850. "The profits to be divided between the Widow of the Author and the Liverpool Seaman's Fund Society." The introduction to this record of humble piety is merely a prefatory letter of a page and a half from Raffles to John Cropper, Junr., Esq., dated Edge Hill, 14 Nov., 1849.

⁶⁸During one short stay in London he preached nineteen times. *Mem.*, 97, cf., 131. In June 1816, he preached thirteen sermons in ten days. Letters cited *ib.*, 143-4. In June, 1822, he says, making a merit of his abstinence, "I have not averaged more than five or six times a week." *ib.*, 215. See also p. 166.

⁶⁹Raffles to his father, 14 May, 1816. *Mem.*, p. 143.

⁶⁰*ib.*, 132.

⁶¹*ib.*, p. 133. Subsequently Mrs. Raffles made at least one protest against excessive preaching and too numerous absences, as may be gathered from Raffles' reply *ib.*, p. 183. There is very little to be gleaned from the *Memoir* about the happy private life of Dr. and Mrs. Raffles, though brief mention is made of the birth of their children, pp. 159, 170, 236, 285. Mrs. Raffles died in 1843 on her husband's birthday, 17 May, *ib.*, 369.

on each of two successive Sundays, and five times during the intervening week for charities. But the charitable, as is well known, have no conscience.

Raffles' preaching tours involved, in the early days, as was then unavoidable, a great deal of uncomfortable travelling. Sometimes he rode on horseback, sometimes he travelled by coach. At other times he made use of strange vehicles when he preached in remote places. If other means failed he made no trouble of walking from place to place, or of taking the mail as far as it served and completing the journey on foot.⁶² He gives a racy account of an unpleasant journey to Bolton. "Six fat people (saving and accepting only your humble servant, who cannot class himself with any of a bulk superior to Pharaoh's lean kine) were crammed in a small coach" he writes; "conceive how horribly I must have been squeezed."⁶³ Later I was amused to come across this entry, though the humour of it is unintentional; "Went by coach to Preston. In the evening delivered a lecture on Purgatory. . . ."⁶⁴

That Raffles suffered at least one serious mishap we know from an entry in the minute-book. "The Pastor having been laid aside from his pastoral and Ministerial labours, for eight weeks, in consequence of an injury which he received in his head, by the overturning of the Mail-Coach, in which he was travelling to attend the Annual Meeting of the County Union at Manchester . . . there was no Church meeting for the dispatch of business until this evening. . . ."⁶⁵ This was of course a necessary journey and Raffles always insisted strongly on the importance of the Union to the life of the churches. But he found himself engaged, as we have seen, in many other journeys through his too yielding disposition.⁶⁶ Once

⁶²In his youth he was fond of horse exercise, though there seems to be some doubt as to his skill as a rider. On his journeys see, for example, *Mem.*, pp. 68-9, 88-90, 124, 171, 175-6.

⁶³*ib.*, 88. Mr. J. F. Robinson, the Senior Deacon of Great George Street, and such others as have any distinct recollection of Raffles, think of him as a man of ample girth: and he is so represented in the familiar portrait, which belongs to his later years. But in his youth he was a man of spare figure.

⁶⁴*ib.*, 200.

⁶⁵*I.M.B.*, 18 June, 1819.

⁶⁶As late as 22 April, 1846, Raffles preached at the opening of a new chapel in Salford, and on the following day at the opening of a new chapel in Holloway. He returned to Liverpool that night "having gone 410 miles and preached two sermons in thirty-eight hours."

they stoned the prophets. Later generations have been content to insist that they should preach beyond their strength. There are ministers to-day who could bear witness that these attempts at legal assassination have not lost their popularity.

It is notable that Church business at Great George Street, in Raffles' time—and all the minutes are entered in his own hand—consisted mainly of admissions and transfers. Occasionally there is mention of disciplinary action such as that taken in regard to one who had "wrought folly in Israel," and from whom the Church decided "to separate." A watch was kept upon the commercial probity of members and once or twice sharp action was taken,⁶⁷ though in one case a member was found, after investigation, to have suffered misfortune and to be blameless for business failure. To the more material concerns of the Church there is scarcely any allusion, except during the special conditions which followed the burning of the chapel. What business indications there are, in the main minute book and in a fragmentary minute book of the deacons, seem to show that whilst the Minister was ready to take a share in business when it was required of him, there was nevertheless an attempt to relieve him of any needless burdens of a worldly kind.⁶⁸ In this matter we have not changed for the better.

One subject of interest does frequently recur in the minutes. There are numerous references to young men who addressed the Church so that it might judge of their suitability for the ministry and might recommend them for admission to an academy. Fourteen such entries have been noted from the minute book for the years 1812 to 1859, and another entry records the ordination of two members of the Church who were dedicated to the work of the mission field. Two who "made trial of their gifts" were recommended to Rotherham; four to Blackburn Academy, one of whom appears subsequently

Mem., 385. A resolution to give up his "galloping mode of living" made after an illness in 1834 was evidently kept only irregularly. See *Mem.*, 312.

⁶⁷*I.M.B.*, 9 Dec., 1825; 30 July, 1830. In other disciplinary cases it is perhaps better not to give the references, but the commercial cases were matters of public knowledge at the time.

⁶⁸It has been plausibly suggested by Mr. F. G. Thomas that autocratic management may have been another explanation. Probably both suggestions contain part of the truth. Since this was written it has occurred to me that the Minute Book reveals several refusals to serve on the diaconates by known admirers of Raffles. This may support the idea of autocracy on the part either of Raffles or of the older deacons.

to have gone to Hackney; seven to Lancashire Independent College. In the fourteenth case the matter was "referred to the Pastor and Deacons." There is some reason to think that the list is incomplete.⁶⁹

Raffles took a deep interest in the recruitment of the ministry. He gave much of his time and thought and energy to the establishment, first of Blackburn Academy, and then of Lancashire Independent College. He was the first Chairman of the Lancashire College Committee, and he resigned only when advancing years and enfeebled health brought his active labours to an end.⁷⁰

The great work of Raffles was, however, done in the pulpit.⁷¹ It is difficult now to be sure that one has discovered the secret of his strength. Doubtless he owed something to his physical gifts, his "presence" and his voice. He had "a broad, rich, musical, powerful voice," a "voice of splendid quality both in compass and tone."⁷² His manner was dramatic and arresting. When as a very young man he was called upon to preach the London Missionary Society's annual sermon, he was overawed by the importance of the occasion and wrote out his sermon in full. But soon after he began to preach he was overmastered by his subject, and rolling up the manuscript he wielded it like a truncheon, as if to beat home his words.⁷³ Then, too, he had a gift for appropriate texts. "Forward" was the text of his sermon (from Exodus xiv. 15) preached

⁶⁹*I.M.B.*, 29 Nov., 1816; 4 April, 1823; 30 Jan., 1824; 5 Aug., 1825, 31 May, 1833; 1 Nov., 1833, cf. 2 May, 1834; 5 June, 1835; 1 Dec., 1843; 30 Aug., 1844; 4 Dec., 1851 (2 names); 2 Aug., 1855 (2 names); 29 July, 1858. The missionaries were ordained on 27 Aug., 1816. My doubt is due to a scrutiny of the list of students at Lancashire Independent College, which seems to include at least one Great George Street name not included in those mentioned.

⁷⁰See J. Thompson. *Lancashire Independent College 1843-93. Jubilee Memorial Volume*. Manchester. 1893 passim; *Reports of the Lancashire Independent College*. Manchester. 1841, 1851, 1852; *Mem.*, pp. 135, 142, 156, 274, 285, 342-7, 489-493; *Lancashire Independent College. Jubilee, 1893. Addresses delivered and papers read, with an Introduction by the Principal [Dr. Caleb Scott]*. Manchester. 1893. Includes reminiscences by Dr. Bruce, who "went down" in 1854.

⁷¹This is not to minimise his pastoral work, to which he attached great importance. See *Mem.*, passim. Great George Street has never been a mere "preaching station."

⁷²*Thomas Raffles . . . a sketch*. By the Rev. J. Baldwin Brown, B.A., London, 1863, pp. 21, 25.

⁷³Baldwin Brown, p. 22, cf. *Mem.*, 203.

at the Jubilee of the L.M.S.⁷⁴ and, well worn though it be, it seemed somehow, as the printed sermon shows, to strike the note appropriate to the occasion. Raffles achieved this appropriateness with remarkable effect in his farewell at Hammersmith after a ministry of three years; "Therefore watch and remember, that by the space of three years I ceased not to warn every one night and day with tears . . ." One of his texts on the Sunday after the fire at Great George Street, was "Our holy and our beautiful house, where our fathers praised Thee, is burned up with fire. . . ." And his last sermon, a known valediction, delivered when he could hardly stand, and was upheld only by his determination to keep his promise that he would take part in the opening services of Norwood Chapel, Liverpool, was preached from "And of his fulness have we all received and grace for grace." Raffles does not seem to have been a text-hunter. He had too practical a sense of his mission ever to deviate into the fanciful or strained use of the words of scripture. But he seems to have had a perfect readiness in suiting the text to the occasion.

His eloquence was strong and powerful; it was flowing rather than original or pointed;⁷⁵ and it was attuned perfectly to the language and needs of his day. That it had some compelling power is undoubted; and indeed it seems still, despite the lapse of time, to retain some of its ancient vigour. It may not be possible wholly to recapture the old magic from the lines of the printed page. For fashions of speech have changed and the spoken charm is not easily to be recovered. We must be content to know that Raffles spoke to his generation with prophetic power and that although the thunders of his elo-

⁷⁴*The Divine Command. A sermon, etc.*, by Thomas Raffles [L.M.S., Jubilee.] London, 1844. This Jubilee sermon was criticised by "Laicus," who argued in favour of a pre-Millennial Second Advent. See his *Second Advent introductory to the World's Jubilee . . .* London, 1845. Another printed missionary sermon is *The Gentiles Gathered to the Fold of Christ. A Sermon preached at the Poultry Chapel . . . to the Juvenile Societies in aid of the L.M.S.* London, 1827 [7 May.] A list of the printed sermons which I have examined but to which there is no direct reference in the text or notes will be found at the end of this paper.

⁷⁵But he could on occasion strike out a memorable phrase, as in his Thanksgiving Sermon after the cholera epidemic in 1833. It "has executed its high commission, and wrought its work of death amongst us." p. 4.

quence are stilled, their effects in part remain even now—to the profit of Independency in Liverpool and elsewhere.

Raffles rose to all the honours of his state and calling. Two honorary doctorates were conferred upon him.⁷⁶ He was elected to the Chair of the Union. He was, I think, the only Liverpool man for whom a testimonial was ever raised in Manchester.⁷⁷ The occasion was his ministerial jubilee, and the bulk of the money was used to endow the scholarship at the Lancashire Independent College which bears his name, and to augment its then scanty library. Shortly after his retirement from the pastorate of Great George Street he was presented by his fellow citizens in Liverpool, in celebration of his Jubilee year as Minister of Great George Street Chapel, with an address enclosed in a silver casket.⁷⁸ Raffles was gratified by the silver casket, but he cherished still more the golden affections made manifest in the address.

Raffles filled the pastorate of Great George Street for nearly fifty years; not quite fifty, for he was unable to retain his office for the full span. In December 1860,⁷⁹ after efforts to find him a colleague had failed,⁸⁰ he was compelled to retire from active work, and in February, 1861, he resigned his charge, which passed, later in the year, into the capable hands of that sturdy, if rather combative Yorkshireman, Enoch Mellor. Raffles died on 18th August, 1863, at the age of seventy-five, after a life of the most varied, toilsome and exhausting labour.

The funeral of Raffles, says Baldwin Brown, impressed him more than any sight that he had ever witnessed except another funeral, that of the Duke of Wellington. "The whole town was moved."⁸¹ Raffles' brethren of the Congregational order were not less moved than his fellow townsmen. "For fifty years he has been a foremost man in our denomination, perhaps more widely known, more heartily loved, more largely

⁷⁶LL.D., by Marishal College, Aberdeen, 22 Dec., 1820; D.D., from Union College, Connecticut, 1830. *Mem.*, pp. 196, 288.

⁷⁷Thompson *op. cit.* 151-3; *Mem.*, 487-493.

⁷⁸*Mem.*, p. 502; Baldwin Brown *cf. cit.* p. 14.

⁷⁹Not 1861 as stated in *Mem.*, p. 480. See 2 *M.B.*, 20 Dec., 1860 pp. 14-17.

⁸⁰2 *M.B.*, pp. 11-13, gives particulars of the unavailing call to Rev. William Pulsford, of Edinburgh. An earlier invitation to Rev. J. Baldwin Brown, son of Dr. Raffles' sister and his old friend J. B. Brown, had also been declined.

⁸¹Baldwin Brown *op. cit.* pp. 15-16.

listened to, than any Nonconformist of his time."⁸² The denomination paid honour to him in life and at his death. It still owes honour to his memory.

APPENDIX.

LIST OF PRINTED SERMONS NOT SPECIALLY REFERRED TO IN THE TEXT OR NOTES.

Lectures on some Important Branches of Practical Religion. By Thomas Raffles, A.M. Liverpool. 1820.

[The preface, dated 20th January, 1820, states that these "lectures," which are really sermons, had been delivered at intervals during a period of four years when it came to Raffles' turn to give the Liverpool "Monthly Lecture in which the Pastors and Churches of Liverpool are associated." They are ten in number, and deal, as the title suggests, with various practical applications of religion. In them he uses, as he says himself, "great plainness of speech," (preface p. vi.) but he uses nothing else that has remained fashionable.

Lectures on Some Important Doctrines of the Gospel. By Thomas Raffles, LL.D. Liverpool. 1822.

[Eleven sermons preached to his own people on Sunday evenings during the Winter, 1821-2, and printed as a companion volume to "*Practical Religion.*" Preface dated 21st May, 1822.]

Services at the Ordination of the Rev. James Parsons to the pastoral charge of . . . Lendal Chapel, York, October 24th, 1822 . . . The Sermon to the People.—Rev. T. Raffles, LL.D. Second edition. York. 1824.

[Text; *Ezra*, x., 4. There was a long and close friendship between Raffles and Parsons. The sermon makes a strong but sensible plea for the rights and privileges of the Minister. "You are not to dictate to him *what* he is to preach, or *how* he is to preach," etc., etc.]

Christ the End of the Law for Righteousness. . . . By Thomas Raffles, LL.D. Liverpool. 1828.

[Funeral sermon on Sarah, wife of Mr. John Job, one of the leaders of the cause. Mrs. Job died on 23rd December, 1827. Sermon preached 30th December, 1827, but not completed for the press

⁸²*ib.* p. 21. See also the references to Raffles in the funeral sermons delivered by the Rev. John Kelly, of Crescent Chapel, Liverpool, and by the Rev. James Parsons of York. *Funeral Services occasioned by the death of the Rev. T. Raffles* . . . Liverpool. 1863.

until some months later, as is shown by the letter to Mr. Job, dated 1st April, 1828, which appears as a preface. Text; *Romans*, x., 4.]

The Mingled Character of the Divine Dispensations Recognised and Acknowledged . . . delivered at the Scotch Secession Church, Mount Pleasant, Liverpool . . . January 1st., 1833, being a Day of Thanksgiving . . . on Account of the Removal of the Cholera. By Thomas Raffles, D.D., LL.D. Liverpool. 1833.

[The sermon is not remarkable in form or matter except for the phrase quoted *supra*, note 75, but it gives an interesting sketch of the progress and path of the epidemic in Europe.]

Some of the printed sermons of Raffles I have not been able to see. Several ought undoubtedly to be added to this list and to those mentioned in the notes if the record were to be made complete. But it seems doubtful whether copies of all of them survive.

One criticism of Raffles by *Laicus* has already been noted. Another curious criticism may be recorded:—

Christ's knowledge of All Things: A Discourse preached on Sunday, May 2nd, 1830, before the Congregation of Unitarian Christians, assembling in Bowlalley Lane, Hull, by Edward Higginson, Junior, Minister of the Chapel, containing Strictures upon part of a discourse preached in Fish Street Chapel, Hull, on Wednesday, 21st April, 1830, by the Rev. Dr. Raffles, of Liverpool, in aid of the Holderness Mission. . . . Hull, 1830.

[Raffles had referred, quite incidentally it would seem, to Christ's knowledge of "all things." Mr. Higginson argues that this is an assumption inconsistent with Christ's own words. In fact he uses a few incidental words by Raffles as a text for a defence of the Unitarian position, to which this criticism is merely introductory. Raffles cared little for theological niceties and possibly ignored the attack. At any rate I cannot discover that he ever answered it, and indeed he seldom engaged in theological controversy.]

Some Hymns and Hymnbooks¹

MISS ROSE MACAULAY has now attained that age, or that circulation, at which popular novelists become omniscient; and like others of her class in that condition she has tried her prentice hand on religion. Works on *The Outline of History* and *How to Reconstruct Europe* will follow, no doubt: but the attraction of a religious subject is such that only the very shrewd can resist attacking it first. In an article on *How to Choose a Religion*, as I expect you know, Miss Macaulay lately displayed all that ignorance of essential detail which Mr. Wells has taught us to associate with omniscience. In the course of some not unpleasing observations on the several sects of Christendom, Miss Macaulay speaks of the Greek Church as if it had not revised its calendar; she flounders in a vain effort to distinguish Presbyterianism and Calvinism; she says that the ugliest building in a village is sure to be the chapel, obviously forgetting that, true as this may have been in her youth, village halls have been built since; she adds that Unitarianism is a suitable religion for people who cannot believe much; when, as everyone knows, the precise opposite is true: Unitarianism asking people to believe all the most improbable part of Christian doctrine after removing all the reasons that begin to make it credible.

But if you shy long enough you are sure to hit something sooner or later, and Miss Macaulay has observed accurately one thing; she says that if ever you pass a Wesleyan or Baptist or Congregational Chapel you will hear hymn singing proceeding inside. She argues therefore that among us orthodox Dissenters, as distinct from the more fancy varieties, hymns take a great part in Divine Service. And here at least she is right; and that is why it is seemly that you should hear a paper on hymns, even if it be less certain that I can appropriately read it.

For let me confess at the beginning that I have no special qualification and several special disqualifications for speaking about hymns. I lay claim at once to every kind of musical ignorance, doubting sometimes if I can go even as far as Dr. Johnson in calling it the least unpleasant of noises. I do not study, nor even possess, that book without which no student

¹ A Paper read before the Cambridge University Congregational Society in the Easter term, 1924.

of hymns can allow himself to be, Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology*. I have real knowledge of only two hymn books and, as you will discover, I have drawn up no statistical tables of authors, centuries, denominations, and subjects. I know about hymns only what anyone must know who for a quarter of a century has been so addicted to chapel-going as to hear Divine Service twice every Sunday. I think I never sing a hymn without discovering who wrote it, and after doing this some scores of times I usually end by remembering. No particular credit is due to me or to anyone else who does this, for most hymn books now have a list of authors and their dates somewhere. These details may have been supposed to interfere with the devotion of singers in times when denominational feeling ran high; they were suppressed, therefore, or relegated to decent obscurity in out-of-the-way indexes; it was doubtless by the use of this holy cunning that Methodists were induced to sing *Rock of Ages* with a clear and happy conscience, though its author, Toplady, had called John Wesley "a low and puny tadpole in divinity," "actuated by Satanic shamelessness and Satanic guilt."

To-day, when the orthodox will sing hymns by Unitarians and Theosophists without turning a hair, these precautions are, it may be supposed, unnecessary. The new *Methodist Hymn Book* goes farther than names and dates, and adds biographical notes, often useful, often irrelevant, always interesting, and sometimes wrong. On what principle the Wesleyan Conference selected its information I defy anyone to pronounce: when all else fails the birthplace appears—quite often alone: born at Brighton; born in London; born at Bath. Of Philip Bliss we learn only that he was an American killed on a railway; of Monsell that he was killed during the rebuilding of his church at Guildford; of Sears, the author of *It came upon the midnight clear*, it is a relief to learn that, though a Unitarian minister, he "held always to the absolute divinity of Christ"; but when I am told that of W. C. Dix, who wrote *As with gladness men of old*, that "from thirty to forty of his hymns are in common use," I can only decline to believe it: for I never knew anyone who has ever heard of half a dozen.

I am, nevertheless, very grateful for the Methodist Biographical Index and have spent many happy hours in research into it; and sometimes the researcher comes on a treasure. I always loved James Montgomery; but I felt as if I knew him when I read that he was the son of a Moravian minister, lived

in Sheffield for sixty-two years, edited *The Sheffield Iris*, and recited *Hail to the Lord's Anointed, Great David's greater Son*, at a Wesleyan Missionary Meeting in Liverpool in 1822. I can only be sorry for the people who do not know that; and be angry with the people who are not moved by the picture of the editor of *The Sheffield Iris* reciting that splendid hymn. And yet, despite the riches of this sort that it brings us, we remember with a pang that this same Biographical Index in the new Methodist Hymn Book replaces that splendid single telling sentence in the old one: "Where no name is given it may be assumed that the hymn is the work of Mr. Charles Wesley."

You will gather that the *Methodist Hymn Book* is one of the hymn books I claim to know tolerably: the other is Dr. Barrett's *Hymnal*. These I know from constant use: others from casual use. Misfortunes at holiday times have made me too familiar with *Worship Song*, which, in my judgment, is almost all that a hymn book should not be; and a kinder fate, in remote Lincolnshire, often showed me the old *Congregational Hymn Book*: with Presbyterian and Baptist books I have but a conventional acquaintance; with *Ancient and Modern* and the *English Hymnal* a better but not exhaustive one.

That, then, is my stock in trade. My method is this: to avoid wandering aimlessly in generalizations, I shall take the book I know best—Dr. Barrett's—and examine it in some detail, noticing the several elements of which it is composed, how far Dr. Barrett modified these, and what changes have come over popular feeling for hymns since Dr. Barrett made his selection. By taking a firm stand on Dr. Barrett's book we shall secure, at least, a point of vantage from which we can survey the wild scene that my title calls to mind.

But before I speak of Dr. Barrett's book I propose to lay down two canons which govern all my thought and treatment of the subject.

First, it is incorrect to criticize hymns as if they were ordinary verses: to say of any hymn it is "not poetry" or it is "poor poetry" is to say nothing. A hymn—a good hymn—is not necessarily poetry of any sort, good or bad: just as poetry, good or bad, is not necessarily a hymn. A hymn like *Jesu, Lover of my Soul*, may be poor religious poetry: but in face of the verdict of Christendom, only imbecility will declare it a poor hymn. George Herbert wrote much excellent religious poetry, but it may be doubted if he wrote a tolerable hymn. Hymns do not form a subdivision of poetry: they are

a distinct kind of composition, neither prose nor poetry : they are, in a word, hymns : and I refuse to be drawn any nearer than that to a definition. A hymn may be poetry as it may be theology. It is not, of necessity, either.

Second, reverence is due to hymns as to any sacred object. The hymn that revolts me, if it has been a means of grace to Christian men, I must respect as I should respect a communion cup, however scratched its surface, however vulgar its decoration. The bad jokes about hymns which newspapers publish in chatty columns by "Uncle Remus" or "The Man about Town" are, apart from their intrinsic feebleness, an offence against my second canon.

Dr. Barrett's *Hymnal*, the Preface tells us, took its origin from a resolution of the Congregational Union, passed forty years ago. It was published in 1887 and it held the field till 1916 when, so far as I can make out, the *Congregational Hymnary* appeared, though characteristically the Congregational Union Committee responsible neglected to date their work. The epitaph which the Committee wrote for Dr. Barrett's book, was : "It is not possible to form any adequate estimate of the great influence of this book." It is perhaps rash to go farther than that, but I suggest that Dr. Barrett's book is eminent as an exposition of what is best in Congregationalism : it reflects purely and clearly that mind which we should like to think is the Congregational mind : in taste, catholic ; in feeling, evangelical ; in expression, scholarly ; in doctrine, orthodox. It is a book free from fads, fancies, prejudices, party slogans ; taking the best from whatever source ; most Congregational in lacking the denominationally Congregational note ; a simply Christian book. Sweet reasonableness, sweetness and light—these are its characteristics : and, if we must criticize, these are its weaknesses. You feel at times, when you are hypercritical (but only then), that it is too sweetly reasonable ; that all the corners have been too carefully removed ; that you wish its evangelicalism had not been quite so purely refined. The atmosphere is so undisturbed that you crave for almost any impurity, any smell of human kind, any passion, any flaring, roaring enthusiasm. The crooked has been made too straight, the rough places too plain. It is just a little too well behaved, but the fault is hardly there ; for if you look again you see that this same book, for all its good behaviour, contains the most passionate pleading of the evangelical revival, *Stay, thou insulted Spirit, stay*, and the

agonized prayer of the Chartist, *When wilt Thou save the people : O God of mercy, when ?*

Dr. Barrett achieved this result because he allowed no variety of religious experience known in 1887 to escape his notice. He laid under contribution every age, every nation, every communion.

It is worth while to disentangle the threads which Dr. Barrett wove together ; or, if we change the figure, to trace back to their sources separated in time and space the several streams that met in 1887. There were, to begin with, those two great movements of English religion, the Oxford and the Evangelical. Both Dr. Barrett boldly claimed for us ; and he was so happily placed that he could draw from each its maximum contribution.

For consider first the Oxford Movement. In 1887 the Oxford Movement had made almost all the valuable, original contributions it was to make. It was still a virile and scholarly movement ; it had not yet sunk to sentimentality and fanaticism. How much of the Oxford Movement there is in the *Hymnal*, I doubt if any of you have noticed. The influence is twofold. There are, first, the hymns of the Oxford Movement men themselves. Keble gave us some of our best : *O timely happy, timely wise : Sun of my Soul : When God of old came down from heaven* (of which more later) : and *There is a book who runs may read* ; Newman two, to praise which is impertinence : *Lead, kindly Light*, and *Praise to the Holiest* ; Faber has more room than either, and has too much : he passed from the sublime to the ridiculous too easily. *Sweet Saviour, bless us ere we go* ; and *O come and mourn with me awhile* and *Was there ever kindest Shepherd* show us Faber at his best ; though even in them there is a strain of weakness that develops in other hymns until it can hardly be borne : the pruning knife could be used nowhere with better effect than among the Faber hymns. To the same school belongs W. C. Dix, with his *As with gladness men of old* for Epiphany, *To Thee, O Lord, our hearts we raise* for Harvest, and *Come unto Me, ye weary*, for all times. *As with gladness men of old* is a model of straight, clear, clean verse.

But, beside these and other hymns written by the men of the Movement, we owe to it an even greater debt for its inspiration of translation. No part of Barrett's book is better than its translations. They fall into two main classes : the pietist hymns of Germany and the Greek and Latin hymns

recovered by the Oxford Movement. Greatest among translators is John Mason Neale, though his rugged verse gave much opportunity and some excuse for the art of the amender, and the editors of *Ancient and Modern* scattered his remains pitilessly over their pages. *O come, O come, Emmanuel; All glory, laud, and honour; O happy band of pilgrims; Art thou weary; The day is past and over; The day of resurrection;* and the magnificent poem of Bernard of Cluny on the heavenly Jerusalem which we know as *Brief life is here our portion and Jerusalem the golden*; these and many others Barrett used; and we are left gasping at his omission of one of Neale's best, glorious with the fresh triumph of Easter morning, *The foe behind, the deep before*; we should have been only more surprised if the new *Hymnary* had repaired Barrett's mistake. Caswall, though a smaller man than Neale, did first rate translations which Barrett used: *Jesus, the very thought of Thee*, and that moving Christmas hymn, adorable in its austere and primitive piety, *Hark, an awful voice is sounding*:—these stand as types of many.

Much as English hymn singers in general, and Dr. Barrett in particular, owe to the Oxford Movement, they owe more to the Evangelical Revival, for the Evangelical Revival was a religious movement not less deep, and almost the whole of its artistic expression is to be found in hymns: hymns were but one of the interests of the Oxford Movement, and not its greatest. Liturgy, church furniture, and architecture drew off a part of its artistic energy: but hymns had no competitors among the Evangelicals. To take out of Barrett's book the hymns of the five men: John and Charles Wesley, Newton, Cowper, and Montgomery—though it would not fully represent the contribution of the Evangelical Revival—would at least show how huge and how valuable the contribution was. No selection of Wesley's hymns can satisfy—to say nothing of pleasing—anyone who knows Wesley's own book, that "little body of experimental and practical divinity," of which John Wesley might well enquire: "In what other publication of the kind have you so distinct and full an account of scriptural Christianity? such a declaration of the heights and depths of religion, speculative and practical? so strong cautions against the most plausible errors, particularly those that are now most prevalent?" To find a parallel we must go to the *Book of Common Prayer*: Wesley's book, like the Prayer Book, is a unity; and though extracts may be useful and must

be made, they are only fragments and we want the whole. For a selection, Barrett's is good, and we leave it at that.

Of Cowper and Newton, I have been told and am willing to believe that Barrett chose all that was valuable and most that was tolerable. He did not overdo either, as he overdid Faber. But it is when we come to Montgomery that we see our debt most plainly. The more Montgomery is read the more his solid merit appears; a merit that is easily missed, for it has no showiness to recommend it. Barrett has nowhere shown his genius more; he made no mistakes in selecting from Montgomery, and anyone who compares his selection with that made by the Methodists will see at once Barrett's superiority. They score only in one place; they add, what Barrett omitted, the exquisite Communion hymn, *Be known to us in breaking bread*.

The Evangelical Revival gave more than the hymns of the Wesleys, Cowper, Newton, and Montgomery, but we proceed to the third great stream that came out of the past: this is the school of the elder Dissent, drawing its origin from the metrical psalms and versions of Scripture that arose in Reformation times. One of the best known is one of the earliest: *All people that on earth do dwell*, the 100th psalm in an Elizabethan version. In the times when every gentleman wrote verses, most divines wrote Scriptural paraphrases and the energetic versified the whole Psalter. Here was the foundation of Doddridge's and Watts' hymns—a metrical psalter with other paraphrases first, and then hymns for several occasions. The peculiar genius of Watts and Doddridge displayed itself in allegorizing the Psalms and Old Testament generally in a Christian fashion: as when Doddridge turned Malachi's account of the profaning of the Lord's Table into a Communion Hymn, *My God, and is Thy table spread?* or Watts made "David speak like a Christian." Barrett broke away from the old Dissenting tradition of prefacing hymns proper by a metrical Psalter and in his reaction from the tradition he used, perhaps, less of the paraphrases than will satisfy posterity. It is easy to forget that the Scotch Metrical Version is only one among many; the one approved by the Church of Scotland had many parallels in English Dissent until the Evangelical Revival by suddenly enriching and enlarging the small section of hymns made them overshadow and finally eject the metrical psalms.

To come back to Watts and Doddridge: the hymns preserved by Barrett are but a fragment of the immense number

written by both ; but it is not possible to regret so acutely what is omitted here as we regret the Wesley omissions. Though Watts, at times, probably excels Charles Wesley's best, the general mass of his verse falls well below Wesley's average ; and Doddridge, in the mass, is rather worse than Watts. Doddridge and Watts were more normal men of the eighteenth century than was Charles Wesley : they stick less closely to Scriptural ideas and language, and more often deserve the censure of John Wesley's adjective, "turgid." But, when all is said, they are the crowning glory of Independent hymnology, and the suppression of the hymn *I'll praise my Maker with my breath* by the new *Hymnary* is not only a vice, but an unnatural vice. Congregationalists so disloyal to their spiritual progenitors deserve to be admitted at once to some Reunion of Churches.

These, then, were the three main contributions which history made to Dr. Barrett's book—the Oxford Movement, the Evangelical Revival, and the elder Dissent. The fourth contribution came from the contemporary or almost contemporary mass of writers, whose work was not specially or obviously stamped by any of these schools. By his contemporaries Dr. Barrett, like the rest of us, was over-impressed : he took them too seriously and ranked them too highly as we all do. And if the Congregational Union had to busy itself about hymns the really useful revision of Barrett's book that it might have done was the elimination of the unfit of the nineteenth century, not the bowdlerization and decimation of the classics and the handing round of doles to doubtful contemporaries of our own.

But, although there is decidedly too much of it, contemporary hymnology provided Dr. Barrett with some good things. First we notice the honourable place taken by three of our own communion—Josiah Conder, Thomas Hornblower Gill, and George Rawson. Conder was a true poet, himself an editor of hymnbooks—who really did amend when he altered : *Bread of heaven, on Thee I feed* would alone place him in the first rank, as another Communion hymn *By Christ redeemed, in Christ restored* would place Rawson. Gill did nothing quite so good : and both his fame and Rawson's would benefit by the suppression of not less than 50% of their *Hymnal* hymns.

Less good than these, as he is even more voluble, is Horatius Bonar, a useful pedestrian sort of man who is never very

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good and not often very bad ; the pruning knife again needed ; but we may be reasonably grateful for *I heard the voice of Jesus say* and *O Love of God, how strong and true* and *Fill Thou my life, O Lord my God*. Of Lynch and Lyte (except for *Abide with me*) not much good is to be said : Bickersteth, Monsell, Ellerton are a sort of Anglican Horatius Bonars. Heber provides better things, Grant and Thring worse. Mrs. Alexander is to be spoken of with affection as one of the simplest and purest of writers, but most of all because she wrote *There is a green hill* and *Once in royal David's City* (if only it had stopped earlier !). Charlotte Elliott has had her day, and as the pestilence spread by Miss Havergal is happily abating I am spared the need of being rude to an invalid and a woman. One great and typical Anglican hymn writer in the last century there was : Bishop Walsham How. It might be respectably if not successfully maintained that he was, "taking quantity and quality into consideration" (as the Methodist Index says of Chas. Wesley), the greatest hymn writer of the 19th century. Barrett used him much, but hardly too much ; in Barrett's hands he is never bad, yet the Methodists contrived to find and print much rubbish by him. In *O Word of God Incarnate, We give Thee but Thine own, O Jesus Thou art standing, It is a thing most wonderful*, he is almost great. That other voluminous episcopal composer, Bishop Wordsworth, Barrett sifted and winnowed many times, we may be sure, before he was able to present such good grain and so little chaff as his book contains.

Barrett, I said, had no fads : he did not, therefore, in the manner of modern compilers, scour the ends of the earth for heretical and pagan productions : but when a Quaker like Whittier, Unitarians like Oliver Wendell Holmes and Bowring, and heroes like Carlyle offered hymns, he took them.

Though I am sure it has been tedious, I am not sure that this part of my paper has been irrelevant, because it at least reminds you of the vastness and variety of the *corpus* of hymns with which modern Christendom has endowed itself ; and it brings before us the material on which we may exercise our critical, appreciative, and discriminating faculties. Having made this outline survey of the result of Dr. Barrett's work, I want next to notice the principles on which the hymns were selected, rejected, and altered in 1887, and the change in principles which forty years have brought. Dr. Barrett gave out as one of his principles that his book "should include some

hymns which, though defective when tried by modern standards of taste and literary form, are yet closely connected with the history of the Evangelical faith in England, and with the spiritual experience of a large number of the members of Congregational Churches; that it should give, wherever practicable, the original text of the hymns introduced. Some alterations have been admitted on the ground that they have been sanctioned by long and general use, and form part of the compositions in which they occur as generally known; and others (very few in number) in correction of minor irregularities of metre, offences against taste, or suggestions of questionable doctrine in the original text."

As a general statement that seems to me to contain correct doctrine. You must be preserved from the antiquarian peril. Hymns are for Christians, not poets nor antiquarians: and the trouble is that, having shut the door against the poet you find the antiquarian flying in at the window—the antiquarian who demands the original text whatever the cost in taste or style (which are small matters) or in power to express real religious faith (which is a great matter). A hymn's business is to express the faith of to-day, not to present an historical record of the faith of the day before yesterday. That is not to say that hymns should express only the sentiment and aspirations of the moment; they should educate and purify faith, as well as express it: they should be better than the singer. It is not, therefore, a sufficient reason for scrapping a hymn that it is not written in the language which the butcher, the baker, the candlestick-maker, or the undergraduate would use to-day: its object is to make them speak and think differently. But to do this, though removed from their vocabulary, it must be not too far removed. It must not be out of reach, and mere antiquarianism must not preserve what puts a hymn out of reach. Charles Wesley's amazing verse may be criticized, for instance, as near the boundary of pedantry and usefulness:

Those amaranthine bowers
(Unalienably ours)
Bloom, our infinite reward,
Rise, our permanent abode;
From the founded world prepared;
Purchased by the blood of God.

"the founded world" is indeed a pleasing Latinism: and

congregations bred on such stuff should not suffer from flabbiness of thought.

We now approach the problem of alterations. Let it be said at once that Barrett was of all alterers the most honest: he tells us the very line in which an alteration occurs, but even his example did not suffice to maintain this honesty in his successors. The editors of the *Hymnary* say "Altered" at the foot of the hymn, and try to hide their footprints.

High doctrine has been set out by John Wesley in a paragraph of his immortal preface. I shall not deny myself the pleasure of quoting it:

"Many gentlemen have done my brother and me (though without naming us) the honour to reprint many of our hymns. Now they are perfectly welcome so to do, provided they print them just as they are. But I desire they would not attempt to mend them; for they really are not able. None of them is able to mend either the sense or the verse. Therefore, I must beg of them one of these two favours: either to let them stand just as they are, to take them for better for worse; or to add the true reading in the margin, or at the bottom of the page; that we may no longer be accountable either for the nonsense or for the doggerel of other men."

Wesley's is high doctrine, and it is a pity that we cannot all attain to it; but we cannot. Barrett, you will notice, does almost all that Wesley asks. The advantage of some modification appears in one classical place: *Rock of Ages*. Toplady, I think, wrote *While I draw this fleeting breath, When my eye-strings crack in death*, and although we should not have complained, I imagine, if we had been brought up on that, it is difficult to believe that the now familiar *When my eyes shall close in death* is not an improvement. Between this and Wesley's preface the great mass of alterations falls. Besides this change in *Rock of Ages*, Barrett could justify his version of *When I survey the wondrous Cross* by his doctrine that the hymn is the composition "as generally known." *On which the Prince of glory died* has so long displaced *Where the young Prince of glory died* that the change cannot be called Barrett's. Yet we may doubt if it was a change originally worth making.

It is when we come to alterations, or what is almost as bad, omissions because of "offences against taste" that we begin to breath an electric atmosphere. The real objection to alterations in the interest of taste—taste of the 80's or any time else—is this; alterations of that sort are all on the

principle of the Lowest Common Denominator : they resemble the process of attrition ; corners are rubbed off ; peculiarities disappear ; piquancy fails ; one dead level is more and more approached. The good hymn as originally written could have been written by no one but its author. No one but Carlyle. could write

With force of arms we nothing can,
Full soon were we down-ridden.
But for us fights the Proper Man,
Whom God Himself hath bidden.

no one but Watts

What though we go the world around
And search from Britain to Japan,
There shall be no religion found
So just to God, so safe for man.

no one but Charles Wesley

Adam, descended from above !
Federal Head of all mankind,
The covenant of redeeming love
In Thee let every sinner find.
Me, me, who still in darkness sit,
Shut up in sin and unbelief,
Bring forth out of this hellish pit,
This dungeon of despairing grief.

and no one but a scholastic Doctor

True God of true God
Light of Light Eternal, Lo He abhors not the Virgin's womb,
Son of the Father, Begotten not created.

These are the words that contain and convey character : they make the hymn itself. They are peculiar, piquant, characteristic. They are the enemies of taste. Taste omits, if it cannot prune them. Carlyle is too German : Watts too grotesque : Wesley too violent : Bonaventura too dogmatic. Let us have Mr. Symonds rather ; not German nor grotesque nor violent nor dogmatic, not anything in fact.

These things shall be ! a loftier race
Than e'er the world hath known shall rise
With flame of freedom in their souls
And light of knowledge in their eyes.
They shall be gentle, brave and strong
To spill no drop of blood, but dare
All that may plant man's lordship firm
On earth and fire and sea and air.

Or Lord Houghton :

Our lives enriched with gentle thoughts
 And loving deeds may be,
 A stream that still the nobler grows
 The nearer to the sea.

Nothing to offend taste there because there is nothing that can be tasted ; salt almost without savour ; the L.C.D. of all good men ; the religion of all sensible men ; the very Gospel of the Men of Goodwill.

This, then, being the pitfall of all who consider taste, let us see how well Dr. Barrett escaped it ; and let us compare his performance with that of his successors. Barrett said no more than the truth when he said that he had been moderate in altering hymns in the cause of taste. Like Warren Hastings he had cause to be astonished at his own moderation. He omitted a great many hymns, no doubt because he thought them in bad taste (many of Wesley's) but if he thought a hymn good, he let it stand as a rule. Taste, I am sure, made him omit that noble hymn on the Name of Jesus which should stand everywhere beside Newton's *How sweet the name of Jesus sounds* : I mean :

Jesus, the Name high over all
 In hell, or earth, or sky,
 Angels and men before it fall,
 And devils fear and fly.

Jesus, the Name to sinners dear,
 The name to sinners given ;
 It scatters all their guilty fear,
 It turns their hell to heaven.

"Devils fearing and flying," I make no doubt, struck Dr. Barrett as bad taste. Even the mention of devils he seems generally to have disliked and the state of taste in the 80's certainly would not have allowed him to put baldly over a section of his book, as the Methodists a century before had done, "Describing Hell." Before you smile ponder this : Dr. Barrett's successors have carried his prejudices farther and, unless extremely pressed, consider the mention of angels and heaven in almost as bad taste as the mention of devils and hell. I must pause here to deplore our subservience to a fashion that has banished those splendidly truculent hymns which heartened our predecessors in hard times. As a change from this constant wail about the failure of the Church I turn at times with satisfaction to the brave words of the men of old.

Into a world of ruffians sent
 I walk on hostile ground ;
 While human bears on slaughter bent
 And ravening wolves surround.

* * * *

Watch'd by the world's malignant eye,
 Who load us with reproach and shame ;
 As servants of the Lord Most high,
 As zealous for His glorious Name,
 We ought in all His paths to move
 With holy fear and humble love.

* * * *

Only have faith in God ;
 In faith your foes assail ;
 Not wrestling against flesh and blood
 But all the powers of hell ;
 From thrones of glory driven,
 By flaming vengeance hurl'd,
 They throng the air and darken heaven
 And rule the lower world.

On earth th' usurpers reign,
 Exert their baneful power ;
 O'er the poor fallen souls of men
 They tyrannize their hour.
 But shall believers fear ?
 But shall believers fly ?
 Or see the bloody cross appear
 And all their powers defy ?

Jesu's tremendous name
 Puts all our foes to flight ;
 Jesus, the meek, the angry Lamb,
 A Lion is in fight.
 By all hell's host withstood,
 We all hell's host o'erthrow,
 And conquering them, through Jesu's blood,
 We still to conquer go.

One good example of the working of taste Dr. Barrett provided. He confesses that he altered Neale's version of Andrew of Crete's hymn *Christian! dost thou see them*.

Christian! dost thou see them on the holy ground,
 How the troops of Midian prowl and prowl around ?

so wrote Neale. Barrett found the reference to Midian, and (we may suspect) the word "prowl" rather grotesque. "The troops of Midian" become the less unfamiliar "powers of darkness," who "compass thee around" instead of "prowling."

"How the powers of darkness compass thee around," a

respectable couplet of which no one need be ashamed ; but it lacks the grip, I think, of the ruder original.

The alteration of the second verse illustrates a change due to the doctrine, not taste. Neale wrote :

Christian ! dost thou feel them,
 How they work within,
 Striving, tempting, luring,
 Goading into sin ?
 Christian ! never tremble ;
 Never be downcast ;
 Smite them by the virtue
 Of the Lenten fast.

Clearly this would never do ; “ the virtue of the Lenten fast ” must be generalised for Dr. Barrett’s constituency :

“ Gird thee for the conflict ; Watch and pray and fast ”

does the trick. So used, the word *fast* gives the rhyme and is doctrinally innocuous.

With this compare the treatment by Dr. Barrett and by the Methodists of Mrs. Alexander’s hymn which was written for St. Andrew’s day, and is inspired by the narrative of his call.

“ Jesus calls us ; o’er the tumult Of our life’s wild, restless sea.”

Day by day His sweet voice soundeth, Saying, Christian follow me.”

“ As of old St. Andrew heard it, By the Galilean Lake,

Turned from home and friends and kindred, Leaving all for His dear sake.”

