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Vol. XIV - 1940-1944
Edited by Albert Peel, M.A., Litt.D.
and Geoffrey F. Nuttall, M.A., B.D.

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EDITORIAL

THE first words of this editorial must be of apology and explanation. When war broke out in September, 1939, it was felt that it would be wise to postpone the issue of the Transactions then due, and the intensification of the war caused a similar decision to be taken in May, although much of the issue was already in type. It was obvious, however, that 1940 should not pass without a number of the Transactions, and so September was fixed for the date of publication. The Nazis had other ideas, however, for whence does freedom feed its soul if not on Congregational history? An incendiary bomb was therefore dropped on our printers, and the type destroyed. The delay has enabled us to add the Rev. Ignatius Jones’s article and increase the issue to 64 pages. Many editorial notes and reviews went up in smoke, and it was impossible to recover them, but fortunately most of the pages were already in proof, and galley slips were available. All had to be reset, however, and we trust that in this second setting there are no “faultes escaped”.

*   *   *   *   *

It seems a far cry to the last meeting of the Society—in May, 1939, but those who were present will rejoice to renew their acquaintance with Mr. Norman G. Brett James’s paper on “Cromwellian London,” which he read at our Annual Meeting. There was a pleasant discussion, the officers were re-elected, and the balance sheet adopted. Dr. Grieve was warmly thanked for all his services to the Society, and a resolution was passed congratulating the Editor on his election to the Chair of the Congregational Union of England and Wales.

We trust all members of the Society are exploiting the hour by bringing home to ministers, church officers and others, the urgent need for placing all important records in a place of safety. Some of the rarest books and manuscripts in the Congregational Library have been transferred to the strong room of a northern college, together with the records of the Congregational Fund Board, which go back to 1695. Air bombardment pays no special respect to art or letters, age or youth, and it is to be feared that in many lands invaluable records have been irretrievably lost. Churches in the London area would do well to see that their old minute-books and other important documents remain not a moment longer in a dangerous place. It might be well to take advice, if the records lie in a safe, whether their security can be guaranteed; we understand
that often when safes have survived fires caused from incendiary bombs their contents fall to ashes when the doors are opened. Churches in dangerous areas should get into communication with churches in comparatively safe zones, or with County Unions or Colleges with strong rooms, and ask for their co-operation. If we can help in any way, we should be glad to hear. Members of the Society connected with churches in bombed areas, or with influence in those churches, will be doing real service to the cause of historical research if they will be active in this regard. Too often precious material has been destroyed by vandals or by those ignorant of its value. Let us see that all that can be saved is saved.

The closing of the MSS. Room at the British Museum, and the dispersal or the bestowal in places of safety of manuscripts and rare books in other institutions, are obstacles in the way of the research student for which Hitler must bear the blame. The waste of war is appalling from whatever aspect we regard it, and the researcher must suffer with the rest of mankind. But it is sad to think of valuable work suspended, especially when those engaged in it are only too conscious that the sands are running out. It is a good time for all students who find their way forward blocked to take stock of their present position so that, when opportunity offers, they can move forward at once with everything in perfect order. It is pathetic to think of all the collections students have made which have remained amorphous and never been gathered into form, whose déshabillé has always prevented them from appearing in public. The present interval, annoying as it is, may not be wasted if it serve as for the researcher’s spring cleaning. Meanwhile, use can be made of photostat copies of books and manuscripts, so great an aid to students when travel is difficult, resources straitened, and access to books and manuscripts by no means easy.

It is with mingled pleasure and pain that we remember that the war will probably accelerate the transference of our literary treasures to lands across the seas—pleasure because we can think of them as secure, pain because we are loth to lose things that are beloved as well as precious and rare. Already in a few years the Huntington Library at San Marino has amassed a rich assortment of books and manuscripts, one of which we must certainly transcribe one of these days. The Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington has lately secured Sir Leicester Harmsworth's books, many of them dealing with theology and religious controversy. As the war leaves Britain poorer American wealth will be more and more employed to secure our treasures. If they be cared for as well as they are in the Library of Congress and in the two libraries just mentioned, well
and good. In these libraries, too, everything is made easy for the student; it is research de luxe to be able to take stenographer and typewriter into a research room, as is possible at the Huntington. As for the Sterling Library at Yale it is so like a cathedral that it seems almost desecration to work in it at all.

And American scholars are certainly using their opportunities to the full: long vacations—and higher salaries—enable them to devote considerable periods to research in a way possible to few British scholars. Prof. M. M. Knappen’s able and satisfying Tudor Puritanism has anticipated some of our own work, and Dr. Haller’s reprints of Puritan tracts are extremely useful. Prof. Perry Miller’s volumes will long be a quarry for students. Dr. W. K. Jordan, in a fourth volume, has completed a thorough and painstaking survey of religious toleration in England from the Reformation to 1660.

Sometimes, of course, the work falls short of the writer’s hopes and intentions: Mrs. Perry, the wife of the Bishop of Rhode Island, has written a Life of Archbishop Parker which we seized upon eagerly, hoping to find that it built on Strype and others the definitive biography for which students have long waited, but we were doomed to disappointment.

Against these and other American contributions to the study of English ecclesiastical history we in this country have comparatively little recent work to set, but Mr. J. F. Mozley’s vindication of John Foxe is as welcome as it is readable.

This activity on the part of American scholars, and their keen interest in the background of the religious history of America, gives ground for the hope that the day is not far distant when, say, American and British Congregationalists will take the trouble to acquaint themselves with each other’s history down the centuries. As long as the stream is one, down to 1620, it has been thoroughly surveyed, but when it forks, the rank and file of Congregationalists—and not only the rank and file—have been content to follow the course of their own river. We have met Americans who have heard of the Savoy Conference, but those who know much about Philip Doddridge or Edward White are few, while superlatives would be needed to describe the ignorance of British Congregationalists about the American story in the 18th century! There is abundant scope here for international Congregationalism.

Similarly, we wish the denominational historical societies could in some way co-operate with each other. The Baptist Historical Society, set on right lines by Dr. Whitley, has done excellent work, though its Transactions have been merged, or submerged, in the Baptist Quarterly. The Presbyterians and Unitarians have vigorous
societies, with journals which do them credit, and the Wesley Historical Society will soon, surely, have discovered, down to the last sentence, everything said or written by and about the Wesleys. But the Societies should know more of each other: a joint meeting might be an impetus to all, while members of the recently-founded Hymn Society could swell the numbers. To this Society we give a warm welcome, and trust that the war will not unduly impede the preparation of the projected new edition of *Julian*; it need not do so, for some of its most active members are in America.

All who are interested in books and manuscripts would do well to read all the "Practical Library Handbooks" now being published by Messrs. Allen & Unwin. The latest of them, the work of one of our most competent Librarians, Mr. W. C. Berwick Sayers, of Croydon, deals with *Library Local Collections*, and shows how a library should set about the task of becoming a complete repository of all that pertains to local history. Members of a society like our own can do a great deal to encourage a Librarian who is as keen as he should be about the history of his town, city, or county, and to stimulate those who are not. Worth noting are some of Mr. Sayers's words about the local church:

Every publication it puts forth of its principal activities, and its magazine, should be obtained. Here "church" covers every denomination, of course, and indeed every religious community, Christian or non-Christian, anti-Christian, or even anti-religious. Such magazines have in them much personal record, and grow in value with the years. The inset national magazine of the miscellaneous type which is often issued with such magazines need not be kept. Religious bodies are only too glad as a rule to provide the copies of their magazines, but it must be said that they are often less punctual in delivering them than is to be wished, and careful check should be kept upon them.
Cromwellian London

The significant century of London’s growth is the seventeenth. During the Middle Ages the bounds of Roman London, as defined by its walls, were almost sufficient to permit of any needed expansion. True it is that some extra-mural wards (Parksoken, Bishopsgate without, Aldersgate, and Farringdon without) increased the size of the city, and so we have an additional area outside the walls, but inside the “Liberties”. For some centuries a high death rate and these new wards made further extension unnecessary, and then just when the peace of the Tudors was beginning to permit expansion there came the Dissolution of the Monasteries, not unfairly called the Great Pillage, to give the needed room for additional population. There had been two rings of monastic buildings with extensive grounds from the Tower through Clerkenwell to the Temple on the north side of the Thames, and these managed to satisfy the needs for expansion for nearly half a century. But from 1580 onwards the gradual development of suburbs outside the Liberties was a constant anxiety to the Crown and to the City Authorities, who feared plague and famine, plots and disorder, in these unregulated areas, and took drastic but ineffectual steps to prohibit growth.

Elizabeth and her two successors forbade building in the suburbs both by means of proclamation and by Act of Parliament, and the terms of this Act, which was passed in 1593, insisted on four acres of land for each new cottage. James I boasted that, like Augustus, he had turned his capital city “from sticks to bricks”, and Charles I not only forbade building, but endeavoured to make money in difficult times by accepting substantial fines for disobedience to his orders.

A MS. schedule of 1638 in the Record Office gives a list of 1,361 new houses in the suburbs and outskirts of London for which fines had been paid, and about the same time a wise scheme was evolved by the King and his advisers for incorporating the suburbs into a series of four new wards. This seventeenth century L.C.C. was actually proposed by the Earl of Pembroke, and was much disliked by the City Authorities, who perceived a possible dangerous rival, but were unwilling to be saddled themselves for any responsibility for these ever-growing but unregulated suburbs. The Incorporation of the Suburbs was another aspect of the extension of the Bills of

1Notes of an address given to the Congregational Historical Society.
Mortality, and was a serious effort to provide some efficient organization and government for these fast developing districts, whose only control was in the hands of Justices of the Peace and the Vestries. Before the embryo L.C.C. had time to function, the Civil War was begun; and the two chief Chamberlains of this unfledged corporation took opposite sides in the great struggle, and thereby gave it a severe and possibly fatal blow.

During the Interregnum we hear hardly anything of this Incorporation of the Suburbs, which may have been disliked because it was the King’s pet hobby. The fortifications which were built to surround London against royalist attack provided one area for administrative purposes, and we hear a good deal about the area within “the lines of communication”. In order to provide adequate ministers for London’s parish churches, the whole area was divided into twelve territorial groups, five of them dealing with the suburban area. Neither of these areas was the same as that included in the Incorporation of the Suburbs, and when, on the restoration of Charles II, it was proposed to revive the scheme, the City of London strongly opposed it, and Charles II thought it wise to accept the City’s wishes.

The attitude displayed by the City Corporation in the seventeenth century undoubtedly left a large and constantly increasing area without satisfactory government, and without any connexion with the City, and was largely responsible for the chaotic condition of the suburbs in Georgian times. It cannot be said that the period of the Commonwealth provides a more statesmanlike grasp of the situation, and what happened to London from 1640 to 1660 was largely spasmodic and localized rather than constructive and far-reaching.

The construction of the defences of London indicate the effective size of the city and its more important suburbs, as the trenches and forts ran from Wapping through Whitechapel and Shoreditch, across Finsbury Fields to Islington, where London’s new water supply was stored, across Gray’s Inn Lane and Bloomsbury to St. Giles’s, round the Conduit Meadows, another vulnerable point, to Hyde Park Corner, and thence west and south of Tothill Fields to the river by Lambeth. The southern portion ran from Nine Elms to Vauxhall and St. George’s Fields across the Old Kent Road to Redriff, opposite Wapping.

After an existence of five years the Forts were “slighted” by Fairfax and their short life was over. It was a pity that the chance of constructing a green belt on the site of the trenches was not taken. John Evelyn and Sir William Petty both made some suggestion in Charles II’s reign, but their remarks fell on very deaf ears.

For some years after the Civil War began the exodus of royalists from London, the absence of soldiers on service, and the general
shortage of money, made expansion of building unnecessary, and difficult, but the speculative builder was always on the alert, and his place of attack was Lincoln’s Inn Fields, which “lie between London and Westminster, and there has always been free passage through them for recreation and exercise, they being the only place left unbuilt thereabouts”. The Benchers objected in 1656, and strict provisos were established with regard to the quality of the houses to be erected. It was the custom of the Government in Commonwealth times to demand a year’s rent as a fine for all houses built since 1620 within ten miles of London, unless each house had the requisite four acres of land attached. In 1657 a comprehensive Act was passed for the preventing of multiplicity of buildings in and about the suburbs of London, but an exception was made in respect of the development of Covent Garden by the Earl of Bedford, as advised by Inigo Jones. Another detail of development is revealed when we read, in a Parliamentary report of 1651, of eleven houses in Piccadilly.

While the Court and the Civil Servants were demanding houses in the West end of London, the need for equal development eastwards for sailors and merchants was equally imperative. This had already been marked from the date of the foundation of the East India Company, and during the Commonwealth period there was considerable growth in Stepney, where Jeremiah Burroughs and William Greenhill, two well-known Nonconformist divines, were called by Hugh Peters “the morning and evening stars of Stepney”. Another important Nonconformist in Stepney was Matthew Mead, who was associated with Greenhill and was appointed in 1658 to the new chapel of Shadwell. There was a proposal to divide the huge parish of Stepney into four, a very good piece of evidence as to the remarkable development down the river. The division of the parish did not actually take place; but the building of the Shadwell Chapel for Mead by Thomas Neale, and the erection of another chapel of ease in Poplar by the East India Company, did something to cope with the growth of population.

It seems quite obvious that no attempt was being made to prevent building in the East end, whatever was being attempted in the West. The importance of shipping both for the navy and for the mercantile marine made it essential for houses to be built for sailors and merchants, and the growth of Stepney seems to have been quite phenomenal.

During Cromwell’s rule special exceptions were made with regard to the building of hospitals in Horsleydown by the Governors of St. Olave’s in Southwark. The proposed dock in Deptford was also an exception, and the details of the scheme refer to “the making therein Harbours and Moles for the riding of 200 sail of ships, with-
out the use of anchor or cable, and wherein many conveniences shall be made for building and repairing many ships together, towards which muchhath been expended already, in digging one of the moles and cuts towards the others”. The only proviso was that the harbours and moles must be finished before the first day of July, 1667.

Another interesting development was in the property of William Holles, Earl of Clare, in land between Lincoln’s Inn Fields and the Strand. There were streets of houses, a big mansion for the Earl, and a market of a similar kind to that established by the Earl of Bedford in Covent Garden.

The problems of building were getting acute towards the end of Cromwell’s time, and his methods were vigorous and sensible. It is not easy to be sure whether they were successful. There were two problems involved, one of prohibition and one of revenue, and a question was asked in the House of Commons in June, 1659, as to the money raised by the fines paid on new buildings. Colonel Martin replied four days later that the total amount levied during the previous two years was £75,000, of which £41,000 had actually been paid. This does not seem a very large amount, and Dr. Nicholas Barbon, a well-known speculative builder, the inventor of Fire Insurance and the son of “Praise God Barebones”, attacked Cromwell’s methods in his masterly An Apology for the Builder in 1683. He states that not more than £20,000 was collected, and gives it as his opinion that much of the emigration to the New World, especially to Jamaica, was due to the building restrictions, and he declared that the severe law requiring four acres to every cottage built within ten miles of London was a particular hardship.

Cromwell’s attitude towards the persecuted Waldenses encouraged refugees to endeavour to settle in this country, and a big reform took place when he determined to allow the Jews officially to settle in London after an exclusion which had lasted, at least nominally, since the reign of Edward I. In seventeenth century London a number of Jewish exiles from Spain and Portugal were living here as Ronan Catholics, and there were about sixty to seventy of these Marranos, of whom the most important was Fernandez Carnaval, a ship-owner and a dealer in bullion, and a contractor in grain for the Parliamentary armies during the Civil War.

In 1654 and 1655 deputations waited on Cromwell asking for a relaxation of Edward I’s laws, and a year or two later permission was given. A Synagogue was established in Cree Church Lane, and a burial ground for Jews was established in Mile End in 1657. When the first interment took place, the bell of St. Katherine Cree Church was tolled for the funeral, and the church pall was lent by the Christians for the Jewish burial, a pleasing example of an unusual tolerance.
Cromwellian London

Cromwell's era was "not unnoticed by London's historians and topographers. James Havill published an interesting account of London in 1657 which he called Londinopolis; a good number of very important drawings of London were executed during Cromwellian times by the Czech refugee, Wenceslaus Hollar; while an important map was published probably in 1638, drawn by Richard Newcourt and William Falthorne, and entitled "An exact delineation of ye Cities of London and Westminster and ye Suburbs thereof, together with ye Burrough of Southwark."

The support and wealth of London were two of the chief reasons for the success of the Parliamentary forces in the Civil War. The struggle between Parliament and the Army, in which London took sides against the soldiers, resulted in the seizure of London by Fairfax and his army in 1647, and in the "slighting" of the fortifications. This was the first disaster to London, and this set-back weakened the City, and the next eleven years of Cromwellian government may have carried the movement still further.

The twenty years of struggle between the events leading up to the Civil War and the Restoration of Charles II, coupled with the twin disasters of Plague and Fire, made London unequal to the task of opposing the King. Where Charles I had to retreat, and even Cromwell had to walk warily, Charles II gained a complete victory over the citizens.

N. G. Brett James.

We rejoice to read that before the Dutch Church in Austin Friars was destroyed, its charter, granted by Edward VI, and also letters of Erasmus, Albrecht Durer, and John Knox, had been placed in safe custody. O si sic omnes!
What the Independents Would Have

[The following paragraphs are extracts representing the substance of a defence of the Independents by the regicide John Cook, who was appointed by Parliament to conduct the prosecution of Charles I. During the Commonwealth he was a justice in Ireland, where in 1660 he was arrested and brought to London to be executed. In his Unum Necessarium (1648) he “pleads for the control of the drink trade and the relief of the poor (including free medical service)” (Puritanism and Liberty, ed. A. S. P. Woodhouse, introd., p. 48). For further particulars, see Dict. Nat. Biog.—Geoffrey F. Nuttall.]

What the Independents Would have, or, A Character, Declaring some of their Tenets, and their desires to disabuse those who speak ill of that they know not. Written by John Cook of Grays Inn Barrister. London, Printed for Giles Calvert, 1647. [8vo, 16 pp.]

the question truly stated, is but this: whether the inventions of men ought any more to be mixed with the Institutions of Christ in his Kingly Office, then their good works in his Priestly Office;

what will content all the Independents in England, 'tis this; they desire neither more nor lesse, then what the Puritans desired of Queen Elizabeth and King James; viz. an entire exemption from the jurisdiction of all Prelates and Ecclesiasticall Officers, other then such as themselves shall choose, and to be accountable to the Magistrate for what they shall do amisse, submitting to the Civil Government in all things; and to be liable to all taxations, that by law are chargeable upon persons of their condition, not holding any opinions destructive of State-polity, not having a natural tendencie to disturb the peace of the Kingdom, as all seditious practices have: but otherwise to be as free to choose their own company, place, and time, with whom, where and when to worship God, as they are in the choice of their wives; for a forced marriage will not hold. This I say will satisfie all that goe under the name of Independents, which name and the word Presbyters, as it is used, I wish they were extinct and buryed¹: If there must be a distinction, I wish rather they might be called Conformists, and Reformists;

Hee [i.e. an Independent] is one that judges every man in a happy condition (though he hold many errors) that believes in Jesus Christ, and is content to be every mans servant, so as Christ may but reign over his conscience: ... he holds a subordination of Officers in the same Church, but an equality in several Congregations; which as sisters depend not upon one another, but are helpfull as one hand to another; ... an Independent is he that depends not of any but Christ Jesus, the head in point of Canon and Command for Spirituall Matters; but is dependent upon man in all Temporal Matters absolutely, and for Spiritualls by way of advice and counsell, it being an Article of his Faith, that every man must be saved by

¹ cf. W. Cradock, Gospel-libertie (1648), p. 135: “Presbytery, and Independency are not two religions: but one religion to a godly, honest heart; it is only a little ruffling of the fringe”.

10
his own faith, and knows no Medium between a reasonable service and an
implicate faith:

one acre of performance, is worth a whole land of promise. He is a professed
enemy to all imperative, co-active violence in matters of conscience, which
are not an offence against civil justice, and thinks that to force men to
come to Church, is but to make them hypocrites. He can not be content
with an inferior accommodation for his soul, when he may have a superior
go to the Ordinances to meet Jesus Christ there, and to hear good news
from heaven; he desires to find him in the fullest manner, but is not of so
strong a constitution as to fast till authority settle a form of worship. He
holds the Word and Sacraments not to be the constitution of a Church
(nor more then the Law is the Common wealth, or the axe the house) but
the means and instrument of constitution, and counts him the only
extravagant man that flies from reason, which makes all men so noble:

hee holds persuasian to bee the Gospellary way, and that Liberty of
Religion to all Protestants, is the bond of Religion against Papists; hee
believes the community of the faithfull in appearance to bee the immediate
receptacle of all Ecclesiasticall Authority, . . .

Hee thinks spirituall diseases must have spirituall cures, and thinks it
is no proper way to confute an heretick, to breake his head with the Bible.
Hee is one that desires to live lovingly with all the World, and loves most
where he sees most of God; . . . and hee joyns himself in Church-fellowship,
not to gain heaven, but to witnesse his love to Jesus Christ, and desires
to love himselfe no farther than he finds the Image of God renewed in him.

He . . . desires heartily a Union with our Brethren the Scots, which hee
conceives may very well be without a Uniformity, which is a condition for
the Saints above fully enlightned; hee thinks Religion is ab eligendo, as
well as a religando, and that the French Protestants are cordiall and sincere,
that may eyther goe to Masse or to Church, as they please. Hee conceives
a moderate Presbytery, such as man cannot except against, in point of
Reason or Conscience, is best consistent with the happiness of his Kingdome,
and why should not moderate men be content with a moderate Discipline?
Hee loves an honest Presbyterian better then a dishonest Independent,
and believes that the want of morality excludes from Heaven;

Hee desires to learn the truth with all diligence and humility, and if for
the present hee be in an error, hee hopes all good Christians will excuse it,
because it proceeds from a desire of all possible purity in a Congregation; as
if a servant be over diligent, thinking to please his master, by doing his
businesse too well, no ingenious man would blame him . . . a Union of hearts
rather then a vicinity of Houses, is to make up a Congregation according
to the New Testament, then which hee conceives his way no Newer.

His practice is to baptize the children of one or both believing parents,
as foderally holy; the contrary opinion of some Anabaptists, or Anti-baptists
makes him study the Scripture in piety, and devotion more; there being
neither expresse precept nor example for it, and the correspondencie of the
Seals under both dispensations more; and possibly that may bee a truth,
which for want of light hee conceiveth to bee an error; if it be an error, it is
a very harmfulle one, resting there, and cannot disturb the publike peace.
If an Antinomian doctrinall doe not prove an Antinomian practicall, hee

2 cf. H. Barrow, Brief Discovery of the False Church (1590), p. 34: "Which people thus gathered
are to be esteemed an holy Church . . . although they have attained to have yet among them
neither a Ministry nor Sacraments, providing it be not by any default in them that they be
wanting". cf. also J. Robinson, Justification of Separation (1610), Works (1851 ed.), II, 232:
"I do tell you that in what place soever, whether by preaching the gospel by a true minister, by
a false minister, by no minister, or by reading, conference, or any other means of publishing it,
two or three faithful people do arise, separating themselves from the world into the fellowship
of the gospel and covenant of Abraham, they are a church truly gathered though never so weak".
thinks some of those opinions are very comfortable, and learns hereby, not to exalt duty too much, but to study free grace the more, and believe that the Doctrine of Justification and satisfaction, have never been more clearly taught then by them that have been so called. He hopes Seekers finde the way to heaven, yet counts it sad that any should wait new Apostles (they may as well seek a new Gospel), and that those Ordinances which Christ hath purchased with his preious bloud, should be counted shadows, much derogatory to his love and wisdome; yet he suspects his owne heart, and thinks that possibly some men live at a very high rate in spirituall enjoyments, being wholly at rest in God, and have the lesse need of Ordinances, and for those that thinke the Saints are here in full perfection of grace and glory, his sinfull heart tells him it is an error; yet hee will not judge any tree to be evill but by its fruits. He knows no hurt in a million of millenary-like errours; who would not be glad to see Jesus Christ? That Christ died for all, he judges to be a great error, for then all must be saved, or possibly none may be saved, yet there are prudentiall reasons and motives for it, as the papists have for good works; if not meritorious, why commanded? If he died not for all, why is he preached to all? Yet the mayntainers aymre is thereby to honour and exalt Christ which is the great designe of the Father, and thereby his greater study; and so by different opinions hee learns to do things upon clearer principles, and so to walk in love and peace, as seeing him who is invisible, and knows no reason why their brethren (by the good leave of the Master of the Family, and Parliament) may not live lovingly together.

the Apostles did not abridge the people of that liberty of choosing an Apostle, much lesse may a Synod deprive them of choosing their own Officers. Hee thinks compulsion is the onely way to make Hypocrites, and if Church Papists were ever accounted most dangerous, he wonders why men should be forced to go to Church.

He thinks it strange that Christians should have most wars who can least justify them, but conceives it is for want of liberty of conscience. . . . And he verily beleeves that if every man might take his Religion upon choyce and tryall, thousands would be saved who dye securely, making no question of their salvation. He thinks it is a soloeicisme for Ministers to bid men search the Scriptures, when they may not profess that which they find to be true. . . . the rigidenesse of the Bishops was their ruine. He doth not finde any punishment in Scripture for tender consciences.

He conceives variety of opinion in circumstantials, is, but as one star differs from another; heads need not breed difference in hearts; all the world hath no more power over the conscience then a Tinker hath.

Compulsion can no more gain the heart, then the fish can love the fisherman. As for those arguments of disorder and confusion, the two Theologicall Scar-crows: he conceives they are but imaginary, vain fears, . . . an Heretike is but to be rejected, and as Luther said, to be burnt with the fire of charity.

He counts every godly Presbyterian to be his deare brother, but not to be preferred before the truth. He conceives that whosoever is above his brother in spirituall matters (unless impowered) is a prelate; and the only

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3 cf. W. Cradock, Divine Drops Distilled (1650), pp. 86f.: "there is a people that throw away the ordinance of prayer, and they profess to live immediately upon God without ordinances, without prayer, and without all the rest. I do not know what their perfections may be, therefore I cannot judge".

4 cf. R. Baillie, Dissuasive from the Errors of the Time (1645), p. 93: "that ever any of the London-Independents did cast out of their Churches any man or woman for Anabaptism, Antinomianism or any other Error, we never heard. By the contrary, Independency here is become an uniting Principle".

5 Yet it was not till 1669 that Archbishop Sheldon wrote "we must, I think, give up the cudgel": Harl. MSS. 1377, as quoted by T. W. Davids, Nonconformity in Essex, p. 345, n. *.
way to make the Assembly more victorious then Alexander, is, by reason and gentleness to conquer consciences without blood. He conceives that Magistrate, in probability, to be more religious, that will suffer differing opinions, consisting with the publike peace, then he that Haman-like will have all to bow and stoop to his sheal; and that all the wars in Christendom have sprung from this one depraved principle, to suffer no opinion but his own, for how can truth appear but by argumentation? . . . He marvels any man should hold Independency not to be Gods Ordinance, and yet a Nationall Assembly to be Apostolicall, which is most Independent.

the interest of all honest, godly men is wrapt up in a speedy union, to love one another entirely, though of different judgements.

hee thinks all the delight in this World without the liberty of his conscience, is a burthen intolerable; . . . He is a homager to King and Parliament for the exercise of a good conscience, not to beg liberty of or from man to be a Christian, nor to settle the divine right of worship, but to be protected in the free exercise of it.

Hee marvels any man should be an enemy to tender consciences, the want whereof is that plague of this wicked world, and that rich man that cannot feast till his poore neighbours have bread to eat, hath a tender conscience. He . . . thinks it far better that Protestants who in a Parish are of three opinions, should rather have three several meeting places, then fight and live in perpetuall jars with one another; therefore reckons Liberty of Conscience to be Englands chiefest good, because nothing else can procure love and peace; for did God for the safety of a sheep dispence with his own law, and are men so wolvisht to prefer an inferior Law of uniformity to the royall law of love, which is the life of a Kingdome? but men may ruine themselves, they can never ruine the truth.

He thinks it strange that none but in office may preach, and yet one may preach to get an office, and how Beza, who was never ordained6, could ordaine others, but he thinks there is lesse need of an accessory solemnity then of the peoples salvation, and marvels why a man may not preach by his tongue as well as by his pen . . . : Princes have preached in Geneva and Lairds in Scotland; not to be a Minister without an outward calling, but having an inward call, to preach to edification, though the line of ordination were never stretcht over him; he . . . wishes that Merchants would send men to preach Jesus Christ to the Indians, as well as Factors, for he thinks the true interest of England is the Protestant cause, to be as zealous to advance that, as the Spaniard is for Popery.

He thinks nothing more hinders a reformation then taking things upon trust, not supporting authority by solid reason7. He wishes that every ingenious man would disclaim all practices (especially in matters of law) that are against the law of true reason; a confident adherence to authority, and a ready prostration to Antiquity, preferring old Errours to new discoveries of Truth, being prime causes of all injustice and oppression, as if an Argument from Authority were any proof to a wiser man;

He . . . hopes that no ingenious man will envy him those Liberties which were purchased for him by the bloud of Christ, knowing that a Communion in Unity will be a glorious supplement to the rent of Uniformity, which may seeme strange for a time, but will quickly be embraced by all honest men. A solid Reason will at any time convince him, and hee loves to read discourses which are rationally.

6 Beza was never in orders, though he hold two benefices.
7 cf. Independency Accused and Acquitted (1645), p. 1: "I dare not be guilty of that which hee so much pleads against, blind obedience, implicit faith. I must not take up Religion by the lumps (as once Mr. Thomas Goodwin said), I must not pin my faith upon the sleeve of any person or persons upon earth, though never so holy or learned, as not knowing whither they may carry it; the best of men are but men at best!"
Lyon Turner's *Original Records*

**NOTES AND IDENTIFICATIONS**

A FIRST glance at the three large volumes of the late Professor G. Lyon Turner's *Original Records of Nonconformity under Persecution and Indulgence* may well excite the student of the period; but, as he turns the pages over, his excitement is likely to yield place to disappointment. What have we here, he may ask, but endless lists of names? and names which nobody knows, excepting those of the ejected ministers, which are printed in heavy type. To make the lists live, it is desirable to attempt further identifications. An exhaustive list of identifications would require the combing of a vast number of books and a larger amount of leisure than is the lot of most of us. The short list which follows is not intended as anything but a beginning (Nightingale's *Lancashire Nonconformity* is only one of the more obvious quarries left untouched); but for a beginning a list of some 200 names may seem sufficient.

The 25 names of persons discussed by Turner in Vol. III are naturally those of aristocrats, whom it was easy to identify; in the following list (which includes the names Turner discusses) there is a sprinkling of M.P.s, J.P.s, Mayors, and Commissioners for the removal of scandalous ministers, but the majority of the names are those of people of no eminence except in fidelity to their faith. This fidelity and the continuity of piety, in which Puritanism became Nonconformity, are made clear again and again, as we find that the men who in 1669 were reported as meeting for worship in the teeth of the Conventicle Act, or who in 1672 requested that their homes might be licensed as Nonconformist meeting-houses, were the men who had been elders, or suggested elders, in 1648, or who had signed a church covenant in 1656. The same characteristics appear in the Quaker entries: a large number of the names are to be found in the accounts of the *First Publishers of Truth* during the Commonwealth published by Norman Penney, and not seldom we find the continuance of Quaker fidelity involving imprisonments which in some cases proved fatal.

It would be interesting to discover whether many Commonwealth churches proved missionaries to the whole neighbourhood to the extent which the Rev. John Stanley has shown is true of the church at Longworth, Berks. (see his *Church in the Hop-Garden*). In 1669 and 1672 Appleton, Faringdon, Shrivenham and Witney all yield
names of those who were members of the Longworth church. Would a collation of Original Records with the signatures to other church covenants, where these still exist, show a similar diaspora?

It may be noted that the list refers to England alone. For Wales, many identifications may be found in the works of Dr. Thomas Richards of Bangor.

The number in parentheses following each name and address is of the page in Original Records, Vol. II to be supplied unless otherwise indicated.

**ABBREVIATIONS.**


Braithwaiete, B.Q.: W. C. Braithwaiete, Beginnings of Quakerism.


Browne: J. Browne, Congregationalism in Norfolk and Suffolk.

Burroughs: M. Burroughs, Register of Univ. of Oxford 1645-58.

Calamy, Acc.: E. Calamy, Account of the Ministers Ejected.

Calamy, Cont.: E. Calamy, Continuation of the Account.


Coleman: T. Coleman, Independent Churches in Northamptonshire.


Hutcheson: L. Hutcheson, Memoir of Col. Hutcheson (1810 edn.).

Journal: G. Fox, Journal (1911 edn.).

Matthews: A. G. Matthews, Congregational Churches of Staffordshire.


Nightingleale: B. Nightingleale, Ejected Ministers in Cumberland and Westmorland.

P.R.: Parish Register.

Shaw: W. A. Shaw, History of English Church, 1640-1660.

Stanley: J. Stanley, Church in the Hop-Garden.


Urwick, Cheshire: W. Urwick, Nonconformity in Cheshire.


**ADAMS, Mary, Limington, Som. (1126); prob. widow of Rich. Adams, Quaker convert 1656, d. in prison at Ilchester 1660 (F.P.T., 224, 228).**

**ALLEN, Wm., Wyondham, Norfolk (902); ‘Barber Chirurgeon’, imprisoned at Colchester 1658 (F.P.T., 97 ff.).**

**AMBROSE, Charles, Faringdon, Berks., and Lawrence, Shrivenham, Berks. (950); both signed covenant of Longworth church 1656 (Stanley, 241 f.).**

**ANDERTON, John, itin. Quaker in Som. (1084, 1099, 1126); Quaker convert 1656, d. in prison at Ilchester 1684/5 (F.P.T., 223, 228).**

**ANGIER, Sam., Hyde Hall, Manchester (679); C.R.**

**APPLETREE, Philip, Deddington, Oxon (837); Thos. Appletree Visitor of Univ. of Oxford during Commonwealth (Burrows, saep).**

**ASH, Wm., Tideswell, Derbyshire (701); John Ash of Tideswell, a pupil of Frankland’s (Nich. & Axon, 571).**

**ASHURST, Henry, Hackney, Middlesex (956); should be in light type; D.N.B.**

**BACON, Christopher, Brimpton, Berks. (954), and itin. Quaker in Som. (1084-1126 passion); Quaker convert 1656; d. 1678 (F.P.T., 223, 228).**

**BAGOT, Rich., Shrewsbury (737); as Town Councillor signed letter inviting Baxter to St. Julian’s, Shrewsbury, 1656 (F. J. Powicke, John Rylands Library Bulletin, XIII, 1, 74).**

**BAKER, Thos., Spexhall, Suffolk (904); Esq.; on committee for nominating classis 1648 (Shaw, II, 427).**
Baker, Thos., Sweeney, Salop (740); gent.; suggested elder here 1647 (Shaw, II, 408).

Baldwin, Roger, Standish, Lancs. (675); should be in heavy type, as 674.

Baldwin, Wm., Chisnall, Lancs. (672); son of Roger Baldwin (674 f.); later curate of Macclesfield (C.R., 25).

Batt, Jasper, itin. Quaker in Som. (1084-1126 passim); should be in light type; 'a well-known West Country Friend'; 'the greatest Seducer in all the West, and the most seditious Person in the County' (Bp. of Bath and Wells); d. 1702 (F.P.T., 221, n. 3).

Bax, Mrs. Rich., Newdigate, Surrey (1018); her husband a Quaker convert 1654-5; monthly meeting at his house for over 20 years (F.P.T., 231); visited by G. Fox, 1670 (Journal, II, 130).

Bennett, (Thos.,) N. Weald, Essex (929); gent., suggested elder here 1648 (Davids, 276).

Bingham, John, Quarlestone, Dorset (1139); M.P. in Long Parliament (Carlyle, II, 354).

Birch, Col. Thos., Birch Hall, Lancs. (684); M.P. (Halley, 161 et al.).

Blackmore, John, jun., Shelden, Devon (1150); prob. son of Major Sir John Blackmore, M.P. for Tiverton 1654, and Sheriff for Devon 1657 (Davids, 599).


Booth, Lady Catharine, Chester (692, 696); dau. of Geo. Booth, 1st Lord Delamere (C.R., 536).

Boswell, Lady, Sevenoaks, Kent (997), prob. widow of Sir Wm. Boswell; discussed III, 779.

Bradshaw, John, Bradshaw Hall, Rivington, Lancs. (672); refused token admitting to communion by elders for having admitted 'a scandalous minister' to preach in his private chapel (Halley, 248).

Bragg, Matthew, Burstock, Dorset (1136, 1143); Wm. Bragge of Broadwindsor, Dorset, Fellow of Oriel 1656 (Burrows, 537).

Briggs, Edw., Heversham, Westmorland (641); suggested elder here (Nightingale, I, 109); a carrier; at one time a Quaker; d. 1678 (Nich. & Axon, 14).

Brodnax, Sir Wm., East Church and Canterbury, Kent (997, 1001); discussed III, 776.

Brooks, Jas., Ellenthorpe Hall, Yorks. (644); Lord Mayor of York 1651 (Dale, 166, n. *).

Browne, John, Weston Turville, Bucks. (842 f.); monthly meeting held at his house (Journal, II, 90).

Budd, Thos., Barrington, Som. (1110); formerly Baptist; Quaker convert 1656; d. in prison at Ilchester 1670 (F.P.T., 225, 228).

Burnet, John, Blevberry and Brimpton, Berks. (953 f.); prob. John Burnyeat, Quaker convert 1653 (F.P.T., 38).

Burthogge, Dr. Rich., Bowdon, Devon (1176); D.N.B.

Burton, Wm., Gt. Yarmouth and Diss, Norfolk (896, 899); admitted to membership of church at Yarmouth 1652; m. a niece of Cromwell's; d. 1673 (Browne, 232).

Carpenter, John, Witney, Oxon (830); signed covenant of Longworth church 1656; as minister of Finstock at London Convention 1689 (Stanley, 91, 244).

Casse, John, Embleton, Cumberland (639); d. 1675 (Nightingale, I, 679).

Cater, Sam., itin. Quaker in Cambs. (873 ff.); b. 1627; a Baptist elder, converted to Quakerism by Parnell; involved in Nayler's extravagance (Braithwaite, B.Q., 269).
LYON TURNER’S Original Records

CREATLE, Wm., Worcester (783); signed covenant of Angel St. Congl. church, Worcester, 1687 (Urwick, Worcester, 77).

CLARKE, John, Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk (905); suggested elder here 1645 (Shaw, II, 428).

COCK, Jas., Kendal Park, Westmorland (641); mayor of Kendal 1654; mercer (Nich. & Axon, 96, 100).

Cockayne, Jas., Whinton Hall, Tarporley, Cheshire (697); Baptist, ‘quitted’ Frodsham 1660 (J. Walker, Sufferings of the Clergy, II, 261).

COKE, Thos., Pembmarsh, Essex (926); suggested elder here 1648; knight for the county 1654 (Davids, 292, n. *).

COLE, Jos., itin. Quaker in Berks., Bucks. and Hants. (772, 843, 953 f., 1051); Quaker convert 1655 (F.P.T., 8); d. 1670 after 6 years in prison (Braithwaite, S.P.Q., 228).

COLE, Thos., Nettlebed, Oxon (828); should be in heavy type, as 829.

COLEMAN, Henry, Gt. Easton, Essex (923); should be in heavy type (C.R.).

COMBES, John, Abingdon, Berks. (950), and Wilcot, Oxon (III, 834); minister of Longworth church from 1656 (Stanley, c xix).

COTTON, Wm., Denby Grange, Yorks. (655); iron-master (Dale, 122).

COOK, John, itin. Quaker in Cambs. and Herts. (873 f., 883 f.); should be in light type; D.N.B.

COPE, John, Freshford, Som. (1082); suggested elder here 1648 (Shaw, II, 415).

CURTIS, Thos., Turville, Bucks. (772, 843); a Reading woollen-draper and important Friend (Braithwaite, B.Q., saepe).

Davy, John, Norwich (896); member of Old Meeting, Norwich (Browne, 262).

DENT, Edw., Edworth and Cardington, Beds. (858 f.); ‘Sister Dent’ received into membership at Gamlinghay church 1672 (Beaumont, x).

DEWSBURY, (Wm.) Hilsdon, Yorks., and Wymondham, Norfolk (667, 902): D.N.B.


DINLEY, (Robt.,) Bramhope Hall, Otley, Yorks. (649; patron of Bramhope (Calamy, Acc., II, 809).

DOYLEY, Bray, Adderbury, Oxon (III, 836); visited by G. Fox, and ‘a large precious meeting’ 1673; ‘as I sat at supper, I saw I was taken’ (Journal, II, 204, 206); Cf. D’Oyley Bayley, Hist. of D’Oyleys.

DUNCON, Robt., Mendlesham, Suffolk (921); orig. a Seeker (Braithwaite, B.Q., 163 f.); visited by G. Fox, and ‘a large quiet meeting’ 1655 (Journal, I, 223).

EAGLESFIELD, Rich., Allerby Hall, Cumberland (638); elder at Cockermouth (Nightingale, I. 588).

ECCLES, Solomon, Brimpton, Berks., and Itchenwell, Hants. (954, 1051). D.N.B.

EDWARDS, John, Lydd, Kent (1009); Quaker convert 1655 ‘but Apostatised’ (F.P.T., 146).

EXETER, Dowager Countess of, Little Britain, London (970); widow of Wm Cecil, Earl of Exeter; discussed III. 771.
FAUKS, Thos., N. Wingfield, Derbyshire (713); with G. Fox 1662, when their names confused (Journal, I, 530).

FEARNSIDE, Adam, Bolton, Lancs. (673); see Hunter, Life of Heywood, 33, for his praying with Heywood's father and others all night 'upon occasion of King Charles demanding the five members of the House of Commons'.

FEATHERSTONE, Sir Henage, W. Smithfield, London (970); discussed III, 770.

FIENNES, Hon. Frances, Newton Tony, Wilts. (1071); widow of Sir Nath. Fiennes (D.N.B.); discussed III, 792.

FINCH, Martin, itin. teacher in Lincs. and Norfolk (729, 890, 892, 896); should be in heavy type; D.N.B., s.v. Fynch.

FLEETWOOD, Anne, High Wycombe and Chalfont St. Giles, Bucks. (835 f.); widow of Chas. Fleetwood (D.N.B.).

FLOWER, Eleanor, Whitchurch Canoniciorum, Dorset (1137); widow of Anthony Floyer and mother-in-law of John Brice, ej. fr. Marshwood (C.R., 72 f.).

FOX, Geo., itin. Quaker in Yorks., Norfolk, Berks. and Som. (667, 902, 953, 1125 f.); D.N.B.

FREEBORN, Mrs., Prittlewell, Essex (935); widow of Sam. Freeborne, Esq., signatory of solemn league and covenant here 1643 and suggested elder at South Church 1648 (Davids, 444, 268, with n. [ ]).

FRY, (Wm.) Damerham, Wilts. (1078); visited by G. Fox 1663 (Journal, II, 5).

GARNETT, John, Kendal, Westmorland (641); suggested elder here (Night- ingale, I, 109); mercer (Nich. & Axon. 96).

GASCOIGNE, Sir Thos., Bt., Darwic, Yorks. (668), D.N.B.; discussed III, 761.

GELL, Sir John, Hopton, Derbyshire (703); D.N.B.; 'kept the diurnall makers in pension' (Hutchinson, I, 192).

GILL, Henry, Godalming, Surrey (1018); Quaker convert 1655 (F.P.T., 232).

GILPIN, Thos., itin. Quaker in Berks. and Bucks. (772, 843, 953); Quaker convert 1654 (F.P.T., 215).


GREENE, Thos., itin. Quaker in Beds., Herts. and Norfolk (861, 883, 902); for letter signed by him, see Braithwaite, S.P.Q., 248, n. 2.

GROOME, Geo., Rattlesden, Suffolk (918); suggested elder here 1645 (Shaw, II, 428).

GROVE, Thos., Ferne House, Donhead St. Andrews, Wilts. (1065); M.P. in Long Parliament (Carlyle, II, 360); 'of as great Sincerity and Integrity, as almost any Man I ever knew' (Reliquiae Baxterianae, III, 86); cf. C.R., 564.

GURDON, John, Assington Hall, Suffolk (909); Esq.; on committee for nominating classes 1645 (Shaw, II, 423); cf. C.R., s.v. Jn. Hind.

HAMMOND, Geo., Biddenden and Cranbrook, Kent (1006); should be in light type; F.P.T., 142.

HAMMOND, Henry, Debden, Essex (923); Thos. Hammond, gent., suggested elder here 1648 (Davids, 286).

HARBY, Edw., Adstone, Northants. (808); M.P. in Long Parliament (Carlyle, II, 360, s.v. Harvey); cf. J. Walker, Sufferings of the Clergy, I, 91.

HARDAKER, John, Rawdon Hall, Guiseley, Yorks. (659); cf. Heywood, III, 176, for a journey 'to preach there' Jan. 24, 1676/7.

HARRIS, Alex., Charlbury, Oxon (III, 936); Quaker convert 1655 (F.P.T., 205).

(HEATHFIELD, Anthony,) West Hall, Hatfield, Yorks. (664); of 'an eminent Puritan family' (Dale, 165, 58, n. *).

HAYNES, Hezekiah, Copford, Essex (928); Commissioner for removing scandalous ministers 1654 (Davids, 318).
HENTHORNE, Anth., Chester (692, 697); 'among the principal tradesmen in Chester' (Urwick, Cheshire, 32, cf. 29).

HOLBROOK, Rich., Manchester, and Pilkington, Lancs. (679 f.); should be in heavy type; C.R.

HOLLAND, Rich., Denton House, Manchester (679); for the family, see Halley, 160.

HOLMAN, Sir John, Kington, Herefordshire (777); discussed III, 766.

HOOKE, John, Wood Norton and Lammas, Norfolk (890, 892); should be in heavy type, being identical with John Hooker (890).

Hooton, Eliz., Skeggsby, Notts., and Harby, Leics. (725, 771); G. Fox's first convert (D.N.B.).

Horton, Joshua, Sowerby, Yorks. (653); member of Henry Roote's church; conference held at his house 1662 (Dale, 128 f.).

Howard, Luke, Dover, Kent (1008); shoemaker; Quaker convert 1655; meeting held at his house; d. 1699 (F.P.T., 131 foll.).


Hubbard, Geo., Rearsby, Leics. (744); John Woodhouse, of Sheriff Hales Academy, m. dau. of Major Wm. Hubbard of Rearsby, 'with whom he obtained a large fortune' (C.R., 554; Matthews, 99).

Hunt, Eliz., Shrewsbury (737); widow of Col. Thos. Hunt, M.P. 1645, Mayor of Shrewsbury 1657, High Sheriff of Salop 1656 (Henry, 213, n. †); she was a 'rare pattern of zealous piety, abounding charity, and eminent usefulness'; d. 1690 (ib., 373 f.).

Hutton, (Thos.) Poppleton, Yorks. (646); nephew of Lord Fairfax (Foster, Yorks. Pedigrees).

Hyde, Jane, Hyde Hall, Manchester (679); for the family, see Halley, 161.

Izott, John, sen., Horbury, Yorks. (661); elder at Woodkirk; father of John Izott, ej. fr. Nun Monkton (not identical w. John Izott, ordained at Pasture House, Yorks., 1678, as Dale and others) (C.R.).

Jackson, Sir John, Hickleton Hall, Yorks. (657); discussed III, 760.

Jackson, Robt., Guisborough, Yorks. (665); Thos. Jackson Quaker convert here 1652 (F.P.T., 298).

James, Edw., Carlisle (638); 'Common Counsell Man' continued in office 1658 as result of petition (Nightingale, I, 152-6, 164).

James, Jos., Nottingham (717); a James Mayor of Nottingham (Hutchinson, I, 199).

Jesson, Wm., Lichfield, Staffs. (746); cf. Matthews, 72 foll.

Jessup, John, S. Lopham, Norfolk (888); a minister; imprisoned at Bury St. Edmunds 1670 (Browne, 495).

Jones, Thos., Longworth, Berks. (950); signed covenant of Longworth church 1656; imprisoned in Reading Castle 1660 (Stanley, 240).

Jowsie, Wm., Guisborough, Yorks. (665); Barbara Joucy Quaker convert here 1652 (F.P.T., 298).

Keat, Robt., Wantage, Berks. (943); represented Wantage at London Convention 1680 (Stanley, 91).

Langhorn, Thos., Penrith, Cumberland (640); J.P. and Commissioner for Sequestrations (Nightingale, I, 620 et al.).

Lascelles, Mrs., Mount Grace, Yorks. (644); widow of Thos. Lascelles, M.P., J.P. (Dale, 144).

Lawrence, Capt. John, Wymondham, Norfolk (902); 'an Antient man and Able physitian' (F.P.T., 171); 'a man of wide influence' (Braithwaite, S.P.Q., 42, n. 1); visited by G. Fox 1655 (Journal, I, 233).
LYON TURNER'S Original Records

LEE, Widow, Newdigate, Surrey (1018); widow of John Lee, Quaker convert 1655 (F.P.T., 232).
LINDSEY, Allen, Daventry, Northants. (807); orig. innkeeper of principal inn in town; for his conversion and benevolence, see Coleman, 187 f.
LISLE, Lady, Bagshot Park, Surrey, and Moyles Court, Ellingham, Hants. (1013, 1041); widow of John Lisle (D.N.B.); D.N.B.; discussed III, 787.
LITTLETON, Jane, Moor Park, Salop (738); ?widow of Wm. Littleton, Esq., suggested elder here 1647 (Shaw, II, 411).
LOWRY, Rich., Cockermouth, Cumberland (638); d. 1692, 'an aged desciple' (Nightingale, II, 1369).

ICHIOI.SON, Widow, Newdigate, Surrey (1018); widow of John Machin, ej. fr. Seabridge, Stoke (C.R.).

MACHIN, Jane, Stoke, Staffs. (742, 760); widow of John Machin, ej. fr. Seabridge, Stoke (C.R.).

MAIDSTONE, Robt., Pond House, Boxted, Essex (937); Commissioner for removing scandalous ministers 1654 (Davids, 318); John Maidstone, sen., suggested elder here 1648 (ib. 293, with n. i).  
MAN, John, Longworth and Abingdon, Berks. (950); should be in light type; minister of Longworth church (Stanley, c. xx).  
MANSKELL, John, Thorpe Malsor, Northants. (809); patron of living and father-in-law of John Courtman, ej. therefrom (C.R.).

MARCHANT, Sylvester, Appleton, Berks. (950); signed covenant of Longworth church 1656 (Stanley, 243).
MARNER, Sam., Midhurst and Arundel, Sussex (1030 f.); Sam. Marner at C.C.C., Oxon. 1656 (T. Fowler, Hist. of C.C.C., 427).
MIDDLETON, John, Darlington, Co. Durham (636); suggested elder here 1645 (Shaw, II, 368).

MIDDLETON, Sir Wm., Belsay Castle, Northumberland; discussed III, 758. cf. Dale, 176, n. *.

MILLARD, Geo., Doulting, Som. (1086); suggested elder 1648 (Shaw, II, 417).

MILLS, Wm., Faringdon, Berks. (950); signed covenant at Longworth church 1656; minister at Faringdon (Stanley, 241).

MINORS, Thos., Lichfield, Staffs. (746); mercer, M.P., J.P., Sheriff (Matthews, 72 foll., 47).

MOODIE, Sam., Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk (905); gent.; on committee for nominating classis 1645 (Shaw, II, 428).

MORT, Robt., Wharton Hall, Little Hulton, Lancs. (673); the Mort family 'had considerable property and influence' (Halley, 449).

MOTT, Eleanor, Stafford and King's Bromley (743, 745); prob. widow of John Mott, ej. fr. King's Bromley (C.R.).

NEKDHAM, Clement, Saxby, Leics. (754); Needham of Stanton, Owthorpe, Leics., 'a noted puritan ... a colonell in the parliament's service, and governor of Leicester' (Hutchinson, I, 184).

NICHOLSON, Ann, Hollym, Yorks. (667); Quaker convert 1652 (F.P.T., 298); the advowson of Hollym was in the Hotham family (C.R., 279), who were favourable to Friends (D.N.B.).

NOBLE, John, Penruddock, Cumberland (639); deacon at Greystoke 1656; d. 1707/8 (Nightingale, II, 1261 foll., where see lengthy extracts from funeral sermon.)

OGLE, Henry, Whiston, Lancs. (676); Cuthbert Ogle, prob. of Whiston, a pupil of Frankland's (Nich. & Axon, 585).

OGLE, John, Kirkley, Northumberland (634); 'a Neighbouring Gentleman' (Calamy, Cont., 657); Nath. Ogle of Kirkley a pupil of Frankland's (Nich. & Axon, 584).

OKEY, John, Bolton, Lancs. (672); brother-in-law of Oliver Heywood (Halley, 411, n. †).
OSBURN, MRS., Wattisfield, Suffolk (903); ? widow of Jn. Osborne, gent., suggested elder here 1645 (Shaw, II, 428).
Ovey, John, Wallingford, Berks., and Watlington, Oxon (948, III, 832, 835), and Thos., Watlington, Oxon (829); John Ovey J.P. and 'a man of some note among the professors' (Life of Thos. Ellwood, ed. C. G. Crump, 74. foll.).

PALMER, John, Picknoller, Som. (1091); M.D.; M.P. in Long Parliament (Carlyle, II, 366).

PENNINGTON, Isaac, Amersham and Chalfont St. Giles, Bucks. (842 f.);

PETCHY, John, Cranham, Essex (931); perhaps minister at Havering 1637 and at S. Ockendon 1646-7 (Davids, 256, n. 1, 433).
PICKERING, Lady, Titchmarsh, Northants. (811); widow of Sir Gilbert Pickering (D.N.B.); discussed III, 766.

PLUME, Robt., Wickham Bishops, Essex (935); gent., suggested elder here 1648 (Davids, 299).

PONDER, Susanna, Rothwell, Northants. (809); dau. of John Ponder elder here 1655 (Coleman, 48); became 2nd wife of Thos. Browning (809), ej. fr. Desborough (C.R.).

PRIDDEN, Geo., Edworth, Beds. (858); Mary Prutton of Edworth received into membership at Gamlinghay church 1672 (Beaumont, xi).

PRIDEAUX, Edmund, Ford Abbey, Devon (1145); M.P. for Taunton 1679 (C.R., 497).

PYOTT, John, Picknoller, Som. (1091); a prominent Quaker (Journal, saepe).

QUINTAIN, Sir Henry, Beverley, Yorks. (645); discussed III, 759.

RAUNCE, John, Turville and High Wycombe, Bucks. (772, 843); leader of High Wycombe Quaker Meeting (Braithwaite, S.P.Q., saepe).

READ, Daniel, Hungerford, Berks. (945); saddler and trustee of market house (Summers, 126).

READMAN, Thos., Bury, Hunts. (847); should be in heavy type (C.R., s.f. Redman).

REDDING, Wm., Shenston, Staffs. (753); Quaker convert 1655 (F.P.T., 230).

REEVES, Capt. Robt., Droxford, Hants. (1052); visited by G. Fox 1668, men's monthly meeting at his house (Journal, II, 95).

RHODES, Lady, Gt. Houghton, Yorks. (663); widow of Sir Edw. Rhodes (C.R., 350; not as Turner, III, 761).

RICH, Col. Nath., Cookham, Berks. (951); D.N.B.

RICHARDSON, Christopher, Lascelles Hall, Yorks. (653); should be in heavy type, as 654.

RICHARDSON, John, Easington, Co. Durham (637); Quaker convert 1653; abused by P. Nisbet (father of P. Nisbet, C.R.) (F.P.T., 90), cf. A. Jaffray, Diary, 454,468, 585-9.

RICHMOND, John, Heighington, Co. Durham (637); visited by G. Fox, and 'a general meeting' held at his house (Journal, II, 14).

RIXAM, Jas., Newborough, Staffs. (744); son of a Lichfield carrier, who was 'a transcendent schismatic' (Matthews, 66, 70); a correspondent of Baxter's (Cong. Hist. Soc. Trans. XII, i, 3 f.).

ROBERTS, Lady, Willesden, Middlesex (962); widow of Sir Wm. Roberts; discussed 111, 769.