Whether Dr. Barrett thought that the mention of St. Andrew might lead to invocation of saints among modern Congregationalists, or that a hymn naming him could not be conveniently sung on any day but St. Andrew’s day, I do not know ; but he cut the verse out, and left the hymn perhaps better balanced without it, with its four verses now all built on one pattern, yet poorer (I think) by the loss of a personal allusion. The Methodists, ever diplomatic, have found a formula to appease all parties : “ As of old apostles heard it, by the Galilean Lake.”

Since Dr. Barrett’s day we have grown only too familiar with attempts to present Christian doctrine in words which would not be out of place in any lady’s drawing-room. We have had, I know, our bluff hearty young men, like George MacDonald, trying, as they would say, to bring a blast of incense-breathing morn into our stuffy sanctuaries ; but their language, though unecclesiastical, was above reproach.

Dr. Barrett had warned people in advance that they would

find in his book some hymns which were defective when tried by modern standards of taste, because they were closely connected with the experience of evangelical religion. He was as good as his word. He gave them unaltered, what his successors have been too squeamish to give, Cowper's noble and historical hymn, *There is a fountain filled with blood, Drawn from Immanuel's veins*. He did more: it might have been hard in 1883, though it was too easy in 1916, to suppress a well-loved hymn, but there was no need to add another hymn open to most of the objections that assail Cowper's, even to the use of the word *veins*: yet Barrett added Caswall's version of an Italian hymn:

Glory be to Jesus, Who in bitter pains
 Poured for me His life blood From His sacred veins.
 Grace and life eternal In that blood I find;
 Blest be His compassion Infinitely kind.
 Blest though endless ages Be the precious stream,
 Which from endless torments Doth the world redeem.

It proves Barrett's courage. He went against the taste of his time and added to the Rock of Offence because he knew the hymn, charged with a simple childlike piety, was too good to be unknown among Congregationalists.

Why, then, if we grant his courage—as we must—why did he suppress that verse of *When I survey the wondrous cross*, which has now almost passed from memory?

His dying crimson like a robe spreads o'er His body on the tree;
 Then am I dead to all the globe; and all the globe is dead to me.

It is strange and inexcusable, the worst blot on Barrett's fame.

In Barrett, then, in 1883 we can see the beginnings of that painful bowdlerisation of hymns that still continues. Barrett is struggling with the tendency new in his times, now giving way unexpectedly, now carrying reprisals into the enemy's camp. His successors have not usually altered this sort of expression: they simply drop the hymn. Even the Methodists, we note in passing, are guilty; they who had enriched hymnology beyond all others by hymns on the death of Christ, their glory is become their shame. I do not speak of hymns which were perhaps needlessly and unscripturally trying to modern taste:

“My Jesus to know and to feel His Blood flow
 'Tis life everlasting 'Tis heaven below”

and so on ; but of the fanatical prejudice against solemn words.

O Thou eternal Victim, slain
A sacrifice for guilty man,
By the eternal Spirit made
An offering in the sinner's stead ;
Our everlasting Priest art Thou
And plead'st Thy death for sinners now.

Thy offering still continues new ;
Thy vesture keeps its bloody hue ;
Thou stand'st the ever slaughtered Lamb
Thy priesthood still remains the same ;
Thy years, O God, can never fail ;
Thy goodness is unchangeable.

That, one of the greatest communion hymns written by Wesley, cannot be made other than it is ; a hymn about life by death and healing by blood. If the idea is repugnant to modern taste, there is a case for allowing modern taste to starve itself still further by banishing the hymn entirely ; there is no case for doing what the modern Methodists do—rewrite one line. *Thy vesture keeps its bloody hue* becomes *Thy vesture keeps its crimson hue*. You cannot tinker with the stupendous things : you must take them or leave them.

If the catholic and evangelical doctrine of atonement by the blood of Christ be true, no expression of it can be too strong ; all, on the contrary, must be too weak. And if it is not true, you want not dilution of it, but abandonment. This is what our modern editors will not see.

Their blindness does not depart when they pass from the Atonement. An example, peculiarly flagrant, occurs in the new *Hymnary* among the Pentecost hymns. For this festival Keble wrote his classical *When God of old came down from heaven* ; not even our modernists could ignore this ; they had, anyhow, a feeling for Pentecost as one of the vaguer feasts. Nor could they claim that the hymn was too long to be printed—at least as Barrett had printed it ; they had themselves printed far worse hymns at infinitely greater length. And yet—and yet, they could not keep their bungling hands off Keble. That second verse,

Around the trembling mountain's base
The prostrate people lay,
A day of wrath and not of grace,
A dim and dreadful day.

It gave a horrid notion of God ; that was indeed very

unpleasant. To be sure it is exactly what the Bible say happened at Sinai, and, after all, it is about Sinai that Keble writes. But it is not the modernist's notion of God; and since he cannot by his nature be honest and say, "Scrap Sinai; scrap Moses; scrap this O.T. revelation; it is not true"; he says, "I will keep just enough of Keble to flatter myself that there is no break with the tradition (that is bad form—like the old Dissenters) but not enough to convey any particular meaning. Keble's aim, it is true, was to contrast Sinai and Pentecost and yet connect them; I will keep both, cutting out both contrast and connexion; and so make the best of both worlds." Encouraged, he proceeds and reads next:

The fires that rushed on Sinai down In sudden torrents dread
Now gently light, a glorious crown, On every sainted head.
And as on Israel's awe struck ear The voice exceeding loud,
The trump that angels quake to hear, Thrilled from the deep, dark cloud;
So when the Spirit of our God Came down His flock to find,
A voice from heaven was heard abroad, A rushing mighty wind.

Here we have two signs of Pentecost, the fire and winds with their types at Sinai. The editors of the *Hymnary* leave us the wind, but cut out the flames of fire. To the plain man they stand or fall together; either something unusual happened at Pentecost or nothing unusual happened. If nothing, well why waste a breezy Whitsunday morning by singing about it at all? You had better be at golf. If something worth singing about happened, why strain out the flame and swallow the wind, as the editors of the *Hymnary* do? Well, for this reason. If you are ingenious you can believe that that first Whitsunday was a very windy day and that the early Christians, not being ingenious but simple, thought the wind had some connexion with a spiritual experience that they agreed to call the Holy Ghost. You can so preserve the tradition of Keble's verses and your self-respecting intellect, if you sing them with your tongue in your cheek; but the verse about the flame is more difficult. To retain it commits one (if pressed) to more than a windy day at Pentecost. A thunderstorm with lightning seems the obvious way out, but to ask for a combination of both wind and fire on the same day as the Christians had their Holy Ghost experience is asking perhaps a little too much of historical coincidence, generous though that goddess of the shrewd critic may be. It reduces the risks to cut out the flame; and anyhow tradition and our

face are saved without it. I do not suggest that this form of argument was openly followed on the editorial board which produced the *Hymnary*: but though unexpressed, that state of mind underlay the choice of certain verses and the omission of others. And it is of all states of mind in which hymns can be selected and altered the most dangerous, dishonest, and damnable. It is ludicrous, too; but that is nothing.

This same unwillingness to face certain simple facts and make up one's mind one way or the other about them has in the last forty years wrought another set of weakening changes in what were sturdy hymns. Barrett sometimes shrank from calling a spade a spade; but his successors shrink more often. If you open a book like *Worship Song*, that perfect product of the Hampstead mind, the faint odour of a literary Keating's powder assails you: a sort of spiritual insect killer fatal to worms. The elder hymn writers delighted in worms: Doddridge even wrote of our Lord that

"Sinful worms to Him are given
A colony to people heaven."

They overdid it; we weary of the metaphor, exact as it is. But our delicate-souled editors pursue the worm with a cruelty and diligence altogether beyond its deserts. You would suppose, would you not, that among decent men the writer of such princely stuff as this might be allowed one metaphor of his own choosing?

Angels and men, resign your claim
To pity, mercy, love, and grace;
These glories crown Jehovah's name
With an incomparable blaze.
Who is a pardoning God like Thee
Or who has grace so rich and free?

But he also wrote:

Crimes of such horror to forgive
Such guilty daring worms to spare.

Where is the Keating's powder? The Congregational Union's Committee did not fail.

Such dire offences to forgive
Such guilty daring *souls* to spare

That is less offensive; *dire offences*, if you come to think of it, is quite a non-committal phrase. *Dire*—no one in ordinary life uses that word so no one minds it being attached to his *offences*. Yet the people to whom much is forgiven love

much. It was the forgiveness of "crimes of such horror" (not of these "dire offences") that provoked the ecstatic cry:

In wonder lost, with trembling joy
We take our pardon from our God,
Pardon for crimes of deepest dye,
A pardon bought with Jesus' blood.

No one is going to be lost in wonder about "dire offences"! make no mistake about that. It is the same pettifogging spirit that is at work in Prayer Book revision. The modern Anglican does not wish to call himself a miserable sinner, a miserable offender, to say that the burden of his sins is intolerable. He is not a miserable sinner, but an honest seeker after truth; the burden of his sins is not intolerable, imperceptible rather. Very well, but don't expect to be able to pass on to what the Methodists used to call "The Pleasantness and Excellence of Religion" unless you have known the section "For Mourners convinced of Sin." Our editors are in the same state of mind as Mr. Chesterton's mob which shouted not "No Popery," but "Not quite so much Popery." Well, the Pope cares little for such mobs; and Satan who

Trembles when he sees
The weakest saint upon his knees

trembles little before congregations that are too discreet to call themselves saints and too genteel to call themselves sinners.

One example of a change for doctrinal reasons, and I end this part of my paper. Doddridge, as good a Dissenter as most of us need wish to be, wrote a Communion hymn. He wrote it in the 18th century before people had begun to suppose that the only proper doctrine for Dissenters is the so-called Zwinglian doctrine that the Communion is a memorial feast only. He wrote, therefore,

Hail sacred feast which Jesus makes,
Rich banquet of His flesh and blood.
Thrice happy he who here partakes
That sacred stream, that heavenly food.

Barrett, since he printed Keble's communion hymn,

Fresh from the atoning sacrifice
The world's Redeemer bleeding lies,
That man His foe for whom He bled
May take Him as his daily bread.

could hardly complain of Doddridge's; and let it stand. But

it offends some ; and you will find elsewhere the meaning weakened and watered down.

Rich banquet of His flesh and blood—

that is too much and becomes

Sweet emblems of His flesh and blood.

Even poor Doddridge is suspected of Popery by our lovers of the feeble ! One change Barrett did make lower down.

Why are these dainties still in vain
Before unwilling hearts displayed ?

wrote the unblushing Doddridge. But *dainties*, we must agree, is too much ; especially if your memory of the Methodist hymn reinforces the objection :

O bid the wretched sons of need
On soul-reviving dainties feed.

For *dainties* read *emblems*, says Barrett. Since *emblems* is distinctly out of harmony with the thought of the hymn it would probably be better simply to respect Doddridge's own word *banquet*.—*Why is the banquet still in vain ?*

(To be Concluded.)

FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31ST MARCH, 1925.

<i>Receipts.</i>	£	s.	d.	<i>Expenditure.</i>	£	s.	d.
Balance forward from last account ...	68	9	9	Printing <i>Transactions</i> , Vol. ix., No. 1 ...	22	10	0
Subscriptions, Arrears ...	12	11	0	Ditto, ditto, No. 2 ...	20	15	0
Ditto, 1924 ...	26	13	0	Postage of same to Members ...	2	2	6
Ditto, in advance ...	6	19	9	Subscription to Friends' Historical Society	5	0	
One Life Subscriber ...	10	10	0	Advert. in Congregational Quarterly ...	3	3	0
Sale of <i>Transactions</i> ...	2	3	10	Hire of Room for Annual Meeting ...	1	1	0
				Secretary's Postages ..	1	0	0
				Cash at Bankers ...	76	10	10
	127	7	4		127	7	4
	127	7	4		127	7	4

The Congregational Churches of Staffordshire.

By A. G. MATTHEWS, M.A. (Cong. Union of England and Wales. 5s.)

THIS is the somewhat misleading title of an otherwise admirable book, written at the request of the Staffordshire Congregational Union. It fills up what has hitherto been a serious blank in our historical and ecclesiastical literature, and places within reach, at a moderate cost, documents and statistics else not easily accessible. The author supplements his title "With some account of the Puritans, Presbyterians, Baptists, and Quakers in the county during the seventeenth century," but as a matter of fact he has given us a concise History of Puritanism and Nonconformity in Staffordshire from their earliest appearance to the end of the eighteenth century, with that of the Congregational Churches continued to the present time. Lists are given of the Staffordshire ministers ejected in 1660 and 1662, the conventicles reported in the county in 1669, the Licences granted under the Indulgence in 1672, the meetings registered under the Toleration Act in 1689, and (so far as they relate to Staffordshire) the Surveys of the Dissenting interest in 1716 and 1773 from the Evans and Thompson MSS. in Dr. Williams's Library. Copious details are given as to the origin of particular Churches, the work of the Northern and Southern Associations, and the legal proceedings rendered necessary by doctrinal disagreements between ministers and trustees, or between different parties in the same congregations. Very instructive, too, is the contrast between the narrow Calvinistic pietism displayed in trust-deeds and Church covenants of the eighteenth century and the Modernism of recent times—not easily distinguishable from philosophic Deism. An almost complete list is given of the Congregational ministers of Staffordshire from 1662 to the present time, their antecedents and after-life or death being indicated by a somewhat elaborate system of notes. The book is simply crammed with information, almost every item being verified by reference to authorities; it deserves a much wider circulation than is possible within the limits of a single county.

T. G. CRIPPEN.

A Life of the Reverend Richard Baxter, 1615-1691.

By F. J. POWICKE, M.A., PH.D. (Jonathan Cape, 15s.)

DR. POWICKE has for many years been engaged on a life of Richard Baxter, and monographs dealing with various incidents in his career have already seen the light in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*. We are glad that now, however, this volume, which takes Baxter's story as far as 1663,

has been published, and we trust that ere long its successor will follow.

Dr. Powicke has steeped himself in Baxter literature. He has, too, the double good fortune of knowing the Kidderminster area at first hand, and of having had leisure to work on the volumes of Baxter MSS. in the Dr. Williams's Library. The result is a volume that will become the standard work on Baxter's life for its period. With it and *The Reformed Pastor* the reader can get a correct and sufficient idea of Baxter's marvellous work in Kidderminster without toiling through Sylvester's monumental *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*. An outline of Baxter's life and writings is followed by a description of his controversies with Anabaptists (John Tombes), Antinomians, Quakers, Romanists, Prelatists and Separatists. The appendices contain transcripts of letters from the Baxter MSS., and there is a note dealing with portraits.

Dr. Powicke well brings out the greatness of Baxter's work and witness, but he is not blind to his failings, and it is not difficult to see on which side the historian's sympathy is when Baxter's views of Cromwell are under discussion. One or two points only call for mention. Would "the first Sunday in the New Year" (1641) be "the first Sunday in April" (pp. 30, 95)? Is not this impossible when the year began on the 25th March? On p. 246 "Penny" should be "Penney." We have pleasure in commending to our readers an excellent piece of work. The publishers have placed Dr. Powicke and his readers under an obligation by giving the biography such a pleasing appearance—indeed, the "get-up" of the book is all that can be desired.

ALBERT PEEL.

Reprints.

Both the articles in this issue—Dr. Veitch's "Thomas Raffles of Liverpool" and Mr. Manning's "Some Hymns and Hymnbooks"—are to be reprinted, the second after the concluding part has appeared in September. Copies of Dr. Veitch's article can be obtained from the Publication Department of the Congregational Union at the Memorial Hall, price one shilling.

EDITORIAL.

THE Annual Meeting of the Society was held at the Memorial Hall on Wednesday, May 13th, Dr. Grieve presiding. Mr. Muddiman presented the Financial Statement, and was cordially thanked for all the service he renders to the Society. The Editor outlined a proposal for reprinting a uniform edition of the works of Browne, Barrowe, Greenwood, Penry, and Harrison. The Society heartily supported the scheme, inviting Dr. Grieve and the Editor to be responsible for the series subject to the necessary financial assistance being forthcoming.

The Rev. William Pierce then gave a very interesting *résumé* of his researches regarding Nonconformist contributions to the building of the Mansion House. There was an animated discussion, and Mr. Pierce was warmly thanked for his paper, which appears in the present issue.

* * * *

The Autumnal Meeting will be held in one of the rooms at Richmond Hill Congregational Church, Bournemouth, on *Wednesday, October 14th, at 3 p.m.* The Society has now been in existence for twenty-five years, and we trust there will be a good attendance of members and of delegates to celebrate the occasion. The Rev. Dr. Grieve, Principal of Lancashire Independent College, will speak on "Our Society: A Survey of Achievement, 1900-1925." Will members of the Society note the place and time, and bring friends with them ?

* * * *

Mr. Manning's complete article, "Some Hymns and Hymn-books," has been reprinted separately, and copies may be obtained from the Publication Department of the Congregational Union at the Memorial Hall, price 1s. 3d. Copies of Prof. Veitch's "Thomas Raffles of Liverpool" (1s.) are also available. We trust our members will make these reprints widely known. The articles are of more than antiquarian interest and should have a wide circulation.

▲

The Contributions of the Nonconformists to the Building of the Mansion House.

IN the years immediately preceding the Great War, Mr. Alfred D. Beaven compiled for the Corporation of the City of London, after prolonged research among the City records, a learned *History of the Aldermen*, in two volumes. In his introduction to the second volume, published in 1913, he refers to the fact that persons nominated to the office of Sheriff, and in some cases formally elected, frequently refused to serve. Instances, I may add, are found in the records as far back as 1526, and by diligent search could probably be found still earlier. They continue onwards throughout the eighteenth century. The procedure was regularized by what is known as Ducy's Act, passed under the Lord Mayor of that name in 1631. Those refusing to serve on nomination were fined £400; later, if this sum were not paid forthwith, the Liverymen—who are the electors—proceed formally to elect the nominee and the fine became £600. In each case the fine was increased by 20 marks, a contribution to the support of the chaplains of the city prisons; and also by a sum for the “usual fees,” the amount of which I have not ascertained.¹ The only other means of avoiding serving was to plead insufficiency of estate, which at first was fixed at £10,000 as a qualifying minimum; later (3rd February, 1738) the sum was increased to £15,000.² Under Ducy's Act £100 was paid out of the fines to the next person accepting office: I gather, however, from the incomplete memoranda on this point, that the sum was only paid, or perhaps claimed, intermittently, and under a continually growing opposition from members of the Common Council. There were also certain perquisites falling to the Sheriffs by ancient custom. An undated memorandum in late eighteenth-century script gives a list of these, amounting to £1,005 6s. 8d., to be divided between the two Sheriffs annually elected. But the cost to the holder of the honourable office, even when lightened by these perquisites, was no doubt much greater than the fines imposed upon those refusing to serve.

¹ See *C. C. Journal*, No. 53 f. 640.

² *Journal*, 58, f. 69b.

Among these latter Mr. Beaven states there were "some Nonconformists," who under the Corporation Act were not legally eligible. He is far from defending "the system of the Test and Corporation Acts" and recognizes that the final judgment of the House of Lords in favour of Nonconformists claiming exemption was in accordance with common sense no less than with law; still, he thinks that "a good deal of cheap indignation has been showered upon the Corporation of that day by later writers." For, he says, the Corporation Act was practically a dead letter by virtue of the Indemnity Acts passed annually, so that without risk Nonconformists might have accepted office. This point I may clear out of the way at once. The indignation was not so cheap as Mr. Beaven supposed. If he had read the Indemnity Acts he would have seen that they have no relation to the Nonconformists who for conscientious reasons could not accept, and were by the statute prohibited from accepting, the office of Sheriff. The Indemnity Acts gave six months grace to holders of municipal offices who had not fulfilled the demands of the Test Act. The protesting Nonconformists had not held, nor could they hold, office for a single day. The Indemnity Acts were simply extending Acts. The holder of the office had sooner or later to qualify according to the statute. All this was plainly pointed out by Justice Wilmot and Chief Baron Parker, when the case of the Nonconformists came before them as Commissioners sitting in the Court of St. Martin's.³

Mr. Beaven further observes, "It is sometimes said that the Mansion House was built with money derived from fines imposed by a tyrannical Corporation upon persecuted Nonconformists. It is true that for some years fines for non-acceptance of office were devoted to that object, but it is a simple travesty of fact to assume that the persons fined were all Nonconformists."⁴

A couple of years ago the City Surveyor, Mr. Sydney Perks, published his very complete *History of the Mansion House*, and naturally touched upon the contributions of those who refused the shrievalty to the erection of a palatial home for the Lord Mayor; but in regard to the fines extracted from the Nonconformists he modestly contents himself with a brief

³ Guildhall Records. Shorthand notes of the opinions of the judges in giving judgment against the Corporation and reversing the judgments pronounced at the Sheriffs' Courts and the Court of Hustings.

⁴ *Op. Cit.*, pp. xxxv., xxxvi.

quotation from the observations of Mr. Beaven already cited (see his Appendix I.). The High Church papers, which had evidently missed their opportunity when Mr. Beaven's solid volumes were published, on the appearance of Mr. Perks' book at once expressed their satisfaction with the assumed exoneration of the Corporation from the charge of religious persecution. *The Times* in its *Literary Supplement* was glad that this bubble was pricked, and the *Morning Post* (19th July, 1922) greatly rejoiced that this "ancient fable" had been knocked "on the head."

In order to set forth the facts securely upon an historic basis, I have been engaged intermittently during the past nine or ten months in making researches into the above matter at the London Guildhall Records Office. The invaluable records of the great City are in the charge of Mr. A. H. Thomas, M.A., whose position as a mediævalist and palæographer has been established by his recently published calendar of early documents in the archives of the City. Through Mr. Thomas permission was freely granted to me to consult all the documents relating to my subject in the possession of the Corporation, and I am under obligation to the City Fathers for the great courtesy shown me by their officials. Out of the mass of the material I have there gathered together, with the information already in our possession drawn from authoritative Nonconformist sources, I proceed to give an outline of the story of the contributions of the Nonconformists to the building of the Mansion House in the eighteenth century.

The source of the statements in regard to this matter made by Congregational historians and writers is a volume bearing the title—

A sketch | Of | The History And Proceedings | Of The |
Deputies | Appointed, To Protect | The Civil Rights | Of
The Protestant Dissenters, | etc. 4to London, 1813.⁵

The Protestant Deputies, an honourable body still in existence, held their first meeting in Salters' Hall in 1737. The society arose out of a movement of Protestant Dissenters which began five years earlier for the repeal of the obnoxious Corporation and Test Acts, a task which was not accomplished for another century. This led to the formation of the society of Dissenting Deputies, an influential body of Protestant

⁵ A smaller 8vo ed. was published the following year. It appears to be an exact reprint of the text of the first edition.

laymen, who took up the defence of the civil rights of Protestant Dissenters generally.

The illegal action against Nonconformists taken by the Corporation of London in connexion with the shrievalty can only be understood by the sinister movement which was taking place throughout England and Wales. The passing of the Toleration Act immediately upon the accession of William III. was the signal for the recrudescence of religious bigotry and intolerance. That Act gave no relief from the prohibitions of the Corporation and Test Acts, and a considerable number of persons in authority in all parts of the country determined it should give no other relief. The manifestation of this spirit gathered great force under Anne. We must not forget—she herself never forgot—that she was a Stuart princess. Her pious attachment to the Protestant Church as established by law saw nothing alien to her piety in imposing pains and penalties upon those who stubbornly refused to enter its portals and to conform to its order of worship. The leaders of the Tory party who came into power with the accession of Anne raged furiously against the Dissenters, and especially against their practise of occasional conformity, in virtue of which some of them escaped the penalties of the Corporation Act when they accepted municipal offices.* In the early years of the reign strenuous efforts were made, but in vain, to penalize occasional conformity by legislation. Meanwhile a wild reactionary clergyman named Sacheverell did what he could without legislation to damp the ardour of Nonconformists. Following the passing of the Toleration Act the Dissenters had bent all their energies to the tremendous task of building for themselves places of worship. Thousands of these meeting-houses were put up during the next ten years; none of them very large, and most of them very unpretentious. The wild tirades of Sacheverell excited the mob in London, who proceeded to pull down these sanctuaries, several of which were wrecked. In a later progress in Shropshire, Sacheverell's railing discourses were marked by the same features. It will indicate the feeling prevailing among the ruling classes in London to note that Sacheverell had the honour of preaching before the Lord Mayor and Corporation in 1709. His sermon on the *False Brethren* was full of incredible violence, and accused Nonconformists of every

* In 1697 Sir Humphrey Edwin was Lord Mayor; in 1701 Sir Thomas Abney filled the office; both were distinguished Congregationalists and occasional Conformists.

sin in the calendar from murder downwards. It was sent to the press, and sold in great numbers.

In all parts of the country, despite the Toleration Act, civil wrongs were inflicted upon Dissenters. They were cited before the Spiritual Courts for baptismal fees for children baptized by their own ministers; ministers were sued for baptizing; a clergyman refused to marry a couple and then claimed a fee when they were married elsewhere; parents were indicted because they refused to bring their children to be "christened"; husbands were sued because their wives had not been "churched." A Justice of the Peace issued a distress against the goods of a Nonconformist under the Conventicle Act; he had, however, to pay for all the goods sold, restore those unsold, and pay all the costs of the action promoted by the Dissenting Deputies. Magistrates refused to execute their office and grant qualifying certificates to ministers and licences to places of worship, as required by the Toleration Act. The rites of burial were denied in the case of children unbaptized, or baptized by a Nonconformist. The services held in Nonconformist places of worship, although regularly licensed, were continually interfered with, a riotous mob in some cases damaging the edifice and assaulting the minister. The managers attempted to exclude the children of Nonconformists from the benefits of the Free School at Hitchin.

The Dissenting Deputies undertook to give advice and help whenever needful, and in the cases of poor congregations, or of individuals, ministers or others, unable to meet the legal expenses of the defence of their rights, they also gave financial aid. They intervened in some hundreds of cases scattered over all parts of England and Wales, and almost invariably with success.⁷ Being a body of substantial men, and able to command the best legal advice, a firm but courteous letter was commonly sufficient to obtain the necessary redress. Where that was not forthcoming they obtained a *mandamus* from the court of King's Bench, and, in the case of unrelenting oppressors, acted with necessary vigour. An appeal to the Bishops against the illegalities of the clergy under their jurisdiction was always effective, for they were generally broad-minded ecclesiastics of King William's appointment.

We have already seen that London took part in the riotous

⁷ The cases are summarised in the Dissenting Deputies' "*Sketch of Proceedings*" (1813): supplement pp. 123-144.

proceedings against Nonconformists, and the invitation extended to Sacheverell to preach before the Lord Mayor had a sinister import. In the subsequent years the City shared more or less the High Church and illiberal views which manifested themselves in the provinces, although in earlier generations it had been a stalwart defender of the liberties of the people, civil and religious. A close scrutiny had now to be kept on the ecclesiastical measures promoted in Parliament by the City. The bill for the rebuilding of St. Olave's, Southwark, subjected Dissenters to exceptional rates on burial, and the same was attempted in the cases of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, and St. Mary's, Rotherhithe. The appeal of the Deputies to Parliament succeeded in obtaining redress. An attempt was made to levy illegal rates upon meeting-houses in London, but when the Committee of the Deputies took up the matter the design was abandoned. In the same spirit the Corporation sought to obtain a discretionary power to assess meeting-houses for a lighting rate, which the Committee successfully resisted. The same service was rendered to Hare Court Chapel when rated for the repairs of Aldersgate Church, and to Jewin Chapel, when assessed for the poor rate.

With the narrative of these events before us we are not surprised at the action of the Corporation against Dissenters who were freemen of the City, in connexion with the shrievalty, and we are furnished with grounds for surmising the motives which actuated their illegal procedure. This long and exhaustive controversy was governed by three acts of Parliament—the Corporation Act, which prohibited any person from holding a public office unless within twelve months previous to his appointment he had taken the Lord's Supper according to the rites of the Church of England; the Test Act, which required the same qualification within six months after appointment; and the Toleration Act, which disallowed any one from being persecuted for Nonconformity, but left the Corporation and Test Acts unaffected. The Test Act is specifically excepted from its provisions.

In the year 1730 the Corporation resolved to appropriate the fines levied on persons refusing to serve in the office of sheriff to the building of the Mansion House, a home for the Lord Mayor for the time being worthy of the chief officer of the greatest city in the world. The foundation-stone was laid in 1739, and the building was partly occupied about 1755. The *London Magazine*⁸ states that in the years 1730-32 the

⁸ Quoted by Perks, *Hist. of the Mans. Ho.*, p. 163.

finer from the above source amounted to £20,700. And John Entick tells us that in 1754 there was in hand, derived from this source, a sum of £18,000, paid by forty-five gentlemen.⁹ The Dissenting Deputies' *Sketch* asserts that numbers of Dissenters, although legally ineligible, paid the fine, being unwilling to fight for their rights in the Courts. But from this special source about the year 1754 above £15,000 had been raised.¹⁰

The illegal nomination of Nonconformists began early in the century, for we find in 1703 John Coggs, citizen and goldsmith, refusing office on the ground of his Nonconformity, and refusing to pay the fine. The case was apparently withdrawn, but in 1738 a second attempt was made to get this substantial Dissenter to pay the fine, and the story of the legal controversy which ensued is very fully represented in the Guildhall papers for the next two years. In the earlier cases, after the manner of substantial litigants, the Corporation attempted to tire out their opponents, and to put all manner of difficulties in their way, as may be discovered by the complaint of the Deputies. It is a policy which suggests to us to-day a want of confidence in their legal position. However that may be, we soon find that the Nonconformist defendants were outmanœuvring their opponents, and it is they that are complaining that they cannot get a case tried upon its merits, and, as they hoped, by a favourable verdict, secure the fines and also their heavy costs. The lawyers employed by the Nonconformists showed a provoking ingenuity in discovering technical flaws in the procedure of the prosecution. In the great case presently to be narrated, which finally settled the question in favour of the Nonconformists, a flaw in the indictment was one of the alternative lines of defence, and the judges hinted not obscurely that it might have effectually barred the proceedings had they not chosen in the interests of the public to bring the long-drawn dispute to a close by a considered verdict on the real issues of the suit. In 1742 Adam Calamy, Mr. Cogg's counsel, effectively pleaded an irregularity in his client's so-called election. The Corporation determined to pursue the matter one stage further in order to discover the defects of their own by-laws.

The case of John Wightman, citizen and brewer, one of the

⁹ *History of London*, vol. ii., p. 464.

¹⁰ *Sketch of Proceedings* (1813) p. 27.

most resolute of the resisting Dissenters, whose case bulks largely in the manuscript records, proceeds on very similar lines. Elected in 1738, the next year his case came before the Sheriffs' Court. Wightman then obtained a writ of *Habeas Corpus* which brought the case to King's Bench. This procedure was later followed in Cogg's case.¹¹ And here a word may be said on the form of the writ which both defendants succeeded in obtaining. Taken literally it assumes that the person in whose interest it is issued in the name of the King—Wightman in the one instance, and Coggs in the other—is "now detained in our prison [The Poultry Compter] under your [the Sheriffs'] authority." It does not follow that Coggs or Wightman were at this time actually under lock and key. There is every probability that although technically prisoners they were abroad on bail. Both cases went on year after year without apparently coming nearer to an issue, but in 1747, nine years after his nominal election, Wightman's death is reported and his case ends.¹²

A more general interest was displayed in the case of Robert Grosvenor, citizen and leatherseller, owing to his eminent position in the Nonconformist community. He was nominated to the shrievalty in 1738 and resisted the fine for not serving on the ground that by law he was not eligible. In the early stages of the prosecution he is linked with Stamp Brooksbank, citizen and clothworker, and Wightman, the brewer, in a common indictment. Nine years later the suit is still proceeding, but the prosecution are clearly sick of it. They allow it to proceed one stage further, not with any hope of getting a verdict, but by the advice of their counsel, who desired to know, as in a previous case, the weak points in their by-laws governing these cases.

It is evident that at this juncture the Corporation determined thoroughly to explore their position. Fortunately for them the majority of the well-to-do Nonconformists, disliking the hazard of a legal contest, which would involve them in much labour, anxiety and expense in any case, preferred to pay the fine, since they were prohibited by law from serving. But the case of those resisting the imposition was growing serious. The suits against Coggs and Wightman

¹¹ Theophilus Salwey, nominated 1744, is another Nonconformist defendant who obtained a writ of *Habeas Corpus*. Other Nonconformists resisting the fine were Thomas Watson, Thomas Lockyer, Thomas Freeman, and Philip Stephens.

¹² *Journal*, 59, f. 74.

failed to come to an issue. Wightman, after years of legal contention, died, and his case abruptly abated. Other cases were pending and promised no better result. Nine years of litigation in Grosvenor's suit left them with only a pile of bills of costs on their hands. There was no difficulty in the case of those who were unable to plead the Dissenters' immunity. These might grumble as much as they pleased at being nominated merely for the sake of exacting the large fine for the augmentation of the Mansion House Building Fund. In the year 1734 thirty-seven persons, including no doubt a proportion of Nonconformists, were nominated and paid the fine, before the Mayor came to the two men who, as he knew, were prepared to accept the honourable but expensive distinction. But in the case of the few determined Nonconformists who refused either to serve or to pay the fine, it was evident that the by-laws as they stood were insufficient. They left too many loopholes for escape.

A bold course was determined upon. All the pending cases were discharged and a special Committee was appointed to examine the records relating to the election of Sheriffs, to produce copies of the Charters and Acts of Parliament and of the Acts of the Court of Common Council which warranted them in their procedure. And if on examination their own by-laws appeared defective then, the reference ran, they were to draft new and sufficient rules to govern their future prosecutions. To clear the ground, all earlier by-laws were repealed, and after due examination a new Act was passed. And so, under date 7th April, 1748, we have "An Act for Repealing all former Acts, Orders and Ordinances touching the Nomination and Election of Sheriffs of this City of London and Co. of Middlesex, and for regulating and Enforcing such Nominations and Elections for the future." It is fully engrossed on twelve pages of the Journal.¹³ It is clearly stated that, though by ancient custom the Lord Mayor can nominate, the right to nominate and finally to elect rests with the Liverymen assembled at Common Hall.¹⁴ The election took place a little time before the expiry of the terms of the sitting sheriffs, and the normal procedure was that the name of the elect was called out, and he signified his acceptance and entered into a bond of a thousand pounds to enter upon his office upon the appointed day.

¹³ *Journal* 59, ff. 130b-136.

¹⁴ The Liveryman could, and did, adopt the nominees of the Lord Mayor and proceed to their election.

There were reasons for pressing forward with the actions against the recalcitrant Nonconformists without delay; and with renewed assurance on the strength of the new and carefully drafted Act. For though the Sheriffs' fines had now for many years kept the treasury well supplied, this source was not inexhaustible, and to erect and furnish a Mansion House of proper "magnificence" and befitting the "dignity of the City" is a costly affair, especially when carried out by the Corporation themselves, a condition which may add to the substantiality of the building, but does not make for economy; and the same may be said of the custom then prevailing of members of the Council supplying most of the materials required.¹⁵ In any case the Building Committee report in the month of July, 1747, that the new Mansion was covered in, and that a sum of £13,842 was still required—an estimate to be increased later on, and on more than one occasion. They had in hand only £9,460. Moreover, they had thus far only wasted the funds of the City to a lamentable extent in their futile endeavours to get fines out of the few Nonconformists, comparatively, who resisted their unwarranted demands. It was an open inducement to all Nonconformists to follow the example of Coggs and Wightman and Grosvenor. John Paterson, the City Solicitor, who up to this point had conducted the prosecutions, had a bill of costs. Unfortunately for him he did not present it until towards the close of the period of prosecution-activity. By that time the accumulation of costs and the alarming uncertainty of ever getting a penny of them back, led the Committee to scrutinize very strictly every demand made upon them by their lawyers, and Paterson's bill of £1297 6s. 4½d., covering some small items besides the shrieval prosecutions, under the rigid examination of Alderman Dickinson shrank to £554. Large and liberal-handed at the outset, confident of getting the full fine and costs in each case, we shall find the Committee becoming pitiless economists before the end of the story.

We now come to the celebrated case of Streatfield, Sheafe, and Evans, which triumphantly vindicated the action of these Nonconformists and put an end to prosecutions, which, in the light of the facts I have adduced, must surely be regarded as persecutions. The suit lasted from 1751 to 1767;

¹⁵ See *Journal* 60, f. 286 (14 Mar., 1755). Furnishing Accounts' Amounts paid to Deputies Child and Rd. Molineaux, Alderman Alexander, etc.

from the mass of interesting details available I can only outline the narrative of events during these sixteen years.

The hero of the case is Mr. Allen Evans, a wealthy Nonconformist living in Piccadilly. With him were associated Mr. George Streatfield and Mr. Alexander Sheafe; but when the last phase of the trial was reached in the House of Lords, Mr. Evans was again the sole defendant. For the sake of his memory, and to fix the date of the beginning of the suit, I will here transcribe the earliest document in the case. It is a letter from him to the Lord Mayor and Alderman refusing office.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP AND WORSHIPS,

Having been nominated at a Court of Lord Mayor and Alderman the 30th April last, to be publicly put in Nomination for the Offices of Sherifalty of this City and the County of Middlesex, I desire this Honourable Court will be pleased to receive Notice and that the worthy Liverymen may previous to my intended nomination at Coñon Hall, be informed, That I am a Protestant dissenting from the Church of England, and as such have taken the oaths and made and subscribed the Declaration prescribed by law; that I have never taken the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the rites of the Church of England, and that I cannot in conscience take the same according to those Rites.

It is therefore apprehended that my Brethren of the Livery cannot consider me as a fit and proper person for the said Offices; Because by the Corporation Act, No Person is to be elected to those offices that has not within a year next before such election taken the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the Rites aforesaid.

And although I am far from thinking that a Protestant Dissenter merely as such, ought to seek for an exemption from Offices of Burthen: yet in the present case, and under the incapacity aforesaid I must, if chosen, refuse the said offices. Because if I execute the same the Test Act puts this alternative upon me: Either I must take the Holy Sacrament in the manner aforesaid which I cannot do, or be exposed for not doing it to penalties and disabilities extremely severe.

I am may it please y^r L^dship and Worships,

Your L^dship's and Worships' most obed^t serv^t,

ALLEN EVANS.

Piccadilly, 14 May 1751.

In relation to this important action, so intimately connected as it was with the peace and well-being of Nonconformists throughout the land, the City Records Office possesses a large number of interesting documents—copies of declarations, pleas, replications, rejoinders and demurrers, opinions of counsel, notes of the findings of the judges, as well as the *Journals* of the Courts of the Common Council for the period. The most valuable manuscript, however, is a dossier containing

a brief record of the meetings of the Committee of Prosecutions, between forty and fifty meetings in all, ranging from 1745 to the melancholy record of its failure in 1767. The legal proceedings fall into three divisions.

- I. The trial at the Sheriffs' Court and the Court of Hastings—local Courts of Record, whose judges were appointed by the Corporation, and were the legal advisers of that body. The verdict in both courts was against the Non-conformists.
- II. The trial by Writ of Error, instituted by the Nonconformists at the ancient Court of St. Martin's, before the superior judges of the State, sitting as Commissioners.
- III. The trial by Writ of Error, instituted by the Corporation, before the House of Lords.

I. The prosecution of Streatfield, Sheafe, and Evans in the Sheriffs' Court and the Court of Hastings needs only a brief record.

The Court of Common Council issued to the newly-appointed Committee its Order of Reference in September, 1754. Its business was to prosecute vigorously and to employ competent counsel both to advise and to appear for the City when the case was argued before the Courts. Robert Henshaw, a lawyer, resigned his membership of the Committee to become its Attorney. The first meeting was held in the following October.

The first difficulty of the defendants was to get access to the records in the archives of the City relating to the election of Sheriffs. Sheafe and Evans and their attorneys took oath that they could not prepare their case unless this privilege were granted them. In effect it denied them the benefit of legal defence. Many applications were made to the Lord Mayor and the various officials of the Corporation; they were in all cases refused. In the end the defendants filed bills in Chancery, and two years after the beginning of the action were granted by the Lord Chancellor the necessary authority.

Streatfield took no part in this action. He was stated to be "out of jurisdiction," the fact being that the prosecution failed to serve him with a writ. Henshaw kept his eye on that great rendezvous of Congregationalists, Pinners' Hall, but failed to find Streatfield. He therefore placed a man there to keep the spot under observation, but all to no purpose. All we have are two items in Henshaw's bill of costs—his fee of 6s. 8d. for trying to get Scott, Streatfield's attorney,

to accept service on behalf of his client, and 13s. 4d. for the watcher "for attending for near twelve months at Pinners' Hall to serve the defendant." Scott stated that "he could not advise any gentleman to appear voluntarily when he could avoid it, in an Inferior Court, to an action for £600, claimed by those who appoint the Judges and are themselves of the Jury"; and all, as he further added, in opposition to the plain words of the Act. Scott's statement was only too true. The Corporation appointed and paid the salaries of the Under-Sheriffs, who were the judges of the Sheriffs' Court; they appointed and paid a salary to the Recorder, the presiding judge at the Court of Hustings; and freely allowing that these men were as fair-minded as other men in their great profession, it will be generally admitted that where the prosecutors were the men who appointed the judges and feed them, it was an arrangement which did not tend to a perfect unbiassed judgment upon the arguments of the defendant. In the case of the Recorder the protest of Scott deserves even more serious consideration. For when the Committee for conducting the prosecution of Streatfield, Sheafe, and Evans were getting up their case, "the Common Serjeant and the Recorder" were requested to be in attendance to give legal help and advice in framing the indictment. When the case came before the Court of Hustings the point was raised by the counsel for the Nonconformists, that there was a fatal technical flaw in the form of the indictment—and that there was serious ground for their contention may be easily gathered from the remarks of the judges of the higher Court when the case came before them. But the Recorder in his own Court, in judging that there was no technical error in the indictment, was passing a judgment on his own handiwork. And he would indeed be a Phoenix if in a such a situation he could give a wholly unbiassed opinion. However, such was the verdict, with taxed costs against Evans of £95 3s., and against Sheafe, £93 4s. With this verdict given on Dec. 30th, 1758, the case passes from the jurisdiction of these local Courts of Record with their judges and juries, to the adjudication of the State-appointed judges of assize, with results of which in their issue the Nonconformists had little reason to complain.

II. Acting on the advice of the Dissenting Deputies, Sheafe and Evans, in face of the adverse verdict of the City tribunal, obtained from the Lord Keeper, a Writ of Error returnable at the Court of St. Martin's, an ancient Court which originally met in a disused monastic building in St. Martins-le-Grand, and

now held its sittings at the Guildhall or in Serjeant's Inn. It has since been abolished.

The Committee for prosecutions was reconstituted by the City Council and met early in 1759. By 23rd November, Henshaw was able to report that the writs had been issued and a Commission of judges named, under the presiding of Lord Chief Justice Willes. In the three years that elapsed before the case matured the Lord Chief Justice's health failed, and not long after he died. His place was taken by the Lord Chief Baron Parker, and on the Commission were Justices Bathurst and Wilmot. Justice Foster was added to make up the original number. Thus constituted it was a very strong Bench. But the process was slow. The judges had their regular statutory duties to perform, and the special trial at the Court of St. Martin's had to wait their necessary convenience.

In the following Midsummer Henshaw's report was that the 5th November had been fixed to hear the arguments. The whole of the next twelve months was apparently occupied in hearing an argument on the "Frame of the Declaration," that is, the *form* of the indictment presented on behalf of the City. The counsel for Sheafe and Evans had discovered a vital omission in the Declaration. The next news reported to the City Committee is that the further hearing was postponed till the 23rd May, and Henshaw is straitly bidden to ransack the records of the Corporation to find precedents to support their case.

These preliminaries came to an end on 5th July, 1762, when the Court met at the Guildhall to deliver its judgment. The members of the Commission gave their several opinions, beginning with Justice Wilmot and closing with the Lord Chief Baron. They are weighty judgments, and are unanimously and strongly in favour of the Nonconformists. A shorthand note ordered by the Committee of the deliverances of the learned judges is among the Guildhall records.¹⁶

The mass of irrelevances weighting the City's arguments were swept out of the way. The contention of Sheafe and Evans concerning the flaw in the "Frame" of the statement of the case by the City was likewise set aside, not because this contention was unsound, but as the judges pointed out,

¹⁶ This interesting document and the dossier of the Committee's proceedings are in the box labelled, "Sheriffs: Miscellaneous Papers, etc. (1)."

because the issue had been long delayed and in the interests of the country it was desirable that a final judgment should be given on the merits of the case. Judge Wilmot's opinion, apart from its technical arguments on the principles of law called in question by the cases cited by the counsel for the City, is a brilliant defence of the rights of Dissenters under the laws then in force. He shows repeatedly that it is not Sheafe and Evans who have broken the law, but the Corporation, who elected men disqualified by statute for the office of Sheriffs, prohibited indeed under heavy penalties from holding the office. And having themselves violated the statute the City authorities proceed to make their illegality the grounds on which to base an action against these Nonconformists. The members of the Established Church, through the legal disqualifications of the Nonconformists, obtained all the lucrative offices and should be willing to accept the burthensome. The balance, said the Judge, was to their advantage. Moreover, if the office of Sheriff be represented as burthensome, it is nevertheless such an office as rich men are ambitious to fill. The Nonconformists do not, as the counsel of the City allege, "scruple to pay the £400."¹⁷ They have no such scruple. They scruple to take the Sacrament as prescribed; but they refuse to pay the £400 because they do not owe it. Justice Wilmot also disposes of the strange contention that the Nonconformists were sheltered by the Indemnity Acts, for we must assume that the legal advisers of the City had read these enactments. They provide, as the learned Judge pointed out, only temporary protection. They do not cancel the provisions of the Corporation and Tests Acts. The Lord Chief Baron, coming last and summing up the findings of the Bench, emphasizes that the protecting Act had relation only to those in office, not to those who were incapable of accepting office.

The verdict of the Judge-Commissioners was unanimous. They reversed the two former judgments.

III. We have now reached the last stage in our story.

The Corporation regarded the adverse verdict as calamitous, and that they should have expected any other issue to their suit shows how blinded they were by their prejudices. Their special Committee, having meanwhile consulted their counsel, after formally reporting the verdict of the Court, go on to say:

¹⁷ The members who paid their fine, paid £400. But those resisting and allowing their names to go to election were sued for £600.

“The Consequence of which Judgment is, That there is an End of the Actions brought, and the Costs lost which were taxed upon the former Judgments, unless the City bring in a Writ of Error in the House of Lords to affirm the said two Judgments and reverse the judgment last given, Which if the Lords shall think proper to doe, and which the City’s Counsel think they will do, Then the Lords, it is hoped, will award sufficient costs to the City.”¹⁸

The case was not concluded for five years, and in that interval the minds of the Committee were painfully preoccupied with two matters ; one, which betrays itself in the above quotation, is the continual accumulation of costs ; the other, the precarious health of the two Nonconformists they were prosecuting, especially in the face of the law’s delays. It was now eleven years since they began their legal—or illegal—efforts to get the £600 fine from Mr. Allen Evans, only to find themselves at this juncture landed with a large bill of costs.

Henshaw’s Bills becomes one of the most constant and perplexing subjects of the agenda of every meeting of the Committee. At first they are cheerful enough in signing warrants for the bills as they are presented. “Mr. Chamberlain to defray all costs” is the regular appendage to the successive resolutions to proceed with the prosecutions. They can draw upon the Corporation’s deep purse ; besides it is only in the nature of a temporary loan, for they mean that the rebellious Dissenting citizens and freemen, all in good time, shall foot the bill, though they have been disillusioned of the idea that they can win by putting gratuitous obstacles in the way of a legal trial and decision and tiring out the defendants. Before the end it is they that are crying out for a decision of the case on its merits, wearied by the endless technical difficulties which the acute Nonconformists’ counsel interpose between them and the chance of a verdict for the £600 and “sufficient costs.” But they begin buoyantly by asking Henshaw to present his bills quarterly. In the first six months they signed warrants for £138 14s. 4d. Next Spring they paid £198 3s. 6d., and before the end of the year a further sum of £204 2s. 4d. ; in 1756 £423 10s. 6d. ; in 1757 £336 ; in the Spring of 1758 Henshaw’s three bills came to

¹⁸ Guildhall Records. Box labelled “Sheriffs : Misc. Papers, etc. (1).” Paper headed “State of Proceedings,” summary of legal steps (1754-1762) in the prosecution of Sheafe and Evans. The facts given are very interesting, but the dates in more than one instance are obviously wrong.

£291 12s. 4d. The Committee by this time are getting restless, and pass a resolution that all Henshaw's bills from the beginning should be audited. At the close of that same year the taxed costs of the Court of Hustings is £188 7s. In 1759 the bill is £408 5s. 4d., and they sign a warrant for £400; in 1760 they pay £343 13s. 10d. We now skip a year, and in 1762 it is reported that Henshaw's bills cannot be audited for want of dates and details. They also discover that his bills are not inclusive; the Sheriff's attorney had a bill for £126 5s. 8d., and the Junior Registrar of the Mayor's Court a bill for £128 0s. 4d., and both officials appeal to the Committee to put pressure upon Henshaw so that they may be paid. A sub-committee of experts appointed to go thoroughly into the matter make no headway. After much delay Henshaw supplies particulars. I have by me a transcript of some of his accounts. He has no difficulty in making up the sum total. If he goes across the road to the Recorder's office about a replication it is 6s. 8d., and the same for each defendant. At each distinct stage the declarations, replications, rejoinders, demurrers, pleas and counterpleas are so many that we lose count of them, and the six and eightpences cluster about them as thick as blackberries on a bramble. The retaining fees are heavy, the regular court fees increasingly so, as the case advances; copies of documents in an alarming number of folios have to be paid for. There are the clerks of the eminent counsel and Henshaw's own clerk, and subordinate officials of the Courts, all to be gratified. The doorkeeper of the hall has a special gift. The Town Clerk is drawn into the work, and as his salary is only a retaining fee to be eked out by recognized allowances, he is paid twenty guineas, and his clerk five guineas.

All through the later years the Committee have had another anxiety. Streatfield died early in the course of proceedings, and the health of the remaining defendants was but indifferent. Their record told them that since this campaign had started Coggs had died, Wightman had died, and several others, while the suits against them were pending. So far they had not gained a single verdict, and had not recouped themselves a single penny of their costs, to say nothing of the fines. But in 1766, the penultimate year of the trial, they received grave news. The official prosecutor, Harrison, the City Chamberlain, and Alexander Sheafe had both died. The counsel for the City advise that Harrison being only nominally the prosecutor the suit does not abate; also that the claim against

Sheafe—that is against his estate—had better be abandoned, and all efforts be concentrated upon the action against Allen Evans. When they meet they see that they must do their utmost to hasten the trial and they set on record that “Allen Evans, Esquire,” is “a very old man and in an infirm state of health.”¹⁹ But there is nothing to report at the following meeting, so two of their number are deputed to see their counsel, Sir Fletcher Norton, and the Attorney General. Two days later Norton told the Committee that he had seen Henshaw but once during the previous twelve months. By the end of the year they learn that their case is seventh on the list, and again they urge their counsel to be ready; they also approach certain lords to get a motion for early hearing, “for fear,” as they say, “Evans should dye before the case is heard.”²⁰

One is tempted to ask again before describing the last scene in this tragi-comedy, on what grounds the prosecution could hope for a favourable verdict. In the long list of legal authorities, among them distinguished jurists, outside the judges appointed by the City, only one judge could say a word in favour of their view. And of Baron Perrott's argument little was left when Lord Mansfield had completed his great speech at the close of the trial. It is difficult to explain why they should court defeat and loss, by presenting so absurd a plea as theirs was, except that they were blinded by their religious prejudices. They shared the widely-prevailing reactionary and bigoted feelings of the times, and so persuaded themselves that their charters and by-laws were superior to the laws of the country, and that Dissent being an evil thing in itself, while it deprived its adherents of all offices of honour and profit and loaded them with all manner of social and educational disadvantages, should justly be penalized by being compelled to pay a handsome contribution to building the Lord Mayor's palace. An interesting glimpse of their attitude of mind is given in a question on which the City solicitor, when conducting the prosecution of Mr. Wightman, the brewer, wished to obtain learned counsel's opinion. Does not the Act, he asks, which allows exemption, “tend to encourage people to Dissent from (rather) than to come over to the established Church? This argument, it is added, had great weight in former cases.”²¹

¹⁹ Dossier of Committee, 20 March, 1766.

²⁰ Dossier, 12 Nov.

²¹ Box referred to already. MS. endorsed “Bosworth [City Chamberlain] v. Wightman.” I have not come across the counsel's opinion.

The trial, with all its important bearings on religious liberty, came at last before the House of Lords in the beginning of 1767. On January 21st and 22nd it was argued by the counsel of the respective parties. The judges took a week to prepare their answers to the question, whether on the admitted pleadings the Defendants could object to the validity of their election under the terms of the Corporation Act. Six of the Judges supported the Nonconformists in their objection, the seventh, Baron Perrott, favoured the City. In their final report the Committee for Prosecutions try to find comfort in the excellent deliverance of the Baron, "who with great clearness and perspicuity," and so forth. They do not, however, state that the points were demolished in the speech by Lord Mansfield, who rose in his place immediately and made a great and historic declaration in favour of religious liberty. His lordship, having shown *seriatim* that the action instituted by the City failed at every point, went on to declare that—

"It is no crime for a man to say that he is a Dissenter, no crime not to take the Sacrament according to the Church of England. The crime is if he does take it contrary to the dictates of his conscience."

"There never was a single instance from the Saxon times down to our own, in which a man was ever punished for erroneous opinions concerning rites and modes of worship, but upon some positive law. The Common Law of England, which is only common reason or usage, knows of no prosecution for mere opinions."—

and the positive laws are repealed by the Act of Toleration. He then finely declares that

"Nothing is more opposed to the rights of human nature and the Principles of Christianity, more iniquitous and unjust, more impolitic, than persecution."

At this point he turns with withering sarcasm to the practice of the Corporation. He commends their method to the attention of the French in dealing with the Jesuits. "Let them pass a law rendering them incapable of office and then persecute them for not serving. If they accept punish them; if they refuse punish them."

"The by-law," he says, "placing Dissenters in this dilemma was passed by a Corporation, contrary to the law of the land; made long after the Corporation and the Toleration Acts and therefore knowing them to be existing; made in some year of the late King, I forget

which, but it was *about the time of the building of the Mansion House.*"

This meant, said his Lordship, the abrogation of the Toleration Act. Under it a Dissenter could be made to pay £600, or any sum they liked. The pretence was that they were bound to find fit and proper persons to serve. He then proceeds—

"But were I to deliver my own suspicion, it would be that they did not so much wish for their services as for their fines. Dissenters have been appointed to this office, one who was blind, another who was bed-ridden; not, I suppose, on account of their being fit and able to serve the office. No; they were disabled both by nature and by law. . . . In the case before your Lordships the Defendant was by law incapable at the time of his pretended election: and it is my firm persuasion that he was chosen because he was incapable. If he had been capable he had not been chosen; for they did not want him to serve the office. . . . They chose him that he might fall under the penalty of their by-law, made to serve a particular purpose. In opposition to which, and to avoid the fine thereby imposed he hath pleaded a legal disability grounded on two Acts of Parliament. As I am of opinion that his plea is good, I conclude with moving your Lordships that the Judgment be confirmed."²²

The judgment was immediately confirmed *nemine contradicente*. The Deputies, not being out for costs, which in the House are by order limited, although invited by several lords to apply for them, declined. In their record they explain the various devices resorted to by the City to increase the costs and tire them out and so to relinquish the contest. They conclude their account by saying that—

"By this decision the important question in which the property, not to say the liberties, and even the lives of Protestant Dissenters were so much involved, was finally set at rest."

As to the fine old Christian patriot and gentleman Allen Evans we read that—

"he was sufficiently sensible when the cause was determined to receive the information, and to express, with a

²² Large extracts from Lord Mansfield's speech are given in the *Dissenting Deputies' Sketch* (1813), pp. 31-37, taken from *Letters to Mr. Justice Blackstone*, by Ph. Furneaux, D.D. (Second ed. 1771.)

166 Contributions of the Nonconformists to the

faint smile and faltering accents, the satisfaction it afforded him in the immediate prospect of death."²³

There are three conclusions to this narrative.

1. The sum of the contributions of Nonconformists to the building of the Mansion House cannot with our present knowledge be stated. At the beginning of the trial of Streatfield, Sheafe, and Evans, the Deputies reckon it at £15,000. A moderate estimate would add a similar sum for the remaining period. They were not the only or, as I think, the principal contributors. Nor does Fletcher, the Congregational historian says so, nor Mackennal, nor Stoughton, nor Dale.²⁴
2. The illegality of the action of the Corporation was gross, and was part of a widespread movement, shared by London, to deny to Nonconformists the measure of liberty granted them by the Toleration Act, and to resist their further enfranchisement by the repeal of the Corporation, Test, and other persecuting statutes.
3. The fines were imposed to get money for the Mansion House and not to provide a succession of Sheriffs. And so obvious illegal were the demands that in the light of what has been said above it is difficult not to assign the prosecutions to religious malice and bigotry.

If the names of the Nonconformists included in the following list could be identified, the sum of the fines contributed by Nonconformists to the Mansion House Building Fund would be finally determined.

LIST OF FREEMEN FINED FOR NOT ACCEPTING THE SHRIEVALTY.

The payment of the fine of £400 is not entered in the Chamberlain's Accounts after the year 1730 until the year 1769; that is, during the building of the Mansion House, when the amounts went direct to the Building Committee. All the following are described as having "paid their Fines" and an acknowledgment is made of the sum of 20 marks (£13 6s. 8d.) paid by each toward "the maintenance of the ministry of the several prisons of this City." If we could trace the names of all the Nonconformists in the following list we should know the exact sum contributed by them to the erection of the Lord Mayor's palace.

²³ The *Sketch* (ed. 1813), pp. 25-39.

²⁴ The words of Dale are perhaps ambiguous.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1729* James Chambers, Goldsmith.
William Coward, Hatband-maker.
Sir Wm. Jolliffe, Mercer.</p> <p>1730 Sir Roger Hudson, Goldsmith.
Samuel Ball, Salter.
Stephen Ram, Goldsmith.
John Hopkins, Dyer.
Christopher Spicer, Fishmonger.
John Gould, Draper.</p> <p>1731 No entry.</p> <p>1732 Michael Hillersdon, Mercer.</p> <p>1733 Peter Theobalds, Barber Surgeon.
Stephen Perry, Clothworker.
Theophilus Dillington, Merchant taylor.
Richard Chase, Ironmonger.
Thomas Mayle, Spectacle maker.
Joseph Beachcroft, Haberdasher.
Caleb Cotesworth, M.D., Barber Surgeon.
Benjn. Hooper, Salter.
George Russell, Loriner (<i>sic</i>).
Josias Nicholson, Brewer.
Edward Strong, Mason.
Sir John Lade, Bart., Leather-seller.
Thomas Walker, Ironmonger.
Ralph Ratcliffe, Loriner.
Richard Chiswell, Mercer.
Bartholomew Clarke, Cooper.
Nathl. Garland, Mercer.
Thomas Martin, Goldsmith.
Wight Woolley, Mercer.
Abraham Atkins, Blacksmith.
John Lansdel, Goldsmith.
Jacob Tonson, Stationer.
Jacob Tonson, Jr., Stationer.
John Howard, Upholder.
Henry Collins, Vintner.
Richard Morson, Goldsmith.
John Yaldwin, Haberdasher.
Nathl. Newnham, Mercer.
Sir Wm. Perkins, Tallow-chandler.
Humphrey Thayer, Skinner.</p> | <p>1733 William Cam, Merchant Taylor.
Thomas Snow, Goldsmith.
David Petty, Mercer.
Benjamin Moyer, Mercer.
Benjamin Hoare, Goldsmith.
Seth Gibson, Mercer.
Percival Lewis, Draper.</p> <p>1734 No entry.</p> <p>1735 Arthur Dabbs, Goldsmith.
William Rawstorne, Grocer.
William Nicholas, Dyer.
John Shipton, Barber Surgeon.
William Parkin, Ironmonger.
John Morse, Goldsmith.</p> <p>1736 Joseph Shaw, Draper.
Robert Fferguson, Glass Seller.
Lawrence Victorine, Ironmonger.
Samuel Swynfen, fishmonger
Joseph Barrett, Weaver.
Thomas Diggles, Woollman.</p> <p>1737 John Cosins, Bowyer.
Arthur Harris, Haberdasher.
Philip Scarth, Grocer.
Peter Hanssen, Gasier.
Charles Hosier, Goldsmith.
John Marlow, Broiderer.</p> <p>1738 Thomas Trotman, Salter.
Humphrey South, fishmonger.</p> <p>1739 Thomas Morris, Weaver.
William Chauncer, Mercer.
Thomas Knapp, Haberdasher.
John Palmer, Tallow Chandler.</p> <p>1740 Benjamin Devinck, Girdler.
John Eaton, Mercer.
William Davis, Stationer.
Thomas Le Gendre, Draper.
Thomas Snell, Draper.</p> <p>1741 Thomas Vernon, Haberdasher.
Thomas Cooke, Mercer.
William Ffinch, Leather-seller.
John Peck, Dyer.</p> |
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* The full entry in the Chamberlain's Accounts is " James Chambers, Esquire, Citizen and Goldsmith " ; and similarly in the other entries.

168 Contributions of the Nonconformists to the

- 1741 Charles Edgerton, Haberdasher.
Francis Musters, Skinner.
- 1743 Richard Symons, Fishmonger.
John Bloss, Haberdasher.
Charles Polhill, Merchant taylor.
Thomas Longman, Stationer.
Sir Philip Hall, Distiller.
Robert Evans, Plummer (*sic*).
Henry Neale, Cooper.
- 1744 William Petty, Barber Surgeon.
Samuel Remnant, Glover.
Thomas Ripley, Carpenter.
James Langston, Vintner.
Andrew Jeff, Mason.
John Parkes, Mercer.
- 1745 Edward Barker, Salter.
George Roberts, Clothworker.
Abram Dakin, Clothworker.
Robert Purse, Grocer.
Thomas Ashurst, Salter.
Robert Milner, Upholder.
Henry Fliteroff, Joyner.
- 1746 Jeremiah Knapp, Wax-chandler.
Dudley Foley, Haberdasher.
- 1747 [By-laws redrafted and pending cases discharged this year.]
- 1748 Fraser Honeywood, Merchant Taylor.
William Reynolds, Weaver.
Edward Robinson, Salter.
- 1749 Thomas Green, Fletcher.
Daniel Collyer, Vintner.
- 1750 Richard Knollys, Skinner.
John Girt, Surgeon.
Nathaniel Wilks, Distiller.
Thomas Morson, Mercer.
Edward Radcliffe, Salter.
James Theobalds, Barber.
William Hulls, Pewterer.
- 1751 Richard Kent, Fishmonger.
Robert Carey, Salter.
- 1752 John Holmes, Innholder.
Joseph Dash, Grocer.
John Waters, Draper.
- 1752 Thomas Brookes, Broderer.
- 1753 John Reeves, Fishmonger.
Benjamin Adamson, Fishmonger.
- 1754 No entry.
- 1755 Roger Drake, Skinner.
William Sitwell, Ironmonger.
John Payne, Haberdasher.
Samuel Wilson, Cooper.
Thomas Bigg, Surgeon.
William Stevens, Grocer.
Bourchier Cleeve, Pewterer.
John Turnpenny, Distiller.
Jeremiah Redwood, Musician.
Claude Bosanquet, Fishmonger.
Thomas Overbury, Vintner.
William Tennant, Mercer.
Robert Marsh, Fishmonger.
- 1756 John Fisher, Draper.
John Gwill, [Company not given].
William Jephson [Company not given].
- 1757 Joseph Pratt, Tyler and Bricklayer.
John Crutchfield, Painter-stainer.
Joseph Newdick, Fletcher.
- 1758 Henry Marsh [Company not given].
Thomas Bray, Weaver.
John Roberts, Dyer.
- 1759 — Whichcott, Skinner.
Jeremiah Marlow, Grocer.
Richard Astley, Grocer.
*Jacob Tonson, Stationer.
Edward Proudfoot, Glover.
- 1760 George Lee, Goldsmith.
John Skey, Draper.
Henry Hoare, Goldsmith.
George Jennings, Distiller.
Allington, Wild, Stationer.
Joseph Vere, Goldsmith.
*Richard Tonson, Stationer.
- 1761 George Jervis, Currier.
- 1762 Edward Coldham, Mercer.
Richard Ireland, Tallow Chandler.

* See under 1733, Jacob Tonson: father and son (the well-known publishers).

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|---|--|
| <p>1762 Sir John Glanvell, Apothecary.
Philip Bromfield, Grocer.</p> <p>1763 Nathanael Brassey, Goldsmith.
Thomas Tash, Brewer.
Cutts Maydwell, Mercer.
John Small, Salter.
James Vere, Merchant Taylor.
Stafford Briscoe, Clothworker
Thomas Crozier, Salter.</p> <p>1764 James Carter, Mason.
John Marsh, Skinner.
James Harding, Clothworker.
Richard Chiswell, Mercer.
Thos. Skinner, Coach and Coach Harness Maker.
John Lane, Grocer.
Robert Proctor, Fishmonger.
William Lethieullier, Clothworker.</p> <p>1765 Israel Skinner, Cooper.
Thomas Figuet, Dyer.
John Hookham, Mercer.</p> | <p>1765 Thomas Burdett, Ironmonger</p> <p>1766 Peter Godfrey, Mercer.
Samuel White, Goldsmith.
John Elmes, Musician.
William Margesson, Draper.
Giles Grendy, Joiner.</p> <p>1767 Henry Allcroft, Wiredrawer.
John Hodges, Glover.
Reuben Foxwell, Clothworker.
John Moseley, Fishmonger.
William Knight, Mercer.
Lillie Aynscombe, Cooper.
Richard Salway, Goldsmith.
Samuel Butler, Coach and Coach harness Maker.</p> <p>1768 No entry.</p> <p>1769 Sir Benjamin Truman, Loriner.
Bartholomew Price, Painter-stainer.
Daniel Bayne, Grocer.
Richard Bristow, Grocer.
Richard Brooke, Stationer.</p> |
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This last-noted year, the fine (£400) is entered for each of the above persons, presumably because the special Mansion House Building Fund was now closed. In 1784 the fines that were appropriated for the building of the Mansion House were assigned by the Common Council to the purposes of Blackfriars Bridge. It was stated above that the building was partly occupied about 1755 ; but its furnishing and completion were not accomplished for many years. Bills were being examined and passed in 1767, which is as far as our examination of the Journals has gone.

Some Hymns and Hymnbooks

(Continued from page 142.)

This same hymn introduces what I want to say about the place we Dissenters give to hymns in divine service. You remember that the hymn contains an interesting startling word :

Was not for you the victim slain ?
Are you forbid the children's bread ?

Victim : hardly the expression that conventional notions lead us to expect a Protestant Dissenter, writing in the basest of Latitudinarian times, to use at the Lord's Table ? *Victim* : it is the word of the Roman Mass, too strong for the *Book of Common Prayer* : it is the highest of high sacrificial doctrine. Yes, but it is *there* : Doddridge said it.

Now hear Wesley. There is between the Wolds and the sea in Wesley's county (and mine) within riding distance of Lincoln Cathedral the pitiful ruin of Bardney Abbey, left as Henry VIII. and his followers left it, when they had no more use for it ; they had melted down the bells and the lead on the roof and stolen the sacred vessels. You may see the place in the centre of the nave of the abbey church where they lit their fire and melted the lead ; and you may see more. You may see close by, unharmed because it was only of use to pious men, the altar of the five wounds of Christ, with its five signs of the cross ; one in each corner and one in the centre. Who thought of this or the five wounds in 18th century England ? Who preserved the continuity of Christian devotion in Bardney ? Not those Anglican farmers of Bardney, who carted away the Abbey stones to build their cowsheds. But Wesley was teaching their Methodist labourers that same catholic and evangelical faith, that "Enthusiasm," hateful to bishops and scorned by modernists, in almost the same accents as the Bardney monks had known. Within a stone's throw of the altar of the five wounds, the Methodists were singing :

Weary souls, that wander wide
From the central point of bliss,
Turn to Jesus crucified,
Fly to those dear wounds of His.

* * * *

Five bleeding wounds He bears,
 Received on Calvary ;
 They pour effectual prayers,
 They strongly plead for me.

Superstitious cult of the five wounds, says the critic. I know nothing of that ; but it is odd, is it not ? to find the language of medieval devotion coming back by the lips not of archbishops and deans in apostolic succession, but of Doddridge and Wesley. This language, these images of

The Master's marred and wounded mien,
 His hands, His feet, His side.

(to use Montgomery's words), I am aware, have come once again to be familiar in the thoughts and speech of all English Christians, Anglican and Nonconformist, for they could not permanently be lost unless Christian emotion was itself to perish. They had been wrongfully omitted by the Arianism and Latitudinarianism of the 18th century. But the way of their return : that it is that interests me, first by hymns and afterwards by catholic ornaments. It reminds us of the possibility, or is it a probability ? that the modern Romish worship of the Sacred Heart of Jesus took its origin from a devotional book by Oliver Cromwell's Congregational chaplain, Thomas Goodwin, *The Heart of Christ in Heaven towards Sinners on Earth*.

So, in piety, do extremes agree : Catholic and Evangelical meet, and kiss one another at the Cross.

Hymns are for us, Dissenters, what the liturgy is for the Anglican. They are the framework, the setting, the conventional, the traditional part of divine service as we use it : they are, to adopt the language of the ecclesiologists, the Dissenting Use. That is why we understand and love them as no one else does. You have only to attend Anglican services to discover that the Anglican, though he can write a hymn, cannot use it. It does not fit the Prayer Book service, it jars ; it does not harmonize. The Anglican, because he has what Barrow justly called " England's sublime liturgy," has been careless of other liturgies, like the liturgy of hymns. He has about as much feeling for the correct liturgical use of hymns as Dr. Orchard has for the correct liturgical use of collects ; I cannot put it stronger or fairer. It is with hymns and collects as it is with " hands " in riding—you must be born with them. An Anglican Dean to whom in

other respects no one could deny the adjective "educated" will choose as a hymn before a sermon.

O worship the King
All glorious above,

a tolerable rhyme, useful to usher in late comers, but a most inadequate preparation for the Preaching of the Word. What you want a Methodist local preacher knows by instinct :

Come, Holy Ghost, for moved by Thee
The Prophets wrote and spoke.
Unlock the Truth, Thyself the key,
Unseal the sacred Book.

Inspirer of the Ancient Seers
Who wrote from Thee the sacred page,
The same through all succeeding years
To us in our degenerate age,
The Spirit of Thy word impart
And breathe the life into our heart.

And what is true of Anglicans is almost as true of Presbyterians. They have their metrical psalms. They can use them; we cannot. But hymns! why, they have as much feeling for hymns as for the proper use of *will* and *shall*, and *should* and *would*.

We English Dissenters, on the other hand, mark times and seasons, celebrate festivals, express experiences, and expound doctrines by hymns.¹ There is but one hymn with which

¹ The two village services which I attended on Easter Day perfectly illustrate this contrast between the Anglicans and ourselves. In the Parish Church you hear the appropriate liturgy of the Resurrection: the Proper Preface in the Communion, the Proper Collect; and in place of the *Venite* commonly sung at Matins the Proper Anthem, "Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us therefore let us keep the feast." Those things any person familiar with the Prayer Book could prophesy would come; but the hymns, they were a gamble: one could not be sure what the vicar would choose. I feared the worst and was right. But in the evening at the chapel, though I was uncertain about the prayers, there was no gamble about the hymns. I *knew* we should have Charles Wesley's Easter hymn, *Christ the Lord is risen to-day*, with its 24 Alleluias; and we did have it. Among any Dissenters worth the name that hymn is as certain to come on Easter Day as the Easter collect in the Established Church. And mark this further—those 24 Alleluias are not there for nothing: *Alleluia* is the appropriate Easter response which comes down to us from the most venerable liturgies. Our hymns are our liturgy; an excellent one. Let us study it, respect it, use it, develop it, and boast of it.

the Wesleyan Conference can open its annual session, "For the Society on meeting" :

And are we yet alive
And see each other's face ?
Glory and praise to Jesus give
For His redeeming grace.

What troubles have we seen,
What conflicts have we past,
Fightings without and fears within
Since we assembled last.

There is one hymn without which no Watch-Night service is complete :

Come, let us anew
Our journey pursue,
Roll round with the year,
And never stand still till the Master appear.

We recite no creed, because our hymns are full of the form of sound words :

Let earth and heaven combine,
Angels and men agree,
To praise in songs Divine
The Incarnate Deity
Our God contracted to a span,
Incomprehensibly made man.

"The Father incomprehensible, the Son incomprehensible, the Holy Ghost incomprehensible" : it is the word of the Athanasian Creed. Every clause in the Nicene and in the Athanasian Creed has its parallel in our hymnbooks ; and if we use no crucifix, no stations of the cross, no processions, no banners, no incense, you must attribute it not to the fancy that we have no need nor appreciation of what these things represent, but to the fact that our hymns revive the sacred scenes and stir the holy emotions with a power and a purity denied to all but the greatest craftsmen. There are pictures of the crucifixion that rival, and perhaps excel, the passion hymns of Watts and Wesley ; but those pictures are to be sought in distant lands by the few and the wealthy for a few moments only. The hymnbook offers masterpieces for all who have an ear to hear, every day and in every place, to every worshipper. When I am informed that Dissenting worship is bare and cold, making no appeal to the emotions because it does not employ the tawdry and flashy productions of fifth rate ecclesiastical art-mongers, I am at no loss for an answer.

I am only at a loss when I am asked to explain why, holding these treasures, we turn so often from them—the great passionate, doctrinal, emotional hymns—to the pedestrian rhymers of ethical commonplaces.

Out of all this come two sets of general observations. If you grant that this is, at least among us Dissenters, the true place of the hymn in worship it follows, first, that the selection of the hymns, the setting of the framework upon which the whole service is to hang, the choice of the liturgy for the day, this goes, of right and of duty, to the minister. The selection of hymns by organists and choirmasters, or the gambling of them between the organist and the minister in the vestry ten minutes before the service begins—these are abuses that explain the confusion that commonly marks the progress of our services, confusion of thought I mean. You cannot tell where you will be next, what has been done, what is still to come. The separate parts of the service are not distinct, not articulated. There are two prayers; but what is the difference except the difference of length? It is often hard to tell. The same ground is traversed in each; too hurriedly first and afterwards too leisurely. And the hymns, if chosen at random, traverse the same ground. I take an extreme example: if a minister chooses (as he never should) that general gaol delivery hymn of Bonar: *When the weary, seeking rest, to Thy goodness flee*, he has clearly provided at that service with more than ample adequacy for general intercessions and he ought not to do it all over again in his prayer; and (if he thinks of what he is doing) he will not. But if Bonar's hymn is let off at him by an organist who likes the tune (and such there be,) and the minister has provided for intercession on the same lines in his prayer, then he must either improvise a fresh plan of service and prayer or repeat the same feature of service—two very bad things. Don't tell me that I have forgotten the tune problem; I have not. I allow the organist all his rights there; and I will not bar him from the absolute choice of some few hymns, if he selects them well in advance, and informs the minister before the minister plans his service. But as I protected the text of the hymns from the antiquarian, so I would protect their tunes from the mere musician. The glory of God, not of composers or even of organ builders, is the end of divine service.

My second observation turns on this question, which having suffered so much you have a right to put to me: what do you

think makes a good hymn? and, as some would go on, why cannot we write good hymns now? In answer to the second part of that question I should reply that we both can and do write good hymns to-day. They are, no doubt, difficult to find; but good things were always difficult to find in anyone's contemporaries; they were always smothered by rubbish, as they are to-day; and you must give the rubbish time to die down. The 19th century, as I have tried to show, produced some great hymns, some of the greatest; but it is not until the Havergals and the Bonars and the Fabers begin to droop and wither that we can see what is really there. I make no question but that it is the same to-day. "Wait and see" is the only wise, as it is the only liberal policy.

We return to the other part of the enquiry: what makes a good hymn? Two groups of hymns, which seem to me to be the best and which every competent judge will allow to be at least undeniably good—the evangelical hymns of the 18th century and the medieval hymns of the Latin Church—may supply the answer. Now if you look at the evangelical group you notice two things: first, these hymns combine personal experience with a presentation of historic events and doctrines. Full of the intensest and most individual passion as they are, they contain more than that; the writers look back from their own experience to those experiences of Incarnate God on which their faith was built. And this gives them a steadiness, a firmness, a security against mere emotionalism and sentimentality which more recent writers, trying to lay bare their souls, have found it difficult to avoid. Look first for instance at this 19th century hymn:

I lift my heart to Thee,
Saviour Divine;
For Thou art all to me,
And I am Thine.
Is there on earth a closer bond than this,
That "My Beloved's mine and I am His"?

To Thee, Thou bleeding Lamb,
I all things owe;
All that I have and am,
And all I know.
All that I have is now no longer mine,
And I am not mine own; Lord, I am Thine.

I choose purposely a hymn of unquestionable sincerity and of doctrine as like as may be to that of the 18th century

evangelical so that no extraneous differences may confuse the issue. But you notice the almost morbid self-consciousness of the writer ; throughout five verses he ploughs through his own hopes and experiences and emotions and has hardly time to make even an indirect reference to anything outside his own feelings.²

A great hymn of the 18th century describing a similar frame of mind and heart is familiar enough to us all. Notice how rapidly it glances from the writer's experience to that Divine experience and passion that is the very foundation of the writer's hope.

And can it be, that I should gain
 An interest in the Saviour's blood ?
 Died He for me who caused His pain ?
 For me who Him to death pursued ?
 Amazing love ! how can it be
 That Thou, my God, should'st die for me ?

He left His Father's throne above,
 So free, so infinite His grace,
 Emptied Himself of all but love
 And bled for Adam's helpless race :
 'Tis mercy all, immense and free ;
 For O my God it found out me.

Long my imprison'd spirit lay
 Fast bound in sin and nature's night ;
 Thine eye diffused a quick'ning ray ;
 I woke ; the dungeon flam'd with light ;
 My chains fell off ; my heart was free,
 I rose, went forth, and followed Thee.

It is not less personal than the other hymn ; but it has more of that other, the godward quality. And notice how carefully the writer expresses his experience of liberation in the words of St. Peter's deliverance from prison. It is as if, knowing how difficult it is to express religious emotion without nauseating sentimentality, he were timid about going outside the language already well tested for the expression of religious emotion, individual as his emotion may be.³

You have the supreme example of this transmuting our own experience into a classical, scriptural, authorized form, purging out all unworthy self-centredness and yet keeping it all the more alive for the change, in the greatest of Charles Wesley's

² The same is true of *O Love, that will not let me go*.

³ Contrast in the same way consecutive hymns in the *Hymnal*, the 19th century Buber's *I would commune with Thee, my God*, with Wesley's *Talk with us, Lord, Thyself reveal*.

hymns, *Come, O Thou Traveller unknown*. Here under the form of Jacob wrestling with the angel he tells of his own spiritual conversion.

It is this quality, I am persuaded, that John Wesley had in mind when he commended his brother's hymns as *scriptural*. It was a merit in Wesley's eyes not because of any rigidly bibliolatrous notions but because, as a scholar and a gentleman, he liked to see great things clothed in great language.

And this brings us to the other quality of these 18th century hymn writers. They were trained in the school of the Greek and Latin classics; and this gave them not only a knowledge of metre and a facility in verse-making that no other training can give, but also a mastery of the art of allusion—deft, relevant, and appropriate. What he had done at Westminster and Oxford to the mythology, the poets, and the orators of Greece and Rome, Charles Wesley in later life continued to do to the Scriptures. That is why every verse of his 2,000 hymns contains a scriptural allusion.

You see what this meant not only for Charles Wesley but for all that antiquity-ridden century. It had, because of the form of its secular education, a training in expressing its own experience in conventional images which few recent writers have had. The age of the romantic poets that followed produced greater poetry, but lesser hymns. Hymn-writers follow, at a distance, the fashions of writing prevalent in the highest circles; and so long as poetic thought of all sorts found a strictly metrical expression, the hymn-writers (who *must* use rather rigid metres) could work easily because they were swimming with the current of their day; but after the romantic poets had burst the bonds of metre and no self-respecting person wrote "verses" any more, the hymn-writer found himself fighting against the current of poetic fashion or left in a backwater. The best people no longer wrote L.M. or S.M. or C.M. or 6-8s., but only P.M. The classical art of allusion to well-known events and the use of conventional metaphors were now the sign of an inferior mind; and if there be anything in my contention about the value of a union of personal experience with references to the historic events on which the Faith is built, it is clear that the 19th century writers were at a disadvantage when they wrote hymns in trying to express themselves in language mostly their own, with less borrowing from the rich treasury of the Christian classics—the Scriptures.

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The other class of the greatest hymns that I mentioned—the medieval Latin and Greek hymns translated for the most part by the Oxford Movement people—illustrates a similar thesis. What is the almost magical charm of hymns like *All glory laud and honour* ; and *O happy band of pilgrims* ? No one can say with certainty, but simplicity—both of thought and expression, the simplicity of children and the Kingdom of Heaven—is an element in it. And the simplicity, if you look closely at it, consists in this : the writer takes an event in the life of our Lord and after the plainest mention of it joins with it some petition or reflexion which concerns his own life.

The people of the Hebrews
 With palms before Thee went ;
 Our praise and prayer and anthems
 Before Thee we present.
 To Thee before Thy Passion
 They sang their hymns of praise ;
 To Thee now high exalted
 Our melody we raise.

The Cross that Jesus carried
 He carried as your due ;
 The Crown that Jesus weareth
 He weareth it for you.

It is the art that conceals art ; but I believe the elements are the same as in the great 18th century hymns.

And lastly, the greatest hymns are Christian ; thoroughly and irrevocably Christian ; and when I say Christian I mean that they concern Christ, not that they are what is called Christian in spirit, or indirectly or unconsciously Christian,

My heart is full of Christ, and longs
 Its glorious matter to declare.
 Of Him I make my loftier songs . . .

that is the confession of the greatest hymn-writers. They go back to the New Testament and especially to the Gospels. They are not merely theistic like the psalm paraphrases : great as some of those are, they miss the highest note. Even *O God of Bethel* or *Through all the changing scenes of life* strike with a faint chill of Old Testament theology the disciple who has sat at Jesus' feet. Still less are the greatest hymns songs of human aspiration or human fellowship. Dare I say it ? Bunyan's pilgrim song is not among the greatest hymns for precisely this reason. I know its excellencies ; I yield to no

one in love of Bunyan ; but there, at any rate, he does not go deep enough. Not good fellowship, but Christ, is the subject of the greatest hymns.

That is why all the greatest hymns are orthodox, and why we Dissenters have preserved intact (even better than Churches with more elaborate safeguards) the full catholic and evangelical faith. Hymns are the safest protection and the surest vehicle of orthodoxy. The language of the greatest hymns in all ages and in all communions is the same.

Thou art the King of Glory, O Christ ;
Thou art the everlasting Son of the Father.
When Thou tookest upon Thee to deliver man
Thou didst not abhor the Virgin's womb.
When Thou hadst overcome the sharpness of death
Thou didst open the Kingdom of Heaven to all believers.

So says the *Te Deum* : and Charles Wesley goes on

Then let us sit beneath His cross
And gladly catch the healing stream :
All things for Him account but loss
And give up all our hearts to Him.
Of nothing think or speak beside,
My Lord, my Love, is crucified.

BERNARD L. MANNING.

John Moore of Tiverton.

IN *Trans.*, vol. VI., p. 143, some account is given of the Tiverton Academy, over which this half-forgotten worthy presided from about 1721 till his death. A list of his students, as nearly complete as could be compiled, is there given; but the article is marred by several inaccuracies which will now be corrected.

Some years ago the Congregational Library acquired by purchase a MS. volume containing entries relating to Devon and Somerset in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is six inches high, four inches broad, and seven-eighth inches thick; it was originally used for memoranda of receipts and payments, between 1651 and 1681, by Rev. Henry Berry, the ejected minister of Dulverton. The 110 pages thus occupied are of some antiquarian interest, as showing the current prices of various commodities at the time. Subsequently the volume came into the possession of Moore, who used it for a diary and household cash-book. The entries, in a very small but legible hand, extend from June 25th, 1705, to June 17th, 1721. Inserted is a loose leaf, containing a brief summary of his domestic joys and sorrows down to the date when the diary commences. From this diary, together with a few notes from the minutes of the Exeter Assembly, kindly furnished by Rev. G. Eyre Evans, the following sketch is compiled.

John Moore was the son of John and Elizabeth Moore of Great Torrington. We have no information either as to the date of his birth, his early years, or his education; but Dunsford, in his *Memorials of Tiverton*, calls him "A sensible and learned man." About 1686 he became chaplain in the household of S. Baker, Esquire, at Wattisfield, Suffolk, and gave pulpit assistance to the aged pastor, Edmund Whincop, on whose death, in 1687, he was invited to become his successor. This invitation he declined, and made his abode in Tiverton, where there were already three Dissenting congregations. One of these, known later as "The Steps Meeting," was Presbyterian, and had been founded by Theophilus Polwhele, the ejected minister of St. Peter's: one, called "The Pitt Meeting," was Independent; and one was Baptist. Mr. Polwhele died in April, 1689, and was succeeded by Samuel

Bartlett, the son of an ejected minister in Dorset, who for some time had been his assistant. But the arrangement evidently did not give entire satisfaction, as a secession took place, and Mr. Moore became pastor of the seceders. It is uncertain under what circumstances he had come to Tiverton. By one account it was as assistant to the Rev. R. Saunders of the "Pitt Meeting." However, he was ordained on 29th July (by another account, the 8th), 1691. He had on 30th January, 1689-90, married Mary, daughter of the Rev. Henry Berry. By her he had six children, two of whom died in infancy. He relates that his eldest daughter, Mary, "was baptised on y^e 3rd day of May [1691], by Mr. Stephen Towgood of Axminster in my meeting-place in Tiverton." This, it will be observed, was before his ordination, and it is doubtful whether "my meeting-place" was "the Pitt," or some temporary location held by the seceders. He afterwards ministered in a Meeting-house in Peter Street. Of the building of this Meeting-house the only traces we find in the diary are the following :

"Nov. 26 [1706]: Laid out towards y^e building of y^e Meeting-place by Mr. Bellamy's desire in paying Sister Milford what he has borrowed of her, 5 £ ."

"March 25, 1707: Lent Mr. Bellamy in what he accounted unto me as laid out more towards y^e building of y^e Meeting-place—6 £ ."

In 1706 there are also several entries of "Given to y^e workmen at y^e meeting, 6d." An entry on 31st December, 1706, "Given at y^e meeting on y^e Thanksgiving," may refer to a Thanksgiving on the completion of the work.

Mrs. Moore died in 1700, and was buried in the parish church, where two of her children were already interred. "Her funeral sermon was preached in my meeting-place by Mr. Robert Carel of Crediton, on Luke 10c. 42v."

Mr. Moore was not long a widower. On 22nd May, 1701, he married Mary Hooper, daughter of Zaccheus and Anne Hooper of Bridgwater. By her he had two sons and one daughter, of whom only the younger son survived her. Mrs. Moore the second seems to have suffered from a painful disorder; and scarcely less from grief at the death of her daughter, who did not complete her fourth year. Of this little "Betty" her father writes :

"A very forward pleasant child, y^t endeared herself much by her affectionate carriage, pretty humour, sprightliness, and witty talk, and readiness to learn what was taught her. . . . The good Lord seal up instructions by this stroke of prov."

Mrs. Moore died in 1707 ; and, like her predecessor and her children, was buried in the parish church. Her husband writes :

“ The Lord awaken me by this sudden and heavy stroke to greater zeal and diligence in his work ; and enable me under the losse of dearest earthly comfort to return unto my Rest, to walk more closely with him in y^e view of death, and lively sense of eternal things.”

Her funeral sermon was preached by Rev. Samuel Hall, of the “ Pitt Meeting,” from *Matthew 16*²⁷.

After about two years Mr. Moore entered on a third matrimonial venture, his choice being yet another Mary, the daughter of Thomas and Mary Withers of Sanford Peverell. No living children of this marriage are mentioned. In the diary we find :

“ December, 1709 : In consideration of this marriage I gave a bond to Mr. Josiah Eveleigh of Crediton, Minister, of 400£, to leave my wife and her children 200£ at my death ; receiving one hundred and fifty pounds portion with her.”

It is a remarkable fact that all the three marriages—in 1690, 1701, and 1709—were solemnized in the same church, that of Upton Helion, a small village about nine miles S.W. of Tiverton, and by the same minister, Mr. Darcy.