ROBERTS, Lady, Cranbrook, Kent (995); widow of Sir Howland Roberts, Bt.; discussed 111, 773.

ROGERS, Henry, Canterbury, Kent (1008); Quaker convert 1655 (F.P.T., 146).

Rokeby, Wm., Ackworth and Skellon, Yorks. (657); bro. of Sir Thos. Rokeby, judge (D.N.B.).
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ROSE, Jeremiah, Chatteris, Cambs. (873); signed Quaker declaration of sufferings in Cambridge 1660 (F.P.T., 15).

ROWNTREE, Francis, Stokesley, Yorks. (666); Quaker convert 1652 (F.P.T., 298).

RUST, Eliz., Rickinghall, Suffolk (915); widow of Thos. Rust, suggested elder here 1648 (Shaw, II, 427).

SALTHOUSE, (Thos.) Mallet Moorlinch, Som. (1126); D.N.B.

SANSON, Oliver, Boxford, Berks. (953); Lifo, ed. J. Boorne, 1848.

SAUNDERS, Jn., Bruton, Som. (1088); suggested elder here 1648 (Shaw, II, 417).

SAUNDERS, Col. Thos., Ireton, Derbyshire (703); ‘a very godly, honest country gentleman, but had not many things requisite to a great souldier’; Cromwell wanted to buy ‘a towne of his call’d Ireton’ to present to his son-in-law Ireton (Hutchinson, II, 137, 140).

SEAcole, Robt., Milton-under-Wychwood, Oxon (III, 836); Quaker convert 1655, meeting at his house (F.P.T., 207).

SEDDEN, Peter, Prestwich, Lancs. (680); suggested elder here 1646 (Shaw, II, 393).

SHIPTON, Rich., Whitby, Yorks. (666); visited by G. Fox 1666 and 1669 (Journal, II, 75, 109).

SMAYLER, Zachary, Bridlington, Yorks. (667); Quaker convert 1652 (F.P.T., 298).

SmyTH, Thos., Worcester (783); signed covenant of Angel St. Congreg. Church, Worcester, 1687 (Urwick, Worcester, 77).

SMYTH, Wm., itin. Quaker in Notts. and Leics. (724 f., 771 f., where it should be in light type); D.N.B.


stanley, Widow, Inkberrow, Worcs. (787); mother of John Stanley, at whose house G. Fox had two meetings 1678 (Journal, II, 319).

stanley, Lady, Bickerstaffe Hall, Lancs. (675); widow of Sir Edw. Stanley; discussed III, 762. For an episode in which she figured, see Halley, 378.

stapley, Sir John, Hove, Sussex (1023); D.N.B.; discussed III, 788.

Stebb(ing), Wm., Gt. Tey, Essex (936); suggested elder here 1648 (Davids, 295).

Steed, Rich., Faringdon, Berks. (950); minister at Faringdon; imprisoned in Reading Castle 1660; d. 1721 (Stanley, 70, 241 f.).

Stennett, Edw., Wallingford Castle, Berks. (951); ‘a wealthy physician’; Seventh Day Baptist, minister of Pinner’s Hall, London, 1686, bur at Wallingford 1705 (Summers, 289); father of Jos. Stennett (D.N.B.).

sterry, Peter, Berkhamstead, Herts., and Hackney, Middlesex (878, 957); D.N.B.

stevens, Peter, Appleton, Berks. (950); represented Longworth church at London Convention 1689 (Stanley, 91, 242).


storr, John, Hilsdon, Yorks. (667); Marmaduke Storr Quaker convert here 1652 (F.P.T., 297); cf. A. B. Wilson-Barkworth, Notes on the Families of Storr of Hilsdon.

streete, Jn., Bicknoller, Som. (1091); suggested elder here 1648 (Shaw, II, 421).

stroud, Wm., Shepton Mallet, Som. (1086); Esq.; suggested elder 1648 (Shaw, II, 417).

Studholme, Barbara, Carlisle (639); widow of Capt. Cuthbert Studholme (Nightingale, 187, 618 et al.).
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SWINTON, John, Norton, Co. Durham (636); D.N.B.; 'the man of all Scotland...the most trusted and employed by Cromwell' (Burnet, Hist., I, 229); discussed III, 758.

SYLL, Wm., Kendal, Westmorland (641); linen-draper (Nich. & Axon, 95).

TAYLOR, Christopher, Stotfold, Beds. (861); D.N.B.

TAYLOR, Lady, Maidstone, Kent (997); widow of Sir Thos. Taylor, Bt.; discussed III, 777.

TAYLOR, Rich., Little Hallingbury, Essex (937); Robt. Taylor, gent., suggested elder here 1648 (Davids, 279).

TEMPLE, Wm., Warminster, Wilts. (1062); ancestor of the present Lord of the Manor of Bishopstrow, Warminster.

THOROGOOD, Rich., Southill, Beds. (858); Humphrey Thorogood of Southill received into membership at Gamlinghay church 1672 (Beaumont, xi).

THRELFELD, Thos., Kirkoswald, Cumberland (639); see W. Jackson, "The Threlkelds of Melmerby," Cumb. and Westm. Arch. Soc. Trans. O.S. X.

TITMARCH, Rich., Oxford (830); represented Oxford at London Convention 1689 (Stanley, 91).

TUCKWELL, Jane, Longworth, Berks. (950); signed covenant of Longworth church 1656 (Stanley, 84).

TYRRELL, Lady, Castle Thorpe, Bucks. (831); widow of Sir Toby Tyrrell; discussed III, 768.

UPTON, Dan, Berry Pomeroy, Devon (1165), and Eliz., Brixham, Devon (1165); Ambrose and Thos. Upton of Lupton, Devon, Fellows of All Souls, Oxon. 1648 and 1654 respectively (Burrows, 477).

VALE, Lady, Shipborne, Kent (1002); widow of Sir Henry Vane, sen. (D.N.B.); discussed III, 780.

WADE, John, Twyford, Norfolk (902); imprisoned at Norwich 1683 (F.P.T., 180 foll.).

WADSWORTH, John, Swathe Hall, Darfield, Yorks. (662); son-in-law of Joshua Kirby, ej. fr. lectureship at Wakefield, Yorks. (C.R.).

WALTERS, Wm., Henley, Oxon. (III, 836); Quaker convert 1658, afterwards he and his wife 'turned thayr bake on Truth' (F.P.T., 218 f.).

WARRBURTON, Robt., Hefferstone Grange, Chester (692); father-in-law of Matthew Henry; died 1696 (Henry, 277, 386 f.).

WARD, Benj., Tadmarton, Oxon. (III, 836); since 'a Quarter-Master in Cromwell's Army,' prob. the Col. Ward a Quaker convert 1652 (Journal, I, 113).

WARD, Geo., Bradford, Yorks. (659); elder here (Dale, 113).

WARRINER, Wm., Whinfell, Westmorland (641); yeoman (Nich. & Axon, 96); died 1674/5 (Heywood, I, 306).

WATSON, Lady, Saviourgate, York (658); widow of Sir Stephen Watson, Lord Mayor of York 1646, 1656 (Dale, 166, n. 1).

WEBB, John, Balsham, Cambs. (875); signed declaration of Quaker sufferings in Cambridge 1660 (F.P.T., 15).

WEST, Eliz., Widow, Turville Heath, Bucks. (772, 843); early Quaker convert; meeting settled at her house by G. Fox 1660 (F.P.T., 229).

WHEELER, Joshua, Cranfield, Beds. (861); Quaker convert 1654, alive 1704/5 (F.P.T., 6).

WHITEHEAD, Geo., Wymondham, Norfolk, and Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk (902, 921 f.); D.N.B.

WHITEHEAD, (John.) Hillsdon, Yorks. (667); D.N.B.

WHITEHORNE, Thos., Woolfardisworthy, Devon (1175); Dean of C.C.C., Oxon, 1648 (Burrows, 498).

WHITELOCK, Sir Bulstrode, Chilton Foliat, Wilts. (1069); D.N.B.; discussed III, 790.
WILLOUGHBY, Thos., Horwich, Lancs. (672); erroneously summoned to Parliament as Baron Willoughby of Parham (Halley, 493, n. *).

WILSON, (Rich.,) Crosfield, Cumberland (639); elder at Kirkoswald (Nightingale, I, 335 f., 339 foll.).

WIMBLEDON, Sophia, Viscountess, Nether Whitacre, Warw. (798); widow of Edw. Cecil, Visct. Wimbledon (D.N.B.); discussed III, 764.

WOOD, Robt., Carlton le Moorland, Lincs. (731); should be in light type, not being the Robt. Wood ej. fr. Linc. Coll. Oxon (D.N.B.).

WRIGHT, Edw., Sutton, Cambs. (873); signed declaration of Quaker sufferings in Cambridge 1660 (F.P.T., 15).

YARDLEY, John, S. Weald, Essex (932); should be in heavy type (C.R.).

GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL.

Among identifications noted while the above was in the press are the following:—

BROOKE, Mrs. Margaret, Oakley Magna, Northants. (806); widow of Col. Brook(s), patron of Oakley (C.R., 156).


CHAPLAIN, Mrs. Dorothy, Wareham, Dorset (1133); widow of Thos. Chaplyn, ej. fr. Wareham (C.R.).


KENDALL, Mrs. Mary, Cofton, Devon (1161); widow of Geo. Kendall, ej. fr. Kenton (C.R.).

MOSELEY, Mrs., Ousden, Suff. (905); mother-in-law of Thos. Daines, R. of Gosbeck (C.R.).


RICHARDSON, Eliz., Wem, Salop (736); widow of Joshua Richardson, ej. fr. Myddle (C.R.).

TRELAWDWY, Widow (Mary), Penryn, Cornwall (1192); became wife of Lewis Facy, ej. fr. Upton Helions, Devon (C.R.).
The Covenant of the Baptist Church at Wallingford

THE Baptist Church at Thames Street, Wallingford, was founded in 1794 by Robert Lovegrove, a solicitor who had formerly attended the parish church of St. Mary. His house was in the High Street, and the chapel was built in a part of his garden facing Thames Street; it had a small burial-ground in front of it. Mr. Lovegrove was honorary minister until his death; the chapel contains a memorial tablet to him and to his wife. This Covenant was drawn up during his pastorate. It was printed at Bristol ("Why Bristol?" one wonders) by R. Edwards, Broad Street, in 1799. We should be glad to have examples of Congregational Covenants with similar references to "election money", "vain attire", and "prevailing fashions". [EDITOR]

We who wish to walk together in the fear of God, desire to be deeply humbled for all our sins, and humbly implore a continued sense of the free and full forgiveness of them all, through the atoning blood of Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour: and we also implore the sanctification of our spirits, souls, and bodies, that we may be to him a peculiar people zealous of good works. And we likewise, in the presence of God, the searcher of all hearts, with one consent, solemnly, and sincerely, give up ourselves, first to the Lord, then to each other, by the will of God, that he may be our God, and we his people, being fully satisfied, that Baptized Believers, united together in holy fellowship and love, to live and walk together as saints, in obedience to the will of God, with a view to his glory and their own spiritual profit, is a true Gospel Church.

We do therefore, in the name, and by the authority of our Lord Jesus Christ, the only Sovereign and Lawgiver in his Church, testify our subjection to him as such, solemnly join ourselves together in a holy union and fellowship, desiring, in his strength, humbly to submit to the discipline of the Gospel, and to be found in the exercise of all holy duties required of a people in such a spiritual relation.
First of all, we determine in the strength of God, to walk in all holy conversation, godliness and brotherly love, that our communion and walk may please God, be comfortable to ourselves, lovely to all other the Lord's people, and tend to convince the world.

Secondly, To watch over each other's conversation, and not to suffer any sin upon one another so far as God shall discover it to us, or any of us, (and taking Election money, or dressing in vain attire, whatever others say, we believe to be sinful; and by vain attire we mean, first, all apparel made in the present or prevailing fashion, with a view to follow or be in the fashion; secondly, all apparel that shall be spoken against by professors, or the world; thirdly, all apparel that shall be indecent or immodest; and fourthly, all that shall be above the circumstances of the person wearing the same). And we agree to provoke one another to love and to good works; to warn, rebuke, and admonish one another with meekness, and to receive warning, rebuke, and admonition from one another with meekness, and not with anger or resentment, according to the rule of God's word.

Thirdly, In an especial manner to pray for one another, for the increase of this Church, for the presence of God in it, for the pouring forth of his Spirit upon it, and for his protection of it to the praise of his glory.

Fourthly, To bear one another's burdens, to cleave one to another, and have a fellow-feeling one for another, in all afflictive dispensations, outwardly or inwardly, with which God in his wise providence shall be pleased to exercise any of us.

Fifthly, To bear with one another's weaknesses, failing, and infirmities; and that with much tenderness, not discovering the same to any without the Church, nor even to any within, unless according to the word of God.

Sixthly, As much as in us lies, to endeavour to live peaceably with all men, and to follow after the things that make for peace, carefully avoiding all causes of division, as well as those that cause them, in order to keep the unity of the Spirit, in the bond of peace; receiving into our affections, and communion, all such who desire it, and whom we believe our gracious God hath received into his love and favour.

Seventhly, To meet together on Lord's days, and all other times as the Lord shall give us opportunity, to serve and glorify him, to edify and build up one another upon our most holy faith, and to aim at the good of his cause and interest in general, and of this Church in particular.
Eighthly, To endeavour always to preserve among us strict communion, and to promote, encourage, and preserve a holy, regular, gifted, and strict Calvinistic Ministry, to take the charge of us, to go in and out before us, as the shepherd before the flock; together with all such other officers as are by Christ appointed in his Church, for the maintenance of order and discipline.

These things we humbly submit to, fully purposing to perform the same, not in our own strength (being conscious of our own weakness), but in the power and strength of our blessed God and Saviour Jesus Christ, whose we humbly hope we are, and whom we desire for ever to serve.

N.B. No alteration of this Covenant shall be made without the consent of the Majority of the Church.

In his lecture, *Presbyterianism in England in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (Manchester; Aikman, Is.), the Rev. F. J. Smithen, the Editor of the Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society, recounts the emergence of Presbyterianism in Elizabeth’s reign, its development in the ‘70’s and ‘80’s, and its disappearance in the ‘90’s. We scarcely think Mr. Smithen is right in calling Humphrey and Sampson Separatists, and he certainly accepts too confidently Dr. R. G. Usher’s depreciation of the Presbyterian movement, and its leaders.
Some Berkshire Notes and Queries

THE matter following represents a transcript of the marginal notes to the writer's copy of W. H. Summers' History of the Berkshire, South Bucks, and South Oxon Congregational Churches (1905), making various additions and corrections to that work, and bringing the details of the pastoral successions up to 1940. Reference to the indicated pages of the volume is therefore necessary to give full context and intelligibility.

The following references and abbreviations are employed:

C.Y.B.: Congregational Year Book (v.d.).
d. died: rem., res., ret. removed, resigned, retired.
Evans: Evans' MS. (c. 1717-27).
N.P.R.: Non-Parochial Register(s) (Deposited 1836-7).
Sibree & Caston: Independence in Warwickshire (1855).
S.R.: Quarter Sessions Register (et loc.).
Urrick: Nonconformity in Worcester (1897).
Wilson: Dissenting Churches and Meeting Houses, etc. (1810).
Corrigenda are followed by errata in brackets ( ) . lic., licensed; C., Cong.; P., Presbyt.; R., Rector; V., Vicar; C., Curate.


William Alsop, ej. C. of Ilminster, Som., rec’d grant at Beaconsfield in 1690; rem. to Barnet 1691. (Gordon, 199; Cal. Rev., 9).
p. 25, l. 24: "in the year 1800 (1830), Mr. J. A. (M.) Glover ..." (N.P.R.), Bethesda Chapel, Aylesbury Street; Formed 1800; Baptisms 1812-37.
p. 26: Perks or Purkiss (l. 8) and Perkins (l. 28)=Isaac Perks, student at Hackney Coll. 1805—c. 1809 (d.).

Francis Moore (l. 29) also entered Hackney 1805.
p. 35: Terry was assisting I. Chauncey in Mark Lane by 1689; d. 8 March, 1715-16. (Wilson, i, 292).

l. 28: Samuel Pike, min't. Gravesend 1716-23?

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Suggest that the Christopher Towler, lic. (C) 1672 at Cheshun and placed by Lyon Turner (II, 881) at Cheshunt, Herts. = Christ. Fowler, ej. V. of St. Mary's, Reading, and lic. at Chesham (also at Kennington, &c.).

p. 39: Isaac Robinson, young minister, unsettled, in Derbyshire 1690; Min'r Potterspury, Northants. 1704-11; at Chesham 1712-23 (Gordon, 340). Brother of Benjamin of Hungerford.

p. 41: William Porter, at Miles Lane 1756-73; was at Chesham in 1777 (Thos. Gibbons's MS. Diary, 22 Oct., 1777).

p. 42: David Thomas, rem. to Stockwell 1844.


p. 46: 1690, "Mr. John Brice Att Maydenhead has 200 hearers, not 201 a year" (Son of William, supra). At M. in 1689; at Dover by 1696. (Gordon, 221).

l. 27: N.P.R. gives date of foundation as 1710 (Baptisms 1769-1837; Burials 1791-1801; 1826-37).

p. 47, l. 21: John Searl, probably much later (cf. p. 75, l. 20, Windsor). Stretton was buried Cookham, 12 Oct., 1722, and apparently succeeded at once by Simmons.

p. 48, l. 1: Anthony Mayhew, min'r. Chelmsford, Essex; Maidenhead rem. to Stambourne, Essex —1753; King's Lynn, Norfolk, 1753-1777 (Davids, 467, 471; Browne, 345; G.E.E., Vest., 120).

p. 52: J. B. Pearce, Davids, 609, says rem. to Maidenhead from Clavering, Essex, "about 1825." Although his name appears in Maidenhead registers in 1827, call was not given until 22 April, 1828, which was addressed to him at Clavering. But Ind. Chapel, Bisham, was certif. 15 April, 1828, by J. B. Pearce, Minister (Maidenhead).

Thomas Davies, rem. in 1850 to York Road, Lambeth; Preston 1855-60; Over Darwen 1860-

p. 53: Thomas Francis Lewis, ret. 1929. Norman Vanner Moore, 1929-38 (d.). Gilbert Briggs, 1939-

add Maidenhead "New Chapel" (Countess of Huntingdon's), originated in a secession in 1810 from the Ind. Churches at Maidenhead and Burnham (see p. 31, ll. 23 ff). Wing of White Hart Inn, High Street, Maidenhead,
leased and fitted up as meeting place. "The New Chapel, parish of Bray, within the township of Maidenhead," opened 31 Oct., 1815. Supplies served until 1815. Rev. Griffith Davies Owen commenced ministry Christmas Day, 1815, and continued until his death in 1836. James Cope (Hoxton Academy), who was co-pastor at Faringdon 1835, took temporary oversight, probably until 1838. The Church Books, 1810-38, are extant, but Walker, Hist. of Maidenhead, says that in 1841 the congregation removed to a new chapel at corner of High Street and Windsor Road, which it occupied until 1858, when dispersed—many members transferring to the Strict Baptist Church. The building was sold to the Wesleyans. (James Panton Ham, student from Cheshunt College, was ordained at Maidenhead 1845—minister there 1845-46; Lodge St., Bristol (C.H.) 1847-49; Bristol (Unitarian) 1849-54, etc.; d. 1902, Belfast. (G.E.E., L. & C., 115).


p. 58: Frederick Tavender, 1892-1908.
George Henry Jones (Baptist), 1908-32. 
Ernest Eldred Marks, 1934-


p 60: Frederick Robinson, d. 1935.
Richard Daniel Thomas, 1908-15 (d.). Church transferred to London Union 1911.

p. 64: D. A. Davies rem. to Stroud 1905.
Albert Edward Rawlinson, 1919-29 (d. 1931). 
Arthur Paton Lansdown, 1932-

p. 65: Septimus Jackson, from Titchfield, Hants., 1888 (1868).

p. 66: Mr. Matthew Hutchinson, 1905-11.
Joseph Allen Foster, 1912-22 (d. 1922). 
Mr. F. V. Berry (lay past.), 1922-29.
George Sheard Auty (Supt.), 1929-38.

p. 67: Hezekiah Woodward presented for preachg. at Three Swans Inn, Uxbridge, 1669; had been holding services there 3 or 4 years. Hugh Butler, ej. R. of Beaconsfield, similarly presented for preachg. at Three Swans Inn, 1673. Preachg. at Hillingdon in this parish in 1669, then "lately come from Amersham"; lic. Uxbridge 1672; d. 1682.
Robert Hall, ej. C. of Colnbrook, preachg. Uxbridge 1669, and lic. there 1672.
Benjamin Holme or Hulme, son of James, assistant at Denton, Lancs., died minister at Uxbridge—will 2 Oct., 1691, proved 16 Oct. same year. No minister mentioned, 1690.

James Waters (b. Bath 1661) came from Reigate (1689-May, 1692); d. 5 May, 1725.

p. 68: Thomas Mole had been asst. to Waters previous to 1725 (Wilson) iv, 357.

p. 71: John Robinson—"a brief charge"—from Wardour Street, Soho, 1849 (C.Y.B. 1850, 1858) to London City Mission 1857.

Arthur Giles, rem. to Halstead, Essex, 1907.
Mr. H. Chelbew (Lay past.) 1909-12.
Luther Bouch, 1913—
Church transferred to London Union 1929 (?).

add Uxbridge, Providence Chapel (Middlesex, but in Berks. Union).
Built by Mr. Job Arnold Glover, who also built the chapel at Beaconsfield: opened 23 April, 1796.
M. ... Freer, 1796-1811.
Thomas Gildroy Stamper, 1827-1851.
John Glendenning, 1853-59.
John Glendenning, 1853-59.
Edward Jukes, 1867-78.
Charles Edgcombe Richards, 1880.
Arthur Giles, rem. to Halstead, Essex, 1907.
Luther Bouch, 1913—
Church transferred to London Union 1929 (?).

Mr. H. Chellew (Lay past.) 1909-12.
Luther Bouch, 1913—
Church transferred to London Union 1929 (?).

Samuel Smith, ej. V. of Bodenham, Herefords (Herts.). At Windsor, 1690.

Benjamin Owen (? = Benjamin Sowden—ed. Doddridge—who rem. from Aylesbury to Stowmarket, Suffolk, 1744-5, later to Rotterdam).


p. 79: Joseph Augustus Miller from Highbury (New) College and New Court, Carey Street, 1850-54. Became Lecturer, Windsor Parish Church.


George Felix Williams, 1914-23.

Ernest Frank Tarrant, 1924-

p. 81, l. 4: 1882 (1889).

p. 83, after l. 4: 1690, "Att Woburne a Small meeting. while ye Lord Whartons family is there his Chaplain preaches to them. when absent Mr. Nott has about 14 or 15 l per annum, preaches in my Ld. Whartons chappell to a very small number."

Mr. Nott = John Nott, ej. V. of Sheriff Hales, Staffs. Rem. to Thame, c. 1691.

Mr. Robt. Alexander Dickson, 1907-14.

p. 91: George Swinnock—at Wycombe in 1672—rem. to Maidstone, where d. 14 Nov., 1673.

George Swinno—lic. at his house, Woodrow, Amersham, 1672—at Princes Risbore' 1690 (d. 1705).
SOME BERKSHIRE NOTES AND QUERIES

GREGORY—not HIRROM G., ej. V. of Little Marlow (d. 1675).
THOMAS GREGORY lic. (C) Wycombe, 10 Aug., 1672.
line 26: John Ritch pass= John RIDGE, ej. R. of Exton, Hunts, 1662.
lines 27-30: William Smith (ej. R. of Swerford, Oxon)—lic. was for Childs Wickham, Glos., not for High Wycombe.

p. 92: 1690—"Archibald Hamilton Att Wycombe, a Scotchman, the main-
tenance promised was 26l now falls short. ye first yt sett up a meeting in
yt towne by mr Taylers advice and procurement."
(Tayler=? Thomas Taylor, Bapt. min'r., High Wycombe; or Christopher
(see Gordon, 277).
1. 5: "about this time . . ." (Left Winchendon 1692—see Cal. Rev., 119).
1. 16: "no other charge . . ."—preachg. Thame and Haddenham, 1669;
"a fixed congregation" at Aylesbury (1690).

p. 94: N.P.R.s begin in this pastorate (Baptisms 1762-1837).

p. 95: JACOB SNELGAR rem. to Hampstead 1812.

p. 97: JOSEPH WOODHOUSE d. 28 Sept., 1931.

p. 98: W. F. CLARKSON rem. to Brading, I.W., 1911; d. 1935.
HENRY CHARLES GAUT, 1912-1918.
GEORGE SHEARD AUTY, 1920-38.
LESLIE WALLACE HARMAN, 1939-

p. 98: THOMAS ASHWELL rem. to Bromsgrove 1833; d. 1860.
(N.P.R.s, Baptisms 1823-36).

p. 100: JOHN BISCOE had prev. been ej. from St. Helen's, Abingdon, Berks.,
1660. Buried High Wycombe, 9 June, 1679.

p. 101: GEORGE NEWBERRY "of Henley."—Was he minister of one of the
secession churches there? Not mentioned, p. 120 q.v.

p. 102, l. 6: In 1824 (1827) (cf. p. 31) (and see line 11).
JOHN DAVIS (or DAVIES?)—previously minister at Handsworth, Tetbury,
Ludgershall, Whitstable.

p. 103: W. T. POOLE settled 1880 (1886).
EDWARD THOMAS, 1904-10, to Fowey.
New College Students supplied 1910-17.
A. F. S. SHEFFIELD (again), 1917-21.
ALBERT LEE, M.V.O. (Honorary) 1922-35 (see Windsor).
ALBERT EDWARD SIMS, 1937-38.
CHARLES POWELL, 1939-

p. 104: 1690, "Mr. Meddowes Att Buckilbury and Bradford (=Bradfield),
about 200 auditors 2 children and about 20 l pr. annü" (= John, son
of ej. R. of Ousden, Suffk.—apparently at Reading c. 1702—see under
Reading, Broad Street).

p. 108, l. 17: W. TAYLOR—Evang. Mag. 1802, 451 mentions a Mr. Taylor as
Minister at Wallingford, c. 1784 "after whom a Mr. BENNETT came to
Goring Chapel."
l. 26: Mr. Start of Goring preached at Peppard 1802—? successor to
WILKINS c. 1801 (Evang. Mag. 1802, 421).

Mr. H. RUSSELL, 1905-12.
ELIAS THOMAS HENGEL JONES, 1913-1919.
TOM WARREN, 1922-25.
Mr. F. A. JARMAN, 1926-29.
SYDNEY HERBERT WING (Baptist), 1932-38.
Mr. SYDNEY G. TOOTH, 1939-
Some Berkshire Notes and Queries


p. 113, l. 31: rem. to Hambleden in 1872 (1827).

p. 114; A. J. Brown, d. 1929.


William Herridge, 1915-17.

James Reece Jones, 1918-23.

G. P. Thomas (again), 1923-34. d. 1934.

Arthur Edward Claxton, 1934-

p. 115: 1669: John Brice, ej. R. of Easthampstead, Berks., and son of William, ej. R. of Henley, was preachg. with his father at Henley, Wraysbury and Colnbrook; possibly lic. Beckenham, Kent, 1672; in 1690 was at Maidenhead (q.v.).

Mr. Farrington also preachg. here, 1669 (Poss. = William, ej. C. of Elton, Hereford).

Richard Mayo, ej. V. of Kingston, Surrey, also preachg. here and at Kingston and Guildford, 1669.

p. 116: John Giles, M.A., was lic. (P) 1672 at Dymock, Glos. Buried Rotherfield Greys (Henley) 2 May, 1683.

p. 117, l. 17; Successor probably Jeremiah Froysell or Froysier, son of Thomas, ej. V. of Clun, Salop. Was lic. at Garston, Herts., 1672. In 1690 "Mr. Jer. Froyse Att Henley has a large congregation, has 40 l p. ann." (Gordon, 268).

Samuel Pike—any connexn. of S.P. of Chalfont (p. 35)? or of Joseph P., min'r., Warminster, 1720-26?

p. 119, l. 32: "separate congregation." No details discoverable.

p. 120, l. 23: further secession—? details. Was G. Newberry min'r. to this cause? (cf. p. 101).

p. 123, l. 21: St. Columb, 1889 (1899).

1. 25: Sydney Thomas Tucker—rem. to Wallingford, 1919.


Eric McNell, 1926-36, to Barnstaple.

Andrew Davidson Mackenzie, 1938-

p. 125: C. Williams relinquished oversight 1905.

Mr. Oliver Fredk. East (asst. min'r. Newbury), 1908-14. Supplied by Henley Church.

p. 125: l. 2 from bottom: Robert Rogers, ej. R. of Deane, Hants, 1660; lic. (C) Oxford, 1672; fined "as of Hungerford" for preachg. at Aldbourne, Wilts., 1672; will as of Hungerford 1670, proved 1676.

p. 127: Mr. (Thomas) Moor(e)—1690, "Att Hungerford has but a small maintenance can allow noe more but 17 l pr annum desire assistance." Son of Hohn Moore, ej. V. of Clavering, Essex. Rem. to Abingdon c. 1701, died 1720.

line 7: Henry Chandler evidently predecessor of Moore—was at Coleford, Som., in 1690.

Was Benjn. Robinson pastor here, or merely tutor? (cf. Gordon's suggestion of Moore's date—1701.)

p. 128, l. 32: "Hungerford Academy and Presbn. Church extinct long before 1773 and location of building forgotten." (C.H.S.T., vii, 388 f.)

p. 132, l. 27: "In 1899 (1889) became chaplain . . . ."
p. 133: W. H. Summers, d. 1906.
George Philip Hattrell, 1906-10.
Mansfield College Students supplied 1911-24.
Mansfield College Students supplied, 1928-1935.
Irene Mary Robbins, B.A., 1935-
p. 133: Mortimer West, N.P.R. (Births and Bapt., 1805-37)—indexed as Indpt.
p. 135, l. 26: Still supplied by New College.
p. 139, ll. 1-4: Was prosecuted 24 Sept., 1664, for not paying fine for non-
Any conformity subsequent to his ejection wid. appear to have been of
brief duration, therefore.
p. 140-141: G.E.E., Vest., 180, gives the Presb. succession at Toomers Court,
Newbury, as follows (omitting Woodbridge): John Southwell, 1688-1694;
William Taylor, B.A., 1694-1701; James Peirce, 1706-1713; Joseph
Standon, 1713-1726; Daniel Mace, 1726/7-1753; John Blackburn,
1754-1762; David James, 1764-1805; Jos. Kitcat, 1805-27, etc.
William Taylor (sup.). ej. V. of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, London,
d. 5 Sept., 1661. His son, William (probably here confused with his
father (p.1 41, ll. 29-30), was chaplain to Lord Wharton for almost 20 years
and min'r. at Newbury from 1696. "During the pastorate of B. Woodbridge
they were united, but immediately after his death there was a split.
This was healed in the time of the two previous pastors, S. Hardy and
J. Southwell, but now (1696) the division had reappeared and though
they united together for preaching, they separated for communion service"
(Letter of Wm. Taylor to Oliver Heywood, 29 May, 1686.)
1690: "Mr. Merriman, a young man, preacheth att Newbury in the
afternoon."
"Mr. Hardy Att Newbury has 1,000 people as some say, has 50 l pr annû." (Samuel
Held peculiar at Charminster 1662-67; Poole 1669-82; North Baddesley,
Hants, 1683—; Minister at Newbury 1686?-1690/1. Died 6 March, 1690/1.)
p. 140, l. 2 from bottom: Stephen Fowler—poss. confusion with Samuel
(see Gordon, 266). Stephen Fowler applied for lic. (P) 1672, at Kilsby,
Northants—his will as of Kilsby 26 Jan. 1693/4.
p. 141, l. 28: ? act. 32 (82).
1. 32: "A newly erected Building on East Side of North Brook, Newbury,"
certified 10 August, 1697 (Newbury S.R., No. 2).
"A newly erected building on a piece of ground late the Widow Morrels,
N.P.R.—Newbury Lower Meeting House (Indpt.), Baptisms 1695-1771
(1,212 entries).
p. 143, l. 23: "the aged Benjn. M." (?) "a young man" in 1690!
p. 144: James Marchant (or Merchant?)—d. 1797.
1832 (Hoxton Acady. 1824), d. 1875—no obit.
p. 146: Richard Bulmer asst. min'r., —1853.
John Wilding, B.A., 1933-38.
Percival Thompson, 1938-
Mr. W. J. Harris, 1918-21.
Mansfield College Students 1921-28.
Mr. A. Binnall Grosvenor, 1928-30.
Mr. W. C. Cream, 1931-36, to Chalfont.
Mr. David Smith, 1937-
p. 150: Messuage, Pangbourne, certified for Protestants, 10 July, 1792, by Joseph Harper and 5 others (Berks. S.R., No. 5).
N.P.R., Baptisms 1829-36 (gives date of Formation as 1819).
Edwin Legg, A.T.S.
Supplied.
Supplied 1923-34.
Thomas Wilson, 1934-
Branch at Sonning Common opened 1908.
p. 158, l. 3; Fowler d. 15 Jan., 1676/7.
p. 158: Juice was ej. R. of St. Martin's (Nicholas) Worcester. Presented for keeping school at Worcester 1664/5. Pastor Reading c. 1673/4. (Lic. (C) Gracechurch St., London, 1672.)
p. 160: In 1690 Juice had 4-500 hearers "ye people considerably rich." He d. c. 1706—but was not pastor in 1705. Gordon says had ceased to be minister some years before his death. He also notes that (John?) Meadows, who was at Bucklebury in 1690, rec'd. grant for Reading in 1702. Did he succeed Juice? On the other hand, Samuel Doolittle seems to have been assist. to Juice. A sermon of his "Occasioned by the Late Earthquake, Eighth of September, 1692," preached at Reading, is extant.
p. 161, l. 17; "the same age"—M. Henry was born 1662.
(N.P.R. Broad St. Meeting House—Founded 1680; Deaths and Burials 1705-1800; Burials 1787-1837; Baptisms 1715-1785; 1784-1836).
p. 162: George Burnett from Andover 1716 (Evans MS.)? Richard Rigby, M.D.—Hereford (Eignbrook) 1716-18; Reading 1718-
Baker—? succeeded by David Lloyd (d. 1779), who took part in or'dn of David James at Newbury in 1736.
p. 163: John Burnett—Min'r., Reading, 1740-48; Rendham 1748-52; Witham 1752-67; Hull 1767-82?
p. 164, l. 3.: Mr. Jones's "special difficulties" appear to have resulted in a secession. "A House, St. Mary's Butts, Reading, certified for Indpts. by William Cudworth (Pastor) and others, 26 Sept., 1752" (Salisbury Dioces. Reg. No. 5). Nothing further discoverable about either congregation or minister.
p. 174: W. J. Farrow, rem. to Shrewsbury 1912.
Aubrey Russell Vine, M.A., B.D., B.Sc., 1927-
p. 176: _Tilehurst_

Ernest James Perry, B.D., 1916-21, rem. to Gosport.
Herbert Stanley Hayman, 1922-27, rem. to Hertford.
David Ivor Rees, 1928-36, rem. to Coventry.
James Vaughan, 1936-

p. 176, l. 20: Smallwood (Stallwood).

p. 177, l. 30: _N.P.R._ Baptisms 1765-1836.
William Breach minister in 1836.
Building let to Salvation Army, 1938.

p. 185: Thomas Galland (Gallard) Horton.

Mr. B. E. A. Lamb, 1913-15.
Supplies
Pitt Bonarjee, 1918-23.
Supplies
Bernard Upward, 1929-36.

p. 189: 1690: "Mr. Nabbs att Binfield hath 30 l pr annum ye people poor and not able to continue without assistance."

(= Edward Nabbs, B.A., V. of St. Oswald's, Chester. At Binfield 1690-93? Rem. to London.)

p. 196: G. S. Reaney, d. 16 May, 1901. V. of Christ Ch., Greenwich.

Albert Swift, 1907-12, d. 17 Dec., 1913.
Duncan Carson, 1922-23, d. 6 Nov., 1923.
Charles Edward Surman, B.A., 1937-

J. B. P. Boon (again), 1921-23.
Harold Ingram Frith, M.A., B.D., 1931-34.
Hubert David Oliver, M.A., 1935-
§ 2: Add Park Church, Wokingham Road, Reading: Church formed 1908.


p. 200, l. 22: Oathall (Oathill), Sussex.
_N.P.R._ (Baptisms 1921-24), deposited by J. S. Watson, "Late Minister." Church dissolved 1827.


Dr. Frederick Rowland Young, 1884-86.
Building purchased by Woolworth's Ltd., 1937.

p. 203: Stoke Row—_N.P.R._ (Births and Baptms. 1818-33) deposited by John (James) Macaulay, minister (1836).
Some Berkshire Notes and Queries

p. 204: W. D. Hayward, rem. to Thetford, 1912.
Charles Watt Smyrk, 1915-18, d. 1922.
John Norman Dodd, 1932-36, d. 1936.
Norman Frederick Perry, B.A., 1937-
p. 208: J. J. Frewing, rem. to Sheffield 1906.
Jesse George Davis, 1907-17, to Melbourn, Cambs.
John Stay, 1918-33, d. 1933.
Arthur Enford Richmond, M.A., B.D., 1933-

James Alfred Kaye, 1909-11.
Frederick Graham Steel, 1911-19.
Ernest Albert Bridger, 1920-23.
John Henry Bell, 1924-30.

p. 212, l. 9: A Mr. Manford Nott rem. from Twyford, Berks., to Broseley, Salop, 1841 (cf. Summers 188).
Leon Zucher, Student-Pastor 1854-55.

p. 213: John Stewart, 1907-
Charles Morgan, 1911-20.
James Reese Jones, 1923-
Harold Gladstone Hiley, 1931-
I. 32: Samuel Blower rem. from Northampton to Abingdon 1695.

P. 220: John Neal Lake, M.A., D.D. — Abingdon, 1779-84; Plymouth Dock, 1784-87; Walthamstow, 1787-95; Kensington, 1795-1801; to Established Church.

p. 223, l. 32: a brief (sic?) ministry (Charles St., Cardiff, 1863-82).
Charles Henry Gill, 1919-23.
William John Chappell, 1925-
p. 225: N.P.R. (Births and Baptns., 1804-37; Burials 1815-) deposited by Jn. (sic) Rutherford, Min'r., formerly John (sic) Paul.

p. 228: Henry Munton, ret. 1906, d. 1913.
Frederick Graham Steel, 1919-22.
Thomas Smith, 1925-
Alfred Gardner, 1926-30.
Supplied.

p. 229: John Gunter (perhaps) son of Humphrey; at Faringdon 1715-20; afterwards at Rotterdam.
Joseph Dodson rem. to Marlborough 1724.

p. 231, l. 6: "still was in 1805" (?) C.Y.B. 1901 says W. Friend d. 1801.
I. 2 from bottom: rem. to Alfriston (St. Austell).
SOME Berkshire Notes and Queries

  Robert Dobbie, 1911-16, rem. to Appledore.
  Thomas Henry Whatley White, 1939-

p. 234: 1690: Humphrey Gunter (ej.) "Of Stanford preaches sometimes at his owne house gratis and all other times at Buckland."


  Charles Booth, 1906-11.
  Gretton Ward, 1912-

p. 244: Robert Rogers, ej. R. of Deane, Hants. (see Cal. Rev.)
  Joshua Oldfield, D.D., son of John, ej. R. of Carsington, was min'r., Oxford c. 1689-94, rem. to Coventry. Calamy's first sermon was to his congregation (Gordon, 322).
  Henry Sanders, min'r. Oxford in 1698. In Evans list as min'r., Long Coombe, nr. Woodstock—1739.
  Henry Cornish and Richard Stretton (both ej.) also preached here c. 1689 (see Cal. Rev.).

p. 252, l. 11: Norley (Morley) Chapl, Plymouth.

p. 254: James Robertson, res. 1914.
   Church sold.

  Percy Attersole Rose, 1913-22.
  Stanley Rees Tyrer, 1939-

  William Thomas Hailstone, 1909-12.
  Constable Mary Coltman, M.A., B.D.
  Sidney Crawford, 1932-36.
  Hubert John Haggett, 1938-

p. 258: B. M. Eason, rem. in 1901 and in the next year . . .
  A. S. Welch, M.A., 1902-04, d. 1930.
  Evan Rees, 1905-07.
  John Stay, 1908-18.
  Hubert Melville Harris, 1920-23.
  William Foreman, 1924-36.
  Henry Roberts Moxley, M.A., 1936-

p. 260, l. 6: Delete "formerly pastor at Marsh Gibbon."

p. 262: Tetsworth—add:
  Alan William Stevens, B.A., 1907-11.
  George Field (with Benson), 1921-24.
  Bernard Percy George, 1924-29.
  Supplied.
p. 262: *Thame*—1690: "Mr. Jno. Nott At Thame has newly sett up a constant meeting, ye people as yet cannot promise 15 l pr. anu" (ej. V. of Sheriff-hales. Rec'd grants here 1690-1702; d. 28 Decr., 1702).  
Thomas Dixon, b. Whitehaven, 16 July, 1721; Kendall Academy 1738-; min'r., Thame (P) 1743-50; Norwich 1750-52; Bolton, Bank Street 1752-54. d. 23 Feb., 1754. (G.E.E., L. & C., 22.)

p. 265: Samuel Maddock, rem. to Cuckfield 1908.  
Henry Cheney, 1909-16.  
Bernard Percy George, 1924-29.  
Frederick Clarence Parkinson, 1931-37.  
Supplied.

p. 267: *Wheatley*—add:  
Percy Attersoll Rose, 1921-22.  
Supplied.

p. 269: William Conway, ej. from Magdalen Hall, Oxford (1662?), "settled at Whitney"—1669 preachg. at Cogges: lic. 1672 (P) at Malmesbury.  
Francis Hubert (or Hubbert), d. 20 Oct., 1676 (1679). (For above, see *Cal. Rev.*)

p. 270: Samuel Mather, buried 14 March, 1733.  
Blake—probably misplaced, and identical with man named on next page.  
John Ward—at Witney 1745; rem. to Taunton 1747.

p. 271, l. 31: Wills (or Mills?).  
Mr. Humphries preceded Stumphouse (no dates).

Supplied by Mansfield College Students.  
Oliver Frederick East, 1914-21.  
Hubert Cunliffe-Jones, B.A., B.D., B. Litt., 1933-37.  
George Sheard Auty, 1938-41.  

Charles E. Surman.

Mem.: Oliver Heywood, *Northowram Register*, 202, records "Marriage. Mr. Sugden, min'r. near Reading, son of Mr. Sugden of Shelf, and Mr. Brooksbank's dr of Reading, mar. abt middle of Oct., 1709." (Neither man nor place identified.)

House, Barkham, certif. for Indpts. by Samuel Gill (pastor) and others, 8 Nov., 1757 (Salisbury Dioces. Reg. No. 7).
An Account of the Independent Church & Congregation worshipping in Morgans Hill Meeting House Bradford Wilts 1820

It being thought desirable to hand down to those whom God may raise up to be our successors an account of the rise, progress, and present state of this Christian Society, it was resolved at a General Church meeting held Christmas day 1818 that this should be done accordingly; but in as much as the documents were very few and very difficult to be obtained, and as we wished to hand down as full and as faithful an account as we could, we have found it a work of no small labour.

There is now living in Bristol a grand daughter of Dr. Joshua Read who is about 86 years of age and who says her grandfather i.e. Dr. Read was the first minister after the separation from the Grove took place. That he gave a £100 towards building the first Meeting House. That her mother married the Revd. Mr. Harris dissenting Independent Minister of Saffron Walden in Essex and that on the day she was married he gave her seven thousand pounds sterling as her marriage portion. That after some years her father Mr. Harris left Saffron Walden & came & resided with her grandfather Dr. Read who then lived at Monckton Farleigh and that she perfectly recollected i.e. seventy years ago regularly coming with her father or grandfather or both to Meeting every Lords day and dining in the same house that is the Ministers house now. That her father preached very often for her grandfather and the old lady has given a portrait of her grandfather Read & another of her.
Mother Harris to D: Fleming our present Pastor who will leave them as curiosities to be kept in the Parsonage house for ever¹.

Who built the Grove Meeting house or When it was built we are uninformed but it was attended by a very respectable Congregation so much so that tradition hands down its being attended by two Members of Parliament and 6 or 8 Carriages at a time.² Originally they were Evangelical in their Religious principles & Calvinistic³; but between the years of 1730 & 1740 there was a growing inclination towards Arianism if not to Socinianism. Mr. Walter Grant of Monckton Farley Mr. John Pitman of Bradford and others who remain’d Orthodox in their Principles disliked this and proceeded to oppose it. They proceeded so far as to suspend a Revd. Mr. Weriat who was preaching there at that time. But the best way will be to give Mr. J: Pitmans own account of this affair. He says in a Letter directed to Mr. Francis Hislop concerning Mrs. Grant’s will now in the Box made for the purpose of keeping the deeds Letters &c.: “you know our Church was driven from our old meeting Place for suspending Mr. Weriat because he denied Christ to be the true God or true Man”—these are his very words & so we have a very clear account of the ground of the separation of our Church from the Grove; of the growth & increase of the one & the utter ruin of the other; Christ in all the Glory of his Person & Character remains with the one, Christ has been degraded and denied by the other & it gives us pleasure now as a Church & people that God our Father has so mercifully fulfilled the desires of our valuable ancestors that if they were to rise from the dead they would not only be satisfied but rejoice that their aims have been answered & that not only the preceeding but the Present Minister, Deacons & Members are as desirous of Maintaining the same truths of the glorious gospel as ever they were themselves.

Having left, or having been cast out Mrs. Mary Grant gave a Tenement, Stable & garden (The Site of the Meeting house), Dr. Read gave £100, Mr. Pitman another and Mr. Grant a third 100 pound & with this they began building the Meeting house. In the mean time tradition says and it is very likely they worshipped in that house which now stands in front of the Meeting house belonging to Mr. Robt. Mundays family left by the late Mr. Brice. From all we can learn they were but few in number but very respectable in point of Character & property above all they seem to have been

¹ They now hang in the church vestry.
² cf. Evans MS., t.w. Bradford: “Quality of Hearers—worth 500 li at least 20. No. of hearers 400. 28 County Voters, 3 Boro Voters”.
³ According to a tablet at the Grove the first two ministers there were Wm. Dangerfield 1699-1715 and Thos. Barker 1715-29; for Dangerfield cf. A. Gordon, Freedom after Ejection, 125, 248: in 1717 he was minister at the Cougure (Unitarian) Church, Trowbridge; Barker is mentioned as the minister in the Evans MS. reference to Bradford.
choice spirits for the Love they bore their Blessed Redeemer and their firm attachment to his glorious Gospel.

In all the donations they have left the deeds run in the following style:

For the Maintenance of a godly faithfull Minister of the gospel of the Congregational or Presbyterian denomination only & such an one as shall not scruple plainly to declare his belief of the doctrines contained in the greater & lesser Catechisms of the Westminster Assembly of divines and in the Practice of infant Baptism by sprinkling—Opposed to both Antinomianism & Arminianism and allowed by the Trustees or a Major part of them to be such an one.

In the year 1740 The meeting house was built. Dr. Josiah Read was their first Minister, he was related to the Grants & Pitmans, Mrs. Wilmot the Grand daughter of Dr. Read the lady now living in Bristol calls Mr. Pitman her Unkle, it seems as if Dr. Read was an old Man before he took this Charge upon him. He soon had his son in Law Revd. Mr. Harris of Saffron Waldon to assist him and afterwards Mr. Richd. Winter late Dr. Richd. Winter of London. How long he was Pastor is uncertain but it could not be many years for we find Mr. Pitman writing in a Letter directed to Mr. Winter (who was then gone to London) dated 1751 that they were without a pastor and wishing him to try and find one for them. Dr. Read therefore may have died somewhere about 45-46. Mr. Harris left Farley with his family and Mr. Winter assisted the Dr. untill his death. Mr. Winter continued one year after the Drs. death to preach but never was the Pastor of the Church.

Mr. Humphreys succeeded and remained about four years but his wife being a high Church woman gave the poor man no rest untill he conformed to the established Church he then got some curacy or Living of some kind and was heard of no more. It appears also by the Letter above mentioned that there was some dispute about

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4 According to the tablet at the Grove he was minister there 1729-39; possibly previously at Newport, I.o.W., and Whitchurch, Hants; related to Joseph Read, ejected from Whitley, Wors., sometime colleague to Baxter; according to the Rev. W. N. Warren, "Wesley & his Preachers at Bradford-on-Avon" (reprinted from *Wiltshire Times*, May 7, 14, 21, 1838) "the MS. diary reveals" that Read is the man referred to in the following passage from John Wesley's *Journal*, July 17, 1739:

I went to a gentleman in the town who had been present when I preached at Bath, and with the strongest marks of sincerity and affection '*wished me good luck in the name of the Lord*'. But it was past. I found him now quite cold. He began disputing on several heads; and at last told me plainly, one of our College had informed him, 'They always took me to be a little crack-brained at Oxford'.

5 He succeeded Wm. Payne, the first minister at Saffron Walden, at his death in 1726.

6 Rich. Winter, B.D. (not Dr. Winter, who was his nephew, Robt.) was born in London 1720, educ. at John Eames' academy, and after assisting at Bradford 1742-3 was the minister of various churches in London till his death 1799: *Evangelical Magazine*, 1799, 218, 353-9.

7 cf. Thos. Gibbons's MS. Diary (Congregational Library), Dec. 3, 1751:

Wrote a letter to Mr. Dumfreys of Bradford near Bath, on the news of his Conformity to the Church of England.
money, & about the use of a horse he expecting the people were to find him a horse to ride on when he wanted it. Mr. Pitman says it was found him when he wanted it and that if he had done his best they would have been able to make up the salary £35 or £40.0.0 per an; which was a considerable sum in those days.

Revd. Mr. Edwards was the next pastor but from whence he came or in what year we have no document to inform us. He has a son who still lives & from him we expect this information & shall therefore leave a space for it.

(Blank space in MS.)

We find him Pastor of the Church when Mr. Pitman made his will in 1757, i.e. six years after Mr. Humphries left and is supposed to have been from 12 to 15 years Pastor. Several Old persons remember him well he used to bleed people & give them Medicine & many applied for that purpose.

Revd. Mr. Skirven succeeded Mr. Edwards and we find in the Deed of making new trusts for the Ministers property Dated 1770 John Skirven was the Minister of the place & the Pastor of the Church. He was a north Briton but we can say nothing to his character or usefulness no documents being left to warrent any certain conclusion. On the back of the same deed it is mentioned that John Skirven named within was now Dead so that he died about the time the deed was signed.

**The Old Church Book Begins**

**Bradford Wilts**

**Morgan Hill Church Book 1772**

The Revd John Samwell Pastor 25th March 1772

He was M:D: and practised regularly. He also was a Scotchman and what is rather singular out of the five Ministers who were at his Settlement the Names of three of them evidently are Scotch, Houston, Jemyson, Russel. As a Christian as a Minister as a Scholar & as a Gentleman he was highly esteemed & beloved, but his health was delicate & his Labours of short duration. He dyed May 14. 1773, and was buried in Bristol.

On account of his ill health he lived about a Mile from the Town at Turley at the same house which Mrs. Atwood now lives in Who told me she remembered the Dr. very well. The Church all this

*Some misunderstanding upon this subject existed and Mr. Winter was so offended that he refused to act as a trustee any more. (MS. note.)*

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8 Unidentified.
9 Unidentified.
10 A copy of this is in the possession of the church at Bradford.
11 Previously at Broadway, Som., and Romsey, Hants.
12 Mr has been crossed out and D: Fleming written over it by the same hand as wrote the rest of the MS.
time & the Congregation were but small & the Place must have been very small.

1773 The Revd. Nicolas Phene\(^\text{13}\) was Chosen Pastor of this Church and A Meeting of Ministers took place at his Settlement Octr. 20. 1773. Revd. Mr. Bishop of Westbury preached on the Occasion.

The Revd. Mr. Phene Laboured 19 years as the Pastor of this Church and died Octr. 1792. He was a good man and much beloved but the increase of the Church & Congregation was very inconsiderable, In deed so small was the Congregation then that it is said on a Tuesday Evening he used to look in to see if there were seven persons present if there were he would go in and preach if not he would desire them to hold a prayer Meeting.

But it seems they were favoured with internal peace, except the trouble of casting out some irregular & unruly members. The Church also maintained the respectability of its Character which laid a foundation for future good.

As for all proceedings during his time See the Old Church Book.

He had a numerous family Mr. Nicolas Phene is now a respectable Attorney at Melksham, Another Son Revd. Phineas Phene was Independent Minister of Great Yarmouth,\(^\text{14}\) was the early Friend of the present Pastor D: Fleming and died some years ago.

1793 2d of June the Revd. Mr. Dun\(^\text{15}\) was settled as the Pastor of this Church, he was formerly Pastor of Portsmouth Common (so it is stated in the Church Book). In his time the Meeting was enlarged unto its present size, he was at great pains in collecting Money for this purpose and happily succeeded, he was a man of talent and was an acceptable preacher, he left a widow & one daughter the Daughter is living.

He died March 3d 1805, so that he laboured twelve years in this place. Revd. Dr. Read, Mr. Grant, Mr. Pitman, Revd. Mr. Phene, Revd. Mr. Dun, all are buried in the Meeting house.\(^\text{16}\) It is remarkable that during all that twelve years there were but sixteen Members added to the Church at least on the Church book. In the April following Ten members were cut off, and of all the men members living when Mr. Dun died only two remain members at this day, Thos. Huntly & Thos. Coward the rest are either dead removed or cut off. When the Ten were cut off There remained 20 men members and 32 women. As I said before only two men members remain

\(^\text{13}\) Educ. at Hoxton Academy; previously minister at Rendham, Suff., Gloucester, and Hertford. Mural tablets at Bradford (from which it appears his name was Phené) record his death on Oct. 1, 1792, aged 58, having been 19 years Pastor; that of his wife Sarah on Mar 21, 1798, aged 60; and that of their children Elizabeth, Benjamin, Sarah and Nicholas Peter, the latter a Melksham Solicitor.

\(^\text{14}\) cf. J. Browne, Congm. in Norfolk and Suffolk, 248.

\(^\text{15}\) Educ. at Trevecca and originally itinerant in C.H. Connexion, then minister at Horsley down Bermondsey, and Portsmouth Common (later King St., Portsea).

\(^\text{16}\) No tablets survive save that to Phené noted above.
of that number & ony six Femalales out of 32. See the list of Names in the Church Book. 12 men are dead out of 20, and 16 Females have departed this life since 1805.

The next who succeeded was the Revd. Thos. Williams formerly Pastor of one of the independent Churches of Westbury Wilts, he was moveable, a Call was sent him and he accepted it. His answer accepting the call is dated Westbury Nov. 20, 1805. He was a very acceptable and usefull preacher. He was the means of greatly enlarging the Church & Congregation, above 90 members were added during the short space of seven years that he was Pastor of this Church but being called out to preach frequently in large places in London Bristol &c. his exertion was too much for his strength he lost his voice and was obliged to resign the Ministry & his pastoral Charge at the same time.

The minute entered in the Church Book is as follows:

March 25. 1812. The Revd. Thos. Williams resigned the Charge of this Church he having for some time past been unable to preach on account of the loss of his voice.

His voice has been since restored and he is now preaching with his usual success. Out of 93 members only 36 remain 23 are dead 9 excomd. and the rest either removed to the Grove or left the Town.