Mr. Moore seems to have been in easy circumstances. A very large proportion of the entries in the diary relate to financial matters, purchase of property, monies lent at interest or in mortgage, etc., and many small loans, apparently without interest. From the Cash-book section of the MS. we learn that his income, between July 1705 and June 1721, totalled £1,726 13s. 9d., or an average of £107 14s. *per an.* Of this, £741 2s. appears to represent stipend, averaging £46 6s. 4d. *per an.*, very irregularly paid, and mostly in small sums. It must be remembered that the purchasing power of money was much greater in those days than in these : Moore's rent, for example, seems to have been at one time £8 a year, afterwards £12 ; a servant's wages, 15s. a quarter ; a pair of boots, 10s. ; a pair of spurs, 1s. 4d. ; three bushels of malt, 9s. ; half a hogshead of cider, 10s. ; a gallon of Canary, 7s. 6d.

Concerning Mr. Moore's ministry the diary gives less information than might be expected. There are entries of sixty Baptisms, of which four are said to have been “ in my meeting-place,” fifteen “ in my house,” two “ in a Church meeting in my house ” (both before the erection of the building of 1706), thirty-five “ in his (or their) own house,” and four

in other places. There are entries "given at y^e Sacrament, 1s.," at pretty regular intervals of about six weeks. There are many entries of horse-hire and horse-baiting on journeys to Barnstaple, Chulmleigh, Chawley, Crediton, Exeter, Honiton, Plymouth, Tavistock, Torrington, Totnes, and other places in Devon; also of expenses at Bridgwater, Frome, Lyme, Salisbury, Taunton (often), and more distant places. Many of these appear to have been preaching visits. There are thirty-four payments for funeral sermons, usually 10s., but sometimes a pound or a guinea. There was a club or friendly society which on the death of a member was accustomed to pay 10s. for a funeral sermon; several times on receiving this honorarium Mr. Moore returned it to the widow.

Moore was a frequent, though not constant, attendant at the "Exeter Assembly," *i.e.*, the Association of Dissenting Ministers in Devon and Cornwall. He was "Supporter" in September, 1694, preacher in May, 1704, and Moderator in May, 1705. There are several entries of small sums "given among the ministers," apparently to servants when attending the Assembly. He seems to have taken a more active part in the business of the Assembly in his later years, to which the diary does not extend.

The entries of "Cash Paid" are about 4,000 in number, and occupy ninety-one pages. Among the most interesting are the sums paid for books, frequently at auction. We find between October, 1705, and April, 1721, the titles of about 250 books, at a total cost of £33 3s. 9d.—an average of £2 1s. 6d. *per an.* Many of these are sets, or bulky treatises in several volumes, so that the volumes are considerably more numerous than the titles. There are books of divinity, history, ecclesiastical controversy, philology, medicine and surgery. Many are works of Latin writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; some are in Greek, French, Italian, German, and at least one in Arabic. Neither poetry nor fiction is represented and the enumeration omits the school books bought for his children. The list affords evidence that Moore had very respectable scholastic attainments; otherwise a large proportion of the books would have been perfectly useless to him.

It was disappointing to find that the MS. gives no information about the Academy. But the reason is obvious; the diary ends on 11th June, and the Cash-book on 28th June, 1721; and it was only about that time, or perhaps a few months earlier, that the Academy was commenced. The students were never numerous, usually about four. Rev. Geo. Eyre

Evans has enumerated fifteen, of whom only one—R. Flexman—was ordained within Moore's lifetime.

Mr. Moore took a keen interest in the Arian controversy, which broke out in the West of England in 1719. It was this which elicited his only two publications, *A Calm Defence of the Deity of Jesus Christ*, 48pp. Second Edition 1719; and *The Calm Defence Continued and Maintained*, 140 pp., 1721.

Moore had nine children, only four of whom lived beyond early childhood:—

- Mary, born 1st April, 1691; was married to Solomon Kiddell 30th April, 1719, and had issue.
 Anne, born 16th September, 1692; mentioned in cash-book in August, 1715, and 26th May, 1719; no further information.
 John, born 17th July, 1694; educated at Blundell's School; set up in trade, 1720.
 Henry, born 19th June, 1696; educated at Blundell's School, afterwards under S. Jones at Tewkesbury, and later under T. Amory at Taunton; ordained 1727 or 8; minister at Plymouth, 1731-62.
 Katharine, born 22nd September, 1698; died in a few hours.
 George, born 15th May, 1700; died 13th June, following.
 Benjamin (1), born 26th February, 1702; died 23rd November, 1703.
 Elizabeth, born 26th October, 1703; died 18th July, 1707.
 Benjamin (2), born 12th December, 1705; died 27th July, 1711.

The burial of Moore's first and second wives, and several of his children, within the parish church seems to indicate friendly relations between ecclesiastical parties in Tiverton. This may not be wholly unconnected with the remarkable strength of Nonconformity in the borough. The population at that time could not have much exceeded 4,000; but the Evans MS. (1717) gives the hearers at the "Steps" Meeting as 570, "Pitt" 500, and Mr. Moore's Meeting 200; besides which the Baptists are said to have numbered 350, making a total of 1,620. Of these eighty-six were County, and eight Borough Electors; the importance of which appears in that the Parliamentary Representatives of the borough were elected solely by the Corporation, which consisted of twenty-five or twenty-six persons.

A few entries from the Diary and Cash-book may be not without interest.

- †1702. September 29th. Recd of Bro. Mott towards y^e discharge of Cozⁿ Polwheles bond of 50£, 29£ 14s. [*This may suggest some family connection between Moore and the ejected minister of St. Peters.*]
 1705. September 30th. To y^e brief for South Moulton Fire, 1s.

† The entries thus indicated are from the Diary, the rest from the Cash-book.

1706. January 14th. To John and Hen. for a new year's gift to y^e Master, 10s. 9d.
- „ January 19th. Pd Mrs. Crudge y^e tax unto y^e queen for 20 bushels of malt, 10s.
- „ January 26th. To y^e boys, to carry to y^e victor at school, 2s.
- „ February 8th. To y^e boys, instead of cocks to carry to school, 2s.
- [*This evidently refers to Shrove Tuesday Cock-fighting.*]
- „ March 20th. Given at y^e fast, 1s.
- „ March 25th. My wife paid y^e tax for Ben's birth, 2s.
- „ June 22nd. To my wife . . . to give y^e minister y^t preached for me when I was at Moulton y^e 23rd day, and for his horse, 12s. 6d.
- „ August 23rd. My wife pd y^e first half for Mall's learning of pastry ; y^e other half to be pd when she is perfect, 10s.
- „ October 12th. My wife the remainder for Mall's learning pastry, 11s. 6d.
1707. February 12th. To John and Hen. for y^e victor at School and a cock, 2s. 4d.
- „ April 26th. Recd of Jo Richards 10s. for preaching a funeral sermon on y^e 25th for one Small a comber of y^e club, w^c I presently gave to y^e poor wid. of y^e sd. Small.
- „ May 7th. Given to collection among the ministers for Mr. Babster, 2s. 6d.
- „ June 13th. pd Jo. Hill towards y^e repair of Bickley bridge, 10s.
- „ June 20th. My wife gave to y^e sufferers by y^e fire in St. And. Street, 2s. 6d.
- „ July 19th. To Hannah Somers, w^t she layd out for ringing the bell upon Betty's death, 2s. 6d.
- „ July 22nd. pd y^e Sexton for making y^e grave and tolling y^e bell etc., 10s.
- „ July 23rd. pd Jane Emery for gloves at Betty's funeral, 1£ 15s.
- „ July 26th. pd Mr. Thorn for Betty's coffin and mending y^e table, 4s.
- „ August 9th. Recd. of Gⁿ Brewer, 10s for preaching a funeral sermon at Robt Bryants funeral, w^{ch} I sent by him to his widdow.
- „ September 2nd. To Nan to pay Mr. Enchmarsh (1) for Schooling,* 2s.
- „ October 11th. To Dr. Cockram for my wife, 10s.
- „ October 15th. pd Hannah Somers w^t she laid out for ringing y^e bell for my wife, for y^e covering cloth, for y^e affidavit and bier, 5s. 6d.
- „ October 16th. pd Gⁿ Aldrige for y^e grave in y^e church, 10s. 6d.
- „ October 18th. pd Rich Thorn for the coffin for my wife, 10s.
- „ October 20th. pd Jane Emery for 3 doz and 1 pr of gloves, 3£.

*Observe that while the boys have the benefit of the Grammar school, the girls only receive a few meagre notices like this.

1707. December 29th. p^d Mr. Baitson y^e remainder of his bill for mourning for my wife, and in full of all accounts, 9£ 6s. 6d.
 [Other miscellaneous funeral expenses total 2£ 1s. 6d.]
- † „ December 24th. recd. of Mr. Jo Podger a broad sceptre piece of gold left me as a legacy by Mr Humphrey Tiller for preaching his funeral sermon, w^h I did at Moulton y^e 23rd December 1707.
1708. January 2nd. Gave to a man whose house was burnt, 1s. 6d.
 „ January 4th. gave to briefs for fire, 1s.
 „ January 26th. Sent by y^e boys as new year's gifts to Mr. Reymer and Mr. Williams their masters, one guinea.
- † „ January 29th. Recd. of Sampson Brinson a broad piece of gold left me as a legacy by his mother y^e widdy Brinson for preaching her funeral sermon in our Meeting-house in Tiverton 19th January, 1707/8.
- „ January 31st. Given to one that had been a prisoner in France, 6d.
 „ March 17th. p^d Joseph Carter for making 28 bushels of malt, 8s.
 „ March 17th. p^d him y^e Queen's tax for that malt, being 22 bushels in barley, 11s.
 „ August 4th. p^d Thos. Durnsford his bill for board and his men's work about my study etc. 1£ 1s. 6d.
 „ September 8th. Given to a poor minister and among y^e Ministers [at Exeter], 1s. 6d.
 „ September 16th. Given at y^e Mayor's feast, 1s.
 „ November 20th. p^d Mr. Will Upcott by my Nan. what I had subscribed toward Engines against fire, 10s.
1709. July 2nd. Given towards Berkley Meeting-place, 2s. 6d.
 „ September 10th. Gave to Uncle Hooper's Servts and among y^e ministers, 2s. 6d.
 „ September 10th for my horse for 3 nights at Exon, 1s. 6d.
 „ October 6th. Given to a poor man out of work, 6d.
 „ October 25th. Mall p^d Dan Hitchcock for Ben's schooling, 9d.
 [Frequent entries like this at irregular intervals.]
- „ November 16th. p^d Mr. Harris for making a bond for me to Mr. Eveleigh for security for my intended wife's portion to her and her children, 5s.
 „ November 16th. p^d for a licence to marry Mrs. Mary Withers, 1£ 4s. 4d.
 „ November 30th. To Mr. Darcy for marrying me wth Mrs. Mary Withers, my third wife, 10s.
- †1710. March 15th. p^d Bro. Geo. Seven pounds in p^t of 10£ for a lot in y^e 1.500.000^{ls} lottery in partnership with him, Bro Roger and Rich^d, each putting into Mr. Davys hand of Gt Torrington 10£, in all 40£. [Further details of this transaction.]
- „ August 17th. Gave Mr. Dig. Lock towards y^e meeting-place for y^e building of it at Chimleigh, 10s.
 „ August 19th. To Ruth Glover for y^e sexton to bury a still-born child, 6d.

- 1710 August 25th. Gave Mr. Stephenson, a minister from Manchester, 2s. 6d.
- „ December 2nd. p^d Mall Yellicks by Nan for my bands, 10s. 6d.
1711. January 24th. p^d Mr. Wheeler towards Sacheverel's Tryal, 3s.
- „ July 24th. To Dr. Osmond for his advice for Ben, 10s.
[*The expenses at Ben's funeral aggregate 20£ 11s.*]
1712. January 1st. To a poor man at Crediton whose house (?) fell upon him, 6d.
- „ January 29th. My wife gave Hannibal, Bro. Mott's Man, who came home with y^e children, 1s.
[*Presumably a negro servant.*]
- † „ March 17th. I recd. of Will Curwood by his wife 20£ and also his with his son's bond for 25£, being in all 45£, the money for my wife's mother's house with a little field near y^e pond in Samford Peverel, intended as part of my wife's portion: her mother to have y^e interest of it during her life.
- „ July 3rd. p^d Mr. Jeans for John's indentures to Mr. Brown, 5s.
- † 1713. February 18th, layed out for Mr. Walter Furse of Chulmleigh what I p^d Nic. Crocker for Pool's Synopsis in 5 vols., 2£ 13s.
- † „ February 24th. Sent the above s^d books to Mr. Furse by y^e messenger he sent his order by, and then rec^d w^t I had layd out, 2£ 13s.
- „ May 30th. To John, what he gave for a seat in y^e meeting, 10s.
- „ August 5th. Gave to one Clare, of Holy Island, who had his house and goods ruined by an inundation, 1s.
- „ September 15th. p^d for a sett of china dishes and plates, besides y^e value of 10s. in silver lace and other things; in money, 9s.
1714. April 20th. Laid out for a stamp paper for Mall's and Nan's release of Mr. Partridge and Mr. Brooks y^e trustees, 1s.
- „ August 22nd. p^d to Mr. John Lane, Treasurer, for y^e Charity Children, midsummer quarter, 5s.
1715. August 22nd. Spent at Exeter for y^e horses when sister Sarah and daughter and Nan went to y^e assize, 1s. 6d.
- „ October 18th. My wife p^d Mr. Rich. Hall for 8 y^{rds} $\frac{1}{4}$ of stufte for my gown at 1s. 10d. per yard, 15s.
1716. January 13th. p^d Mr. Richards when we took y^e oaths of Allegiance Supremacy and abjuration at y^e quarter Sessions at Mr. Osmonds, 2s.
- „ August 14th. Spent on y^e journey wh I made with Hen. to London and Tewkesbury, 4£ 16s. 9d.
- „ October 27th. p^d Mr. Arthur Buckland for Hen's gown, 1£.
- „ October 30th. p^d Mr. Buckland for 8yds. of Russel at 1s. 9d. pr yd for my gown, 14s.
- „ November 2nd. Mr. Baitson for Hen's broadcloth suit, £3 9s.
- „ December 15th. Gave to a poor woman toward curing her eye, 6d.

1717. June 10th. Spent in our journey to Tewkesbury, John being with me. [*Total 10th to 15th.*] 1£ 13s. 6d.
- „ June 14th. To Hen. to pay his apothecary's bill, 15s.
- † 1718. May 6th. Carried and p^d into y^e Assembly at Exon, towards y^e support of poor meetings 6£ 7s. w^c I had rec^d of Mr. Glasse and his son Michael 31s., of Mr. Jo Chapel and wife 20s. 6d. ; of Mr. Art. Buckland 7s. 6d. ; of Mr. Carthien, 21s. ; of Mrs. Dor. Prowse, 42s. ; of Mr. Gale 5s.
- „ June 24th. Gave toward couching of James Kemp's eyes, 2s. 6d.
- „ September 26th. p^d Mr. Brown for Johns dyet for 14 weeks 1£ 15s.
- „ Gave Mrs. Morgan towards y^e cure of her mare's eye, 1s. 6d.
1719. April 22nd. To Mall, towards paying for her wedding clothes, 5£ 5s.
- „ April 25th. More to Mall, to pay for her wedding clothes, 5£ 5s.
- „ April 27th. p^d at y^e Half Moon at Exon for a pint of wine for Mr. Kiddell, 9d.
- „ April 30th. My daughter Mary was marryed to Mr. Solomon Kiddell at Bickley by Mr. Theodore Carew : having given me a bond dat. 29th Apr. to leave her 300£ etc.
- „ April 30th. To my wife, when Mall was marryed, 6s.
- „ May 8th. To Mall, when she went from my house to her own, 1£ 3s.
- „ May 26th. Recd. of Mr. Thos Stephenson y^e sume of Ninety-four pounds and ten shillings in discharge of Mr. Henry Leigh's bond of one hundred pounds principal and 5£ as one years Interest due upon y^e bond to my daughter Anne ; w^{ch} she acknowledged in her receipt upon y^e bond, myself and Mr. Elk. Chappel being witnesses : Allowing and giving to the said Mr. Stephenson ten guineas for procuring y^e payment, upon account of y^e difficulty and hazard y^t did arise upon Mr. Leigh's absconding, and perplexed circumstances, and death.
- „ August 31st. p^d Mr. Sam Westcott for supplying my vacancy while I was at Exeter 2 Lords days, 1£.
- „ October 15th. Spent at Tauton (*sic*) and given to coz Chadwick's maid, 2s. Pd. Mr. Amory for half years board for Hen. from lady day to Michaelmas, John and Hen. being present, 6£.
- „ October 20th. p^d Mr. Kiddell w^{ch} he laid out for a Fan for John to carry to Tauton to give to Mrs. Betty Shrapnel, 8s.
- † „ November 7th. paid Mr. Hen. Lane six pounds and ten shillings to send to his son at Tewkesbury, for him to pay to Mrs. Jones widd. of y^e late Mr. Jones ; being what was due to him for Hen's board and teaching ; besides one guinea w^{ch} Hen. borrowed, and also what he paid the Apothecary for Hen. when ill.

- †1720. February 15th. Sarah Richards brought me ten pounds upon desire of y^e society of women y^t use to meet at Brushfords in Weston, to keep it safely for them : unto whom I gave my bond for the money, to be without interest.
- „ June 8th. p^d Mr. Amory for Hen's board in full, being for one q^{tr} from Michaelmas to Ch'tmas last past, 3£. p^d Mr. Groves and Mr. James in full for Hen's teaching, being 3 q^{trs} from 25th March to 25th December, 1719, 1£ 11s. 6d. For my horse at Tauton (*sic*) at y^e old Angel etc., 1s. 2d.
- „ June 9th. Gave Mr. Short toward y^e Meeting-place at Ufculm, 10s.
- „ July 11th. Gave to Mr. Will Hewett to y^e Brief for sufferers by thunder and hail in Staffordshire, 6d.
- „ July 19th. To Mr. Towel for preaching for me when I was at Barnstaple, 10s. 6d.
- „ August 10th. Given at y^e Fast for y^e Ordination of Mr. Walter of Combe and Mr. George Hanmar at Mr. Butcher's Meeting-place at Barnstaple, where I preached, 6d.
- „ September 7th. Given among the ministers at Exon towards y^e charge of printing y^e Assembly's proceedings, 1s.
- „ October 18th. To John to pay for wool (upon his beginning to set up trade) bought in y^e Market, 5£ 5s.
- „ October 18th. More to pay for what he bought at Minehead 16£ 16s.
1721. January 26th. Sent to Hen. by Mr. Sandercock, 3 moyedores, 4£ 1s.
- The following are the last two entries :—*
- „ June 27th. At the Coffee house, and given to a poor soldier, 1s. 2d.
- „ June 28th. Gave Math Chappell on his loss by fire near Moulton, 2s. 6d.

The Minutes of the Exeter Assembly contain a few notices of Mr. Moore from September, 1721 onwards. At that date he is placed second in the list of ordained ministers present, probably in order of seniority. He was present on 7th and 8th May, and September 3rd and 4th, 1723; on the date last named a Mr. Follet being proposed for ordination it was "order'd that Mr. Moore, Mr. Evans [and others] do ordain him, and appoint time and place."

In May, 1724 the name of Moore does not appear in the register of attendance : but this may be an accidental omission, as on the next page, under "Mony Brot into the Fund," we have "By Mr. Moore from Mr. Harding, 8£ 0 0." Among "Candidates and Strangers" the name "Mr. Henry Moore" appears.

In May, 1725, it was reported that Mr. Cudmore of Looe intended to leave at Midsummer. A committee of six ministers,

including Moore, was appointed to urge Mr. Cudmore to remain, if possible, till the next Assembly; and "by all suitable arguments to press the people of Looe to do what they can for another minister, and that this Assembly may have an acct, next time they sit, what they can do."

Mr. Moore was present in September, 1725, and September, 1726; and at the latter date "Mr. Moore"—presumably Henry—was present as a candidate. At the Meetings of May 9th and 10th, 1727, Henry Moore was proposed for ordination. "Being desired as previous thereunto to declare his sentiments of the Doctrine of the Trinity, gave satisfaction to the Assembly." It was agreed that Mr. Harding, Mr. Sandercock, Mr. Moore senr., and six other ministers "be employed in g^t Solemnity." [This Henry Moore was minister at Plymouth from 1731 to 1762; he had a son Henry, who was minister at Liskeard.] It was also "desired by the Assembly that Mr. Hall, Mr. Moore [and others] be engaged in Mr. Oxenham's ordination." In September of the same year Mr. Moore, Mr. Ball, and some others are "desired to join in the ordination of Mr. Chorley."

In May, 1728, both John and Henry Moore were present; the former brought in three guineas to the Fund, and the latter seven from Mr. Harding. A Mr. Peter Bennett, one of Moore's students, is reported to have supplied for some time at Ailesbear Meeting. He was desired to bring to the next Assembly a testimonial from "his tutor, or some other ministers, of his ministerial abilities, sober conversation, and his being regularly admitted to the ministry." He failed to do this, and the grant that had been made to Ailesbear was suspended.

This is the latest reference to John Moore we have been able to discover, except that he died on 25th August, 1730. He seems to have had no successor, either as pastor or tutor. After his death the Meeting-house in Peter Street was applied to secular purposes, being at one time "a pound-house for cyder, and afterwards a theatre for strolling players." In 1781 it was rebuilt as a Methodist preaching place.

Mention is made of Benjamin Kiddell, born at Tiverton, educated in the Bridgwater Academy, minister in succession at Sidmouth (1750), Cork (1759), and Shepton Mallet (1770), died 1803. It seems most likely that he was a younger son of Solomon Kiddell and Mary Moore.

T. G. CRIPPEN.

Thomas Cartwright and Elizabethan Puritanism

By A. F. SCOTT PEARSON, M.A., B.D., D.Th. (Cambridge University Press. 25s.)

THIS century has already seen notable contributions to the study of Puritan origins, and Dr. Scott Pearson's book is worthy to rank with the best of them. It is the work of a scholar who for many years has given himself to research, and his findings, on the whole, are to be trusted. Dr. Pearson is a minister of the Church of Scotland who believes both in Presbyterianism and in a National Church, and he can therefore enter on a study of the life and teaching of Cartwright with peculiar sympathy. His well-documented biography, however, is almost entirely free from bias, and it will rank as an indispensable work for the student of the period.

While we learn very little about Cartwright as a man—what he looked like, what sort of husband and father he was—we do get straightened out many passages in the history of the time that have up to now been very confused, and light is thrown on periods in Cartwright's life where darkness has hitherto prevailed.

Some slips in the volume have been pointed out in the current issue of the *Congregational Quarterly*. To them may be added the following :

On p. 213 we have J. G. Crippen for T. G. Crippen ; and on pp. 234 f., Dr. Pearson gives the impression that he thinks Constantine and Augustine were contemporaries. More important than these, however, are the acceptance of the slanderous verdict of many in regard to Martin Marprelate : it should be impossible for anyone who has read the *Tracts* and contemporary lampoons to speak of "the unheard of pitch of scurrility of Martin." This, we imagine, points to what is perhaps the one weakness in Dr. Pearson's equipment—lack of a full and thorough acquaintance with the pamphlet literature of the period. With the documentary evidence Dr. Pearson seems quite familiar ; indeed the transcripts of original documents, given in the appendix, contribute largely to the value of the book.

Then the passage on p. 223 which says that "Harrison represented more faithfully [than Browne] the genealogical connection with Puritan Presbyterianism" would surely be difficult to substantiate. It was Harrison with whom Browne lived in Norwich, and if one came under Anabaptist influences there, the other certainly did.

We cannot think as highly of Cartwright as does Dr. Pearson—but that is largely because we do not share his conception of the Church. To us the retention of living and of membership in a Church while striving to alter in a radical degree the form of government of that Church does not seem quite “cricket”: our heart warms rather to those who, at whatever cost—livelihood, liberty, life—were prepared to come out and be separate, and strive to realize their vision of the Church.

Nevertheless Dr. Pearson has done the cause of historical learning great service. No student of the early history of Nonconformity—or indeed of the Elizabethan Church—can ignore his work. We trust he will be encouraged by the reception given to this volume to go forward: the relationship of Separatism and Presbyterianism between 1580 and 1620 still requires investigation, and if Dr. Pearson can tell us more about Browne's and Penry's adventures in Scotland he will place us further in his debt.

ALBERT PEEL.

EDITORIAL.

THE next meeting of the Society will be held in the Council Room at the Memorial Hall, on Tuesday, May 11th, at 4.30. The Editor will be glad if members will join him at tea at that hour, but he would be obliged if those intending to be present would let him have a card before May 7th. After tea officers will be elected and Dr. Grieve will open a discussion on "The Future of Our Society." This will follow very appropriately the survey of the achievements of the Society which appears below.

* * * *

The retirement of the Rev. T. G. Crippen—for many years the Editorial Secretary, and the heart and soul, of the Congregational Historical Society—from the office of Librarian at the Memorial Hall should not be allowed to pass without mention in these pages. During a very long life Mr. Crippen has served the denomination with the utmost fidelity, doing work that finds no recognition in newspaper paragraphs or on public platforms, but which is as necessary as it is lasting. It is not invidious to say that Mr. Crippen stands alone in his knowledge of the history of our churches. The *Transactions* from their first issue testify to the range of his learning, the depth of his researches, and width of his love for Congregationalism and for the truth. His indomitable spirit has brought him to his work at the Library long after his physical strength was exhausted, and his knowledge has always been at the disposal of students. We hope for him in the quiet of his eventide a happy leisure with his books and manuscripts.

* * * *

Meanwhile we are glad to record that in the immediate future the Library will be in the safe hands of the Rev. William Pierce, who presided at our Society's first meeting, and was for a long period Secretary. Mr. Pierce is already at work on a catalogue of the Library on modern lines; we trust it will serve the purpose of reminding the denomination of some of its treasures.

Some time ago an inquiry was made at the Memorial Hall for a copy of the well-known engraving, "The Assertion of Liberty of Conscience at the Westminster Assembly." Unfortunately no copy was then available, and the inquirer left no address. We have since learnt where a copy is to be obtained, together with the companion engraving, "The Trial of Lord William Russell, 1683." Both the engravings (which measure 38" x 30") are in excellent condition, and are framed and glazed. If this note should meet the inquirer's eye, or the eye of persons seeking suitable pictures for vestries and Church parlours, we should be happy to put them in touch with the present owner.

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In our next issue we hope to print "The Story of the Beginning of Congregationalism in Newfoundland" by the Rev. D. L. Nichol.

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The National Book Council is doing good service by circulating bibliographies relating to special subjects. The one dealing with Quakerism is before us, and an excellent one it is. Our readers will be glad to know that a similar bibliography for Congregationalism is in preparation.

The Congregational Historical Society.

A SURVEY, 1900-1925.

WHEN Dr. Peel asked me to prepare this paper for our Autumn Meeting at Bournemouth in October, 1925, I began my task by running through the issues of the *Transactions* from the beginning, not so much from the point of view of their actual contents, but as pointing the way to the measure of what the Society has accomplished or tried to accomplish. This done, I scoured my own Library and that of Lancashire College for relevant publications since 1900, and I was rather agreeably surprised at the result. This double procedure will explain the form taken by my observations.

Let us remind one another how the Society began, and by way of background recall that it was the end of the Victorian Age. A Conservative Government was in power, the Boer War was in progress, and on the horizon was the Balfour Education Bill. There was a general feeling of insecurity and jeopardy among the Free Churches. Free Church Councils were in their youth and everywhere active. C. S. Horne had in 1898 written *What we owe to the Puritans*, and Mr. A. G. Evans and Mr. Houlder had followed in 1899 with primers of Free Church History.

Till our Renaissance set in comparatively little had been done since John Stoughton's *Ecclesiastical History of England* (begun 1867, finished in 1884) and Herbert Skeats's *History of the Free Churches in England* (1868)—second edition, continued from 1851 by C. Miall (1891). Across the Atlantic Williston Walker had given us *The Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism* (1893), and at home Dr. Mackennal had edited *The Story of the English Separatists*—half a dozen tracts in connection with the Tercentenary of Greenwood, Barrowe and Penry. Dr. John Brown had written his *Bunyan* in 1885, his *Pilgrim Fathers* in 1895, and a Centenary history of the Bedfordshire Association in 1896. Dr. Nightingale had done *Lancashire Nonconformity* in six volumes 1890-1893; Mr. J. L. Thomas the Centenary history of Somerset in 1896. Mr. Elliot did a similar service for Salop in 1898, Messrs. Densham and Ogle

for Dorset in 1899. Others had investigated the 100 years' warfare of individual Churches, especially W. H. Summers for Mortimer West and Beaconsfield.

The year 1900, in which our Society may be said to have been born, saw some interesting productions, e.g.,

James Ross: *History of Independency in Scotland* (a result of the Union of the C. U. and E. U. in 1897).

Dr. Powicke: *Henry Barrowe and the exiled Church of Amsterdam*.

The reprint of Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation from the original MS.*

and Dr. Hensley Henson: *Dissent in England*.

So there was a sense of stir, the sound of a going in the mulberry trees.

Alongside all this there was a revival of historical study generally—in the older Universities and in the new. One example will suffice: Prof. T. F. Tout was laying the foundations of the School of History at Manchester.

Here I might point to two or three concurrent and subsequent stimuli.

(a.) Centenaries of County Unions. Several date from the early years of the nineteenth century (*vide infra*).

(b.) The Education Struggle of 1902 ff, which produced two series, viz., *Eras of Nonconformity* and *Congregational Worthies*.

(c.) The Celebration of 1662 in 1912, and that of 1620 in 1920 both produced a crop, at least "good in parts."

But I was going to *begin* by saying how the Society began. There are not many here who remember it, and I am not one of them, for I was in India at the time. Here is the story as it is told in *Transactions* No. 1 (April, 1901, now out of print).

"The Society originated in a suggestion made by the Rev. C. Silvester Horne, M.A., in a letter to the Rev. G. Currie Martin, M.A., B.D., in the spring of 1899. The latter at once communicated with a number of leading Congregationalists inviting their opinion, and asking their support in the event of such a Society being founded. The matter was next brought before the Council of the Young People's Union (London District) of which Mr. Currie Martin is Secretary. On the motion of the Rev. Alfred Rowland, B.A., LL.B., it was decided to convene a meeting of all interested at the Autumnal Meetings of the Congregational Union in Bristol. This meeting was held under the presidency of the Rev. W. Pierce,

and was well attended. It was then resolved to form such a Society, and a provisional committee was appointed. In May, 1900, another meeting was held in the Library of the Memorial Hall, when Dr. McClure, who took the chair, introduced the subject, and addresses were delivered by the Revs. C. Silvester Horne and G. Currie Martin. It was agreed that the purpose of the Society should be threefold, viz.,

- “ 1. To encourage research into the origins and history of Congregationalism.
- “ 2. To issue transactions giving the results of and discussions on such research.
- “ 3. To print MSS. and documents, and to republish rare books and tracts.

“ Dr. McClure was chosen first President : Mr. Currie Martin, Secretary ; and Mr. W. H. Stanier, Treasurer.

“ Shortly afterwards the Committee issued to all churches founded prior to 1750 a circular containing the following queries :—

- “ 1. Has any History of your Church been issued in any form ? If so, can we procure a copy ?
- “ 2. Does your Church possess any original records of its history ? How far back do these date ?
- “ 3. If such are in your possession, are you willing to have copied for us interesting and important extracts ; or, on production of sufficient guarantee, to permit us to have them until such extracts are made ?
- “ 4. If the original records are not in your possession, can you tell us where they are, or when and where they were last traced ?

“ These circulars were issued to the number of 487, and up till the end of March, 1901, over 150 replies have been received. Some of these are of very great interest and value. In several cases existing histories have been generously presented to the Society. In others promises have been made to send forthcoming histories. In many instances references are given to larger well-known local histories, and in a few cases unique sources of great importance are revealed, to which the Society will devote attention, and bring to light whatever of interest they contain. All the replies have been carefully classified, and at present the printed material is being examined by the librarian of the Historical Library at the Memorial Hall, and comparison made with the histories therein existing.

It is to be hoped that speedy answers may yet be received from the large number of churches that have not responded to the Society's appeal.

"This first issue of *Transactions* may be taken as a specimen of some of the directions in which research may with advantage be pushed, while the careful and scholarly bibliography, to be brought down in successive issues to the present time, cannot fail to be of immense value to students."

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ANNALS OF THE SOCIETY.

1902. May. 125 members were reported.
- „ Autumn (Glasgow). Dr. Mackennal from the chair indicated certain directions for necessary and promising research, *viz.*,
 The early history of the Separatist Communities.
 The relation between the early Independents and the Presbyterians.
 The breach between Independents and Presbyterians; and the origin of the Unitarian Churches in England.
 The history of the Evangelical Revival.
- He also urged the advisability of visiting the Colleges and seeking to interest their authorities in the serious study of Congregational History.
1903. May. 165 members. Dr. McClure resigned and Dr. Brown succeeded to the chair. Mr. Currie Martin also resigned and was succeeded by Mr. Crippen and Mr. Henry Thacker.
- „ Autumn. Bournemouth. This meeting was noteworthy for Mr. Brownen's paper on Nonconformity in Hampshire, an excellent example of what should be done for most or all of the counties (especially the map).
- „ was a Robert Browne year. Mr. Crippen reprinted *Reformation without Tarrying for Anie*, and Mr. Burrage *A New Year's Gift*. Mr. Dixon discovered the register of Browne's burial in St. Giles, Northampton, 8/10/1633.
1904. May. 175 members—but several in arrears with subscriptions, "which in some cases may possibly indicate tacit resignation."
- „ Autumnal meeting at Cardiff. Papers by Rev. William Pierce, on "The Marprelate Tracts," and by Prof. Lyon Turner on "Early Welsh Nonconformity as illustrated by the Indulgence of 1672." It was agreed to send Penry's *Aequity* to press immediately.
1905. May. 160 members. It was reported that Prof. Turner had transcribed all the documents in the Public Record Office relating to the Indulgence of 1672, and that members of the Society were at work in connection with Berks, Bucks, and Oxon, Kent, Surrey, Northumberland and Durham.
- „ Autumn. Leeds. Rev. Bryan Dale spoke on English Congregationalism there. This was Mr. Cater's year—"Robert Browne at Achurch." He had previously dealt with Browne's forbears and descendants.

1906. We mourned the death of W. H. Summers, and welcomed C. Burrage's *True Story of R. Browne*.
At Wolverhampton in the autumn the Rev. Dugald Macfadyen told us of the labours of Capt. Jonathan Scott and others spoke of Early Congregationalism in Leek and Longdon.
1907. Reported that the committee had been unable to meet, and that the officers had been obliged to act on their own responsibility. So they tried a working committee of Londoners and an indefinite number of corresponding members resident in the country.
- „ Autumn. Blackpool. Rev. J. H. Colligan on English Non-conformity in Cumberland and Westmorland.
1908. May. 178 members. Congratulations to the recently founded Baptist Historical Society. Mr. Cater's researches in Peterborough diocesan archives regarding Robert Browne. Rev. W. Pierce's *Introduction to the Marprelate Tracts*.
N.B.—Death of Rev. T. Lord of Horncastle in the 101st year of his age and 75th of his ministry. He preached on Sunday 9th August and died on Friday, 21st.
Prof. Turner on the Episcopal Returns of 1665-1666.
1908. Autumn. Liverpool. Mr. Boag on Congregationalism in Northumberland and Durham.
1909. Autumn. Sheffield. Paper on the Attercliffe Academy. Issue of B. Dale's *Yorkshire Puritanism*.
1910. May. Attendance unusually meagre. Mr. A. Peel gave an account of the work in which he was engaged on the Morrice MSS.
- „ Autumn. Hampstead. Rev. D. Macfadyen on North London suburban churches.
Rev. A. Ridley Bax on Sussex.
The Tombs in Bunhill Fields were receiving attention.
1911. Prof. Turner's *Official Records of Early Nonconformity under Persecution and Indulgence*.
(a) Episcopal returns of 1665; (b) Sheldonian reports of Conventicles, 1669; (c) Documents relating to the Indulgence of 1672.
- „ Autumn. Nottingham. Prof. Sanders spoke on Early Non-conformity in Nottinghamshire, and Prof. Lyon Turner on a Spy Book of the time of Charles II.
1912. May. Mr. Crippen reviewed the past decade (see *Transactions*, January, 1912). Rev. F. I. Cater on "The Excommunication of Robert Browne and his will."
- „ Autumn. Manchester. Attendance fairly numerous. Mr. Peel spoke on William White. Mr. Burrage and Rev. T. Gasquoine were busy with Penry records.
1913. May. Dr. John Brown, President. Dr. Nightingale, Chairman.
- „ Autumn. Southend. "A satisfactory and hopeful gathering." Mr. Goodall on "Annals of Evangelical Nonconformity in Essex." Dr. Alexander Gordon made proposals for a Historical Exhibition.
1914. May. Death of Rev. C. Silvester Horne and Mr. Watkinson of Herne Bay. Dr. Gordon on "Calamy as a Biographer." Exhibition projects. No Autumnal Meeting.

1915. May. Dr. Grieve on Puritanism and Independency in South Pembrokeshire.
 „ Autumn. Leeds. Rev. G. Shaw Briggs on Puritanism in Wharfedale. Prof. Turner on the Clerical Subsidy of 1661. Dr. Peel's *Seconde Parte of a Register* published.
1916. May. A good attendance. Rev. Charteris Johnston on the History of Western College. Exhibition deferred till the Peace.
 Autumn. Birmingham. Rev. A. G. Matthews on Early Nonconformity in Staffs., and Mr. W. Wimbury on Congregationalism in Worcestershire.
1917. May. No meeting, but the Committee had the pleasure of a paper from Dr. A. Gordon.
 Autumn. London. A handful of members. Mr. Pierce led a conversation on the relation of John Penry to the early London Separatists.
- 1918-20. Reference must be made to the Minute Book, for no *Transactions* were issued between April, 1918, and February, 1920.
1920. May. A good meeting to hear a remarkable paper by Prof. Hearnshaw on the Pilgrim Fathers.
 Autumn. Southampton. Mr. W. Dale on "Southampton and the *Mayflower*," with a tour to points of interest. Rev. F. W. Camfield on "Religious Life in the 17th Century."
1921. Mr. Muddiman becomes Treasurer. At the autumnal meeting in Bristol, Rev. C. E. Watson of Rodborough on "George Whitefield and Gloucestershire Congregationalism."
1922. Mr. Crippen retires from the Editorship. Deaths of Dr. John Brown and Sir John McClure. In May, Rev. M. Kirkpatrick on James Morison; in the Autumn, at Hull, Mr. A. E. Trout on Nonconformity in that city.
1924. Dr. Peel becomes editor. In May, Rev. Claude Jenkins of Lambeth spoke on "An Elizabethan Episcopal Register."
 Autumn. Northampton. An excellent meeting. Sir Ryland Adkins on Doddridge and Mr. Dixon's "Gleanings from Castle Hill Church Book."
1924. In April. The Northampton Memorial to Robert Browne.
 May. 115 ordinary members, 6 life, 6 honorary, 18 subscribing libraries and colleges. Principal Wheeler Robinson on "The Value of Denominational History."
 Autumn. Liverpool. Prof. Veitch on Dr. Raffles.
1925. May. Rev. W. Pierce on "Nonconformist Contributions to the building of the Mansion House." The editor outlined a proposal for reprinting a uniform edition of Browne, Barrowe, Greenwood, Penry and Harrison.

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I turn now to the second part of my project, *viz.*, to give some account of the relevant literature published in the twenty-five years of our survey. This involves some repetition, as many books have been already mentioned. The basis of the classification is Mr. Crippen's Bibliography in the *Transactions* for 1905. The list does not claim to be exhaustive

but I hope nothing of real import has been omitted. I am sure the Editor will welcome *corrigena et addenda*.

PURITANISM AND NONCONFORMITY IN GENERAL.

- C. S. Horne : *A Popular History of the Free Churches*, 1903.
 Eras of Nonconformity, 1904ff; especially
 W. H. Summers : *Our Lollard Ancestors*.
 J. H. Shakespeare : *Baptist and Congregational Pioneers*.
 J. Brown : *Commonwealth England. From the Restoration to the Rebellion*.
 C. S. Horne : *Nonconformity in the 19th Century*.
 N. Micklem : *God's Freemen*, 1922.
 J. G. Stevenson : *Fathers of our Faith* (n.d.).
 J. Heron : *Short History of Puritanism*, 1908.
 J. Brown : *The English Puritans*, 1910.
 H. W. Clark : *History of English Nonconformity*, 2 vols., 1911.
 H. Henson : *Puritanism in England*, 1912.
 G. B. Tatham : *The Puritans in Power*, 1913.
 F. Bate : *The Declaration of Indulgence* (1672), 1908.
 A. A. Seaton : *The Theory of Toleration under the later Stuarts*, 1911.
 Russell Smith : *Religious Liberty under Charles II. and James II.*, 1911.
 H. T. Potten : *The Strife for Religious Liberty*, 1908.
 J. H. Colligan : *The Arian Movement in England*, 1913.
 Irene Parker : *Dissenting Academies*, 1914.
 W. B. Selbie : *Nonconformity* (n.d.).
 H. Elvet Lewis (ed.) : *The Ejection of 1662 and the Free Churches*, 1912.
 T. Bennett : *Laws against Nonconformity*, 1913.
 A. Gordon : *Addresses Biographical and Historical*, 1922 ;
 Freedom after Ejection (a Review of Nonconformity, 1660-1692), 1917.
 Cheshire Classis Minutes (1691-1745), 1919.
 B. Nightingale : *The Ejected of 1662 in Cumberland and Westmorland*, 2 vols., 1911.
 G. Lyon Turner : *Original Records of Early Nonconformity*, 3 vols., 1911-1914.
 F. J. Powicke : *A Life of Richard Baxter*, 1924.
 W. Pierce : *An Historical Introduction to the Marprelate Tracts*, 1908.
 See also under DOCUMENTS.
 T. M. Rees : *History of the Quakers in Wales*.
 Here one ought to notice the formation of other Societies similar to our own : Friends', Baptist, Presbyterian, Unitarian, and the issue of their Transactions, and of important works especially
 W. T. Whitley : *The Works of John Smyth*, 2 vols., 1915.
 W. H. Burgess : *John Smyth the Se-Baptist*, 1911.
 and the series on Quaker History (W. C. Braithwaite, Rufus M. Jones, A. N. Brayshaw).

INDEPENDENTS OR CONGREGATIONALISTS: GENERAL HISTORY.

- Congregational Worthies:** *Milton* (J. A. Hamilton); *Harry Vane* (F. J. Hearnshaw; cf. Willcock's larger book on the same subject); *Browne* (F. J. Powicke); *Owen* (J. Moffatt; cf. Dr. Moffatt's *Golden Book of John Owen*); *Howard* (H. H. Scullard); *Peters* (T. G. Crippen); *J. Goodwin* (H. W. Clark); *Blake* (J. G. Stevenson); *Howe* (W. M. Scott).
- R. W. Dale: *History of English Congregationalism*, 1907.
 T. Hooper: *The Story of English Congregationalism*, 1907.
 C. Burrage: *The Church Covenant Idea—its origin and development*, 1904 (Philadelphia).
 The True Story of Robert Browne, 1906.
 John Penry the so-called Martyr, 1913.
 W. Pierce: *John Penry: his Life, Times and Writings*, 1924.
 T. Gasquoine: *John Penry and other Heroes*, 1909.
 B. Nightingale: *The Heroic Age of Congregationalism*, 1921;
 From the Great Awakening to the Evangelical Revival
 1919;
 Isaac Ambrose, the Religious Mystic;
 Thomas Jollie of Atham.

CONGREGATIONALISTS: LOCAL HISTORY.

- A. Peel: *The First Congregational Churches (London, 1567-1581)*, 1920;
The Brownists in Norfolk and Norwich about 1580, 1920.
 See also DOCUMENTS.
Berks., Oxon and S. Bucks., by W. H. Summers, 1905.
Lancashire, by B. Nightingale, 1906.
Cheshire, by F. J. Powicke, 1907.
Surrey, by E. E. Cleal, 1908.
Staffordshire, by A. G. Mathews, 1924.
Yorkshire, by F. Wrigley, 1923.
 cf. Bryan Dale's *Yorkshire Puritanism*.
Nottingham, Castle Gate, by A. R. Henderson, 1905;
 and a great many smaller works on individual churches.
 Note also Ira Boseley: *The Independent Church of Westminster Abbey*,
 1907; *The Ministers of the Abbey Independent Church*, 1911.
 James Johnston: *Pioneers of Lancashire Nonconformity* (R. Goodwin,
 H. Newcome, T. Jollie, O. Heywood), 1905.

THE PILGRIM FATHERS.

- C. Burrage: *New Facts about John Robinson*, 1910.
 W. H. Burgess: *John Robinson*, 1920.
 F. J. Powicke: *John Robinson*, 1920.
 J. Rendel Harris: *The Finding of the Mayflower*, 1920;
 The Last of the Mayflower, 1920.
 The Return of the Mayflower (an Interlude), 1919.
 H. G. Wood: *Venturers for the Kingdom*, 1920.
 R. G. Usher: *The Pilgrims and their History*, 1918.
 W. Cockshott: *The Pilgrim Fathers*, 1909.
 T. W. Mason and B. Nightingale: *New Light on the Pilgrim Story*, 1920.

- M. Dexter : *The England and Holland of the Pilgrims*, 1906.
 J. de Hoop Scheffer and W. E. Griffis : *History of the Free Churchmen in the Dutch Republic, 1581-1701* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1921).
The Leyden Pilgrim Messenger, 1922—.

DOCUMENTS.

- A. Peel : *The Seconde Parte of a Register* (2 vols), 1915.
 John Masefield : *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers*, 1910.
 C. Burrage : *Early English Dissenters* (2 vols.), 1912.
 R. Browne : *Reformation without Tarrying for Anie*, ed. T. G. Crippen, 1903 ;
 A New Year's Gift, ed. C. Burrage, 1904.
 Retraction, ed. C. Burrage, 1907.
 H. Barrowe : *Four Causes for Separation*, ed. T. G. Crippen, 1906.
 J. Greenwood : *Pastoral Letter*, ed. T. G. Crippen, 1906.
 J. Penry : *Aequity of an Humble Supplication*, ed. A. J. Grieve, 1905.
 Harrison : *The Church and the Kingdom*, ed. A. Peel, 1920 (plus *The Brownists in Norwich*, 1580).
An Answer to John Robinson, by a Puritan friend, ed. C. Burrage, 1920.
The Marprelate Tracts, 1588-9, ed. W. Pierce, 1911.

In the foregoing lists no attempt has been made to distinguish between work done by members of the Society and work done by others. But I think it may safely be said that the Society has justified its existence. In particular we are under a great debt to Mr. Crippen (and I hope some echo of our obligation and of our loving appreciation of his devotion to our cause may reach him in his retirement), to Dr. John Brown, Dr. Nightingale, Dr. Powicke, Dr. Peel, Prof. Lyon Turner, Rev. W. Pierce, Mr. Burrage, Dr. Clark, and Rev. F. Ives Cater.

It is true that we have not realized all our expectations, and that is fortunate. There are many tasks still awaiting us and the time is opportune. I would appeal especially to ministers and others who have specialized or are specializing in History at the Universities to turn their attention to our annals and records, for in them they will find much that has been best and most significant in the life of England during the last 350 years. I have hopes that we may yet prepare an Exhibition of Historical Relics, perhaps for the Centenary Meeting of the Congregational Union, and in conjunction with it that desired collection of Congregational Patristics. If any one wishes to know what kind of work is waiting to be done, he can see it on page two of the first issue of our *Transactions*, a reprint of which issue is desirable. One useful thing would be a complete index to the *Transactions* as so far published.

I cannot bring this survey to a better finish than by quoting from an appeal made by Dr. McClure in 1901 :

“ May I respectfully and yet very earnestly urge upon all here present to do their utmost for this Society ? I feel quite certain that if it is to succeed it can only be by personal, by individual effort. We appeal in vain to a large body like the Congregational Union or the Churches of the Congregational Union, and it is only here and there that people respond to what may be called a general invitation ; but during the past few months in many direction we have had indications of sympathy and of co-operation, and I feel sure that the work we are attempting to do needs only to be known to secure the assistance of many who hitherto have, from ignorance or other causes, held aloof from us. . . . We are Congregationalists, not by virtue of the little to which we bind ourselves, but by reason of the very great treasure which we are enabled to appropriate. We are denominational because we believe the more we know, and the greater interest that we take in our denomination and its history, the more wide and liberal we shall be in our sympathies and the more effective we shall be in our work in the world. That is the spirit in which I have associated myself with this Society, and I believe it is the spirit in which most members have associated themselves with it ; and I trust that by our co-operation in what is surely a great work, and a work which very much requires to be done, we may seek, not to lay the churches under obligation—I doubt if they would feel it—but rather to lay ourselves under a great obligation which we should endeavour honestly to fulfil. If the future is to be more glorious than the past it is only in so far as we understand the past and try to draw from it those lessons which we hope will make the future what we desire it to be.”

A. J. GRIEVE.

A Puritan Moderate :

DR. THOMAS THOROWGOOD, S.T.B. 1595-1669.

RECTOR OF GRIMSTON, LITTLE MASSINGHAM AND GREAT
CRESSINGHAM IN THE COUNTY OF NORFOLK.

IN July, 1924, the Norfolk & Norwich Archæological Society purchased some of the Townshend MSS., including two described as "Diary of Dr. Thorowgood." This Diary, transcribed and edited by one of our members, Mr. B. Cozens-Hardy, has been printed in the *Norfolk Archæology*, and we are indebted to the Editor for permission to reproduce it here. We have summarized Mr. Cozens-Hardy's Introduction.

Thomas Thorowgood was the fifth son of William Thorowgood, Rector of Grimston and Bickerston, who is reputed to have had strong Puritan leanings. He went to St. John's, Cambridge, taking his B.A. in 1609, his M.A. in 1612. Afterwards he went to Oxford, where he probably studied theology, for Cambridge conferred on him the degree of S.T.B. in 1624. In 1621 he was presented to Little Massingham, and he succeeded his father at Grimston in 1625, resigning in favour of his son-in-law in 1646. He was a member of the Westminster Assembly in 1643, took some form of clerical duty at Crayford in Kent in 1647, and in 1649 began a three years' engagement as assistant to the Rector of Kingston-on-Thames. He was back again in Norfolk in 1653, having been "designed in his absence" to Great Cressingham, where he lived when the "diary" was prepared. He died in 1669. His publications were *Moderation Justified*—a Fast Sermon preached before the House of Commons in 1644—and *Jews in America, or Probabilities that Americans are of that Race* (1650).

The manuscripts consist of a letter (dated Oct. 7th, 1661), which we do not print, replying to the charge that he had failed to provide his quota for a military muster, and the diary, which, recounting his actions from 1642 onward and aiming at rebutting the accusations of republicanism and disloyalty, gives an interesting picture of a cross-bench mind.

Mr. Cozens-Hardy thus sums up the character and work of Thorowgood.

“Walker in his *Sufferings of the Clergy* and Calamy in his *Nonconformists' Memorial* give much information about those who definitely took sides in the Troubles, ‘stuck to their guns’ and suffered, but this Diary deals with a man who, though he was thrust into prominence on one side, endeavoured, prompted either by principle or prudence, to steer a middle course, with the result that each party in turn thought him the friend of the other. It is easy after the passage of 260 years to charge a person with lack of moral or political fibre, but the times were very confused and the future most uncertain, and there must have been many like Falkland, Hampden, Archbishop Usher and Richard Baxter who took sides, but yet deplored the excesses which civil wars always engender.

“There is little doubt that Thorowgood was able to render considerable help to some of his brethren who suffered for being more partisan than himself, or whose position¹ made them a more obvious target for persecution. We must not forget, however, that the Diary was written to rebut the charge of republicanism and ecclesiastical disloyalty. We may perhaps wonder whether, if the Puritans had remained dominant, Thorowgood would not have been able to produce an equally effective apologia from the other point of view, had the necessity ever arisen.”

THE DIARY.

Thomas Thorowgood of Cressingham hath bene charged,

1. To have 600^u land p'an : But upon oath he is ready to averr he hath not 200^u & his benefice is about 100^u p'an.
2. To have 10 or 12 Horse Arms & sent out his worst horse. Upon like oath he saith he hath but one & the horse sent was his best, & he hath lost neere an 100^u in horses by the disease.
3. That to other powers he sent 3 or 4 horses well furnished.
4. And all along was pleased with & a promoter of ye government.
5. That he harboured lately some grand enemyes of the King.

He is sory any Christian should devise such improbabilities against him ; thes 3 last are denyed upon like oath & for his whole carriage in thes 20 yeers past, he refers to the following narrative, true in every particular.

¹ e.g., Bishop Hall and Dean Hassall.

1642

S^r Hamd L'Estrange came after midnight to my house, hardly scaping the troopers, all the long day before he had wandered without food. Ye next morning I found him very ill in bed, I rode to D^r Bacon for his advice &c. &c.

S^r Charles Mordaunt lay in the same chamber the night before, he was then gone, but came againe often in that Squirrell hunting² time as it was then called.

Colonell Gosnold was severall days with me, as he went to Newark, thence to the King at Oxford w^r he was one of the Treators about surrendring of it.

Archdeacon Wigmore came fro ye Isle of Ely to me & was with me five or 6 weekes.

S^r Jn Spelman was there also, as he went to Oxford & I did accompany him 7 or 8 nights on his way thether where he dyed & my Ld. the A.B. of Armagh told me he there preached his funeral sermon.

The Divines of the Convocation being removed, I returned into Norfolk & followed the worke of my calling & was so far from being an incendiary yt the contrary was taken notice of by the Royal Party both Gentlemen & Cleargy & some persons of quality of both sorts were entertained in my house severall dayes and sometimes 2 or 3 of them together: The newes therof was soone carried to the Committee, where I was accused & threatened, & though I had some friends among them, yet certainly plundering and the prison was like to be my portion for receiving them so often and so many. Warrant was given out & 4 soldjours appointed to fetch me (as one of them since I heard of thes accusations has unexpectedly witnessed for me under his hand) for 3 reasons as he testi-fieth. 1. for harbouring Malignants. 2, for not sending out a Light horse. 3, for lending none, or no more mony to the Propositions: But Providence called me from that mischiefe to the Assembly to which when I was named, one Parlam^t man opposed, saying he knew I was episcopall, therefore we desire to have him, said that worthy knight who related this to me & some other passages afterward. If it be suspected that I warped after this & was of another mind, that which followeth will cleere me therin also.

1643 The Ordinance of the Lords & Comons comended me to the Assembly & I went thither in my owne defence as hath bene said & consulted Bp Brounrigg in my way at his colledge in Cambridge, I saw no evil in going, for the Divines by the Act were called, not to determine but to be consulted with, as shall be most agreable to the work of God. The first appearance of difficulty there was the Covenant which I sub-signed, but after the rest & not till I had given in my reasons especially in reference to

² *i.e.*, hunting of Squires.

Episcopacy, for I presumed the Kings Ma^v & his posterity were well fenced therein. Some were appointed to answer them & the best satisfaction was that the King & the Parlam^t has diminished the power of the Bps. In the debate diverse spake on their behalfe (for there were Epall men among them) D^r Temple, M^r Vines &c. D^r Reynolds, the most worthy Bp of Norwich mentioned a considerable caveat. They were taking doune at once the present & ancient & best forme of ecclesiastical Government, this I find in searching my Assembly notes upon this occasion, with my owne saying then also, That in the discussing the Articles of Religion diverse learned & pious Bps had been named with honor, whom I then so named againe & I remember still who desired the Prolocutor there might be no more such nomination. In the Lords House one of the officers was violent against me & drew blood from me and being blamed for it he said I was a malignant for he

H.³

E.M.

1644

saw me talking with 2 of the most malignant Doctors. My sermon preached & printed is yet to be seen from Phil. 4. 5. Let yor moderation be know unto all men, the Lord is at hand. & considering the season it gained approbation there, & sure I am some of the house stared sufficiently upon me at the very reading of the Text & others, my friends of the Royall party did not believe at first that such a scripture had been sounded in ye ears of the Comons in that juncture of affaires when the mastery of the Army began to worke. Nazianzeus said long since, moderation was woont to please all, but that hath not bene my lott. I am not ignorant that one or 2 faulted me as if I had therein spoken against the Festivity of Christs birth for they remembered not the Royall legality of that Fast day nor the times nor the matter & I knew not that I was blamed the next morning in a publique place. & when Holy dayes were putt doune I preached up Christmes⁴ & upon a day of Humiliation, which minds me of one that said fiercely I was an enemy to Christmes, & when he was demanded if I did not always then feast my neighbours, that he confessed adding, They have but one draught of strong beere before dinner & another after, & yet he denied not but at meals they had sufficient also. The sermon indeed doth tell that the primitive Christians did not all accord in the day & month, January, May, Aprill &c., but it contends, if mathematicians & Historians shall designe the month & the day, it will not vote against the Christian

³ Query. Dr. Heylin, Laud's Chaplain and Biographer.

⁴ The Puritans objected to the observation of Christmas.

celebration thereof ; & if men would looke backe, this one worde would be enough to the wise & charitable ; & besides I can yet show y^t the year before I moved publiquely that we might adjourne on Christmes day, some spoke against it but the adjournement then prevailed. On the Lords dayes before & after I preached on sutable scriptures, & encouraged by word & example unto Charity. It was an Honorable Lady that merily told me she liked not the phrase in the Epistle, The providence of heaven had designed the Fast to fall on that day, the metropolitane of all Festivities ; I have heard the same since, but when I read Math. 10. 29 & that God worketh all things according to the counsell of his own will Eph. 3. 21. I see yet no cause of such distast. It was a good providence that guided the King & Parlam^t to appoint at first that day of prayer against the Irish cruelties & for y^e diversion of the like from Engl^d. It was the like providence that continued the Monthly Fast till those 2 great dayes met together & I am certaine we looked upon it as a good providence & made such use of that Law in o^r prayers then for the King & Kingdome, which retarded somewhat & soundly vexed Oliver in his subtle growing. And why should I be blamed for ascribing the conjunction of thos 2 dayes to providence more than Math : Paris telling of severall matters happening to Tho. Becket on the same day of the weeke, he was borne on Tuesday, arraigned on Tuesday, banished on Tuesday, returned on Tuesday & was killed on Tuesday, and this beyond humane providence saith my Author. That sermon spake much for the Kings Ma^{ty} & his landes might have seen its desires to the House to regaine the King's Royall person & favour. When the Parliament is spoken of & for, the King is ever intended as the Head thereof & sometime so named, among the last & most sure words it is said, pray, that God would returne the Head to the body, the King to the Parlam^t. It ventured so much for peace that it desired another solemne Fast for that purpose. It was earnest against the Cromwellian Engine, Toleration of all Religions, so earnest that S.C. hath placed that passage among his Golden Apples. Serious it was against Church robbing & sacrilege & suffering the fabricks of o^r Churches to decay. It called for more charitable respect to Epall men & their families, yea it invited to moderation even unto Papists. If it now please not the palate of some that there were either silent or in their minority, they might do well yet to consider the violence of thos times & if they had bene in such stormes, possibly they would not have dared so much abroad ; there are [those] that complied

submitted engaged & subscribed, their hands are yet to be seen, for a Commonwealth without King or House of Lords & now hope to redeeme that folly cowardize and sinn by devisinge evill devises & smiting me with their tongues, whose eyes never yet saw any such subscription of mine. They have or may see the contrary in the Vindication aftermentioned. What my preaching & principles were in the beginning of thos violences hath bene declared, & when it was my course to pray in the Houses I never forget to supplicate the Almighty earnestly for the Kings Majesty &c.

1645 I was invited to preach at S. Pauls & spake so much for monarchy that the then L^d Mayor gave me thankes in that very pticular good knowledge I had of frequent
 Armagh converse with & faire reception from severall Bps Royall
 Lincoln & Epall men. I visited them in their prisons & relieved
 Norw. them upon occasion according to my power. When a
 Excoet. & S^r H. B. Review was allowed by ye noble Earle of Manchester in
 S^r P. A. the Association for sequestered ministers I was so forward
 D^{rs} W. D. & effectually in that worke for them that they have publicly
 M^{rs} G. S. acknowledged my helpfulnes; for my soule did sympathize
 M. G. & c. in their miseries & the sad sufferings of their wives &
 J. B. children & so much notice was taken of it y^t I was openly
 called the malignants Advocate for my sollicitude in
 recovering ye 5th pt for them.

1646 The next L^d Mayor, ye most worthy S^r Tho: Adams was told at his coming home from y^e morning sermon at S. Pauls that the Preacher in his parish church was invective & had proceeded, but they were absent, he said, & threatened the rest in the afternoone. My L^d was not willing to leave his own parish, nor to be abused there & was importunate with me to supply the place & would not be denied. I went into a private chamber with my Bible & his concordance having penn inke & paper & in an hours space by Divine Assist^{ce} asserted the ministerial function from the same Script: Jerem. 5. 3 w^{ch} was so miserably disserted against it in the morning sermon & had els bene worsted that evening against the Magistrate. Somewhat els considerable followed then & there & after in my L^d Mayors house, not so meet possibly in this Breviate to be remembered, for the Church was full of sectaryes that looked furiously upon me.

1647 About this time for severall reasons I quitted my Mygreatest employm^t in Norffk was invited into Kent & finding the losses in place legally voided I accepted of it & there remained till
 Kentare certified y^e ruining Engagement cashiered me. Y^e Troubles were by 2menthen most in that County, the Parlam^t Army lay sore

of Cray-upon me, 20 or 30 at a time & in conclusion calling me
 ford, w^{ch} Cavallier Rogue they tooke away my Horse and what
 I have, ever els they found. In all these times my greatest com-
 but plyance was in paying Taxes & therin I was so slacke that
 never had any looking upon my papers, I find, the Plunder Master strained⁶
 recom- my bookes & would have his fee besides, this was a generall
 pence. & a forced fault & blessed be o^r God & blessed be o^r King
 that Nationall & constrained cryme is pardoned. No man
 can say I was at any time instrumental to the molestation
 or sequestering of any one, neither did I ever directly or
 indirectly goe about to invade or possess the Title or Interest
 of any. When the Deane of Norw^{ch} D^r Hassall was in
 danger to loose his benefice of Brancaster I did twice preserve
 him as his own letters testify. A Parlam^t man said to me,
 I can this morning gaine 500^l by lead & when he confessed
 it was from a Church I most seriously psuaded him to
 forbear & not adventure upon such horrid impiety, telling
 him some passages out of S^r Hen: Spelmans Fate of Sacrilege.
 The advantage others made of ye lead from the pallace
 of the Bp of Norw^{ch} putt him upon it, w^{ch} I said was too
 bad, but this was 10 times worse & would be bitter also
 in the end.

1648 When y^e wildnes of the Army was more visible &
 encreased, I was with others filled with feare & astonish-
 ment not yet suspecting such horrid abominations, but
 hoping and believing they dare not infringe the covenant
 & when his Ma^{ty}s concessions at the Isle of Wight strived
 towards a settlement of the Nation, I prepared an Epistle
 to that gracious King before the first Treatise of Jewes in
 America (as it is now prefixed to his present Ma^{ty} with
 those variations in the 2^d edition or addition) it was then
 so licensed to the presse, but the tryannous usurpers were
 so madly expeditious that they had accomplished their
 diabolical designs before thos sheets could be printed.
 Ass soon as I saw their monstrous intendings, I despaired
 of any good from them & joyned with the Assembly in their
 Vindication manifesting the Hellish horrors of such
 proceedings against the King, & when I had subscribed it,
 as it was printed, thrice, I came no more to y^e Assembly,
 C.P. but repaired to an eminent Gentleman in y^e Temple &
 told him what y^e Divines had done desiring him to sollicite
 ye men of his profession to do the like: He did well approve
 J.C. the motion. I hastened letters also into Norf^k stirring
 them up to such endeavours wherein they also laboured,
 as their Lines to me beare witnes. I mett one of those

⁶ i. e., distrained upon.

A Puritan Moderate

Judges as he was going to that fatal bench & used words & arguments to divert him. When that calamitous day approached I did solemnly fast and pray with the little company in my family. Two or 3 dayes after one of that bloody crew would needs know of me walking in Westminster Hall why I subscribed that wicked Vindication. I presently answered It was my desire somewhat might remaine upon record how much I did abhor that Jesuiticall doctrine & practice of king-killing. He said instantly the subscribers shall assuredly goe thither (pointing to the high Court of Injustice). We have then served good masters, I replied, that must now dye, because we cannot consent to that Act, for which we shal be detested of all men, Christians & Jews & Turks & other Infidells. He observed and blamed one that walked by us & listened to or communication. Much & long discourse we had in that publique place too much to be inserted here, yet so much that Pragmaticus, who heard it, printed some part of it in his Mercury in thes words, M^r Thorowgood tells us plainly the Assembly cannot in honour or conscience declare a syllable in favour of this government nor so much as acknowledge it without an evident breach of the Covenant & making themselves ridiculous & scandalous to all men & nations who are capable either of reason or religion. To another of them in the same place not long after I justified the particulars of that Vindication: & when one of thos Caco-Zealots exalted that horrid murder as one of the highest pieces of justice since Adame, I said presently, it was y^e highest piece of Injustice that ever the world saw since the 2^d Adam, a gentleman then among us lately remembered me of this.

E.W.

1649

T.F.

The cursed Engagement (which in due time I trust shall have its due) followed soone after, which I did ever refuse to take, notwithstanding all persuasions & threats & that cost me deare in more places & wayes than one. It was no meane man but one of Olivers knights that offred me no meane preferment if I would subscribe, but, blessed be God, though I was tempted, they overcame me not. I met a good friend in Westminster Abby going with a great booke to Barbarous Bradshaw,⁶ whose wayes I know he abhorred as much as my selfe; when he saw me amazed, you remember not, he said, the Spanish proverbe, A wise man will have a friend in Hell as well as in Heaven. I was as much against the next high Court of Injustice, for a friend of mine, I thinke yet alive, being dealt with to be

⁶ Lord President of the Court which sentenced Charles I.

a Judge there, I told him Ketts Quercous Reformatoria was more just, for he tryed at his oake the rabble of his owne company only, & men like himself: & after in June 1651 when one of M^r Loves⁷ Judges saw him coming in Westminster Hall, see, said he to me, how proud this fellow is, how he cocks his beaver, but I told him his boldness was not from pride but from innocence. While I was thus & by this means without employment, the Hon^{ble} Earle of Kent & some other persons of quality invited me to Kingston upon Thames, assuring me the Engagement should not be forced upon me, being only an Assistant pro tempore to the Doct^r w^o kept the Title but parted with y^e profits, so I undertooke y^e ministry of y^t place for 3 years.

E.S.

1650

I was soone discovered there to be no Republican, nor rigid Presbyterian & it was given out with confidence that I was one of the Kings Captains. I did every Lords day in such a manner pray for the King & the Royall family that the said noble Earle, then under a cloud also, gave me thanks & encouraged me, but an Army officer, sitting right against me in the Church threw downe his hatt in a rage & said he would putt me out of ye pulpitt. That year, having occasion to ride through Penshurst I gained favour to kisse the Duke of Glosters⁸ hand, & after of the most gracious Princesse Elizabeth⁹, for the Sectaryes were compelled to say the grace of God was in her. It was the morning after newes came to them that they were to be removed to the dismall Isle of Wight. One of the Gentlemen that attended told me I might speake to her without danger, whose great sorrow was visible in her most sad aspect & countenance. It pleased God to mind me that I said "Madame, be of good comfort, there is a stocke of prayers going continually to heaven for you & yo^r Royallfamily. God will sanctify yo^r afflictions & deliver you & them. Remember, Madame, your times are in the hand of God, all comes by divine appointm^t." Her Highnes looked steadfastly upon me unable to speake any more for teares. This yeare I was reinvited into Norffk & then I answered my freind, the engagement & my principles would not suffer it, the letters are with me still which wished I were sound in the opinions of thes times etc.

G.G.

1651

S.G.

R.H.

Upon one of Oliver's great dayes⁹ the chiefe Magistrate in that Towne sent unto me first my friend requiring me to read y^e Order of ye day who carried to him my denyall,

⁷ Christopher Love (1618-1651), Puritan minister (Presbyterian), executed on Tower Hill, 22nd August, 1651, for plotting against Commonwealth.

⁸ Son and daughter respectively of Charles I.

⁹ Probably the Battle of Worcester.

- then he dispatched to me the Churchwardens, who returned with the same answer, last of all the Clarke comes from him, I willed him to say I neither would nor could read it, but was coming to preach y^e Lecture & finish it; he was thereupon enjoyned to read the Order & he made a great noise of the Victory, misreading thousands for hundreds. On a fryday towards evening a minister of my ancient acquaint^{ce} came to my lodging at the Towne Clerks, persuading me earnestly to suppe with him in the Inne & when he told me Colonell Pride¹⁰ was in the company I dare not then goe, my saying was, for I am not of his religion. But remembering the next day, I went & caryed a booke with me to entertaine the soldjourns with other yⁿ catching discourse; the Colonell asked after the fore-mentioned Magistrate & how he stood wth the times. He is in health, I said, & thorough-paced for the Army. That's strange, quoth he to his company, he hath cozend the state of 20000ⁿ, but we will squeeze him. I told this man in private what was said against him in the hearing of so many, advising him to make his peace with y^e colonell, who looked asquint upon me ever after, for a friend told me that other had related all my speech to the Colonell himselfe with what other additions he knew not. This is written because of a mery passage at that supper occasioned by the foresaid booke Eirenodia Fitz Pagani Piscatoris which magnified the exploits of y^e Army Officers. And to Col. Pride I said, doubtless, you are named herein. Very true saith he & tak^s y^e booke, though no very good Scholler, he soone found his verse

Virtutem nec jam narrabo aut robora Pridi.

& while he prided himself in his praise, a witty man in y^e company said to him, do not boast thereof, for thou art badly jeered & he made him this construction, "Neither will I now tell Virtutem, the villany, & robora, & the robbery & plundering of Pride." This vexed him, but made others mery. But I was in some thoughtfulness, being minister of the place, least they should call upon me to pray, but y^e Colonell nodded to y^e other & I was glad thereof, not onely for my faire dismission, but because though he was an Arminian in his preaching, he was not so in his prayer, for he concluded—through Jesus Christ our Lord, who dyed for many.

- 1652 The most Honorable Countesse of Kent wanted a Tutor for y^e young Earle (her Lord being then lately gone to

¹⁰ Of "Pride's Purge" fame.

greater glory) & desired me to find out a meet man for that worke & hearing much good of one Mr Locke, bred in Ireland, I repaired to my Lord of Armagh¹¹ at Rygate, who gave great commendations of him a learned pious monarchicall & Epall man, directing me to my good friend, Dr Bernard of Grey's Inne, by whose means I found him out, having bene an Assistant to Doctor Gauden, now ye most Reverend Bp of Exceter. I brought him to Kingston. He was in great esteeme with that noble & virtuous Lady & her family, a family, a patterne, I wish it were patterned by all the noble Ladyes & Lords too in the Land. While I remayned in y^t Towne the Hon^{ble} Ld Fairfaxe & his Lady were my constant auditors & would have had me with them into Yorkshire upon liberall termes. I have y^e noble Lady Veres letters yet by me testifying their kindness in that respect to me.

1653 I understood that a Comittee had power to give monyes to Cathedrall men in want & thereupon moved, thos in Norw^{ch} to make means for some of that allowance, wherby they obtained about 70^l & I petitiond for the godly & learned Bp Hall, he knowing not at all thereof & procured him 50^l, for my Ld had told me the Parlam^t voted him 400^l p an, but he could never gett above 140^l, & the one half thereof well nigh was expended in gaining the other; a friend of mine in Kingston that knew him no otherwise then by his pious books sent him 40^s at y^e same time, & the next yeer, unasked also 5^l more; when from that Comittee I brought his Lordship another 50^l but y^e he desired me to sollicite no further for him that way, & yet he said possibly that w^{ch} I now receive was mine before it came; & here I may remember what one of the Comittee said, I hope Dr Hall will take the Engagement, but my reply was I hoped they would not desire him to be felo de se, for therfore the Covenant was not pressed upon men of his condition.

I left Kingston & a great pt of my salary behind me (thanke the Engagement) & was glad I came off from that quarrelling place without visible wounds. I could easily write a booke of my bickerings there in that Triennium especially in reference to y^e Intruder, w^o named me in the pulpitt, who by the countenance of a pitifull number of Sectaryes usurped the place without & against the consent of the Patron Sr Lionell Tollemach & the Dr & his assistant & this when he was then no minister. It was my crime there to say Saint John & S. Paul & it should have been

¹¹ Archbishop Usher.

an article against me also that I did in the Church say publicly thus endeth the first or 2^d lesson. I had conflicts & exercise there, but I was supported by divers noble & worthy friends, who desired my stay, so did the Patron & y^e Dr, but the Engagement was threatened afresh & the place was too neere Hampton Court, which has received complaints against me made & multiplied by the Sectaries.

1654 &c. In my absence without any my appearance I was designed to this place, where now my abode is. Here I have kept up the King's Arms in the Church, which one of Oliver's friends saw & blamed. I baptized at the font & owned witnesses. I buried the dead wth an exhortation at the grave. When there was election of Parlam^t men, I did not only give my owne vote for such I knew Regally affected, but I stirred up others to do the like & I was noted for y^s by the opposing party. I was desired sometimes to y^e Presbyterian Ordination, but never assisted there, & when it was suspected I liked it not, my answer was, as the times now stood it was well for this Church, otherwise, the Bps being forbidden to ordaine, y^e fountaine of the Ministry would be dried up: & if the troubles continued 10 years longer, the ancient Bps would all be dead & no way left to renew them according to primitive custome & law of this land, but the Romanists are now prevented of this objection, & these are not only delivered from, but bettered by their sufferings & there is no roome left for Rome to make a new Nags head device.¹² However in that Interim I directed such as consulted me to be epally ordayned, if it might be had, as most agreeable to the Establishments of this Church & Nation.

C.R.
J.P.

E.F.
H. &c.

The Committee at Norw^{ch} wrote to me, named, by what means I know not, in y^e Act about or rather against ministers. I was once only among upon request of some that were in danger & I was instrumentall for their deliverance. Some scores of Ministers in this Diocesse were in the way to be rujned for taking their Institutions from Dr Corbett¹³; their names were sent up to the Tryars, the list was shewed me, happily there at that time, supposing I would discover the unworthy, but my study was, I said to preserve, not to accuse my brethren & I was at some charge & labour in

¹² About 1603 Papist controversialists invented a story that the early Elizabethan Bishops had been imperfectly consecrated "in a bunch" by an ex-Bishop at the Nag's Head Inn, Cheapside.

¹³ Clement Corbett, LL.D., Vicar-general and Chancellor of the Bishop of Norwich.

N.B.
E.H.
P.N.

searching the Rolls of both Houses & moving persons, then in place to appear for them. I crave leave to add without boasting, because it was my duty & my weakness, otherwise, is ever before me, No day, since his late Ma^{ties} death hath gone over me wherin I prayed not in my closett for my present Sovereigne & the Royall family & sometimes solemnly in my house, & no mans heart, I think, triumphed more in the midst of him at the glad tidings & sight of his Ma^{ties} accesse to his Crownes & Rights in such a quiet, welcome, & serene manner, & I said Let them that have suffered most for him, reign & flourish with him, let them take all, for as much as my Ld the King is come again in peace to his owne house, 2 Sam. 19. 30.

And for that late suggest of my entertaining Antimonarchists, it is not likely that having yeilded so little to them in the time of their power, I should now so comply to my certaine danger & destruction, when all mens eyes are open & their hands lifted up against them. But Ill will is not only unjust & intemperate & irreligious, but blind also & deafe, neither seeing nor hearing reason. But let Malice or Satan, the Accuser & Father thereof prove that Colonel Fleetwood¹⁴ or any one of the enemyes of the King have at any time bene entertained by me & I am contented to forfeit all my former endeavours & sufferings. But upon my oath I am innocent in this also, let my servants so be examined & it will be yet more manifest. I could add much more, but this true Narrative, I trust, will deliver me from the suspicion of being a Republican or Protectorian. But if in thes monstrous calumniationes I should be totally silent, some that have Engaged with & so wrought for

A.D.T. Oliver, might deeme me guilty as themselves, but in this, whatever other doe, I need no pardon. A good friend of mine once sequestred, newly preferred in the first of these times kindly asked me how matters stood with me in this change, when I answered Well & according to desire, he said, if there had been cause, we would all have spoken for you that ever were a friend to us. But this Ingenuity is dead & the love of many is waxed cold. And if I be enoyed, as if there had bene somewhat of the Serpent in me, that I have suffered no more & not bene quite undone in thes overturning times (though, I hope my adversaries sufferings have not bene so heavy to them) let them remember o^r comon Masters praecept, Be wise as serpents & harmless as doves, Math. 10. 16. It hath bene my study also & prayer to keep a good conscience, & if I have failed to any

¹⁴ The Parliamentary General of Irmingland Hall, Norfolk.

A Puritan Moderate

man in dovelike innocence, I will not onely be sory for my fault, but thankfull to a friendly reprover.

I have written this to wipe off thos black aspersions by which I am traduced to the best of the county, for it is my infelicity. I have bene as a stranger for the most part of thes 20 years in my owne country. I say now no more. It is enough for the Disciple that he be as his Master & for the servant as his Lord, if they call the Master of ye house Beelzebub, how much more shall they call them of his household, Math. 10. 25. It is enough, as to myselfe I am satisfied, but not without grieffe & feare for those sinners against their own soules.

Dat veniam corvis, vexat censura columbas.

B. COZENS-HARDY.

Dr. Lewis Du Moulin's Vindication of the Congregational Way.

THE MS. of which the following—with some necessary omissions—is a copy, belonged to the late Dr. Mackennal, and was given to me after his death by his eldest son. In a pencilled note the Doctor ascribes its authorship to Dr. Lewis Du Moulin (1606–1680), and this is confirmed by what the writer (near the end) says of himself as a Frenchman and a Physician. He was born at Paris, studied medicine and graduated M.D. at Leyden; took degrees at Cambridge (1634) and Oxford (1649). He probably practised at Oxford, where (in September, 1648) he was appointed Camden Professor of History. Steeped in Calvinistic Protestantism by his father, Dr. Pierre Moulin (1568–1658), his zealous adherence to the Puritan cause was natural. He defended it alike for its Protestantism and its Calvinism. In fact, to oppose the English Church as a dangerous promoter of Arminianism and Romanism became the chief business of his life. In 1653 there came into the hands of Baxter “the fragment of an Epistle,” written to Lewis by his brother Cyrus,¹ on the subject of Justification by Faith. The object of the letter seems to have been to convince Lewis that their respective views of the subject, though different, were of no practical importance—striving about them was “a mere fighting of shadows.” But Baxter thought otherwise. Lewis, at least, held a doctrine, reputedly Calvinistic and orthodox, which tended to Antinomianism. Baxter, therefore, after a study of the book by Lewis which Cyrus had in mind, wrote a confutation of it in 1654. He felt this to be called for by the author’s high position as “Dr. of Physick and History Professor in Oxford.” Eighteen years later he took him to task for his extreme Erastianism. Lewis, he says, “was so vehemently set upon the crying down of the Papal and Prelatical Government that he thought it was the work that he was sent into the world for, to convince Princes that all Government was in themselves, and no proper Government, but only Persuasion, belonged to the Churches—to which end he wrote his *Parœnesis contra œdificatores Imperium in Imperio*, and his *Papa Ultra-Trajectinus*, and

¹ That most famous man (says Baxter).

other Tractates, and thrust them on me to make me of his mind; and at last wrote his *Iugulum Causæ*, with no less than seventy epistles before it, directed to Princes and Men of Interest, among which he was pleased to put one to me."² Baxter answered him in a short treatise of 89 pages, designed to make clear "The Difference between the Power of Magistrates and Church-Pastors, and the Roman Kingdom and Magistracy under the name of a Church and Church government usurped by the Pope, or liberally given him by Popish Princes" (1671). True to his ruling passion, which was hatred of Rome and of that party in the English Church (the Anglo-Catholics?), whose positive drift, or aim, was Rome-ward, Lewis wrote in 1679 *A Short and true account of the several Advances the Church of England hath made towards Rome!*³ It was this, as much as anything, which drew forth an anonymous brochure (30 pp., 8vo.) in January, 1679-80, entitled *A Lively Picture of Lewis du Moulin drawn by the incomparable Hand of Monsiuer Daille, late Minister of Charenton*. On October 21, 1680, Du Moulin died and there was published immediately *The last words of Lewis Du Moulin*, "being his Retraction of all the Personal Reflections he had made on the Divines of the Church of England (in several books of his) signed by himself on the 5th and the 17th of October 1680." It was authenticated by Dr. Gilbert Burnet, and Simon Patrick, Dean of Peterboro, to whom Du Moulin had made his confession. They each wrote, "I have perused this Relation, and, as far as I am concerned in it do hereby attest the truth of it." In due course Burnet made some comments on both the *Lively Picture*, and *The Last Words*. The latter, he thought, amounted to little more than an utterance of heart-felt sorrow for all his too hard and violent words—such sorrow as he himself and others ought to feel; the former—which called Du Moulin "an incredible Lyar," a vain writer and malicious, if not mad and distracted—did not accord with his own experience.

"I found him more patient of confutation, contradiction and reproof than most men that ever I disputed with, his zeal which you call fury being far more for God than for himself. . . . I never heard that the Doctor gave me any uncivil or uncharitable word"—though greatly

² B. B., lii., 85.

³ Across the title-page of Ryland's copy someone has written, "A false and lying Libell worthy of its title and of the despicable Author."

Vindication of the Congregational Way 221

provoked thereto—"nor did he ever reply to either of these books of mine, nor signify any abatement of his love. And I think this shewed a forgiving mind."⁴ The special point of this testimony from Baxter lay in the fact that the writer of the *Lively Picture* had quoted freely his words against Du Moulin, and expected Baxter to side with him. But Baxter was always fair, even to those with whom at times he might be fierce; and Lewis recognised this when he spoke of Baxter in his last letter to him "as the only good and disinterested man in the world."⁵

As to the MS. we have in hand, we can say for certain that it is an autograph by Lewis, and probably the rough draft of the essay which came out soon after his death—at the end of 1680 or beginning of 1681. That it is an autograph has been ascertained for me by Mr. Stephen K. Jones, of the Dr. Williams's Library, who has kindly compared its writing with that of the letters and finds it identical. In this case, the MS. is literally unique. It exists alone as the form first taken by his thoughts on the subject of the printed book; and it shows not only that they underwent very considerable changes, but also that the book as designed was much more comprehensive than it actually turned out. Was it that his hand was stayed by the near approach of the end?

The occasion of this particular part of his design was this. In 1671, Bossuet, Bishop of Condom, the most eloquent and famous of Roman Catholic preachers, issued a volume of Discourses in which (*inter alia*) he argued that no Protestant Church which admitted its own liability to err had any reasonable right to demand an unqualified submission to its doctrine and discipline—much less to excommunicate and otherwise persecute dissenters. Such a right *is* claimed by Rome, because it presupposes a claim to infallibility. Waive the latter, and the former goes with it. Quite true—says Du Moulin: consequently the Calvinists and Lutherans, the Presbyterians and Anglicans who loudly protest their own liability to err—nay assert, as a cardinal article of their creed, the right of a Christian man to interpret the Scriptures (the only Divine authority) by the light of his own conscience, are in an utterly illogical position. They admit that they may be, and have been, wrong, and yet insist on the decisions

⁴ *Second Plea for Peace*, chap. XV.

⁵ Baxter MSS. (Letters), VI., ff. 174 5. There are several letters to Baxter, from him, and also from his father and brother of the same name, Pierre.

of their Synods, etc., as statements of absolute truth, to which all within their jurisdiction must assent, or be subjected to pains and penalties. On the other hand, those of the Congregational way are loyal to the logic of Protestantism. Their Confession of Faith is just as orthodox as those of the other Protestant Churches, but their Synods never dream of exercising coercion. They are merely consultative and fraternal. Each congregation, and every member of each congregation, is encouraged to regard conscience as the final judge. Persuasion, not coercion, is the rule. While touching, or dwelling, upon other merits of the Congregational way, Du Moulin extols this as the highest. It is, he thinks, a merit which carries with it all the rest; but whose reasonableness none before him has worked out with the same emphasis and accurateness (p. 35).

Du Moulin anticipates an objection to his account of the Congregational way, *viz.* that it is ideal. He has had no actual experience of the inner working of a Congregational Church. He is deducing its character from an abstract consideration of its principles. His answer was that, as a sympathetic onlooker, and not a minister, he might be the better able to judge aright. But I doubt it. A sure result of the Congregational way, for example, as he saw it, meant a fine tolerance. Was this, however, a feature of Dr. Owen's Church which he wished to join? Let the question be answered by those twelve reasons against having anything whatever to do with the Anglican form of worship which Dr. Owen compiled in his last days for the guidance of his people. No. The Congregational way had to pass many turnings before it came out into a broad place.

I have not copied the whole of the MS., partly because it is too long for an article, and partly because what is omitted is of inferior interest. Nor have I marked by any means all the variations of the printed text; for this could not have been done without a parallel copy of the whole. One or two facts are very noticeable, *viz.*, that the admiration of Congregationalists for Calvin is more emphatic than in the MS.; that John Owen is not mentioned; and that here and there some peculiarities of the Congregational way are omitted or toned down. It looks as if Lewis had suddenly grown cautious of seeming *too* Congregational. I am a bit disposed to think that not only Lewis but some "sober" redactor has been at work.

F. J. POWICKE.

THE CONFORMITY OF THOSE
THAT THE VULGAR CALL
INDEPENDENTS⁶ WITH THE
ANCIENT CHRISTIANS

(Together)

WITH THEIR CONFESSION OF
FAITH AND A VINDICATION
OF THE
CONGREGATIONAL WAY

BY THE

BISHOP OF CONDOM,

Tutor to the Dauphin.

With (further)

AN ANSWER TO THE EXCEPTIONS
OF SOME LEARNED PROTESTANTS
IN FRANCE AGAINST THAT
VINDICATION.

For the reasonableness of Independency
of Churches on a Supreme National
Church-Tribunal subject to error.

ALL PUBLISHED IN FRENCH⁷.

⁶ Note that here the name "Independents" is regarded as a nickname like Quakers. It was, in fact, flung at all the so-called lawless sects of the time, and was only adopted later by the people here in question with considerable reluctance. Their own name for themselves was "Congregationals" or those of the Congregational way. Besides this essay, see, *e.g.*, the protest of the *Apologetical Narration* (1643) against the name, and the "Savoy Confession of Faith," *passim*.

⁷ The above is the title-page of the whole work as published in French—though this, if it actually appeared, I have not seen. What follows is simply the "Vindication."

THE CONFORMITY OF THOSE THAT THE VULGAR CALL INDEPENDENTS
WITH THE ANCIENT CHRISTIANS.⁸

There is near upon fifty years that learned and clear-sighted men, both of the Clergy and of the Laity, have disengaged an important truth from the tyranny of prejudicate opinions and from an obstinate blindness, which have now these thousand years and above prevailed over men's spirits. That Truth is the sentiment of Nestorius, which, all the while, the authority of Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria, ever since the third Œcumenical Council, caused to be looked upon as a lie and a false doctrine: as, indeed, it was so looked upon by all the Fathers and Doctors of the Church, ancient and modern, Protestant and Papist, who all, with one accord believed it stood with their reputation and honour not to unsay what they once had said, but remained constant in putting Nestorius among the abominable heretics, and thundering upon him and all his followers, all their excommunications and anathemas both major and minor, though in truth Nestorius was the orthodox and Cyril the heretic, who deserved all the anathemas that were cast at the head of the poor Nestorius.⁹

I might here make a reflection upon my particular case about those great truths I have lately published, which have met with as many oppositions as Nestorius in his time; (but) I will only insist upon a business like that of Nestorius, even upon those they call Independents who, albeit they be not inferior to any of the Protestants in Europe, in holiness of doctrine and life, and in a wise conduct and prudent managing of their own affairs, and for having the Spirit of Jesus Christ in great measure—which is a spirit of meekness, moderation and averse(ness) from persecution, besides a confession of faith¹⁰ which is such a masterpiece that all the antiquity and the now Protestant Churches cannot produce the like for purity of doctrine, neat and exact composition, expression

⁸ The title of the printed text runs—

The Conformity of the Discipline and Government of those who are commonly called Independents to that of the ancient Primitive Christians.