After Mr. Williams's resignation the Church was supplied by various Ministers & Students among the rest Mr. Wm. Coombs student. He preached with acceptance above one year and then was about to be invited to the pastoral Charge when some misunderstanding took place which prevented it. It does not belong to this short account to enter into particulars upon a subject of this nature suffice it to say that instead of an ordination a separation took place. Mr. Coombs got leave to preach in the Grove Meeting House from which this Church originally separated, for by this time what is called unitarianism had emptied the place so that there was neither Minister nor Congregation there. I say He obtained the use of that place and a very considerable number of both Church & Congregation left with him & formed a separate interest. We shall leave this separate interest for the present with one single remark Namely that the separate body before the separation did not raise or contribute 10£ to the public stock per an but now being opposed & separated they raised considerably above £100. This is meant as

17 He was there 1797-1804 (Transactions, II. 445 f.).
18 Exan. Mag. 1818, 68, bears out the indication given later that the trouble was over the power of the trustees to appoint or dismiss the minister without consulting the people.
19 According to the tablet at the Grove the ministers there since Jos. Read left for Morgan's Hill had been Roger Flexman, D.D., 1739-47, who was educ. at Tiverton (H. McLachlan, Education under the Test Acts, 14), and for whom see Dict. Nat. Biog.; Sam. Billingsley 1718-58, who was son of Nicholas Billingsley, minister at Ashwick, Som., and grandson of Nicholas Billingsley, ejected from Weobley, Herefordshire; Jas. Foot 1759-76, who was a pupil of Doddridge; and Edw. Williams 1777-1810.
no reflection upon them more than upon others in similar circumstances but as the humbling and painfull reflection upon Man depraved man who will do ten times more for a Little spite or opposition than what he will do for the grace of God.

The Church at Morgans Hill was now supplied by various Ministers but there were other Ministers aided the separation. The principle upon which they acted was an opposition to the power that the deeds were supposed to grant to the trustees of dismissing the Ministers by their own Authority which they considered to stand opposed to the rights of protestant dissenters & to religious liberty in general Namely that the Church or Congregation only have the right to invite or dismiss their Ministers. The Trustees in order to do away with this objection agreed to & entered the following resolutions upon the Church Book & Signed them.

1815 November 29. The Trustees renounce all power real or supposed to be in the deed of trust either of electing or dismissing any future Pastor or Minister of this Church and e(n)gage not to appoint any persons as Trustees in future who will not agree to these resolutions.

In the mean time the Church invited the Revd. Mr. Vowles\(^{20}\) for six months with a view to his settling among them he was acceptable and useful but at the end of six months Mrs. Vowles not liking the Town he declined settling as their Pastor. They then applied to Revd. S. Lowell of Bristol to recommend them a suitable Minister who mentioned D: Fleming who accordingly came to Bradford. During all this time the usual effects of separations raged with great asperity, the most uncandid reflections made, & some of the most honourable and upright Characters sorely wounded & grieved. At last a Meeting of Ministers of both sides & the Deacons and representatives of both societies took place at the New Bear Inn, spent nearly the whole day together, dined together & came to a number of amicable resolutions. Agreed that all the past should as much as possible be forgotten and that all parties should endeavour to live in friendship henceforward which as a faithful witness I am bound to say was kept most honourably by the Morgan Hill people but was nothing like kept by the other party owing to some very bitter spirits that were among them.

After this the Revd. Mr. Coombs was ordained\(^{21}\) as Pastor over the people at the Grove. After ordaination he made a most unhappy marriage he & his wife lived together for near four years had three Children and then were obliged to separation in the mean time the people dropt off he for some time gave up preaching altogether and

\(^{20}\) Previously at Bristol.

\(^{21}\) Nov. 15, 1815: Esam. Mag., 1816, 68.
the remains of the people which had not by this time come back offer'd to make themselves a place of worship under the Mother Church but it was declined, the most desirable came back & the doors were shut. It has since been open'd Revd. Mr. Coombs preaches twice a day what it will come to no one can conjecture at present.22

Mr. Vowles left at the end of six months & D: Fleming came and preached the first Lords day in August 1815, six months after recd. a unanimous call accepted it23 & his family came the March following.

In 1817 the front road & Gate were made at the expense of about £270, the narrow passage which was the only way we had before was most wretched. Old Mrs. Cadby & Miss Cadby gave fifty pounds Mr. Cadby gave another fifty & Mrs. Finch twenty the rest was raised by the Congregation. This is a vast improvement & proves the spirit of our Ancestors is not dead yet. Since 15 we thro' the divine goodness have nothing very particular to remark. We have had peace & joy in believing & we trust God is still in the midst of us & is doing us good.

(It is not my purpose to continue the history of the church after the close of the document printed above, but a list of the ministers from and including Fleming may not be out of place:—

Daniel Fleming 1816-29; Wm. Gear 1830-56 (portraits of himself and his wife in the vestry); Patrick Morrison 1856-65; Wm. Henry Bassett 1866-70; Geo. Wallis 1871-4; Benj. Beddow 1875-83; Chas. Wm. Cliffe 1883-87; Wm. Attwell 1887-98; Edwin Mansfield Potter 1901-5; W. L. Cockcroft 1906; Wm. Brenan Richards 1907-26; Wm. Edw. Bryant 1931-)

22 Despite Fleming's remarks on the falling off of numbers at the Grove, in 1822 Coombs and his followers were able to build a new chapel (Zion), the Grove being "very dilapidated" (Evan. Mag., 1822, 287); the tablet at the Grove gives Rich. Wright 1822-27 and Sam. Martin 1827-73 as the last two ministers, both of whom were the ministers of the Congre (Unitarian) Church, Trowbridge. (Coombs' name is not on the tablet.) Service at the Grove was latterly held only once or twice a year, in order to secure a small endowment. The Rev. J. S. Watson, minister at Westbury, wrote to Thos. Wilson, Dec. 20, 1839.

There is a large handsome substantial Chapel in the neighbouring town of Bradford that was built by a person of the name of Combs and which has long been in bad odour; ... They are now obtaining supplies any way they can, but principally lay preachers.

In 1842 a secession from the Old Baptist (Particular) church joined with the people at Zion, which became in time a second Baptist (General) church in the town. It is at present disused, and the Grove, which, presumably at a date after 1873, was taken over as Zion's Sunday School building, is again used for services; but neither this church nor the Old Baptist church enjoys a settled pastorate, and the congregations are very small.

23 Educ. at Mile End Academy; formerly at Nuneaton and Worcester.
Lay Preaching—Yesterday and Today

"The Day of the Layman has come," said a Canon of Westminster quite recently. So it has. If anyone thinks that the world will be saved by official Christianity they are sadly mistaken. The problem is too great and the task too enormous for any one section of the Church. It must be the set work and the definite responsibility of the priesthood and the ministry of all believers.

We are passing through crucial days of history; the times are serious beyond compare. Not only have we passed from the sunlight of peace into the night of war, but this war is nothing less than a life and death struggle between the forces of light and darkness, liberty and slavery. The things which we hold as most precious—more precious than life—are at stake. Militarism, materialism and paganism are lifting up their defiant heads as never before. They strike hard and spare not. The whole world is rocking to its foundations. Truly, this is the Great War in more senses than one. In saying this we are not conjuring up an imaginary Loch Ness monster but facing squarely the stark, naked reality. We speak of the battle for Britain, it is really a battle for the soul of the world.

Let, however, nothing us dismay! for more are they that are for us than they that are against us. The Devil cannot go beyond his chain! But Victory does not come through the gates of a dream; it comes through a mighty effort, through blood and tears. To make this old world Christian is no holiday task. Christianity is not a creed for a tired man or a moody pessimist. Principles are useless unless they are incarnate in persons. Ideas however worthy, ideals however true, are empty and idle abstractions until they are alive and active in living and active persons.

Christianity is a fighting faith. It has always had to fight for its very life. Christianity is a religion of service and sacrifice. It needs campaigners and not camp followers. Where are the campaigners? Happily, they are not far to seek. They are in our very midst, waiting and doubtless wanting to be used and commissioned. They are our laymen and they form the first line of defence. The day of the layman has come.

Indeed, the day of the layman has always come. The men of Issachar who "know what Israel ought to do" have always been needed and used of God. The story of yesterday in this respect is an ancient and stirring one, and it is good to look before and after.

Let us begin with Moses. Moses was overstrained by the growing
burden of administration and he was divinely led to appoint 70 elders to assist him. When the chosen men assembled around the Tent, the Spirit of God came upon them and they prophesied. Two of the 70 were absent and on them also the Spirit descended and they prophesied in the camp. Joshua, jealous of order and his master's dignity, hurried to the Tent, saying—"My Lord Moses, forbid them!" "Enviest thou for my sake?" said the large-hearted Moses. "Would God that all the Lord's people were prophets!"

The Old Testament breathes a large catholicity respecting those admitted to the prophetic office. The priesthood had strict barriers, but the door was open to anyone who felt that he (or she—like Deborah) had the Divine call and urge to speak. We get an instructive glimpse into the school of the prophets in the days of Samuel. There was a good deal of liberty then and even Saul, on one occasion, was found among the prophets. Outstanding among the minor prophets is the sturdy countryman, Amos the herdsman.

I was no prophet neither was I a prophet's son, but I was a herdsman and a gatherer of sycamore fruit. And the Lord took me as a follower of the flock and the Lord said to me—Go, prophesy unto my people Israel.

He went and delivered the word of the Lord to princes and priests alike without fear or favour. And so mighty was his witness that it lives to this day.

Perhaps the charter of Lay-preaching is found in the prophecy of Joel:

And it shall come to pass that I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, and your young men shall see visions. And on my servants and on my handmaidens I will pour out in those days of my Spirit and they shall prophesy.

That means that all the Lord's people can be prophets and channels of blessing if baptized by the Holy Spirit. It is clear that from the earliest days prophesying was not a closed profession. Strange to say only the other day even the Roman Catholic Church was urging a greater use of the laity and it speaks of the "Apostolate of the Laity"! The full acceptance, however, of the principle of the wider ministry has been slow and reluctant. Why so slow? Do we want further historic sanction? Then let us again go to the Jewish Church, this time in the life of Christ. In the Jewish synagogue any competent reader or teacher had his chance. This was a significant element in the religious life of Israel. It was this custom that opened the door to Christ and we read that "He taught in the synagogue, being glorified of all." Prof. Bruce says that Christ steadfastly used this opportunity throughout Galilee to spread the good
news of the Kingdom of God. For a while, even after the crucifixion, Judaism kept the door open for freedom of utterance in the synagogue. Stephen found his opportunity here and Paul constantly turned to the synagogue as a free platform to declare his message. When Paul and Barnabas entered the synagogue at Antioch in Pisidia a courteous invitation was given them. "Ye men and brethren, if ye have any word of exhortation for the people, say on!" And, of course, the Master Himself called on His disciples straightway to do active service. In addition to the twelve, He sent forth 70 of His disciples in pairs as heralds of the Kingdom. His plea was:

The harvest truly is great, but the labourers are few; pray ye therefore the Lord of the Harvest that He send forth labourers to His harvest.

Christ sharply rebuked all attempts to limit the number of the workers.

The Early Church was faithful to the Divine Founder's principle. Peter at Pentecost instinctively quoted Joel's prophecy as the only adequate explanation of the extraordinary spiritual baptism which came upon all.

All believers were ordained to be witnesses. Lay-preaching needs no further vindication.

It is an established fact that "liberty of prophesying" in the early Church accounted largely for the growth and expansion of the Christian Church in the first centuries. Gibbon tells us that the chief cause of the spread of the Gospel was due, not so much to the leaders as to the rank and file of the Church. The converted trader carried the good news with him wherever he went with his goods. The Christian soldier did likewise in the army. The Christian student told his fellow students of the new Teacher who had gripped his heart and illumined his soul. The Christian slave told other slaves of Him Who had come to bring liberty to the captives. What is that but the ministry of all believers, the only ministry that will ultimately save the world!

Alas, as time went on and the Church became less simple, less democratic and less spiritual, preaching grew out of favour. Elaborate ritual took its place and laymen were forbidden to preach. The day of the layman had gone out and there followed a long dreary night, gross darkness covering the world. Was there ever such a black-out? There were few, if any, pulpits in the churches of those days. The priest might hold a cure for 50 years and never preach a single sermon. He was ordained to perform Mass, not to preach sermons. Is it any wonder that ignorance, superstition and paganism flourished as it did? But in the good Providence of God the Gospel was not utterly without its witnesses even then. The monks, the
Lay Preaching—Yesterday and To-Day

Friars and the Wyclif preachers, for a time at least, were the wandering evangelists of the Middle Ages. They were like points of light in a murky sky—Francis of Assisi being the most brilliant star of them all. Besides the Lollards there were the Waldenses, faithful and fearless witnesses, who never feared the foe or faltered before the bright eyes of danger.

We come to the reign of Elizabeth. Even that great Protestant Queen issued a mandate through Archbishop Whitgift that “none be allowed to preach but such as had been regularly ordained.” And this Order was enforced at a time when the number of preachers was tragically small. Archbishop Parker confessed in 1561 that most of the beneficed clergy were either unlettered or disguised Papists. In Cornwall alone there were 140 incumbents who could not preach at all.

It was in that spiritually benighted time that we come across our brave forefathers, the Separatists, Brownists, or Dissenters, as they were variously called. Towards the end of Elizabeth’s reign and the beginning of James I’s, the Pilgrim Fathers appear on the scene. These noble spiritual ancestors of ours wanted spiritual values at all costs and they were prepared to pay the price. Most moving and impressive is their story, before they left England for Holland, during their 12 years stay in that country, and in the arduous days when they arrived in the New World. Apart from their great leader, the Rev. John Robinson, they were all laymen and they were encouraged by him to exercise the gift of public speech in their services in Holland. By the vote of the Church, to the great grief of the pioneer pilgrims, their beloved pastor had to remain with the majority at Leyden. But if they could not have Robinson for their minister, who was better fitted to take his place than plain, godly Elder Brewster? He was a brother beloved and although unordained he was every whit an apostle. He was their Lay Pastor in New Plymouth for nearly a quarter of a century. He died in April 1644, the year of Marston Moor. The Pilgrim Fathers laid tremendous emphasis on the value of the lay element in religion. They stood boldly for the self-expression of the ordinary man and woman in matters of faith and practice. They will be held in honour while courage is a Christian virtue and liberty a Christian principle.

Of course, during the Commonwealth lay-preaching came into its own despite the opposition of the Presbyterians who ridiculed the fact that “Green the felt-maker, Marlin the button maker. Spenser the coachman, and Rodgers the glover commonly do preach.” Baxter was a stout opponent of lay-preaching, but Cromwell was its stout defender. He writes on 12th September, 1650, to the Governor of Edinburgh Castle, who complained that ordinary civilians had usurped the calling of the ministers, saying

4 *
Are you troubled that Christ is preached by them? Is it against the Covenant? Then away with the Covenant! God gives his gifts to whom He pleases and if these gifts be of God, then be not envious, though Eldad and Medad prophesy, lest you be guilty of a greater fault than Moses reproved in Joshua. Sound doctrine!

Space does not allow reference to the active part the Quakers have taken in the development of lay-preaching. Fox did his utmost to organize the work and to place it in the forefront. We come now to the great Evangelical Revival of the 18th Century with its inevitable revival of lay-preaching. Truly a new era began and doors of usefulness in Christian service opened on every hand. It was impossible to provide ordained ministers for every eager congregation. At first, John Wesley was hesitant about the use of lay-preachers. When Thomas Maxfield, a layman, began to preach at Moorfields, London, Wesley hastened back to London to stop the irregular procedure. But his wise old mother said: “John, take care what you do to that young man, for he may be as truly called of God to preach the Gospel as you are.” When Wesley saw and examined the fruits of the unofficial ministry he was constrained to say: “It is the Lord’s doing; let Him do what seemeth Him good.” Nothing in Wesley’s life gives a clearer illustration of the way in which his “prejudices always gave way to truth”.

Wesley argued that it was an utter mistake to think that his laymen were ignorant men.

They were true evangelical ministers who had the authority given to every Christian and they were greatly used of God.

Leap over the years and listen to what Sir Robert Perks said at the opening of Cliff College:—“10,000 out of every 15,000 Sunday sermons preached in Methodism were by lay preachers.” A startling figure; surely enough to make John Wesley jump out of his grave and shout—Hallelujah!

It is, however, due to Whitfield’s memory and work to say that of the two giants it was Whitfield’s eye which first saw the need and value of the layman and that it was he who took the first steps in organizing this Itinerant Ministry. It is a notable fact that the first Calvinistic Methodist Association (Whitfield and Howell Harris at Watford, Glam.) was held 18 months before Wesley held his first Methodist Conference. This Association (at Watford) was a union of preachers of the Gospel, ordained and unordained. Whitfield did not have the organizing genius of Wesley but he did look after his lay helpers from the first. They were divided into three classes: (1) superintendents, (2) public exhorters, (3) private exhorters. They all had to be “tried and approved of,” their graces and call
were "closely examined." Despite this guarded door a great company of lay preachers sprang into existence. We read of a "crowd of Itinerants" among whom in the West of England were some notable ones like John Cennick the teacher, John Croome the weaver, William Vines the quarryman and William Hogg the butcher. Volumes might be written of the apostolic labours of these devoted men and of a multitude of others who were in very truth servants of the Most High God.

Space fails me to speak of the Salvation Army, that great Society of Lay-preachers—a society where the women figure as prominently as the men. Let us now look briefly into the story of one of the most famous Lay-preachers' Societies in the whole country—the Bristol Congregational Itinerant Society. It is getting venerable; it was born in the reign of George III and has lived through six reigns and into the seventh. For 130 years it has been doing a very remarkable piece of work in 18 villages around Bristol. It origin in 1811 is worth recalling. Like these days, those days were dark and perilous and Britain was fighting for her very life. It was four years before the Battle of Waterloo and Napoleon was planning an invasion just across the water, as Hitler is doing to-day. The military drum was beating in every town and village in the land and men's hearts were heavy with foreboding. Besides, there was rebellion in Ireland, bread riots in England (bread was 1s. 10½d. per quartern loaf) and the Bank of England had suspended payment to prevent bankruptcy. Yet in those stormy days of peril and confusion, the spiritual needs of Bristol and its villages were not neglected. Brave hearts did not wait to see what Napoleon would do; invasion or no invasion the children must be taught the Bible, and preaching stations must be established and "that without tarrying for there was gross darkness in the land".

Something else happened to spur our fathers on. The Pitt Ministry, alarmed by the excesses of the French Revolution, contemplated bringing in a Bill for suppressing lay-preaching and all Sunday Schools because they were considered hotbeds of disaffection and revolution. In 1810 Lord Sidmouth actually brought in a Bill to put a stop to the dangerous practice of allowing "cloggers, tailors, pig-drivers and chimney sweepers to become teachers of religion." The Bill fell like a bomb on the land and immediately there arose a burning flame of passionate opposition. Crowded meetings were held all over the land, especially in London, Bristol and the West of England. So great was the opposition to the Bill that it was ignominiously thrown out. This odious proposal had the further effect of strengthening the determination to open Sunday Schools and places of worship around Bristol forthwith. The Itinerant Society was formed and we read of 54 "Active Members" (not all of them
preachers) energetically co-operating in the good work. It is wonderful to read of the eager enthusiasm of those early days of the Society, so reminiscent of the flaming days of Whitfield and Wesley. Village preaching and teaching were taken up with a kind of fierce delight. Sunday by Sunday, wet or fine, conveyance or no conveyance, these men went out, one by one or two by two, in apostolic fashion. What cared they for the fatigue or length of the journey which was often between 10 and 16 miles back and fore? In the pages of the story of the Society we read:

They did not shirk the work for fear of a flake of snow or a shower of rain or of catching cold because of the inclemency of the weather. They were not accustomed to mistaking a painted lion for a real one. Nor were they to be intimidated if a real lion had been in the way.

It is truly a thrilling story.

As the years passed the Society went on from strength to strength. In some districts the Society even undertook the work of secular elementary education on their premises, employing resident teachers to give instruction during the week. This meant a considerable increase in the expenses of the Society for already the cost of the transport of the preachers was no small item. In the '60's the Society was strong enough to employ three salaried evangelists at £100 a year each. There was also one Scripture Reader who received an honorarium of £10. In the course of time this innovation proved too heavy a financial burden and it was discontinued "The care of all the churches" has been the chief concern of the Society through the long years, providing transport and fit men for the most sacred office ever undertaken by man. During the years some of the churches have become self-supporting and have ministers of their own. At present the Society has 60 lay-preachers and 25 auxiliaries; 18 churches with 584 members, 878 scholars and 103 teachers. It is a Society to be proud of.

In 1936 the Society was reconstituted with a view to greater efficiency and future expansion. Some of the country churches had now become suburban churches and they needed extra care and attention. It was felt that it was urgently desirable to acquire the services of a General Secretary who would devote his whole time to the welfare of all these churches, preaching on the Sundays, visiting in the week, holding a Preachers' Training Class and generally superintending the work. This was done and much could be said of the fruitful results of this Forward Movement.

The Villages! Nazareth was a village, obscure and ill-omened. But after the Man of Nazareth had lived there it became the most celebrated village in the world. No Atlas dares leave it out! Can
any good thing come out of the villages to-day? Certainly, if this
same Jesus of Nazareth passes by, for "There's a glory in His bosom
that transfigures you and me!"

I am not for idealizing the country churches or for seeing what
isn't there, but it is still true that village folk are nearer the ele-
mental things and the great simplicities and somehow are nearer
also to the great essentials of the religious life than others. Do
they not touch the hem of His garment in the spring-time and in
the harvest? They seem more conscious of an inner need which opens
the door to faith. Besides, is not the village the background of the
city? Does not the village supply the life-blood of the city? There
is a constant transfusion of blood. For the sake of the national
health and a certain toughness of sinew we shall be wise in serving
the highest interests of the countryside. I am not forgetting the
crying need of the towns but the heart of the nation is in rural
England and it will only be kept sweet, sane and strong by the
saving truths of the great Evangel. If we believe in a Gospel at all
then these are the days and these are the places that we can least
afford to neglect. To neglect the village is to neglect the source of
supply. F. B. Meyer used to say: "When I preach in the villages
I feel I am preaching to my future congregation".

It should, however, be remembered that the stream also flows
the other way. Now, owing to vastly improved transport, the City
turns countrywards. Families from the city are settling down in the
villages and we want them to settle in the village church. This
means efficiently conducted services by good and capable men.
Too often lay-preaching has been left in the hands of the less well-
equipped. We want both the men of the two talents and of the ten
talents. It is a great mistake to think that anything will do for the
villages. They want and deserve the best and they know the
genuine article when they get it.

Generally speaking, Congregationalism has sadly neglected lay-
preaching and has unwittingly treated it as a poor relation to be
held at arm's length. The Methodists, however, have set a great
example in the use of the layman. They have some 20,000 lay
preachers whereas Congregationalism has less than 4,000. We
ought to have 10,000. No denomination should give the layman a
warmer welcome and a larger place, for Congregationalism is a
spiritual democracy and it has always insisted that the Ministry
has no standing except in grace, capacity and service. Were not the
glorious company of the Apostles and the Master Himself all
Itinerants? The lay-preachers are our ministerial allies and comrades.

There have been times when Congregationalism has bestirred
itself, realising that this is a matter of supreme moment. In 1903
the Rev. J. E. Flower strove hard to stir the denominational con-
science and things began to improve. By 1908 there were 19 Lay Preachers' Associations in the country. This was good going. After a while, however, the old slackness returned and the number of lay-preachers has been dwindling for years. There are now some 500 less than in 1903—not nearly enough to go round. We have lost much ground in this way. Some of our churches have been closed and others have gone over to the Plymouth Brethren. This decrease is all the more serious since it is obvious that in the future we shall want a larger army of lay-preachers than ever. Indeed, a serious student suggests the need of instituting a definite and regular type of Itinerant ministry, whose sole work should be the superintendence of an area, visiting, encouraging, guiding, breaking new ground and organizing lay-co-operation. We have followed too long the Anglican model of the "parish priest" attached to a single church. This has meant undue financial strain and a too narrow sphere of service. The suggestion merits careful thought.

There are hopeful signs that Congregationalism is waking up once more. Lay Preachers' Commissioners have been appointed to secure a better organization of Lay Preachers' Associations, to establish new ones where possible, to discover new recruits, to establish training classes, and to help generally in all matters affecting lay-preaching. Clearly this is in the right direction, provided that the plan is not a paper plan only. It is to be feared that the war has slowed up progress in this matter. Happily there is still a wealth of capacity and service in our churches. The preachers are there in quantity and quality, if only someone were to seek them out and train them. Can we imagine a more desirable thing than for Christian men and women to consecrate themselves in this way? What finer discipline could there be than for such to take the Bible in hand and study it, read other helpful books and inwardly digest them in order to prepare and deliver a Gospel message to save and feed the souls of men? May their tribe increase!

Here are a few suggestions:—

(1) There should be more than occasional discussions at Union Meetings, whether National or Provincial. The discussion should not be as though it were a private member's Bill but a Government Measure with the backing of the whole Cabinet.

(2) A model constitution for L.P. Associations should be drawn up, which would act as a guide for each district. Smaller districts are more workable than larger ones.

(3) Individual churches should take an interest in this work, as is done at Guildford, Bournemouth and Drybrook in the Forest of Dean. Guildford has an "export department" by which laymen are
sent forth every Sunday to the group of villages around. It is an ideal Congregational diocese.

(4) Ministers can materially help by being on the look-out for lay preachers as they are for deacons, teachers and candidates for the Ministry. Much can be done to encourage younger and older men to exercise the gift that is in them in prayer and address, by giving guidance in the matter of reading and perhaps some measure of training as well.

(5) Classes at given centres should be held. Many are anxious to be able to speak better in public and to have a better background of Biblical and theological knowledge. Senior preachers should take younger men out with them to their appointments and get them to take some part in the service.

(6) Cottage meetings should be revived. They would provide a fine outlet for Christian service and witness.

(7) Special evangelistic services should be held. If the ground is well prepared the venture is sure to be according to promise "above all that we can ask or even think".

Rise up O men of God,
The Church for you doth wait.

The Day of the Layman has come! 

Ignatius Jones.

"I do think that the words Clergy and Laity, as they are generally understood, are more nearly allied to the tricks of Rome than most people are aware of; and if the people who love their Bible read the New Testament, without the presupposed distinctions of different sects and parties, they would discover uncommon simplicity in the first ages of Christianity."—Rowland Hill, Journal through the North of England and parts of Scotland, (1799).
### Congregational Historical Society

**Income and Expenditure Accounts to 31st December, 1938**

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**Signed C. Lee Davis, Hon. Auditor.**

**£105 12 4**
Income and Expenditure Accounts to 31st December, 1939

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Including the amount mentioned in the Accounts the Society now has Fifty Pounds invested in the North West Building Society.

Signed C. Lee Davis,
Hon. Auditor.
A Directory of Congregational Biography

There is properly no history, only biography.—Emerson.

MORE than two years have passed since the Society gave its benediction to the project for a *Directory of Congregational Biography* which was outlined to its annual meeting on 10th May, 1938.¹ The Editor suggests that it is now time to report progress.

There is little of the spectacular about this kind of work save in the sight of the steadily growing file of cards bearing the names of Congregational Ministers of whom next to nothing is known. That confronts us all the time—an unedifying spectacle, and a further mute testimony to our independency. Where our “free” churches call to the pastoral office the men of their choice, they are in the main men with Congregational antecedents and sound academic training, and something is known or can be discovered about them in college records, church books, and through living memory. Inevitably, however, over three hundred years and with some thousands of congregations, there have been many “adventurers” into the ministerial field, of whom the denomination (and often the local church itself) knows little save of their appointment and, sometimes, of their departure. These men, together with many who were more than conquerors yet died unsung, present serious difficulties for those who attempt exhaustive and authoritative records of our churches and their ministries. We wish all present ministers and future ordinands could be induced to complete a reference card for us: it would save much enquiry and many errors in the record committed to posterity.

Considerable progress has been made, however, even in this difficult section of our work, and there are steady transfers to the department marked “Biographical Details Complete”. At a conservative estimate these number 15,000, but there is yet much land to be possessed.

Over a thousand questionnaires regarding church records and pastoral successions have been sent out, and many hundreds have been returned: the war has doubtless delayed the completion of others. These returns are of more than immediate value in placing on our files the data concerning the churches making them: they frequently enable us to trace men and to complete records for other churches which have none. We have been able to reconstruct the

¹See *C.H.S. Trans.*, XIII, 65, 69ff.
history of a considerable number of churches where documents have been lost or destroyed, and to fill in lacunae in the text of other accounts from material thus furnished. We would renew our appeal for this minimum of information to be sent by every church.

Mention may be made of some special helpfulness accorded us:

(a) The Rev. Frederick T. Persons, Librarian of the Congregational Library, Boston, Mass., generously offered us a range of the American Congregational Year Book and Quarterly from first publication in 1854 to date. Seventy-five volumes, containing many biographical and historical notices, as well as annual statistics and ministerial lists, safely crossed the Atlantic and have already yielded many details of British ministerial emigrés.

(b) Mr. J. W. Ibbotson, for many years Editor of the Sheffield Congregational Year Book and himself encyclopaedic in his knowledge of the city’s churches and ministers, has compiled (with a little assistance from our end) a Sheffield Ministerial Register, which is a model we should like to see copied by someone in every city and county. In tabular form its columns give, alphabetically, the names of all known ministers of Sheffield churches, their local charge and dates, whence they came, whither they removed, where educated, when died, and where in local or national publications details may be found of the man and his ministry. We believe some of our retired ministers and laymen would find fascinating recreation in such a pursuit, and should be happy to suggest method and matter.

(c) The Rev. R. F. Calder, B.A., B.D., of Glasgow, is working on a Register of Alumni of the Glasgow and Edinburgh Theological Halls and the Scottish Congregational College, and Mr. D. J. Williams, M.A., of Bethesda, has prepared a similar record of the Bala-Bangor Independent College, of which he is the Secretary. Each has brought us much valuable information, inter alia, of men and causes in his country. We continue to hope for authoritative records of the students of other colleges: there are still some who have forgotten even their older sons’ names.

(d) Alongside the general codifying of names has gone an effort to deal exhaustively with certain county areas not covered by published histories. In particular, Mr. Stanley Griffin, of Plymouth, has been assiduous in gleaning and indefatigable in forwarding information about Devon congregations, and we appear to be well on the way to a summary of the
Independent life and witness of this large and important county. Similar collections are in progress for London, Hampshire, Derbyshire and North Bucks, to the last of which Mr. F. W. Bull, of Newport Pagnell, has brought generous aid from his personal and family collection of memories and papers. The Rev. G. F. Nuttall, M.A., B.D., is working over our notes on the Wilts and East Somerset Churches.

(e) A beginning was made on the examination of Non-Parochial Registers and some Quarter Sessions Rolls, all productive of much information, but progress here is suspended until post-war access to these and other library records is possible.

We are still anxious to receive:

1. County Union and Association Annual Reports, especially for years earlier than 1850.
2. College and Academy Reports, with names of students, up to the same period.
4. The names—and any supplementary particulars—of ministers of the 18th century, the most difficult in respect of extant records.
5. More offers of help in collecting details in local areas from men who will act as our correspondents.

We commend to all churches the maintenance in vestry or other suitable portion of church premises of a Roll of Ministers of the Church, with dates of pastorate: we should like, too, to see nameplates affixed to more portraits in the ministerial portrait galleries of our churches. The likenesses of many bearded and cravatted worthies are extant, but all too frequently their successors cannot tell us who they were. These things ought not so to be.

We trust that the national appeals for waste-paper will result in the clearing of many laden and dusty shelves in church cupboards, but hope no essential records will be lightly thrown out, or sent to Record Preservation Societies other than our denominational one.

CHARLES E. SURMAN.

*Has any reader a copy of a History of Congregationalism in Hampshire? We understand that one was published (by James Bennett? or was it John Reynolds?), but we cannot secure a copy.*
Independency and Toleration

"The seclusion, the withdrawal into one's own circle, which was already to be found in embryo in the theory of Calvinism, is furthered by the influence of the Independent polity. The congregation of believers governs itself and is shut up to itself. Religious life is centred in this small circle. Interest in religious matters, and soon in those of the world at large as well, is confined to this narrow compass. Little concern is felt for the world outside one's own community. The indifference to the spiritual experience of those not elect, which is already definitely in Calvinism, is powerfully intensified by the Independent type of church. What does it matter to me, if men in the world outside come to grief, so long as my community stands? The group egoism, which was always there, is extraordinarily heightened in independency, and displays itself in the refusal to pay much regard to life outside one's own circle. In this organization the religious egoism of the whole Protestant movement in England is partly expressed, partly created. Vision is turned inwards. Individual man and individual congregation are made dependent on themselves. All this had effects most fruitful for the idea of toleration. The Independents can boast that some of the most important champions of the idea of toleration have come forth from their ranks.

"The Independent type of church is also significant for the development of the idea of toleration, in so far as it destroys the central ecclesiastical apparatus, so that the State is left as the only central organization. The authority of the State is thereby increased, and ideas of the State in its own right and of the omnicompetency of the State are open to receive impetus from a line of thought with which otherwise they have nothing in common. It is true that attempts are not wanting to 'federalize' the life of the State as well as that of the Church; but in practice the only effect of the destruction of the centralized Church is smaller independent units, over against which the State still remains, and none the weaker'.

The above paragraphs are a free translation from a book which has perhaps not received the attention it deserves from students of the seventeenth century: *Die Idee der Toleranz im England der grossen Revolution*, by Dr. Michael Freund, published at Halle in 1927 under the auspices of the *Deutsche Vierteljahrschrift für Literaturwissenschaft u. Geistesgeschichte*. It is pleasant to think that the subject of toleration could be studied with such thorough-
ness and appreciation in Germany thirteen years ago. The book is divided into two main parts, the first being a statement and critique of writers whose thought is inspired primarily by the Renaissance, the second of those whose thought is rooted rather in the Reformation. In this second part the Independents are given pride of place, Owen, Milton, John Goodwin, and the treatises entitled *The Ancient Bounds* (1645) and *Liberty of Conscience* (1644) being given special consideration. The paragraphs quoted (pp. 119-121) are taken from the introduction to the section on the Independents. It is a book which may most profitably be read alongside W. K. Jordan’s *Development of Religious Toleration in England* or A. S. P. Woodhouse’s *Puritanism and Liberty*.

GEORGEYY F. NUTTALL.

**Teaching the Bible**

R. BASIL YEAXLEE has secured an unique position for himself among modern workers in the field of Religious Education. A Congregational Minister by ordination, a professional teacher of psychology and a distinguished educationist by long experience, he brings gifts and knowledge to his writing that probably no other man possesses. The Committee that produced the well-known Cambridgeshire Syllabus could not have chosen a better—or as good an—author to write this “Handbook to the Cambridgeshire Syllabus of Religious Teaching” (S.C.M. Press, 4s. 6d.).

It is written primarily for the day school teacher, though we advise Sunday School teachers, with them, to sell their beds, if need be, and buy the book. It is, roughly speaking, an adequate volume of background material for the teacher of Scripture covering the whole of the syllabus laid down for the day school period from 11 to 15. Dr. Yeaxlee does not set out to tell the teacher how to work out the details of each lesson; he does a more difficult, and a more essential task, viz., he brings the best of the whole range of modern study of the Scriptures to the service of the teacher.

Though the book is naturally much occupied with historical matters, Dr. Yeaxlee sees very clearly that you don’t teach the Bible in reciting the history of the Jews. He is alive to the real nature of the Biblical narrative, that it is history, but a history that is illuminated throughout with a divine meaning. If this book were to be used extensively by both day and Sunday school teachers, we should be laying some sure foundations for a real revival of religion in our midst.

We cannot commend the book too highly. Buy it and believe.
EDITORIAL

PERHAPS the first paragraph in this Editorial ought to be a renewed appeal to members to do all in their power to secure that church registers and other documents and rare books are transferred to safe places. Not that we can dogmatize on the whereabouts of such places; in the last number we described how documents and rare books had been sent from the Memorial Hall to the strong room of a northern college; that college lost most of its windows about Christmas time, while the Memorial Hall is still intact. Our books and documents, we are glad to record, are unharmed. We fear it is still true that many church books lie in vestry tables or in desks in private houses; sometimes the older they are the less care they get. Here is a legitimate field for the activity of our members, and there is especial call for it in days when there is a tremendous drive for waste paper; valuable books and documents may easily be lost for ever in an enthusiastic moment. It is a safe rule to destroy nothing unless two people are agreed; this should certainly be the rule with other than private documents.

* * * * * *

Historical research is by no means easy in these days, precisely because so many of the papers to which access is needed have been moved away: we rejoice in their safety while we deplore their inaccessibility. Still many of our members are extremely active: the Rev. C. E. Surman is continuing the labours of Hercules in compiling his Directory of Congregational Biography; he is receiving help from many quarters, some of it of a substantial kind; about this he will speak for himself when he next reports progress. Publication of other work is being held up by the war, though American scholars, with access to libraries unimpeded, with ample leisure and ample resources, are in a position of advantage. We are at the moment reading Dr. Wilbur C. Abbott's Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell, of which two volumes have appeared. About this great work we shall have more to say later.

* * * * * *

It has been a joy to read Vol. 25 of the Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, a number, edited by Prof. H. B. Charlton, published in honour of the Librarian, Dr. Henry Guppy. Congregationalists have a special pride in this great Library, and that pride should increase as they read in this Bulletin of its development and of its many accessions during the first forty years of its
life. The Library has been fortunate in its first Librarian, and it is made abundantly clear in these pages that Dr. Guppy has won the affection as well as the respect of all those who have worked with him. Wide knowledge, shrewdness in business, and unfailing courtesy and cordiality have marked his administration of the Library, in which it is always a pleasure to work. The Congregational Historical Society would join its congratulations with those of others in this recognition of Dr. Guppy's unusual—yes, we think we might say unique—service to the cause of letters and of historical research.

We are fortunate to possess Bryan Dale's copy of the first volumes of the Transactions, which enables us to forgive him for a very bad ten minutes he gave us in salad days. In 1905, having obtained a West Riding Free Studentship, which paid University fees, we applied for admission to the United College, Bradford. Dr. D. W. Simon, then Principal, suggested that there were three reasons why application should be deferred for a year: (1) Youth; (2) the fact that teaching experience would be invaluable; (3) the probability that in the following year a County Major Scholarship, which would, in addition to University fees, provide travelling expenses and £25 a year, could no doubt be won. "We should give you a Brown Scholarship of £40 a year, and so you would be all right for your College course". The advice seemed sound; it was accepted; the Scholarship was duly won, and application to the College renewed. In fear and trembling we appeared before the Education Committee, of which Bryan Dale was Chairman, to be accosted thus: "Young man, do I understand you've won a scholarship worth £60 or £65 a year?" "Yes, sir", was the reply. "And do I understand that you expect us to give you a Brown Scholarship of £40 a year?" Difffidently we murmured that Dr. Simon had suggested that this would probably be the case. "Yung man, do you know I went through College on £10 a year?" to which silence seemed the only answer.

Dale, whose knowledge of Yorkshire Congregationalism was both detailed and extensive, was one of the founders of the Congregational Historical Society, and contributed the first article in No. 1 of the Transactions. In his copy of that number he had bound in a letter from William Urwick, the historian of Hertfordshire Non-conformity, dated 6 Nov., 1899. The letter outlines a scheme of work for the proposed Society; we print it here because it not only helps us to look back and see what has been accomplished, but also suggests tasks still to be undertaken.

There should be a fit man with literary ability and fond of research chosen by every County, whose work it should be to
collect materials and gradually tabulate all he discovers with strict accuracy as to date, place, and source of information—going through every parish in his County. He should begin with the Peasants' Revolt, 1381 sqq., and the Lollards—many Counties having their preachers imprisoned and some having their martyrs. Next he should come to the Marian persecution and the sufferers in his County then (1555 sqq.). The Acta of the Archdeaconries to which his County belonged should be discovered and searched, for during the 16th and 17th centuries Nonconforming parishioners and clergy were usually cited before the Archdeacon, who imposed penance, fine, or imprisonment. These Act Books are difficult to find and not easy to read, but they are a remarkable storehouse of Noncon. persecution. For the Commonwealth period he should examine the parish registers and where these are wanting the Transcript Registers yearly deposited with the Archdeacons from 1603 downwards. Also the forty volumes MS. of Augmentations and the 1650 Survey in Lambeth Lib. For the Ejections of 1660-2 Calamy of course, and the State Papers Domestic in the Record Office. The R.O. has further full lists of the persons and places licensed for worship under the Indulgence of 1672. These lists should be transcribed and printed as a distinct book of reference. Coming to the Toleration Act, 1688-9. He should consult (also the Lists in the Morrice & Evans MSS. in Dr. Williams Lib.) the lists of certified places kept by the Archdeacon or the Bp. or Quarter Sessions. These have been gathered in 8 or 10 large folios deposited in Somerset House—which ought also to be printed by the Historical Socy. Next there are the Non-Parochial Registers deposited in Somerset House and catalogued there under Counties. The more recent facts and data during the 18th and 19th centuries are to be obtained from the several churches in his County and their church records.

We have had far too much of generalizing and useless repetition of the more obvious outlines of our History—what is needed is patient and detailed research for each parish in the land. Thus the names and lives and heroism of many an obscure but noble follower of Christ through evil report will be brought to light to kindle the flagging zeal, nay, the apathy of our younger men whose minds are being enervated by modern review reading and semi-sceptical or semi-political writing or speechifying.

* * * * *

The other day we came across the only letter we received from Dr. P. T. Forsyth—the only direct contact we had with him,
though at a critical period in university days his *Positive Preaching and the Modern Mind* was a decisive influence. The letter is dated 3 May, 1917, and relates to a pamphlet, *The Congregational Principle, Positive and Inevitable* (reprinted in *Inevitable Congregationalism*). It mentions tasks which still remain to be done, tasks which some member of the Society might undertake. Here it is:

I have read it with great interest. You take the right line in pressing for a positive ground and aim in Congregationalism. You are right too in urging that the first Congregationalists fell into gathered assemblies perforce. The history of the rise of Scottish Congregationalism from the preaching of the Haldanes reproduces the situation. It was not imported but the fruit of an evangelistic movement against which the doors of the Scottish Church were closed. So they had to gather in groups. As of course the first Church did.

I hope you will pursue your inquiries and in a second lecture ask:

1. Why men of mark and ability have left their ancestral Congregationalism (you quote Rawlinson. He is one)?

2. How Congregationalism, rising as it did, and being what Dale and others describe, should have come to produce the impression of atomism more or less impracticable, and tended in many cases when it is not that to take the Quaker rather than the Evangelical way. I am talking only of the impression it makes on the public that takes any interest in the Churches or their religion. I think your historic [al] introduction would bear such a development of inquiry as I suggest.

When you are in town I should be glad of a call from you.

* * * * *

We stumbled recently on a reference to Nonconformity we had not previously seen. It was in a strange place—in *The Third Winter of Employment*, edited by J. J. Astor (1923), and it relates to Birmingham in the autumn of 1922:

There have been no disorderly scenes or attempts at violence. This is said to be partly due to the huge number of small manufacturers and property-owners in the city. But the Chief Constable has another interesting theory—that the sober spirit of the Nonconformists, who crowded into Birmingham during the Jacobean period because it was one of the few towns to which the Five-Mile Act did not apply, has been inherited by the population of today.

Can this theory be sustained? But we wonder what the Chief Constable meant by "Jacobean"?  

* * * * *
It is by no means easy to obey the ninth commandment when we think of the leisure and opportunity of American scholars in these days of war. Here in this country reading-rooms and libraries are closed and rare books and documents dispersed and hidden for safety's sake; across the Atlantic students have magnificent libraries at their doors, all kinds of aids to research, and what seems inexhaustible wealth for the publication of the results of their labours. Do we not well to be envious even while we gladly welcome the work that comes to us? We must, however, not only long for the day when we can share the good fortune of our colleagues in the search for ruth; we must gird up our loins that we may seize the opportunity when the time comes; we must not let even the Americans do all the best research!

* * * * *

We are again grateful to the Directors of the Congregational Insurance Company for the gift of £10 to the funds of the Society. Restricted publication since the outbreak of war has given our accounts a temporarily rosy appearance quite uncommon to them. Once we return to two issues of the Transactions annually we shall find present income unequal to expenditure. And these paragraphs have indicated already how much remains for the Society to do.

The Index to Vol. XIII, which comprised three numbers only—Sept., 1937; Sept., 1938; and April, 1939—accompanies this issue. The last issue, Dec., 1940, was No. 1 of Vol. XIV. Readers might find it useful to add "No. I", which was inadvertently omitted, to their covers.

One of the by-products of the war is the temporary inability of our printers to print superior letters. Readers will no doubt discover the instances where "ye" and "ym" appear, where the "e" and "m" are superiors and the words abbreviated for "the" and "them".


This book has so many good qualities that we cannot but wish the author had read more widely and given us a definitive work on the subject: his insight and shrewdness show him to be fully capable of doing so. Unfortunately, the limitations of his reading on the Puritan side are very obvious: he apparently knows nothing of the vast surveys of the clergy made by the Puritans and others, or of the mass of Puritan pamphlets, and even John Penry, like most of his contemporaries, is quoted at second-hand. Some of the leading authorities on the Anglican side, Dixon, e.g., are never mentioned. Mr Thompson, too, seems to think that Whitgift was peculiar in being a Calvinist, and he speaks of Elizabeth as if he were addressing a living royalty: "It is permissible to think that the Queen's action was somewhat ill-advised". Somewhere also there is "ascendancy" with an "e". But the book is a promise of better things to come, and its ability leads us to hope that Mr. Thompson will have many fine contributions to make to the study of Elizabethan history.
The Throckmorton Trotman Trust
1664 – 1941

THE discovery and examination of the early minute and account books of the Trotman Trustees enable a history to be recorded of a charity from which most Congregational ministers in this country who are University graduates benefited in their student days.

Little is known of Throckmorton Trotman, but it is to be hoped that this brief history of his Trust may stimulate further discovery. He is described as “of London, Merchant”, and he lived in Little Moorfields, in a district where many ejected ministers congregated. All we know of him at the moment is from his Will, which, dated 30 Oct., 1663, was proved at London by Samuel Trotman and Edward Trotman jun., the executors, on the 24th Oct., 1664. (P.C.C. 3001/65/7b). It begins:

I Throckmorton Trotman of London Merchant being through the mercie of God of perfect memorie and understandinge doe make this my last Will and Testament bequeathing my Soule into the hands of my mercifull Saviour and Redeemer trustinge for Salvacion by his merritts and satisfaction and my body to bee interred without vaine ostentation. The Estate it hath pleased the Lord to entrust me withall I give and bequeath as followeth:

"My Cozen Edward Trotman his daughter in Virginia" £50; her mother £20.
"My Cozen Margarett Luffingam" £50; each of her children £50.
The children of “my Cozen Anna Haynes” (she being dead) £30 each.
"My Cozen Edward Trotman Secondary" £100; to each of his children by Susan Witts except Edward the eldest £100.
"My Cozen Sara Page" £200; £100 to each of her children.
"My sister in law An Sellwin" £30.
"My sister in law Susan Trotman” £50.
"My old Cozen Sarah Pope widdow of Stinchcombe” £10; her children £10 each.
"My Cozen Sybell Hunt” £200 and “all my linnen wearinge and tableinge and all other”; her children £100 each.
"My Cozen Edw. Meyndrs lately my Cozen Edw. Trotman his servant” £30; his mother £30.
"Thomas Haynes Grocer of Bristol” £20.
"Margarett Benlose widdow” £20 and £20 her son Richard “oweth me by Bond”.

The minute books are four in number. The first, dating from 1676 to 1750, contains much additional matter; the second from 1750 to 1863; then the Trust apparently kept no minutes until 1874, when Vol. III begins, the current volume following in 1926.
"Mathew Tindall of London Trader in Cloth" £10.
"Judith Goûd widdow sister Trotmans sister" £10.
"My sister Sellwycs daughter An Trener" £10.
"Richard Trotman of Cam Clothier the Grandchilde of Edward Trotman of the Steps at Cam" £20.
"John Archer once my servant" £100.
"Mr. James Baber my Factor at Hamberoe" £150.
"Mr. Thomas Goodycare once the Lady Mowlson's servant" £50.
"Mrs. Abigail Loyd my tenant" £10; £10 each to her daughters Abygall and Sara.
"To the Companie of Merchant Adventurers of England" £600 to be lent free of interest for three years to two young men free of that Company; then to two other young men successively for ever.
"The Churchwardens of Mary Butha Parish in London" £30 for the poor of the parish.
"Christs Hospital in London for and towards the maintenance of the poore children" £50.
"Thomas Ward silke wever in little Moorefeilds" £20.
His servant or servants at time of death if have been with him one year. £5 each.
"My Cozen Margarett Trotman sister to my Cozen Tho. Trotman Hosier" £10.
The Churchwardens of the parish where buried for the poor of the parish £5.
"Mr. Jo Dogett Merchant in bushe lane" £20 and the two books called Mercator Atlas.
"The Companie of Haberdaishers of the Cittie of London whereof I shoulde have bin free if I had taken my freedom" £2000 to purchase lands of the annual value of £100 for ever above all charges for "these good uses":
£20 p.a.—to maintain a Lecture to be preached every Lord's Day for ever at 6 a.m. in the parish church of St. Giles, Cripplegate.
£20 p.a.—a weekday Lecture in the same church on Thursday afternoon or other convenient day.
£2 each to the clerk and sexton.

The Lecturers to be appointed by the Company. If the Lectures are not permitted at St. Giles, they can be given in some other Parish Church determined by the Company. "And in case that these Lectures will noe where in the Cittie nor Country bee permitted" the £44 to go to the poor of the parish of Cripplegate as the Company think fitting until the Lectures be permitted "and noe longer".
£6 to the Company for "those that take paynes in and about the premisses".
£4 "to finde Candles at the time of Preachinge the Lectures in the Wynter Season for ever" (if no Lectures permitted to be used as the £44).
£16 "to the poore of the parish of Cripplegate the Lordshippe as well as the freedome".
£30 "the poore of the parish of Cam in Gloucestershire where I was borne towards the buildinge an Almes house there and towards:

1a Through the instrumentality of the Rev. Hugh Towl and the kindness
maintenance of it or towards a stocke for setting poore people on worke or yearely distributed amonge the poor as the said Companie or whome they shall appointe thereto shall thinke fittinge or any other way for the benncht of the poore of that parisme as they shall appointe”.

Another £2,000 is left to the Company to produce a free £100 p.a. to be thus used:

£15 for a Lecture on market days or some other day in Dursly (Glos.); if there is a Lecture already the £15 to be given the Lecturers for their “Incourragemt.”; if the Lecture not permitted to the poor of the parish until permission.

£80 p.a. “towards the erectinge and maintenninge a free scole for the youthes of the parisme of Cripplegate London the Lordshippe as well as the freedome” and for purchasing the ground if the parish have not “convenient wast grounde which they will give”. The sole ordering of the School, with the appointment of teachers, to be in the hands of the Company, to whom £400 for this purpose is also given.

£5 p.a. to the poor of the Company.

The debts (if any) being paid, including an annuity of £6 to sister-in-law Susan Trotman, and the funeral charges “without vaine ostentation more then blakke to my kindred as my Executors shall thinke fittinge and Rings of ten shillings price to the Invited and twenty poundes to bee given to those that had some Relation to my house as the Waterbearer washerwoman goodman Marshall in Little Moorefelds widdow Bassett etc. fortie shillings apecie and the rest to other poore thereabouts dwellinge”, the residue two-thirds to Samuel Trotman, brother, and one third to “my Cozen Edward Trotman the sonne of Edward Trotman (my brothers sonne) the Secondary”. These are appointed Executors; if Edward is a minor “Cozen Thomas Trotman the Hosier in Soper Lane” to be his guardian receiving £50 as compensation. The £6 annuity to Susan the executors are to pay in proportion to their legacies (two-thirds and one-third), and any legacies to minors to be paid to parents or guardians for the children’s benefit. The smaller legacies are to be paid forthwith, and the other as the money comes in and the houses to be sold to the best advantage with all convenient speed.

Round these particulars the character of Throckmorton Trotman can be built up. He was evidently a prosperous man, but in his prosperity he did not forget those who served him in responsible or in menial positions. He had regard both for the place of his birth and for the place where he lived. He considered the poor and aged. He despised ostentation, and he had an eye to detail: his thought for minors and for the washerwoman is not without its significance. He had a sense of family and tried to provide for his kindred. He believed in education, and he believed in the preaching of the Word. His bequests for the establishment of Lectures show the

of the Rev. T. A. Ryder, Vicar of Cam, I have received a copy of the entry in the baptismal register:

July 21st, 1594. Throkmorton, son of Edward Trotman of Cam.
Hugh Parsons, Vicar.

See C.R., 34, under Basset.
prosperous Puritan, with a sense of stewardship, at his best. But there are still the provisions of the Will with which we are more directly concerned:

I give unto poore Ministers putt by their Imployment\(^3\) five hundred poundes by five poundes to a man to bee given to those whom these nyne followinge Ministers shall name and appointe viz

Mr. Joseph Carrill
Mr. Slater late of Wappinge
Mr. Anthony Palmer and Mr. Helmes dwellinge in Moorefeilds
Mr. Thomas Brookes formerly on fishstreete hill
Mr. Barker also of Fishstreete hill
Mr. Venning formerly at Gt. Tulys
Mr. Cocking\(^4\) teacher neere Soper Lane and
Mr. Carter who used to exercise at greate Allhallowes sometimes aisoe a Schoole Mr. I take it

and unto these forenamed nyne Mynisters (or lately were soe) I give the Inheritance of the house I now dwell in with the Garden and the Tenement and land adjoyninge now in possession of Mrs. Loyd as aisoe the ten houses I bought of Antony Selfe held by Lease of Sr. Edward Barckham being two of them ioyyninge to my house I dwell in and the Rest in Butlers Alley for the educatinge of poore scollers at the Universities to fit them for the Ministrie such onely as by their eminent guifts therefore and grace they judge may prove Instrumentall in the Ministry for Conversion of Soules and onely to such as are poore whose parents cannot bee at that charge with them and when fitted for the Ministrie if they cannot be imployed in England to sende them if they see good to preach beyonde Seas and when any of these nyne trustees before named dye the eight survivinge to nominate an other to Act in his roome and soe to continue for ever for the houses of Inheritance and for the remainder of the yeares of the houses held by lease being aboute thirtie foure yeares the five and twentieth of March last, 1663.

I give unto poore Religious families that are in want the sume of three hundred poundes by three poundes to a familie to bee given by those nyne forenamed Ministers I meane to those they shall nominate and agree upon to receive it but not to any that pertake of the five hundred poundes before given to poore Ministers. And unto those nyne forenamed Ministers I give five pounds a peice for their paines to bee paid them not out of the moneys they are to give as before and twentie shillings apeare I give them soe longe as the leases of the houses last that are by Lease yearely for their paines besides what charges they shall bee at in receivinge the rents and the like, which is besides to bee deducted out of the rents received and what remaines to bee employed as before sett downe and in all their Choises and distribution to bee concluded by the Maior parte.

What happened between Trotman\'s death and 1676 is not clear, for the proceedings of the Trustees are not recorded until that year. By that time five of the nine had died, while John Rowe, evidently appointed to fill a vacancy, died in 1677. Others had also been appointed in the interim, and it is possible from the minute books to compile a complete list down to the present day.

\(^3\) I.e., ejected under the Act of Uniformity.

\(^4\) Cokayn.
In the first minute book one page records

"The names of the Pensioners and the time when they were taken into pension",

John Osbourne⁵, his first receipt beareth date 7 November, 1667.
John Nevit⁶ was chosen a pensioner 25 Octr., 1669.
Charles Nichols chosen 7 November, 1670.
Moses Steele chosen 7 November 1670.
Daniel Hogg chosen 11th November, 1671.
Zacheus Rogers chosen 13th November, 1671.
John Crompton chosen the 6th April, 1674.
William Tirrey chosen the 18 Maie, 1674.
John Crouch chosen the 14 Septr., 1677.
Mr. Stephen Lobb chosen the 13 of Janr., 1678.
One yeare Ben Chandler, 28 Feb., 1680.
One year Ben. Holme, 28 Feb., 1680.
One Isaac Noble, 6 June, 1681.
Sam. Wesly⁷ [the name is spelt Wesly, Wesley, and Westley], 6 June, 1681.
Mr. Willm. Payne, 3 July, 1682.

The amounts are for £10 yearly in each case.

From 1676 the records show the Trust functioning with regularity, the quarterly receipts of the exhibitioners or their relatives being entered. In that year the Trustees received £1 a year for their services, "the yearely Legacy left us by Mr. Trotman"; this continued until 1697, when there was half-a-year's payment; subsequently this item disappears. This is the date when the leases fell in, and the payment ended according to the Will. From 1676 William Seaman received £10 a year "for his paines in receavinge rent, and payinge moneys, and for the oversight of the houses belonginge to us in little Moorfields". Seaman may have been a relative of Lazarus Seaman of All Hallows, Bread St. (C.R., 430). In Jan., 1678, a minute, signed by Matt. Meade, John Owen, Geo. Griffith, Math. Barker, Geo. Cokayn, John Collins, Tho. Cole, reads:

Whereas from the beginnings of this Trust we have constantly granted exhibitions unto such as have bee enred in the Universities in order to their education to fit them for the ministry and to no others. It is this day Ordered that every one before he receave his exhibition doe bringe a Certificate of his being enred in the Universitie accordingly.