By Dr. Lewis Du Moulin sometime History Professor of Oxford.

quis reperta veritate aliquid discutit mendaciam quærit.

Valentinianus & Martianus.

London.

Printed for Richard Garraway, 1680. 67 pp. plus three pages of contents.

⁹ The so-called Nestorian heresy (condemned by the Council of Ephesus, 431 A.D.)—that the person of Christ consisted of two natures and that Mary was not the Mother of God but only of Christ—has within the last fifty years been disengaged as an important truth from the tyranny of prejudice, &c. So the truth of the Church has been set free by “those they call Independents,” &c.

¹⁰ In printed text—“the most nervous and sinewy, the most orthodox, and couched in terms so strong and powerful that of all pieces, which yet have appeared in the world, since the writings of the Apostles, it is the most full and perfect.”

and wording nor the *corpus* of *Syntagma Confessionum*—yet notwithstanding, this holy generation of men have been almost overwhelmed with false reports, lies, slanders; by Synods, Doctors, and Professors beyond sea, namely, by the National Synod held at Charenton,¹¹ in the year 1678. The great and learned Mr. Daille¹² and Amyraut¹³ spoke of them as of a pernicious sect, not to be suffered in States and Kingdoms, and overturning all Governments, and, besides, of a vicious and ungodly life and conversation.¹⁴ Some of their accusers have taxed them to admit promiscuously good and bad into their society, whereas, quite contrary, their error (if it be one) goeth to the other extremity in not receiving into their communion but such as carry marks of regeneration; whereas, also, their greatest crime (though to me it is a great virtue) is to condemn that practice of those Churches reformed, as Papal and tyrannical, who by a pretended Divine right and by virtue of the power of the keys and of binding and loosing, erect an ecclesiastical jurisdiction and national Tribunal, independent on the magistrate.

And on that account, that Congregational Churches practise no such thing, they are to be looked upon as having a way of settling religion in the world nearest to the Apostolical, and most conformable to the ancient Christians—as, indeed, their way hath the excellencies and advantages over all other Church ways now in the world, that are inconceivable,¹⁵ specially over that usual settling of national religion and Church government of the same extent as the territory is where it is settled. For it is not possible that among hundreds and hundreds (of) Congregational Churches, independent one on another and on that National Church tribunal, there be not some ones which retain that holy conformity, in doctrine and discipline with the Apostolical; whereas it is a hundred to one, as experience hath showed us ever since the time of Constantine the great, if a national Church of the same extent as the Magistrate's Territory or Empire, be not attended with incredible disorders, reigning heresies, factious persecuting spirits, bandings one against another and the like, as I am now to show:—

1. One must consider a National Church as it was established by the Constantines, by both Theodosius, Martian and Justinian, of the same extent as the Roman Empire, in which the Ecclesiastical State was modelled according to the Civil, where the Bishops of a town or city had for extent (*paroikian*¹⁶) whose collateral civil

¹¹ The Synod of Charenton in 1678 approved and confirmed what these two leaders had said before their death.

¹² 1590-1670.

¹³ Amyraut (Amyraldus), 1596-1664.

¹⁴ The whole of what follows to p. 14 is variously altered in the printed text—though the same in substance.

¹⁵ Emphatic way of saying this way hath unconscionable excellencies.

¹⁶ Province.

magistrate was *Defensor Civitatis* or *Dux*. The Archbishop or Metropolitan of the Province was parallel to the *Præses* or *Proconsul*, called also *Corrector*. The Diocesan, Primate, or Patriarch was parallel to the legate of the Emperor or *Vicarius*, whose palace was called *Prætorium*, and where there was the like subordination of Church courts as of civil.

2. One must consider a National Church as it hath been since the reformation, either in a hierarchical way with an inequality of Pastors, or in a Presbyterian, where ministers are of equal rank and dignity. In both they pretend the settling of uniformity in doctrine and discipline, and it is urged in both with the same rigour, whether the settling be right or wrong; and it is expected all men should frame their obedience, conscience, religion, faith upon the model of the will of those that sit at the stern of the State, whether ecclesiastical or civil—be they Arians, Papists, Lutherans, Calvinists; and dissenters must be persecuted either by the magistrate, or by those that have the chief power in the National Church. All which inconveniences, disorders, and mischiefs can never fall out by a settling of a congregational way in States and Kingdoms. The love of rule and the love of money, vices so much condemned by Socrates in great Bishops, their factions banding one against another, ambition, gaping after power, dignities, plurality of livings, will not possess or trouble the head of a congregational minister, whose power and ambition is shut up within the walls of his congregation.

The Synods of the Congregational way are harmless, in which they have no authority but that of counsel and persuasion; and none is frighted at their censures, depositions, and excommunications, as dissenters were by the numerous Synods and representative assemblies of a National Church (under the last Emperors), and who would needs command *pro imperio in ecclesiasticis*, as the Emperor did *in temporalibus*.

It is not conceivable what harms, mischiefs, heresies, corruption in manners, followed and attended this National Church way and their Synods. Gregory of Nazianze and Martin, Bishop of Tours maintained that never any good came from them; and other good men observe that more good always came from little Assemblies and Synods, where there were not above twenty or twenty-five men. No great Synod can show me such a pious sentence as that of the Synod of Orange (cent. 5; can(on) 12) *tales nos amat Deus quales futuri sumus ipsius dono, non quales sumus nostra merito*; and God is usually more present with two or three assembled in his name than with an assembly of many hundred, when those devils I have but now mentioned are in their reign. Had not the moderation and wise temper of the Emperors cooled

¹⁷ Church historian (b. 380).

the heat, passion, and ambition, yea cruelty, of the heads of those numerous assemblies, they would have killed one another; and the place where they sat would have been converted into an *aceldama*: for Dioscorus, Bishop of Alexandria, killed Flavian, Bishop of Antioch with fists, kicks and blows in the middle of an assembly of 400 men.

3. One thing is considerable, that in a National Church having the same uniformity for religion as for policy and of the same extent, 'tis not truth, honesty, sincerity which acts and prevails, but chance, worldly interest, the best sword, the major number (which most part is erroneous), sometime the will of a single man invested with an absolute power, who is led about by flatterers and evil counsellors, and who—however good and sincere—have seldom wisdom and sufficient knowledge to judge in matters of religion, so that now (what a woeful thing is that!) behold, by the National Church way, millions of Christians and faithful men obliged, at least commanded, to submit equally to the religion of a whole empire, according to the will and settling of a Rehoboam, of an idolater, of a Constantius Arian Emperor, of Julian an Apostate, of Mary a popish Queen of England, as of David, of Constantine the Great, and of Queen Elizabeth, which great incumbrances, mischiefs and inconveniences will (not), nor can ever, attend the settling of religion by a Congregational way.

4. The same evils do attend the settling of a National Church according to the reformation of Luther and Calvin. For the reformation of Luther, received in Germany, in Swedeland and in Denmark, and authorised by their Sovereigns and by their laws, carrieth along with it an obligation of submission to the consubstantiation, without leave to some to gather assemblies that reject it, as an independent congregation would do, if it were suffered. We may say the like of the National Church way according to the model of Calvin, in those places where it is received; and whose discipline, however the doctrine of that holy man is pure, is very full of defects, namely for erecting a National Church with an ecclesiastical tribunal independent of her Magistrate, and submitting particular men and Churches to its laws, commands and censures, which thing hath caused an infinity of disorders and troubles—in those countries where the discipline of Calvin was received, namely in Scotland, and Holland, and even in Geneva in the time of Calvin, as we read in his Epistles.

5. Another great inconveniency we meet under a National Church Government (is) that it is always joined with a spirit of persecution, and forcing bodies and souls to submit to the religion prevailing in the nation where one's abode is.

6. One main evil is, that a National Church Government and Tribunal causeth that it unmans a man, and divests him of his reason, natural liberty, in the choice of God and the worship he

must render to Him ; and to which none must be constrained but persuaded, nor brought to it by custom, birth, nor even by the law of the Magistrate except he be convinced that his commands are agreeable with the Word of God.

7. Also, this consideration is much urged, by wise men of the congregation, against a religion and Church way fitted both to the National Church State and to the civil—and much worse as to the ecclesiastical than to the civil. 'For in the latter' a man hath the liberty to choose his abode, his wife, his servant, his lawyer, his physician, and to govern his own family as he pleaseth, so that it be done without violation of the public peace ; whereas he hath not the same liberty as for matters of religion.

8. This, also, is alleged in the behalf of the Congregational way that, however absurd and unjust the laws of the Magistrate in civil matters, yet it is very reasonable that they should be imposed upon all and obeyed by all, as long as their importance doth not extend beyond this present life. But if they extend further—even to conscience and eternal salvation—an uniformity of religion and of faith, however sound and orthodox, imposed upon men, should be both an iniquity and a tyranny, because it should lay violence upon the conscience, whereof the Magistrate is no master, nor the arbitrator, as he is of bodies and goods.

9. But nothing asserts more the reasonableness of independent particular Churches, both on each other and on Synods ; in a word, on that supreme national tribunal, either Papal or Presbyterian, urged by a divine right and by a judgment either infallible or incontestable, than a discourse of a learned Bishop of Condom in France in a book of his called *Exposition of the Catholic Faith*,¹⁸ wherein he sheweth and proveth by arguments coming near to a demonstration, that it is a tyranny and unreasonableness for any embodied particular Churches to require submission to a national Synod of their own erecting, and obedience to its laws and canons and censures, except it be supposed and granted that the Synod is led by a spirit of infallibility ; and that if it be presupposed that that Synod is subject to error, the submission required to it, is both ungodly, unjust and unreasonable. He thereupon strongly pleads the cause of the Independents, for refusing to submit to any other tribunal than to that of Jesus Christ in his word, against the National Synod held at Charenton in the year 1648, and against all others who condemn the Independency of Congregations on Synods. I will set down here his very words. "The Independents"—saith he—"do believe that every faithful man ought to follow the light of his conscience and not to follow the judgment of any assembly or Synod for *that* reason, that it is subject to error."

The Gospel is not more true nor more reasonable than this

¹⁸ *Exposition de la doctrine de l'Eglise Catholique sur les matieres de Controverſe* (1671).

sentiment of the Independents ; and this Bishop could not approve of one more agreeable to Scripture and Reason, viz. : that either a particular Synod, or Church, ought not to submit their reason, faith, judgment, and religion for a rule of faith and manners to an authority subject to error. And upon that lock the Bishop doth reasonably condemn the Synod of Charenton for making this Canon. *The present Synod doth condemn the opinion of the Independents for holding that every particular Church ought to be governed by its own proper laws and canons, independently, in matters ecclesiastical, on Synods, and without obligation to acknowledge their authority for their conduct and discipline.* Next to that, the Bishop urgeth strongly the reasonableness of this opinion of the Independents that, supposing the tribunal of Rome is infallible, it is a thousand times more reasonable that the people of Rome should submit to it than for the Protestants to submit to a tribunal which they look upon as subject to error.

And therein the common light hath been wanting in our first Reformers, and in much less measure than the Romanists have it, who are a generation of the world and of worldly minded men. For, as these latter foresaw that it was a thing impossible to bring so many people, nations, kings, common-wealths in war among themselves, differing in laws, customs, and language. to a submission to the tribunal of Rome, if it were looked upon as subject to error, they have judiciously and prudently clothed that tribunal of Rome with infallibility, without which the Romish religion would have split in pieces, and each territory would have chalked to themselves a particular religion, and taken the Scripture for a rule and judge.

And, in this particular, the Bishop triumpheth and crows over the Protestants, for not devising an infallible tribunal and judge to which those that are of different judgments should repair and submit. But the Independents have been led by a better light both of reason and grace when, with much piety, justice, and reason they have disengaged themselves from the pretended infallibility of the tribunal of Rome and from the tyranny of requiring submission to a tribunal subject to error. But nothing will more justify the Congregational way than their confession of Faith which sheweth that, if much wisdom hath not been wanting to them in composing such a masterpiece, so pure, so Christian, so well worded and expressed, it is not like(ly) that that wisdom failed them for matter of discipline and prudent ordering their way of Churches. The main design of theirs in composing and framing this confession was to show to the world that, albeit every Church of theirs hath liberty to have a particular government and discipline differing from each other and from the Church of the land of their nativity and from those beyond sea, yet their main study was to show their conformity of Faith and Doctrine with the Presbyterians

and the purest Churches reformed from Popery and that it differs not much from that in Edward the Sixth his days.

As for their discipline, it is short and plain, much like that St. Paul ordered, that everything in the Church be done decently and orderly; and, in that particular, they have not neglected to consult the practice and customs under good Emperors, as were Constantine the Great, Theodosius, Martian, and Justinian, who much recommended uniformity of faith, which was kept by their letters called *testimoniales formata, circulares ecclesiastica*, even when they permitted to every Church to vary in discipline from others. Socrates, the historian, . . . *Lib. 5, cap. 21.*, tells us there were hardly two Churches in the Roman Empire that observed the same manner of praying. The Jesuit, Manbourg, though very zealous for the uniformity of Rome in faith, rites, and ceremonies, yet he maintaineth that the diversity of uses and practices may stand with the unity and uniformity for matter of faith: and this he saith to justify the Greek Churches, who might differ from Rome in discipline and rites, whilst they retained the same faith; and to prove that for that diversity in rites and ceremonies, they could not be taxed to be guilty of schism.

I come now to answer some objections. They say they (of the Congregational way) condemn Synods. It is not so. Their practice, and the Bishop of Condom, justify them from that imputation. They establish the right use and mode of Synods; and with that measure of power as the Bishop of Armagh (Usher) and Mr. Baxter allotted them—as is that of Divines, Ministers of Jesus Christ, prudent, wise, and experienced Christians, able to give wholesome counsels, and who do not assume greater authority than that of the Apostles, at the conclusion of their counsels, “If you do these, it shall be well.” For I maintain that Synods, under Christian Emperors, had no other authority, until their constitutions and canons had the stamp of the imperial Sanction. They are most right about stating the nature and authority of Church and pastors about ordination¹⁹ . . . and none afore Dr. Owen hath understood the nature of schism. No Church in the world goeth beyond them in respect and honour to the memory and doctrine of Calvin, and none are more desirous to have a communion with those Churches which follow the faith of that holy man, though they differ from him in discipline, *and for erecting a National Tribunal over many Churches, which they hold, in a manner, worse than the Papal, for requiring submission to a fallible tribunal, whereas Rome requires none but to an infallible.*²⁰ As for what concerns Church power and authority of Pastors, they know no other but what is confined within the walls of each particular

¹⁹ The reference here to Dr. Owen, and to ordination, is omitted in the printed text.

²⁰ Italicised words omitted, and the whole section recast, in the printed text.

Church. The deposition and excommunication among them is much like to that of the ancient Church. Excommunication is not a matter much disputed with them. The heretics and ungodly, being redeigned [?] in their own conscience, need not be excommunicated, because they excommunicate themselves . . . if any of their Churches use the thing and the word of excommunication, 'tis an ejection not from the holy table properly, but from the assembly—as not to be reputed as one of the members, though he may, as anyone, be a hearer.

Another great charge is laid upon them, that they despise superior Powers. But the 24th chapter of their Confession²¹ doth vindicate them from that accusation. . . . In short, as the Congregationalists receive no laws nor commands from their Synods, and never meet in a body by their deputies but to give counsel and advice, . . . so, a Sovereign, having, may be, thousands of such congregations, divided one from another under him and depending on no national tribunal, may well take for his motto in regard of the Congregationalists *Divide et impera*: for, beside the power that each minister assumeth within the walls of his congregation, he takes none upon him without, but that of persuasion or counsel.

As for the objection, that if there were no other Church way than the Congregational the three parts of four of the Nation should remain in infidelity and ignorance of Christian religion, to that they say, that their way doth not dispense their ministers with attending upon the word and prayer in all places, temples, families; and therein take a part of the parochial ministry with either Episcopal or Presbyterian ministers. And they are not against the Magistrate settling means and revenues for public Churches, Academies, Colleges, Schools of Divinity and for other learning. Neither are they against inviting of men to repair to Churches more public than theirs, as men are to hear lectures in arts and sciences. For they would have no man compelled. . . . As for the crime of schism with which they are charged, as having separated themselves from all the visible Churches of Jesus Christ. it is a false accusation, broached by them that know not the nature of schism.

1. Schism is not a separation of a particular congregation from another, when one Church is divided into two . . . but schism happens when members of one Church are at variance among themselves, as were those of the Church of Corinth.

2. 'Tis no schism when some heretics sever themselves from the orthodox members of a Church to make one of their own . . . but is an apostasy and an abandonment of the orthodox faith. 'Tis a revolving from the catholic visible Church of Jesus Christ. And upon this account, the Romish Church is not guilty of schism but

²¹ Of the Civil Magistrate.

of Apostasy—though upon the account of the first reason, She is truly schismatic.

3.²³ It is no schism when two orthodox Churches agreeing in faith and in one discipline . . . have two distinct governments, though one like the other.

4. It is no schism when several particular Churches differ one from another in discipline, but do all stick to the same foundation of faith and keep a great correspondency and strict communion for THAT particular with other Churches. The thing being so, as it is no schism for a Congregational Church to be independent on another Church of its own way, so it is not one to be independent on all other Churches in the world.

5. Lastly, 'tis no schism when a congregation is formed out of the Parish against the command of the Magistrate. 'Tis a disobeying—not a National Church which is not of Christ's institution . . . but—'tis disobeying and acting against the Magistrate's commands; and so no schism but a rebellion. And yet no sin, where the question is, which of the two is rather to be obeyed, either God or the Magistrate.

In short, all I have said hitherto amounts to these two conclusions. . . .

(a) that, for to settle peace in the world and the true religion, and the true Apostolical way in it, we must have recourse to the *materia prima* of families and Congregational Churches. . . .

(b) that the supposed and intended necessity of an uniformity of religion, faith and discipline, either in the world or at least in one territory; and, besides, of a National Church distinct from the civil in jurisdiction and officers, hath introduced the Pope into the world, or a papal-like tyranny, and that it will even drive pure Churches and ordinances out of the world, except they be found among the Congregational, albeit God hath still a people, though not congregate, in the midst of the worse visible Church, as *e.g.* in Popery

[Here follow a series of paragraphs²⁴ aiming to show that the Congregational way is illustrated by the holy remnant of the Old Testament, by the Churches of the New Testament, by those of the first three Christian centuries, and by the secret societies of saints within the Roman Church of the mediæval and later ages.]

Then, we come to this:—

We are insensibly fallen into the conformity of the Congregational way, in our time, with the ancient Christians for the little number that made up a congregation and for the manner that their Pastors took by praying and preaching but to few, either persons or families . . . rather than by preaching and hearing

²³ §§ 3 and 4 here are expanded into three sections and greatly modified, while § 5 is omitted.

²⁴ Represented by chap. VI. in the printed text.

of the Word in numerous assemblies. The fruit of which St. Chrysostom compareth to a great quantity of water poured by pails upon many bottles of a narrow mouth, and which goeth most aside, and very little enters into the bottles. Whereas the fruit of private instruction by the Presbyter, either in the house or in private congregations, is that of a man taking every bottle one by one, and which he may easily fill. Besides, that it is not possible that a Bishop, who bestoweth all his time upon studying and preaching in public, can afford a minute of time to instruct his auditors one by one, as is most feasible by the congregational way—when one congregation is not above one hundred ‘and’ seldom two hundred; and when you get the chief Pastor assisted by other coadjutors, and almost all of the congregation are prophets, and have the gift and spirit of supplication and of prophecy, or expounding of the word, insomuch that this Congregational way seemeth to be the accomplishment of the Prophecy about the covenant of grace, when all their members shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, and when the Shepherd shall visit the sheep, and not the sheep the shepherd. In short, the Congregational way are the little flock of Christ to whom he intends to give the kingdom.²⁵

[Some further passages insist on the fact that the Congregational way, unlike the Papal or Presbyterian, “may stand and subsist under bad and good magistrates” being essentially non-political; that it may be said to be most pleasing to God “because it most displeaseth man,” especially the superficially religious to whom it is apt to be “. . . an eye sore,”; and that its discipline is commended by its simplicity.]

Under the last point it is said, on the whole “their discipline may be compressed within six lines, as they have done it in the sixth article of the first chapter of their confession. These be the words. *There are some circumstances concerning the worship of God and the Government of the Church common to human actions and societies, which are to be ordered by the light of nature and Christian prudence, according to the general rule(s) of the Word, which are always to be observed.* This is their discipline. Their wise and Christian conduct is like that of well ordered commonwealths, which cannot be too exact and too many for what concerneth manners, but have but few laws for the policy: *nam in pessima Republica plurima leges.*²⁶

I will end this discourse, as I began it, by the consideration of

²⁵ In the printed text there comes here a long and instructive passage mostly about the disinclination of the English people to the Presbyterian or purely Erastian way, compared with the Congregational.

²⁶ At this point the MS. says:—“I might strengthen what I have hitherto related and asserted by the testimony of our best later Divines beyond seas. . . .” In the printed text he does this in a new chapter (IX.).

the tyranny of prejudicate opinions against the most holy way, the most pure and the most orthodox doctrine, and against the most wise conduct and ordering of their affairs.²⁷

As for their confession of Faith it is such a²⁸ masterpiece as the world hath not the like; and such as if all the Libraries and Bibliothecas of the world were consumed by fire, and this only piece reserved and safe, I conceive that the Christian religion might be found in it sufficiently to make men wise unto salvation, and to convince Atheists and the profane of the truth of the Christian religion. Those that shall approve of it will soon conclude that they have been no less wise and prudent in stating aright the ordering of their Churches, and making compatible and agreeing with Scripture and reason their discipline, in which they have studied not to offend any reformed Church, whilst, with that communion and conformity they endeavoured to have with the purest of them for matter of faith, they have taken the liberty to differ from them for discipline. As for those that differ from them for matter of faith, they hold that the best way to bring them to truth—which is but one—is that all dissenting Churches one from another, should mutually send their confession of faith, with a mutual exhortation not to depart from any truth they conceive for peace sake, and to a mutual love and charity, however there be no hope that one Church bring the other to that faith they hold. As there must be heresies as long as the world lasted, so there must be dissenters; and the dissenters must have the liberty to enjoy their own way, which rule if it had been always used and practised as the Congregationals do, the world had been delivered from those horrible and pernicious sects and heresies, and from wars, and from overturning of States and Empires; and the world had been without Pope and Mahomet and Churchmen tyranny over the people of God. For never any good came by bringing all men to an uniformity of faith and discipline, as was used by great Synods and by reconcilers who had done better to exhort Princes and Bishops to yield to a toleration of all sects and religions, without persecuting one another, than to force them all to one faith and discipline . . . therefore, the Congregationals are in the right whilst they condemn all overtures of agreement except when both parties are in error and there is an endeavour to bring them to a middle which is truth. No agreement pleaseth them but that liberty be given to everyone to choose that way, and repair to that Church he liketh best, and that that Church be independent on Synods or Churches. "For the rest" their wish is that of Tully, *Utinam possem vere probare quam falsa convincere*, rather to convince men of truth than to undeceive them of falsehood. . . . As I made an apology for the best generation of men in the world, I

²⁷ pp. 29-32 largely modified in Chapters X and XI.—with much added.

²⁸ Largely modified in co. X., XI., with much added.

owe another for myself and to myself. . . . Some will say that I have made a description of the Congregational way, not as it is indeed and in truth but, as I wish it were and should be . . . others will say that I command what I myself doth not approve of, since I do not repair to the Congregational Churches as one of their members: that what I do, 'tis merely to give a countenance to my notions or opinions, and make them more creditable for their nearness with those of the Congregationals; and that, because I condemn ecclesiastical jurisdiction and namely excommunication, I would bear the world in hand that *they* do the like. Others will say that I am not like to have their approbation of what I do.

But it is easy to give satisfaction to all those objections. I do not refrain from joining with the Congregationals for any dislike I have of their way, which I highly value, but I hold it convenient to join with a congregation of my nation which, as it is now settled, is much like an English Congregational Church.²⁹ But the main reason why I do not join with the congregation of Dr. Owen, which I like best, is because, being old and sickly, and far distant from him, it is not possible for me to do otherwise. I leave to him and those of his way to judge whether I have truly related their practice, and stated their way, and the measure of that Church-power wherewith they endow their Pastors and their Churches. Only I beg of them that, for being a Frenchman, a Physician and none of their Churches, they would look on me, for those three considerations, as the fittest, and unbiassed relater and apologist, and fitter than if I were an Englishman, a Divine, and one of their Church. St. Austin and Optatus Milevitanus³⁰ tell us that one of the Profession is no fit judge in matters of it; and it was the custom of St. Austin, in ecclesiastical matters, to take for his judge, not Churchmen but, rather a Pagan, a Physician, a Rhetorician, a Sophister, one of the Magistrates, and sometime the people of Hippo.³¹ But I hope I may be excused, if not commended by the Congregationals for publishing in a tongue most used in Europe³² the best Confession of Faith that was composed

²⁹ Printed text adds:—"to which I am so much the more strongly invited by the holiness of the doctrines and lives of our excellent Pastors *Monsieur Mussard* and *Monsieur Primrose*."

³⁰ Optatus, Bishop of Milevis, of whose life nothing is known, but a contemporary of Augustine,

³¹ Omitted in printed text. Two chaps. (XIII. and XIV.) are added and the latter mainly about his belief that a Christian magistrate offers the best security for peace in the Church.

³² Referring to his intention to publish it in French as part of a larger volume. A note at the end of the printed text says—"the reader is desired to take notice that the Author for some reason, since the Printing of the Contents, hath thought good to leave out the last chapter there mentioned." This was entitled "An answer to those who accuse the Independents for having an immediate hand in the death of King Charles the first."

by men, and for making them instruments, by the propositions and overtures I make, and which are theirs not mine, to stir up the world in a further enquiry after a better way of religion and reformation for peace and unity; and for promoting the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, than ever Luther and Calvin had thoughts of. Yet, however I have missed my aim in setting out the conformity of the Congregational way with the Apostolical, I am sure I have not missed it in publishing both the Vindication of that way by a learned Bishop and my apology for that vindication, wherein I have asserted strongly—with some study, accurateness, and in a way yet untrodden—the reasonableness of Independency of Churches on a supreme National Church Tribunal, whether Papal, Hierarchical or Presbyterian for that only reason, that they are all three subject to error. For I hold that this assertion—made good, firm, reasonable and Scriptural—will draw this consequence along, that there is no other Church way that will hold out for peace and unity but the Congregational; and will bring down Pope, Mass and Church-tyranny.

John Penry : His Life and Times : A Correction.

(pp. 333.f.)

SIR FRANCIS KNOLLYS, whose constant concern was that the Bishops should not, as servants appointed by the Crown, assume of their own right powers which trespassed upon the supreme prerogative of the Sovereign over all officials alike, ecclesiastical and civil, propounded to "a grave learned man" two questions, first, whether the Scriptures authorised the institution of a Church officer to be called a Bishop with "superiority over many churches or over the Pastors thereof," and, secondly, whether the civil power could according to the Scriptures assign such "superiority" to a "Minister of the word and sacraments." To the first question the answer was in the negative, inasmuch as the name bishop was synonymous with the word elder, and both "imported one function." The Scriptures and the opinion of a contemporary learned author were quoted in support of the opinion given. In regard to the second question the opinion is that the supreme civil power may appoint subordinate officers, whether ecclesiastical or civil, with such executive powers as should seem good and necessary. But the authority which a bishop can claim to exercise is human. The "grave and learned man" has never heard that English bishops claimed higher authority than that conferred upon them by the statute 25 Hen. VIII. But since her Majesty is "the Lord's immediate minister," the subject must obey the authority, as being a divine authority, which the Queen has conferred upon the bishop.

All this will be found in Strype's *Whitgift*. Vol. III., pp. 220-4 (1822), which contains the "Records and Originals" referred to as authorities in earlier volumes of that work. The primary statement concerning Knollys' questions occurs in Vol. II., p. 600. and on reading it, before turning to the analysis of the answer of the "grave and learned man," in Vol. III., I concluded that Whitgift was this grave and learned man; carelessly, as it now appears, drawing that conclusion from the statement that "the Archbishop was so much concerned" in the argument, and that the writing of that "learned and grave man," still remained among some of "the Archbishop's own papers," and finding some confirmation of my wrong conclusion in Strype's further statement that "the Archbishop was not wanting, *on the other hand*" (i.e., although he had

238 John Penry: His Life and Times: A Correction

uttered his opinion about the human source of the bishop's authority), to maintain "the ecclesiastical state and religion."

But a careful reading of Strype in both the places cited shows that he nowhere states that the Archbishop is "the grave and learned man," as I was compelled to admit when it was pointed out to me by Professor Hearnshaw, of King's College, London. I might have seen my error when I quoted the same sentiments from the pen of Dr. Hammond (who no doubt was "the grave and learned man"), as given in a Hatfield MS., which I took from Child's *Church and State under the Tudors* (p. 304). That scholarly writer, as a matter of fact, has fallen into the same error in regard to Whitgift as I have. I can recall that when I was writing the account in the *Life of Penry* I was intrigued at the curious verbal similarity between the statement of the Chancellor, Dr. Hammond, and that which I quoted as Dr. Whitgift's. And I remember that I invented one or two hypothetical explanations to account for the singularity.

I am grateful to Dr. Hearnshaw for drawing my attention to this error of mine. I am particularly sorry to have misrepresented Archbishop Whitgift as the writer of the statement given by Strype. I have had to make so many animadversions against the Archbishop who was mainly responsible for the death of the Congregational martyrs, Barrowe, Greenwood, and Penry, that I have desired to be scrupulously exact and fair towards him. Not that my error really misrepresents his views, as may be seen from the references to his unquestioned opinions which I give in *An Hist. Introd. to the Marprelate Tracts*, p. 117.

WM. PIERCE.

TREASURER'S FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1925.
 CONGREGATIONAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

<i>Receipts.</i>	£ s. d.	<i>Expenditure.</i>	£ s. d.
Balance from 1925 A/c	76 10 10	April 25, <i>Transactions</i> ,	
Subscriptions ...	33 13 2	Vol. IX., No. 3 ...	22 10 0
Do. in advance	1 0 0	Reprint "Thos. Raffles"	2 17 6
		Postage & Printing ...	1 10 6
		Sept., <i>Transactions</i> ,	
		Vol. IX., No. 4 ...	20 15 0
		Reprint "Ancient	
		Hymns" ...	3 17 0
		Postage and Hon.	
		Sec.'s Expenses ...	2 2 6
		Hire of Room for	
		Annual Meeting ...	1 1 0
		Sub. to Friends' Soc.	5 0
		Cash at Bank ...	56 5 6
	<u>£111 4 0</u>		<u>£111 4 0</u>

Correspondence.

SILCOATES SCHOOL,

NR. WAKEFIELD,

19/10/25.

To the Editor,

The Congregational Historical Society's Transactions.

DEAR SIR,

Would you be so very kind as to allow me through the *Transactions* to make an appeal for information? In our School History, *The First Century of Silcoates*, by Rev. H. H. Oakley, Mr. George Rawson, of Leeds, is hailed as the "patron saint" of Silcoates. Apparently he was responsible for the promotion of the School established here in 1809, which came to an untimely end, and was then largely responsible for its re-establishment in 1820 and was treasurer for the first twenty years or so of its life. In the month of March, 1835, I find that George Rawson, junior, was appointed treasurer *pro tem.* during the absence of his father on the continent.

What I am particularly anxious to obtain is :

- (a) information concerning any biography of George Rawson, senior, of Pickhill Hall, Leeds.
- (b) information concerning any authentic portrait of George Rawson, senior.
- (c) information as to whether the George Rawson, junior, above mentioned, be George Rawson, the hymnwriter.
- (d) information as to any biography of George Rawson, junior.

Thanking you in anticipation,

Yours faithfully,

SYDNEY H. MOORE.

EDITORIAL.

THE autumnal meeting of the Society was attended by a small but enthusiastic body of members, who, after re-electing the officers, gave themselves to a most fertile discussion of the Society's work in the future. It was felt that the time had come to take a step forward, and, by means of advertising and publicity, as well as by personal advocacy, so to increase the membership and the usefulness of the Society that it might be worthy of the denomination. Since the Meeting, attention has been drawn to the existence and the aims of the Society by Dr. Berry in the *Congregational Church Monthly*, and by the Editorial in the *Congregational Quarterly*. The list of members printed in this, the last number of another volume, will show how far we have to go before we really deserve the name "Congregational." Our membership should at least be doubled before next May.

* * * *

Many ideas for the future activity of the Society were brought out. It was suggested that we might have regional representatives, whose business it would be not only to get suitable people into touch with the Society, but also to stimulate interest in local Congregational history by organising visits to historic churches and sites. It was also held that the drama and the pageant might be more widely used to further the Society's ends. We have been glad to note recent tendencies in the direction of using the stage for treating historical subjects connected with religion: plays like Shaw's *St. Joan* and Drinkwater's *Lincoln* and *Cromwell* indicate what an opportunity there is for the scholar who combines the requisite knowledge with a dramatic gift.

The development of the pageant idea is also an encouraging sign of the times. Its danger, of course, is that the spectacular is often made to obscure the historic, so that an altogether false emphasis is given and an altogether false impression created. Nevertheless, if it serve to awaken interest in the story of Nonconformity down the centuries we shall hail its popularity with delight.

Members of the Society will have been especially interested in the announcement of the competition arranged by Mr. J. C. Meggitt. The competition consists in the answering of the question: "Who are the fifty British Congregationalists (excluding living persons) who have rendered the most effective service to the Kingdom of God?"

With each of the fifty names chosen, the places of birth, death, and burial should be given, a short biography (of not more than 500 words) of any ten of the fifty being written. The prizes offered are £20, £10 and £5. Papers addressed "Eminent Congregationalists" Competition, c/o 22, Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, E.C. 4, should be sent in by the end of October.

* * * *

The bicentenary of the birth of John Howard has just been celebrated at Bedford, but nationally Congregationalists have done little to recognise one of the most eminent social reformers their denomination has produced. A short paper on Howard in this issue will serve as a reminder of the great work he did. We are glad, too, that we are still able to draw on the stores the Rev. T. G. Crippen left to the Society, when he retired from the editorship of the *Transactions*, and we trust that from time to time he will be able to send us the fruits of his researches during many decades.

* * * *

In place of an ordinary meeting at Leicester, we suggest that members of the Society join the excursion (Excursion "A") which is being arranged for Lutterworth on Thursday afternoon, October 14th. Opportunity will be given to visit scenes identified with the work of Wycliffe, and a short address on Wycliffe's life and work will be given in the Parish Church. The journey will be by motor-bus, and members desiring to reserve seats should write at once to Mr. J. H. Wright, 2, Victoria Road, Leicester. (N.B.—Say Excursion "A," as other excursions are being arranged for Union delegates.) The cost will be 3s. 6d., and the arrangement is to arrive back in Leicester for tea at 6.30.

The Story of the Beginning of Congregationalism in Newfoundland.

THE Congregational Church in St. John's enjoys the distinction of being one of the oldest Congregational Churches in the British Overseas Dominions. Pride of place would seem to go to the Church at Kingsford in Nova Scotia, which was founded in 1760, while the cause at St. John's did not come into existence until fifteen years later, in 1775. Even so, it has the long history of one hundred and fifty years behind it, and a noble history it has been. The Church is fortunate in possessing complete records from the beginning. The earliest records of all are contained in a venerable volume which seems to have borne a charmed life, for it has survived many a disastrous fire; and it has been with feelings of reverence that the writer has studied its pages and gleaned the story it contains.

The story is a thrilling romance. It reads like an eighteenth century appendix to the *Acts of the Apostles*. And just as most of that record of the primitive Church centres round the personality and activity of one man, St. Paul, so these early records of Newfoundland Congregationalism centre round the personality and activity of one man, John Jones—truly apostolic in his labours and devotion. The name John Jones is a very undistinguished one, but he who bore this common name was a most uncommon man. He had no advantages of social position or wealth or education. Like the first apostles, he had sprung from the masses, and in him was illustrated once again the working of the Divine Providence: "God has chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise, and the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty."

In yet another way John Jones was in the true apostolic succession. In his work for God and men he faced misunderstanding, hatred, persecution, threats to his life. He appeared before magistrates and governors, who forbade him to preach in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and he replied: "We must obey God rather than men." His courage and courtesy never failed, and in the end the people who hated him most bitterly were compelled to "take knowledge of him that he had been with Jesus."

The Story of the Beginning of

Who was John Jones? He was an Englishman, though evidently of Welsh extraction. In the quaint phraseology of the records: "He was a person of mean parentage and of little education, so that it may be truly said he was no prophet nor the son of a prophet." Reading between the lines one gathers that he was a high-spirited boy, sometimes good and sometimes not—neither little saint nor little sinner, but just a human boy. He was brought up among the Independents and from them imbibed his early religious impressions and received his early education. At the age of twenty Jones enlisted in the Royal Artillery. The atmosphere of Army life in those days was about the very worst possible for a lad of Jones's temperament, and he yielded only too readily to the temptations by which he was surrounded. Again quoting the records (probably his own confession): "He gave loose [rein] to every passion and sought every delight inasmuch that the ox never drank water more greedily than he drank iniquity." The probability is, however, that he was not such a wastrel and profligate as he depicts himself.

When twenty-eight years old Jones went with his regiment to Newfoundland and remained in the island colony seven years. It was during this time that he passed through a spiritual experience which altogether changed his manner of life. It was brought about by the sight of a fellow-soldier who died blaspheming, and in that circumstance "the Lord was pleased to say, 'hitherto shalt thou go, but no further,' and then brought him to a sense of his danger and made him cry out what should he do to be saved." John Jones was a changed man; he was a new creation in Christ Jesus. It was not long after this that his regiment returned to England and was stationed at Chatham in Kent, and there John Jones associated himself with the Independent Church. In the happy, bracing atmosphere of that Christian fellowship he was confirmed and strengthened in his loyalty to his Lord. "He drank deeply of the sincere milk of the Word, with which his soul grew abundantly. And of this Church too much cannot be said for discretion, love, humility, and zeal for God's glory." In that Congregational Church at Chatham John Jones really found his soul, and when, in 1775, he returned to Newfoundland, it was not merely as a soldier but as a Christian soldier. Like the Apostle Paul, he had been apprehended of Christ Jesus. He was now Christ's man, and he said in his heart, "Woe is me if I preach not the gospel."

The city of St. John's needed such a man badly, or rather needed the transforming power of the gospel he had to preach. It was a very evil place: lawlessness abounded, drunkenness and vice were rife, violence was a daily commonplace. The only minister of religion at the time in St. John's was a missionary of the S.P.G. whose character was notoriously immoral. No provision was made to promote the education of the people, who were left to their own devices, "with none to guide them in matters of social order and virtue." No wonder that crime and disorder were prevalent, and St. John's the scene of many unholy horrors. To this state of things came John Jones in 1775, fresh from the happy fellowship of the Independent Church at Chatham. There was no spiritual home for him. What could he do? This is what he did. He followed the New Testament plan. He started a Church in a house, in his own room—by this time he was Company Sergeant-Major and entitled to a private room in the barracks. The beginnings were very small; at first there was only Jones himself, with a Sergeant of his Company, and the Sergeant's wife. Three souls, all told!

But they were a Christian Church—three elect souls who worshipped and prayed and studied the Word and kept themselves pure amid the surrounding pollution! And their number increased even in the first few weeks. The town gaoler and three private soldiers were added to the little group. Six men, one woman—and Christ! These seven formally constituted themselves into an Independent Church; they drew up rules for their own guidance and government. Then they determined to move out from the privacy of Jones's little room to a more public place. They sought and obtained permission from the magistrate to use the Court House on Wednesday and Sunday evenings. Their service was a very simple one. They sang hymns, they prayed, they read the Scriptures. At first Jones contented himself with reading a sermon by some famous divine; later on he added a word or two of exhortation, based on the sermon he had read. Finally, at the request of the members, he began to preach himself; and like Apollos he proved himself mighty in the Scriptures. The little congregation grew in numbers, and came to include some of the townspeople. But the growing Church had many hindrances and much opposition to meet. Their worship was often interrupted by the rowdy elements of the town, and the worshippers themselves were sometimes stoned as they

left their meeting-place. But nothing could daunt this handful of devout and faithful souls ; they continued steadfast in prayer, and worshipped God according to their conscience.

In the spring of the following year, 1776, the little cause received a severe blow. The new Governor of the Colony, Admiral Montague, forbade the use of the Court House, and, in addition, all townspeople were forbidden to go to Jones's room in the barracks. This looked like the end of things. If there were no room or building in which they might worship, what could they do ? This is what they did. Every Lord's Day, when the weather permitted, they held service on the "barrens," outside the town ; and there, with a heap of stones for pulpit and the sky for sounding-board, John Jones preached the "glorious gospel of the blessed God." As the old record quaintly puts it, "this summer they were indeed like partridges upon the mountains."

Out there upon the "barrens" they were still a Church, albeit a homeless one. But a great determination came to them ; since no room in the town was available in which to worship, they would build a little house of God of their own. They set a day apart for fasting and humiliation before God ; they prayed that He would direct and bless them ; or, if what they were about to do was contrary to His will, that He would prevent it. Greatly strengthened, and confident that they were in the way of the Divine will, they set about the task. Having but little money to pay for labour, they were forced to do all the work themselves. "With a humble dependence upon the Almighty they proceeded, and in obedience to the Word went up to the mountains to prepare the stuff. And then it was that the Lord took off the restraint and made way for them to take a room in the town, wherein they met once every Wednesday evening, and three times on the Sabbath the whole winter."

In the following spring, 1777, the first Church building in St. John's, other than that of the Church of England, was completed. Adapting the words of Nehemiah, "The people had a mind to work, and so built they the House of God."

In twenty-eight days the building was completed, and the Independent Church entered into possession of its first real home. It was a day of great rejoicing and thanksgiving, when that humble building was dedicated to the glory of God and the service of the Evangel. But the joy of those humble folk in their meeting-house did not last long, for the Governor

came upon the scene in a great rage and with many bitter oaths declared that he would pull it down "stick and stone." Fortunately, Jones and his friends had wisely made sure of their title to the ground on which the Church stood, and Montague was impotent to carry out his threat. The entry in the records describing the incident reads: "The Lord put a hook in his (the Governor's) nose, and turned him back the way he came, so that he did them no harm, but rather good, inasmuch as it made them fast and pray and live humbly before the Lord and dependent upon Him, and the Lord was pleased to bless and increase them."

During all this time, while acting as minister of this persecuted little flock, John Jones was still in the Army, and in 1778, when the society had been in existence three years, he was ordered back to England with his regiment. This was a grievous blow to the young Church, but its members were not disheartened. After a period of waiting upon God they requested Jones to quit the Army and return to them as their regular minister. To this, after much hesitation, he agreed, and set sail, accompanied by the prayers and the love of his friends.

In England, Jones got into touch with several eminent Independent divines of the West Country, and by them was confirmed in his decision to return to St. John's, and in a solemn service was ordained to the Christian ministry. He returned to Newfoundland in July, 1779, to labour for another period of twenty-one years as a devoted pastor and fearless preacher of righteousness. They were years marked by storm and stress and much opposition. But the honesty, the fearlessness, and the Christian chivalry of the Independent minister triumphed in the end. And when he died, in 1800, it was as St. John's most honoured and respected citizen, even by those who in earlier days had most bitterly opposed him. His work was well and truly done, for before he "fell on sleep" the Church was firmly established, it had grown in numbers and influence, and in its membership were many of the foremost citizens. In the autumn of last year it celebrated its one hundred and fiftieth anniversary, and did honour to the memory of John Jones, preacher of the Gospel.

D. L. NICHOL.

THE
COVENANT
AND
CONFESSION OF FAITH
OF
THE CHURCH OF CHRIST
MEETING IN
BLANKET-ROW, KINGSTON-UPON-HULL.

Printed in the YEAR M.DCC.LXX.

[From the original Church in Dagger Lane, of which the Presbyterian Church claims to be the present-day representative, a secession took place in 1769, owing to doubts as to the orthodoxy of Rev. John Burnett. The seceders built a small chapel in Blanket Row, which, as their numbers increased, gave place in 1782 to a much larger building in Fish Street; and this again in 1898 to the "Memorial Church," in Princes Avenue. It would be an interesting inquiry, how many of the present members at Princes Avenue could subscribe unreservedly to the original Blanket Row Confession of 1770.—T. G. CRIPPEN.]