This no doubt explains these letters at the other end of the book:

1. [N.d.]. Mr. Seaman
   Mr. Terie hath not only been enred but taken his degree at an university beyond the seas, and so needes not bee enred at Oxon or Cambridg to render himself more

⁵ Probably of Benenden and Hanover, Peckham, d. 1714. See Trans., III. 157.
⁶ Probably son of Rowland, C.R.
⁷ Father of John Wesley.
capable then already hee is of Receiving the Pension due to him. Wee therefore intreate you to pay him the Quarter due on March 25 last past.

Geo. Griffith.
Tho. Cole.

2. Christ's Coll., Cambr.
Anno Dni 1678/9.
We are contented to admit John Crompton Seizer spondente Magstro. Turner.
Cha. Smithson.
Tho. Lovett.
Tho. Fairmedow [?].
Jo. Turner.
Tho. Lynford.

3. These are to certify whom it may concern that Mr. Daniel Hogg hath been entred [in] ye University of Oxford, and hath continued resident there for some years. In wittnesse I here subscribe my name.
March ye 31st, 1679.

John Owen.

4. Addressed For his much Honour'd Friend, Mr. George Day
At Mr. Plamkins house In Baker's Court neare Pauls Churchyard London.

Mr. Day:
I understood by a letter recd. from my father last Thursday, yt you desir'd to heare from me, whether [I] had entred Mr. Stephen Lob in our Colledge, wch I have done according as you desir'd, but I have entred him as Commoner, because I had not any information to enter him higher, if it be desir'd it may be easily alter'd. I kindely thanke you for recommending him to my care. I shall endeavouer by my care of him to acknowledge this [and] your former favours I have recd. from you, when I was under your tuition; my Humble service to both my [ ] and to Mrs. Betty. I was sorry to heare of ye fire yt broke out soe neare ym, but was glad it was soe soon put out; I hope I shall see ym in ye countrey about Easter: Mr. [ ] Dr. Willson is here in Oxon, who presents his service to you, and Mrs. Hannah Dunblane came hither last Thursday and stays here some time; I should be very glad, Sr, to see you here in Oxon, when your occasions will give you leave.
I am, Sr,
Your most Humble servant and dutyfull Schollar,
Willm Porter.

Trin. Coll., Oxon,
March 15, 79.

5. These are to certifie whom it may concern, that John Crouch was on the 27th day of Aprill 16., enter'd Commoner of St. Alban Hall in Oxon by me Narcissus Marsh [?]

 Principall.

5 Apl. 1680 it is ordered that Lawrence Westmacott receive two quarters' arrears, having presented a certificate "under the Hand of the Butler of Alban Hall in Oxford that he was entred there the 14th of July 1676".

8 C.R., 160.
In 1684 the Trustees agreed to nominate pensioners to vacancies successively according to seniority in the Trust. From 1692 to 1698 all grants cease, probably owing to loss of income through falling rents and empty property. Then money is allocated to special cases as it is received; thus in 1702 £20 received for two years' rent from Dr. Chauncy's house is given to Thomas Charlton, provided he entered some University, and attached is this certificate:

Wee are content to admit Thomas Charlton sizar under Mr. Burton.
Joh. Covel.
Tho. Standish.
Al. Young.
Geo. Burton.
Will. Withers.
Tho. Thomson.
Hen. Cooke.

Christ College, Augt. 29th, 1702.

Other certificates read:

Recd. of Mr. Richard Taylor the sume of ten pounds for the use of Henry Gilbert, for which I promise to produce Testimonials according to order. I say recd. this second of July, 1705.

p Matth. Clarke.

July 16th, 1705, Mount Sorrel.

This may certifie whom it concerns, That Henry Gilbert of Swithland in Leicestshire, being well qualified with School Learning, and desirous to proceed in the study of Philosophy, offered himself to Mr. Lawton of Clare Hall, Fellow, and was by him, and the other Fellows, mentioned in his Certificate, examined, and approved for Admission, into the number of ye Sizers of Clare Hall, in Cambridge, upon the 20th day of June last. Wanting only 6 li, Cautionary money, wch he could not procure, till he has assistance from the Charity of some Friends. The truth of which I am well assured of


Nov. 24, 1705.

Upon the recommendation of Mr. Knight of Trinity College Richard Rawlins of London was admitted in Magdalen College in Cambridge a Sizar under me for his tutor.

S. Payne, Coll. Magd. Soc.

This is to Certifie that Thomas Doughty was Admitted A Sizar in Magdalen Colledge January the 21st, 1705/6, by the leave of the Master, Mr. Payne Tutor.

Witness

Edw. Townsend, Butler.

About this time the only disbursements seem to be the rent of Dr. Chauncey's house; the beneficiaries are often only two in number, though in 1712 £19 is divided among Samuel Hebden, Joseph King, Samuel de la Rose, Samuel Parsons, and David Jennings "for their incouragment in Academicall Learning". Several of the Trustees, including John Guyse and Isaac Watts, seem to have occupied the houses and paid rent.
In 1744 Dr. John Guyse advanced money for repairs to the house in occupation of Mrs. Mayor; he receives the rent annually until in Jan. 1748/9 he has received £75 for outlay and interest, and hands over a surplus of £12 8s. 0d., which is distributed among six students.

It is not until the middle of the 18th century that there is any indication of discussion concerning the exact interpretation and correct execution of Trotman’s Will. To his contemporaries and first Trustees his intentions, of course, were quite clear. He was a Nonconformist and a Congregationalist, and the students they were enjoined to assist were those training for the Congregational ministry. The early Trustees were first ejected ministers, and then those responsible for the formation of the Congregational Fund Board in 1695, an organization formed to assist Congregational ministers and to train students for that ministry. The fact that the Will was dated in 1663, a year after the Act of Uniformity, did not disturb them. No doubt they thought it possible that the Act of Uniformity might soon be repealed and men like John Owen again take prominent places in the Universities. Trotman, in establishing his Lectures, distinctly looks forward to the time when the Lectures—a distinctly Puritan institution—will be again permitted. As to students being educated for the ministry in the Universities, it was possible, as we have seen, to secure admission for some to Oxford and Cambridge Colleges by the aid of sympathizers there. Probably some of them lived in Colleges without matriculating, and Cambridge did not require subscription for matriculation.

In general, however, the Trustees assumed that if Oxford and Cambridge were impossible, Universities such as Leyden and Utrecht would serve, and failing them the Academies which were being established all over the country, often giving an education equal, and sometimes superior, to that provided in the two Universities. The testator’s desire was to educate men for the ministry at home and abroad, and it was not his fault, nor that of his Trustees, if Oxford and Cambridge were closed to them. Nevertheless the fact remained that “the Universities” were mentioned in the Will at a time when Nonconformists had, except in rare cases, no admission to Oxford and Cambridge. Among the papers of the Trust is a very able document, I think in Dr. William King’s hand (he was administrator from 1762-69), showing that the ambiguity had presented itself to some minds. It reads:

Remarks on the Origin, Design and Discharge of the Trust of the late Mr. Throckmorton Trotman with a List of the Trustees.

In a faithful and conscientious discharge of a testamentary trust two things are incumbent:

9 See McLachlan, English Education under the Test Acts; Parker, Dissenting Academies; Trans. of Cong. Hist. Soc., passim.
1. A due care that the Trust be executed in a Legal Manner, and with safety to ye Trustees and their families.

2. A religious attention to ye manifest design and end of ye Testator. In both these respects, the execution of ye present Trust has bin conducted with an uncommon degree of exactness. For

1. As to ye pious end and design of ye Testator tis manifest he meant it as a provision for a learned regular ministry among protestant dissenters, of ye Calvinist Persuasion and the Congregational Denomination exclusive of all others. This appears:

   1. From the testator’s Legacies to Ejected Ministers.
   2. The principles of the Original Trustees—-with power to continue the succession by choosing others of ye same Principles.
   3. The characters of ye Candidates viz. young men who in the trustees’ opinion are of eminent gifts and grace and likely to prove instrumental for conversion of souls.
   4. The service assign’d ym viz. to be sent beyond ye seas to preach, if they cannot be employ’d in England.
   5. From the time ye will was made viz. in 1663 soon after the Restoration, when there were little hopes of NonCons having Liberty to preach, much less to set up Academies for Liberal Education, Hence
   6. the Will mentions, the intended Education to be at the Universities, specifying no particular College or University whatever; so that not the place, but only the kind of education can with any propriety be hereby intended. Therefore a regular University education, wherever it be given, fully answers to ye design and spirit of ye Donation, and an application of it to the educating Conformists in the principles and forms of worship now taught in ye English Universities wo’d be ye greatest perversion of the will of the Testator.

   It is evidently no less an abuse of the Trust to apply it to the education of youth, who are

   (1) either evidently destitute of real seriousness,
   (2) or of Arian and Socinian principles,
   (3) or of easy circumstances. Not really necessitous.

II. As to the Execution of this Trust. It appears

   (1) From the beginning there has been an uninterrupted succession of Trustees, Nonconformists, Calvinists, and Congregational Ministers: and the greatest part Lecturers at P.H., tho’ that is entirely as the majority of the Trust pleaseth10.

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10 Pinners’ Hall. This reference was no doubt to rebut an attempt by the Pinners’ Hall Tuesday Lecturers to constitute themselves “Pinners’ Hall Trustees”. This appears from an anonymous and undated document, dating probably between 1730 and 1740, which bears the title, “Some Remarks relative to a Trust providentially devolv’d upon the Tuesday-Lecturers at P.-Hall submitted to the Consideration of the late Mr. [the name is missing] Executors”.

This mentions the terms of the Will and says they have been “punctually observ’d”. It goes on to say that all the present Lecturers at Pinners’ Hall are now Trustees, that for some years the Trustees have held their annual meeting at the Hall, “Nor are there any other Persons that we know of whether Ministers or Gent that are in this express formal and authentic manner nominated and impower’d to distribute any kind Donation to
(2) During Charles II and James II The Trustees wisely and cautiously exhibited only to such as were enter’d members of some University. Accordingly Jan. 13, 1678, tis noted that the trustees required certificates of their candidates. Vid page 7. And several certificates are found, e.g. [4 given].

(3) In Queen Ann’s Reign, this precaution was renew’d. Accordingly [Four certificates printed above quoted].

(4) Ever since that time: Such precaution has bin thot needless while the design and end of the Will has bin strictly observed in a full and regular Education of succeeding candidates in all the branches of Academical Science.

Nor does it appear that such precaution was at all necessary as no one College, or even University, in ye world is named in the Will, therefore no Body of Men have a right to demand any account from the Trustees; or any right to claim the Donation, One more than Another.

Therefore the Trustees made no difficulty of exhibiting to Mr. Terrie, tho’ enterd at neither Ox nor Cam, being a student in a foreign University.—Times must sadly alter to render this Trust dangerous!

Miscellaneous Remarks.

Rem. 1. The Will contains the donation of 500 li to 100 poor ejected mrs.

Rem. 2. The settling several houses in Trust, partly freehold, partly leasehold, the latter long since expired.

Rem. 3. The Rents of both appropriated to the payment of an Annual Legacy of 20s. to every Trustee, and ye rest, after all necessary charges were deducted for ye education of youth.

Rem. 4. The Number of Trustees to be Nine, and the Majority to manage all affairs of ye Trust as well as fill up vacancies by death.

Rem. 5. The Annual Legacies to the Trustees, not express’d in the clause of ye will before us—and 'tis supposed they dropt with the Leaseholds.

Rem. 6. The Object of ye present Trust is a freehold deviz’d forever.

Rem. 7. The earliest Acct. in this book is Sep. 18, 1676. Though in ye first page John Osbourne is mention’d as a Pensioner admitted Nov 7, 1667, by which it sh’d seem the Testator’s Decease took place between 1663 and 1667, and tis pretty clear the first book of accounts is wanting.

Rem. 8. To prevent all strife the Trustees agreed to Nominate everyone his Pensioner in turn according to seniority—vid. page 17—worth continuing.

Minrs. and Students or that do jointly and stately meet at P—— Hall for such a Purpose besides the Minrs. concern’d in the Trust above mention’d’.

It is therefore claimed that the Tuesday Lecturers have the only right to be called the “Pinners’ Hall Trustees”, and should legally and equitably receive any legacy bequeathed to such Trustees.

11 This does not appear to be accurate, though the minute-book adds to the names of students with asterisks in the List below some such note as “at one of the Universities”.

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THE THROCKMORTON TROTMAN TRUST, 1664-1941

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6
Rem. 9. Tis evident when in Q. Ann’s reign they enter’d ye youth in a University it was meerly by friendly hands, who knew they were not design’d for Conformists—hence the Language of ye Certificate—we are content R.R., T.D., &c., be admitted Sizar, &c.

Query, Whether if the Trust and the then application of it had not been Legal, the Conformists wd not then have laid hold of it?

Query, If ye Trust was not call’d to account in those times, there is ye least Danger of it now?

[A List of Trustees to 1764 follows].

There is no account of any discussion of these remarks. No doubt the Trustees felt justified by them in continuing to administer the Trust according to custom. The income at this time (1764) was £21 12s., which had increased to £30 (8 grantees) twenty years later, the Trustees having held their meetings during this period at Cole’s Coffee House, Cornhill. Later meeting-places were the New England Coffee House in Threadneedle St., and Baker’s Coffee House, where the Trustees met for many years, £29 being voted to 7 students there in 1800. In 1807 twelve students received £50, and in 1808 ten £40, a profitable lease having increased the income. Probably, too, the Trustees saved money by meeting in Broad St. Vestry, which they did until 1843, when they met in the Congregational Library, and for some years afterwards in the Poultry Chapel, the King’s Head Tavern in the Poultry, the Guildhall Coffee House, or the Milton Club; one or two bills which have survived show that the Trustees were not all teetotallers, and they finally resolved that each should pay for his own wines.

When Dr. Pye Smith becomes a Trustee the students at Homerton are very much in the picture. The general distribution is £48 p.a., and generally they receive £36, the remaining £12 going to Welsh students, first at Wrexham, then at Llanfyllin, then merely specified as “Welch” in the accounts, but nearly always Brecon students. From the lists of students, Brecon might seem to do as well as Homerton, but its students received smaller amounts and for a shorter period. Pye Smith became Attorney in 1833, and at once began to institute reforms. The number of Trustees was made up to 9, and it was resolved that grants be made not by nomination in rotation, but by a majority vote. His concern that everything be done not only decently and in order, but legally, is evidenced by two memoranda, in which he asks and answers certain questions:

(1) Should not the number of Trustees be made up to 9 according to the will? Only five are living and two of them have resigned. Yes, possibly all the acts performed by fewer than nine are invalid.

(2) Has the mode of appointment of Trustees been correct,
merely by entry in a book? Yes, if the 1743 model, with the use of seals, has been followed.

(3) Similarly with the appointment of Attorney.

And, more important:

(4) What would be the legal construction of the terms of the bequest? Are "Universities" literally and not Academies or Colleges of other endowment, in which University Learning is taught, within the comprehension of the Testator? His real intention cannot be doubted to have included the latter: and upon that principle the Trustees have acted nearly, if not quite, from the origin of the Trust.

Ought we not to be prepared for a demand to produce our Title, which will be made if the property should be wanted for the city building improvements? We are liable to be examined before the Commissioners for the Investigation of Charitable Bequests. Ought we to go on in silence, not offering ourselves for examination; though we know that this Act of Parliament exists.

Pye Smith asks whether the advice of counsel should not be sought, and this step seems to have been taken, at any rate on the legal way of holding the property, for there is an opinion by John H. Smith, dated 19 April, 1833, among the Trust's papers.

The future history of the Trust is in essence the amplification of Dr. Pye Smith's queries. The income slowly increased; in the forties £58 was distributed yearly, while in 1845 from an accumulated balance of £86 an "extraordinary distribution" of £26 was made. As there was "an unusual number of students at Homerton who are in especial need and are well deserving" (was there ever a College Principal who did not make this claim?), six received £4 each, and four at Brecon £2 each. At once on Pye Smith's death the Trustees reverted to the unhappy practice of personal nomination, though fixing the grants to English students at £5. In 1852, with one exception, they nominated students at the London Colleges, New (in which Homerton had recently been incorporated) and Hackney. In 1863 £14 was granted to unnamed Brecon students, and £8 given to each Trustee for one or more grants at discretion. From Pye Smith's death in 1851 to 1863 the information in the minutes is very scanty, and from that year until 1874 there is no record of any meeting that took place. 1863 was an eventful year.

In other ways too Dr. Pye Smith's leadership had been ignored. In 1833 he had, we have noted, obtained the opinion of counsel Mr. John H. Smith on the best way in which the Trust's property could be held. The advice was ignored, but it was not until 1863, when the Metropolitan Railway desired to purchase the premises, that the Trustees found themselves in trouble. They took counsel of Mr. Thomas Lewin, asking how they should clothe themselves legally with the property so as to be able to deal with the Railway
Company, whether their appointment was legal, and for general advice. Counsel's opinion was no doubt a shock. He judged that any appointment of a Trustee in place of one who had resigned and not died was invalid, though he thought the Court "would not unravel the appointments of the last century". As to property the advice of Mr. John H. Smith should have been followed. When defects in the appointment of Trustees had been cured, a petition should be made to present to the Court of Chancery for vesting the legal estate in the Trustees. Advice was also given concerning a recent lease. Counsel also opined that:

1. The limits of the Charity were the English Universities existing at the time of the Will: Scotland and Ireland are necessarily excluded as the Will dated from before the Union.
2. Grants must not be made by one Trustee alone: all the Trustees should join in making grants.

In 1865 the Charity Commission appointed new Trustees and vested the property in the completed body of nine. The property was sold for £3,603, but legal proceedings were necessary before payment was received, and this was temporarily invested in Consols; £1,007 for interest rested in the hands of the Trustees, who had been so disturbed by Mr. Lewin's reading of the Will that they did not feel justified in distributing the income in their accustomed manner.

In 1870 they therefore consulted Mr. Lewin again, asking whether they must confine the distribution of income to persons studying for the ministry of the Established Church in the Universities existing at the time of the testator's death or they could aid ministers of other denominations at such Universities. In the event of his taking a narrow view they asked whether the Charity Commissioners would be likely to agree to extend the benefits of the Charity to students of other denominations studying at Universities and Colleges established since 1664, i.e., to sanction the practice of the Trustees during two centuries.

Inexplicably the case the Trustees presented did not state all the facts, and Mr. Lewin's new opinion must have proved staggering to the nine Congregational worthies. He said that from the Will it appeared that Trotman was a member of the Church of England, for he left money to churchwardens of parish churches and to establish lectures in parish churches, and in cases of ambiguity a religious endowment was regulated by the opinions of the founder.

In 1663 Dissenters were not admitted to the Universities, and therefore it must be admitted that the ministry of the Established Church was contemplated exclusively. He doubted whether the Charity Commissioners would take a more liberal view, though they might be willing to include Universities established since the
date of the Will: they might even agree to a new scheme for the £1,007 interest which would include both more recent Universities than Oxford and Cambridge and also Dissenters.

While the Trustees are no doubt to be blamed for not giving full information, the stupidity of a wise man like Lewin is nevertheless surprising. Even if he did not know his church history, he had Trotman’s Will before him, and that, on his own contention that the testator’s religion must regulate, is decisive. So the Trustees felt, for they came swiftly to their senses, and put a new case to their Counsel. They pointed out that:

(1) The date of the Act of Uniformity was 1662, and of the Will 1663, and all the Trustees were ejected ministers, and then and afterwards pastors of Nonconformist Churches. This was conclusive evidence that the testator did not intend his Charity for those studying for the ministry of the Established Church.

(2) That Trotman was himself a Nonconformist was indicated by his doubt whether the Lectures he wished to found would be permitted and his prescription of other uses for the benefactions. He also left £500 for 100 ejected ministers. Moreover in 1663 Nonconformists could not study at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and the expression ‘‘the Universities’’ must be read with that fact in mind. Nonconformist students for the ministry often went to Utrecht or Leyden, and the Testator no doubt had them in his intention. The certificate of two of the Trustees for Mr. Terrey, who ‘‘had taken his degree at an University beyond the seas and so needs not be entered at Oxon or Cambridge’’ is quoted as a deciding case.

Furthermore, from the beginning the Trustees interpreted Universities as including Nonconformist Academies: Isaac Watts went to no University, strictly so called, nor did Samuel Wesley until he had renounced Dissent. From the beginning the Trustees had all been Nonconformists and Independents of eminence. The ‘‘Remarks’’, said to date from about 1765, are submitted as corroborative evidence, with the suggestion that their main question was not Conformists or Nonconformists, but what Nonconformists, some having become Arian or Socinian.

With these facts before him Mr. Lewin reconsidered his opinion as requested, saying the additional information was ‘‘of great importance’’. He now sees that the Testator and the first Trustees were Nonconformists, and suggests that the Trustees follow the practice of their predecessors, assisting Nonconformist students but taking care not to extend to those (as Socinians) whose religious tenets were not those of the founder.

While still disposed to think that, on a strict construction of the
Will, only students at Oxford and Cambridge should be helped, in the "peculiar circumstances" he sees no reason why the Trustees should not "with caution" assist students at other Universities, for the Court would always be lenient to Trustees who, without having any personal interest, follow previous usage.

The Trustees were no doubt greatly relieved to receive this opinion, though it was not until 1874 that they finally agreed on their policy. In January of that year a letter was circulated by the Trust's solicitors recounting the history just sketched. It was pointed out that no distribution of income had been made since 1863, and there was a balance of £727, exclusive of interest, which ought to be distributed. The Trustees had to agree that they would make grants as a body and not as individuals, and then to decide which of three courses they would follow:

(a) Apply the income to students of various Independent Colleges.
(b) Confine the income to Nonconformist students at Oxford and Cambridge.
(c) Apply to the Charity Commissioners for a new scheme enabling them to include students at Oxford and Cambridge and any of the Colleges.

The dangers of courses (a) and (b) are pointed out from the legal point of view. The written opinions of all the Trustees are attached. All agree that nominations should not be made singly, and in general consent to administer the Trust as heretofore. Binney suggests this does not preclude special attention being given to students at the Universities. Stoughton, Harrison agreeing, suggests "young men at our Colleges incorporated in the London University, as well as young men educated for the Christian ministry at Oxford, Cambridge, or the Scotch Universities". Kennedy agrees with Binney and Stoughton, not demurring to Stoughton's introduction of Scotland, which Lewin's opinion had definitely ruled out. Viney agrees with Binney, and Bergne suggests students at Oxford and Cambridge and matriculated at London. Spence, with whom Martin agrees, strikes a new note: he thinks grants ought to be to University students only:

Whatever difficulty former Trustees may have had in finding such students or "poor scholars" there can be little or none now. Oxford and Cambridge are open to Nonconformists, and these old Universities should be preferred to London. Indeed a student cannot, in the terms of the founder's will, be 'educated at' the University of London, and the affiliation of Nonconformist Colleges with it is nothing, as any private student can go up for a degree. (At Cambridge at present there are about thirty Nonconformist students and at Oxford about half that number.)

So in 1874 the Trustees began a new lease of life, which has continued until the present day (1941). They began to look for more
profitable investments and by successive purchases of ground rents increased the income from £70 in 1868 to £221 in 1898. It has remained about that figure until today. In 1874 we find £215 distributed thus: 5 New College students (£55); 3 Western (£30); 2 Cheshunt (£20); 11 Lancashire (£110)—the beneficiaries being those who had matriculated at London. One College after another comes into the list—Airedale, Rotherham, Mansfield, Bangor.

In 1880 the Trustees timidly turned down applicants from Victoria University, though it "seemed to stand on the same level as London". This position, of course, could not be maintained, and soon the Trustees were examining Calendars of all the English and Scotch Universities, and making grants to students in all the English and Welsh Colleges, often with the specific purpose of enabling them to pay University examination fees (at one time they suggested limiting grants to those who passed the examinations). They were also concerned at the meagre details supplied by the College Principals, and at the failure to indicate which students had most claim on the score of poverty. Some Colleges, too, were getting more than their share: in 1886, e.g., Lancashire men received £71 (out of £234), in 1887 £52, in 1888 £50 (out of £197), in 1889 £70, and in 1896 30 Lancashire students ("being two thirds of the men in the house", the minute notes, with two exclamation marks) applied for grants. In 1887, Mansfield's first year, its men received £42, and in 1889 22 Mansfield students received £81. Correspondence with Principals was incessant; they were reminded that grants were meant "to reward, not merely to sustain", and that pecuniary need should be taken into account. Finally the Trustees decided that no grants should be made for matriculation examination fees, and they urged on the College Board (1912) as on the individual Principals that it would be more in harmony with the testator's intentions to help a few students who were poor but conspicuous in merit than to spread the distribution thinly (many had been receiving as little as £1, even 10s.!). The next year the Principals sent 54 names instead of 90, and the figure has remained in that region until now, the grants today rarely being more than £6 each, the participating Colleges being Cheshunt, Lancashire, Mansfield, New College, United, Western, Bala-Bangor and Brecon. Generally students in the older Universities receive slightly higher grants than the others. During the War of 1914-18 the Trustees discussed whether their grants were aiding the Colleges "in sheltering any young men from national service"? An occasional grant was made on personal application or to special cases—as to J. N. Farquhar of the London Missionary Society in 1894.

Many points call for further research. It would be interesting to compare the beneficiaries with those of the Congregational Fund.
Board, formed in 1695. Most of the Trustees were foundation members of the Fund Board. Did they assist the same students or try to spread their aid? Again, is it possible after this long interval to make a list of students in the different Academies and discover how many of them received financial assistance from varied sources? If this list could be compiled, and then compared with the Rev. C. E. Surman’s ‘Directory of Congregational Biography’ it would be possible to compare the leakage of Congregational students in successive generations.

The Trotman Trust is one of the oldest Congregational charities. It has maintained its continuity since 1664. Yet how many Congregationalists, even of those profiting by the foresight of Throckmorton Trotman, have ever taken the trouble to discover anything about their benefactor. It has already been said that few Congregational ministers in England and Wales who are graduates did not during College days receive grants from this Trust. If all who have become prosperous—we do not say affluent, for there is no affluence in the Congregational ministry—were to restore to the Trust monies received by them in earlier days, its usefulness to each successive generation could be greatly increased.

If I might leave history for homiletics for a moment it would be to expound a theory, which I do not think is altogether quixotic, that it is the privilege of age—or should I say security?—to restore if at all possible benefits received in youth, so that others might benefit in turn. Nothing surely could give more pleasure than to return scholarships and grants which would open for others those doors to spacious life which, opened for us, made untold difference. Those at the moment engaged in teaching in the Colleges—the denomination’s plutocrats, who should best understand what University training means—received in their day not less than £250 from this Trust. If these grants cast upon the waters—and others received by Moderators and Editors, psycho-therapists and Moderators of the Federal Council of the United States, were to return after many days, the usefulness of Throckmorton Trotman’s Trust could be considerably increased.

The list of students is here printed down to 1863, though in the last decade it is obviously incomplete.

OFFICERS
[At first called Attorney, then Treasurer, then Treasurer and Secretary.]

-1685 William Scaman 1769-1807 Thomas Towle
1685-1688 Elisha Cole 1807-1833 John Clayton, Senr.
1688-1697 Richard Baldwin 1833-1851 John Pye Smith
1697-1717 Richard Taylor 1851-1855 George Clayton
1717-1726 Matthew Clarke 1855-1875 Samuel Brodrribb Bergne
1726-1762 Thomas Hall 1875-1884 C. E. B. Reed
1762-1769 William King 1884-1896 Josiah Viney
THE THROCKMORTON TROTMAN TRUST, 1664-1941

1896-1923 J. Alden Davies (Treasurer only from 1918, Henry Johnson being Sec. 1918-1922, J. G. Henderson, 1922-3).

1923-1938 J. G. Henderson 1938- Albert Peel

All these were Trustees except the first three and the Rev. Henry Johnson.

TRUSTEES

The nine names in the will, all in C.R., all Congregational:

Joseph Carrill —1673 Matthew Barker —1698
Samuel Slater —1667 Ralph Venninge —1674
Anthony Palmer —1679 George Cokayn —1691
Carnshall Helme —1669 Robert Carter —1674?
Thomas Brookes —1680

By the time the minutes begin Carill, Slater, Helme, Venninge, and Carter had died, and

John Rowe —1677

never appears in the minutes, though he evidently had been appointed Trustee on the death of one of the five. To fill the vacancies were the first five names on this list.

John Collins —1687 George Griffith —1698
Thomas Cole —1697 John Owen —1683
Matthew Meade —1699 Richard Wavell 1679—1705

Thankfull Owen vice Brooks 1681—1681
David Clarkson vice T. Owen 1682—1686
John Reeve vice J. Owen 1684—1686
Richard Taylor vice Reeve 1686—1716
Isaac Chauncey vice Collins 1687—1712
John James vice Clarkson 1688—1696
Thomas Rowe vice Clarkson 1688
John Nisbet vice Cokayn 1692—1727
Thomas Rowe vice James 1697—1705
John Singleton vice Cole 1698—1706
Matthew Clarke vice Barker 1698—1726
Thomas Collins vice Meade 1700—1714
Benoni Rowe vice Griffith 1702—1706
John Galpin vice Singleton 1706—1712
Thomas Ridgley vice T. Rowe 1706—1734
Isaac Watts vice B. Rowe 1706—1748
Robert Bragge vice Wavell 1707—1738
John Foxon vice Chauncey 1712—1723
Daniel Neal vice Galpin 1714—1743
Thomas Bradbury vice Collins 1714—1759
Thomas Michell vice Taylor 1718—1720
Thomas Hall vice Michell 1721—1762
John Hurrion vice Foxon 1724—1731

12 No minute, but clearly vice Palmer.
13 There was evidently a muddle here: James was appointed vice Clarkson, and there was only one vacancy. Rowe was appointed again in 1697, on James’s death.
John Hubbard *vice* Clarke 1726—1745
John Guyse *vice* Hurrion 1734—1747
Peter Goodwin *vice* Ridgley 1734—1747
Richard Rawlin *vice* Bragge 1739—1757
William King *vice* Neal 1743—1769
Zephaniah Marriot *vice* Nesbit (sic) 1743—1754

[Marryat]

Samuel Price *vice* Hubbard 1749—1756
John Richardson *vice* Guyse 1749—1781?
Thomas Towle *vice* Watts 1755—1806
Samuel Pike *vice* Marriot 1755—1764 (resigned)
Samuel Brewer *vice* Rawlin 1758—1796
John Conder 1760—1781
John Webb *vice* Price 1762—1782
Timothy Lamb *vice* Guyse 1762

(settled in the country without accepting the Trust)

Thomas Gibbons *vice* Hall 1763—1785
Edward Hitchin *vice* Hall 1763—1774
Richard Winter *vice* Pike 1764—1799
Joseph Barber *vice* King 1769—1810
Daniel Fisher *vice* Hitchin 1774—1807
John Olding *vice* Richardson 1781—1785
Nathaniel Trotman *vice* Conder 1781—1793
Benjamin Davies *vice* Webb 1783—1817
William Bennet *vice* Gibbons 1785—1793
Henry Mayo *vice* Olding 1785—1793
John Clayton *vice* Mayo 1793—1843
John Fell *vice* Trotman 1793—1797
George Ford *vice* Brewer 1796—1821
John Goode *vice* Fell 1797—1831
John Humphreys *vice* Winter 1800—1837
John Pye Smith *vice* Fisher 1808—1851

Robert Winter 1820—1833
John Clayton Junr. 1820—1855
Joseph Fletcher 1833—1843
Henry Forster Burder 1833—1863
George Clayton 1833—1863
Caleb Morris 1833—1865 (discharged)
Thomas Binney 1833—1874
Thomas Yockney 1851—1852
John Davies 1851—1885
Samuel Brodribb Bergne 1851—1880
Samuel Martin 1851—1878
John Stoughton 1855—1897
Joshua C. Harrison 1855—1894
James Spence 1865—1876
John Kennedy 1865—1900
Josiah Viney 1865—1896
C. E. B. Reed 1875—1884
William Roberts 1878—1897
Henry Simon 1878—1892
Colmer B. Symes 1885—1896

Alfred Rowland 1885—1925
Paul J. Turquand 1885—1902
J. Alden Davies 1894—1923
W. J. Woods 1894—1903
W. Hardy Harwood 1897—1924
Henry Harries 1897—1928
W. B. Selbie 1897—1934 (released)

Thomas Nicholson 1898—1913
Henry Storer Toms 1900—1916
Richard Fotheringham 1902—1924
Llewellyn H. Parsons 1903—1916
John Eames 1914—1932 (released)

George Edward Darl aston 1916—1931
Ernest James Barson 1916—
J. G. Henderson 1923—1938
R. J. Evans 1925—
Albert Peel 1925—
J. P. Stephens 1925—

14 No minute, but name begins to appear 1739.
LIST OF STUDENTS

The list is given until 1863, when grants were suspended for a time. The date is the date of the first grant; many of the recipients were helped for many years. H=Homerton. W=Welsh, Wr=Wrexham, N=New College, London, B=Brecon. (Brecon represents the Academy previously at Abergavenny, Oswestry, Wrexham, Llanfyllin, Newtown in succession.)

1667 John Osborne
1669 John Nevit
1670 Charles Nichols
Moses Steele
1671 Daniel Hogg (Oxford)
Zacheus Rogers
1674 John Crompton (Christ's College, Cambridge)
William Tiry (Abroad)
1677 John Crouch (St. Alban Hall, Oxford)
1678 Stephen Lobb (Trinity College, Oxford)
Lawrence Westmacote (Alban Hall, Oxford)

1680 Benjamin Chandler*
Benjamin Holme*
1681 Isaac Noble*
Samuel Wesley*
1682 William Payne*
Mr. Griffith for "a poor scholler"

1684 Isaac Mauduit*
1685 Henry Lane*
1686 John King
1687 John Steele
1689 Thimbleton (?)
Lewis

1690 Mr. Watts (Isaac Watts)
1691 Robert Bagster
1698 Thomas Charlton (Christ's College, Cambridge)
(Samuel)Gaddington(?Sadlington; he and-Masters of Mr. Payne's: Trans., V.144ff.).
Mason
Holland
Meers

1699 Robert Glandsfield
Edward Bentely (At Mr. Jollie's)
1705 Henry Gilbert (Clare Hall, Cambridge)
Richard Rawlin (Magdalen Coll., Cambridge)
Thomas Doughty (Magdalen Coll., Cambridge)

1707 Jonathan Mills
Benjamin Holms
1710 John Copping
John de La Rose
Samuel Parsons
1712 Samuel Hebben
Joseph King, Jun.
Samuel Le Da Rose
David Jennings

1713 John May
Thomas Lambe
1714 Tobias Wildbore
Joseph Davis
Charles Berry

1716 John Stanton
Josiah Holdsworth
Thomas Burys (Bures)
William Sedgeley
1717 Thomas Sanders (under Mr. Julius Sanders, his uncle)
Lewis Davis (under the care of Mr. Ridgley and Mr. Eams)

1718 Evan Davies
1719 Walter Overstow
Owen Rees
Richard Drewett

1720 John Collins
Vavassour Griffith
Jonathan Davy
1721 Warren (Dr. Leatham's)
Samuel Phillips
Wm. Dawrin
Henry Osland
1722 John Hodge
Harris
1723 Joseph King
Mason
Henry Miles
1724 Ferdinando Warner
1725 Samuel Quincy
Stanyforth
1726 Sam. Hawthyn
Jr. Gill (Mr. Wadforth's)
John Notcutt
Dan. Thomas (with Mr. Adamson)
Tim Shepherd
James Worsfold
Richardson (did not finish at Academy)
1729 Samuel Manning
1730 Matt. Jackson
John Densham
John Hill
1731 Thos. Johnson
1732 Thos. Harmer
Anthony Mayhew
Saml. Shaer
Nath. Sh Orbins
1734 Eben. Cornol
Joseph Densham
John Evans
Timothy Thomas

1735 John Adams
1739 John Adams
1741 James Madgwick

1736 Mooth

1737 Wm. Edward
Gervas Wilde

1738 Tho. Gibbons

1739 Wm. Wright
Philip Davies
Moses Gregson

1740 Tom. Evening
Daniel Fisher
Ben. Spencer
Rob. Noyes

1751 Thos. Bocling
Nicholas Cross

1752 James Cunningham
Josiah Carter
Ebenezer Allen

1753 William Porter
Samuel Newton
Samuel Bacon

1754 John Staftord
Robert Wells

1755 John Alliston

1758 Geo. Booth
Nathaniel Hicks
James Hitchen
Joseph Marshall
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<td>Rees Rees (W)</td>
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William Edwards (B)
Charles Winder (H)
Daniel Anthony (H)
Robert Fairclough (B)
1842 Evan Jones (B)
William Williams (B)
Geo. Burden Burier (H)
1842 Edwin Gothard (H)
1843 Evan Lewis (B)
Samuel Thomas (B)
Lewis Roberts (B)
Thomas Thomas (H)
Robert Panks (H)
Robert Davey (H)
Abnedgo Jenkyn (B)
1844 Robt. Best (H)
Noah Stevens (B)
John Davies (B)
Henry More (H)
Thos. Lloyd (B)
1845 John Owen (B)
John Phillips (B)
Richard Hancock (B)
1845 Robt. Wm. Wood (H)
Henry Thomas (H)
John David Williams (H)
James Browe (H)
Geo. Palmer Davies (H)
Tho. Wm. Chignell (H)
John Davies (B)
David Phillips (B)
Thos. Davids (B)
1846 John Price (B)
1847 Henry Thomas (H)
Thos. Roberts (B)
Henry Jones (B)
Caleb Guion (B)
John Jones (B)
David Davies (B)
John Griffiths (B)
Benj. Evans (H)
1848 Robert Hughes (B)
John Lloyd (B)
Wm. Thomas (B)
David Davies (B)
Paul James Turquand (H)
Jas. Carlile MacCan (H)
John D. Jones (B)
1849 Jas. Steven Stallybrass (H)
Henry Griffiths (B)
Wm. Robinson Smart (H)
Evan Jones (B)
John Jones (B)
John Jervis (B)
Wm. Davies (B)
1850 Tho. Davies (H)
David James Evans (H)
David Jones (B)
David Williams (B)
1850 Wm. Evans (B)
1851 Evan Jones Roberts (H)
John Bartlett (H)
Daniel Jones (B)
James Morris (B)
1852 Bloomfield (N)
J. M. White (N)
T. R. Goulty (N)
Spink (Brighton)
Chas. S. Carey (Hk.)
Griffith Evans (Hk.)
Hardwick Smith (W)
(K) Thompson (N)
E. Griffiths (W)
One Brecon student
1853 Griffith John (B)
F. Turner (N)
John Duncan (N)
2 Brecon students
1855 David L. Matheson (N)
per T. Adey (Hk.)
Kelly (A)
Urquhart Hk.(.)
Caleb Scott (A)
John Smith Moffat (N)
James Jefferis (N)
Wm. W. Harry (N)
Edm. Miller (N)
David Jones (B)
B. Williams (B)
John Evan (B)
1856 Wm. Griffiths (B)
1856 L. Maino
G. T. Coster (N)
J. G. Stevenson (Hk.)
T. W. Mays (Hk.)
George Grey (N)
D. Longwill (N)
J. D. Davies (Hk.)
2 Brecon students
1857 G. E. Gull (W)
Philip Binet (N)
John Morgan (W)
Maurice Evans (W)
F. G. Andrews (W)
Griffith Jones (B)
Thos. Lodwick (B)
1858 4 Brecon students and 6 others
1859 4 Brecon students
8 grants of £6 via Trustees
1860 £14 to Brecon students
£8 each to 8 trustees, grants not to exceed £4.
1861 £14 to Brecon students
£6 to 8 trustees (*in one or two gratui-
ties*’)
1862 £14 to Brecon students
£8 each to 8 trustees (in two or more
gratui-
ties)
1863 £14 to Brecon students
£8 each to 7 trustees (two or more)

There remains to trace what happened to Trotman’s remaining public bequests. It is impossible, we fear, to discover now the hundred ejected ministers to whom the nine made the distribution of £5, or the hundred poor religious families. But what of the Lectures at St. Giles, Cripplegate, Cam, and Dursley? What of the school to be started in the parish of St. Giles? What has become of all the Trotman Charities administered by the Haber-

Prof. A. Hamilton Thompson’s many articles and introductions it is to be hoped will one day be assembled from the various journals and learned societies’ volumes to which, with a modesty equalled only by his energy, he gives so generously of his scholarship. The present volume contains transcripts of Bishop Atwater’s visitations of rural deaneries in his large and populous diocese during the years 1517-1520; Vol. II is to contain the ruridecanal visitations of his successor Longland, Vol. III the visitations of religious houses by both bishops. Vol. I also contains a long and valuable introduction to the whole, in which Prof. Thompson draws conclusions from the evidence the MSS. provide, dealing in turn with the parishes, the religious houses, and the collegiate institutions of the diocese. The separate dry entries “Omnia bene” or “Can-cellus est ruinosus”, “Rector non resedit” here become a continuous story, full of interest, if also saddening. We see here the failure, the lukewarmness, the unspirituality, against which every generation of reformers has to hurl itself anew, but which have rarely been greater than immediately before the Reformation. Prof. Thompson will not say that the abuses which were rife were worse than in Chaucer’s day, and “we may wonder whether Ifley was very different in the 18th century from what it was in 1518”, for “in outward civilisation . . . the Reformation wrought . . . little change”; yet “apathy had certainly spread” in parish religion, while in too many monasteries there was “hardly even so much as the outward form of religion”, indeed “the general atmosphere is one of stagnation”. Celebrities whose names occur are few, but include Polydore Vergil, Roger Lupton, and John London. In the copious index the reference lxxiv for Godstow should be lxxxvi, and 73n. for Edington lxxxiii n.                    

Albert Peel.
An Eighteenth Century Church Member’s Statement of his Experience

THE following is a transcript of the statement of his experience made by Samuel Rix, when he became a member of the Congregational church at Denton, Norfolk, in 1709. It is taken from an old family letter-book by the kindness of the Rev. Wilton Rix, his collateral descendant. The statement possesses considerable interest, both historically and psychologically. The use of the term “experience” in the paper’s heading, though it is not used in the statement itself, is in keeping with the Congregational differentia, which demanded from the would-be church member some account of his experience and not only of his faith in a more narrowly intellectual sense. The statement’s atmosphere is still of the seventeenth century, perhaps, rather than of the eighteenth; there remains an air of enthusiasm about it, however modified. One striking feature is Rix’s thorough acquaintance with the Bible, then a commonplace; texts come into his mind seemingly at random from all parts of the Scriptures (though most frequently, it may be noticed, from the Old Testament, and most rarely from the Gospels): the Narrative of Agnes Beaumont (1674; ed. G. B. Harrison) provides an interesting parallel here. There is a pleasing naiveté about the acceptance as more immediately from God of texts occurring in dreams or on waking, or “the first words I cast my eye upon in the Bible”. One observes also the important part accomplished by ministers in the “hard and difficult work” of conversion. “Mr. Hurrion”, especially, must have been cheered, and have been freshly convinced, “How shall they hear without a preacher?” He, John Hurrion (1676-1731), was minister at Denton from 1701 till 1724, when he removed to Hare Court, London, his only other pastorate. An account of him is to be found in the Evangelical Magazine for 1819, and Browne has a note about him on p. 336 of Congregationalism in Norfolk and Suffolk, where he plausibly suggests that the John Hurrion who was licensed in 1672 as a Congregational teacher at Sibton, Norfolk, was the minister’s father. “Mr. Manning” must be one of the three ejected ministers, all brothers, who appear in Calamy Revised; perhaps John is the most likely. “Mr. Flavel” is of course the celebrated John Flavel (D.N.B. and Cal. Rev.).

GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL.
MR. SAMLL. RIX HIS EXPERIENCE GIVEN IN TO THE CHURCH JUNE THE 3d 1709.

My Birth and Education is known to many. The very first Notions I had of Conversion, were that it was a hard and a difficult work, and therefore, from my Childhood, I look’d upon Ministers as Happy Persons, whom I esteemed to be Converted.

When I was about 17 years of Age, I was by the Providence of God, cast under the Ministry of Mr. Manning, who Preached one Sermon from those words, And you that were sometimes Alienated, and Enemies in your mind by wicked works, yet now hath he Reconciled. in the Application he Advis’d those that were not Reconcil’d to God, to take the Counsel of Christ himself, Agree with thine Adversary quickly, whilst thou art in the way with him, least he deliver the to the Officer, and the Officer to the Judg, and thou be cast into Prison: verily verily thou Shalt not come out thence ‘till thou hast paid the utmost Farthing, which will never be (sais Mr. Manning) as long as God is God, the Sinner is alway Paying, but never able to Pay the debt to all Eternity. At the hearing of this Sermon I was not as at other times, tho I cannot tell justly how I was, I thought it Such a Sermon as I never heard before; and was most of all affected with that advice to take the Counsel of Christ himself. But, returning home, it was soon out of my mind, and little more thought of for the Present. After some time these Convictions were Reviv’d, and then I rememberd how I had Slighted that good advice: and also now was brought to my Remembrance almost all that ever I did. and among many other Sins, that in Particular, that when I was a Child, I had been guilty of Blasphemy. and reading in my Bible, he that Blasphemeth the name of the Lord shall surely be put to death, Oh, now I thought I must die, Suffer death, even eternal death. But after a While, taking a view of my Convictions, remembering the first occasion of them, and considering that I was born of Godly Parents, and that God was Mercifull to Sinners; I began to rest here. But my Convictions were again renew’d by those expressions of Mr. Manning’s, Seek Christ constantly. many that have the fair Blossoms of Convictions in their Youth, are by the Withering Gales of Hell and Satan Blasted; never Issue and end in a Saving and thorough Conversion to God. This made me Tremble; I thought the expression was directed immediately to me, and that this indeed was my Condition, in this Case I remained a considerable time. sometimes fearing that I had Sinned the Sin unto death, and sometimes that I should hereafter Sin it. But Mr. Manning Preaching from those words, To comfort all that mourn; I laid hold of some expressions that did not belong to me; and now thought my Self whole, and that I had ventur’d my Soul upon Christ, in the way which God had appointed, in order to my Salvation. in this condition I remained Several years, under a form of Godliness without any thing of the Power of it. and under the Power of Sin and Temptation; and when these Prevail’d, I resolv’d that hereafter I would Repent, and Believe, and work Righteousness; and this I now thought to be the way to Heaven. I resolv’d to fast twice in the week, very often at least. to observe the Sabbath very Strictly, and to do what ever was requir’d: and all these I thought in my own Power. I now liked those Societys best, who would admit Members to Communion with them, without their giving any account (especially to the Church) of the dealings of God, by his Spirit upon their Souls. and imagin’d that every one had a right to Church Fellowship, who could not at that very time be convicted of open Sins. I was for those Ministers, whose Habit, and whose sermons were most agreeable to the Present Mode, and such I went to hear, when I was at London, or elsewhere Providentially. a Sound of words, and a
handsome shew, and some conformity to the National Religion, was all that I desir'd. I was now within a Step of Ruin, and upon the very Borders of the Pit. but, I hope, the Soveraign and the almighty hand, Snatched me as a brand out of the Burning. I now read little, but History, but as I was on horseback one day, it was hinted to me, Search the Scriptures, they are they that testify of me. I did so, and as I found it impossible for me to keep any part of the Law; So I was convinced now that Justification and Salvation, in whole or in part, is not now by the Works of the Law; but by Christ's Righteousness imputed, and by that alone. the Scriptures I was convic'd by, are these that follow. All our Righteousnesses are but as filthy rags, can a man be Profitable unto God, as he that is wise may be profitable to himself. is it any Profit to the Almighty, if thou art Righteous, or any gain to him, if thou makest thy Self Perfect. We will make mention of thy Righteousness, and of thine only. By the deeds of the Law Shall no flesh Living be justify'd in his Sight. I say unto you, when ye have done all, Say we are unprofitable Servants, we have done but our duty. This truth came with clearest light and fullest demonstration to my Soul; that if ever I were Saved, it must be by Grace, through Faith, and that not of my Self, it was the gift of God. Now I Saw that I had been only under the Common Convictions of the Spirit, and was Stil but a hypocrite. and though my affections were often moved under a Sermon, and sometimes even to Tears: yet I found my Self in a Christless State, and was convinced thereof by that expression of Mr. Hurrion's (formerly us'd and now brought again to my Remembrance) take heed of mistaking your affections for the Motions of the Spirit. and also that hint, long since given by him; as to the Refined hypocrite, I intend to deal with him another time. about this time also I met with this passage in the works of Mr. Flavel, which much Startled and amaz'd me; an egg is not more like to an egg than hypocrisie is to true Grace. now my Convictions came with Power, and I never knew more of the Terrors of the Lord than at this time. I had such apprehensions of the Wrath of God due for Sin, and of the Continual danger I was in. as I have often, in the evening, Pray'd that I might not be in Hell the next morning. that I might be spar'd, at least one night more. now I Saw the Hypocrisie and Wickedness of my Heart more than ever before. Now I was under the Spirit of Bondage, and Walked in Darkness and Saw no light for many Months together.

I could not believe their was Salvation for such a Sinner, or that ever I should be Saved who was guilty of such Rebelions. but at last I had some Secret hopes that God would have Mercy on me, and resolv'd to wait for his Salvation. and that which Silenced all my unbelieve, and left me no one objecion in my mind, was those great words from Mr. Hurrion lately Preach'd. I will have Mercy on whom I will have Mercy; and I will have Compassion on whom I will have Compassion. Also in my Sleep in the night I thought I heard a voice saying unto me, he that beleiveth shall be Saved. the impression was so great as I endeavoured with my Lips to answer, I beleive, help thou my unbelieve, and with this I was awaked. This, this was a Sweet Moment indeed. Now Free, and Rich, and Undeserved, and Distinguishing Grace appeared glorious indeed. It was not long before I had thought of offering my Self to join with the Church; and when Shame, as well as Sorrow filled my Heart, I remembered that expression of Mr. Hurrion's in a Sermon at a Church meeting, hast thou not been ashamed to Sin openly, and art thou ashamed, openly to manifest thy Repentance. but, above all, those words of Christ, which Mr. Hurrion has so often mention'd; he that is ashamed of me, and of my words before Men; of him will I be ashamed before my Father and his holy Angels. Now I thought I could say, come and hear, all ye that fear God, I will tell you
what he has done for my Soul. Also my duty was Powerfully enforce'd upon me by Mr. Hurrion's Sermon from those words, then are ye my friends, if ye do (whatsoever) I have Comanded you. and by reading this Passage in a Sermon Preach'd by him formerly; Seek him in the Society of his People. but Still I was afraid to come to the Table of the Lord, least I Should Profane that great and Blessed Ordinance; and that Text put a dread upon me, he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh Damnation to himself (not Discerning the Lord's Body) but while I was Meditating hereupon, that Text came into my thoughts, if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come into him, and Sup with him, and he with me. Also I receiv'd great Satisfaction by Mr. Hurrion's opening to me the foremention'd Text. When I remembred that Doctrine, which Mr. Hurrion formerly offer'd; all that the Father hath Chosen, do, Sooner or later, See Christ. I was afraid I had never yet had any Saving Sight or view of Christ; those Texts came Sweetly into my Thoughts, Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed. whom, tho now you see him not, yet, Believing, ye Rejoice with joy unspeakable, and full of glory. Soon after my Child was Born, I was much concern'd about its being Baptiz'd, Believing infant Baptism to be an Ordinance, and Sacrament, which Christ has appointed, in his Church; and yet afraid to desire it for my Child, because neither of its Parents were of any visible Church; while I was thus Museing, and desiring to give up my Self and mine wholly to the Will of God, I had some Secret intimations that I should yet wait to See what God would do for me. A little after this, speaking again to my nearest Relation, in the evening, about this matter; the next morning, going into my Closet, the first words I cast my eye upon in the Bible were these, Repent ye, and be Baptized, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost, for the Promise is to you, and to your Children. I now resolv'd to take the first opportunity to desire Communion with this Church. But, when the time drew near, I was exceedingly afraid, and a heavy Burthen was as it were upon my Soul, but my Spirit was Refresh'd by that Text, come unto me, all you that Labour and are heavy Laden, and I will give you rest. Since my Return from London, I read that Text, he that is Uncircumcis'd, in Heart, or in Flesh, Shall not enter into my Sanctuary; and I was afraid, because of the Body of Sin and Death which I find still within me. I Beg'd of God to clear this matter to me. and, two or three days after, early in the morning, these Scriptures were in my Waking thoughts, Therefore with joy shall ye draw Water out of the Wels of Salvation. A New heart also will I give you, and a New Spirit will I put within you. They that Sowe in Tears, shall Reap in joy. Blessed are ye when men shall Revile you.

God has convinc'd me that the Doctrines, Discipline, and Ordinances, Preach'd, Observ'd, and Administred in a Congregational Church, are the same that Christ has appointed, who is Lord of his own House. I now (with Trembling) offer my Self to this Church: if every Particular Member thereof be willing I should have Communion with them, who am so vile and unworthy, I desire to be receiv'd. but, if not, I Submit to the Determination of the Church, and say here I am, if he has no delight in me, Let him do with me as Seemeth good in his Sight.
Hugh Garside Rhodes, 1789-1873

THROUGH the kindness of the Rev. W. J. Palmer, of Daventry, the Congregational Library, London, has received a typed transcript of the register of Hugh Garside Rhodes, the original of which has been deposited in the Sheffield City Library. Rhodes was born 17 June, 1789, and died 15 Dec., 1873. He was trained at Rotherham, then matriculated at Glasgow in 1817, and went to Ireland for the Evangelical Society in 1818. He was minister at Bethesda Chapel, Cornmarket, Wexford (1818-1822), Buxton Chapel, Derbyshire (1822-1827), Fullwood Chapel, Sheffield (1827-1873), and the register concerns all three.

For Wexford there is a List of Members, and an account of Rhodes's call to the pastorate, the regulations of the Church and a Statement of Accounts from 1819 to 1831, and also biographical matter relating to the Rhodes family.

For Buxton there is a Solemn Agreement and a List of Members, and Accounts from 1823 to 1827.

For Fullwood we have an account of the formation of the Church, and a List of Members, Accounts from 1849 to 1852, Marriages and Burials between 1849 and 1873, and Baptisms from 1827 to 1873.

The Accounts for all three churches are those of the Communion Funds.

Mr. Palmer, whose wife is Rhodes's granddaughter, has also placed in the Sheffield City Library a packet of documents and newspaper cuttings relating to Rhodes. Among them is a characteristic letter from the Rev. H. H. Oakley to Mr. Palmer1, dated 6 Feb., 1929, kindly copied for us by the Rev. E. Kenneth Fox:

With respect to Mr. Rhodes, it is not very much of a generally interesting kind that I remember about him. He was a comparatively near neighbour of my maternal grandparents, as my Mother was one of the Misses Rhodes' pupils (cir. 1840). One Sunday morning in the Spring of '71 whilst staying at Whitely Wood Hall—I was then still at Rotherham Coll.—I walked up towards Reninglow Moor and noticing the little chapel which, through Mr. Rhodes' exertions, had recently been built, I stepped up to the door (about 11.30 a.m.), pushed it open and put my head in. Instantly, Mr. R. who was seated at the far end with a few lads about him, saw my face—all there was to be seen—hurried along the aisle and before I had time to beat a retreat exclaimed "You'll preach here tonight" which as he had never seen me in his

1 A previous letter (16.1.28) refers to the church at Daventry:

Yours is a right historic Church. I often think of your old Mr. Dod who, when exhorted to preach against long hair, replied, "Preach them to Christ, and they will cut their hair off themselves".
life before, I am bound to take as a proof of almost uncanny penetration, or else of the fatally preaching look which my countenance already bore, at 20 years of age. I tried in vain to excuse myself. He was gone—to inform the folks. There was nothing for it but to accept the situation. So I sat down with the lads and began to put them through a little catechism to see if the teaching they were getting from their venerable pastor was 'Sound'.

'Who is the Devil?' Answer: 'T'owd lad'.
'What does he do?' 'Taks bad lads'.

There was no doubt about it, they had been soundly taught. Mean-time two or three women and a man had strolled in, under the belief that, queer as the time was, there was to be a service that morning. So at 11.45 I got into the desk, read a Psalm and dismissed them. On the way down to the Hall, the dear old man arranged that I should take the service in the evening at Fulwood and he would preach at Ringinglow, which we did. I stayed at the Manse to supper, and it was worth a good deal to see the delight of the old gentleman when he came in—rather late—and told us he had had a chapel full.

I remember Mrs. Falding (wife of Dr. Falding of Roth. Coll. whose brother Mr. S. Plimsoll M.P. was at that time lessee of Wincobank Hall) telling me that she had never in all her life heard the funeral service so impressively conducted as by Mr. H. G. Rhodes.

Mr. Rhodes, to my certain knowledge, was an excellent Latinist and his wife was a lady of culture of whom I used to hear the most reverent praise from their son, my old friend and hearer, Mr. Thomas Rhodes.

Of Mr. Rhodes' Rhadamantine strictness as a father, there is a story in print (First Century of Silcoates) as told to me by the chief actor (or sufferer) in it, Mr. T. Rhodes himself. But for old men to start talking of old times is like the setting on of water. So I stop. . . .

From the biographical details scattered through the Register, we glean that Rhodes was born 17 June, 1789, at Tintwistle, Cheshire, and baptized by William Hudson. His wife, the daughter of Francis Atkin and Frances Flood, was born at Wexford, 25 Sep., 1797, and they were married at Wexford, 15 July, 1819. She died 17 Feb., 1855, while he lived to 15 Dec., 1873, and was buried at Fullwood Chapel. Their children were:

Thomas, born 30 May, 1820, baptized Wexford.
Sarah, born 22 Mar., 1825, baptized Buxton.
Francis, born 10 Apl., 1829, baptized Fulwood, d. 1834.
Frances, born 26 Aug., 1831, baptized Fulwood, d. 1833.
Mary, born 7 May, 1834, baptized Fulwood, d. 1835.

At his death he left two sons and their wives, two unmarried daughters, twelve grandchildren, one grand-daughter-in-law, and one great-grandchild, 'all who saw him buried except one grandson (Philip Ernest Rhodes, who was on the China Seas)'. The burial entry, 18 Dec., 1873, signed F. J. Falding and C. C. Lyte, reads:

The Revd. Hugh Garside Rhodes died Dec. 15th, 1873, aged 84 years and 6 months, having been Minister of Fulwood Independent
Chapel for 46 years and was this day interred by us in the family vault in the West Aisle in Fulwood Chapel.

BETHESDA CHAPEL, WEXFORD.

The following persons being assembled in the Bethesda Chapel, Wexford, came forward on the 16th April, 1819, to unite in church fellowship when the regulations [below] were adopted:

Frances Atkin. Frances Vicary.
Mary Atkin.

Dr. Biggs afterward wished to have his name withdrawn for a short time. Miss F. Vicary afterwards intimated that she did not wish to be a member at present. Corl. D. Fitzpatrick objected against the manner of receiving the ordinance. Thos. Fitzsimons never attended and never assigned reason why he would not attend.


The following call to become the stated Minister of the Bethesda Congregation, Wexford, was presented to H. G. Rhodes on the 23rd of Nov., 1818.

Wexford, 28th October, 1818.

Rev. & Dear Sir,

We, the undersigned Committee, at the request of the Bethesda congregation, now address you, & as we have but one sentiment on the utility of your labours of Love amongst us, we shall briefly state, that it is their most ardent desire that you should remain with us as our permanent Minister, & continue to declare those rich gospel truths, which have on all occasions truly dignified your Sermons, & we trust in God, will yet bring forth fruit worthy of your unexampled exertions. That we anticipate a favourable reply should not be wondered at, from the experience we have felt of your affection; but more particularly so, as the field here is wide & the harvest abundant which, to a zealous pious & xtian mind like yours, is a sufficient call to remain here.

When the request was made, we mentioned that it would be but right to throw our mite into the Treasury of the Lord, as a proof (humbly speaking) of the sincerity of our application. A subscription was most willingly entered into, and the sum of 24£ was immediately collected. This, if it meets your approbation, is to be forwarded to the Irish Evangelical Society Committee, in aid of their funds—with it we hope to forward your determination, to remain with us, which, we can honestly state would give great pleasure to everyone of the congregation as well as, dear Sir, to yours with much affection

Geo. A. Saville.
John H. Hogan.
Richd. Leard.
Francis Atkin.
Richd. Sparrow.

Revd. H. G. Rhodes
Folby
Wexford.

2 A copy of the letter, differing slightly, is among the documents in the packet.
THE PLAN AND REGULATIONS OF THE CHURCH OF XST. MEETING IN THE
BETHESDA CHAPEL, CORN MARKET, WEXFORD.

On Friday, the 16th of April, 1819, Hugh Garside Rhodes, Cornl. Fitzpatrick, Francis Atkin, Frances Atkin, Mary Atkin, Thos. Fitzsimons, James Ryan, John Frencham, and Samuel Lumden, after reading the scriptures and fervent prayers to Almighty God, united in adopting the following Plan of a Gospel Church.

PLAN OF THE CHURCH

A Gospel Church is a voluntary society of professing believers, united together by mutual consent, to observe the ordinances of Xst, in order to promote the glory of God, and the edification of each other.

To this society belongs the power of conduction [sic] all their concerns, of admitting, censoring, and excluding their members, of choosing, appointing, and removing on just grounds, all their officers, and examining into the manner in which they discharge their several offices of regulating and conducting the different concerns relative to publick Worship, the house of Worship and the funds of the society.

THE MINISTER.

The Minister is chosen by the church—his office is to preside and direct in all the meetings of the Church both public and private, and conduct them with decency and order—to take the lead in public Worship, and administer all the ordinances of the Lord's house.

THE DEACONS

The Deacons are also appointed by the church and may be many or few according as the circumstances require. Acts 6:3. They must be men well reported for good works. I Tim. 3:8. Their office is to receive and disburse collections and subscriptions, to provide for the maintenance of the Minister, and the relief of the poor, they shall also provide for and assist in the administration of the Lord's Supper, and in visiting and exhorting the sick as occasion shall require. They shall be ready at all times to give an account of these matters, and for the general satisfaction at least once a quarter to lay before the church a correct statement of her funds, receipts and expenditure.

MEMBERS

As this Society or Church is formed of professing Xstians none can be admitted who do not give evidence of a saving change upon their souls. When any person wishes to join the church he shall signify his intention to the Minister, who shall inquire into the sincerity of his profession, and make his report to the church, at their next meeting, when two of the members shall be appointed to wait upon him and report the result of their visit to the church, when, if the Church unanimously approve, he shall be admitted to the full privileges of Church membership.

DUTIES OF MEMBERS


2nd, Duties towards the Church. To make conscience of attending regularly the ordinances of divine worship when the church meets—never to be unwilling to give a reason to the Brethren why at any times they were absent. N.B.—It appears that regularity in this par-
ticular is essentially necessary to promote our own edification, to set
an example to our neighbours, and to encourage our Minister in his
work. Heb. 1024,25.

3rd, Duties towards an offending Brother. To tell him his fault in
secret with compassion and faithfulness; if he receive the admonition
and reform, the matter should rest in silence; if not, he shall be
referred to one or two other members, but if he refuse to hear them
they shall tell it to the church, who shall require his appearance at the
next meeting, and shall then use means that brotherly love can suggest
to convince him of his error and reform him from it. If he refuse to
hear the church, he shall be suspended from communion, or separated
from it. Matt. 1815-18.

4th, Duties with respect to the World. Not to be conformed to this
world in its sinful customs, and maxims, to abstain from the prevailing
amusements of the Ball room, the Play house and the Card table—not
to associate with carnal persons at ale-houses, or else where any further
than may be necessary to transact the concerns of our lawful calling.
To act with integrity and uprightness in business. To manifest the
Xstian character especially in our families. Those that are heads of
families to regulate them in a Scriptural order, observing the exercise
of family Worship, and training up their children in the nurture and
admonition of the Lord.

5th, Church Meetings. The Church shall have a private meeting at
least once a month, or, as much oftener as shall be thought needful, in
order to promote mutual edification and brotherly love. At these
meetings the progress of the Work of the Lord shall be inquired into
and regulations adopted to promote it, Members admitted, reproved,
&c., & all other business of the Church regulated and conducted.

N.B.—No business suffered to be brought forward without being
first submitted to the Minister.

6th, Funds of this Society. That each Member contribute according
to his ability towards the support of the Gospel, and the relief of the
poor.

7th, Occasional Members. Approved Persons not residing in the
neighbourhood may be admitted to sit down at the table of the Lord
with the church.

Every member to have a copy of these regulations and each Person
on his admission to engage to abide by them.

H. G. RHODES, Minister.

On Friday the 23rd of April 1819 the 8th regulation passed.

8th, On the admission of members. In the admission of members
into this church respect shall be paid to the feeling of the person who
wishes for admission and he shall be permitted to write his Xstian
experience & he or another shall read it to the church, or he may tell
what God has done for him publickly or he may relate it to another
who shall communicate it publickly to the church.

H. G. RHODES, Minister.

THE SABBATH DAY

30th May 1819. The church of Xst which assembles in the Bethesda
Chapel Corn Market Wexford met for the first time to celebrate the
Lord’s Supper. Seven communicants were at this delightful ordinance.
4s. 7d. was collected from them.

On the 29th of July 1819 Margaret Lumbsden was admitted by the
unanimous consent of the church to be a member of the church.
On the 24th of Jany. 1820 the church assembled at Brother Frencham.

Samuel Lumsden died on Thursday the 18th of Jany. 1821. The Lord upheld him in his affliction, comforted him in his sorrow, and suffered him gently to fall asleep in Jesus. His conduct was consistent with the word of God and his love to Xst was strong. He was the first fruit of the preaching of the Gospel in Wexford.

Next follows a Statement of Accounts from June, 1819, to Sep., 1821. The first item reads: "John H. Hagan, Esq., presented to that society a silver Cup Value £4 16s. 2d." The receipts are the monthly Communion Collections, varying from 4s. 7d. to 1s. 10d., averaging 2s. 8d. The disbursements are 15s. for a table cloth, 2s. 6d. napkin, 3s. 4d. basket, 8s. account book, 16s. Margaret Lumsden, and 7 entries of 3s. 9½d. for wine.

A SOLEMN AGREEMENT OF THE MEMBERS OF THE CHURCH OF XST ASSEMBLING IN THE INDEPENDENT CHAPEL, BUXTON. MADE ON THE 5th OF JANUARY, 1823.

It having pleased God of his abundant mercy to call us into the fellowship of his Son, and imparted to us a good hope through grace of being fellow members of the household of faith.

We the undersigned inhabitants of Buxton, and its vicinity feel it our real privilege as well as bounden duty to be conformed to the laws of Christ the only head of the church, and as far as in us lies to walk in all the ordinances of this house blameless. Therefore believing it to be his will that his disciples should unite together as a church in every place wheresoever they dwell in order to shew forth his praise, to comfort each other in the ways of godliness, and exhibit the pure worship of the living God to the world around them, on the Twenty Fourth of July 1823 the following persons assembled in the Independent Chapel, Buxton. And agreed to unite together in Church fellowship, declaring to each other that they will have their conduct regulated by the Word of God.

H. G. RHODES, Pastor of the church.
FRANCIS MYCOCK.
JOHNS WOOD.
JOHN HIBBERT.
MARY RHODES.
ANN FLINT.
HAMISH FLINT.

On the Sabbath day the 3rd of August most of the above named [&] four other persons members of distant churches met to commemorate the dying love of Christ.

The following is a correct copy of a note received from John Hibbert directed to the Revd. H. G. Rhodes, Spring Gardens, Buxton [30.xi.1823]:

Sir,

I think it my duty to inform you and the church assembling in the Independent Chapel, Buxton, that in consequence of various trying circumstances, family connections, providential occurrences, and opening views of Scripture I cannot longer continue in the connection.
The Bible in use in the chapel is my family one in which the
names and ages of my children are recorded. I request that as
soon as another can conveniently be provided it may be returned
to

I am, Sir, Your obedient servant.

H. G. Rhodes in a few days after he had received this note waited on
J. Hibbert, but he declined having any conversation on the subject of
his note. His resignation was accepted by the church.

Ann Flint died in Feb. 1824 and Hannah [the first mention of
Hannah] was married to James Orange, a member of the Independent
church in Chesterfield. Her dismissal to that church was sent, which
was duly received & she was admitted to be a member of the Independence Church at Chesterfield in August, 1824.

Francis Mycock was dismissed from the church on the 12 of Jany.,
1825 for irregular conduct, having previously been admonished as
our Lord directs in Mat. 18:15, but he persist[ed] in his sin to the grief of
the church.

Mary Edge was admitted as a member on the 6th of Feb., 1825, to
the great joy of all the members.

Martha Edge was admitted as a member on the 3 of March, 1825 to
the great joy of all the members.

Mrs. Ardern was admitted a member on the 13 of Feb'y., 1826.

Next follows a Statement of Accounts from May, 1823, to Feb.,
1827. The receipts are the monthly Communion collections, varying
in amount from 1s. to 10s. There are also several "collections
in the chapel", one of them amounting to 17s. 1½d., and several
for lighting. Miss Wood sends several contributions of 2s. by Miss
Edge, Mrs. Goodwin gives 1s., and 2s. comes "From the Quaker
Friends". The expenses at Buxton were much more varied than
at Wexford, though candles and wine appear most frequently:
10s. 6d. is down for the rent of the chapel, 4s. for mending its roof,
16s. 6d. for printing, 6s. (twice) for whitewashing, and amounts for
cleaning. We also have "Brush and turpentine, 1s. 4d.; Ruber
9d., and Biles (!) printing 6s. 6d.". 10s. 6d. is for Ground Rent,
5s. 10d. for coals, 4s. 6d. for repairing windows, 3s. for a tin
kettle. The Derbyshire Itinerant Society receives gifts of 15s. and
5s.

FULLWOOD CHAPEL, SHEFFIELD.

On Friday, Jany, 5th, 1838 Samuel Turner, Hugh Garside Rhodes,
Mary Dayly, and Mary Rhodes agreed to unite together in the bonds
of the gospel to attend to the ordinances of the new testament. [The
Wexford "Plan of Union" was accepted.] H. G. Rhodes was appointed
and ordained pastor of this church.

Samuel Turner died in Ecclesale workhouse in 1839.

The church met the first sabbath in every month from the above
date until June the 7th, 1840, when Alice Hesketh (who came into this
neighbourhood with the Revd. Richard Walker) was admitted to be a
member by the unanimous consent of the church and sat down with us
at the Lord's table for the first time.

3 Perhaps "Hamish", above, p. 103, should be "Hannah".
William Stringer of Nether green was proposed to be a member of this church by H. G. Rhodes on the 4 of Sepr., 1842, and admitted to full communion by the unanimous consent of the church on the 16th of October. Wm. Stringer had a copy of the rules from H.G.R. David Waits of Fullwood Carr [The same entry, as above, dated 6 Aug., 1843].

16th Feb., 1849 Charlotte Johnson and Sarah Rhodes were admitted members of this Church.

June 3rd, 1849 Mrs. Martha Wordsworth and Joseph William Wordsworth her nephew were admitted. . . .

Mary Daily died Jany. 25th, 1850, having been a consistent member of this church more than 12 years. She was a long time afflicted which she bore with great patience and resigned her spirit on the day above named.

Charlotte Johnson to the great grief of the church had shewn greater love to worldly amusements than to the communion of the saints. She was repeatedly admonished singally and with more than one. She disregarded the admonitions. She was asked to withdraw. And the church was unanimous for her withdrawal. Oct. 7th, 1850.

The “Fullwood Chapel Account” from Nov. 30, 1848, to July 25, 1852, follows. The income consists of the Communion collections (often less than a shilling), some evening collections (about 4s.), and amounts collected by Rhodes, the Revs. T. Horsfield and J. Batey, and Mr. Samuel Ellis, the largest being £2 5s. 3d. Wine at first cost 3s., then 1s. 10d., 1s. 2d., and finally 1s. Coal and candles were the only other expenses.

The building was registered for marriages on 24 Feb., 1849, and the marriages solemnized between that date and 1873 are recorded.

Then follows a list of the Rhodes’ family burials. The only non-Rhodes entry is the infant Eliza Plimsoll4, Whitely Wood Hall, buried 27 July, 1865, aged 1 day.

Baptisms. The register begins 30th May, 1827, and ends 4 Feb., 1873.

Albert Peel.

4 See above, p. 99.
A German Student’s Credo, 1844

THE writer of the following letter—an application for admission as a student of the Lancashire Independent College, Manchester, in 1844—was Carl Wilhelm Buch. Born at Maaster, Westphalia, 29 Jan., 1819, he had studied at the universities of Bonn and Heidelberg before entering upon the work of which his letter speaks. After nearly two years in Lancashire College (September 1844 to June 1846) he proceeded to Jena, where he received a Doctorate in Philosophy, and in 1849 was appointed one of the Superintendents of the Bhowanipur Institution, Calcutta, under the L.M.S. He married Emma, one of the daughters of the Rev. Robt. Vaughan, D.D., first Principal of Lancashire College, and was ordained at Rusholme Road Congregational Church, Manchester, 24 April, 1849. About a year after his arrival in Calcutta he resigned from his position as colleague with Joseph Mullens and accepted an educational appointment under the Honourable East India Company at Agmere, “where he not only faithfully and zealously discharged his tutorial duties, but also held religious services every Sabbath for those of the English who chose to unite with him”. Subsequently appointed Principal of the Government College at Bareilly, he was shot at this place on 1 June, 1857, at the outbreak of the Mutiny.

C.Y.B., 1858, 229f., says of him:

Dr. Buch was a man singularly gifted for the work of teaching, and of great and ceaseless energy in his work. He made no secret of his religious convictions or connexions, and continued in friendly relations with his brethren in the mission field, though he was no longer formally identified with them. His labours for the good of India were incessant, and his name will be long remembered and revered by such as received the benefit of his instructions and could appreciate the excellence of his character. Prematurely and mysteriously driven from his post and his life in the 36th year (sic?) of his age, he rests with God.

C. E. SURMAN.

St. Petersburg, the 6th June 1844.

Rev. Dr. Vaughan,
Lancashire College,
near Manchester,
Dear Sir,

Through the Rev. T. S. Ellerby, I received the letter which you had the kindness to write on my behalf. If I make an attempt to answer the questions proposed by the Committee, you must excuse
many wants which have their source partly in the particular circumstances of my past life, partly in my not being an Englishman.

I. In answering the first question concerning the history of my own personal religion, I may be allowed briefly to mention that I was baptized, educated and confirmed in the Evangelical Church of Prussia. The years of childhood and of youth passed away without making any deep religious impression upon my mind and conduct, and I can say that I came to an age of almost 23 years without knowing anything of religion but its mere outward forms and ceremonies. As long as I was a scholar of the gymnasium in my native town, and afterwards as student at the universities of Bonn and Heidelberg, I went from time to time to church, to hear a sermon and to partake of the Lord's supper, but had not the slightest idea of the true state of what should have been of the greatest importance for me, my soul's salvation. I recollect that only once during my sojourn at Heidelberg, after having heard several discourses given by an Indian missionary, I became deeply impressed with the idea of abandoning my former studies and going abroad as a missionary. But as I then lived in and with the world, as I was eagerly pursuing the study of Natural History, and as I had no one to advise and to guide me, I soon abandoned an idea which I did not then consider so important as I do now. Two years afterwards, Providence brought me to Paris, where I was allowed and favoured to make the intimate acquaintance of an English family, whose members for the greatest part are truly pious and devout Christians. I saw the practical effects of genuine piety, I began to admire and to love true Christianity, and some months afterwards, I became a regular attendant of the English Marboeuf Chapel at Paris. Yet I was but a mere outward professor; I had no distinct idea of my own exceeding sinfulness, of my dangerous state and of my need of a Saviour. The outward man was changed, but not the heart. The wish of entering into the ministry, and especially of devoting myself to the missionary-work revived, and I had already formed the plan to join the French-missionary society in Paris. Different circumstances prevented me from bringing this plan into execution, when I was directed by the providence and grace of our heavenly Father, to leave Paris and to enter as tutor into one of the first Russian families of St. Petersburg, to which place I went with the idea of remaining only some years in Russia and of devoting myself afterwards to the ministry. In my situation as tutor I was obliged to love and to mingle with the great world, and in a short time I felt the bad influence of such a life over my character. I perceived clearly that this was not a proper school for a young man who wished to devote himself to the most sacred and important office of the ministry, and that it was my duty to leave the family in which I lived; but then the worldly and pecuniary advantages which were connected therewith, the want of any private fortune, and other reasons presented themselves to my mind, and for some months I lived in an almost continual struggle. At last an opportunity of leaving offered itself to me and I laid hold of it. As soon as I was free from distractions and enjoyed in some degree retirement, I did not hesitate to do what I wanted most: to study the Bible; and I dare say that from that time divine grace has led me so far that I have an idea of my own sinfulness and want of a Saviour, and that I wish not only to be called a Christian, but to have the true spirit of Christianity, and to follow our Saviour's footsteps.

From this short but incomplete account you may perhaps perceive my motives for desiring the work of the Christian ministry. They are
principally three: first, I wish to say in the language of the psalmist: What shall I render unto the Lord for all his benefits toward me? I will take the cup of salvation and call upon the name of the Lord, or as it is in our German translation, preach the name of the Lord. Then, as I have been for a long time abroad and in many different situations of life, Providence has allowed me to see how much the name of our Saviour is forgotten, how many people neglect the most important design of their life, their soul's salvation, to see on the one side the unhappy consequences thereof both for our present and our future life, on the other side the true happiness, peace and joy even here on earth of such as live in the Lord: all this exited (sic) more than ever in me the wish of devoting my life to the Lord and to my fellow creatures. And lastly I believe that God himself has called me to labour in his vineyard, in that He Himself has guided me so wonderfully during the last years of my life.

II. As concerning my views of the leading doctrines of Divine Revelation, I scarcely can state them so explicitly, distinctly and completely as it perhaps would be required, and so I may be permitted, to give rather a kind of confession of faith. If I, in doing so, use the word, "I believe" I wish rather to say, "I think that I believe", fearing lest I should deceive myself and my faith would not be such an one as is acceptable with God. I believe in One God, who created by His word heaven and earth, who is Almighty, Allwise, Eternal, Omnipresent, Allmerciful, but at the same time Alljust. I believe that our heavenly Father takes care of every one of us, that He knows our inmost thoughts, that He is at every moment near every one, and, though I cannot understand this Omnipresence, yet I think it one of the most important principles of religion.—I believe further that God created the first man after his own image, in a state of perfection and purity to which we cannot attain now, but that He gave him at the same time the free will, the liberty to do good or evil, to act either according to God's will, or according to his own desires. Man preferred the last, came from that time under the power of sin, and is by nature now inclined to act against the will of God, and I most firmly believe that we all are sinners, that none is righteous, not only by actually sinning but even from birth, that we cannot conceive even a single good thought without the divine grace. It is true that God's goodness is boundless, that He is more willing to grant us pardon than we are inclined to ask it, that He is long suffering and full of mercy, but on the other side He is equally just, and as we have His word, that every one who breaks His law is cursed, our transgressions must be punished, must be punished severely. Accordingly none of us could be saved, we would be for ever excluded from the presence of God, and even if here on earth we might apparently escape the punishment, we could not escape the wrath to come. So far, I think, are my views distinct and clear: beyond these limits, I must, at least for the present, acknowledge my ignorance. I believe that we want a sacrifice to be reconciled with God, that He in His everlasting mercy brought Himself this sacrifice in giving His own Son for our sins, that He will pardon our sins. because our Saviour fulfilled the law, brought Himself a sacrifice and died for us. I believe that we only can be saved by Him and by none other—but I cannot yet clearly understand this atonement. Innate sinfulness or original proneness to sin, the absolute helplessness of man himself, want of a Saviour, and Salvation through Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, appear to me to be the great leading doctrines of Divine revelation. We can
be saved through the medium of Jesus Christ by Divine grace and help through the influence of the Holy Ghost. Thus we are entirely dependent on God's grace and mercy and can do nothing without Him. And yet we must work out our own salvation, must strive and fight the good fight of faith, must ask and pray ourselves—Salvation comes through faith, i.e. the belief in our own sinfulness and helplessness, God's mercy and justice, and the merits of our savour. Faith works love, hope and confidence in God and our Saviour; love constrains us to follow the example of Jesus Christ, to use charity towards our fellow-men and to do good works. In all this there is nothing exterior, nothing formal, nothing ceremonial: our religion is only spiritual, and we can serve God only in spirit. All outward forms are therefore of no importance whatever, as far as concerning genuineness of worshipping—but during our present life we can attain but to an inferior degree of Christian perfection and holiness; till our last hour we remain sinners. But if we have fought the good fight of faith, if we have overcome the world, if we are crucified in Christ, if we have held fast to the end of our life—then we shall be united to our Master, then shall be done away that which is now in part.

III. (The question is: "What are your sentiments respecting the nature and constitution of a Church of Christ, its ordinances, and that of Baptism in particular?")

To the third question I can but answer:

1. That from my peculiar circumstances, which will not fail to be appreciated by the Committee, I am not yet able to form a decided opinion on this point, as I am not acquainted enough partly with the Scripture, partly with the different forms of government among the different denominations of the Church of Christ.

2. That I left the Established Church of England, with which I was connected for more than 3 years and did not enter into one of its institutions, as it was offered to me, because I cannot believe that the Bible gives to a secular government the power to impose any form whatever upon a church, and because I cannot take for granted many things which are contained in the Common-Prayer-Book. From similar reasons, I did not wish to return to Prussia and become a minister of its Evangelical church.

3. That I read Payne, "the Church of Christ considered, etc.", partly and especially Section VI and VII, "on the officers and government of a Church", with much attention, and that, as far as I can see now, I approve of this author's views and opinions, and think them agreeable to the Scriptures.

IV. From what I have said in my answer to the second question, it will perhaps be perceived that I consider Baptism and the Lord's Supper as outward forms, which ought to be kept, because they are instituted by our Lord Himself, but which of themselves communicate no inward grace. As for Baptism, it appears to me, that this ordinance has in almost all the Christian churches lost its original signification: that of admission into a Christian church after a public or private declaration of repentance and belief in Jesus Christ. That such a declaration can be made by one person for another, as is taught by the English Episcopal Church, is certainly against the whole tenor of our religion, and it may be equally said, that it does not at all

1 He had been a member of the English Ch. in St. Petersburg—subsequently of the English Congl. Ch. there (Rev. T. S. Ellerby).
appear to agree with the spirituality of Christianity, that through the sprinkling with water or the dipping in water any inward grace whatever will be given. Some passages may seem to admit such a doctrine, but if we compare all what is said in the Bible in reference to Baptism, I think there can be but small doubt that at least at the times of our Saviour and his apostles, new birth or regeneration always preceded the act of baptism, and that this act itself was considered only as a public and solemn admission into the visible church of Christ. Infant Baptism is nowhere stated in the Bible, though it may appear from certain passages in the Acts and the Epistles that children were actually baptized, and one might ask, why therefore now children are baptized and not adults, as in the former times? I should answer, even because Baptism is only the act of public or private admission into the Christian church, and it would certainly not appear agreeable to our Lord's dealing with children, to prohibit their admission into his visible church. If Baptism were really more than this, if it were of any importance whatever for the spiritual and only true regeneration of men, it would be perhaps better and more conformable to the customs of the primitive church to baptize adults.

My views respecting the Lord's supper are similar. The passage from St Paul: Do this in remembrance of me, seems to me to be most agreeable to the spirituality of our religion, and gives me the best explanation of this ordinance. I do not therefore believe that in partaking of the Lord's Supper we receive any other inward grace, but such as is suggested by bringing forth into our remembrance our Saviour's atonement and death, and by the idea of assembling together and performing in Christian fellowship an ordinance which was instituted by our Lord Himself.

In answer to the other questions, I observe:

1. At present I am member of the British and American Church at St. Petersburg. In the Evangelical Church of Prussia I was received through the ordinance of confirmation the 14th of June 1835, when I was 15 years old. In Paris and during the first 5 months of my sojourn at St. Petersburg, I attended the English Episcopal Church.

2. As far as I know, neither my friends, nor the church with which I am at present connected, will bear the necessary expenses; but I think that if I should be permitted during my academical course to give lessons in the German and French languages or to give lectures on Botany and other branches of Natural History, I should in some degree be able to support myself.

3. (What is your age?) 25 years, 4 months.

4. (What has been the general state of your health hitherto?) A satisfying one.

5. (Are you unmarried and entirely unincumbered with the support of a family?) To both these questions I can give an affirmative answer.

6. (Have you any weakness of voice, or impediment in utterance, or other bodily defect?) Not so far as I know, besides my not being an Englishman.

7. (Have you hitherto engaged in any secular calling, and, if so, what?) For the past two years I have been tutor, partly in a German, partly in a Russian family.

8. (Have you been accustomed to engage in any social religious services . . . or any efforts to promote the welfare of others?) No, as will appear from the history of my personal religion.
9. *Whether is your mind directed to the ministry at home, or to foreign missionary labour?* I think I should prefer to enter into a Missionary Society.

10. I can refer you only to the Rev. E. Law, Minister of the English Episcopal Church, St. Petersburg, who wrote on my behalf to the Rev. Dr. Dalton, Chaplain to the Bishop of London, by whom I could have got admittance to the Church Missionary Society's College at Islington.

On the eve of leaving Russia and sailing for England from reasons which you will allow me to explain personally, I can but add my warmest thanks for the kind and benevolent encouragement which you have given me.

I am, dear Sir,

Your obedient

CARL W. BUCH.

In the *Transactions* (Oct., 1940) of the Unitarian Historical Society notes may be found on the histories of the churches at Notting Hill Gate, Hindley, Longsight, and Chichester. An account is given of the Clough Fund, which for 175 years has assisted students for the ministry. There is a further instalment of "Our Communion Plate" by Geo. Eyre Evans, of whom there is an obituary appreciation.

The historical articles in the *Baptist Quarterly* (Jan. & April, 1941) include studies of Lamb's friend George Dyer by the Rev. E. A. Payne and of Thomas Walcot by Dr. W. T. Whittley, a review of 40 years of Regent's Park College by the Rev. A. J. D. Farrer, and an account of the West London Suburban Baptist Ministers' Fraternal (1909-41) by the Rev. F. C. M. Perkins. Some letters from New York to Dr. John Rippon are printed, dated 1801-02. In the July number Dr. F. Mott Harrison continues his research into the connexion between Bunyan and Andrew Gifford.

*Babylon Bruis'd and Mount Moriah Mended; being a compendious & authentick Narracioun of ye Proceedings of ye William Dowson Societie in a Visitacione of all ye Parisses Churches & College Chapells of Cam-bridge during a Longe Vacation;* by F. Brittain & Bernard Manning (Heffer, 6d.) is a delightfully clever skit. The Visitors break down all Children's Corners and burn all *Songs of Prayse* and *Oxford Psalters*.

At Saynte Michael's Church, as fayre a chirche as is in this towne, we gave order to paynte all ye walles white. We suffered ye windows with pictures of Sayntes therein to staye, but destroied all ye greene Windows with fleur de lys, for it is bettere to behold even ye new buildinge at Caius College than to live in an aquarium. Item, we gave ordere to stop .i. leake in ye roofe over ye Quire.

GEoffrey F. Nuttall.
Lyon Turner’s *Original Records*

NOTES AND IDENTIFICATIONS II.

The following list of identifications presents much the same evidence and suggests much the same conclusions as the list to be found on XIII. 15-24. We see something of the continuity of Nonconforming piety both before and after the dates 1669 and 1672, which were regulative for Turner’s researches. A round dozen of these names were on the various County Committees of the Eastern Association thirty years earlier; a number of them will have entered on the stated ministry of recognized churches twenty years later. “The Church of Christ in and about Bedford”, which now goes by the name of Bunyan Meeting, is shown, like the church at Longworth, Berks., to have evangelized the whole neighbourhood: at Oakley and Stagsden, Beds., and Olney and Newport Pagnell, Bucks., to the West, at Cardington, Haynes and Ashwell, Beds., to the South, and at Toft and Gamlinghay, Cambs., to the East, members of this vital church were having themselves or their homes licensed for worship in 1672. No wonder Bunyan Meeting to-day needs an assistant minister to care for the attached village churches, which still include Stagsden, Cardington now being under the oversight of Howard Church, Bedford; the missionary tradition here goes back farther than the early nineteenth century dates given for these village churches in the *Congregational Year Book* would suggest. Collation of Turner’s names with the *Broadmead Records* show Bristol to have been another lively centre.

As before, *Calamy Revised* has been the main stand-by and has proved a mine of information, of which the half is not told. In a large number of cases Turner’s names are found to be those of sons-in-law or other relations by marriage of the ejected ministers, who naturally formed the hard core of the earliest Nonconformity. In this way we regain some sense of the fuller fellowship lying behind these lists of individuals: they appealed for licences not as individuals but conscious of their membership of a society as interconnected and real as that of Quakerism to-day. The relationships of blood and friendship between the ejected ministers were even closer and more numerous, indeed, than appears from a casual study of *Calamy Revised*, for only rarely has space permitted their full cross-referencing in that work.

The number in parentheses following each name and address is of the page in *Original Records*, Vol. II to be supplied unless otherwise indicated.
ABBREVIATIONS.

Broadmead Rect.: E. Terrill, Records of a Church of Christ meeting in Broadmead, Bristol, ed. N. Haycroft (1865).

Browne: J. Browne, Congregationalism in Norfolk and Suffolk.

Calamy: Cont.: E. Calamy, Continuation of the Account of the Ministers Ejected.


Urwick, Herts.: W. Urwick, Nonconformity in Herts.


ALFORD, Capt., Lyme Regis, Dorset (1137); Major Jn. Alford a Presbyterian in the Parliamentarian army (C. H. Firth, Regimental Hist. of Cromwell's Army, 143 foll.).

ALLEN, Jn., Radwell, Herts. (880); later min. at Barley, Herts.; a Scotsman (Gordon, 50).

AMOS, Wm., Wattisfield, Suffolk (903); should be in heavy type, being identical with Wm. Ames (904); D.N.B.; C.R.

ARMITAGE, Jn., Kirkburton, Yorks. (655); a friend of Oliver Heywood's (Heywood, saepe).

ASHWOOD, Luke, Gamlinghay, Cambs. (869); should be in light type; called to ministry of Bapt. ch., Bedford, 1671; signed letter to Bapt. ch., Hitchin, 1677 (Urwick, Herts., 645, n.2).

AUSTIN(E), Henry, Norwich (901); min. of Bapt. ch., Norwich; living in 1713 (Browne, 551 f.).

AYLWARD, Wm., New House, St Albans, Herts. (883); among parishioners entrusted with sequestratn., 1647 (Urwick, Herts., 149).

BALL, Wm., Dartmouth, Devon (1166); son-in-law of Jn. Flavell, ej. there-from (D.N.B.; C.R.); signed Dartmouth petition (I. 208).

BARNET, Andrew, Astbury, Cheshire (695); should be in heavy type; C.R.


BETHELL, Lady, Ane, Yorks. (644); rel. to Slingsby Bethel (D.N.B.).

BIGNELL, Tim., Deddington, Oxon. (827); prob. son-in-law of Thos. Wheatley, sup. (C.R.), as Whatley.


BOUNS, Jn., Coventry, Warwickshire (799); min. at Coventry 1682-92, 'a very worthy and learned man' (Gordon, 117f., 225).

BOWDEN, (Jos.,) Itin. min. in Som. (1079-83); ej. (not fr. Littleham, Devon, as G.L.T., but) fr. Wotton-under-Edge, Glos.; C.R.

BRADFORD, Dan., Norwich (901); foundation member 1642, and important deacon, of Old Meeting, Norwich; declared member no longer, 1667 (Browne, 550 f.).

BRAY, Wm., Shiplake, Oxon. (830); poss. author of Plea for the Peoples Good Oil Cause, 1659.
LYON TURNER’S Original Records

Breedon, Wm., Olney and Newport Pagnell, Bucks. (837f.); recommended by ‘the Church of Christ in and about Bedford to the Church of Christ walking with our beloved Brother Cockain [D.N.B.; C.R.] in London’, 1681 (C.H.S. Trans., XII. 228).

Broughton, And., Seaton, Rutland (773); host to Jn. Richardson, ej. fr. Stamford, Lincs. (C.R.).

Brown, Jas., Lower Clatford, Hants. (1038);  [D.N.B.]

Brown, Jn., Wymondham, Norfolk (895); on Norfolk Comm. of Eastern Assocn. (Carlyle, II. 382).


Buckley, Jn., Shipley, Sussex (1023); ej. (not fr. Goostrey, Cheshire, as G.L.T., but) therefrom; C.R.

Burgess, [Dan., not Benj.,] itin. min. in Berks. (942, 944f.); ej. (not fr. Portsmouth, Hants., as G.L.T., but) fr. Collingbourne Ducis, Wilts., as 1057-65; C.R.

Burgess, Dan., jun., Ramsbury & Collingbourne Ducis, Wilts. (1059f.); D.N.B.

Burroughs, Thos., Malpas, Cheshire (696); ej. (not fr. Cottesbrook, Northants, as G.L.T., but) fr. Harthill, Cheshire; C.R.


Butler, Henry, Laverton, Som. (1087); should be in heavy type; C.R.

Buxton, (Mich.), Manchester (678); signed Manchester petition (I, 226).

Buze, Sam., Manchester (678); should be in heavy type, as identical with Sam. Bayes (677); C.R.

Carter, Robt., Wrayseby & Colnbrook, Bucks. (836); ej. (not fr. St. Michael’s, Crooked Lane, London, as G.L.T., but) fr. Upton cum Chalvey, Bucks.; C.R.

Ceager, Jn., Bristol (819); later a leading member of Pithay Bapt. ch., Bristol (Broadmead Recs., 115, as Teague); ‘Teig late postmaster at Bristol, an Anabaptist’ 1660 (C.S.P.D., Chas. II, XXIII, 71 (1), ap. C.H.S. Trans. X1II. 31, n.35).

Clarke, (Thos.) Enfield, Middlesex (955); trustee of estate of Haslefoot Bridges, ej. fr. St. Alban’s, Wood St., London (C.R.).

Claxton, Widow, Emneth, Norfolk (889); poss. widow of Laurence Claxton (D.N.B.).

Coates, Matt., Gainsborough, Lincs. (726); mercer, gave his house to be used as a chapel (Gordon, 239).

Collier, Abel, Coventry, Warwickshire (799); (not fr. Morton, Herefordshire, as G.L.T., but) fr. Nether Whitacre, Warwickshire; C.R.

Collier, Thos., itin. min. in Wilts. and Som. (1061, 1070, 1084, 1122); (not ej. fr. Nether Whitacre, Warwickshire, as G.L.T., but) min. of Bapt. ch., Southwick, Wilts., founded 1655; called “one Collier, an Arrian, Socinian” by Thos. Hall (D.N.B.), 1652; “ye Pastor thereof, T.C., holding forth some unsound Doctrines or New Notions, Contrary to ye generall reception of Sound & Orthodox Men”, 1676 (Broadmead Recs., 153); see further D.N.B.


Cooper, Thos., Oakley & Bedford, Beds. (854, 859); called to ministry of Bapt. ch., Bedford, 1671; signed letter to Bapt. ch., Hitchin, 1677 (Urwick, Herts., 645, n.2).
COORE, Rich., Tong, Yorks. (665); should be in heavy type; C.R.
CORNEWALL, Fran., Marden, Kent (1006); author of *Vindicatn. of the Royal Commission of King Jesus ... against ... the Baptisme of the Infants of Beleviers*, 1644, and many other tracts.
CORNISH, Wm., Henley-on-Thames, Oxon. (828); perh. son of Henry Cornish, ej. fr. Ch. Ch., Oxford (C.R.).
CRICLOW(E), Jn., Coventry, Warwickshire (799); bro.-in-law of Sam. Basset, ej. therefrom (C.R.).
CROUCH, Jn., Cripplegate, London (986); (not the 1662 Lewes candidate, as G.L.T., but) ej. fr. Alderbury, Wilts.; identical with next; C.R.
CROUCH, (Jn.,) itin. min. in Wilts. (1066, 1071); ej. (not fr. Lewes, Sussex, as G.L.T., but) fr. Alderbury, Wilts.; identical with last; C.R.
DAM(M)ER, Jn., Cerne Abbas, Dorset (1131); perh. son of Edw. Damer, inf. (C.R.).
DANDY, Fran., Oakley Magna Northants. (805); should be in heavy type; C.R.
DAUNSY, Thos., Shelden, Devon (1150); presented at assizes for Nonconformity 1680 (C.R., s.v. Geo. Newton); later itin. min. in Som. (Gordon, 148).
DEARNELLY, Nich., Manchester (678); signed Manchester petition (I. 252).
DENTON, Jn., Osgoodby, Yorks. (643); ej. fr. Oswaldkirk, Yorks.; C.R.
DISNEY, Jn., Lincoln (726); Esq., on Lincs. Comm. of Eastern Assocn. (Carlyle, II. 381); cf. C.R., Index.
DONN(E), Wm., Old Weston, Hunts. (847); should be in heavy type; C.R.
DUNCH, Majer (not Major), Sandford, Oxon. & Pusey, Berks. (828, 942); cf. C.R., Index.
ELES, Wm., Flamstead, Herts. (880); gentleman; died 1691 (Urwick, *Herts.*, 404, n.2).
EWER, (Stephen,) Punsbourne House, Hatfield, Herts. (877, 881); purchased the manor 1653 (Urwick, *Herts.*, 585).
FACY, Jn., Werrington, Devon (1176); yeoman, surety, 1664, for Lewis Facy, ej. fr. Upton Helions, Devon (C.R.), presumably his relation.
(FAGG, Sir Jn., Bt.,) Mistoll House, Charnham, Kent; *D.N.B.*
FAIRCLOUGH, Sam., Chippenham, Camb. (866); ej. (not fr. Kedington, Suffolk, as G.L.T., but) fr. Houghton Conquest, Beds.; C.R.
FENNE, Jn., Stagsden & Bedford, Beds. (854f., 859); called to ministry of Baptist. ch., Bedford, 1671; signed letter to Baptist. ch., Hitchin, 1677 (Urwick, *Herts.*, 645, n.2).
FENNE, Sam., itin. min. in Beds. (858f.); senior pastor of Baptist. ch., Bedford, 1650; signed letter to Baptist. ch., Hitchin, 1677 (Urwick, *Herts.*, 645, n.2); prob. the Fenne of Bedford at Olney, Bucks. (837).
FINCH, Martin, itin. min. in Lincs. & Norfolk (729, 890, 892, 896; add at Oulton, 891); ej. (not fr. some unknown place in Derbyshire, as G.L.T., but) fr. Tetney, Lincs.; C.R.
Fisher, Mr., Sheffield, Yorks. (663); perh. son of Jas. Fisher, ej. therefrom (C.R.).


Forth, Alderman Jn., Clapton, Middlesex (957); son-in-law of Sir Henry Vane the younger (D.N.B.; J. Willcock, Sir H. Vane the younger, 353).

Frosell, Jer., Garston, Herts. (879); son of Thos. Frosell, ej. fr. Clun, Salop (C.R.); min. at Henley-on-Thames, Oxon. (Gordon, 85, 268).

Gatchell, Edw., Pitminster, Som. (1102, 1124); son-in-law of Thos. Forward, ej. therefrom (C.R.).

Gifford, And., Bristol (819); became min. of Pithay Bapt. ch., Bristol, 1679 (Broadmead Recs., 92 foll., 289).

Gooch, Jn. & Stephen, Besthorpe & Bunwell, Norfolk (895, 897); cf. C.R., 226.

Grantham, Thos., Rowston, Lincs. (not Leics.) (771); D.N.B.

Gray, Enoch, itin. min. in Glos., Wilts., & Som. (1063ff., 1119); ej. fr. East Knoyle, Wilts.; C.R.


Griffin, Mr., Bristol (819); meeting 'kept at Sister Griffen's house in Christmas Street', 1645; Martha Griffin, 'Dr. Griffin's Daughter', member of Broadmead Bapt. ch., Bristol, 1669, & signed invitation to Thos. Hardcastle to pastorate, 1671 (Broadmead Recs., 27, 70, 72, 239).

Hallet, Elij., Bridport, Dorset (1142); prob. second wife (Elij.) of Jos. Hallet, ej. fr. Chiselborough, Som., who was bapt. at Bridport, bur. his first wife there 1651, & lived there after ejectn. (C.R.).

Hardcastle, (Thos.) Thorner & Barwick, Yorks. & Bitton, Glos. (647, 668, 818); not Papist; should be in heavy type; C.R.

Hare, Oliver, Stoke St. Mary, Som. (1100); signed Stoke petition (I. 263).

Harrison, Thos., Chester (697); ej. (not fr. Charlton Kings, Glos., as G.L.T., but) fr. St. Oswald's, Chester; C.R.


Hayward, Robt., Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk (917); prob. father of Robt. Haward, deacon here, who died 1718, aged 60, having 'suffered trouble and imprisonment in times of persecution' (Browne, 412).

Heath, Widow, Preston, Herts. (880); perhaps widow of 'Heath, the collar-maker of Watton', included among the 'four famous preachers in Herts.' (T. Edwards, Gangraena, 111. 81).

Herne, Jer., Sawbridgeworth, Herts. (877); tradesman who insisted on opening shop 'upon all holie days and thanksgiving and fast dayes' (Urwick, Herts., 686).

Herring, Jn., Bishops Hull, Som. (1097); one of seven students of New Inn Hall, Oxon., who left the university as not approving of the doctrine and discipline of the Ch. of England; or his father (C.R.).

Heyward, Thos., Houghton Regis, Beds. & St. Albans, Herts. (860, 882f.); min. at Kensworth (later St. Albans), Herts.; died 1688 (Urwick, Herts., 217).

Heyward, al. Haworth, (Wm.) St. Albans, Herts. (882); should be in heavy type; C.R.; cf. Urwick, Herts., 216.

Hieron, Sam., Chartham & Molash, Kent (993f.); ej. (not fr. Shirley, Derbyshire, as G.L.T., but) fr. Chilham, Kent; C.R., as Herne, Sampson.
Hobbs, Rich., itin. min. in Kent (1003); cf. T. Rudyard, The Anabaptist Preacher unmasked... as also the Newes from Richard Hobbs, an Anabaptist Preacher in Dover, examined, 1672.

Holgate, Geo., Bishop's Stortford, Herts. (877); maltster (Urwick, Herts., 701, 704).

Holwey, Jer., Bristol (825); discussed III. 290f.

Honylove, Thos., Bedford (859); signed letter from Bapt. ch., Bedford, to Bapt. ch., Hitchin, 1677 (Urwick, Herts., 645, n.2).

Hors(e)man, Edw., Stratton, Rutland (774); host to Jn. Richardson, ej. fr. Stamford, Lincs. (C.R.).

Hubert, Fran., Bristol (818); ej. fr. Winterbourne Monkton, Wilts.; C.R.

Hughes, Wm., Clapham, Surrey (1011); ej. (not fr. Marlborough, Wilts., as G.L.T., but) fr. Hinton Waldrist, Berks.; C.R.

Ives, Jer., Reading (951); D.N.B.

Jackson, Chas., Halam, Notts. (717); ej. fr. Selston, Notts.; C.R.

Jacob, Jn., Canterbury, Kent (1001); prob. rel. to Wm. Jacob, ej. fr. St. Nicholas at Wade, Kent, where his dau. bap. 1663 (C.R.).

Jennett, Thos., Bristol (818); ej. fr. Brimfield, Glos.; C.R., as Jennings.

Johnson, Thos., North Repps, Norfolk (885); Gent., on Norfolk Comm. of Eastern Assocn. (Carlyle, II. 382).

Juice (not Sayer), Thos., Gracechurch St., London (981); ej. (not fr. Rudford, Glos., as G.L.T., but) fr. St. Martin's, Worcester; C.R.

Kekewich, Sam., St. Germans, Cornwall (1187); Geo. Kekewich M.P. for Liskeard, Cornwall, in Long Parlt. (Carlyle, II. 363); Edw. Kekewich, of Menheniot, Cornwall, son-in-law of Sir Henry Vane the younger (J. Willcock, Sir H. Vane the younger, 353).

Kerridge, Sarah, Wootton Fitzpaine, Dorset (1137); presumably dau. of Jn. Kerridge, ej. therefrom (C.R.).

Kiffin, Wm., Little Moorfields, London (988); D.N.B.


King, Jas., Debenham, Suffolk (919); not son of Jn. King, ej. therefrom, as G.L.T., but himself, his name (pace Cal.) being James; C.R.

King, Mark, Maiden Newton, Dorset (1131); ej. fr. Winterbourne Stoke, Wilts.; C.R.

Kingsnorth, Rich., Staplehurst, Kent (1006); D.N.B.

Knight, Anne, Southampton (1047); Jas. Knight signed Southampton petition (393).

Lane, Sam., North Repps, Norfolk (885); ej. (not fr. Long Houghton, Northumberland, as G.L.T., but) therefrom; C.R.

Lee, Jos., Ashby-de-la-Launde, Lincs. & Catthorpe (not Calthorpe), Leics. (727, 766, 768); ej. (not fr. Burton Pedwardine, Lincs., as 727, but) fr. Cotesbach, Leics., as 766, 768; C.R.


Lion, Thos., Sawbridgeworth, Herts. (877); among parishioners entrusted with sequestration, 1643 (Urwick, Herts., 683).

Lobb, Rich., Trewoorder House, Kenwyn, & Falmouth House, Mylor, Cornwall (1191); father of Stephen Lobb, inf.; High Sheriff of Cornwall, 1652; M.P. for St. Michael's, Cornwall, 1659 (Gordon, 304, s.v. Peter Lobb).

Lobb, Stephen, Mylor, Cornwall (1191); D.N.B.
LONG, Geo., Leicester (758); should be in heavy type; C.R.
LOTON, Rich., Spittlefields, London (987); Edw. Loston m. Aholibah, dau. of
LOVEDAY, Sam., East Smithfield, London (989); D.N.B.
LOW, Wm., Chiswick, Middlesex (960); ej. fr. Hereford Cathedral; C.R.

MALE, Edm., Fenny Stanton, Hunts. (849); on Cambs. Comm. of Eastern
Assocn. (Carlyle, II. 379).
MAN, Wm., Stagsden, Beds. (854); signed letter fr. Bapt. ch., Bedford, to
Bapt. ch., Hitchin, 1677 (Urwick, Herts., 645, n.2).
MANNING, Edw., Dartmouth, Devon (1166); signed Dartmouth petition
(I. 208).
MANNING, Sam., jun., Pulham, Norfolk (899); not Sam. Manning, ej. fr.
Walpole, Suffolk, as G.L.T., but his son; later min. of Congreg. ch.,
Sweffling, Suffolk (Browne, 548).
MARSH, Jn., Garston, Herts. (879); bought the estate c. 1636; died 1681
(Urwick, Herts., 361); on Herts. Comm. of Eastern Assocn. (Carlyle, II. 379);
host to Jon. Grew & to Jn., son of Oliver Heywood (Heywood, IV. 85).
MARSHALL, Thos., itin. min. in Som. (1111f.); min. at Ilminster; died 1705
(Gordon, 9, 308f.).
MARTYN, (Geo.,) Birmingham (791); ej. (not fr. Monks Kirby, Warwickshire,
as G.L.T., but) fr. Weedon Beck, Northants.; C.R.
Masters, Jos., Cheshunt, Herts. (883); should be in heavy type; C.R., as
Maisters.
MERRIMAN, Thos., Newbury, Berks. (951); father of Benj. Merriman, min.
at Newbury (Gordon, 312).
MILWAY, Thos., Preston, Herts. & Coggeshall, Essex (880, 937); min. at
Bury St. Edmund, Suffolk, 1674-93 (Browne, 405ff.).
MOLESEY, al. MOSELEY, Robt., Cloughhead, Derbyshire (710); 'one of the
founders (1691) of the Cheshire Classis, being then Min. of Ringhay
Chapel, Cheshire' (Gordon, 312).
MOORE, Stephen, Southwark, Surrey (983); perhaps identical with Simon
MOORE, Thos., Esq., Batcombe & Spargrove, Som. (1088); cf. C.R., Index.

NELTHORPE, Jn., Little Grimsby, Lincs. (728); Esq., on Lincs. Comm. of
Eastern Assocn., & M.P. for Beverley, Yorks., in Long Parlt. (Carlyle,
II. 366, 381); secluded by Pride's Purge, 1648 (Declarat. . . . concerning
the Secluded Members, 1659).
NOWELL (printed NORWELL in Index), Sam., Newton, Derbyshire & Ash-
field, Notts. (704—duplicated at 709—, 721); ej. (not fr. Oakley, Surrey,
ne 704, 709, but) fr. Ault Hucknall, Derbyshire, as 721; C.R.
ORLEBAR, Matt., Polebrook, Northants, (805); son of Geo. Orlebar, Esq., of
Poddington Manor, Beds.; 'qualifying for the ministry', 1690 (Gordon,
78, 322).

PEMBERTON, Robt., St. Albans, Herts. (880); of a well-known St. Albans
family (Urwick, Herts., 179f.).
PATT, Jn., Godalming, Surrey (1015); ej. (not fr. Trin. Coll., Cambridge, as
G.L.T., but) fr. West Horsley, Surrey; C.R.
RICE, —, Aston & Sheephall, Herts. (883); 'the tinker of Aston', included
among the 'four famous preachers in Herts.' (T. Edwards, Gangraena,
III. 81).
RICH, Silvanus, (Bull House.) Peniston, Yorks. (654, 662); cf. C.R., Index.
ROLLS, Wm., Pinner, Middlesex (963); ej. (not fr. Folkestone, Kent, as
G.L.T., but) therefrom; C.R.
ROWE, Jn., Shobrooke, Devon (1156); cousin of Jn. Rowe, ej. fr. Westminster Abbey (C.R.), not himself, as G.L.T.

SCOTT, Oliver, itin. min. in Beds. & Cambs. (859, 868f., 879—Ashwell being in Beds., not Herts.); should be in light type; called to ministry of Bapt. ch., Bedford, 1671; signed letter to Bapt. ch., Hitchin, 1677 (Urwick, Herts., 645, n.2).

SCURR, Jn., Osgoodby Grange, Yorks. (643); should be in light type, as not identical with Leonard Scurr, ej. fr. Beeston, Yorks., who continued at Beeston (C.R.).


SILLY, Mrs. Anne, Helligan, Bodmin, Cornwall (1189); Mrs. Dorothy Silly, jun., niece of Jon. Wills, sup. (C.R.).

SIMS, Wm., Kingston-on-Thames, Surrey (1012); ej. (not fr. Leicester, as G.L.T., but) fr. Wimbledon, Surrey; C.R.

SMITH, Sam., jun., Hereford (778); should be in heavy type; C.R.

SMITH, Mr., Woolley, Glos. (not Som.) (1079); Mary Smith of Wooland member of Broadmead Bapt. ch., Bristol, 1675; cast out 1679 (Broadmead Recs., 91, 195).

SPENCER, Jn., Cheshunt, Herts. (883, cf. 882); poss. author of Treatise concerning lawfulness of every man exercising his gift as God shall call him thereunto, 1641; signed letter to Cromwell as Commissioner for Herts., 1655 (Urwick, Herts., 671); preacher at Theobalds, Herts., 1658 (ib., 507).

SPRIGG, Wm., Ensworth, Hants. (1043, 1048); ? D.N.B.

SPRINGALL, Thos., Wells, Norfolk (899f.); on Norfolk Comm. of Eastern Assocn. (Carlyle, II. 383).

STANSBY, Philip, Dorchester, Dorset (1141); Mayor 1657 & ‘one of the most prominent & influential of Dorchester’s citizens’; III. 330f.


STEWARD, Anth., Tunstead, Norfolk (894); a Steward, Esq., on Norfolk Comm. of Eastern Associatn. (Carlyle, II. 383).