THE COVENANT.

We, who by Nature were Sinners, ready to perish, having by the good Spirit and abundant Grace of God, been led to see our dreadful State by Nature, as fallen in Adam, and far from God, and having, we trust, tasted of the Grace of God in converting, promised, and communicated Mercy; we do sincerely, unfeignedly, and without Reserve, desire to give up ourselves unto the Lord and each other, to walk together in all the Commandments and Ordinances of the Lord blameless—to watch over one another in Love—to exhort with Diligence, and rebuke with Meekness and without Partiality—to pray for and seek the Edification of each other in all Things pertaining to Life and Godliness. And this we do in the most solemn and serious Manner, having sought the Divine Presence amongst us, and called for the Blessings of our Covenant God to distill upon us. And as a further Testimony we do subscribe the same with our Hands, agreeable to the Prediction of Gospel Times: *One shall say, I am the Lord's; and another shall call himself by the Name of Jacob; and another shall subscribe with his Hand*

The Covenant and Confession of Faith 249

unto the Lord, and surname himself by the Name of Israel.—*Isaiah xlix., 5.*

INTRODUCTION.

The frequent Exhortations which we meet with in the Scripture to Unity of Faith and Sentiment, together with the express Command we have to contend earnestly for it, as once delivered to the Saints, leads us to conclude the Necessity there is, that in every Church of Christ, formed on a Gospel-Plan, there should be a regular, methodical, and scriptural Confession of the Faith of that Society; because it is impossible there should be a united Contention for the Faith, if there is not a united Profession of it. Besides, it seems to have been the Apostolick Method, to recommend this to the several Churches which they visited, *Rom. vi., 17. Ye have obeyed from the Heart that Form of Doctrine which was delivered you*; and to Timothy (said by some to have been the first Bishop or Pastor of the Church at Ephesus) he says *2 Tim. i. 13: Hold fast the Form of sound words, which thou hast heard of Me, in Faith and Love, which is in Christ Jesus.* We do, therefore, receive the whole word of God as the Rule of our Faith, and the Test of our Experience; but that we may be more particular, we may reduce it to the following Heads.

THE CONFESSION OF FAITH.

I.—OF THE BEING OF A GOD.

We believe, that there is a God, the Creator of all Things and the Supporter of the same; a Spirit without human Members, Parts, or Passions; infinite, eternal, and unchangeable—Giving Being to all Things, but receiving it from none—Evident in all Places, yet seen by no Eye—Moving all Things, yet never moved—Present in all Places, yet nowhere confined; and that there is such a Being, Nature teaches, Reason approves, and the Scripture affirms.—*Heb. xi., 6; Prov. ix., 10.*

II.—OF THE PERSONS IN THE GODHEAD.

In the Godhead we believe there are Three Persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; none is before or after the other, being equal, possessing the same Nature and Attributes, conjoining in the same Works, equal in Glory, Power, and Love. These divine Persons, before all Time, entered into a sacred Covenant, to save and restore a Remnant of the Children of Men from Misery, to eternal Happiness, and from Death to Life.

We call them Persons, because the Scripture ascribes Understanding and Will to each of them.—*Matt. xxviii., 19; 1 John v., 7.*

III.—OF THE WORD OF GOD.

We believe, that God reveals himself in the Law of Nature, and the Works of Creation, sufficiently for the rendering every sinful Creature inexcusable; but, of his abundant Mercy he has given us a more clear Discovery of himself and of ourselves in the Book of Scripture, which was spoke at different Times and in divers Manners by the Prophets and other Messengers. This we receive as his Word; by this we try all Doctrines; this we embrace as the Rule of our Faith; and from this we hope to receive our Comfort when Heart and Flesh fail us.

We further believe that the Canon of Scripture is now complete, that no Additions need, or ought to be made to it, nor any Thing to be taken from it.—2 *Tim. iii.*, 16; *Heb. i.*, 1.

IV.—OF ELECTION, &C.

We believe, that God, from all Eternity, by the most wise and holy Council of his Will, did freely and unchangeably fore-ordain whatsoever comes to pass; yet so that God is neither the Author of Sin, nor is any Violence put on the Will of the Creature. By his Decree, God fixed upon a Remnant of Mankind, of his own pure, free, and sovereign Mercy, whom he hath fore-ordained to receive Grace in Time—be made a happy People—preserved to the End—and obtain everlasting Life through Jesus Christ, in whom they are chosen. And when God conferred this high Favour on this Remnant, according to the Election of Grace, he left others in that State in which they were considered as fallen: so that, in consequence of their going on in Sin, they will become Monuments for the Glory of his Justice.—*Eph. i.*, 4; *Rom. viii.*, 30.

V.—OF PROVIDENCE.

We believe that God, who has created all Things by his Power and Wisdom, doth also, by his superintending Hand, uphold, direct, dispose, and govern all Creatures and all their Actions, by his holy and wise Providence; and that he, by his immutable Council, directs the most minute Things to the Praise and Glory of his Wisdom, Power, Justice, Goodness and Mercy.—*Eph. i.*, 11; *Psal. ciii.*, 19.

VI.—OF THE FALL.

We believe that God, having created Man, did enter into a Covenant with him, called *the Covenant of Works, or the Covenant of Nature*, in which Life was promised on his Obedience, but Deaths, of all kinds, denounced on his *Disobedience*; he being seduced by the Subtilty of Satan, did wilfully transgress the Law of Creation, and break the Covenant by eating of the forbidden Fruit.

Nor was this a private Evil; all Mankind descending from him

by the ordinary Course, have, in Consequence of this, lost Fellowship with God—are dead in Sin—and wholly defiled in the Faculties and Powers both of Soul and Body. From this Fountain, or Original Sin, all Iniquity, Calamities, Disorders, Pain, and Death do naturally flow; so that no Man, since the Fall, can restore himself to Fellowship and Communion with God by the Covenant of Works.—*Rom. v.*, 17, 18, 19; *Job xiv.*, 4.

VII.—OF CHRIST THE MEDIATOR.

We believe, that it pleased God, in his eternal Purpose, to choose, ordain, and appoint the Lord Jesus Christ, the second Person in the blessed Trinity, to be the only Mediator between him and his People. Into his Hands the Elect were delivered to be redeemed, called, justified, sanctified, and glorified. In the Fullness of Time he took on him our Nature, being God and Man in one Person; and this he did willingly and of free Choice. In this Nature he died as a Ransom, Sacrifice, and Atonement for his People, thereby he fulfilled the Law and satisfied Justice. And in that Nature he rose from the Dead—is gone into Heaven as the Head, Representative and Intercessor of his People, to see that all the Effects of his Undertaking be applied to them, in the Time stipulated in the everlasting Covenant.—1 *Tim. iii.*, 16; *John i.*, 1, 2, 3, 14.

VIII.—OF EFFECTUAL CALLING.

We believe, that God, of his free Grace, doth in an effectual Manner call this Number chosen in Christ, powerfully enlightening their Minds in divine Things—taking away the stony Heart—renewing their Wills, and effectually drawing them to Christ; yet so that they come freely; by Grace being made willing to cast themselves upon him. *Psaln cx.*, 3; *Jude i.*

IX.—OF JUSTIFICATION.

We believe, that those whom God calls by his Spirit, he justifies by his Grace, not by infusing Righteousness into them, but by imputing unto and enabling them to receive, embrace and rest upon the Righteousness of Jesus Christ, who is therefore called *The Lord our Righteousness*; so that they trust to his active Obedience to the Law, and passive Obedience in his Death, as performed in their Room and Stead. Thus they by Faith (which is also given by God himself) receive Remission of all their Sins, and believe that there is no Condemnation, because Christ, by the one Oblation of himself once offered, has obtained a free and full Pardon for them.—*Rom. v.*, 1; *Rom. viii.*, 1.

X.—OF ADOPTION.

We believe, that to those whom he justifies he grants the high

252 The Covenant and Confession of Faith

Liberty, Dignity, and Privileges of his Children, adopting them into his Family, giving them Access to his Throne, enabling them to claim their Relation to him as a Father, believing that he will pity, protect, and provide for them, and will never cast them off, but seal them to the Day of Redemption.—*John i.*, 12 ; *Gal. iv.*, 4-7.

XI.—OF SANCTIFICATION.

We believe, that whom he justifies he also sanctifies, and this in granting them a new Heart. It is a real and personal Change ; Lust is subdued—the old Man mortified—every Grace quickened—Holiness prevails, it spreads throughout the Man, and yet is perfect in no Man on this Side the Grave ; so that in sanctified Souls there is a perpetual War between the Flesh and Spirit.—2 *The. ii.*, 13 ; 1 *Pet. i.*, 2.

XII.—OF GOOD WORKS.

We believe, that Good Works are the necessary and inseparable Fruits of true Faith, evidencing our Sonship and Love to God ; we believe we are ordained to the Performance of Good Works, yet not saved for or by them, as our best Duties are insufficient for our Acceptance, yea, they are as filthy Rags, and therefore cannot justify. And we further believe, that the Doctrines of Election, Effectual Calling, Justification, Adoption, Perseverance, &c., are so far from tending to give Liberty in the Ways of Sin, that all those who really believe them, will find that they are the grand Spring to universal Obedience, and the more we look to, and depend upon those precious Truths, the more honourable our Lives and Conversation will be, to the Glory of our heavenly Father.

Those Doctrines may be abused by those who have them in Notion, but not at Heart ; but this does not overturn the Truth and Importance of them, but confirms it. The Bee and the Spider may apply at the same Flower, the one to extract the balmy Honey, the other to draw the deadly Poison ; but none will root up the blooming Rose from their Garden because it is abused. So these Doctrines are to be preached and believed, and those that abuse them do it to their own Destruction, while those who believe them, will find they tend to establish and confirm them in the good Ways of God.—*Eph. ii.*, 10 ; *Tit. ii.*, 11, 12.

XIII.—OF PERSEVERANCE.

We believe, that the Elect, being chosen and justified in Christ, called and sanctified by the Spirit, can never fall totally and finally from Grace, but be preserved by constant Supplies—be led by God to their Journey's End—and be eternally saved through the Merits of Jesus Christ ; because this depends not on our Mutability, but the Immutability of God, the Oath of the Father, the Intercession of the Son, the Supplies of the Spirit, and the Promises of the Gospel.—*Rom. viii.*, 35 ; 1 *Pet. i.*, 5.

XIV.—OF THE LAW OF GOD.

We believe, that this can be performed by no sinful Creature, so as to obtain Life and Righteousness by it ; yet it is a Rule of Life to all Believers (as it is viewed in the Hand of Christ), although we are not under it as a Covenant of Works.—*Psal. cxix.*, 96 ; *Gal. iii.*, 21.

XV.—OF THE SACRAMENTS.

We believe, these are holy Signs and significant Seals of the Covenant of Grace ; although they do not confer Grace, yet they strengthen it. There are only two instituted by Christ in the Church, *viz.*, Baptism and the Lord's Supper. The former is an Act of Dedication, wherein and whereby Believers give up their Infant-Seed to the Lord, supplicating Grace for them, that they may be sprinkled with the Blood of Jesus, as they are in this Ordinance emblematically with Water. They do hereby acknowledge that their Children are born in Sin, and profess their Faith in a Triune God. This Ordinance is to be administered but once. The Lord's Supper is a perpetual Remembrance of the Suffering and Death of Christ for his People, emblematically signifying their Communion with him, their Necessity of receiving from him all Supplies of Grace, Faith, &c., It is a fresh Act of Dedication, wherein the Participants give up themselves to Christ as their King and Head. Each of the Elements are [*sic*] to be received, and that frequently, to strengthen our Faith, confirm our Hope, and testify our Love to the Brethren. *Acts ii.*, 38 : *Then Peter said unto them, Repent ye, and let every one amongst you be baptized ; 1 Cor. ii.*, 26.

XVI.—OF THE POWER OF THE CHURCH.

We believe, that the Power of the Keys is lodged in the Hands of the Church, *i.e.*, that Admissions, Reproofs, and Excommunications, are to be directed by it ; and yet it is needful to have Officers in the Church for the Well-being thereof ; but yet the Church doth not give away its Authority into the Hands of the said Officers, but they (the Officers) as their Constituents and Representatives, are to be the Mouth of the Church in executing their Determinations. The choosing, calling, and ordaining of these Officers, is the sole Right and Privilege of the Men Communicants of the Church, of whose Number they must be Members before they are constituted Officers.—*Matt. xviii.*, 18 ; *Acts vi.*, 3.

XVII.—OF CHURCH OFFICERS.

We believe, that every Church of Christ should have a Pastor, Bishop, or Elder, to go before them in the Service of the Sanctuary ; and also Deacons to serve Tables, take Care of the Poor, and

254 The Covenant and Confession of Faith

attend to the temporal Concerns of the Church. The Number of those agreeable to the Size or Duty of the Church to which they minister; yet these Officers, *viz.*, Pastors and Deacons, in Church Acts, have no Right to set aside any Determination made by the Majority of the Church, having a Voice in those Acts only as Brethren.—*Phil. i.*, 1; *1 Tim. iii.*, *totum.*

XVIII.—OF THE STATE OF MAN AT DEATH.

We believe, that in consequence of Sin, it is appointed for all Men once to die, their Bodies return to the Dust and are changed, but the Soul, having a spiritual and immortal Subsistence, neither dies, sleeps, nor is impaired, but returns immediately to God, as the Judge by whom it is ordered to its fixed State, till the Morning of the Resurrection.—*Eccles. xii.*, 7; *Heb. ix.*, 27.

XIX.—OF THE JUDGMENT.

We believe, a Day is appointed in which all the Dead being raised, every Particle of Dust being built up, and the Soul united unto it, Jesus, the Judge, will then pronounce a most equitable Sentence on each Individual, whereby he will manifest the Glory of his Mercy and Justice; after which he will take his People Home, and send his Enemies to reap the Reward of their Sins in the Prison of Hell.—*Acts xvii.*, 31; *Rev. xx.*, 12.

XX.—OF THE AFTER-STATE.

We believe, that the Righteous will be dignified with everlasting Life and Happiness in the Vision of God—the beholding of Christ—the Company of Angels, and the Converse of Saints—Sin will be removed—Sorrow banished, and they, free from the Fear of losing their happy Station, being forever locked in from the Danger of a Fall—*Matt. xxv.*, 34.

On the other Hand, the Wicked will dwell in the Lake of Fire, and the Company of Devils, through an ever-rolling Eternity; for as their Sin is against the Eternal Majesty, his Justice must smoke against them forever, because there is no Way (at least revealed to us) to turn away his Wrath from them.—*Matt. xxv.*, 41.

FINIS

John Howard.

“**T**HE story of John Howard (writes the Rev. A. R. L. Gardner¹) is the indelible record of the colossal achievements of a solitary human spirit in the space of seventeen years.”

It is the purpose of this paper to do nothing more than attempt an estimate of his work as one of the forerunners of Prison Reform.

There seems to be some doubt as to the precise date of his birth, for Howard himself has left no record; most authorities however agree on September 2nd, 1726, and this is the date inscribed on his monument in St. Paul's Cathedral by his friend and relative, Mr. Whitbred.

The place of the birth, too, seems equally uncertain; the monument in St. Paul's states that he “was born at Hackney, in the County of Middlesex”—a country house in Clapton, in the parish of Hackney, on the site of which now stands the Laura Place County Secondary School for Girls, has, indeed, been suggested; Dr. Aiken, one of Howard's earliest friends and in many respects his most accurate biographer, believes “Enfield to have been his birthplace”; while Smithfield has also claimed him, one of his father's chief residences being in that parish.

On the whole, the weight of the evidence seems to favour Hackney: at any rate, the larger part of the first few months of his life were spent there.

His father, after whom the boy was named, was a keen, virile Independent, who had amassed considerable wealth in business as an upholsterer, wealth which on his death passed to his son and enabled young John to carry out his prison visitation without financial anxiety.

A delicate child, on his mother's early death the boy was placed under the care of Mrs. Brown, who lived on his father's estate at Cardington, in Bedfordshire. After nearly seven years of country life, the boy was sent to a school at Hertford, which he left some time later—“not fairly taught one thing”—to enter Mr. John Eame's academy at Newington Green.

After a good education—though John was at best a poor

¹ *The Place of John Howard in Penal Reform*, p. i.

scholar—he was bound apprentice to Messrs. Newnham & Shipley, Wholesale Grocers, in Watling Street, with whom he remained till his father's death in 1742. Possessed now of a large fortune—his father had left him £7,000 in money, all his landed property, pictures, plate, and furniture, and part of his library—Howard purchased his freedom from his employers, gave up all thoughts of a business career, and spent a year or two in travel through France and Italy in order to restore his health, which had suffered much from the hardships of his 'prentice life. On his return to England, polished in manner and improved in looks, though still very delicate, he took lodgings in Church Street, Stoke Newington, where he lived the life of a student, studying languages, working out experiments in science, and withal keenly religious.

In 1752 he married his landlady, Mrs. Lardeau, who had nursed him through a serious illness, and though there was a difference of many years in their ages, Howard loved her deeply, and sincerely mourned her death three years later.

In the year following her death Howard left England on the Portuguese packet, *Hanover*, to render what assistance he could to the thousands who had been rendered homeless and helpless by the great earthquake at Lisbon. But he was destined never to achieve his purpose, for the *Hanover* was captured by French privateers, all her crew and passengers being imprisoned at Brest. Out of the horrible experiences of prison life which there came to his notice, and which he himself endured, was born that zeal for reform of prison conditions which became the dominating passion of his life.

"In the Castle at Brest I lay six nights upon straw, and observed how cruelly my countrymen were used there, and at Morlaix, where I was carried next. During the two months I was at Carhaix, upon *parole*, I corresponded with English prisoners at Brest, Morlaix and Dinan. . . . I had sufficient evidence of their being treated with such barbarity that many hundreds had perished; and that thirty six were buried in a hole at Dinan in one day."²

"Perhaps," he wrote in his first book, *The State of Prisons*, "what I suffered on this occasion increased my sympathy with the unhappy people, whose case is the subject of this book."

When after three months, he secured his own freedom on his return to London, he laid the knowledge he had gained

² *State of Prisons*, 3rd edition (1792), p. 51.

before the Commissioners of sick and wounded seamen, and received not only the thanks of that body but also—what was far more difficult to obtain—the release of all the English prisoners who were dying in the filthy prisons of Brittany.

“In 1758 he made a very suitable alliance with Miss Henrietta Leeds, eldest daughter of Edward Leeds, Esq., Croxton, Cambridgeshire, King’s Sergeant.” So wrote his earliest chronicler, and for seven years—some spent in Cardington and others at Watcombe in Hampshire, whither they moved for the benefit of Mrs. Howard’s health—John enjoyed perfect happiness, loving his wife with deep affection, and with her aid completely reforming both the villages in which he lived, so that they exhibited “all the pleasing appearances of competency and content, the natural rewards of industry and virtue.”

Whenever he was in Cardington, Howard attended the Parish Church on Sunday mornings with his wife, riding to Bunyan Meeting, Bedford, in the afternoons.

It was while he was in regular attendance at Bunyan, which was a “Union” Church, that the minister of that congregation, the Rev. Joshua Symmonds, began to lay such particular emphasis on strictly orthodox Baptist views that Howard, and many with him, felt constrained to secede and form a Christian community which could preserve in its doctrines and sacraments the rite of infant baptism. Thus began the Congregational Church in Bedford which, because of his generosity to its funds in its early days, has ever since borne the name of Howard.

On March 31st, 1765, his second wife died, almost immediately after she had given birth to a child. The blow overwhelmed him and again he sought solace in travel. For several years he toured the Continent, only returning home for short intervals; it seemed as though he was to end his days in idleness and obscurity. But in 1773 he was elected High Sheriff of Bedfordshire, and then began the great work which he carried on unremittingly for the next seventeen years.

As a Nonconformist he ran serious risks in accepting this office, for anyone who had a mind to do so might subject him to a penalty of £500 and inflict upon him many disabilities. Despite the risks Howard accepted the position, and no one ever brought action against him.

He found in attending the Court one day that many prisoners

who had been found not guilty by the judges, or against whom no crimes were preferred, instead of being released were "dragged back and again locked up in prisons in default of the payment of sundry fees."⁸ Asking the cause of this, he found that gaolers had no fixed pay from the authorities, but themselves were allowed to exact heavy dues from the prisoners. In nearly every case the prisoners were quite incapable of paying anything, and thus the rest of their days were spent in "those pestiferous dens."

Such gross injustice roused within Howard a great compassion towards its victims, and a burning anger against those who not only tolerated but condoned it.

He had none of that "tumultuous, frothy ocean-tide of benevolent sentimentality" of which Carlyle accuses him—much of the Copeck Report on the Treatment of Crime would have been unintelligible to him—but he had a wholesome hatred of anything that savoured of injustice.

That he might find out the precise state of affairs he visited the prison himself, enquiring into the method of administration, talking with the prisoners, and inspecting the conditions of life in the cells. Believing that a large part of the remedy lay in the paying of regular wages to the gaolers, he suggested that this might be done.

Unfortunately, the Bedford Justices knew of no precedent for such a procedure; and it was in search of a precedent that Howard set forth on his first visitation. His search took him into the counties of Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire and Buckinghamshire, and with the exceptions of Derby and Stafford, the state of the prisons was revolting. They "were for the most part pestiferous dens; overcrowded, dark, foully dirty, not only ill-ventilated, but deprived altogether of fresh air. The wretched inmates were dependent for food upon the caprice of their gaolers or the charity of the benevolent; water was denied them except in the scantiest proportion; their only bedding was putrid straw. Everyone in durance, whether tried or untried, was heavily ironed. All alike were subject to the rapacity of their gaolers and the extortions of their fellows. Gaol fees were levied ruthlessly—'garnish' also, the tax or contribution paid by each individual to a common fund to be spent by the whole body, generally in

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. i.

drink. Idleness, drunkenness, vicious intercourse, sickness, starvation, squalor, cruelty, chains, awful oppressions and everywhere culpable neglect.”⁴

“Air which has been breathed is made poisonous to a more intense degree by the effluvia from the sick and what else in prison is offensive. My reader will judge of its malignity when I assure him that my clothes were, in my first journey, so offensive that in a post-chaise I could not bear the windows drawn up, and was therefore obliged to travel commonly on horseback. The leaves of my memorandum book were often so tainted that I could not use it till after spreading it an hour or two before the fire ; and even my antidote, a vial of vinegar, has after using it in a few prisons become intolerably disagreeable. I did not wonder in those journeys that many gaolers made excuses, and did not go with me into the felons’ wards.”⁵

Most of the inhabitants of gaols were not even criminals but debtors, who were thrown into prison, according to the customs of the time, at the whim of their creditors until all that they owed was paid. Thus the poor wretches were rendered incapable of paying, and very often, perforce, were joined in their confinement by their wives and children till every available space in the prison was disgracefully overcrowded. To remedy the state of affairs in prison life was the business of no authority, for most of the prisons were private institutions, farmed out to brutal and avaricious keepers.

When Howard’s first report became known (1774), Government action was demanded to remedy abuses. A Commission was appointed, before which Howard gave evidence, and in the same session two Acts were passed—the one abolishing gaolers’ fees, the other authorising improvements in the sanitary conditions of prisons. Howard himself was summoned to the Bar of the House and thanked for his services by the Speaker.

Nevertheless, despite the success which attended these first efforts, Howard did not rest. The Acts were very laxly administered ; only in fifteen prisons did he find that they had been accepted. There were no government inspectors to enforce them, and to remedy this deficiency he made himself a voluntary inspector. In all, he undertook five visitations,

⁴ *Encycl. Brit.* (11th edition) XXII., p. 362.

⁵ *State of Prisons*, p. 7.

John Howard

and there was hardly a prison or bridewell in the United Kingdom into which he did not go. Nor was his zeal bounded by the limits of his own country; between 1775 and 1785 he made six tours of investigation into prison life on the Continent. For the most part he found that prison treatment in European countries was considerably in advance of that in Great Britain, and from them he learnt much for the benefit of his own country. Holland particularly delighted him. He writes: "I leave this country with regret, as it leaves a large field for information on the important study I have in view. . . . I know not which to admire most, the neatness and cleanliness appearing in the prisons, the industry and regular conduct of the prisoners or the humanity and attentions of the magistrates and regents."⁶

In 1777 Howard's great book was published. It bore the title: *State Prisons in England and Wales, with Preliminary Observations, and An Account of some Foreign Prisons*. In 1780 an *Appendix* was issued, and nine years later *An account of the Principal Lazarettos in Europe* appeared.

The two books are an amazing monument to the tireless energy of a man whose health was never very good. It has been estimated that on his tours of investigation he travelled forty thousand miles, and spent of his own money £30,000. His labours did not receive their immediate reward, though even in his lifetime there was an improvement in prison conditions; it was left for a later generation to carry out the work of prison reform and the more satisfactory treatment of the prisoner.

John Howard laid the foundations upon which Jeremy Bentham, Samuel Romilly, Elizabeth Fry and Silas Todd built, and many more are still building. Since Howard's day, and largely through his efforts, our treatment of crime and our attitude to prisoners have changed beyond recognition; he worked for better and more sanitary conditions of living in the prisons; he believed that Government and not private corporations should accept the responsibility of looking after the prisoner; he urged that debtors and felons should be separated; and he was the forerunner of that humanitarian outlook, in the general treatment of crime, which is common to-day.

On January 20th, 1790, he died, as he lived, caring for the fever stricken among the Russian army at Cherson.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

Burke's great tribute to him just before he set out on his last journey is well-known: "He has visited all Europe; not to survey the sumptuousness of palaces, or the stateliness of temples; not to make accurate measurements of the remains of ancient grandeur, nor to form a scale of the curiosities of modern art; not to collect medals or to collate manuscripts; but to drive into the depths of dungeons, to plunge into the infections of hospitals, to survey the mansions of sorrow and pain; to take the gauge and dimensions of misery, depression and contempt; to remember the forgotten, to attend to the neglected, to visit the forsaken, and to compare and collate the distresses of men in all countries. His plan is original; it is as full of genius as of humanity. It was a voyage of discovery; a circumnavigation of charity."⁷

R. G. MARTIN.

An Eighteenth Century Church Covenant.

(Copied from an original in the possession of the Editor.)

Done at Dedham, Sepr. 30th, 1741.

We, whose Names are under written, having Solemnly given up our Selves to the Lord, and having by Prayer, with fasting, implored the gracious Presence of God with us and his Blessing upon us Now also, in the Presence of God and of the Pastors of Several other Churches of Jesus Christ do give up our Selves one to another, by the Will of God as a Church of Jesus Christ; Promising by the help of God, to Submit unto all the Ordinances of Christ, as administred in this Church.

FRANSISS HAWKINS
WILLIAM RICHARDSON
SAM^l. JARROLD
WILL^m. RUDKIN
ELLEN KING
ELIZABETH KIRK PARRICK

Witnesses

W^m. NOTCUTT
BEZALEEL BLOMFIELD
BENJ^m. VOWELL

⁷ To his constituents at Bristol, 1789.

A Censored Letter.

WILLIAM HOOKE IN ENGLAND TO JOHN DAVENPORT
IN NEW ENGLAND, 1663.

IN March, 1663, Samuel Wilson, a London factor, was arrested and in due time brought before Secretary Bennet for examination. He was about to set sail for New England with a cargo worth £1,500 "of other men's," but suspicion had been raised about some of the goods he had on board, the vessel was searched, and there was found "a bundle of Newes Bookes," and with them a letter not calculated to give pleasure in official quarters. Wilson affirmed that the presence of the incriminating missive was quite unknown to him, a statement excusably untruthful, for there is evidence that this was not the first time he had acted as a letter carrier between the parties concerned¹. However, on giving bond for a year's good behaviour and a promise that he would deliver William Hooke, its writer, to a Justice, whenever that offender's whereabouts were known to him, he was allowed his liberty.² But the objectionable letter was not granted its freedom, and its eight closely written folio sheets, dated 2nd March, 1662-3, are still to be found among the State Papers Domestic of the reign of Charles II.³

In the summer of 1663 William Goffe, regicide, then in hiding near New Haven, received a letter* from England, dated 24th June of that year. "I suppose," wrote his correspondent, "you will understand before this comes to your hands how it is with your old friend that was wont to be your Intelligencer, yearly. You will hear how his letters were miscarried & into whose hands they fell, upon occasion whereof he is obscured & cannot write to you as formerly . . . Several censures there have been of this letter, but many understanding men have thought it might be a testimony, etc., & God might answer the prayers of the pen-man in that way. The Secretary spoke his apprehensions of the style in

¹ *Massachusetts Hist. Soc.* (henceforth abbreviated to *M. H. S.*) 4th series VIII., 177.

² *Calendar State Papers Domestic*, 1663-4, 87, 98, 117.

³ *S.P.D., Car. ii.*, 69, 5.

* *M. H. S.*, 122 f.

which it was written, & in that respect commended it, but said it was as pernicious a letter against the Government as had been written since his Majesty came in. It is said that P. Rupert should say it was not treasonable, but an history of things, *etc.* It seems it hath been thoroughly scanned . . . They say there are several copies of it. I do not yet hear of any warrants out against him, but the bearer of this letter is bound to appear again after his return . . . The letter was thought to be a minister's, but what his name was, or where he lived they could not tell, & though many ministers were sent for, as 'tis said, & inquired of, whose hand they thought it was, they could not tell."

This, and a good deal more, appeared over the signature D.G., which Goffe knew to be that adopted by the husband of his wife's aunt, his wife being the daughter of Major-General Edward Whalley, another regicide, also in hiding at New Haven. So that we have here Hooke's version of the seizure of the unfortunate letter.

Hooke was by birth a Hampshire man, the second son of William Hooke, of that ilk.⁴ After graduating from Trinity College, Oxford, he took orders, and was beneficed in 1627 at Upper Clatford, Hants., and five years later at Axmouth, Devon. But, about 1633, probably owing to the increasing enmity shown by the authorities towards Puritan clergy, he betook himself to New England. Before doing so he contracted a marriage which subsequent events, then quite unforeseeable, were to make a very advantageous one. Jane Whalley was the youngest daughter of Richard Whalley, of Kirton and Screveton, Notts., by his second wife, Frances, daughter of Sir Henry Cromwell, of Hinchinbrook, and cousin of a Huntingdonshire squire, who about the same time was himself revolving the possibility of emigration, but whom destiny had marked for another *rôle* than that of a New England settler. The young lady had already refused at least one other offer for her hand, made about 1629, by a young chaplain in the house of Sir William Masham, of Otes, Essex, son-in-law of Lady Barrington, the aunt with whom Jane spent much of her youth; and Roger Williams, for he was the rejected suitor, had to seek consolation in another quarter.⁵ Mrs. Hooke lived to survive her husband, and like him, after their return to England, kept up a correspondence with friends in

⁴ Baigent, *Basingstoke*, 539.

⁵ Waters, *Genealogical Gleanings*, 341, 495.

Massachusetts, sending to Increase Mather not only letters, but also old clothes for the use of necessitous ministers in his neighbourhood.⁶ The Hookes' first settlement was at Taunton, Mass., but in 1644, they removed to New Haven, where they remained till they recrossed the Atlantic in 1656. As "teacher" of the church there, he became the close friend of John Davenport, its pastor, and it was to Davenport that he addressed the letter here reproduced. Davenport, who was also a Puritan *émigré*, one for whom even Abp. Laud had a good word, landed at Boston in 1637, and the following year had, with a company of friends, founded the colony of New Haven.⁷ On his arrival in London, Hooke's connexion with Cromwell stood him in good stead. He was made one of the Protector's chaplains, and, after the death of John Bond,⁸ was appointed Master of the Savoy Hospital, London. In 1659, he was one of the ministers "of the congregated churches round London" who addressed representations to General Monk. The restoration of Presbyterianism had already made his position difficult; "I still possess the Savoy though not long since heaved at by Sir Arthur Heselrige," he wrote⁹ to Richard Cromwell, 16th November, 1659. The restoration of Episcopacy proved more fatal, and the Master was numbered among the ejected.

Hooke kept a vicarious hold upon the emoluments of the Savoy in the person of his son. John Hooke was ejected from the rectory of Kingsworthy, Hants, but on 21st August, 1662, he subscribed the Act of Uniformity as one of the four chaplains of the Savoy¹⁰. There were no duties attached to the office, but there was a salary and a rental making up £38 yearly, and this Hooke drew for forty years. It adds to the piquancy of the situation to find him described¹¹ amongst the Nonconformist ministers of Hampshire, in the report of 1690, as having "very little if anything of his own Estate and but Small recompence of his labours from ye people at Basingstoke."

⁶ *M.H.S.*, 260 f. Her last letter is dated 25th May, 1683.

⁷ *D.N.B.*, and for three more letters of Hooke to Davenport, 1661-63, *M.H.S.*, 177, etc.

⁸ Will proved P.C.C., 24th March, 1657-8, not to be confused, as in *D.N.B.* art. Bond, with the master of Trinity Hall of the same name.

⁹ Quoted Baigent, 541.

¹⁰ Bodleian Lib., Rawlinson MSS. B. 375. He subscribed the declaration of non-resistance and the renunciation of the Covenant, which he had probably never taken, as holding a sinecure he was not called upon to declare his unfeigned assent and consent to the Prayer Book and all its contents.

¹¹ Gordon, *Freedom after Ejection*, 101.

But in 1702, the Savoy and its abuses were ended, the foundation was dissolved, John Hooke "who has or does teach or preach to a separate congregation from the Church of England,"¹² ceased to be chaplain, and died at Basingstoke eight years later in the odour of untainted Nonconformity.¹³ Of the later movements of Hooke, the elder, we are not well informed. He was living in October, 1661, at Clapham, with Mr. Gold, a Justice of the Peace¹⁴; and under the Declaration of Indulgence in 1672, was licenced as a Congregational teacher in Spittle Yard, Bishopsgate. His last letter to Mather, written 7th August, 1677, tells of the changes that death was working in the ranks of the ejected ministers, and names forty already dead. Those left were not what they had been. Hooke describes Dr. Owen as "valetudinarian and crazy, often down." To the roll of the departed the writer was himself added on 21st March, 1677-8.

The spelling of the letter to Davenport, here printed for the first time, has been modernised.

MUCH HONOURED SIR,

I have received two letters from you, your last written in Boston. I take it, September the last, newly before you returned home. I bless God, & have often done it, that mine came safe to your hands, & that yours came safely to me. I have many things to write unto you, to certify you of the state & condition of matters with us. I cannot, in the little time now allowed me, write so orderly, & fully, as I would, but you will accept them, as they are, brokenly & somewhat immethodically transmitted to you, yet such, I know, as will procure many prayers from you & others, as giving you some light into the affairs of things amongst us. As touching the Act of Uniformity, which (I suppose) you have seen, we have found the severe & sad effects of it. for many of God's people have met with very hard measure by means hereof. Multitudes of ministers have been ejected out of their habitations & employments since the execution of the said Act. I hear, about 1,500, or 1,600 hundred in the Nation, besides near as many before, upon the point of Title, & very unworthy & unable woeful men succeeding in their rooms; so that if the ability of the ejected, & the ignorance and scandalous lives of their successors, were expressed (for the far greater part of

¹² So described at the inquiry. Malcolm, *Lond. Redivivum*, III., 406 ff.

¹³ He was never Master of the Savoy, as stated in *D.N.B.* Apparently on the death of Henry Killigrew, Master 1663-1700, no successor was appointed, and at the dissolution Hooke was senior chaplain (see Malcolm).

¹⁴ *M.H.S.*, 174.

A Censored Letter

them) I think the like hath scarce been ever heard. There is not an ejected Minister, or any other, not conforming, that durst exercise in public, since Aug: 24th excepting (perhaps) some one, or two, & thereabout, for which they have suffered.

Great & strict inquisition, search & watching there hath been in the City upon the Lord's days, to find out private meetings, by soldiers, constables & officers, that it hath been very difficult for a very few to meet together in families here & there, sometimes Masters of families kept at home, sometimes they have adventured to take in two, or three, or four, but seldom above the number of five, the permission of authority reaching no higher without the charge of conventicling. Multitudes have been surprised, & forthwith carried to prisons, the Gaols filled, as the Gate-house, Newgate, Tower, White-lyon, & some in the Fleet & in the King's Bench. Many have died in imprisonment, & been even stifled through thronging together, & want of air, & necessary helps, *etc.* Reliefs have been sent to the prisons by such as have escaped & enjoyed some Liberty. The prosecution of this Act was very fierce about Oct. & November last, & cruel handling was met with by the most. The Anabaptists held out long, as to more public appearances, & the Quakers held their ground to the last, & have smarted more than any. I cannot easily describe this matter to you, but must pass over it. Few of the Presbyterians, that I hear of, have looked after their Churches, many of the Members of them complying with the public worships now on foot, yet some of their Ministers have suffered. as refusers of the abjuration of the Covenant, and as nonAssenters & Consenters to the present Liturgy. Had not the Covenant pinched them, very many of them would not have stuck at submitting to the Common-prayers, as it is generally believed. But the hand of God hath gone out against several who have submitted to this devised worship as might be related to you, but I want time & opportunity to gather up Instances. Only one Swinock¹⁵ (sometimes a New England scholar, I take it, & known to Mr. Corbet¹⁶) living lately in Thames street, or thereabout, yielding to put on the surplice, but with reluctancy, read the service with a disturbed spirit, & was so smitten in it, that he took his bed & died (I take it) within two or three days following. Another going to conform, & riding over Tadcaster bridge, fell thereon from his horse & his heart fell upon a stone, or the edge of a plank or some such thing, & he dyed about half an hour after it; a dear friend of mine, sometimes living in N.E. whose name you

¹⁵ Joseph Swinnoek, studied at Harvard, Chaplain New Coll., Oxford. 1649. M.A., Oxon., 1653. At St. Martin Orgar, London, 1659 (Shaw ii., 590). Episcopally inst. there 15th July, 1661. His successor inst. 31st October, 1662. (Hennessy, 131.)

¹⁶ Probably John Corbet (1620-1680), ejected from rectory of Bramshot, Hants. (*D.N.B.*)

know very well, came presently after over the same bridge & hearing what happened to the minister, went & saw his dead body. He told me hereof, so that it is very certain. And lately, one Orchard,¹⁷ a Minister in Somersetshire, having preached upon Habb. 2 : 4, *The just shall live by his faith*, discoursed of several faiths, Episcopal, Presbyterian, etc. ; & it is reported that he should say, That when the Pharisees came out of Hell, the Presbyterians should go to heaven ; not long after (I know not, whether it was not the next night) he dreamed, that he should die at so many days end, some say, 8, some more ; And that he should so die, that he should have none to help him ; Upon this he was very sad, but living with a knight, whom I could name to you, there were such as laboured to cheer him up, & gave him sack & such things as might comfort him, & used words to turn aside his fears, & allay his sad expectations ; but though he continued in good health till the last night drew on, yet he remained still expecting death at the appointed time, & took his leave of his friends, & went to bed well that last night, & in the morning was found dead, lying on the one side, with his hand under his head, in the posture that he was left when he went to bed. But I cannot in this haste, collect the Instances which else I might.

There was, not long since, Talk of a New Plot, at which time, there was strict & severe dealing in the countries, to secure & examine such as seemed, to some, to be suspicious, Among others one Coll : Culpepper¹⁸ in Kent, in his search endeavouring to take one Mr. Palmer,¹⁹ an honest Minister. notice was given of it to Mr. Paemer, yet he was surprised by the Coll : & his company, & threatened to be hanged by them presently, but they sent him to the Gal, & there secured him for a time. In the meantime, the Coll : was sorely troubled, his bed under him being sometimes lifted up to the ceiling, & let down again, & sometimes out of his window he seemed to see men walking in the churchyard in their winding-sheets, & among them, one whom he knew, not long buried before, & he charged his pistols to shoot at them ; & one night he felt, he said, . death's-

¹⁷ Weaver, *Somerset Incumbents*, does not give any clergyman of this name at the required date. But for possibilities see *Foster Alumni*.

¹⁸ Thomas Colepeper, (1637-1708), of St. Stephens, otherwise Hackington, Kent. See further *D.N.B.*, where he is described as "flighty and eccentric even to madness," one of "undoubted abilities and knowledge." Admitted a member of the Royal Society, 1668. In a letter of 12th November, 1662, he informed Secy. Bennet of his arrest of Palmer (*C.S.P.D.*, 1662-3, 555.). Later in the same month he was in pursuit of Ludlow (*ibid*, 568.)

¹⁹ The arrest took place at Egerton. Calamy (*Account*, 382) refers to the incident, but supposes Palmer to have been incumbent of Egerton, which was a chapelry in the parish of Charing. But probably the prisoner was Thomas Palmer, ejected 1660 from Aston-on-Trent, Derbs., one of the boldest of Nonconformist political agitators of the time (*D.N.B.*). According to Colepeper, Palmer said he had been ordained, before the Act of Uniformity, by the Bp. of Galway. (*S.P.D.*, C. ii., 62, 110.)

A Censored Letter

head in his bed, & put his fingers into the hollow of the eyes, & nose, *etc.* And he was so scared by these, & such like things, that he sent for Mr. Palmer to come to him out of prison, who came to him, to whom the Coll : related these things, asking him what he thought of them, who told the Coll : that it was for sin & gave him counsel about searching it out, making no mention of the hard measure which he found from him ; the Coll : told him that he was no Adulterer, drunkard, *etc.* ; to which, I think, Mr. Palmer made some answer ; but, in fine, the Coll : asked him why he did not come out of prison, he told the Coll : he could not ; the Coll : advised him to petition, & he would deliver him ; I think, Mr. Palmer was loth to do anything that way ; but, however, the Coll : set him at Liberty, having 1st (I should have told you) invited him, at his coming to him, to stay & dine with him, & when afterwards he would have been gone, inviting him also to stay & sup with him, & while he was in his house, the Coll : saw the Spectre in the churchyard out of his window, & hastily called up Mr. Palmer to behold it, but it vanished before he came up. He showed him also the Pistols which he had charged to shoot at it ; the vanity whereof Mr. Palmer showed him. This story I was lately told by an able minister to whom Mr. Palmer himself had newly before related it. But what effect hath followed upon the Coll : his releasing of the Minister, I do not yet hear.

Two Bishops have lately been imprisoned in Ireland : I am acquainted with the one of them who went (till this turn) for a Presbyterian ; the occasion, I take it, was some disorderly action against the Papists there, who had, (or intended) openly to set up their popish service upon such a day. There are sad expectations there every day. All the Adventurers & purchasers of Irish lands are (from aught I hear or can understand) like to lose all the lands in that Country ; And an hard matter it is, to prove a Papist there guilty of the dreadful massacre there committed about 20 years ago, the like whereunto hath not been heard of hardly in any story. The Papists (if any of them should witness aught) are threatened to be excommunicated, & those that have any Interest in lands there, will not be heard in their own cause ; & of many that have been accused, I think, towards 20, but two or three have been found guilty, *etc.*

Scotland is in a worse condition than England, as you will see by a piece of the Declaration²⁰ of the Council there, which I have sent to you. Mr. Leviston²¹, a famous & very powerful Minister,

²⁰ Probably the *Declaration*, renouncing the Covenants, to be taken by all holders of civil office, by order of the Scottish Parliament, 5th September, 1662. (*Acts of Parlt. of Scotland*, VII., 405.)

²¹ John Livingstone, a celebrated Scottish preacher. "About five hundred persons dated their saving change" from his communion sermon at Kirk of Shotts, Lanarkshire, 1630. He was banished by the Scottish Council, 11th December, 1662. (Wodrow, *Sufferings*, ed. 1829, i., 309.)