STRANGE, Joan, Bideford, Devon (1183); m. 1673 Theoph. Polwhele, ej. fr. Tiverton, Devon (C.R.); presumably rel. to Eliz. Strange, whom Jn. Bartlet, ej. fr. Fremington, Devon, m. at Bideford (C.R.); and to Kath. Strange, whom Jon. Hamer, ej. fr. Bishop’s Tawton, Devon, m. at Bideford (C.R.).

STRONG, Jas., itin. min. in Som. (1095-1111); ej. (not fr. Alwinton, Northumberland, as G.L.T., but) fr. Ilminster, Som.; C.R.

TAVERNER, Sam., Dover, Kent (1003); formerly Commander of Deal Castle; III. 312.

TERRY, Stephen, Sutton, Hants. (1036); prob. son of Jas. Terry, sup. (C.R.).


TOFT(s), Jn., Norwich (896, 901); gent., on Norfolk Comm. of Eastern Assocn. (Carlyle, II. 383).

TOVY, Simon, Bristol (819); ‘We gave warning to our Landlord, Tovy, that we should leave our Meeting-House, being kept out of it by Force’, 22 June 1682 (Broadmead Recs., 240).

TRACY, Thos., East Ruston & Great Yarmouth, Norfolk (900f.); orig. a member of Congreg. ch., Yarmouth, among whom two of his children baptized, 1650-1; ‘the church at Yarmouth did withdraw from Thomas Tracy as one that did make divisions’, 166 (Browne, 547, with n.).

VAUX, Thos., Edworth, Beds. & Pirton, Herts. (859, 882); min. at Broadmead Bapt. ch., Bristol, 1687-93 (Broadmead Recs., 15 foll.).
LYON TURNER'S Original Records

WAITE, Jn., Toft, Cambs. (868); should be in light type, as not ej. fr. Sproughton, Suffolk (C.R., as Jos.); poss. min. at Meesden, Herts., 1654 (Urwick, Herts., 760).

WALKER, Jn., Rochdale & Newton, Lancs. (674, 680); not nephew of Wm. Walker, ej. fr. Newton Heath, Lancs., as G.L.T., but himself, his name (pace Cal.) being John; C.R.

WALL, Jn., Gloucester (823); ej. (not fr. Broadway, Worcs., as G.L.T., but) fr. Broadwas, Worcs.; C.R.

WARD, Leonard, Tanshelf, Yorks. (654); of The Court, Pontefract, Yorks., where he was host to Josh. Ferret, ej. therefrom (C.R.; cf. Dale, 56).

WHINCOP, Rich., Spexhall, Suffolk (913); despite licence, fined £20 as conventicle, & appeal dismissed, 1674 (C.R., s.v. Wm. Manning).

WIGLAYE, Jn., Wirksworth, Derbyshire (703); Thos. Shelmerdine, ej. fr. Matlock, Derbyshire, m. Faith Wigley, & retired to Wirksworth after ejn. (C.R.).

WILLIS, Henry, Cransley, Northants. (806); ej. (not fr. Faxton, Northants., as G.L.T., but) fr. Lodddington, Northants.; C.R.

WOOD, Robt., itin. min. in Norfolk (900); Robt. Wood, Esq., on Norfolk Comm. of Eastern Assocn. (Carlyle, II. 383).

WOODWARD, Lidia, Cookley, Suffolk (914); perh. widow of Woodward ej. fr. Southwold, Suffolk (C.R.).

WOOLHOUSE, Robt., Glapwell, Derbyshire (664); prob. son of Thos. Woolhouse of Glapwell, 'a great Supporter of godly Ministers' (C.R., s.v. Robt. Durant).

WOOLSTON(E), Jn., itin. min. in Norfolk (900f.); min. of Bapt. ch., Ingham, Norfolk, seemingly 1657-77 (Harmer MSS., ap. Browne, 554).

WORTH, Jn., Road Weendon, Northants (807); should be in heavy type; C.R.

WORTHAM, Thos., Wickwar, Glos. (518); min. at Nailsworth, Glos. (Gordon 389); prob. identical with Thos. Worden, itin. min. in Worcs., Warwickshire, Glos., & Berks. (785, 803, 820, 948).

WRIGHT, Jn., Arnold, Notts. (722); not the Jn. Wright ej. fr. Edmondthorpe, Leics., as G.L.T. (C.R.); prob. the Capt. Wright, an elder at Castle Gate Congreg. ch., Nottingham, 'a credit to religion, and an ornament to the congregation' (Church Book, ap. A. R. Henderson, Hist. of Castle Gate Congreg. Ch., Nottingham, 72).

GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL.

Not every magnum opus is to be judged by its bulk. In Dr. A. Dakin's Calvinism (Duckworth, 5s.) is the mellowness which comes of working over a subject con amore for many years, combined with an irreducible succinctness. The book is divided into three main parts: Calvinism as a dogmatic system; Calvinism as an ecclesiastical system; and, Some Aspects of Calvinism. The first part, an extended synopsis and interpretation of the Institutio, is especially valuable not only for its lucidity but for the delicate intermingling of admiration and criticism. The second and third parts, which deal with the spread of the ecclesiastical system through Europe and the English-speaking world, and with such subjects as Scripture, Authority, the Social Order, and Church and State, are more sketchy, and their references tend to be secondary; but they make most stimulating reading. In the first part attention is drawn to such principles as Calvin's conceiving of God primarily in terms of will, the theological basis of his humanitarianism, and his interest in personnalité rather than acte (Doumergue), and to the fruitfulness

[Continued on p. 122]
Arthur Dunlop Martin

The death last December of A. D. Martin (as he always signed himself), at the age of 71, has deprived the Congregational churches of one of those scholar-ministers who, we like to think, are a special characteristic of ours, yet for whom one searches far in days when Christianity must be "practical" or it is nothing. Though his interests were less specialized, Martin reminded one of F. J. Powicke, who had the same combination of spiritual and intellectual earnestness with Christian gentleness. His conversation could recall Dr. Horton's: how few have that gift of expressing personality as they talk, so that with the first sentence you know you are in touch with something vital; his choice of words might seem at first a trifle precious, but soon you saw they were not chosen self-consciously but were the fruit of a reflection deep and disciplined. In Edinburgh, indeed, some came to listen to his sermons drawn in the first instance by admiration for his English. There, as at Southampton, Buxton, and Chelmsford, his name is held in warm affection and respect. In his churches, as in his home life, he was a truly happy man. Even the ill health, which in youth had prevented him from the higher education, and which often dogged him later, was accepted and used and made a blessing.

Those who know Martin's books think so highly of them that it is a pity they are not known and read more widely. The number of our ministers who, with no degree from any university, have had a six shilling work published by the Cambridge Press, must be small, if it exceeds the number one: Aspects of the Way: being meditations and studies in the life of Jesus Christ (C.U.P., 1924) is perhaps Martin's most distinguished contribution. It was followed by The Prophet Jonah: the Book and the Sign (Longmans, 1926); and by Foreshewings of Christ: Old Testament Studies in the Preparation for the Advent (S.P.C.K., 1930), in which are to be found the same scholarly "openings" of familiar texts and scenes, the same delicacy of touch and spiritual perception, as in the larger book. Meanwhile our own leaders knew their man, and for the Congregational Union he wrote his admirable book, The Principle of the Congregational Churches (1927), which has chapters on the principle's devotional and business applications as well as on its historical evolution; while for the L.M.S. he wrote of Doctor Vanderkemp (Livingstone Press, 1931), the Society's pioneer missionary to S. Africa. A short appreciation of one of his "great

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ones’” appeared as *The Religion of Wordsworth* (Allen & Unwin), which he told me, significantly, was really on the religion of gratitude, as illustrated by Wordsworth. Earlier he had tried his hand at a seventeenth century novel, *Una Breakspear*. Increasingly, however, his mind turned to Jesus Himself, and 1934 saw the publication of a larger work, *The Holiness of Jesus* (Allen & Unwin). In the last year of his life he wrote to me, “I feel that this Supreme Figure is more to me than ever. It would be a good thing if every Christian disciple in his old age would try to write the Life of his Master, though no eye other than his own ever saw it”. Happily the MS. of his attempt was completed a few weeks before he died, and is at present with the printer.

Martin’s temperament was a poetic and imaginative one—Vaughan, Wordsworth, and Francis Thompson were among his hierarchy—and it is the combination of this with his scholarly carefulness (he knew and could interpret *cruces* in both the Bible’s original tongues) which gives character and quality to his writing. While deeply grateful for all the help towards understanding which modern scholarship has given, he yet insisted that Jesus Christ was a poet, not a logician, and that the intuitive, imaginative approach to Him needs tender nurturing. Then “sometimes we come suddenly upon a hidden blossom where we had never before discerned a bud, though we had thought we knew all the buds”.

Martin was no pacifist—he felt too keenly, he said, the individual’s undischarged debt to Society—but he had the eirenic temper which all pacifists must desire. It sprang from his child-like trust in a Father-God. “Two texts often ring in my memory”, he wrote in his last letter to me; “‘All things are Thy servants’ (Ps. 11991) and ‘Of Him and through Him and unto Him are all things’ (Rom. 1136). Here I anchor and find tranquillity”.

**Geoffrey F. Nuttall.**

[Continued from p. 120]

of their consequences. The treatment is historical, and Dr. Dakin is careful to indicate where Calvin’s doctrine is “still mediaeval” or not completely emancipated from older thought-forms, and where his argument is “scarcely possible to a modern thinker”. His remark that “Calvin’s view of the Bible will never be resuscitated” is important, since, as he says elsewhere, all turns on “the rightness or wrongness of the Reformer’s conception of Scripture and the soundness of his deductions from it”. In view of the revived interest in Calvinism, this book meets a real need. In a later edition misprints need attention on pp. 41, 103, 189 (where IV.viii.5 should be IV.viii.8), 193, and 210 (where XIII.vii.2 should be III.vii.2).

**G. F. Nuttall.**
REVIEWS


Having already published volumes of source materials for the Baptists and the Presbyterians, the indefatigable Prof. Sweet has now turned his attention to the Congregationalists. It is a fascinating collection of documents he has printed—about missionaries following settlers to Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, Wisconsin, and other frontier territory. We have Chicago in 1835 with a population of 300, and development at the rate described by Stephen Peet to the American Home Missionary Society dated “Milwaukie, March 30, 1844”:

When I made my first tour through the Territory in 1839, I found only six churches and three ministers. Now we have a General Convention and Three District Conventions which embrace sixty one churches and over forty ministers.

Peet was one of the remarkable figures in the religious life of the period—a missionary statesman with insight and acumen, as this letter of 1843 bears witness:

The place (Prairie du Sac) is increasing in population and it is important that the station be occupied. It is the only foothold we have on the north side of the Wisconsin River. The region around is filling up rapidly. No other Denomination is on the ground at present, I believe, and we have no other minister within 25 miles—Mr. Nichols proves to be all we anticipated. He exerts a good influence by his admirable and consistent deportment, and is on the whole edifying and useful in his preaching; though (he) has not the talent or force of character requisite to turn the world upside down at once. I should think he was preparing the way for a good, steady, permanent society and church. I regard him as worthy your patronage and the church as needing your aid.

Of course, Peet was called “dictatorial”, and eventually he had to resign. He had already been instrumental in forming Beloit College, and now he went on to establish the Chicago Theological Seminary.

Peet’s resignation was not unconnected with the difficulties which arose between Presbyterians and Congregationalists. Where there was good will on both sides the “Plan of Union” worked well,
but if suspicion arose that one side or the other was trying to take advantage conflict was inevitable. But even today the two denominations in England might learn from the experiment, which might be illustrated from Article 13 of the Wisconsin Plan of Union:

*Individual ministers or churches, belonging to this Presbytery, may adopt either the Presbyterian or the Congregational mode of church government, and each church shall be represented at the meetings of the Presbytery by one delegate.*

Many are the points of interest which emerge as one reads. In this country we find it hard to realize that in New England Congregationalism was once the Established Church, and so we have references to "Dissenters, especially Baptists, Methodists, Quakers, and Episcopalians".

The method of Ordination is much the same as that still employed in American Congregationalism. A Council of ministers examines the candidate; but let this entry of 1801 speak:

The Council proceeded to examine Mr. Chapman respecting his knowledge of the doctrines of Christianity, his belief in those doctrines—his ability to teach them to others—his experimental acquaintance with the truth; his views in entering on the work of the ministry—his qualifications for a missionary, and his motives for entering into that service—and gaining full satisfaction on these points,—

*Voted* unanimously to consecrate him to the work of the ministry, with peculiar reference to his laboring as a Missionary in the New Settlements in the United States of America—and that the solemnity of his ordination be attended at the meeting house at this place tomorrow at half-past ten o'clock, a.m.

*Voted*, That the several parts of the ordination service be performed by the following persons: The Rev. Royal Tyler to make the introductory prayer, the Rev. Levi Hart, D.D., to preach the Sermon; the Rev. Cyprian Strong to make the consecrating prayer during which the Rev. Messrs. John Willard, Levi Hart, Cyprian Strong and Amos Bassett lay on hands; the Rev. John Willard to give the Charge; the Rev. Amos Bassett to give the Right Hand of Fellowship; and the Rev. Amasa Porter to make the concluding prayer.

On the frontier the missionaries had a strenuous task; often the settlers had no money, and so stipends were behind, and had to be taken in kind. Slavery, Temperance, Sabbath Breaking, are constantly referred to in the documents, which contain not only letters and reports, but church records and minutes of Convention.
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and Associations, and the vivid autobiography of Flavel Bascom describing pioneer life in Illinois from 1833 to 1840.

The editorial work is well done, although "sic" appears far too often and there is an unfortunate "Calvanism" on p. 43 and a misprint on p. 69.

EDITOR.


The eager anticipation with which we opened this prize essay was swiftly disappointed: Prof. Stearns has merely printed the Boswell MSS. from the British Museum, many of them previously printed in Burrage, Early English Dissenters, and written a commentary round them. Thus, while he has made more easily available the facts contained in the documents, he has added nothing to the knowledge of students. Not only so, but he betrays a lack of objectivity which is deplorable in a work of this kind; he speaks of the "weasel words" of the exiles, of "typical Congregational ambiguity" and "the wiles and ambiguous protestations of Congregational nonconformists", and the like. From first to last there is no recognition of the fact that the men of whom he writes left their country, and sometimes risked prison and death, to secure that freedom of worship which Prof. Stearns today enjoys.

We cannot but think that Prof. Stearns would have done much better to set his papers against the Elizabethan background. Apparently he knows nothing of the classical system the Puritans attempted to establish within the Church about 1580, and he never makes clear the varieties of opinion represented by the exiles. Ask any student of Congregational history who was the English Congregationalist most prominent in Holland, and he will reply at once, "John Robinson". John Robinson, though he lived for four years after the formation of the English Classes, is mentioned in a footnote only, and there is no explanation why he did not share in it—nor is there any mention of the Leyden congregation's reputation among Dutch magistrates and people. The fact that all shades of opinion—in regard to separation, the recognition of the Church of England as a true Church, the rights of the magistrate, etc.—were to be found among Puritans in the Low Countries as well as at home explains much of the ambiguity of which Prof. Stearns complains. Then they were in a sense citizens of two countries with a dual allegiance; the ministers were sometimes chaplains to the Merchant Adventurers or to the Army; a congregation believing in freedom from the demands of the Church at home would desire
to give hospitality to other refugees, even though they differed from them in many ways, and so the "troubles at Frankfort" were often reproduced. The ambiguity was well put in a letter from Ambassador Boswell to Secretary Coke in 1633:

By which your Honor may perceyve how strangely it hath hung e now above fifty yeares between the Church of England and the Reformed of these parts, tanquam in Inter-Mundiis Epicuri, clearly conforming it selfe neyther to the constitutions of the one nor the other, eyther for discipline, or for the parts, Order, & formes in Divine Service.

Prof. Stearns is not unaware of this, for he speaks of the Ambassador's need of caution

in view of the legal security from both Dutch and English interference which the Congregational classis had by treaty, royal grant, Dutch commission, the nature and organization of the Merchant Adventurers, and the peculiar type of non-conformity which obligingly permitted Congregationalists to take the oath of supremacy and to admit that the Church of England was a true church.

What then was this Classis of 1621? It was an attempt, made in the first place by eleven English and Scottish ministers, to accommodate themselves to the organization of the Reformed Churches of the Continent, possibly, in the case of some of them, with the intention of drawing attention from the nature of their nonconformity. Probably James, in acceding to their petition—it is one of the major anomalies of the situation that men who lived abroad for their religion should petition the King; but it must always be remembered that they claimed to be loyal Englishmen—thought he was establishing a Presbyterian Synod, but this was far from the plan of the ministers; indeed, those who declined to enter it probably did so because they feared the Classis would pass from giving counsel and advice to the exercise of authority over the individual church, and thus to the infringement of Congregational independence.

The Classis was in an impossible position, and it was certain sooner or later to come into conflict with both civil and ecclesiastical authorities in England and in the Netherlands; finally, in large measure because the States General were unable to resist the English Government, their support to the exiles was withdrawn. Those mainly responsible for this action were Laud, of course; Edward Misselden, the Deputy of the Merchant Adventurers at Delft, who lost his post in the course of the struggle; Stephen Goffe, army chaplain, and informer, who had forsaken his father's Puritanism, and was in time to become a Roman Catholic—his middle name
should have been Laval; and Sir William Boswell, the English Ambassador, who was at any rate a clean fighter who did what he believed to be his duty. Before the Classis was dissolved in 1633 many famous names had come into the picture—William Ames, Thomas Hooker, John Davenport among them; many notable ideas, too, such as that of those “Brownistically affected in particular opinions, as in allowing private men to preach”.

Although disappointed, as we have said, in finding nothing new, we have enjoyed working again over the story. There is a misprint on p. 6, and at some points we should like to check Prof. Stearn’s transcription from the manuscripts [a good exercise for a student learning to read documents would be to compare Mr. Burrage’s and Prof. Stearn’s versions with the originals]; we have even wondered whether it was recognized that "parson" was probably "person" or that "hapily" was "haply"; and can the queried "ndks" possibly be an abbreviated "marks"?  

EDITOR.

CONGREGATIONAL BENEFACTORS TO THE DEAF.

In Trans. VIII. 196-207, 246-254, is an article under this title by Mr. Selwyn Oxley, Secretary of the Guild of St. John of Beverley. Mr. Oxley now sends these additional notes:

Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet. The Hartford church with which he was connected was the Center Congregational.

Kinniburgh, the headmaster of the Deaf School at Edinburgh which Gallaudet visited in 1815 (the first English private pupil here was my great-uncle, P. Clennel, of Harbottle Castle, near Morpeth) was also a Congregationalist. He entertained Gallaudet to a school banquet 21 Oct., 1815. About this time Kinniburgh started a class for older past pupils, of which Clennel was a "foundation member". Later, an old pupil, a contemporary of my uncle, one of the Blackwoods, was its first missioner; he moved the work to the Lawnmarket and then to Albany St., its present home, where he ran it on Presbyterian lines from about 1822. This was the first Adult Deaf Mission to be started in any part of the world.

Thus the first public deaf educational work, by John Townsend here and by T. H. Gallaudet in the United States, was begun by Congregationalists, as was the first Adult Deaf Work in Scotland. It is a pleasure to an Anglican to point out these facts and to note that Congregationalists have continued to play an important part in the education of the deaf, as revealed in my article. At the present time the evacuated Birmingham Deaf Day Schools are using the rooms of the Stratford-on-Avon Church.
# Congregational Historical Society

**Summary of Accounts for Year ended 31st December, 1940**

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The account for printing the December, 1940 Transactions, amounting to £33 15s. 0d., was not paid until 27th February, 1941, and so does not appear on this account.

Audited and found correct.

Cecil Northcott.

18th November, 1941.
EDITORIAL

OUR President takes with him the good wishes of all members of the Society as he relinquishes the Principalship of Lancashire College, which he has held since 1922. Characteristically, he is not ceasing work altogether, for he has accepted the pastorate of the church at Cavendish, Suffolk. Dr. Grieve has been very loyal to the Society, and always on the look-out for opportunities to further its interests. We wish for him and Mrs. Grieve many years of healthy, happy leisure, with just as much work as they feel inclined to do. It is a hundred years this year since the opening of the Lancashire College in its Manchester home; it is therefore appropriate that the President should address our Annual Meeting on the subject "Early Years in Lancashire College". The Meeting will be held in Dr. Berry's Room, 22, Memorial Hall, London, on Tuesday, May 11th, at 3 p.m.

We print within an article by one of the oldest students of the College, the Rev. J. P. Kingsland, describing his student days sixty-five years ago.

* * * * *

Though our last issue carries the date November, 1941, it did not appear until well into 1942. We are glad to be able to print this 64 pp. number, though we fear the paper situation will prevent another number from appearing in the autumn. Nevertheless, the work of the Society is being maintained. There has never been more correspondence than this winter, and many of our members are engaged in research of various kinds. We hope that all are keeping a watch on this paper salvage campaign, which might easily result in the destruction of valuable historical documents. In some areas an expert examines all papers submitted. Recently from Suffolk we were asked if we would care to have an album which had been sent in. It was the ordinary kind of Victorian album, with the usual quotations, but some of its pages contained the signatures of ministers and delegates who visited the Doddridge Museum in Northampton when the Congregational Union held its Autumnal Meetings there in 1851. We accepted the album with gratitude, and it has found a fitting abiding place in Northampton. We hope to print a description of its contents later.
This is a year of ecclesiastical centenaries, and notably for Scotland. The centenary of the Disruption must not be allowed to obscure that of the formation of the Evangelical Union. Of the two events Dr. John Murphy writes in the April Congregational Quarterly, and members of the Society may care to be reminded of the article on "The Morisonian Controversy", by the Rev. M. R. Kirkpatrick, in Transactions, VIII. 226-236. Prof. Hugh Watt's Thomas Chalmers and the Disruption (Nelson, 7s. 6d.) is a stirring account of the life and work of the preacher-reformer who led the Free Churchmen out into the wilderness, which his skill and the devotion and generosity of the people of Scotland soon transformed.

* * * * *

For Congregationalists there is an even more important commemoration. On April 6th, 1593, Henry Barrow and John Greenwood came to an untimely end; six weeks later the Archbishop of Canterbury saw to it that John Penry was executed with as much secrecy as possible. Today it seems incredible that men of such steadfast courage and loyalty, earnest men making their witness for pure religion, should have lost their lives in this country for the same cause for which pastors are imprisoned in occupied Europe today. There is opportunity for Congregationalists this spring to tell the world that three and a half centuries ago their forefathers were dying for a cause for which Roman Bishops are standing today—the Bishop of Münster almost uses Penry's words in his recently published sermons.

Recently we have spent much time in transcribing the note-book Penry used in the last months of his life. It rests in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California. Why there, of all places, readers may ask? Because the Huntington Library bought the Ellesmere MSS., and the first Baron Ellesmere was Sir Thomas Egerton, Attorney-General and subsequently Lord Chancellor, one of the men responsible for Penry's fate. Apparently members of the Privy Council, Judges, and others kept in their private possession exhibits at the trials in which they were engaged, and Ellesmere kept this note-book. Penry's papers were seized, and, as is well known, his private and unpublished writings were put in as evidence against him. We have copied at the Huntington Library some of the depositions, and this note-book can be identified among the exhibits listed. Other unknown works of Penry are mentioned, and we hope when the war clouds lift that we may have the opportunity to search for them in the Ellesmere Collection.

Passages used in the trial are marked in the margin of the note-book. A note-book kept in prison is not exactly an ideal manuscript to decipher. There are now two photostats in this country,
one in the National Library of Wales, the other in our possession, and thus we have been able to give a good deal of time to it. Sometimes Penry writes with the book upside down; often an item does not run consecutively; sometimes there are fragmentary notes. With patience, however, practically the whole has been deciphered, though when Penry has used Welsh expert assistance has been needed: one baffling word only yielded when a brain wave suggested it was a Welsh word in Greek letters! In due course, the note-book will be published—the precursor, we trust, of the long desired corpus of the writings of Browne, Harrison, Barrow, Greenwood and Penry. Penry was a truly heroic figure, and work on this manuscript has been thrilling indeed. It contains much important information, and confirms the view that there are few men in the history of Wales—or of any land, for that matter—who rank with the young martyr who gave his life witnessing for the truth when only about thirty years of age.

* * * * *

It is well that even in war-time local historians should continue their work, and from one of Britain’s most-blitzed cities comes a readable popular history. The Rev. J. G. Patton was for thirty years minister in Hull, first in Hope Street, and then when the church “moved out” and became Newland. The Story of Hope Street Newland Congregational Church, Hull (Brown, 3s.) begins in 1797, and ends only with the present. Perhaps the most remarkable of Mr. Patton’s predecessors in the ministry was Henry Ollershaw, of whose work from 1856 onward a vivid account is given.

* * * * *

The large folio manuscript volume recently acquired, and to be presented to the Presbyterian Historical Society of England, contains six Westminster Assembly documents in perfect condition.

1. The Form of Church Government (Sept., 1644), in the handwriting of John Wallis.

2. Petition to Parliament (4 Aug., 1645) for expediting Presbyterian government, apparently in the handwriting of Adoniram Byfield.

3. The Answer of the Assembly to the Reasons of the Dissenting Brethren for not bringing in a model of their way.

4. The Reasons of the Dissenting Brethren against the third Proposition concerning Presbyterian Government.
5. The Answer of the Assembly to the said Reasons. These three are in the beautiful penmanship of several professional scriveners.

6. The Confession of Faith, in the handwriting of Cornelius Burges, containing several corrections which are referred to in the minutes of Assembly.

The documents are all duly attested, and the volume thus contains the signatures of each of the seven men who held office in the Assembly, Twisse, Herle, Burges, White, Palmer, Roborough, and Byfield.

* * * * *

The appreciations of the life and work of Bernard Manning heard at the last Annual Meeting are printed within. Since that time Mr. Frank Brittain's admirable memoir of Mr. Manning (Heffer, 7s. 6d.) has been published, the Independent Press has issued a volume of Mr. Manning's sermons, A Layman in the Ministry (6s.) and the Epworth Press The Hymns of Wesley and Watts 6s.). A new edition of Orthodox Dissent is in preparation, and Mr. J. O. Greenwood is completing the History of the Dissenting Deputies on which Mr. Manning had been for so long engaged. A second volume of sermons is also a possibility.

* * * * *

Vol. VI of the Warwick County Records (Shire Hall, Warwick, 10s. 6d.) has been issued, and an article thereon has appeared in the Congregational Quarterly (XXI, 58-61). Once again the editorial work is a joy to see, and Messrs. Ratcliff and Johnson and the Records Committee are to be warmly congratulated.

* * * * *

How many of our readers with Forsythia in their gardens know that it gets its name from one of the founders of Kensington Chapel? Mr. F. P. Winterbotham is now re-telling the story of the Chapel in the Church Calendar; in our next issue we hope to print extracts.
Bernard Lord Manning, the Man

I HAVE been asked to say something about Bernard Manning as a man. His worth to us as a historian is to be spoken of by Mr. Matthews. In that respect his work was unfinished—inevitably a fragment, though a brilliant and valuable fragment. Manning died before he was 49, when his powers and resources as a student of history had only begun to bear fruit. But about a man's personality and character there is something by no means fragmentary, something whole and complete, even though he dies young. And I count it a privilege to try to report my impression of that personality and character as it was known to me through a friendship of nearly 30 years.

It is a familiar saying, with some truth in it, that it is dangerous and disappointing to apply any close scrutiny to the private lives and personal relationships of those who attain eminence or fame. And I suppose this is because so often there are mixed in their characters, sometimes indeed contributing to what they achieve, elements of private ambition and certain kinds of selfishness which make them less than lovable. A friend of Bernard Manning has the satisfaction, in speaking of him, of knowing that in him no such elements betrayed themselves to spoil or modify the influence of his life on all who knew him. Indeed my difficulty in speaking of him is to avoid the charge of being extravagant in my praise. I speak of course—and you will remember it—out of an intimate love, but I speak out of fairly close acquaintance with various circles in which he moved, and as one who has had opportunity of knowing how much he meant to many others besides myself. That he had faults not even those who loved and admired him most will doubt, but they were faults which lay between him and his Maker. No one could know him more than superficially without being aware that he had a constant attitude of penitent humility before God. But I dare to express a doubt whether anyone could be found among all who had to do with him who could rise up and say, Here, or here, even in this smallest matter, Bernard Manning did me wrong.

He was a son of the Manse, and it is a tribute to his father and mother and the home they made, that, though that home till past his young manhood was one of almost severe poverty, the ministry was to him, and remained throughout his life, the ideal vocation.
He had a high view of its responsibilities and indeed of its sacramental character. He regarded himself as dedicated to it. He had hoped to enter it. He took pains to qualify himself for entering it in the recognized way, if his health should permit, by becoming an external student at Cheshunt College while he was in residence at Jesus College. However, the lung trouble from which he suffered, as the result of a football accident and subsequent exposure in his boyhood, put out of question the taking of a pastorate. He decided that the best thing he could do was to go on living at Jesus, where he was in turn (coming up from Caistor Grammar School) Scholar, Fellow, Bursar, and Senior Tutor. In spite of his ceaseless activities on behalf of his College, it was possible for him, living as a bachelor Don, to get such periods of rest as his precarious health required. Though he had this physical weakness there was never anyone who was less of a valetudinarian. He scarcely ever gave to those who met him the impression that he was delicate. A number of people who knew him well have said to me, "I always thought he was a strong man". Certainly he did a strong man's work for Jesus College. It would need a Jesus man to tell you what he meant for that Society, both the Senior and the Junior part of it, and any Jesus man you might meet, of the last 20 years and more, would need no pressing to tell you of it. He stood among the first in the senior counsels of the College. Dr. Foakes-Jackson, that distinguished Fellow of Jesus, who died in old age in America only a few days before Manning, said to me some years ago, "You know, I want Bernard [they all called him that] to be Master". I think he never wished to be Master, nor would have allowed himself to be elected. He gloried in his work as Tutor. There were not many undergraduates whom he did not know personally, entering with a sympathy never feigned into their work and their play. The Boat Club, though he could never row, or play any game, was perhaps his special care. Year by year he went to Henley to cheer the Jesus boats at the Regatta. Undergraduates too called him Bernard, and as a token of an admiring love it rather added to than detracted from his dignity and authority among them.

But if his social influence was most conspicuous in the University and College where most of his time was spent, it was equally apparent in the unacademic circles of which his home was the centre. His father was successively minister at Ravenstonedale in Westmorland, at South Bar, Lincoln, at Stoke-on-Trent, at Warminster, and for his last pastorate at Ravenstonedale again. In each of these places Bernard became known and loved as one who entered into the life of his father’s flock as one of themselves. He often helped his father by preaching for him. Ravenstonedale,
twined about his heart by boyhood’s associations, was his special love. He knew the history of almost every family in that small community, not only with an antiquarian’s zeal, but with a genuine affection for living persons.

I am saying nothing about his intellectual powers. More than once since he died I have heard him described, not carelessly, as “the most distinguished Congregational layman”. His writing had the precision and clarity which is a mark of sound scholarship, and also an unanalysable quality which makes every sentence readable. I have found myself trying to discover the secret of it. There were touches, often more than touches—crashing strokes—of humour. He could be devastating in written satire, though in talk he was always gentle and kind. It was his intellectual power, in combination with a profoundly understanding heart, that made him to very many their best counsellor. I know I am not the only man who finds himself saying, in times of perplexity, “What would Bernard say?”

Not only in generosity of mind and charity of heart, but in practical kindness he was truly great. There are at least a few, whose stories I know, who would say that by his death they have lost not only their wisest adviser, but one who in their days of direst and most shameful distress stood by them and spent himself for them with an almost incredible recklessness of active generosity.

His close friends know, by an evidence more trustworthy than any that can be derived from his written work, brilliant and moving though that often is, that what made him what he was, beyond all his gifts of mind and disposition, was an inward dedication, renewed in constant reading of the Bible and prayer, to the Lord to Whose service he was vowed. If he had been asked, at any time up to the end, by what power he sought to direct his life and on what he set his hope, he would have said, “Jesus and the Resurrection”. No man was ever less sentimental in his piety. He was critical of any idealism that lost its footing in practical realities. But very surely his life was hid with Christ in God, and Jesus, the Incarnate Son, Jesus Who died and rose again, was everything to him in religion. In a letter, written to me many years ago (25 Oct., 1920), he said, “I have just discovered why you think I think more of the form and letter and less of the spirit than I ought. It all depends really on my belief in the Incarnation. In the Incarnate Word I value (if I may put it so without being profane) the Revealer more than the Revealed. The Son is dearer to me than the Father. I love the Flesh of Palestine infinitely more than the very God Who inhabited it, than the Spirit Whom the Flesh was made to make real to us. The Flesh, the Body, the Man, Jesus our Saviour, is the whole of my faith, and I cannot care for what
He reveals. I want no more. This bias, if I am not mistaken, affects all my love of the medium which reveals. I do not want to see the Father if I may still see the Son; nor the Word if I may love the Flesh. I don't defend what I feel, but quite honestly and simply that is my religion'. Perhaps, later on, he would not have said this in quite the same way. But the quotation indicates the attitude which was characteristic of his faith all through. He was a Sacramentalist, and a realist.

There has gone from us one who was not only an eminent Christian scholar, but a great Christian believer.

H. C. CARTER.

B. L. Manning the Historian

Any attempt to estimate Manning as a historian is faced with the difficulty that he left no very solid body of published material on which to base a judgment. Diligent search would, I suspect, provide him with a bibliography of some length, but it would be found to register only one single and separate work, and that a short one, published as long ago as 1919 —The Faith of the People in the Time of Wyclif—and for the rest to be made up of contributions to composite publications, reviews, and a miscellany of occasional pieces.

We have of course to bear in mind that this does not represent all his service to historical study. He was also a lecturer and tutor in history, and could we consult some of his pupils we can safely anticipate that they would give emphatic testimony to the affectionate gratitude in which they held him as a teacher. But for us that side of his work is an imponderable. Why was it, we wonder, that Manning, who to his other qualifications added such a marked gift for writing, has not to his historical and literary credit something of ampler proportions? Did he intend to make good the deficiency, and has his early death robbed us there, as it has robbed us of so much else that was his to give?

Now to look a little more closely at The Faith of the People. It was the Thirlwall Prize Essay of 1917, written when Manning was Fellow of Magdalene. Felix opportunitatis he certainly was, but it is beyond probability that mere chance should have offered him a subject so entirely to his mind. Presumably it was open to him
to choose his subject and he chose this one. It was concerned with religion. For then, and always, as religion was the predominant interest of his personal life so it was of his intellectual pursuits. Also it was concerned with the 14th century, which remained his period, about which he was held to be among those who knew.

The century occupies a middle level. It is certainly below the soaring medieval heights which preceded it, and it certainly does not sink to the sordid banality of the period following. It has for its unquestionable attraction that it was the age of Chaucer, of Wyclif, of the mysterious John Ball, of Langland, of Juliana of Norwich, and of Gower. And, too, we who know how the story went on scan it for light on what has been called the crux of our ecclesiastical history, eager to see who even then, all unwittingly, might be doing the Tudors’ work for them; to see anything that goes towards explaining why in the end it was so comparatively easy for Henry VIII to shake the English apple from the Roman tree.

These more general features make a background to Manning’s book. The subject being such an extensive one, he had to limit himself to certain aspects of it. Here are some of the heads of inquiry. How was religion taught? What did the ordinary man know of Christianity? What was the influence of Christianity on the daily life of work and home? How did a social problem like that of poverty and a theological problem like that of providence, present themselves to religious minds?

All that Manning has to say about medieval faith and practice is marked by insight and sympathy. Most of all he was impressed by the pre-eminence of Christ’s Passion in the thought and devotion of those times. Here are a few obiter dicta, found here and there, which may be of more particular interest to this company. To the decay of the Class Meeting in latter day Methodism and the heartburnings to which it gave rise, he finds a parallel in the popular 14th century preference of preaching to the Confessional, a preference encouraged by the Friars and frowned upon by the bishops and parochial clergy. We are warned against imagining that England had to wait till the Reformation for its knowledge of Scripture; and, too, against supposing that Calvin’s lurid emphasis on the doctrine of original sin had no precedents; it was outdone by the medieval picture of an unbaptized child as the image of the fiend. The medievalism of the Romantics comes in for a little chastening. ‘Catholic England may have been ‘Merrie England’, but if some of the merriment existed because of the Church, at least as much existed in spite of it. . . . In 14th century religion we can find the forerunners of Mr. Stiggins as well as those of Mr.
Chesterton". Sabbatarianism was not a Puritan invention. It had its counterpart, not only among the Lollards, but among most of the orthodox teachers of those days. "The Church was obliged to tolerate after many protests what it never sanctioned".

It is not for me to pronounce a verdict on the value of Manning's work. Let us hear the Faculty, as it is represented by the *English Historical Review*, where the book was noticed by Dr. Watson, late Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Oxford. "Mr. Manning", he wrote, "has given a great deal of information and arranged it clearly and attractively. . . . The book is marked by good sense and sympathy, a thoughtful and useful contribution to an important subject". Bear in mind that the *Review* is a donnish journal, and that the academic mind is under severe restraint in using anything like floral decoration, then you will realize how warm that praise is.

Dr. Watson throws out some suggestive comments, one of which I will venture to dwell upon for a moment, more particularly as it concerns not only the men of the 14th century but also some of us of the 20th. The writers on whose evidence Manning relied were most of them clerical. A question then arises touching the nature of evidence from that quarter. What sort of description of the religion of his time is a clergyman likely to give when he writes about it? Or perhaps we should rather say, what will he imply, more or less indirectly, for his description is in all probability subsidiary to some other interest which he has primarily in view. Certainly he will not, or would not in the 14th century, provide the detached and unprejudiced survey which will enable a future historian without further demur to weigh the days under consideration in his scales of comparative religion, and report on them relatively to other times, before or after. He may, on the one hand, represent things—church practice or daily conduct or whatever his theme—not as they for the most part are, but rather as they are ideally meant to be, and perhaps are among a minority of choicer spirits. Or, on the other hand, he may tend to describe things as worse than they are, when compared to what he believes they ought to be, and what he wants his readers to make them. How far then is his estimate of the unchanged to count or be discounted? Again, how far is his advocacy of change to be registered as more than a desire for change, felt by a writer or two, at a time when writers were but few, speaking for some indeterminate number of his own order, and for certain of the laity, some of them to be classed as clerically-minded? Or, on the other hand, is this advocacy of change to be taken as evidence of change? To put it bluntly, how many people take any notice of what a parson
B. L. Manning the Historian

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says of this sort? As we know, ministerial exhortation is one thing, lay practice is largely another. Outside the narrow circle of the zealous few we are soon met with a sea of faces, a few of them angry, a few of them incredulous, the vast majority of them blankly unresponsive. Our expanding question has brought us to the enigma of the few and the many, which I had better leave to the theologians and the ministerial men of action.

Let me rather say something of Manning’s other writings. Of the more strictly historical there remain to be mentioned his two essays in the Cambridge Medieval History (Vol. VII), one on Edward III, the other on Wyclif. Here I speak with a due sense of ignorance. Indeed, since open confession is reputed to be salutary, I must admit feeling relieved that I finished with History Schools before the Cambridge volumes were published, otherwise I might have been under obligation to forgo the contented ignorance I now enjoy of all but a very few of their pages. Dr. Johnson, whose estimates of historians, it will be generally acknowledged, originated from the more obscurantist region of his massive intelligence, found most to his satisfaction a production of which he said, “it has such a stability of dates, such a certainty of facts, and such a punctuality of citation”. No doubt the Cambridge volumes have that order of merit, but it does not make them exhilarating reading. We were encouraged to hope for something immeasurably more than that. Lord Acton, inaugurator of the undertaking, when in exalted mood he viewed the landscape o’er, wrote of Universal History as “not a burden on the memory but an illumination of the soul”. Yet the Cambridge volumes are what they are. It turned out to be with this as with other glowing visions of prophetic minds. When the day dawns for us to draw cash on them, we find that meantime something has happened on the exchange, those on whom we banked have gone off the gold standard, and we have to take payment in a depreciated currency.

“A composite and somewhat mechanical work”, is Professor Powicke’s verdict in his review of this particular Cambridge volume. Manning’s contribution he comments on as signalized by its “competent ease”, a phrase which very happily describes something characteristic of all Manning’s writing. Here are a few sentences from the close of the essay on Wyclif:

On the political side his teaching heralded the modern State freed from the Church’s co-operation and competition. But it is better to see Wyclif in relation to his own times. He is indeed less the prophet of the future than the conscience of his own generation. . . . In the last ten years of his life Wyclif gave expression to feelings, doubts and hopes gathered from
many quarters and shared by many of his contemporaries. The Church of the fourteenth century was feeling after something nearer to the historic origins of Christianity, something with less legalism and more conscience, something which put religion again into direct and obvious touch with the heart and will, a new exposition of the Caritas which, as Wyclif said, is in one word the whole law of God.

There are some other publications of Manning's to be mentioned besides those which belong to him as a professional historian. One of these, published in 1929, is The Making of Modern English Religion, further entitled, "an historical impression of certain religious forces in modern English history". It consists of the substance of four lectures given in 1927 under the auspices of the Student Christian Movement, designed for students who had no historical background for their thinking: people who therefore might be in some measure under the delusion that the past was over, or that there is no time like the present: people who might know a few facts of ecclesiastical history but knew them only in "disconnection dead and spiritless". No doubt most of you are familiar with this book. How admirable some of it is! I think especially of the chapter on Calvin. If history is to be popularized without being cheapened or distortingly simplified, this is clearly how to do it. It is a type of work for which there is always need, and we had hoped for more of it from Manning, for few if any of his contemporaries were qualified for it as he was.

Lastly there is his volume of collected addresses published in 1939 as Essays in Orthodox Dissent. Some of these were given before the Assembly of the Congregational Union, and you must have heard them. If so you cannot but recall the speaker's verve, his lucidity, the ease with which he handled his knowledge, setting some apt fragment of it in a strikingly appropriate context. We recall his wit, his combativeness, for he was what our fathers called a smart disputant: those lively sallies with which from his post somewhere on the right wing he threw a hand-grenade or two at the intelligentsia on the left, laying himself open, it might be, to the charge of showing more petulance than was quite decorous, as if yielding unduly to the intellectual's anti-intellectual irritation. But it was only his fun, and more often than not it was very good fun. Dull, he could never have been that. After one of these papers it was as inevitable to call him brilliant as it was to call Aristotle just. But there was more to it than that. The stream which sometimes showed a flashing surface, had also its depths—earnestness, conviction and devotion to the faith which he loved to name, with the unabated force of the epithet, evangelical.
I will not go into any details about these papers. Let us keep
in the open ground of generality, and pose a perennial and always
thought-provoking question, What do we learn from the study of
the past? Which of our faculties does it enrich? What patiences
or impatiences does it encourage in us? What beliefs or scepticisms
does it foster?

"The main value of history is for the heart. It keeps the heart
tender, as only a study of our poor humanity can". That is
Manning’s answer, enunciated in the former of the above men-
tioned volumes, and amplified in what is commonly regarded as the
most impressive of his later published papers—The Witness of
History to the Power of Christ. There he writes:

The more successful a historian is in appreciating the medley
of motives, passions, ambitions, hopes, loves, and fears of
men the more (I believe) does he come to feel affection for his
subject. A little history may make a man cynical, but give
him plenty and the hardest heart must break. The observer
of men—and that is all that a historian is—comes to love the
human scene.

This is not quite what our acquaintance with some of the most
eminent historians would lead us to anticipate. We do not hear it
from so accomplished a moqueur as Gibbon; nor from Macaulay,
there is no tenderness about his political prejudices; nor from Acton,
that stern custodian of the Ten Commandments, for whom the
purpose of history is "to develop and perfect and arm conscience".
Once more the doctors disagree. They always do. In this instance,
however, there is more excuse for them than is apparent in some
other walks of the mind; for of historical study it is true, in a more
complicated sense than the phrase immediately suggests, that a
man gets from it largely what he brings to it. Personality will out.
Those who want objective uniformity will go but little better than
empty away.

Of all this Manning was of course very well aware. Note his
carefully stressed "(I believe)". But he seeks to make his thesis
more than a purely individual one by calling in two famous wit-
tesses to support it. One is Carlyle, pleading with us on behalf of
the men and women of the French Revolution, to think tenderly
and kindly of them all, for did it not go, on the whole, hard with
all of them? Carlyle in the amiable rôle of a preacher of kindliness
brings to mind a perhaps hardly relevant sarcasm of Burke’s at the
expense of those who are "good with little self-denial, in the busi-
ness of all times except their own". But we had better put Car-
lyle himself also under the historian’s protecting wing, for did not
it go, on the whole, hard with him also?
Manning's other witness is Virgil:

the historian's poet, greatest perhaps of historians, too, as he tells the moving story of Troy that was, Carthage with its present passions, and Rome that is to be. . . . He loves the human scene and describes it as only a lover can . . . moved by the strange pageant of human life to a strange idealism.

Thou majestic in thy sadness
At the doubtful doom of human kind.

But we have not yet done with this thesis of Manning's. He unfolds it further and discovers in it some confirmation of Christian belief concerning the ultimate mysteries of God and man. Here the preacher and the scholar meet, and it is noteworthy that they do. To an exuberant church historian who hailed him as an ally, Ranke replied, "'You are in the first place a Christian: I am in the first place a historian. There is a gulf between us'."

Manning was not of that school. He did not read any such sharply defined dichotomy in or into the Christian scholar's situation. On the contrary, in him the Christian and the historian, so far from watching one another for jealously suspected encroachments, were comrades in and helpers of one another's insights and beliefs. Let the concluding words of his paper be also the concluding words of this tribute to Manning's historical work:

History provides a temper and a mood in which I find it natural to believe that God does indeed reveal Himself in Very Man, and that this vast human spectacle is a glass through which I see darkly the love of God in Christ Jesus our Lord. I find in history a suggestion and a witness that Christ our Lord is the Power of God and the Wisdom of God.

A. G. Matthews.
A unique copy of a Work of Thomas Cartwright?

In the McAlpin Collection in the Library of the Union Theological Seminary, New York, is a copy of a work thus described in the Catalogue, I. 119:

CARTWRIGHT, Thomas. Two very / Godly and comfor- / table Letters, written ouer / into England. / The One To A God- / ly and zealous Lady: wherein the / Annabaptists error is confuted: and / the sinne against the Holye Ghoste / plainly declared. / The Other An / answer to a Godly Merchants / Letter: written for his comfort, / being greeued with the heauye bur- / den of sinne: wherein is declared the / true confession of sinne. / Written by T. C. / At London / Printed by Edward Allde for / Edward White. / 1589. / Colophon: At London. / Printed by Ed- / ward Allde for / Edward White, and / are to be solde at the / little North doore of S. / Paules Church at the / signe of the / Gun. / (lace ornament) / 12.9 x 7 cm. (1,112) p. / Perfect: 5 sigs. in 12s. with first and last two leaves blank. Dated: / From Copyn Hauen in / Denmarke the 3. of / Februaire. / If you / write againe to me / write to Geneva, for thi- / therwards by Gods / grace, / I intend to goe shortly. / Yours in the / Lord. T. C. / "Unique": C. A. Briggs. Cf. DNB. 9: 229b.

It is bound up with another work, described I. 128:

The / TREASVRE / of the Soule. / Wherein wee are taught how / in dying to Sinne, we may attaine / to the perfect loue of God, / and our Neighbour, and conse- / quently into true blessed- / nes and saluation. / Many yeares since written in the / Spanish tongue, and / now newly / translated into English. / By A(drian) P(oyntz) / I. Timot. 1 . . . (7 lines). / London / Printed by John Wolfe. / 1590. / Colophon: At London / Printed by Ed- / ward Allde for / Edward White, and / are to be solde at the / little North doore of S. / Paules Church at the / signe of the / Gun. / 12.9 x 7 cm. (6), 179 p.

This entry is misleading. It should read:

I Timot. 1 3 lines, Gal. 5. 3 lines / London. Printed by John Wolfe. 12.9 x 7 cm. (6) 179 p.

That is to say the words from "Colophon" to "Gun" should be deleted. They refer to the Two very Godly . . . Letters, and rightly appear in the description of that work. There is no colophon to The Treasure of the Soule as it now appears bound up with Two very Godly . . . Letters. There may have been, as The Treasure of the Soule ends on middle page 179 (H 9 recto): H 9 verso and H 10 are blank, H 11 and H 12 have been cut away, and may have / contained a colophon. The next page is blank except for Sig. A,
this preceding A 2, the title page of Two very Godly ... Letters. The copy evidently belonged to Thomas Vincent; it has his name and also an entry to say Mary, daughter of Thomas and Mary, was baptized 7 May, 1678. This is probably Thomas Vincent (1634-1678), an ejected minister. See D.N.B. and Matthews, Calamy Revised. The translator addresses his Preface to his uncle, Richard Saltonstall, Alderman of the City of London1, and his wife, Susan, and says the treatise was written 160 years previously by an unknown author.

The two questions that arise in connection with Two very Godly ... Letters are: (1) Is the copy "unique"? (2) Were the letters written by Thomas Cartwright? It may be well to outline the contents of the letters first, and then to endeavour to answer these questions.

The first letter, printed in black letter from A 3 recto to B 12 verso begins:

Madam, where as it pleased your good Ladyship to require me to writ unto you my minde, concerning the true sence and meaning of this place of S. Paule in (Heb. 6:4-6).

The writer answers "The error of the Nouations and now of the Anabaptists" and on B 1 recto says:

Wherefore, bothe the Novuacians and the Annabaptist, grounding them selues upon these two places of holy scripture, will plainlye pronounce thee to be a reprobate, and that thou art dispatched, and utterly cast awaye from all hope of salvation.

There are no personal allusions in the letter, and nothing which could not have been written by Cartwright.

Letter II opens with this four page Preface in roman type:

The grace and peace of God, bee giuen unto you, thorough Iesus Christe etc. Whereas in your last Letters, to mee moste Trustye and assured Freende, you instantlye desired me to write vnto you, what I have read and learned in holye Scripture, touchinge The Confession of Sinnes. Truelye Sir this your reasonable request, I woulde, if I were able right gladly satisfie.

But as you know, I am farre vnable to pen this matter according to the woorthinesse therof.

Nevertheless, when I consider with my selfe, how mucho I am bounden to you, for your louing kindnesse dayly shewwd to my poore kinsefolke and freendes in England, I can-not but thinke it to bee my bounden dutye somewhat to gratifie you againe. And albeit that ignorance, rudenesse of stile, and lacke of learning plucketh mee backe from the handling of this matter, yet the consideratione of youre greate discretion and gentlenesse pricketh me forarde to attempte

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1 For Saltonstall see D.N.B. A wealthy London merchant and Collector of Customs for the port of London, he became Lord Mayor and Parliamentary representative for the City. He was a Merchant Adventurer, and "was frequently abroad at Hamburg, Stade, Emden, and other places". His wife was Susan, d. of Thomas Pointz [Query—Any connexion of A(drian) P(oyntz)?].
what I can doe therein. Certes, I nothing doubt, but that you will
gentelye accept my simple rudenesse, good will, and endeouer in this
behalfe, not lesse than if the matter were Gloriouslye garnished with
Eloquence, and set forthe with the most profitable persuasions of the
freshest Philosopher or Rethoritian in bothe Vniuersities in England.
I truste you will credite and inbrace the truethe though it bee neuer so
basely and homelye written or declared vnto you. For the trueth shall
abide and flourishe, when al profane painted persuasions, and fond
pharisicaal phantasies shall vanish awaye, and be scattered abroad as
drye dust before a whirle wind. Wherfore to keepe you no longer
from this matter, I shall by Gods grace, so breeflye as I can declare
vnto you, what I have learned & read in holye scripture, concerning this
article, of confession of sinnes. And that is this that followeth.
The treatise (in the main in black letter) follows. Scripture men-
tions (Neh. 9) a "generall confession":
c. 2. v. Would God that this example of publique Confession of
sinnes, were well practised through out all Christendome,
namely at this day, seeing that the plagues of God doo dayly
increase more and more upon us, our sinful lives & abominations
justlye deserving the same and much more.

There are three other kinds of confession:
(1). Secret. Unto God only.
(2). Open Confession before men.
(3). Private and Secret unto man.

(1) is essential and should be constant. If we confess ... God
forgives (I John 1). Thus David (Ps. 51); the publican (Luke 18)
and the Sinful Woman (Luke 7).

(2) springs from (1): it glorifies God, moves hearers to abhor sin.
Cf. Paul Acts 2216, I Cor. 15, I Tim. 1.
c. 7. v. This example of Saint Paule verye fewe of the Papistes in
Englende haue followed, unless it were by constrainte, for
fear of bodilye punishment. And therefore for my parte I
suspect them to remaine Papistes still in their heartes. For if
they had unfainedlye abhorred Papistrye, they woulde after
this example of S. Paul with al their harts, have confessed
themselves to be deceived ... 

(3) "Priuat confession of sin is needful to many for knowledg,
counsell and comfort"—first for direction and comfort of man's
own conscience, and then to the neighbour he has offended. It is
needed first because many are so ignorant, and therefore should
"hunte and seeke out some discrete and learned minister of Gods
ordre". This means that priests should have a knowledge of God's
Word.
c. 9. r. But alas for pitie, the spirituall sheepeheardes in many places
of the world, and speciallye in England are verye rude, un-
learned, and unable to teach other men, because they them-
selves lacke the knowledge and righte understandinge of the
holye Scriptures. For how should they teach others, beeing un-
learned themselues? Doubtelesse it hath beene hearde of, in
not a fewe places of England, that the Parishioner hath beene
better learned in holye Scripture than the Parson or Vicar, which thing is muche to be lamented. Is it not a greate shame, yes, it is utterlye against nature, that the sheepe should be wiser and better learned then the sheepearde. But no men are so much in this behalfe to be blamed, as the Byshoppes: partelye for admitting such doltishe dodipoles\(^1\) to the office of the ministrie: and partelye for the instituting to fat beneficiyes, and to the cure and charge of Christian soules, so many unlearned Idyotes, which neither can nor will feede them with the Spirituall foode of Gods Woord. . . Our Lord redresse this matter. Amen.

It is needed second for counsel of the ignorant and superstitious, worried about vows, meats, \textit{etc.} Men spare no labour to secure their rights in business, why not in things of the mind and soul? They should consult the best learned and \textit{‘discretest’} ministers of the Word: \textit{‘He that is wise will be counselled’ (Prov. 22)}. We should \textit{‘consulte with our souls phisition’}.

\textbf{C. 12 verso} 
\textbf{An Example.} If a young man beeing sore tempted unto Whordome, and manye times overcome of his temptation, hath yeyelded and giuen him selfe over unto the Deuill for that time, committing the very act of filthie Whordome and adulterye: If he (I saye) upon the consideration of his own damnable state that he standeth in, would goe unto a discrete, godlye, and well learned Preacher of Gods Worde, and plainelye utter unto him his abhominable deedes in generall wordes, and aske his best counsell and aduise therin. Truly this Preacher would firste declare unto him by Gods Woord, what great daunger of eternall damnation that he then stooide in, and plainly tel him that God saithe in the Holye Scripture. . . . That nether Whoremongers nor adulterers shall inherite / the Kingdom of God: And that God thretmeth to Judge and condemn both Adulterers and fornicators. And so grounding him seelie upon the Scriptures and suche like, thereby beating into his Conscience, the feare of God, he woulde bid him in any wise earnestely repente him selfe of his greate sinne, and commit him selfe by earnest, faithfull, and continuall Prayer, to the mercye of God in Christe Jesu. And in any wise without any delaye, refuse that filthie and destetable fashion of liuing, or else, though he seemed neuer so much outwardly in this miser-able worlde / to flourishe, yet should he continually liue without the favor of God, and under his greate wrath and vengeance, not beeinge in that state the seruante of God, but the diuels slave & bondman, out of Gods Kingdom, subject to eternall death and damnation.

This thing earnestely heard, diligently waiied, and deepelye from the verye heartes considered: If this sinner were one of Gods flocke, at the hearing of this terrible sentence of the Lawe, hee would tremble & quake for feare, wail and lament his horrible and destetable state, crye and call / in cessantly for the unspeakable mercye of God in Christe Jesu, trusting by his onelye meanes to obtain and get again the fauour of God, which thorowe his carelesse disobedience he had lost.

\textit{1} Variation of \textit{‘doddypoll’}, a blockhead, fool, now obsolete. See \textit{N.E.D.} for examples.
Preservatives  
against  
whordome

D. 3. r.

1. Firste, to eschue idlenesse, and alwai be occupied in some honest labour and busines.
2. Then to avoid al occasions of euill, all suspect houses and wanton company.
3. Againe, to beware of filthie communication, wanton songs & histories of baudry & neither speak nor heare suche filthinesse.
4. Further, to use sobrietye and temperaunce in the use of meate, drinke, sleepe and apparell.
5. Moreover, to be daily conversante, with suche persons, as are bothe chaste, honest, vertuous and godly.
6. Beside this, to remember dayly what painefull passion and death, Christ suffered for our sinnes, and filthy affections.
7. To consider also the certaintie and suddainnesse of death, and what a straite account and reckoning must be giuen of euery idle worde: much more of filthye actes and uncleanenesse.
8. But specialy to use daylye faithfull and feruent suite, Praier and supplication unto God, for the gratious gifte of chastity and cleannesse of heart.
9. And finally, if these be practised, and will not serue nor suffise, for the auoyding of Whordome, then in any wise to take a wife, for when all other remedies faile, this with the practising of the other will serue. For this is the most present medicine, and naturall remedy that God hath properly ordained, to cure the disease of filthye concupiscence, whordome and adultrye, after the doctrine of S. Paule, who sayeth: To auoyde Whordome, let euery man take his owne wife, and euerye woman her owne husband.

1 Corin. 7.

This third kind of confession is necessary for the comfort of weaklings, lest they despair. James 5 enjoins confession one to another and prayer one for another: Matthew 18 says if two shall agree it shall be done, and speaks of the power of two or three gathered in Christ's name: "Are not the weak-faithed person and his curate two or three with Christ?" James says "Confess one to another"; confession can be made to any man, "as unto a Preeste or unto mine owne curate", but he must be learned in the Scriptures, and there is none so meet as

D. 7. v.

thine owne Curate (if he be no Papist, neither of corrupt judgement in the Scriptures, but be honest, discreete, & well exercised in Gods holye Woorde. For he is appointed of God to be heardman of thy soul. . . .

D. 8. r.

For what other thing is the priuate absolution of the preest, but a priuate or secret preaching of Christ's Gospell. . . .

D. 9. r.

Another kinde of priuate Confession . . . is the confession of reconciliation.

1 Cor.
Quotations from the Fathers in roman type follow.

E. 5. recto returns to black letter with "Open Confession before the whole congregation is... now lamentably out of use".

E. 6. r. But Whereas in the latter ende of your letters, you instantely desired me to write unto you, what I think of the eare Confession, / that is so straitlye commanded among the papistes... I think it bringeth manye a simple soule to the hazarde of damnation.

"Abuses of eare Confession" follow:

It is commanded of necessity.
It is bondage to number your sins... leads to concealment which makes the unlearned think he is in fear of damnation.
It establishes wrong standards: "the eating of an egge upon a Fridaye" is esteemed a greater offence than blasphemy or slander.
It makes the ignorant think Confession and not the death of Christ blots out sins, and that Penance and Fasting are due satisfaction for sins.

E. 8. "Whiche thinge oughte to make all the Babilonicall Bishoppes ashamed (but that they are past all shame already) because they suffer Gods people to be so drowned in ignoraunce, that they cannot discern the commaundements of God, from the dirtye dreggs of Papistical traditions. [Amid all these forms of Confession] the prowdest Papiste of them all, cannot finde in holye Scripture these wordes or sentences: To his owne Curate whatsoever he is: all Sinnes particularlye: all circumstancies: & such like trash. For all these are nothing else but Pedlarye patches of Papistrye. Which I pray God maye bee purged againe, and banished out of Christendome, and that shortelye.

E. 9. v. Thus muche haue I written unto you of the Confession of sinnes, to declare unto you my conscience and simple Judgments therein, according to your requeste in your Letters, written unto mee by NICHOLAS NERIN, from Roane in France, the eight day of JANVARIE. And if you accepte of my rude writing and collection in this matter: I shall by the Grace of God doo mine endeavoure likewise in other matters of holye Scripture, to shewe you hearerafter my small and slender knowledge and judgement. Thus the liuing God increace in you dayly more & more, faith, charitie, meakenes, godlinesse and paciencie. Amen".

Then the ending "From Copyn Hauen in Denmarke the 3. of Februarye. If you write againe to me write to Geneva, for thitherwards by Gods grace, I intend to goe shortly. Yours in the Lord. T. C.

So much for the contents of the letters. To turn to the queries.

(1) Is the copy unique? For the present the description must stand. There is no copy in the Huntington, Sterling, or Widener Libraries, in the Library of Congress or the Folger. Mr. William A. Jackson of Harvard tells me he knows of no other copy. There is no copy in the British Museum, the Bodleian, the Cambridge
University Library, Dr. Williams's Library, the Lambeth Library, Rylands Library, the National Libraries of Scotland or Wales, or the New College Library, Edinburgh.

I have just discovered, however, a reprint of the first letter in the British Museum. It appears in this work:

AN
EXCELLENT
Treatise touching the restoring again of him that is fallen:

Written by the worthy, Saint / Chrysostome to Theodorus a friend / of his, who by leuid liuing, was fallen / from the Gospell; fit to read for reclai/ming their hearts which are / in like case.

Englisfed (out of an auncient Latin translation, written in Velume) by R. W. With an annexed Epistle of comfort / from one friend to another, wherein the / Anabaptists error of desperation is / briefly confuted, and the sinne against the holy Ghost plain/ly declared.

Hebrews 313.

Exhort one another daily, while it is called / today.
London

Printed for I. Helme, and are to be sold at bishop at S. Dunstans Church.

(No date on title page, but on the title page of the Epistle of Comfort, page 157, the date is 1609).

A—A 5, 1—204.

A 1 recto is the title page, A 1 verso "Of the profit of this treatise".


A 5 verso blank.

1—132 Of the restoring again.

133—138 (G 2 recto). To the Reader. R. Wol.

G 2 verso blank and unpaged.

139—155 "Sentences collected out of the fathers workes . . . " 156 Blank.

157 The Epistle of Comfort. (157 title page; 158 blank; 159-191 text; 192 blank).

193—196 Daniel IX in Metre.

197—204 Prayers Against Despair, For Morning, For Evening.
The Preface, in italics, reads thus:

Of the profit of this Treatise
The prince of Surgeons, Phoebus sonne,
In curing famous was:
Machaon and his brother too,
By art brought much to pas.
The best of these in festered sores
Did all, and could no more:
To soule of man corrupt by sinne,
Their skill denied a dore.
But heere behold 'gainst dreadfull crimes
A soueraigne medicine lies:
A Moly, Panaceia Sweete,
To him that upward sties.
If fallen down thou feele dispaire,
Read through this pamphlet small:
It Theôn cheiras, powerful salue,
In such assaults maist call.

It . . . idolatries I Peter 43.
The twenty four-line stanzas,
The prayer of Daniel turned into metre and applyed vnto our time.
are as bad as any of the doggerel of the time, as these two, Daniel
915 and 16, may serve to indicate:
Our sinnes and eke our fathers faultes
This day to passe hath brought.
That all which border vs about
They set vs cleane at nought.
Now then (O Lord) hide not thy face
Oh heare thy seruaunts cry
Behold thine house sometime full rich
How wast it doth nowe lie.

There is nothing unusual about the three prayers.
The Dedicatory Epistle is addressed to:
the Worshipfull and his special good friend, Master John Kempthorne
Esquire, R. W. wisheth in this life prosperous successe in all affaires,
and in the life to come a crowne of glory.
Wolcomb speaks of Kempthorne's:
ardent zeale in Gods truth, and maruellous affection towards the
true professors thereof . . . your Worship, vnder the wings of whose
tuition, these my slender labors might safely be shadowed, from all
the malice of spitefull reproouers and tauntie carpers.
He calls himself "a tender suckling and nouice in good letters,"
and says he had translated Chrysostom for his own use, and was
then urged to publish, and now dedicates it as a widow's mite.
Kempthorne was probably John Kempthorne, an attorney of
Modbury, Devon, the father of Sir John Kempthorne (1620-1629),
Vice-Admiral. (D.N.B.).
Robert Wolcomb of Devon (Foster, *Alumni*), *cler. fil.*, Matric. Exeter College, 1584, aged 16, B.A. 1589, was Vicar of Chudleigh, 1600. His Puritan inclinations were maintained by his family, another Robert, who matriculated at Oriel in 1650, being ejected from the rectory of Moreton Hampstead in 1662.

The British Museum contains two other works by Wolcomb: (1) *The State of the godly both in this life and in the life to come* (1606), a funeral sermon (11 November, 1605) preached at Chudleigh for Lady Elizabeth Courtney; (2) *A Glasse for the Godly* (1612), ‘‘Containing Many Comfortable Treatises to perswade men from the love of this world. . . . Full of spirituall comfort for all’’.

Here is the title page for the *Epistle of Comfort*:

**AN EPISTLE OF COMFORT**
From one Friend to ano other, wherein the Anabaptists error of Desperation is briefly confuted, and the sinne against the Holy Ghost plainly declared. Whereunto is added certaine effectuall Prayers Ornament. London Printed for John Helme 1609.

It begins (cf. sup. page 2):

\[\text{Syr, wheras it pleased you to require mee to write unto you my mind, concerning the true sense and meaning of this place of Sainte Paule in his Epistle to the Hebrewes. It can not be that they which were once lightned, and haue tasted of the heavenly gift, and were become partakers of the holy Ghost, and hauing tasted of / the good word of God, and of the power of the world to come, if they fall away (and as concerning themselues, crucifie the sonne of God afresh, and make a mocke of him) that they should be renued againe by repentance.} \]

\[\text{Syr, Many in time past, and at this preesnt day, mistaking this text and not truely understanding it, haue bene and are encombred with the Noutations error, which is, that after man by baptisme and the holy ghost is regenerated, and hath tasted of the grace of God, and hath embraced Christ and his holy word, if he fall to sin againe, he is without remedy of salvation.} \]

Undoubtedly this is a very damnable error, enough to bring all them that /
The Letter ends: "Yours at command to his power. T. C.

*Give all honor laud and praise to God only.* 1 Tim. 1.

This indicates that there are some differences, though as I have no full copy of the McAlpin volume before me, I cannot speak with confidence. The original is addressed to "a godly and zealous Lady" by T. C.; Wolcomb's edition, though still with T. C.'s initials, is "from one friend to another", and "Madam, where as it pleased your good Ladyship to require me" becomes "Syr, Wheras it pleased you to require me". Unhappily, Wolcomb was not thorough in his revision, for on page 181 he has left, "Wherefore good Madam". There are probably other differences, an indication of which is that whereas my note of the McAlpin copy (B. 1. recto) reads:

Wherefore both the Nouacians and the Annabaptist, grounding them/selues uppon these two places of holy Scripture, will plainlye pronounce thee to be a reprobate . . .

Wolcomb reads:

Wherefore, the Anabaptists grounding upon these scriptures will plainlye pronounce thee to be a reprobate.

When the British Museum secures a photostat of the McAlpin volume collation will be possible. Meanwhile the marginal references in the 1609 edition may be useful:

*Heb. 6; The error of the Nouations & now of the Anabaptists; 2 Petri 1; Pro. 2-4; Ezech. 33; Esau. 55; Iere. 3; Iere. 8; Zacha. 1; Apoc. 2; Luc. 15; Luc. 22; John 3; Aarom; David; Manasses; The sinfull Corinthian. I Cor. 5; I Cor. 2; Peter; Mat. 16; I John 5; Mat. 26*2, 3, 4; Mat. 17; *Heb. 6; It is not all one thing to fall, and to fall away; A prouerbe; Who falleth away fro christ; I Tim. 1; II Tim. 4; Mat. 10; A good & generall rule to be noted; Ion. 3; A condition; Luk. 22; Mat. 9; Question; Answere; Mat. 12; Three sorts of sinnes, Sinne Blasphemy, Blasphemy against the spirit; Sinne; Blasphemy; II Tim. 2; II John 5; Luk. 23; Act. 3; Act 7; Blasphemy against the spirit; Coniectures are vncertaine; Luk. 23; Tim. 1.*

(2) Was Cartwright the writer of the letters? There were, of course, other notorious T. C.'s. Remember how Martin Marprelate ridiculed "profane T. C.". Thomas Cooper, Bishop of Winchester: whose *Admonition to the People of England* appears next to the present work in the McAlpin catalogue. We have no knowledge of Cartwright in Copenhagen, though he travelled so much on the Continent that it is quite probable he went there. From Dr. A. F. Scott Pearson's biography we see him within fifteen years in Geneva, Rouen (1572), Heidelberg, Basel, Middelburg, Antwerp, and Flushing. The reference to Rouen at the end of Letter II makes us note Rouen (1572). If the letters had been dated it would have been helpful. Though published in 1589 they may have been written much earlier.
That Cartwright had much to do both with godly and zealous ladies and with godly merchants is well known, and there is abundant evidence that he advised them in matters of theology and of conscience. The modern note in his treatment of sexual temptation is striking, and we are not aware of a parallel in his published works. It may be urged that a man of Cartwright's intellectual attainments—he had been Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, and was the recognized leader of the Presbyterian-Puritans—would not make the profession of ignorance in Letter 11. But such a pose of humility was conventional, and many examples could be furnished. That Cartwright himself employed it may be seen from an autograph letter in the Huntington Library, which offers another illustration of his correspondence with laymen on theological matters. Francis Hastings (D.N.B.), brother of the Earl of Huntingdon, was closely connected with the Puritan group of ministers (see, e.g., A. F. Scott Pearson, Thomas Cartwright, 69, 71-2). He studied at Basel (1579), and Cartwright was in communication with him as late as 1598 (Pearson, ut sup., 384). In 1587 he submitted to Cartwright a religious treatise on comment and criticism. Cartwright's reply is a letter of 2 folio pages, dated Milke St. London 19 May 1589, which is catalogued in The Huntington Papers (pp. 83-84) under the title: "A Criticism of a religious treatise written by Francis Hastings and submitted to Thomas Cartwright". Cartwright's notes on the treatise are prefixed by these words:

According to your request I have red over your Christian Treatise wherein I finde matter of thanksgiving unto the Lord for your sound knowldg of our holy religion, and that the blameless walking in the same for which you are commended proceedeth not from an imitation onely of those whom ye esteme of the better sort but (as yt owght) from a certen and ruled knowldg out of the word that the same is acceptable unto God in Jesus Christ. And notwithstanding that I am not so meet a censurer of other mene's writings that have more need to have myne owne censured of such as you whome I know to be friendes unto the trueth, yet therein also have I obeyed yowr desire in setting down wherein I thought yowr judgment (folowing others ether in their writinges or speakinges) might seem somewhat too swarve.

I was at yowr lodging yesterday myself to have delivered yt and withall to have given the reason of these my scribled and ragged notes, thereby the rather to have heard from you in defense of your own that whereby I might have profited. But fearing least in in often coming I might misse of you as I did, I have with your treatise sent you my notes, wherein when you have red my readiness to doe thow the service I can conveniently for my place, I am content you make waste paper of yt.

1 For another, containing a similar expression of humility, see the letter to Michael Hickes, 20 Sept., 1595 (Strype, Whitgift, III. 316-7).
A UNIQUE COPY OF A WORK OF THOMAS CARTWRIGHT?

And so with my humble commendaciones I moest humbly recommend you unto the generous keeping and blessing of the Lord in Jesus Christ.

This note may stimulate search for another copy of the work, as it may also enable those with intimate knowledge of Cartwright’s writings to prove or disprove his authorship.

Dr. A. F. Scott Pearson, the biographer of Cartwright, has read this article, and sends this additional note:

In seeking to determine the year in which Cartwright may have written the letter to a godly merchant, I make a review of the Puritan leader’s whereabouts in the February of nearly a score of years before the letter was published, 1589. He was probably in Warwick in that month during the period 1586-1589, in Middelburg in the second months of the years 1578, 1579, 1580, 1583, 1584, 1585, in Antwerp in the second months of 1581, 1582; he was in Heidelberg in Feb. 1574, 1576 and probably Feb. 1573; we are not sure where he was in Feb. 1577, but he was in Basel at the end of 1576 and appears in Middelburg Sept. 1577. In Feb. 1573 he was in England. In Feb. 1572 he was in Geneva or on his way to Rouen, where—as I discovered a few years ago—he was staying in March 1572. This survey takes into account all the years from 1572 to 1589. Now what of the 3rd Feb. 1571 as the date of the letter? Cartwright was deprived of his Cambridge Professorship in Dec. 1570; then he appears in Geneva in June 1571. Probably he left England at the end of 1570 or the beginning of 1571, taking ship for Copenhagen, where on the date of the letter he says: “If you write againe to me write to Geneva, for thitherwards by Gods grace I intend to goo shortly”. The sentiments expressed in the letter are not incompatible with the opinions of Cartwright on the subjects in question expressed in his later works, e.g., his Confutation of the Rhe nylon N.T., although they are couched in different language and a more lucid and attractive style.

ALBERT PEEL.
Congregational Commonwealth Incumbents

ONE of the many analyses to which *Calamy Revised*\(^1\) invites the student is a consideration of the Congregationalists among the ejected ministers, their antecedents, the effect of their work, and how they came to be ejected at all. Their very existence within the Established Church at once reveals the ambivalence of Congregationalism, so fascinating to the historian of piety, so fatal to all attempts at a uniform classification. Our denominational histories begin with Browne’s anti-parochial conception of the “gathered church”, and proceed to cry bitterly over ejections from parochial livings less than a hundred years later. It is true that the Established Church became between 1640 and 1660 something different from what it had been and would be again: episcopacy was gone, the Prayer Book was gone too. Yet there was still the parochial organization on a geographical basis, still the state connexion, which might enable an aggrieved parishioner to sue the parson before a secular court of law. There is no denying that the holding of livings by Congregationalists was strictly anomalous, and almost bound to cause misunderstanding. It was a course not a few declined to adopt. On the other hand, unless holding them by birthright or by an illumination given in youth, men come to new principles gradually, especially to a full realization of their implications. Some of the men of whom Calamy records “His judgment was Congregational” were probably still only in the period of transition during the Commonwealth, feeling their way, and were helped to know their minds by the Act of Uniformity itself.

Of the 2,080 names (1,909 genuine cases of ejection) which find a place in *Calamy Revised*, only 189 (171 genuine) were certainly Congregationalists. It is a very small proportion, less than 10 per cent, but they were an important minority, as the Dissenting Brethren had been in the Westminster Assembly, and as the younger Independents would be on the non-subscribing side at Salter’s Hall\(^2\). These men also were not old. The age of over 100

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\(^1\) *Calamy Revised*, by A. G. Matthews, is the authority for practically every statement in this paper after the opening paragraphs, unless another reference is given.

of them is known, at least to within a couple of years, and the
dates of their birth cover every year from 1606 to 1633, as well as
some years before and some after this period. In 1662 they were
thus of all ages, with the majority between 29 and 56. Eight were
born in 1626, the greatest number in any single year; at their
ejection these would be only 35 or 36, though this would seem older
in the seventeenth century than today.

Of these 189, eighteen, Calamy’s editor confesses, were not, in
fact, ejected. That he was weakening his case by their inclusion
can hardly have escaped Calamy, which makes it the more interest-
ing, from the point of view of Congregationalism, that he did
include them. In some cases, e.g., Samuel Lee* and Philip Nye*,
he may well have erred in all good faith, believing that they held
livings which they did not hold. One, John Wigan, he admits
(though erroneously) was only a candidate for the ministry. The
others include John Collins*, Samuel Eaton*, Increase Mather*,
John Owen*, Jeremiah White*, and Samuel Winter*, men so
prominent that they could hardly be omitted. Eleven of these
eighteen were of sufficient eminence to be included in the Dictionary
of National Biography, a proportion much higher than that pre-
sented by the number of those actually ejected who receive such
recognition (53 out of 171). This goes to show that the outstanding
Congregationalists tended to remain outside even the Cromwellian
Establishment. Some had held benefices earlier, e.g., John Owen,
who became Vicar of Coggeshall, Essex, after John Cotton’s Keyes
had converted him to Congregationalism; but even of these Lee
had accepted a living only unwillingly under pressure from Crom-
well, and had resigned it; while others, including Ichabod Chauncey*,
Mather and White, had never been benefited. Their inclusion
quand même in Calamy’s list is telling.

The 171 names which remain may themselves be divided into
three categories, according as their holders were ejected from:
(1) parochial livings, whether rectories, vicarages or curacies;
(2) town lectureships, preacherships or chaplaincies; (3) academic
positions in university or school. The second and third types of
office were clearly more loosely attached to the State Church than
were the livings: they carried with them no cure of souls as did the
parishes. Lectureships ‘‘sprung from a desire to promote spiritual

3 Counting Peter Sterry*, whom Matthews adds, as his earlier office of
chaplain to Cromwell was the same as that of White, whom Calamy in-
cludes.

4 All names thus asterisked are the subjects of an article in the D.N.B.

5 Winter was ejected from the provostship of Trinity College, Dublin, but
did not suffer any ejection in England.
edification by means extraneous to the parochial system, and ... practically anticipated ... the principles of voluntaryism"; they could also be considered in a missionary light, bridging the gap which was the weakness of the conception of the "gathered church", and thus be held to be compatible with Congregational principles. Nor could any valid reason be advanced why academic posts should not be held by Congregationalists. Between them these two types of office account for 41 names, 137 of them academic: of these, eight were ejected from the University of Oxford (including the Presidents of Magdalen and St. John's, the Camden Professor of Ancient History, and a Canon of Christchurch), two from Trinity College, Cambridge, and three from Eton (including the Provost and Vice-Provost)8. Seven of the thirteen (5 Oxonians, 2 Etonians) are in the D.N.B., again a high proportion. The 28 remaining names are those of 18 lecturers (including John Flavell* at Dartmouth and Christopher Nesse* at Leeds), 6 preachers (including William Bridge* at Yarmouth, Theophilus Gale* at Winchester Cathedral, and John Rowe* at Westminster Abbey), 2 chaplains, the Master of the Savoy (William Hooke*), and an assistant minister. Ten of these 28 are in the D.N.B. As with the men not ejected, some of them had held benefices earlier, but several had never done so. Thomas Goodwin*, the ejected President of Magdalen, had definitely resigned his vicarage (Holy Trinity, Cambridge) on becoming Congregational (again through Cotton's influence); and other cases of the same thing may be presumed.

We now come to the ministers who are our immediate concern, viz., the 130 who were actually ejected from livings in the Established Church. It might be expected that they would appear only in certain districts, much as the few Baptists ejected tend to appear in the Marcher Counties. This is not so, however. They appear throughout the whole of the country, from Cornwall to Northumberland and from Cumberland to Kent; the only counties not represented are Westmorland, Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Rutland, Warwickshire, Huntingdonshire, Herefordshire, and Surrey9.

7 Counting Ralph Button*, whose canonry at Christchurch was evidently academic rather than ecclesiastical, since he was never in orders; and Lewis Du Moulin*, Camden Professor of Ancient History, an addition by Matthews.
8 Of the 29 men ejected from schools other than Eton none appears to have been a Congregationalist.
9 For practical purposes Monmouth is excluded from the survey of Galamy Revised, as being predominantly part of a Welsh diocese in the seventeenth century.
This is not to say there are not areas where Congregationalists were thicker on the ground than in other districts; Norfolk and Suffolk together account for 30 of the 130 names (15 each); no other county has so many, Gloucestershire coming next with 10, then Devon with 8 and Cumberland with 7. London provides 8, all but two of whom are in the D.N.B. A consideration of these districts will give some idea of the situation.

In Norfolk much "Established" Congregationalism can be traced to the influence of two particular churches, those at Norwich and Yarmouth. In 1636 William Bridge* had been deprived by Bishop Wren of the rectory of St. George Tombland, Norwich, and went to Holland. Here he fell in with such other exiles as Hugh Peters* and Samuel Ward*, who converted him to Congregationalism. On his return to England in 1642, he retained his principles and in 1643 became pastor of a Congregational church formed at Norwich, a section of which, with Bridge still as pastor, was formed in 1644 into a separate church at Yarmouth. Bridge never again held a benefice, but accepted the office of one of the three Town Preachers at Yarmouth, from which he was ejected. He remained pastor of the Yarmouth Congregational church until his death in 1671. His successor as pastor of the church at Norwich was Timothy Armitage*, who never held a living and died as early as 1655, being followed by Thomas Allen*.

Allen is one of our men, as he also held the rectory of St. George Tombland (Bridge’s former benefice), from which he was ejected. He too had been in exile, both in Holland and in New England, where (like so many others) he had come under Cotton’s influence. From this Norwich church came Thomas Lawson*, who joined it in 1649, was dismissed from it in 1655 to that at Denton (probably as pastor), where he was also Rector, and later became a member (not pastor) of that at Market Weston (afterwards Wattisfield), from the rectory of which he was ejected. From the Norwich church, again, came John Money, who was dismissed from it in

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10 For the non-Separatist type of Congregationalism traditional among the exiles in Holland and later in New England, cf. P. Miller, "Orthodoxy in Massachusetts," 81f. 105. For the Dutch Reformed Church’s antagonism towards the exiles, cf. D. Nauta’s inaugural lecture, De Nederlandsche Gereformeerd en het Independentisme in de Zeventiende Eeuw; and for the influence on them of Remonstrant principles, cf. D. Nobbs, "Theocracy and Toleration."

11 There was a Brownist church in Yarmouth as long before Bridge’s time as 1624; cf. J. Browne, "Congregationalism in Norfolk and Suffolk," 74 foll.

12 Another of these, also ejected, was Job Tookey, who in 1652 became ‘teacher’ of the Yarmouth Congregational church.
1652 to be pastor of the church formed at Wymondham, from the vicarage of which he was ejected\textsuperscript{13}.

The church at Yarmouth also provided men for Norfolk benefices. From this church John Green, who had been admitted to membership in 1655, was dismissed in 1659 to that at Tunstead, of which he became pastor in January, 1660, and where he also held the vicarage from 1657 till he suffered ejection. From it, again, came John Reyner, who was ejected from the rectory of Rollesby\textsuperscript{14}.

Doubtless others besides these five were influenced by the Norwich and Yarmouth churches, which had a benevolent oversight over the younger churches and often received messengers from them seeking advice. Calamy's attribution to them of the Congregationalism of Samuel Habergham, pastor of the Congregational church at Syleham and Wingfield, Suffolk, and ejected from the vicarage of Syleham, could probably be repeated for others:

coming into a Country where he saw the most Part of Professors inclin'd to the Congregational Way, he struck in with them. It was in these Parts were the celebrated Fifteen Churches (and there were so many at least of that Way) upon the Coasts of Suffolk and Norfolk, that receiv'd their Direction and Encouragement from Mr. Bridge of Yarmouth, and Mr. Armitage of Norwich.

It is the more interesting that these two churches did not discourage their members from combining a parochial living with the pastorate of a "gathered church", inasmuch as at Yarmouth even the Town Lectureship held by Bridge was found to be not without its difficulties. Sore grief and displeasure was officially expressed in 1646 that he should gather a church in Yarmouth, and for three months he forbore to receive any into church fellowship; then, when "the church gave the town notice that they would no longer forbear the duty of admitting into fellowship", a majority of the

\textsuperscript{13} It may be conjectured that this also was the "one of the churches in Norwich" where was preached the sermon which led to the conversion to Congregationalism of Edward Barker, ejected from the vicarage of Eye, Suffolk.

\textsuperscript{14} Other ministers who were at one time members of this influential church were John Oxenbridge\textsuperscript{6}, the ejected Vice-Provost of Eton; and Thomas Taylor, one of those included by Calamy though not in fact ejected, who was pastor of the Congregational church at Bury St. Edmunds. Robert Otty, who was ejected from a lectureship at Beccles, Suffolk, owed much to Bridge's encouragement, though we are not told he was a member of Bridge's church. John Leverington, who was among those in 1644 dismissed from the Yarmouth church to the newly formed church at Norwich, may be conjecturally identified with the John Leverington ejected from the vicarage of Neatishead with Irstead, Norfolk, but is not reckoned among the 130 Congregationalists.
corporation voted this "a disturbance of the peace and government of the town".\(^{15}\)

In Suffolk the leading Congregational churches were those at Ipswich and Bury St. Edmunds, but these do not seem to have sent their members out to hold Congregational pastorates together with parochial benefices, as did the churches at Norwich and Yarmouth. The ministers of the two Congregational churches at Ipswich, Robert Gouge* and Benjamin Stoneham, held livings, the former the rectory of St. Helen's, the latter the curacy of St. Peter's, and both were ejected; but the Bury church had a more Separatist complexion from the first. Katherine Chidley\(^{16}\), the "old Brownist", as "Gangraena" Edwards calls her, and her son\(^{17}\) were among the eight signatories to the covenant at Bury (1646), in which they declared themselves "convinced in conscience of the evil of the Church of England . . . and being fully separated"; consequently their minister, Thomas Taylor, was never beneficed, and was not likely to encourage such a procedure. This is not to say there was no warmth of fellowship among the Suffolk churches. At the ordination of Taylor over the Bury church in 1656, messengers were present from the two Ipswich churches, from Sudbury, where Samuel Crossman* (the author of the hymn "My song is love unknown", and the one Congregational conformist) was both pastor and Vicar, from Syleham and Market Weston (mentioned above), as well as from other churches which like itself were "fully separated".\(^{18}\)

One would like to know more of the many other clergymen-ministers in this county, such as John Clark of Beccles; John Manning, minister of the Congregational church at Walpole and later of that at Sweffling (afterwards Rendham), and ejected from the vicarage of Sibton with Peasenhall; his brother Samuel Manning, who succeeded him at Walpole, and was ejected from the rectory of Cookley with Walpole, but remained pastor of the Congregational church at Walpole; Samuel Petto*, a strong supporter of lay-preaching, who was ejected from the rectory of South Elmham St. Cross, where he was probably also pastor of a Congregational church; and Thomas Spurdance, ejected from the rectory of Rushmere, and pastor of a Congregational church at Henstead, which in 1658 was reported as "neither seeking communion with others

\(^{15}\) J. Browne, op. cit., 218.
\(^{16}\) She wrote in 1641, in controversy with Edwards, a Justification of the Independant Churches of Christ.
\(^{17}\) He wrote to Cromwell in 1651, "Separation is of such antiquitie, necessitie, utilitie, puritie, and permanencie . . .": J. Nickolls, Original Letters, 59.
\(^{18}\) J. Browne, op. cit., 394.
\(^{19}\) ib., 398.
nor they with it). In Clark we have another example of the difficulties a benefice might present to a Congregationalist. He seems to have held the pastorate while he was Lecturer at Beccles, but to have resigned it when he accepted the rectory, Robert Otty, a foundation member, succeeding him in the pastorate. Clark evidently retained his principles as Rector, for complaints were made that he "did not minister sacraments to all and sundry"; but it appears that he held unusually strict views, for even among the Congregationalists there was no administration of either sacrament till Otty's time.

It is evident that these ministers who were ejected were in no way lukewarm Congregationalists, who did not know quite where they stood. Of the 30 ejected from livings in Norfolk and Suffolk as many as 15 in 1672 took out licences in the county as Congregationalists (including three who preferred the name Independent), a high proportion; for at least two ministers had died since 1662, at least two others had emigrated to Holland, while others, who did not avail themselves of the Indulgence, are known to have been ministers of East Anglian Congregational churches at that time. In Norfolk the Old Meeting at Norwich and the Congregational and Unitarian churches at Yarmouth still flourish, as does their offshoot at Wymondham; the church at Denton is now small. Another ancient Norfolk church is that at Guestwick, where Richard Worts combined the pastorate with the rectory of Foulsham with Themelthorpe, from which he was ejected. In Suffolk also a number of Congregational churches continue the labours of the ejected ministers. Besides Ipswich (Congregational and Unitarian) and Bury may be mentioned Beccles, Bungay, Rendham, Walpole and Wattisfield. Probably nowhere else has there been so much Congregational continuity since the days when Cromwell drew from this district the Independent Ironsides who made some conscience of what they did; and the indigenous air of East Anglian Congregationalism may well owe something to the number of cases in which during the Commonwealth the pastorate of a "gathered church" was combined with a living in the Establishment.

The smallness of Cumberland and its proximity to Scotland and Scottish Presbyterianism make it surprising that of the 20 ministers ejected in this county as many as 7 were Congregationalists. In 1651 Thomas Larkham*, whom we shall meet again in Devon, a

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20 ib., 461.
21 "The preponderance of the East Anglian element among the pioneers of the (Franciscan) movement" (F. S. Stevenson, Robert Grosseteste, 42) and Milman's description of Franciscanism as "the democracy of Christianity" (Latin Christianity, VI, 40; quoted by Stevenson) may be recalled, and compared.
returned exile from New England, was in Cumberland in the fulfilment of a military appointment; and it seems to have been through his vigorous personality that in that year a Congregational church was formed at Cockermouth, with his son George as pastor. George also held the curacy of Cockermouth, and was ejected from it. George Benson, later ejected from the vicarage of Bridekirk, was a foundation member, and with Thomas Larkham laid hands on George Larkham, as did Gawen Egglesfield, later ejected Rector of Plumbland (he unfortunately had to be excommunicated by the Cockermouth Congregational church for a 'foule miscarriage'). Comfort Starr, who was pastor of a Congregational church at Carlisle and ejected from the curacy of St. Cuthbert's there, was also connected with the Cockermouth church, where his wife was a member and his son was baptized. Congregationalism in the county was greatly strengthened by the accession of Richard Gilpin*, great-nephew of Bernard Gilpin*, 'the Apostle of the North'. How he came to hold Congregational principles is uncertain: Alexander Gordon says, 'it seems that Gilpin would have preferred the Presbyterian system' 22, had it been adopted in Cumberland, and he took out a licence as a Presbyterian in 1672. The fact remains that while still a preacher at Durham Cathedral in 1649 he had administered the sacrament to a small congregation in Durham, and that at Greystoke, where he held the rectory from about 1652 till his ejection, 'his parish was organised on a congregational model, having an inner circle of communicants and a staff of deacons' 23. A third Congregational church was formed at Melmerby (afterwards Kirkoswald) in 1653, among the foundation members being William Hopkins, later ejected from the rectory of Melmerby, and Simon Atkinson, later ejected from the vicarage of Lazonby 24.

All the seven Congregational ministers ejected in Cumberland were thus originally connected with only three Congregational churches, and it does not appear that Atkinson, Benson or Egglesfield formed Congregational churches in their own parishes. The population of Cumberland was much sparser than that of East Anglia; and Presbyterian principles (if not the Presbyterian system) would be stronger. Thus George Larkham was ordained 'by the imposition of the hands of three ordained presbyters then present (called by the church to that worke for feare of offending the godly brethren of ye Presbyterian way'); and George Benson, when admitted to the office of a teaching elder, was not ordained,

23 ibid.
24 George Nicholson, one of those included by Calamy but not in fact ejected, succeeded Hopkins in the pastorate at Melmerby.
‘because he had been before ordained by the bishops, and the church was fearfull of iterating his ordination, least they should have offended, though they, in their judgement were satisfied they might’

Of these seven ministers all took out licences in 1672 except Hopkins, but Benson, Gilpin and Starr had left the county, and Larkham was licensed as a Presbyterian. All the Congregational churches, however, continued to exist. Cockermouth and Carlisle still flourish; Greystoke is now Presbyterian; Melmerby (Kirkoswald) is represented by Parkhead, the building unfortunately now being closed.

In Devon the situation was more as in Suffolk, in so far as the Congregational churches arose largely in independence of one another. That only 8 Congregationalists were ejected out of a total of 121 (as against 30 out of a total of 139 in Norfolk and Suffolk together) shows the relative strength of Presbyterianism in this county. A Congregational church was formed at Tavistock by Thomas Larkham*, whom we have met at Cockermouth, and who was ejected from the vicarage of Tavistock. Another, not formed till 1658, was at Bideford, where William Bartlet* combined the pastorate with the rectory, from which he was ejected. Bartlet had held his principles at least since 1647, when he published his Model of the Primitive Congregational Way ("nicknamed Independence"), but how he came to them is not clear; he had not been in New England, as Larkham had. According to Calamy Bartlet’s son John, who was ejected from the vicarage at Fremington, was also Congregational, as were Thomas Powel and Thomas Wellman, ejected from the curacy of St. Sidwell’s, Exeter, and from the vicarage of Luppitt respectively. Among the signatories of the Address of Devon Congregational ministers to Charles II in 1660 were two men who later suffered ejection from the vicarage of Tiverton: John Chishul, who held the Pitt portion, and Theophilus Polwhele*, who held the Clare and Tidcombe portions. Nathaniel Mather*, another returned exile from New England and of a famous Congregational family, was ejected from the vicarage of Barnstaple.

Of these eight, all but Larkham, who was dead, Chishul, who left for Middlesex, and Mather, who again emigrated, took out Congregational licences in 1672 in the county, and their labours are

26 It is curious to find him called a Brownist as late as 1692; Dearham Parish Register, cited by B. Nightingale, Ejected of 1662 in Cumberland and Westmorland, 693.
still continued by the churches at Barnstaple, Bideford, Tavistock (Congregational and Unitarian), and Tiverton. Other Devon churches now Congregational may claim foundation by ejected ministers; but either these ministers did not become Congregational till after their ejection, or else they did not become so at all, the churches, originally Presbyterian, becoming Congregational, just as in Cumberland we noticed one Congregational church which has become Presbyterian.

_Congregationalism_ is interesting as presenting a highly conscious and organized Congregationalism which did not last. As remarked, there were more Congregationalists ejected in this county than in any other except Norfolk and Suffolk, and the proportion of Congregationalists among the ejected (1028 out of 52) is almost exactly the same as in Suffolk (15 out of 79). In 1656 the Gloucestershire churches sent a remonstrance to Cromwell against his assuming the kingship, an interesting indication that they were politically alert and as radical in their politics as in their religion. The signatories to this letter included the following pastors of Congregational churches, who were also incumbents and later ejected: William Beale, Rector of Stow on the Wold; Francis Harris, Curate of Deerhurst; Carnes Helme, Vicar of Winchcomb; Anthony Palmer*, Rector of Bourton on the Water; and William Tray, Rector of Oddington. William Becket, member of the Winchcomb Congregational church, later ejected from the curacy of Compton Abdale, and John Wells, who combined the pastorate of a Congregational church at Tewkesbury with the vicarage, from which he was ejected, signed another letter to Cromwell about the same time. These churches, though, so far as appears, arising in mutual independence, were thus evidently known to one another and desirous of acting in concert. The Winchcomb, Oddington and Tewkesbury ministers were also among those who as early as 1653 held a public dispute on the question of admission to communion with Clement Barksdale*, the sequestered Vicar of Winchcomb, who spent the Commonwealth in retirement at Hawleing near by. There was also a Congregational church at Gloucester, with James Forbes*, ejected from the rectory of St. Mary de Crypt, as pastor; among its members was Edward Fletcher, ejected Rector of Bagendon, in whose property near Little Cloisters, Gloucester, the church appears to have met. Somewhat detached from these Cotswold Congregational churches was one at Bristol, whose pastor, John Knowles*, ejected

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28 Stephen Ford*, a protégé of Thankful Owen*, can almost be counted an eleventh; for Chipping Norton, where he was ejected from the vicarage, is only just over the Gloucestershire border, nor was any other Congregational incumbent ejected in Oxfordshire.
from the rectory of St. Werburgh's, had been in New England. He and Forbes\(^29\) were present at the Savoy Conference of 1658, but it cannot be to them that "Established" Congregationalism owes its introduction to the county, since it was already fully confident by the time of the dispute with Barksdale in 1653. Bristol had been a centre of Nonconformity since the days of the Lollards, and Baxter's experience of the strong Puritan feeling in Gloucester\(^30\) may be recalled. A connexion may also be sought through the Baptists who "abounded in Gloucestershire"\(^31\), though only one of them, Paul Frewen, the pastor of the Baptist church at Dymock, held a living (the vicarage of Kempley) and suffered ejection. Anthony Wood says that Palmer of Bourton was "anabaptistically inclin'd"\(^32\).

Despite the labours of these ten ministers, only the Gloucester Congregational and Unitarian churches can claim continuity with them. Forbes remained at Gloucester, and took out a Congregational licence in 1672; but Beale, Helme, Knowles, Palmer and Wells all left the county for London, while Fletcher had died, and presumably their churches fell away. Harris\(^33\) took out a Congregational licence at Painswick, and Tray is found ministering at Nailsworth, at both of which places churches continue; Becket took out a licence at Winchcombe, but there was evidently a later break in the history here, for the present church claims only a nineteenth century foundation. At once brilliant and transient, the Commonwealth Congregationalism of Gloucestershire deserves an investigation to itself.

No other county provides a sufficient number of ejected Congregationalists (there were only 6 in all Yorkshire) for it to be worth while to consider them as a geographical unity; but among them were not a few ministers of eminence and interest. The London ejected Congregationalists include Joseph Caryl\(^*,\) one of the Dissenting Brethren at the Westminster Assembly\(^34\); the Arminian John Goodwin\(^*,\) another of those who owed their Congregationalism to Cotton; and Nathaniel Holmes\(^*,\) who as early as 1643 had joined Henry Burton\(^*\) in gathering a church. Those in Yorkshire

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\(^{29}\) Forbes was also a Preacher at Gloucester Cathedral, Knowles at Bristol Cathedral.

\(^{30}\) Reliquiae Baxteriannaæ, I. 41.

\(^{31}\) A. Gordon, D.N.B., art. Anth. Palmer.

\(^{32}\) Palmer's influence may remain in the Bourton Baptist church, which was sufficiently live to engage the pastoral energies of the hymn-writer Benjamin Beddome\(^*\) for more than fifty years (1740-95).

\(^{33}\) Harris's influence may remain in the custom still in practice at Deerhurst, now excessively rare in the Church of England, of sitting at communion.

\(^{34}\) As was William Greenhill\(^\ast\), ejected from the vicarage of Stepney, Middlesex.
include Christopher Marshall*, of Woodkirk, yet another of Cotton's protegés, who at one time counted the Quaker James Nayler* among his church members; and Henry Root, of Sowerby, who baptized Archbishop Tillotson. One of the most interesting characters is William Dell*, who resigned the Mastership of Caius in 1660 and was ejected from the rectory of Yelden, Bedfordshire. He was a radical Independent, who combined a Quaker-like distrust of an academic training for the ministry with pioneer views on university extension.

The conflict likely to arise within the dual function performed by the men under consideration has already appeared from time to time, and other examples may be given. It is true that it was not only Congregationalists who refused to administer the sacrament to all and sundry. When Abraham Pinchbecke was Rector of Mashbury, Essex, in 1654, he wrote to Baxter that he did not intend to administer the Lord's Supper as there were no fit recipients. In 1657 he went to St. Paul's, Covent Garden, to assist Thomas Manton*, who had become Rector in 1656; and, according to another letter to Baxter, it was not till 1658 that the Supper was administered there after seven or eight years' intermission. Neither Manton nor Pinchbecke were Congregationalists. Consequently an attribution of Independency in Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy on the score of a refusal to administer the sacraments is not treated as in itself proof of Congregationalism. Congregationalists, nevertheless, would be likely to prove stricter than their Presbyterian brethren. Francis Holcroft*, for instance, who was ejected from the vicarage of Bassingbourn, Cambridgeshire, and from a Fellowship at Clare, is described by Calamy as "Much against holding any Kind of Communion with the Parish-Churches; fell in with the Old Brownists, and was angry with his Dissenting Brethren that were more Catholick-spirited". Again, when Baxter went in 1662 to live at Acton, Middlesex, where first Philip Nye* and then Thomas Elford, both Congregationalists, had been Rector, "there remained but two Women in all the Town, and Parish, whom they had admitted to the Sacrament whereof One was a Lady that by alienation from them turned Quaker, and was their great Patroness. . . . This rigour made the People think hardly of them". The suggestion that some people became Quakers on a "sour grapes" principle is diverting; but it is not unlikely that, while the refusal to administer the sacrament to all and sundry was usually owing to a high Calvinist notion of the holy community, some radical Congregationalists, who did not go the whole way towards Baptist or Quaker principles, yet went so far as to depreciate the sacraments. Knowles, for instance, in earlier days when at Colchester, "forsook lecture and town and all, rather than he would receive the communion"; Richard Lane, a Congregationalist ejected from the
vicarage of Northbourne, Kent, baptized no children; Dell was charged with having neglected the sacraments for twelve years at Yelden, and in his *Doctrine of Baptisms* he seems to have set aside water baptism altogether. Sometimes parishioners claimed what they considered their rights. In 1658 Thomas Palmer, the Congregational Rector of Aston on Trent, Derbyshire, was prosecuted at Lincoln for refusing the sacrament to his parishioners, and it appears that he was not the only one then prosecuted. The case evidently caused some excitement, for Bankes Anderson, the Congregational Mayor’s Chaplain at Boston, together with the Mayor and about twenty other ministers, signed a petition against the prosecution.

It is to be borne in mind that the Commonwealth Congregationalism described above is by no means the whole of it, nor perhaps even representative of the whole, since (with the exception of Bury St. Edmunds) only those churches whose pastors were incumbents have come under mention. The eighteen Congregational ministers included by Calamy but not ejected may be recalled as a reminder of the church life outside the scope of this paper; and the fact that not a single Congregationalist was ejected from a Lincolnshire living must not be taken to mean that no Congregational church existed between Scrooby and Boston, but only that none of the pastors of any such churches were incumbents. If not in Lincolnshire, certainly elsewhere in many counties Congregational churches were formed, still in complete separation from the Establishment. Some, like that at Bury St. Edmunds, still flourish. Some, like that at Nailsworth, where was “a meeting for some years of a people called puritans, or Independants, a seeking people to know the way of truth”, or at Leominster, Herefordshire, where was “a great Meeting of ye Peopel Caled Independats”, had a break in continuity, so that the present churches claim a later foundation. Some, like those listed by Browne for East Anglia, have become extinct. The relation of “Established” Congregationalism to “Separatist” Congregationalism still needs investigation; the present paper seeks simply to provide evidence of the nature, problems and extent of the former, to which several of our present churches owe their origin.

GEoffrey F. Nuttall.

36 Yet in fact no Lincolnshire Congregational church seems to claim a seventeenth century foundation save Stamford, where three Presbyterians were ejected. It looks as though the early “Separatist” Congregationalism of Lincolnshire proved less sturdy than the later “Established” Congregationalism of East Anglia.
38 *ib.*, 116.
The Throckmorton Trotman Trust
1664—1941

(Concluded)

By the courtesy of the Clerk of the Haberdashers’ Co. I have been allowed to examine not only the Manual for the Private Use of the Court of Assistants (last ed., 1902) but also the MS. volume of Alphabetical and Chronological Schedule of Deeds, Papers, Writings, begun 12 Sept., 1756, and still in use. From these and from Herbert’s History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies of London it is possible to trace Trotman’s bequests to the Company, though sometimes the stream flows underground.

The Company received £2,000 from the Executors in 1663 and £2,000 in 1669. As the Hall and adjacent premises were burnt down in the Great Fire, they used the capital “for that purpose”, allocating the rents of tenements near for the service of the Charities, and not purchasing lands. In 1732 they conveyed several tenements to Trustees for this specific purpose.

In 1668 the £400 for the School was received. Land near Bunhill was bought for £180, and a school built costing £380. In 1671 the Company built a schoolmaster’s house at their own charges (£363). From his salary of £70, £30 was deducted for rent and £10 for repairs.

Herbert’s account (1837) of Trotman’s School in Bunhill Row reads:

For the daily education of one hundred boys, sons of parishioners of St. Giles, Cripplegate and St. Luke, Old Street, elected by the court of wardens. They are admitted at 7, and discharged at fourteen years of age, and instructed in reading, writing, and arithmetic.

Among the documents is “A Bundle of Petitions of Boys from Bunhill School from 1781 to 1790”, which I have not examined.

In 1881 the premises were sold to the Metropolitan Board of Works for £7,017 3 per cent Consols, afterwards invested in freehold ground rents, and the School was moved to 80 City Road.

In 1899, however, it was closed by order of the Charity Commissioners, and a pension of £50 to Mr. Lebon, the schoolmaster, was sanctioned. Finally by a Board of Education Scheme for the educational Charity, dated March, 1912, the income is applied in

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15 Probably an error for 1665.  
16 As again in December, 1940.
Senior and Junior Exhibitions for boys resident in the administrative County of London, with a preference for those resident in the parishes of St. Giles, Cripplegate, and St. Luke's, Old Street.

At one stage, probably 1756, there is a statement to show that the rents of the houses allocated to the Charity produced £159 5s. 0d., leaving £9 5s. 0d. for repairs, taxes, and other charges after these payments.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Master at Bunhill School</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday afternoon Lecture</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday morning Lecture</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerk and Sexton</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To those that take pains about the premises</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candles</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor of Cripplegate</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor at Cam</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lecture at Dursley</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor of the Company</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[\text{Total: } £150\]

That such execution of the Will was not reached at once may be gauged from a Bill in Chancery, 14 July, 1701, "the Attorney-General at the relation of the Inhabitants of Cam in Gloucester against the Company for a legacy of £30 a year left by Mr. Trotman and the arrears to secure the payment thereof".

Subsequent difficulties are suggested by an "Undertaking by Candidates for the Lectureship to perform the duties in person" (Dec., 1795) and an Order of the Charity Commissioners (no date in the Schedule but between documents dated 1859 and 1867) "for the delivery of a Lecture once a week (my italics) at St. Giles, Cripplegate".

The 1902 *Manual* gives a list of payments showing that on 10 Nov., 1887, the incumbent of St. Giles, Cripplegate, refused to allow the Lecture to be given there, and that therefore it had been transferred to Allhallows, Lombard Street. This list reads:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lectures at Allhallows Church, Lombard St.</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerk and Sexton at Allhallows Church, Lombard St.</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parish of Cam</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lectures at Dursley</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parish of Cripplegate</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five poor of the Company</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerk of the Company</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[\text{Total: } £130\]
In 1937 the Charity Commissioners sanctioned a new Scheme of Administration for the non-educational parts of the Charity, authorizing the Company to divide the income thus:

- 6/120 The Company for expenses of administration.
- 5/120 Poor of the Company.
- 40/120 A lecture every Sunday evening in the Parish Church of St. Peter, Hoxton, or in some other Parish Church.
- 2/120 Clerk of Church where lecture is preached; if no Clerk, to Parochial Church Council for general expenses.
- 2/120 Sexton similarly.
- 4/120 Parochial Church Council for expenses of lighting and heating.
- 16/120 "Joint Estate Trustees of the Charities called The St. Giles’ and St. Luke’s Joint Parochial Charities in the Parishes of St. Giles, Cripplegate, in the City of London, and St. Luke, Old Street, in the County of London".
- 30/120 Trustees of "the Charity of Throckmorton Trotman in the Parish of Cam".
- 15/120 Lecture on market day at Dursley.

Cam. There are still Trotmans resident in Cam, and the local tradition is "There have always been Trotmans in Cam". "The Steps" is the name of a farm in Cam. Almshouses were not built there, but the money given to the poor of the parish. Apparently the Trust is now administered by two persons appointed by the Cam Parish Council. There is an annual distribution of money, preference being given to widows, and also, under the "Hicks-Trotman Charity" an annual distribution of bread to 240 residents of Cam who will fetch a loaf.

Dursley. The bequest for the Dursley Lecture has followed the same course as that for the Lecture at St. Giles, Cripplegate. At some time it was attached to the parish church, and the Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire concerning charities is that the Lecture was preached as directed every market day, and payment made to the curate, the rector then being non-resident. There is now no market, but the Foundation Deed of St Mark’s Church requires a sermon to be preached every Wednesday evening. This requirement has, with some intermission, been regularly complied with, and this sermon is deemed as meeting the direction of Trotman’s Will.
The Merchant Adventurers. About the bequest to the Merchant Adventurers searches to date have proved entirely fruitless. It will be seen that in almost every way care has been taken to carry out the intentions of the testator. There is, however, one important exception. If students for the ministry in which Throckmorton Trotman believed still receive assistance from his benefaction, other parts of his Charity have gone the way of many during the centuries. It may be, of course, that the Lectures which have been delivered through the years at Dursley, St. Giles, Cripplegate, Allhallows, Lombard Street, and St. Peter's, Hoxton have been Puritan Lectures such as Mr. Trotman desired to establish. But we have our doubts. And it may be that in the distributions to the poor of the various parishes all care is taken to include those whose religious beliefs are most akin to those of the testator. It would be interesting to learn.

Albert Peel.


If you look in Calamy Revised you will find the name of John Ray. But how many members of this Society, how many Non-conformists, ever think of this naturalist as one of the greatest of their number? The D.N.B. calls him "the greatest naturalist with one possible exception that England has ever produced", and Dr. Raven quotes Sir Albert Seward’s verdict:

Ray set truth above tradition and had the courage of his convictions. We do homage to him as one of the founders of modern science; we think of him as a prophet and preacher of the new gospel in an age when the dawn was beginning to break after a long night of comparative darkness. He stands as a beacon set on a hill penetrating the mists of ages with shafts of light, giving warmth to the hearts and stirring the imagination.

Dr. Raven’s judgment also serves to be on record:

His greatness is that in a time of tradition and universal turmoil he saw the need for precise and ordered knowledge, set himself to test the old and explore the new, and by dint of immense labour in the field and in the study laid the foundations of modern science in many branches of zoology and botany. He studied, corrected and collated the existing litera-
tured; he collected, identified, investigated, described and classified mammals, birds, reptiles, fishes and insects, cryptogams and all known plants; he contributed richly to the advance of geology and made observations in astronomy and physics; he was a pioneer in the study of languages and first revealed the importance of dialect and folk-speech; he did as much as any man of his time to develop a new understanding and interpretation of religion; more perhaps than any man he enabled the transition from the medieval to the modern outlook. That he could do so is due not only to his own genius and opportunities, but to the character of his inheritance and the circumstances of his upbringing.

Ray, the son of a blacksmith, was born in 1627. He found his way to Trinity College, Cambridge, and became a Fellow, teaching both Greek and Mathematics before Cromwell died. As he had always intended to give his life to divinity, the Restoration placed him in a quandary, but he accepted Charles II’s professions of “indulgence” and was ordained. The Act of Uniformity was too much for him, and he forfeited his Fellowship. While he remained a bachelor, and while his friend and partner in naturalist researches lived, he was not uncomfortably off, but afterwards, when four children arrived and he was stricken with long illness, it must have been hard to keep the wolf from the door. But through poverty and pain he carried on his work, refusing preferment when offered, and sending out from his little house in Essex a stream of notable, if financially unprofitable, books, which were pioneers in their fields, embodying in skilful fashion the fruits of almost unparalleled industry.

Nature, to Ray, was a revelation of God to man, and he saw nothing out of harmony with his profession in the detailed study of God’s work. Finally, in Wisdom of God, he issued a book—on which Paley afterwards largely drew, and without adequate acknowledgment—which can still be read with interest and profit.

Few readers will be able to read all Dr. Raven’s biography as it ought to be read, for how many have the required knowledge of plants and birds, animals and insects, fossils and words, philosophy and theology? But all will be grateful to the Master of Christ’s for a book which is a model: well produced, with notes at the foot of the page, full indexes, and handy epitome, and written withal with an enthusiasm which warms the reader. Like John Ray before him, Dr. Raven is a fine type of Christian humanist.

EDITOR.
Lancashire College Sixty-Five Years Ago

I ENTERED Lancashire College in January, 1878. William Redman, from Leeds, was the only other candidate for admission and was accepted at the same time. I was some months over twenty-one years of age, for, to my regret, my father had refused to let me continue at school after I was sixteen, and had apprenticed me to a large spinning and weaving mill in Bradford. The loss of the best five years of my youth for study was a handicap during my Arts Course which I never succeeded in overcoming. I had no time to continue my studies after I left school; I had to be at the mill at 6 a.m. and did not get home until about 6.30 p.m. The immediate consequence of this was that I was too "rusty" to take the London Matric. at the end of my first six months at College, and had to take another year in preliminary studies. I matriculated in the summer of 1879 and was one of the six students who passed— and the only occasion, I think, in the history of the College when six students passed. During these eighteen months I was under the tuition of Dr. Hodgson and only took one class at Owens College (it had not then become a University). This was in English language, Professor Toller being the lecturer.