I hear, is banished ; A man (as it is reported) that wrought upon the hearts of thousands at one sermon, at a very great Assembly, met upon occasion of the receiving of the Supper of the Lord, at which times, there useth to be a very great confluence from several presbyteries, round about far & near. Things are in a very sad state in Ireland, in respect of the Papists, & in Scotland, through the severity exercised there. Dr. Layton,²² a bishop in Scotland, son to Dr. Layton, who wrought & suffered for his book, called *Sion's Plea*, is (as 'tis said) turned Papist, to the admiration of those that knew him, who looked upon him as a very holy man, eminent for his preaching & holy life, as I have heard from Mr. Richard Saltonstall*, & myson-in-law who knew him very well. Sanderson,²³ late Bishop of Lincoln is dead. The Bishops are very low in the account of all, excepting a few adhering to their Interest which is grown very narrow. You will hear by brother R.N. How Mr. Carryll²⁴ & his Fellowship were taken upon a Lord's day, where they met together at the house of Mr. Vinet, one well known to Mr. Gilbert† your magistrate, & how they were forthwith carried before the Magistrate, & how they appeared the next week at the Sessions at Kingston, & afterwards at another at Croydon, where, upon the pleading of their Counsel, the Indictment (ill laid) was quashed, & they delivered. Presently after, God gave the like Deliverance to many of his people at Abingdon, where the Jury (though composed of men for the purpose, Alehouse-keepers, & the like) did not find the Bill ; but came in, after consultation, twice (being sent back the 1st time.) & said, they could not find the parties to have met together seditiously & maliciously ; & being sent out the 3d time, brought in, Not Guilty. Great persecution in the Countries far & near, & very many indicted at Assizes & Sessions, & many excommunicated by the Bishops. There are very few Communicants, at that which they call the Lord's Supper, in many great parishes, in which there are, perhaps, 20,000 or more Communicants, after the old way of reckoning, from 16 years old upward ; And now, it may be, about 10, 20, or 40, present themselves

²² Robert Leighton (1611-1684), Bp. of Dunblane, 1661 : Abp. of Glasgow, 1669. As he owed his bishopric to the influence of his brother, Sir Elisha, who had turned R.C., the rumour mentioned was likely to arise. Their father was Alexander (1568-1649), author of *An Appeal to the Parliament, or Sion's Plea against the Prelacie*, published in Holland, 1628, for which he was very barbarously punished. (*D.N.B.*)

* Richard Saltonstall, admitted a freeman of Mass., 1631. Befriended the regicides and protested against importation of negro slaves. Returned to England, and died Hulme, Lancs., 1694. (*D.N.B.*)

²³ Robert Sanderson (1587-1663), Bp. of Lincoln, 28th October, 1660, till his death, 29th January, 1662-3. (*D.N.B.*)

²⁴ Joseph Caryl (1602-1673), Independent minister, ejected from St. Magnus, London.

† Matthew Gilbert, of New Haven, deputy governor of Connecticut. (*Savage, Gen. Dict. ii., 251.*)

at that service. They were unsatisfied with the former way of Administration, when few were accepted, & yet they are so unsatisfied with the present Parsons & Vicars & their ways, that they will not partake, when they might; They are not contented with their liberty, without a better ministry. The Light, of late years, was so diffused, that the devil will never be able to extinguish it. At a parish near London which I know, the Table was furnished at the late Holy time, as they call it, & not a man or woman came to it. And most pitiful appearances there are in many places upon festival days. Some that have stepped in to see, have seen, perhaps, the Parson, & 3 or 4 at their devotions with him. A friend of mine looked in lately to see how it was, & a boy there present told him, *He must not take up the parishioners' pews*; when all the seats (almost) were vacant. About the same time some profane fellows kicked a football through one of the places of Assembly. They preach very poorly, & sometimes utter such stuff as renders them ridiculous & very contemptible. One of them (as I lately heard) discoursing of Haman, what a great favourite he was, how great with Ahasuerus, & yet how suddenly hanged upon his own Gallows, wondering at it, & inquiring how it could be, said, Let us see whether it be so, or not, & thereupon turned to the place, & viewing it, said, Faith It is so. A Dr., lately, was miserably confounded in the pulpit at Hackney, that he could neither go Forward nor backward, but iterated these words about 15 times, sealed eyes are bad, but sealed ears are worse; & yet, I take it, it is said, he had his notes before him. He begged their prayers, & deprecated their Censures, acknowledging God's hand against him, saying, he had been a preacher about 36 years, & was never thus left. You would hardly imagine what strange & evil passages fall from them, many times, in the pulpit. Their covetousness is never satisfied, some of them holding, I know not how many Livings. One of their creatures, about Chelmsford, in Essex, (as I take it) lying with a Butcher's wife, was taken by the Husband *epautophoro*²⁵ who cut off the offending members, whereupon the delinquent bled to death in two or three days. Dr. Bolton, son to that famous Bolton²⁶ in Northamptonshire, follows the Tavern close, as I hear. You never saw such blades in your life. All this paper is too little to discourse of them, their worships, preachings, doings. Let them alone. There are some of them, whom others of them call Latitudinarians, *i. e.*, such as can conform, & yet are more conscientious than others, & they pretend unto some more goodness than others, yet have a Latitude to conform;

²⁵ Greek script in original—"in the act," occurs *John* viii., 4.

²⁶ Robert Bolton (1572-1631), rector of Broughton, Northants. His son was Dr. Samuel Bolton, prebendary of Westminster, a chaplain in ordinary to Charles II., "a man of extraordinary ability and great integrity," who died 11th February, 1668-9. (*D.N.B.*)

& these are much abhorred & despised by the rest of them ; whereof I could give you an Instance. They do not comply heartily, & yet keep out of the prelates' reach. As for the Churches in London, they meet privately, & by parcels, divided into several companies, & during the winter-quarter, the dark evenings were advantageous to them to steal together into their corners. And they break bread (I think) most of them, in parts & parcels, which brother R: N: & myself, & a few other that I know or hear of, do not approve of. Two of your old acquaintance, learned men, are of the other mind, And likewise, both those two, & most else, if not near all, are for hearing the word from the Circingle²⁷-generation, though they approve not of their worships, nor will join them, but the foresaid R: N: & myself & son, will have nothing to do with them in anything ; the case being, in many respects altered from what it was about 30 years backward, I could declare unto you. I argued lately with a pastor of a judgment herein contrary to me, & could not but lay the blame upon him, of not looking after his flock, & I remembered him of, Say to Archippus,²⁸ Take heed to thy Ministry, *etc.* ; & that churches & Ministers ought to make such provision among themselves as none might be exposed to such a Temptation, as to appear in Assemblies so defiled, & to hear such as might seduce in one thing, or other, at one time or another, such as were weaker in the faith. It is a grievous thing to go & mendicate our bread at our enemies' doors, especially when we might have better provision at home, *etc.* Many things else I spake, not convenient now to be expressed. But it is the fear of man that is, herein, a snare ; for if liberty were indulged, to hear, or not to hear these men, none of these would be seen in their Congregations ; but the fear of losing 20 *li* a month, & a worse issue also to follow, is a great Temptation. You would little think, how, many Church-members have carried it, complied, declined, some fallen off, *etc.*, in this searching, shaking time : Popery and Popish worship is openly set up at Somerset House ;²⁹ neither have the papists been inquired into nor searched out in their meetings ; only, of late, notice was given, by a well-willer to the best religion, as I conceive of him, to Secretary Morris, of an open meeting of a company of Papists (I think in Holborn) who acquainted the King with it, who bade him do his office, which he did, & took the Priest, & a Jesuit, who had been active in that service, & they were committed to the Gate-house, but soon after released³⁰. And the

²⁷ Circingle, a horse girth ; then of the girdle with which the clergy fastened their cassocks. Used twice later in the letter.

²⁸ Colossians iv., 17.

²⁹ The residence of Henrietta Maria, the Queen Dowager.

³⁰ Pepys, under date 16th February, 1662-3, refers to the arrest of the priest in Holborn. The same authority gives abundant evidence of the popularity of the theatre. He describes a visit he paid to the Jewish synagogue, 14th October, 1663. Of the unpopularity of the bishops he has much the same to say as Hooke.

Jews meet openly in their Synagogues ; & stage-players set up with the greatest confidence, & encouragement, & great are the confluences to the plays, & drunkards, & whore-mongers & such like fear no colours. The other Lord's day, I saw a man woefully drunk in the open streets, & no officer seizing him, when I was fain to sneak into an house, close by him, to meet with a few godly persons, to worship God. Mr. Richard Saltonstall, sometimes of N.E., is lately come out of the Common Gaol at Shrosbury, to which he was sent by the Lord Newport,³¹ for refusing to take the oath of Allegiance till he was informed about it touching something that he scrupled, which was denied him. Here hath been grievous urging of oaths ; & upon apprehensions, or any suspicions pretended, presently, *Give him the oath.*

There was a fire about November last kindled in Trin : Coll : Chapel it is not certain (that ever I could hear) how & which way. But it happened about six of the clock at night, as the scholars were at supper, a little after their prayers were ended. The Table & its furniture & Mosaic work near it, & I know not how many, surplices, & the Tapers, were burned & much plate melted, & much of it also consumed, as I hear. About the beginning of the same month, The Militia of the Town intended to have visited the Fanatics, & to have strictly searched what they could discover, as touching a pretended plot, at that time said to be in the Nation ; The Chief Commander (I take it a Major), having been at a Tavern where he left some company behind, went forth to attend the present occasion, after which one that he had been at the Tavern with, well known to him, came after him into the Market-place, or street, whom the Major bid to stand, but the Soldier not giving the word agreed upon, but saying only It is I, or the like, supposing that the Major knew him well by his voice, having been so newly together, the Major discharged upon him, & presently killed him. This I was told by an honest good man dwelling in Cambridge, who expected to have been troubled & searched by the soldiers & officers, & had warning of it, but this Providence so damped them that all their sport was spoiled. Upon the 26 of December, called by some St. Stephen's day, there was a fire³² very near Mrs. Perry her house, not far from the Exchange, near Lothbury, which burned down a new-built house inhabited by a merchant named De-lawny, whose

³¹ Francis, Baron Newport, of High Ercall, Salop (1619-1708). Lord-Lieut. of Salop, 1660. (*D.N.B.*, and *G.E.C.*)

³² Pepys, 29th December, 1662, gives a similar description of the fire. Sir Thomas Alleyne was Lord Mayor of London in 1660. The book referred to is *An Exact and most Impartial Account of the Indictment, Arraignment, Trial and Judgment (according to Law) of nine and twenty Regicides, the Murderers of His Late Sacred Majesty of most Glorious Memory : Began at Hicks-Hall on Tuesday, the 9th of October, 1660. And Continued at the Sessions-House in the Old-Bayley untill Friday, the nineteenth of the same Moneth.* London, 1660. 4to. 287 pp.

wife was daughter to Sir Thomas Allen, mentioned the foreman of the Jury, in the book printed touching the Trial of Harrison, Carey, & others executed at Charing Cross: She was great with child, in expectation every day of deliverance, the mid-wife with her, & a man, & his wife too (if I mistake not she had been her nurse). The house & every person in it, to the number of about 7, or 8, were consumed by that fire, not one escaping to signify anything that happened; nor was there scarce any outcry heard. It seemeth They had been sitting up late, after feasting, & went to bed about 12, or one, at midnight, & were all burnt by about three of the clocks, or thereabouts, towards the morning.

There is a Toleration talked of, & expected by many, since the King's Declaration, which came forth, about a month or six weeks since. If I can procure it, I will send it to you. The Papists improve the best of their Interest to promote it, but as for their being tolerated, there are many of the Grandees against it, who are ready enough to promote a motion for toleration of the Protestant suffering party; I could name men; but I forbear. The Bishops greatly abhor such a thing, as not being able to subsist but by rigour & persecution; for had we Liberty, as to the exercise of Religion, they would be contemned by (almost) all men, & whereas few frequent their meeting places now, they would scarce have any then. They have therefore striven to strengthen themselves by moving & writing to Parliament men, before they come up to the City, to sit again on Febr: 18th. And, as I hear, some of their Letters were intercepted, & made known to the King, who was offended at some passages, & their practices. Much to do there hath been about this business, & what will become of it, & the issue be, we are all waiting. The Bishops began to look upon their kirk under a Cloud, & so cry (almost) *actum est*, etc. Some would fain set prelate & Presbyterian at one, by alleviating & moderating the Act of Uniformity; & some Presbyterians are ready enough to meet the Bishop half-way, & to swallow down Liturgy, if the choke-pear of abjuration of the Covenant, or some such thing, be not added to it. Here hath been treating with one party & another by Grandees of different state-principles. For it is well seen now, that the Act of Uniformity hath gotten no ground upon that which they call the fanatic party, but that it hath gained & prevailed by suffering, & their opposites lost very much, that the Land hath been, & is, greatly disquieted, the minds of multitudes, godly, & sober, yea Protestant more at large, very much troubled, some parliament men even ashamed to be seen in their countries, etc. Trade also declining, exceedingly, both in City & Country; the causes whereof are 1. want of Liberty of Conscience for the people of God, through the late persecution; which keeps in money, in the hands of multitudes discouraged, many removing to foreign parts: the Dutch

giving great encouragement to comers over to them, & promising a competent salary for such Ministers as shall come over to their land, viz. 100 *li* per annum. 2. Vast sums of money lying in the hands of the Bishops. 3. Innumerable protections that have been granted to debtors by King & Parliament. 4. Much of our manufactory, in times of former troubles & fears, made known to other countries, by such as fled to them. 5. The ill manufactory of commodities at home, which vend not, as formerly they did, insomuch that shop-keepers here, sometimes buy such commodities from foreign parts, which they were wont to buy here at home, which I myself was lately a witness of in a woollen-draper's shop where I lately was; the Commodities being better made abroad, than here, I could add something else very considerable which I will suppress. Only, one thing I may add to all, viz., the Curse of God upon our Trading, & upon a Land upon which his Indignation & wrath lieth. And, had not God, out of great pity, given this Land very great plenty of corn & fruits of all kinds, the last year, but continued the former dearth, England had been very miserable ere this day. And, as for the decay of Trade fore-mentioned, the present customs, among other arguments, do much demonstrate it. I have heard also, perhaps (or else you will) of the sale of Dunkirk, for which the hearts of most men are greatly sadded, considering, how Trade may further suffer thereby, & our ships be taken, & our coasts annoyed by Pirates & men of war as in former times they have been upon any difference between us, & our neighbours on the other side the sea, that washeth on their shores & ours. The French King was, (as I hear) somewhat high & resolute upon his offer to buy it, & we (having enough to do at home) were loth to provoke so potent a neighbour; though want of money was a motive also to the sale. Great is the poverty of City & Country, & the land is exceeding populous, & Trade so decayed, that it is hardly recuperable. The City triumphed in hopes of great Trading about this time three years, but God hath greatly disappointed them. The Presbyterians are very much hated & reproached by the Episcopal party, far more than the Congregational, because these are contented to enjoy their Church-way among themselves, & not *allotrioepiskopein**; whereas the other, espousing a National Church interest, will call the highest to an account, admonishing, & (if need be) excommunicate, etc. Many of those conterminous with Episcopacy, have broke down the Pale, & laid themselves common with the prelacy, hooped in their bellies cir-ingle-wise. taken up their mode, in vesture, gesture & worship, Some of such of them as non-conform, yet retain too much of the old tang, & (I doubt) sundry of them, if not many, are content to

* Greek script in letter. Hooke has coined a verb from the noun which occurs *I. Peter iv.*, 5, "busybody in other men's matters." (*A.V.*)

be moderate Episcops & semi-prelatical. But there are in that form, others, of a more sweet, tender, & godly frame, & who abhor to move an inch forward to meet the prelate.

The parliament is now sitting again ; The members were courted presently upon their coming up to the City, by men of one Interest & another ; & now they are in consultation. I have sent you the King's speech. They have called Mr. Calamy's release out of Newgate, into Question, *Quo Jure*, & sent for the Bp. of London his Certificate to the Ld. Mayor, & for the Ld. Mayor's *Mittimus*, appointing a Committee to examine the matter. Howbeit, He came forth of prison by the King's power, ³³Sir Orlando Bridgman certifying the illegality of the Imprisonment, & Mr. Calamy was afterward with his Majesty, & met with kindness & favour from him. He was released the same day, that Mr. Caryll & his Church came off victors. His Imprisonment was for preaching once in his own meeting-place, no Minister having been chosen in his room, nor any appointed to preach there at that time. No Minister in England so gracious as he was within these three years, one of his Majesty's Chaplains & who hath preached before him, and was offered the Bishopric of Coventry & Lichfield ; for he was one that adhered to his Majesty in his worst times, & was helpful to him. There hath been also a debate about Lent, whether to be observed or not ; The Negative had 75 votes, but the Affirmative overbore them, as amounting to 120. There are great expectations of the issues of this great Assembly. We fear that there is nothing abated of their former severity, except the Lord (in whose hands their hearts are) incline them unto more favour & moderation.

The Earl of Derby³⁴ hath, of late, put a man to death in the Isle of Man, for some offence, I take it, about surrendering the Island in the late times : many others also were condemned. It is said, that it was ill resented at the first, by the Highest ; but the Earl stands upon his power, *etc.*

Some forces are lately sent to Scotland, to keep the discontented quiet, if they will not be ruled. The Lord Warriston (named,

³³ Warrant for release issued 13 Jan., 1662-3 (*C.S.P.D.* 1663-4, 10) : for the proceedings in the House of Commons see *Journal* viii., 437-438, under dates 19 & 20 Feb., 1662-3.

³⁴ The Isle of Man was granted to the Stanleys in 1406. On the imprisonment of James, 7th Earl of Derby, after the battle of Worcester (1651), William Christian (see *D.N.B.*) famous in Manx history as Illiam Dhone, or Brown-haired William, headed an insurrection, and afterwards joining with a Parliamentary force compelled the Countess to surrender. At the Restoration Charles, 8th Earl, had Christian arrested, & after trial, he was hanged on 2nd January 1662-3. The Earl defended his action on the ground that the Act of Indemnity was not applicable to the Isle of Man. But the King deeply resented his assumption of sovereign rights, and Christian's judges were imprisoned and fined.

A Censored Letter

Archibald Johnson³⁶) a very pious man, was lately taken in France, & sent over hither by the King thereof, who intends to send over any other whom he can apprehend that are fled thither, of the obnoxious ones, out of his respect to his Relations here, & zeal for the lives & Interest of Kings, against such subjects as shall rise up against them. This Laird is now brought over, & laid in the Tower. He was chairman in the Committee of Safety; But that, I suppose, which doth most of all, *alta mente manere repostum*, is a Letter which was written to him many years since by some eminent ones here about the beginning of the troubles of this Land; in which it was desired of him, to stir up the Scots to enter England, which letter came to the knowledge of the late King, who sent for him, and willed him to shew him the said letter; He, leaving the King in hopes of so doing, returned home, & burnt the Letter, & withdrew himself, etc. He had, lately in France, a very great sickness, which hath much impaired his faculties, & memory. He is very, very poor, all being taken away from him; He hath a Lady & about 12 children, which live upon the Charities of some friends. I hear, that there are some also of those that are fled beyond seas, upon the like offences, or worse, who are very poor, & lowzy, & who live upon a very little *per diem*. There was lately four executed and quartered at Tyburn, who were trapped into treasonable speeches by such as pretended to be all one with them. There is a book extant in print, which I have sent to you, relating the story, at large; you shall scarce read the like, I mean as to an Epistle Narrative of the Principal Trapper dedicated to the King, wherein there is the strangest language that ever I read in my life.³⁷ John Baker³⁷ sometime a planter in New England had his part in this business, a vile person, & who hath been before the King about this matter, & he lieth now in Newgate; He is one that hateth me, & it is a great mercy that he hath not falsely accused

³⁶ Archibald Johnston (1611-63), a prominent figure in Scottish politics. Before the Scots army entered England in 1640, he wrote a letter "asking Lord Savile, then in London, to sound some leading English noblemen as to their willingness to aid the Scots in an invasion of England." The reply signed by Essex, Brooke, Warwick & four other noblemen, was in the negative. But Savile drew up, a month or so later, an open declaration of support and attached to it the forged signatures of the six noblemen as well as his own. Later he owned the forgery. The Scots representatives refused to give up the document, but they cut out the signatures and burnt them in presence of one of the signatories (Gardiner, ix., 179, 211). Johnston was one of the Scottish representatives on the Committee of Both Kingdoms. He was arrested at Rouen, & hanged at Edinburgh, 23rd July, 1663. (*D.N.B.*)

³⁷ George Phillips, Nathaniel Gibbs, Thomas Tonge and Francis Stubbs were executed at Tyburn 22 Dec. 1662. The trapper was William Hill, an ejected minister, afterwards benefited in Gloucestershire for his services. His book is entitled *A brief Narrative of that stupendous Tragedy lately intended to be acted by the Satanical Saints of these reforming Times: Humbly presented to the King's Majesty.* &c. (*Cobbett State Trials*, VI., 226; *Kennet Register*, 839, 845.)

³⁷ C.S.P.D. 1663-4 (see Index).

me, as some (in that book) have done Mr. Phil. Nye, Mr. Lockyer,³⁸ & some others, most falsely, who are not called into question. Many of the prisons are opened, & many prisoners for their Consciences, are released, & between an 100 or 200 Quakers also³⁹ at Liberty, perhaps, some of their ring-leaders yet in restraint; one of these died lately in prison & his corpse was (if I mistake not) accompanied to the grave, by 1500 or 2,000 of his Judgment. Near about twenty of these men have died in or by their imprisonment. The ⁴⁰Lord St. John is gone beyond the seas, into France, Geneva, or Italy, accompanied with a servant, as not willing to stay here any longer, *etc.* The Marquess of Ormond (they say) is made Prince of Triperary (*sic*) in Ireland.

You will hear, perhaps, of the Trigon (an extraordinary Constellation, or meeting together of planets, so as hath rarely happened in the world) upon the 2nd of December last.⁴¹ If I forget not, it is said, The 1st Trigon was in Enoch's time; the 2nd, at Noah's flood; the 3rd, at Abraham's coming out of Ur of the Chaldees; the 4th, at the Egyptian bondage, or the coming out of it; the 5th, *in diebus Regnum Israelis*, but particularly in what King's reign, I cannot hear; the 6th, if not at the coming out of Babylon, yet I am sure I have heard, in the days of Jesus Christ; perhaps, both; my memory may fail me; the 7th, in the time of Charles the Great, I think; about the time of the first rising of the Turk & Pope. Since which time (as the longest interval) this Conjunction happened not, till the last Dec: 2nd, 1662. Strange things are expected in the world. Some say, that these planets were in the like Conjunction, when the world began. There is a great talk by some of '63, & also '66.

As for foreign Intelligence you will meet with some in the Corantos sent you⁴²; though we give no great heed to them as touching domestic affairs. You will want the Information of your old acquaintance, The Pacificator, of whom I have not heard these many months; nor do I know where he is. The Printed Papers will relate to you among other things, the warlike preparations between French & Pope, occasioned at 1st, as I take it, for some great indignity offered to the French Ambassador in Rome, in assaulting his house to seize some person or persons; fled thither for refuge; I think also that blood was shed, in this assault.⁴³ The Cardinal Imperial⁴⁴ was

³⁸ Nicholas Lockyer (1611-85), ejected Eton College, 1660.

³⁹ Warrant 13th January, 1663-4 for release of Quakers & others in Newgate for attending unlawful meetings (*C.S.P.D.* 1663-4. 10.

⁴⁰ Oliver St. John (1598-1673) Chief Justice in Interregnum. Died abroad.

⁴¹ A set of three signs of the zodiac.

⁴² *Courants*, gazeteers.

⁴³ The Duc de Créqui, French Ambassador at Rome, behaved with calculated arrogance. His unpopularity led to a brawl between the Vatican guards & members of his suite, some of whom were killed. Pope Alexander VII not showing readiness to make reparation, Louis XIV. seized Avignon, prepared to invade Italy and compelled the Pope to make a humiliating submission. (*Lavisse*, vii., 2, 268 ff).

⁴⁴ Lorenzo Imperiali, of Genoa, governor of Rome, since 1654.

A Censored Letter

delinquent about this matter. Much endeavour hath been used for accommodation without fruit. I know not, what it will come to. Some (& I think, the most) suppose they are in good earnest; but, as yet, I am willing to suspend my belief, having heard of the actings of the French King against the Protestants under his dominions as in the University at Montauban destroying also (as I have read) 20 Protestant Churches, & intending to do the like with more than double the numbers in Languedoc, as also (as some have said) summoning Geneva, & discharging some Protestant Guards about his person who have claimed their places by a kind of Inheritance. Whether when forces are raised, he & the Pope may not join together, or he himself turn his own forces against the Protestants, & against some over against him, I know not, for Dunkirk is now in his hand, *etc.* A little time will discover his purposes, who grows rich, great & proud, & hath been out of Action, since his wars with Spain, of whom he had the better, after many years conflicting.

The Duke of Newburg hath also intended the banishing of the Protestants out of his Territories, if it be not done already; only the Marquis of Brandenburg, & the Dutch (If I mistake it not, I think the Intelligence in print speaks something of it) have endeavoured to oppose him in it. One Placentinus, (Professor of Astronomy & Theology in Brandenburg) is said to have been, not long since, in a Trance 14 days, wherein he did neither eat nor drink, out of which when he came, he said, That the Pope should receive a great wound in '63, & be quite overthrown in '69; that Bohemia should enjoy its former privileges, & the Marquess of Brandenburg be king of it (I think) in '66: And also, That Comenius⁴⁵ should die at four years end. It is the same Comenius that hath written over hither this very Relation to some friends (I have forgotten his name) in England. This is that famous Comenius. I had almost forgotten to tell you what I met with the last summer in a meeting of several ministers (I suppose between 12 & 20 of them) who are pleased to admit me to be among them. Among these there came in one, whose name, till then, I knew not, nor did I even see him before; he came out of the country not far from the place where you were born,⁴⁶ in habit unlike to a minister, of a very sober & serious countenance, who, at the close of the meeting, made a relation of many visions which he had seen for the space of 5 or 6 years past, *viz.*; concerning the Protector & his fall, & the fall also of his son, and the coming in of the King, & the execution of those that were hanged, drawn & quartered; & I remember, he said, that when this last was showed him, he looked upon them to observe whether he could discern himself among them: He was also showed Lambert's fall in the north, by the defection

⁴⁵ "A famous writer on education and the last bishop of the old church of the Moravian and Bohemian Brethren," died 1671. (*Enc. Brit.*)

⁴⁶ Davenport baptized. Holy Trinity, Coventry, 9th April, 1597. (Waters, 205.)

of his Followers, & something also touching the City of London, & many other things which I mention not. Of these and the like things he discoursed about the space of an hour ; after which I was necessitated to depart, having far to go to my Lodging. The man is a very godly minister, & able, & several of them who heard this Relation had further discourse with him afterwards some part of a night, examining him with questions, among whom was the Pastor of M^r. R. N. I do not understand that they were dissatisfied, He is much respected of them, to say no more. These things have been discovered to the view of his mind (I think, it is his own expression) after prayer, & meditation, & sometimes in the morning on his bed. Some other things I could say of him, as to his fore-seeings, upon discoveries in prayer, which have accordingly fallen out.

I listen also much after the motions of the Turk⁴⁷ whereof the Intelligence, every week, writes something. For his slaying the 3rd part of men (*viz* : Anti-Christians) *Rev.* ix., 18, 19, 20, 21, and, the slaying of the witnesses by the Beast that ascendeth out of the bottomless pit. *Rev.* xi., 7 (I say). These two are the two great things mentioned to be done under the 6th Trumpet, which some are of opinion is drawing on to its last blast.

The Ejected Ministers in this Land, are (many of them) in a very low & poor condition, & many contributions are made for them. Dr. Cornelius Burgesse⁴⁸, who, about 4 years backward, was worth near a £1,000 *per annum* is fain now to beg his bread ; I saw a letter of his to Dr. W.⁴⁹ (whom you mention in your letters to me) wherein he expresseth his miserable state, as, without house & home, & friends, indebted also several hundreds of pounds ; a further Collection must be made for him. Some other Ministers in their great poverty, are in the City, whither they came up for help & an hard shift they make, some teaching school, or scholars, here & there, some get into some good families, some are put to Cutting of Tobacco, and to take up very mean employments ; *etc.* In the meantime, the circlingers walk on every side, with their shining faces, many of them like very good fellows. But now, The Bishops begin to fear a little. He, of London⁵⁰, complained on the last Friday, in the upper house, of some abuses done to them, by slanders & taxes, *etc.* ; It is thought, he had respect therein, especially, to himself, as suffering in his name through one Lady Bennet, with whom, some say, He was well acquainted, *etc.* ; & he desired to know, whether the Bishops were

⁴⁷ The Ottoman empire had been restored by Mohammed Kiuprili, grand vizier, 1656-61. His son Achmet led an invasion of Austria in 1663.

⁴⁸ Burgess was ejected from Wells. He had purchased the manor of Wells, for which he was offered £12,000 in 1659, but lost it without compensation in 1660. (*D.N.B.*)

⁴⁹ Probably Henry Wilkinson, ejected from canonry of Christ Church, Oxford, & afterwards resident at Clapham, Surrey, where Hooke was in 1661.

⁵⁰ Sheldon, Bp. of London, October, 1660—June, 1663.

A Censored Letter

Pures, Compeers in that house, hoping, perhaps, that (if so) he should be relieved against such slanders, as a Peer, & to prosecute an unjust tax or charge of that nature, as *scandalum Magnatum*. Upon this, it was taken into consideration, whether they were peers, or not, though they sat where they did among such as were so indeed; & it was ordered, that the matter should be debated in the house, & that the house should have counsel on their side, & the Bishops on theirs. These desired to be present at the debating; 'twas answered, No, but if they pleased, they might stand at the Bar, but they might not sit as judges in their own Case. After this, they were so bemused, and smitten, That (I take it) upon the next day, they desired to waive this matter & to let it fall⁵¹, but a very great person spake his mind concerning them, & among other things, said, that it were desirable if men of their function did not Marry, or, to the like effect, which was seconded by some other; because the Bishops' wives began to take upon them, & to contend for place with the wives of such as were better than themselves, & that their children, in time might do the like, *etc.* There are certain noblemen, whom I shall not name, who had Clerks imposed, by the fore-said Bishop, when their livings were vacant, who took it very ill; one of them, I hear, came to him to speak with him, and was made to wait a great while, at last the Bishop came to him, & the nobleman saluted him with much respect, the Bishop moving his hat, or a little uncovering his head, & asking him, what his business was, who answered, as 'twas told me, that he had waited long, & had weighty business, *but I will not be beholding to such a proud prelate as thou art.* I expect to see them fall ere long as lightning from heaven.

His Majesty sent for Mr. Calamy, Dr. Bates, & Dr. Manton (& some say, Mr. Baxter⁵² also) on the last of the last week, & took them into his Closet, & promised to restore them to their employments & places again, as pitying that such men should be vacant, protesting also against the Popish religion, as 'tis said. Before they went in with the King, some said *what do these Presbyters here?* but when they came out, they said, *your servant, Mr. Calamy, & your servant, Dr. Manton, etc.* It was told them, that a Bill for Liberty should be given in to the house, but however it went, they should have their Liberty, *i.e.* upon subscribing (I take it) 13 articles, touching doctrine & worship, in which there is nothing (as they say) offensive to a tender conscience. There is a distinction between an Act of Comprehension, & an Act of Indulgence; some are for the 1st, others not. The 1st is Comprehensive as to all forms in religion (excepting, I suppose, Papists, but I cannot well tell). The other

⁵¹ The order for hearing the counsel of the bishops at the bar of the House of Lords was withdrawn 21st February, 1662-3. (Journal xi., 481.)

⁵² Baxter refused to go.

leaves it to his Majesty, to indulge whom he seeth good. On the last day of the last week, A motion was made in the lower house for Liberty according to the King's Declaration, which I have sent you : It was disresented by some that spake after him that made the motion, & a disaffected spirit to Liberty was much discovered by very many ; & the business was referred to be debated upon the Wednesday following, which is the present day,⁵³ what will come of it I cannot yet tell. I want time to write much more, & have written more already than I have done these 4 or 5 months, as writing very little now, except now and then a short letter. What I do, as to speaking, I do it, of late, by Meditation, methodizing the matter as God is pleased to help me. I can study but little, nor sit long, & am very much diverted by persons & occasions ; yet, God vouchsafes to help me, though I exercise⁵⁴ double, if not treble to what I did before. My life spends apace now, & I am now newly entered in *magnum Clymaericum*. I am not, at present, where I was, when you wrote last to me, yet in the same Family, but in a place of some Privilege, not in parochial precincts. The bearer hereof may, perhaps, tell you, if need be. The gentleman with whom I am married the daughter of one to whom Mr. Aldersey was Uncle, with whom, they say, you were very well acquainted. This Gentleman also liveth together with us, a courtier sometimes, & a scholar, & like some time to have been University Orator. He is Episcopal, but very quiet, his wife as much, & more, Anti-Episcopal, one of very great parts, & undaunted spirit & resolution, to whom I am very much beholding, as I am to the whole Family. My wife (through the goodness of God) is in good health, and intends, I think, to write unto you. My children also are in good health, some of them I have comfort in, with some others of them I have been somewhat exercised. I do most humbly beg your prayers for myself & mine ; I beseech you press earnestly for me & them. I am now thinking every day of my last day, & have walked up & down a great while in the dark, grieving that I have done no more for God during so many years as I have lived, & particularly with you I have wandered up and down in the world, & done little, or gained little as to my better part, spent precious seasons after the rate of Common Time, made little or no progress ; I have too much favoured myself, indulged my ease, & been sparing of myself for the best Master in the World. I much question from what principle I have acted. I can see little to bear me up, which way soever I look. During my abode with you, I did little, or rather nothing. I am greatly ashamed of it. The conversation of that sweet Dr.⁵⁵

⁵³ *Commons Journal*, 25th February, 1662-3, viii., 440.

⁵⁴ Preach, &c.

⁵⁵ Dr. Wilkinson, as above; for a testimony to his activity in preaching, see a letter of October, 1661. *M.H.S.*, 173.

forementioned, hath very much convinced me, the greatest enemy to sloth, & one as liberal of himself for God, & his work, as ever I knew. I might say much more, but in writing this, I am interrupted, & could easily lay aside my pen, & sit down, & weep over myself. Sir, I know your tender heart, & your interest in heaven; improve it for one who much honoureth you, & whom, I know, you love. Pray fervently for a right principle, & some, be it but a little, sense of the love of Christ, *etc.* I have not said this much to anyone, except, perhaps, to my dear wife, who holds her integrity, & grows apace.

I must now conclude; acquainting only with the severity of the Parliament against Toleration, in their debate yesterday, Feb. 25, concerning his Majesty's Declaration for Liberty. It is said, they sent, to give his Majesty Thanks for his adherence to the Act of Indemnity, & Act of Uniformity, & protestation against Popery, humbly petitioning against Toleration.

I heard, that one should say, There were 2000 fanatic Ministers in the Land, who must needs therefore have very many adherents, which would prove very dangerous to the peace both of Church & State— That if nettles be gently handled they will sting; *etc.*

What you think meet, you may communicate to our dear friends & brethren with you; That, newly before expressed, touching my own state, especially inward, you may conceal it, excepting you think it may advantage me, as to the prayers of such as you shall judge wise, *etc.*

I hear that your beloved son, Mr. John Davenport, hath changed his condition. I have often begged the blessing of God upon it. Part of this fore-noon I spent with Mr. Winthrop⁵⁶, Major Thomson⁵⁷ (who hath bought Mr. Whitfield's house & land at Guildford) also Captain Scott⁵⁸ of Long Island, & Mr. Nath: Whitefield; in debating the business of your Colony. They all came, unlooked for, or undesired of me, to the place of my present abode, about this matter; I desired to be spared, but upon entreaty, was willing to hear what could be said on the one side, or other, and what might conduce to a comfortable accommodation, that you might enjoy your former Liberties in Church & Commonwealth; which (as things are now like to go with you) are in danger to be utterly lost. Mr. Winthrop apologizeth for himself, That it was not his Intention,

⁵⁶ John Winthrop, the younger, (1606-1676), came to England in 1662 to obtain a charter for Connecticut, sealed 10th May, 1662. The crux of the matter was the inclusion of New Haven, referred to above.

⁵⁷ Major Robert Thompson purchased from Henry Whitefield, minister, Guildford, Conn., who returned to England in 1651, his property in Guildford, including the famous "stone-house" built in 1639—one of the oldest buildings in New England now standing (Waters, *Gleanings*, 66). Thompson gave letters for New England to Wilson at the same time as Hooke, but hearing there was to be a search he withdrew them again (*C.S.P.D. Car.* ii., 72, 16). For Thompson's will (*P.C.C.* 14th April, 1691) see Waters, 65.

⁵⁸ John Scott, a disreputable adventurer, see *D.N.B.*

you should have been thus dealt with by his neighbours at Connecticut, nor that your Liberties should have been the least infringed, & that it is his desire, that yet you may enjoy them as much to the full as you ever did. It was desired of him by us all, That he would at this time, by the 1st, write to Connecticut, & make known as much to them, and that whereas they betruſted him as their Agent, to act for them, it was meet they should be advised by him & not cross his former promises & resolutions on your behalf. Though he saith that Mr. Leete⁵⁹ came up to him to Connecticut, before he came away, desiring him to take in your Colony with theirs on the River. I hope you will not rest, till he hath done his best to set you by yourselves, & so procure your settlement upon your 1st foundation. Rev^d Sir! you will bear with my prolixity. I most humbly salute you, as also very much honoured M^{rs}. Davenport, with Mr. John Davenport & his Consort, the daughter (as I hear) of my very good friends. The God of Abraham give you to see his blessing upon the State your only & beloved son is entered into. I have many more among you to be saluted also by me, particularly Mr. Jones, & M^{rs}. Jones, Mr. Gilbert⁶⁰, my dear brother, your colleague, to whom I shall not write at present. His, from Boston, I received. I cannot mention every one, I heartily love them all both collectively and distributively. The God of peace be with you all, & steer your course for you in this dark hour, through winds & waves of opposition, & give me (the meanest of all, if anything) to meet you at the Haven of eternal rest in an infinitely better world. Amen.

March. 2^d. 1663. Yours very greatly obliged, much honouring, & intimately loving you, *etc.*

I pray, salute my Relations you mentioned in one of your last, & acquaint them with as much of this as you think fit. Tell them our friends here are well.

A. G. MATTHEWS.

⁵⁹ William Leete, governor New Haven, 1661-5 (*Savage, Gen. Dict.*).

⁶⁰ Perhaps Thomas Gilbert, ejected Ealing 1660, buried Charlestown 28th October, 1673. (*D.N.B.*)

An Eighteenth Century Ordination Certificate.

In the minister's vestry of Clapton Park Congregational Church, London, there has hung for many years the translation of an ordination certificate of a minister of the Old Gravel Pit Chapel, from which Clapton Park sprang. The translation was made by Mr. C. E. B. Reed, son of Sir Charles Reed, a member of the Church, and chairman of the London School Board. The certificate looked interesting enough to copy, and when it was taken down one was delighted to find the original on the other side. It is here transcribed, and the translation given. Latinists may amuse themselves by noticing where they can improve on Mr. Reed's rendering.

ALBERT PEEL.

THE ORIGINAL CERTIFICATE

of the Ordination of the Revd. George Smyth as Pastor at the
O.G. Pit Chapel.

Presented by Mr. Charles Reed.

Nos infra-scripti Ecclesiarum Pastores et S. S. Evangelii Ministri, omnes hasce literas lecturos certiores facimus; D. Georgium Smyth, in Academia Glascuensi liberalium Artium Magistrum, post studiorum Academicorum curriculum, primo Londini, deinde Glascoie, postremo Lugduni Batavorum feliciter emensum, et solennem ad munus pastorale (in vico vulgo vocato Hackney) vocationem; multis etiam Eruditionis; pietatis, vitæque ad Evangelii regulam formatæ, ut et ad docendum aptitudinis et concionandi per gratæ *præceōs* iudiciis nixam; a Nobis cum precibus Jejunis ac manuum Impositione ad præfatum munus pastorale hodie separatam et presbyterum rite ordinatum fuisse: cujus id circo sacras literas in publicis Christianorum coetibus docendi, Evangelii Sacramenta administrandi et Disciplinam Ecclesiasticam exercendi, (juxta Ecclesiæ primævæ et ad illius normam Reformatæ ordinem) potestatem unanimiter comprobavimus, Fraternitatis denique dexteram dedimus. Quapropter ipsum omnibus Ecclesiarum pastoribus et fidelibus cunctis, præsertim fratribus nostris in dicto vico, ut legitimum verbi Divini Ministerium ex animo commendamus; illique ejusque piis in Domini Jesu

Eighteenth Century Ordination Certificate 285

Christi vinea laboribus uberem Jehovah benedictionem ardentibus adprecamur votis.

GULIELMUS LORIMER	JEREA ^H . SMITH
EDM. CALAMY, S.T.P.	S.[?] BROWNE
JOSH. OLDFIELD, S.T.P.	W. TONG
B. ROBINSON	THO. REYNOLDS
JOH. EVANS	W. HARRIS
	DANIEL MAYO.

Datum Londini XIV Kal. Januarii,
Anno Æræ Christianæ MDCCXVI.

Certificate of the Ordination of the Revd. George Smyth,
Pastor at the Old Gravel Pit Chapel—translated from
the original document by Mr. Charles E. B. Reed.

We the undersigned Pastors of Churches and Ministers of the Most Holy Gospel do certify all who shall read this letter :—that Mr. George Smyth, Master of Arts in the University of Glasgow, after completing the curriculum of academical studies, first at London, next at Glasgow, lastly at Leyden in Holland, and after the usual call to the pastoral office (in the hamlet commonly called Hackney)—a call supported moreover by many proofs of scholarship, piety and a life conformed to the rule of the Gospel, no less than of aptness for teaching, and a highly acceptable style of preaching;—has been this day with prayers, fasting and laying on of hands, set apart by us to the aforesaid pastoral office, and duly ordained presbyter; whose authority therefore for teaching the Holy Scriptures in the public assemblies of Christians, of administering the Sacraments of the Gospel and of exercising ecclesiastical discipline (in accordance with the order of the early Church and the model of the Church Reformed) we have unanimously approved and further have given him the right hand of brotherhood. Wherefore we heartily recommend the above to all pastors of Churches and the whole of the faithful, especially to our brethren in the said hamlet, as a legitimate minister of the Divine Word, and upon him and his pious labours in the vineyard of the Lord Jesus Christ, we invoke with fervent prayers, the fruitful blessing of Jehovah.

(Signed)

GULIELMUS LORIMER	JEREA ^H . SMITH
EDM: CALAMY, S.T.P.	S. BROWNE
JOSH: OLDFIELD, S.T.P.	W. TONG
B. ROBINSON	THO: REYNOLDS
JOH. EVANS	W. HARRIS
	DANIEL MAYO

London 14th January
in the year of the Christian Era
1716

A POPULAR HISTORY OF THE FREE CHURCHES. By C. Silvester Horne, M.A. With additional chapter (1903-1926) by Albert Peel, M.A., Litt.D., Cong. Union of England and Wales. 5s.

THE continued demand for this "vigorous and vivid" narrative, which has been out of print for some years, has been most happily met by this (the eleventh) issue, and we should not be surprised if its early triumphs (when six editions were put out in one year) were repeated. The book was one of the finest of many fine services rendered by Mr. Horne, and the needful additional chapter could not have been in more competent hands than those of Dr. Peel. In spite of the difficulty of lack of distance from the period he has given us a very just estimate of the last five and twenty years. After dealing with the decline of the political power of Nonconformity and the mitigation of dissenting asperity, he touches on such matters as Church union, religious and secular education, Welsh Disestablishment, theological and social activities, denominational problems, church extension and the effects of the war. He diagnoses our present discontents, but is not pessimistic, and indicates where our powers really lie.

I remember a sentence of Mr. Bernard Manning's in a *Congregational Quarterly* article which well sums up this matter: "Our Free Churches cannot go on living as a protest against injustices that have been removed and errors that are dying. Nonconformity must send out a positive note to-day in religion as it did yesterday in politics, and if it does this it will gather not less enthusiastic and even purer support than it gathered in the nineteenth century."

One or two brief notes may be added. On page 437 in the paragraph on projects for (Church) union in the British Commonwealth—the words "many" and "some" might well read "some" and "one." And the Presbyterian minority in Canada is not so small. Cheshunt College is not strictly Congregational; the Unitarian College at Manchester (p. 438) is still there—what is in Oxford is Manchester New College, previously in London. The name of Hope Moulton at least should be added (p. 442) to the list of Biblical scholars, and something should be said in particular of his Wesleyan Central Missions and of the Student Christian Movement. In the present edition the old plates have been used to enable the reprint to be issued cheaply, but I hope that in future a page will be given to the noting and correcting of the "minor slips" made by Mr. Horne: as a sound historian Dr. Peel must not go on propagating them.

In the Index "Increase Mathew" should be "Increase Mather." "Sedburgh" should be "Sedbergh," and the rather cryptic reference to "Harrison, Richard"—which looks like a good illustration of a marginal gloss creeping into his text—should be made clearer.

A. J. GRIEVE.

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