The extensive alterations and enlargement of the College were still in progress when I entered, and it was some months before they were completed. I think the Principal had got into his new house on the west wing, and the Matron had taken possession of his old quarters on the east wing; but the new central block did not come into use until the next session.

The surroundings of the College have completely changed. Manley Park was, I think, in the market owing to the failure of the Manchester merchant, Sam Mendel, but the mansion and the beautiful grounds surrounding it had not been interfered with; the park, which extended along the south side of the College and was hundreds of acres in extent, was a large open space with no sign of cultivation.

Whalley Range was a very select suburb and continued to be so for many years after I left. It was only after the commencement of this century that the very strict building line began to be infringed. At the end of the road which runs from the College into Upper Chorlton Road there was a toll-gate which effectually prevented through traffic. I do not know when or why it was removed.

I may further mention that the Midland Railway from the Central Station through Chorlton-cum-Hardy was made during the first years of my College course, and I often visited it while it was in progress. Chorlton was then a small village unvisited by the modern builder. Wilbraham Rd. existed but was not made up, and not a single house had been built along all its length from Chorlton to Withington. I often cycled along its cinder footpath. I was the first to bring a bicycle to College—a high machine, of course, for 'safety' had not then been invented. This bold step was considered a great innovation and there were some doubts about its permissibility, but it was not long before my example was followed.

On the first night of our appearance in the dining hall Redman and I had to undergo the ordeal of initiation. The first part consisted of our being ordered to stand on the table and give an account of ourselves—where we
were born, what schools we had been at, whether we had been in business, if we had done any preaching, etc. A fire of questions—many of them irrelevant—constantly interrupted our attempts to satisfy curiosity, and after that a song or recitation was demanded. I think I recited "The Heathen Chinee," with was greeted with much ironic applause. This was only the first stage. The subsequent proceedings varied and were sometimes very rowdy. They included a march round the corridors and often certain ordeals more or less severe. I have forgotten the details in my case, but I remember that when I retired for the night I found that my bedroom had been interfered with—not in the best of taste!

There were between forty and fifty students when I entered. The numbers increased after the alterations to nearly sixty, but decreased considerably before I had finished my Arts Course. The reasons for this decrease were various. I can remember some men who were evident misfits; one who was obliged to give up the idea of the ministry because his father's business urgently required his assistance; one who quietly disappeared after falling in love with a young lady in the while-you-wait boot trade; one, an excellent fellow who could not reach the educational standard required, was well worthy of a place in the ministry; subsequently, as a baker, he did fine religious work. One was dismissed in disgrace because he had said nothing in his application of the fact that he had been dismissed from Airedale College. The fact was discovered because he came face to face with Dr. Fairbairn in the corridor where the latter was the guest of Dr. Scott.

During all my years at College I occupied the same study. Redman for some time had the next one on the right, close to the door into the Principal's house. He moved because, though the room is a good size, the window is very badly placed. The study next to me on the left was occupied by Websdale, and the one next to that by Kilpin Higgs, who subsequently married my sister. A little further down was one occupied by Samuel Pearson, with whom I was on very friendly terms and who made me acquainted with several interesting books which I might otherwise have missed. He was my senior by, I think, a couple of years. He came to my room one Monday morning with a very long face and said to me:

"Kingsland, I wish you would look at my head. I was staying with old E— at D— yesterday, and this morning, being late for breakfast, I was combing my hair in a great hurry and I broke a tooth of the comb in my head, and it is there now."

There, sure enough, was the comb tooth, which had run right in under the scalp, though the end protruded slightly. The wound had bled, but not continuously. With the aid of a pair of pincers I was able to grip the end of the tooth and to pull it out. It was a highly successful operation; the wound healed well, and Pearson suffered very little inconvenience. It so happened that the very next Sunday I was sent to D--, and, as was almost invariable, went to dine with "old E--," a rich cotton spinner, who left £80,000. He was not a good conversationalist, and to break a somewhat long silence at dinner I told him about Pearson. He listened in silence, and when I had finished asked one, and only one, question: "Was it my comb?"

Of my other friends at College I must mention Charles Clay, who came, like myself, from Bradford; Darlow, who came later for the theological course, having previously taken his degree; and William Thomas, who in subsequent years was a very good friend to me. I must mention William Evans also, though my friendship with him was not very close until after he had settled in Oldham. Ferguson and Richard Barker I must also include, for with the former I was sufficiently friendly to spend an Easter holiday at his home in
Preston, and with the latter I subsequently spent a fortnight in Birmingham. Edwin Tongue took more interest in my literary efforts—chiefly poetical—than any of my other friends.

Richard Barker was the most eccentric man in College; indeed, I cannot remember any one else who deserved that epithet. When he first came he larded his conversation with frequent quotations from Latin classics, but this was soon laughed out of him. He substituted a very free use of swear words, always quoting Shakespeare, quite illegitimately, as his authority. He was frequently the subject of practical jokes, which he took very good-naturedly. But his experiences in College did very little to modify his eccentricities, and they proved too great to allow him to succeed in the ministry.

Our staff at the time of my entrance consisted of Dr. Scott, Dr. Hodgson, and Dr. "Sandy" Thompson, who was minister of the Rusholme Rd. Congregational Church, and only taught Hebrew. Later, Lyon Turner was added to the staff. With the two latter I had no classes during my Arts Course and only one with Dr. Scott. After passing Matric. I took classes for 1st B.A. at Owens—Greenwood for Greek, Wilkins for Latin, Ward for English Literature, and a professor whose name I forget for mathematics. I was taught principally by Dr. Hodgson to the time of taking Matric. He was very genial and we all liked him. He had rather remarkable mesmeric gifts. We had no evidences of them in our classes, though I was told that occasionally—quite unconsciously—he had mesmerised people while he was preaching. But on one occasion, when he had invited some of us to his house, he mesmerised one of us, a Welshman, and succeeded in making him preach part of a sermon in Welsh.

Miss Rutherfoord was the Matron during the whole time I was at College. She was a friend of ours (previously she had been a teacher in a school in Bradford) and this aroused some jealousy. Though it added to the pleasure of my College life, and I frequently visited her, I do not think that she showed me more favouritism than she did to two or three others (I must confess that she had favourites) and on more than one occasion we had rather serious differences. She was a good manager and kept the servants well in hand, but she had qualities which prevented her from ever becoming a universal favourite.

It may not be generally known that until some months after my entry we had a butler. He became rather more than Miss Rutherfoord could manage, for, apart from other difficulties, he was occasionally "in liquor." So she dismissed him, and from that time we only had female servants. My chief recollection of him is of an occasion when he had forgotten to put spoons on the dinner tables. The dexterity and rapidity with which he made good the mistake was surprising, and elicited loud applause from "the house," of which Dr. Scott, who was present, gave a smiling approval; but I cannot assert confidently that I am interpreting the smile correctly.

A Mr. Goodyear appeared on the scene after the alterations had been completed. I think he came at first to arrange the library in the new Assembly Hall but he stayed on, and in addition to library work undertook a number of miscellaneous duties. I think he retained his connexion with the College until his death. I always found him very friendly and pleasant.

The chief event which occurred during my Arts Course was the grand bazaar held in a large hall in Oxford Street not far from Mosley Street. It was an effort in which nearly all the churches in Lancashire (except those in the neighbourhood of Liverpool, which organized a separate bazaar for the same purpose) took part—the aim being the liquidation of the large debt caused by the enlargement of the College. It was kept open for a week and was a great success. It was attended by crowds of people, one great attraction...
being a fine band, whose playing of "The Lost Chord" was so good that it was repeated every day. There was a large number of stalls, and we students had one, a photograph of which I still possess; I think nearly all the students and young ladies who acted as attendants at the stall appear in it.

The bazaar was sufficiently attractive to make it necessary for a warning to be issued against pickpockets. I had my silver badge stolen from the lappet of my jacket before I had worn it two days. The bazaar greatly increased the interest of the churches in the College: the Annual Days had large attendances during the remainder of my course.

We had several missionary students. Of these Newell and Marriott went, I think, to the South Seas and did good work. Penry, almost a giant, though Clay nearly equalled him in height, met with a fatal accident while he was on his way up country to his station in Africa. Cupsey disappeared under mysterious circumstances in London, and I never heard if the mystery was cleared up. Will Thomas went to Nya-sa, but was invalided home after a short time with malaria, from the effects of which he suffered for many years.

I did not see much of Bennett though I met him occasionally in the Matron's room. He was my senior in the house by a year or two, and he went to Cambridge for his last year. The chief thing I remember about him—apart from his most kindly disposition—is the extreme difficulty he experienced in writing a sermon for Sermon Class. I have often wondered whether he succeeded later in writing a passable sermon! It seems as if preachers, like poets, are born and not made; but I think that more help could be given in the construction of a sermon than we received in Sermon Class. We read a sermon in turn, and then it was criticized by the members of the class and by the Principal. I derived very little help from this, but much more benefit from listening to Dr. Maclaren, which is not surprising. Help might be given in the art of constructing a sermon: in the selection of "heads" from texts, in the use of illustrations and in the important matter of delivery. It is as difficult to write a good sermon as it is to write a good short story, and some excellent men can never acquire the art; but a good deal can be taught.

I have already mentioned Professor Lyon Turner. He came the year I commenced my Theological Course and gave instruction in philosophy and Church history. As a man he was excellent, but as a teacher he was not a success, and his students adopted the extreme course of sending a letter of complaint to the Committee. This was signed by all but three of those who attended his classes. The House Committee summoned us before them. I believe we made out a good case, and the Committee was impressed; but the professor remained. Looking back on the incident after more than fifty years I am still unable to say with certainty whether we were justified. There are many College and University lecturers who are quite incapable of giving interesting lectures. It is useless to protest, at any rate in the case of the Universities. But the lectures can be cut, or attended and ignored. This was not possible at Lancashire College. A satisfactory compromise could probably have been effected by the appointment of a tutor, and I should have been very glad of one during my Arts Course; but in my time such an arrangement had not been thought of.

"The House" consisted of the entire number of the students, and always "sat" in the dining hall, usually after supper, but occasionally also after dinner. The senior student took the chair, and rules of debate were more or less strictly observed. But we never debated serious subjects. The matters brought forward generally related to grievances, sometimes in connexion with the domestic arrangements, sometimes in requests for books which had been borrowed without leave. Often members would rise and indulge in rambling
remarks on any matter which happened to suggest itself and which afforded an opportunity for indulging in facetious remarks about individuals or incidents. I remember, for instance, that on the evening of the day on which the bust of Mr. Hadfield was put up in the entrance hall Darlow rose to a point of order in the midst of a discussion in which just a little heat was developing and urged that a quieter tone should be adopted, "because," he said, "we have already had one bust up to-day." The Debating Society, which was entirely separated from "the House" was held in the Common Room. We also had some competitions in poetry and story writing, in which I was more than once successful; but the competition I encountered was not severe.

We were able to raise a quite good cricket team and played a number of matches every summer—chiefly with clubs connected with churches in Manchester. One of the most interesting return matches was with a team from Zion Congregational Church in Stretford Rd. The father of Lord Simon was the pastor, and invariably played. I can well remember John as a boy of about thirteen or fourteen who, with his mother, came frequently to watch the play.

An accident occurred to Dr. Scott on one occasion when we were at a practice game on the College ground. A batsman skied a ball just as Dr. Scott appeared with one or two friends, and the Dr., as it came in his direction, tried to catch it. Of course we left him to it, but unfortunately he misjudged the catch, and the ball, instead of falling into his hands, fell and hit him fairly in his upturned face. He escaped serious injury, but not a serious loss of dignity.

We also had a good football team and played many matches—both Rugby and Association. At a game on a very wet ground I contracted a very severe—indeed almost fatal—attack of rheumatic fever. This entailed a lengthy absence from College which ruined my chances—never very bright—of taking a Degree.

The fives court was a welcome addition to our recreations and some of us became very keen players. The cinder tennis court was not quite a success; it had not been laid carefully enough to ensure a hard smooth surface. We had a chess club with several good players for part of the time, but it was dissolved for lack of support.

We had to provide our own tea, coffee or cocoa, and to brew it—at first with hot water from kettles boiling on the fire; later gas-heated urns were provided. Of course we also had to provide any luxuries for ourselves such as jam or marmalade. Ham was invariably the meat provided for breakfast. I do not remember any occasion on which fish was served—either for breakfast or for dinner. I found the diet very monotonous, and suffered severely from indigestion. This was particularly due to the fare provided for supper—a glass of milk, bread and cheese, and treacle; as nearly five hours elapsed between tea and supper that did not sufficiently meet the needs of hungry students, nor improve digestions. I hope that even in these times of rationing the students are able to enjoy a more varied diet.

The doors of the College were locked at ten p.m. and the keys entrusted to the proctor, who was always one of the senior students. By giving our names to him we were allowed to stay out till eleven. I was quietly informed that a certain window in the basement, though barred, had a space wide enough for a man to squeeze through, and an investigation proved that this information was correct. It was further hinted that this window was sometimes made use of, but I never obtained any definite information on that point.

It is unnecessary for me to record the names of all the men with whom I had friendly relations during my College Course, but I must add to those I have already mentioned 'Bob' Sutton and Ross Murray.
Sutton was my senior in the house by three or four years, but he was a great friend of my future brother-in-law, Higgs, and also a prime favourite of "Fanny" (as Miss Rutherford was invariably called: not of course in her hearing), who undoubtedly would have liked to marry him, though she was at least twice his age. So I saw a good deal of him, and can testify to his solid worth. He was not a brilliant scholar, and, so far as I remember, never played cricket or football. but he was well liked, and his influence in the house was good. When he left College he settled at Openshaw (I think his only charge) and by steady work succeeded in building up a strong church and gaining great influence in the neighbourhood.

Ross Murray—also somewhat my senior in the house though younger than I—had a room on the east wing, and I was unable to see as much of him as I should have liked while we were together in College; for he was well worth knowing. He had a quiet steadfastness of character with which I was in deepest sympathy, and fine intellectual gifts. His appearance was very youthful, for he was rather short, and slightly built, and had light curly hair. He took an excellent place at Owens in English literature. Shortly after leaving College and, I think, before he settled at Stockport Rd., on the strength of a strong recommendation from the University (as Owens had then become) he was invited to give a series of lectures at a ladies' school. He told me that his youthful appearance produced something like consternation in the head-mistress when she saw him—perhaps justifiably—for the young ladies soon agreed to call him their "golden-haired darling." My friendship with him continued and deepened while I remained in the North, and was subsequently renewed when I returned and he became Secretary of the Manchester and Salford Forward Movement.

During the early part of my Arts Course I was one of a batch of four who went alternately to a mission station at Kearsley. We always had to walk to Victoria Station, for the tramline had not been laid, and there were no early buses from Brooks's Bar. Hardly any other opportunities for preaching were available until I began theology, though during the long vacations an occasional engagement might have been obtained if it had been convenient to remain in Manchester or the neighbourhood. During my last two years we had very good "lists", and I was "out" nearly every Sunday. The churches I "supplied" were chiefly in Lancashire and Cheshire, but I occasionally went further afield—to Bradford, Rotherham, Sheffield and Leicester. I formed a warm friendship with several members of the Church at Cheadle Hulme where I preached a good many times. Of no other church have I such pleasing memories.

At the morning service of the church at Bootle, the Order of Service which was handed to me had three prayers, the almost invariable custom in our churches at that time being to have only two. I decided to recite from the Prayer Book the General Thanksgiving as this additional prayer. To my surprise, and very nearly to my utter confusion, the congregation immediately began to follow me. I had not been told that this prayer was invariably made use of and was always repeated aloud by the congregation. By a curious coincidence I had followed the usual practice; but as I was giving the prayer from memory it might easily have entirely upset me.

At Queen Street, Oldham, I made the mistake of preaching a sermon which I had already preached on a previous visit. It was due to a fixed idea that I had not preached that sermon, but another with which I was equally familiar, although almost at the last moment before I rose to preach the disturbing thought came to me that I might be making a mistake. I had no means of deciding, for I had neither manuscript nor notes: a good memory enabled me
to "read from the brain" after I had delivered a sermon two or three times. No comment was made at the time, but about four years afterwards a deacon of the church accused me of preaching twice from the same text. He was in the habit of marking in his Bible both the texts and the name of the preachers. I had to admit that he was right, but I defined him to say if it was the same sermon.

Curiously enough, R. W. Dale made the same mistake two or three years afterwards when he preached on a special occasion at my brother-in-law's church at Hanley. He had given the same sermon previously at an anniversary. But that sermon had been remembered, and Dr. Dale's mistake aroused considerable comment. Mine evidently shared the fate of the great majority of the thousands of sermons which are preached every Sunday.

I was involved in two other mistakes for which I was not responsible. I was put down on the List one Saturday very near Christmas for Ancoats in Manchester, and, with Dr. Scott's consent, went to spend the Saturday night with friends at Eccles. On going in to Ancoats on the Sunday morning I found to my surprise Le Quesne, one of our missionary students, prowling round the chapel. It turned out that Dr. Scott had found it advisable to alter the List, and to put me down for Newton-le-Willows. He had sent me a post card which ought to have arrived on Saturday evening but which did not arrive until the Monday morning.

In the second case I was sent to Kendal and on arriving found that an Airedale student had already turned up. The Secretary had written to both colleges but had not made it plain that while one letter was only an enquiry the other was a request that a student should be sent. The difficulty was settled satisfactorily by the Airedale student going to a branch station.

Two other incidents are perhaps of sufficient interest to be recorded. At a certain church I found a copy of the Revised Version in the vestry after the Evening Service, and I remarked to the deacon in attendance that I was sorry I had not found it earlier as I should like to have read from it; to which he replied: "I am obliged to keep that out of the pulpit, for there is a man in the congregation who gets up and walks out when he hears that read." Is there not a somewhat parallel story of a man who, when the "larger hope" was being proclaimed from the pulpit, got up and stalked down the aisle muttering, "I must have my eternal damnation"?

Shortly before I left college I went as a candidate to preach at Gallowtree Gate Church, Leicester. It has long since disappeared, but at that time it was in a fairly flourishing condition, and some prominent Congregationalists were connected with it. I was met at the station by a gentleman of so undistinguished an appearance that I rather hastily concluded he must be the chapel-keeper. He was not; he was one of the deacons, and the Mayor of Leicester!

It is easy to see when one looks back on one's college years from the standpoint of old age that some of the arrangements in the routine were far from satisfactory, and that some of considerable importance were entirely absent. I have made some reference to the domestic arrangements, and have also stated the need which I felt for a tutor during my Arts Course; I was informed some years ago that this need had been supplied. I have also stated the need for instruction in elocation: this was partly met in my time by a course given by an elocutionist, which I was unable to attend through illness. But there was a far more serious need which, I rejoice to know, has been satisfactorily met. I refer to the fact that one of the class-rooms has been turned into a Chapel. Some of us during our senior years realized the need for some help greater than that supplied by the morning and evening prayers to enable us to maintain a healthy spiritual life and to improve the tone of the College,
which we could not regard as satisfactory. So we organized a weekly prayer meeting. It was not largely attended, and it far from sufficed. I regret that we did not realize that a College Chapel was desirable—indeed a necessity—if a devotional spirit is to be sustained in students whose time and thoughts are so largely devoted to intellectual studies. I greatly rejoice that this urgent need has been supplied.

There is one further need which, after some hesitation, I have decided to mention. My hesitation is partly due to the fact that I do not see how, in our Congregational system, it can be satisfactorily met. But it is due also to the fact that I may have been exceptional in feeling so strongly the need of it. Moreover, I can only record it as a personal experience, and I am afraid I have already made too full a use of the first personal pronoun. I left college feeling, in spite of the six and a half years which I had spent there, that I needed to acquire some experience in the management of church affairs, and some guidance, before I undertook the charge of a church. In other words, I felt that I needed to hold for a time a subordinate position—roughly equivalent to a curacy—under an experienced minister. I had some thoughts of asking Dr. Finlayson, of Rusholme, if he would accept me in that capacity, but for various reasons did not act on the suggestion. The chief of these was that shortly after I left College I was seized with a great urge to write, the result being that during the next three years, while fulfilling numerous preaching engagements, I devoted myself to the writing of Man and His Environment, and remained without pastoral charge until I went to Bangor in 1887.

I greatly enjoyed my college life, and feel that I owe a great debt to L.I.C. for the valuable training I received there; for the experience I gained and for the friendships I acquired. I must also acknowledge the debt of gratitude I owe to Dr. Scott for his kindness in securing my entrance into college in rather difficult circumstances, and for his interest in me during my sojourn there. I fear that I greatly disappointed him by failing to win academic honours, and also subsequently by my failure, while he lived, to achieve any success in the ministry. But I venture to hope that if in the "regions beyond" he has been able to follow my somewhat unusual career up to the present time he will not now be disappointed.

I can testify as true, in this the eighty-seventh year of my age, the words which Robert Browning puts into the mouth of Rabbi Ben Ezra:

Grow old along with me!
The best is yet to be,
The last of life, for which the first was made:
Our times are in His hand
Who saith "A whole I planned,
"Youth shows but half: trust God: see all, nor be afraid!"

J. P. Kingsland.

Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, has received notice in more than one recent account of early Methodism, but the Rev. F. F. Bretherton has done good service in devoting the sixth Wesley Historical Society Lecture to her (Epworth Press, Is. 2d.). In this booklet of 48 pages the salient factors of her career are well shown, the rise and progress of the work to which she devoted herself are described, and testimonies to her character collected. Here is Doddridge's: "I think I never saw so much of the image of God in a woman on earth".

G. F. N.
Lyon Turner's *Original Records*

NOTES AND IDENTIFICATIONS III.

This third list of attempted identifications of the Nonconformist lay conventiclers of 1669 and 1672 presents further evidence of the continuity of Nonconforming piety in the seventeenth century. *Calamy Revised* has been the chief standby throughout. Nightingale's *Lancashire Nonconformity* yielded less than was expected, but the *History* of Thomas Ellwood and the *Diaries* of Philip Henry threw light on many names. The list includes several Baptists and Congregationalists, who signed letters from their churches to Oliver Cromwell during the Commonwealth. In William Ayrs, of Rickmansworth, Herts., and John Gratton, of Monyash, Derbyshire, it is interesting to find two men who took out licences as Baptists, but who later turned to Quakerism. Gratton had begun as a Presbyterian, and is a late example of the Commonwealth type who, "having passed up and down, hurried here and there" (Howgill), finally found peace among the Friends. In Sam. Jeake we have the town clerk of Rye, a place troubled a hundred years before by "a smale secte of puryтанes" (cf. G. Parsloe, *The English Country Town*, 70 f.). The Bury family still support the church at Darwen for whose worship Henry and William Berry had their house licensed; and the name of Butler still predominates at Ashby St. Ledgers, in Northamptonshire, where (if not at Ashley) William Butler took out a licence.

Were we Roman Catholics, we should doubtless show more interest in what Fr. Bede Camm likes to call "forgotten shrines"; why should we limit our attention to Scrooby Manor House? Among the houses which were licensed for Nonconformist worship in the days of persecution and which still stand, the following may be mentioned:—Newton Hall, Stonegrave, Yorks. N.R.; Geesings (hodie The Gesyns), Wickhambrook, Suffolk, where Samuel Cradock had his academy; Wootton Court, Wootton, Kent; Court Lodge, Lamberhurst, Kent; Blackbrook, Westmeston, Sussex (now a farm); Batchley House, Milford, Hants., rented by Edward Curell, 'who hath been distracted', for a 'very small' sect of 'Frewillers', 'the meanest people'; Quemerford Tything, Calne, Wilts.; Ferne House, Berwick St. John, Wilts. (now inhabited by the Duke of Hamilton, while the descendants of Thomas Grove, who had Ferne House licensed, have moved to Sedgehill Manor not far away); Seymour's Court, Beckington, Somerset (now a farm);
Whatcombe House, Trusham, Devon (*hodie* Whetcombe Barton); and Milton, Christchurch, Monmouthshire. Richard Frankland’s house (*hodie* College Fold) at Rathmell, Yorks., W.R., has been rebuilt, but over a window there is a dated stone (1686, with the initials of Frankland and his wife), which is illustrated in Nicholson and Axon’s *Older Nonconformity in Kendal*; there is a picture of the present house as a whole in H. McLachlan’s *English Education under the Test Acts*. For assistance with this list of houses I must thank Mr. P. A. Spalding, of Churt, Surrey.

The number in parentheses following each name and address is of the page in *Original Records*, Vol. II to be supplied unless otherwise indicated.

**Geoffrey F. Nuttall.**

**ABBREVIATIONS.**


*D.N.B.*: *Dictionary of National Biography.*


**Anderton**, Thos., Samlesbury, Lancs. (671); Thos. Anderton, yeoman, of Rivington, Lancs., bequeathed money for dissenting purposes (Nightingale, II. 92 ff.).

**Appleby**, Christ., Tunstead, Norfolk (894); signed letter to Cromwell fr. ch. here (n.d.) (Nickolls, 159).

**Ay(e)rs**, Wm., Rickmansworth, Herts. (883); ‘an apothecary and barber, being acquainted with divers of the gentry in those parts’; a Friend by 1683 (Ellwood, 198).

**Baker**, Wm., North Petherton, Som. (1103); perh. the Wm. Baker given by Cal. as ej. fr. Bath, Som.; cf. *C.R.*


**Basnet**, Jn., Coventry, Warws. (795); prob. rel. to Sam. Basnet, ej. here-from (C.K.).

**Beard**, Jn., Whitchurch, Salop (735); excommunicated (Henry, 232).

**Bellamy**, Edm., Sibton, Suffolk (915); signed letter to Cromwell fr. Suffolk chs., 1653 (Nickolls, 95; again, 156).

**Benion**, Robt., Alkington, Whitchurch, Salop (735); excommunicated; ‘troubled bec. his house a licenst house’ (Henry, 232, 263).

**Berry**, Hy. and Wm., Darwen, Lancs. (672); their house still in possession of Bury family, members of Lower Chapel, Darwen, 1891 (Nightingale, II. 244, with illustration).

**Bolster**, (Jn.,) North Cheriton, Som. (1119); taught grammar school at Stoke Trister, Som., 1665 (Wells Dio. Registry MS., quoted *C.R.*, 37).

**Brooke**, Wm., Fillongley, Warws. (793); should be in heavy type; *C.R.*, as Brooks.

**Brown**, Mr., Andover, Hants. (1037); should perhaps be in heavy type; cf. *C.R.*, Brown, Thos.

**Beck**, Thos., Ashfield, Suffolk (919); signed letter to Cromwell fr. Suffolk chs., 1653 (Nickolls, 95).
BURDETT, Wm., Lullington, Derbyshire (713); perh. rel. to Sir Thos. Burdet, of Foremark, Derbyshire, to whom Thos. Calvert, ej. fr. York Minster, was chaplain (C.R.).

BURDETT, Wm., Mowsley, Leics. (770); signed letter to Cromwell fr. ch. at Gumley, Leics., 1652 (Nickells, 81).

BURY, Edw., Stoke upon Tern, Salop (736); should be in heavy type, as 743; C.R.

BUTLER, Wm., 'Ashby St. Levers', Northants. (807); uncertain whether Ash- ley (ch. formed 1672), as I. 578, 583, and C.R., or Ashby, as I. 585, i.e. Ashby St. Ledgers (ch. not formed till 1845, but Butler predomin- ate); Haselbech, Northants fr. wh. Cal. gives Butler as ej., equidistant fr. Ashley and Ashby St. Ledgers.

CAFFIN, (Matt.,) Horne, Surrey (1017); D.N.B., as Caffyn; cf. also A. Gordon in Christian Life, XIV. 582; XVII. 531.

CARTE, Jn., Dronfield, Derbyshire (701); should be in heavy type; C.R., as Cart.

CAVE, Jn., Thedingworth, Northants. (764, 768); Jn. Cave, of Weekley, Northants., gent., m. at Newton, Northants., 1685, Eliz., dau. of Strick- land Negus, ej. fr. Irchester, Northants. (C.R.)

CHEPPELL, Sam., Donyatt, Som. (1115); arrested at conventicle at Capt. Cheek's, nr. Charmouth, Dorset, and sent to Dorchester jail 1666 (C.R., 456).


COCKAYND, Fran., Chaddesdon, Derbyshire (706); prob. the Cockain ej. fr. Castle Donington School, Leics. (C.R.).

COMBE(S), Sam., Tisbury, Wilts. (1063); for family of Combe of Tisbury, see Wilts. Notes & Queries, VII. 433-444, 499-511; VIII. 63-73, 100-109.

COX, Jn., Market Drayton, Salop (736); Ph. Henry preached here to 'an encouraging Auditory, several Persons of Quality' (Henry, 256).


DAWLEING, Sam., Westerham, Kent (998); signed letter to Cromwell fr. ch. here, 1653 (Nickells, 97).

DEAKEN, Sam., Romford, Essex (931); should be in heavy type; C.R., as Deacon.

DELAMAINe, Edw., St. Mary Cray, Kent, & Burbage, Wilts. (1008, 1074); bro. of Alex. Delamain, Muglestonian (D.N.B.).

DE LA MARCH, Chas., St. Peter Port, Guernsey (1194); should be in heavy type; C.R. (the member of the Westm. Ass. was John).


DONKINSON, Jn., York (646); should prob. be in heavy type, as identical with Jas. Duncanson (648), or with the Dunkinson given by Cal. as ej. fr. Sand Hutton, Yorks.; cf. C.R.

FETTIPLACE, Chas., Esq., J.P., Lambourne, Berks. (944); 'a very great name in Oxfordshire and Berkshire up to the seventeenth century' (F. D. Mackinnon, On Circuit, 123, with ref. to J. R. Dunlop, The Family of Fettiplace); Edw. Fettiplace of Farnham, Berks., was a delegate of Univ. Visitors to Ch. Ch., Oxon., 1647 (All. Burrows, Reg. of Visitors of Univ. of Oxford, 1647-58, 486); Giles Fettiplace of Coln St. Aldwyn, Glos., became a Friend (W. C. Braithwaite, Second Period of Quakerism, 586).

LYON TURNER'S Original Records

GODDARD, Jn., Berwick Bassett & Winterbourne Monkton, Wilts., & Marshwood, Dorset (1057, 1136); for pedigree of Goddards of Berwick Bassett, see Burke's Commoners.

GRATTON, Jn., Monyash, Derbyshire (701); converted to Quakerism, 1670 D.N.B.

HAMERSLEY, Thos., Cheddleton, Staffs. (753); signed letter to Cromwell fr. ch. at Berryhill (Stoke), 1652 (Nickolls, 82; cf. Jn. Gratton, Journal, 105 ff.).

HARRISON, Edw., Petty France, London (989); signed letter to Cromwell as Anabaptist min. in London, 1657 (Nickolls, 143).

HAWES, Alice and Eliz., widows, Wokingham, Berks. (947); Rowland Stedman, ej. therefrom, left two books to Eliz., 'as a Testimony of my acknowledgement of her love and care of my welfare during my Residence there' (C.R.); Edw. Perkins, inf., mentions sister Margaret Haws (C.R.).

HAYNES, Sim., Bolnhurst, Beds. (856); in prison with Jn. Bunyan, 1668 and 1672 (B. Quaritch, Catalogue No. 594, 10; cf. J. Brown, J. Bunyan, 176 f.).

HAYNES, Wm., Kingston, Worcs. (786; not Warws., as 802, where entry erroneously repeated); 'messenger' at Bapt. ch. at Tewkesbury, Glos., 1655 (Tewkesbury Bapt. Ch. MS.).

HAYWARD, Thos., Pencombe, Herefs. (778); signed letter to Cromwell fr. Herefs. chs. c. 1653 as Havard (Nickolls, 122).

HENNEALSE, Capt., Ellesmere, Salop (734); host to Ph. Henry and others (Henry, 127, as Heneage).

HODGES, Widow, Shipton Noyne, Glos. (817); widow of Thos. Hodges, R. of Shipton Noyne and mother of Wm. Hodges, sup. (C.R.).

HORD or HURD (Edw.) Otley and Pudsey, Yorks. (649 f., 659); should be in heavy type; C.R., as Ord.

HUDSON, Jn., Stafford (743); ironmonger, host to Ph. Henry (Henry, 239).

HUGHES, Jn., Orleton, Herefs. (777); signed letter to Cromwell fr. Herefs. chs. c. 1653 (Nickolls, 123).

HUGHES, Jn., Wrexham, Denbighshire (1198); Ph. Henry preached here (Henry, 254).

HUGHES, Chas., Abingdon, Berks. (942); perh. rel. to Wm. Hughes, ej. fr. Hinton Waldrist, Berks., who removed here temporarily (C.R.).

HURRION, Jn., Sibton, Suffolk (914 f.); prob. father of Jn. Hurrion, Indep. min. (D.N.B.; C.H.S. Trans., XIV. 94 foll.).

JOAKE, Sam., Rye, Sussex (1031); town clerk of Rye; detained in London as Noncon. preacher 1682-7; D.N.B., as Jeake.

JORDAIN, Jos., Higham, Suffolk (910); perh. 'my Nephew Jorden, who carries on those young men I have with me in their Greek and Latin' (Sam. Cradock, ej. fr. North Cadbury, Som., in letter of 1674 describing his academy at Wickhambrook, Suffolk, quoted C.R.).

KAY, Rich., Bury, Lancs. (673); of the most prominent family in the congregation (Nightingale, II. 159); Jn. Kay, inventor of the fly-shuttle, b. at Bury 1704 (D.N.B.).

KEETCH, Hy. and Jos., Soubury, Bucks. (838 f.); prob. rel. to Benj. Keach, Bapt. min., b. at Stoke Hammond, Bucks. (an adjacent parish) and impris. for preaching at Winslow, Bucks., 1664 (D.N.B.).

KILLAM, Thos., Balby, Yorks. (669); an early convert to Quakerism, and a man 'of staunch service and ripe judgment' (W. C. Braithwaite, Beginnings of Quakerism, 369 et al.).

KING, David, Kingsland, Middlesex (958); perh. son of Hez. King (950; C.R.).
LAMB, Nath., York (647); should be in heavy type; C.R.
LANGSTON, Jn., Spittlefields, London (987); ej. (not fr. Ipswich, as G.L.T., but) fr. Ashchurch, Glos.; C.R.
LAWTON, Jas., Stockport, Cheshire (694); should be in heavy type; C.R., as Laughton.
LYON, Mary, Prescot, Lancs. (676); Jn. Lion erected school in chapelyard at St. Helens, parish of Prescot, 1670 (Nightingale, *IV*. 131).
MALKEN, Jn., Nantwich, Cheshire (695); should perhaps be in heavy type; cf. C.R.
MARCHANT, Thos., St. Sampson’s, Guernsey (1194); should be in heavy type; C.R.
MARTIN, Stephen, East Grinstead, Sussex (1027); should be in heavy type; C.R.
MELLER, Robt., Ipstones, Staffs. (753); uncle of High Constable of the Hundred; d. 1684 (Jn. Gratton, *Journal*, 105 ff.).
MILLER, Hy., Aldborough (rather than Alburgh, as G.L.T.) and Wickmere (adjacent to Aldborough), Norfolk (898, 902); Jn. Miller signed letter to Cromwell fr. ch. at Alby (adjacent to Aldborough and Wickmere) (n.d.) (Nickolls, 157).
MILLER, Jn., Cranbrook, Kent (1007); signed letter to Cromwell fr. ch. here, 1653 (Nickolls, 96).
MONTAGUE, H(y.), Wokingham, Berks. (947); should be in heavy type; C.R.
MORRIS, Thos., Ashby Parva, Leics. (771); signed letter to Cromwell fr. ch. at Busswell, 1652 (Nickolls, 81).

NICHOLSON, Giles, Kirkoswald, Cumberland (631); not ej. (*pace* G.L.T.); C.R., as George.

OWEN, Jn., Welsingham, Northumberland (632); ej. (not fr. Stannerton, as G.L.T., but) fr. Stamfordham, Northumberland; C.R., as Owens.

PACKFORD, Thos., Finstock, Oxon. (820); should be in heavy type; C.R., as Paxford.
PASTON, Edw., Kingswinford, Staffs. (749); should be in heavy type; C.R.
PERCHARD, Dan., St. Sampson’s, Guernsey (1194); should be in heavy type; C.R.
PERKINS, Jn., Shalton (prob. Sheldon), Warws. (801); should perhaps be in heavy type; cf. C.R.; committed to assizes, 1665 (C.R., 566).
PHLEASANT, Mrs., West Langton, Leics. (763); Jn. Jennings, sup., was her chaplain (C.R.); cf. Mrs. Phleasant, Birchmore House, Woburn, Beds. (851), to whom Fran. Mence was chaplain (C.R.).
PRICE, Edw., Hereford (780); signed letter to Cromwell from Herews. chs. c. 1653 (Nickolls, 123).
REEVE, Wm., Bourton on Dunsmore, Warws. (801); should perhaps be in heavy type; cf. C.R., as Reeves.

ROGERS, Robt., Wappenham, Northants. (808); should be in heavy type; C.R. (Robt. Rogers II).


ROW, Nath., Cranbrook, Kent (1007); signed letter to Cromwell fr. ch. here, 1653 (Nickolls, 96).

RUellan, And., North Hayling, Hants. (1043); should be in heavy type; C.R., as Rowell.

RUSSELL, Wm., Rowley Regis, Staffs. (750); prob. bro.-in-law of Wm. Turton, inf. (C.R.).

RUSSELL, Wm., Chalfont St. Giles, Bucks. (843); meeting 'holden' at his house, 'called Jourdon's', disturbed (Ellwood, 174).

SALTER, Geo., Farnham Royal, Bucks. (843); for his 'life-long battle with the priest of Farnham Royal' and his many imprisonments, see Ellwood, 146 n.

SAUNDERS, Thos., Imer, Bucks. (842); 'professed the truth; but his wife, whose name was Damaris, did possess it'; his goods distrained for refusing to swear, 1671 (Ellwood, 50 f., with n. 2).

SAVERY, Jn., Ash, Kent (999); M. Savory signed letter to Cromwell fr. ch. at Ashford, Kent, 1652 (Nickolls, 96).

SAYERS, Thos., Southampton (1042); should perhaps be in heavy type; cf. C.R.

SEABORNE, Thos., Hereford (779); signed letter to Cromwell fr. Herefs. chs., 1653 (Nickolls, 92).

SEWARD, Hy., Leominster, Herefs. (777); signed letter to Cromwell fr. Herefs. chs. c. 1653 (Nickolls, 123).

SHEPHEARD, 'one', Gillingham, Norfolk (898); should perhaps be in heavy type; cf. C.R., as Shepherd.

SKEY, Thos., 'Tewkesbury, Glos. (821); signed letter to Cromwell fr. ch. at Stow-on-the-Wold, Glos., c. 1653 (Nickolls, 146).

SMYTH, Edw., Mount Sorrell, Leics. (767); signed letter to Cromwell fr. ch. here, 1652 (Nickolls, 82).


SPATEMAN, Jn., Esq., Roadmook, Derbyshire (710); Sam. Oldershaw, ej. fr. Cole Orton, Leics., was his chaplain (C.R.). Jn. Oldfield, sup., married into his family (C.R.).

SPEAR, Robt., Broomfield, Som. (1125); should be in heavy type; C.R., as Speere.

STABLES, Sam., Calverley, Yorks. (649); should prob. be in heavy type; cf. C.R., where 'Chappleton' is presumably Chapeltown, Pudsey.

STANLEY, Jn., Tideswell, Derbyshire (701); not Thos. Stanley, ej. fr. Eyam, Derbyshire, as G.L.T., but his son (C.R.).

STANNARD, Jn., Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk (917); Jer. Stannard signed letter to Cromwell fr. ch. here (n.d.) (Nickolls, 155).

STEVENS, Rich., Denbury, Devon (1163); prob. rel. to Jn. Stephens, ej. fr. East Ogwell, Devon (C.R.), who signed ordination certificate of — Stephens, of Holne, Devon (C.R., 385) (all three parishes being near one another).

STOOKE, Jn., Whatcombe House, Trusham, Devon (1162); bro. of Wm. Stooke, sup. (should be in heavy type, as 1161) (C.R., as Stuke).
TAYLOR, And., York (658); found locked up in a closet at a 'tumultuous meetinge', fined £50 and sent to Ousebridge jail 1684 (C.R., s.v. Ral. Ward).

TAYLOR (Robt.,) Bristol (818); friend and connexion of Wm. Voyle, inf. (C.R.).

THORP, Rich., Hopton, Yorks. (653); identical with Rich. Thorpe of Dewsbury (661); C.R.

THURLOW, Rich., Cambridge (863, 868); Stephen Scandrett, ej. fr. Havermill, Suffolk, preached here and was fined £10 (C.R.).

TOMLINSON, Wm., Burton-on-Trent, Staffs. (not Derbyshire, as G.L.T.) (713); signed letter to Cromwell fr. ch. here, 1655 (Nickolls, 135).

TOOP, Mrs. Joan, Maiden Newton, Dorset (1131); Mark King, sup., d. at house of John Toope, Maiden Newton (C.R.).

TOPPING, Thos., Deane, Lancs. (673); befriended Hy. Newcome (Nightingale, V. 84).

TRAILL, Robt., Cranbrook, Kent (995); D.N.B.; C.R.

TREISE (not Froise, as G.L.T.), Wm., Bodmin, Cornwall; should be in heavy type; C.R.

TREWREN, Thos., Ovingham, Northumberland (634); should be in heavy type; C.R., as Truran.

TYLER, Jn., Henley-on-Thames, Oxon. (830); signed letter to Cromwell fr. ch. here, 1653 (Nickolls, 95).


WARHAM, Rich., Badsworth, Yorks. (657); should be in heavy type; C.R., as Whearam.

WATKINS, Giles, Cirencester, Glos. (825); signed letter to Cromwell fr. ch. here c. 1653 (Nickolls, 124).

WHITTON, Jos., Mayfield, Sussex (1028); should be in heavy type; C.R., as Whiston.

WILTON, Wm., Bruton. Som. (1088, 1119): should perhaps be in heavy type; cf. C.R.

WINBON, Jn., Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk (917); should be in heavy type; C.R., as Wenbourn.

WOLFS, Fran., Ellesmere, Salop (734); m. Ph. Henry's servant Beatrice Rees (Henry, 266, as Wolf; 260, as Woofe).


WRIGHT, Thos., Burton-on-Trent, Staffs. (744); signed letter to Cromwell fr. ch. here, 1652 (Nickolls, 81); not the Thos. Wright, ej. fr. Kinnersley, Salop (as G.L.T.), who d. 1667 (C.R.).

WYATT, Geo., Brailes, Warws. (803); impris. for not paying tithes, 1660 (W. White, Friends in Warws., 35, as Myatt).

YARRANTON, Mrs., Bordesley Heath, Warws. (791); perh. wife of And. Yarranton, engineer and agriculturist, implicated in Packington's Plot 1661 (D.N.B.; Rel. Baxt., II. 383, as Yarranton).

YATES, Thos., Whitchurch, Salop (735); Ph. Henry preached here (Henry, 255).

GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL.
THE LEVELLERS AND RELIGION.

The Harleian Miscellany, IV, 543-50, reprints a 16 pp. 4to, printed in London in 1659 with the title, The Leveller: Or, The Principles and Maxims concerning Government and Religion, which are asserted by those that are commonly called 'Levellers'. Here is part of the section on religion:

Thirdly, Levellers say, that there are two parts of true religion: the first consists in the right conceptions and receptions of God, as he is revealed by Christ, and sincere adorations of him in the heart or spirit; and the expressions or declarations of that worship outwardly, in and by the use of those ordinances that are appointed by Christ, for that purpose. The second part of it consists in works of righteousness and mercy, towards all men; done in obedience to the will of God, and in imitation of his justice and goodness to the whole world.

The first part, being wholly built upon the foundation of revealed truths, doth in its own nature absolutely exclude all possibility of man's being lord of his brother's faith; unless the understanding or faith of a magistrate could constrain the faith or understanding of others, to be obedient to his, or rather to be transformed into the likeness of his. And therefore therein every man must stand or fall to his own master; and having done his duty, rightly to inform his neighbour, must give an account to God, of himself only.

But the second part of religion falls both under the cognisance or judgment of men, and the law-makers' or magistrates' power. Christ hath taught his followers to judge of men's religion by their works: 'By their fruits (saith he) ye shall know them, for men do not gather grapes of thorns'. Whosoever, be it a court, or an army, or a single person, pretend to religion, and yet remain treacherous wherein they are trusted, and continue the breach of their promises, and are not conscientious to do to others, as they would that they should do to them; but can, without regard to justice, seize by force of arms upon the people's rights, due to them by God's law of nature, and their ancestors' agreement; and subject their persons and estates, to their wills or their ambition and covetousness, and make themselves great by oppressions out of the people's purses: those men's religion (men may clearly judge) being vain by the Scripture's judgment; yea their prayers and their preaching, as abominable in God's eyes, as were the fasts, new moons, and sabbaths of the Jews (which were then also God's ordinances), whilst their hands were defiled with blood and oppression, and the works of righteousness and mercy neglected.

It properly belongs to the governing powers, to restrain men from irreligion in this second part of religion; that is, from injustice, faith-breaking, cruelty, oppression, and all other evil works, that are plainly evil, without the divine light of truths that are only revealed: and it is the duty of governing powers, to compel men to this part of religion; that is, to the outward acts of justice and mercy; for the inward truth of men's religion, even in these, is beyond the magistrates' power or judgment.
CHIPS FOR FUTURE HISTORIANS

From Augustine Birrell, Things Past Redress.

At Cambridge, 1869-72.

I suppose it was in my Father's mind that on Sunday morning I should attend a well-known and historically interesting independent Chapel in Cambridge, and I did attend it once or even twice, but finding it out of the current of my thoughts, I quickly formed the habit of not going there any more.

Bristol, 1905.

Nonconformity counted a great deal more in Bristol than it had done in my time in Liverpool. My old Cambridge friend, the Rev. Arnold Thomas of Highbury Chapel, cut a greater figure on the Downs than the Bishop of the diocese.

E. A. Payne, Studies in History and Religion, 123n, quotes Alfred Marshall, the economist:

I know a good deal of the habits of the rural population within an old man's cycle ride of Cambridge, say an area of about 600 square miles. I doubt if there is any rural population on the continent of Europe, unless it is Scandinavia, which is so prosperous, so happy, or so much given to thoughts and emotions larger and higher than those of merely local life. I attribute this chiefly to the Nonconformist Chapels, with whose theological views I have nothing in common, but which I believe give an individuality and a holy sanction to the inner life of even the fourteen shillings a week labourer, that is very rare elsewhere.

From the Minutes of Kensington Chapel.

1798 May 7. Monday Evening. The Monthly Prayer Meeting of the Society which was instituted in 1795 for sending Christian Missionaries to Otaheite, Africa, and other distant places, was held, by rotation, in Kensington Chapel this Evening. This Society is composed of a number of serious persons, Ministers and others, of different Denominations, in England and Scotland, who, besides their Monthly Prayer Meetings, have Annual Services in London.

The Prayer Meeting of the Society began at ½ past 6 o'clock. The Rev. Mr. Knight prayed, after singing a hymn then the Revd. Mr. Humphreys of Hammersmith prayed—The Rev. Dr. Hawes, Rector of Aldwinkle, and Senior Minister of Spafields Chapel &c preached from Isa. 519, "Awake, awake, put on strength, O arm of the Lord". The Revd. Mr. Reynolds, of Camomile Street Meeting, London, concluded with Prayers. The Rev. I. Lake, Minister of the Chapel, gave out the Missionary hymns, which are sung upon these occasions, from the desk. A considerable number of persons from neighbouring Congregations, as well as several Ministers, attended; and the people in general, seemed much pleased with the services of the Evening, and the occasion of their assembling together.

Lord Cockburn of Edinburgh in 1845.

A congregation, neither Catholic nor Episcopalian, but worshipping according to the forms of the Church of Scotland [has] given £200 for an organ, to be set up and used in an Edinburgh meeting-house. The people who have sense and spirit to do this are a congregation of Independents who assemble near the College, and are presided over by Mr. Alexander, an able, excellent, and eloquent man—no inconsiderable fact in the progress of Scotland.
HISTORY OF AMERICAN CONGREGATIONALISM. By GAIUS
GLENN ATKINS and FREDERICK L. FAGLEY. Boston: Pilgrim Press.
$2.00.

We hope that copies of this very cheap volume will make their way to Britain, despite the irritating restriction which prevents publishers sending more than two copies of any work at one time. Our ignorance of the Congregationalism of the United States from, say, 1630 to the first meeting of the International Congregational Council in 1891 is almost total: few there be who can trace its story, even among those who know something of its outstanding personalities. This book therefore helps to fill a gap. Its Appendix, "Creeds and Covenants", ought to be one of the set books in Congregational Theological Colleges, while all College Libraries should see that the section (Dr. Fagley's) on the emergence of a national organization, with its manifold ramifications, is available for reference.

The combination of the two authors in a volume of this kind is interesting. Dr. Atkins is known in this country as a preacher and teacher of insight, with a pen capable of turning a fine sentence; Dr. Fagley has been the power behind the scenes in the General Council for many years, an administrator who has gained the confidence and affection of his brethren. Though neither would call himself a professional historian, they have together produced a useful piece of work in which brilliance shades off into industry, commentary into compilation.

Some criticisms must be offered. The main problem in a work of this kind is that of proportion, and it must have been hard to determine how much space to allot to pre-Mayflower days, and then what events to choose in that long and involved story. There, we think, Dr. Atkins's lack of equipment is most obvious: it is clear, and not surprising, that his extensive reading has not included much work done on 16th century ecclesiastical history during the last generation. Thus we have mention of the Marprelate Tracts without any reference to William Pierce's reprint or his Introduction, of John Smyth without reference to Dr. W. T. Whitley's definitive edition of his works.

The volume lacks any full account of the life of the local church for most of the period: a picture of an American Congregational Church, its worship and its administration, its local influence and its relation to its youth, about 1700, would have been useful and would have lent colour to the book. There is, however, a full list—and a very interesting one it is, compiled by Prof. H. H. Tweedy—of hymns written by American Congregationalists.

On some minor points we find our authors baffling. What, e.g., have they in mind in this affirmation:

Andover Theological Seminary and Harvard Divinity School were thus pioneers in a method of theological education new not only to the United States but to Protestantism.

Andover was founded, we believe, in 1808, Harvard in 1819. What was their "method" not employed in Academies and Colleges in England long before then?

Then, on pp. 188-9, a reference to the Happy Union of 1691 is followed by this comment:

This agreement had little influence in the church life of England, as the nonconformists after the Restoration were under increasing pressure and were soon suppressed.

But the Restoration and the Clarendon Code were 30 years before the
Happy Union, which took place after the Toleration Act. And "soon suppressed"? Whatever does that mean?

On p. 287 we have an unhappy conjunction of two Hookers in the same paragraph. We are told that "the leaders of the New England churches profited by the writings of Richard Hooker, Barrowe, Greenwood and many others" (a strange association), but that Cotton and Hooker developed the "middle way" between Independency and Presbyterianism: this, of course, is Thomas Hooker.

We have "Janes" for "James" on p. 107, 1913 for 1813 on p. 148n, and we have made many additions to the Index.

These criticisms only qualify our gratitude for a volume which should do much to lighten our darkness on this side of the Atlantic: we would even presume to say it will do the same in Congregational circles in the United States. It remains now to persuade Dr. W. W. Rockwell to employ his learned leisure in a book which will incorporate his phenomenal knowledge of the life of the local churches.

EDITOR.

The First Churchwardens' Book of Louth, 1500-1524, transcribed and edited by the Rev. Reginald C. Dudding (University Press, Oxford, 15s.), describes, "in the simple and prosaic terms of those who do the work," the building, between 1500 and 1515, of the wonderful spire at Louth. Here is an entry for a "2 sunday after" Christmas:

T Garbara watchyng kyrke be 4 nyghts 8 d. 1 day wyrkyng 4 d.
Childe bishop 6 d. Will Claxby 1 loke to north kirke dore and cay 16 d.

The historical articles in the Baptist Quarterly for October, 1941, are "The Preaching Baronet" (Sir Egerton Leigh), by Dr. L. G. Champion; "The Tune Book of 1791", in which Dr. W. T. Whitley explains what lies behind the names chosen for many of the tunes; and "Robert Hall of Arnesby: 1728-1791", by the Rev. G. W. Hughes. In the number for January and April, 1942, the Rev. E. A. Payne describes "Two Dutch Translations by Carey", discovered in the Angus Library at Regent's Park College; Dr. Whitley discusses "General Ludlow's Baptist Comrades"; Dr. H. S. Curr writes on "Spurgeon and Gladstone", reprinting some letters between them from Spurgeon's Autobiography; and Mr. J. E. Compton describes the place of Colchester in the Baptist Missionary Movement.

In the Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society of England (May, 1942), Dr. S. W. Carruthers presents a statistical examination of "The Scripture Proofs of the Westminster Confession", and Mr. R. S. Robson records the history of "Presbytery in Newcastle-on-Tyne".

The Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society (October, 1942) contains "New Light on an old Unitarian Circle" (Christopher Crell of Poland and his English friends) by Dr. H. McLachlan; further extracts from "The Seddon Letters" by the Editor; and a note on "Dr. Martineau and the 'Ten Services'" of Common Prayer for Christian Worship (1862), by Mr. A. Elliott Peaston.

Geoffrey F. Nuttall.
## Congregational Historical Society

### Statement of Receipts and Expenses for Year 1941

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The Society holds two shares of £25 each in North West Building Society.
EDITORIAL

WE have before commented enviously on the freedom with which American scholars can pursue their researches—not a complete freedom, because America is more and more in the war, and such Libraries as the Folger in Washington, and the Huntington in California, have sent their books and manuscripts to safer places—surely an excess of caution! And what a pleasure it is nowadays to handle a book on white paper, with good print and wide margins, and free from all suggestions of overcrowding. Such a one is Dr. W. K. Jordan’s Men of Substance (Chicago and Cambridge Univ. Presses, 18s.), which is reviewed in the Congregational Quarterly, January, 1944. Those who have used Dr. Jordan’s four volumes on toleration will open this account of two Parliamentarian supporters, Henry Parker and Henry Robinson, with eagerness, and they will not be disappointed. Too often does Cromwell’s greatness obscure the service rendered by smaller men; here are two civil servants, not working silently, for they were prolific pamphleteers, but working efficiently, with clear heads and bright ideas.

We mention the book here, partly in order that our readers may not overlook it, and partly in order to emphasize a point, well made by Dr. Jordan, which conveys a much-needed warning to students. There has been a tendency, especially since the modern stress on economics was read back into the 17th century, to discuss minor movements and extreme elements at the expense of more solid and less vocal ones. But Dr. Jordan puts it so well that we cannot do better than quote his words:

The historian, unable completely to divest himself of modern preoccupations and preconceptions, is perplexed by the essentially conservative nature of the English Revolution. He is, for that reason, too much inclined to lend his attention and extend his admiration to fragments of thought on the periphery of English ideas during this period. Surely, it need no longer be pointed out that the groups which prosecuted, won, and exploited the revolt against the Caroline interpretation of the constitution were not inspired by democratic idealism. Rather, those groups . . . were quite as profoundly shocked and frightened by the rapidly developing political radicalism of an
incendiary like Lilburne as they were by the anti-social conduct and exhibitionistic tendencies of the early Quaker enthusiasts. In periods of political and cultural confusion, when the normal weight of divers types of restraint is relaxed, the ferment and the cultural anarchy which ever smolder beneath the firm topsoil of an ordered society tend to flame through at scattered points in the polity. But history cannot be reconstituted, past ages cannot be understood, in terms of the atypical or by following out the faint threads of thought which a particular age condemned as irresponsible or lunatic.

This, we trust, will whet the appetite for a scholarly piece of work.

* * * * *

When were Psalms first sung in North America, and where? We imagine that most readers would answer, "New England in 1620". They would be 3,000 miles out, and 40 years. Drake's Bay is some thirty miles north of San Francisco, and there for five weeks in 1579 Drake's ship was being repaired. The men were camped on land, and when they held services the Indians came and listened. In the words of Francis Fletcher, the chaplain,

In the time of which prayers, singing of Psalms, and reading of certaine Chapters in the Bible, they sate very attentively; and observing the end of every pause, with one voice still cried, Oh, as greatly rejoicing in our exercises. Yea they tooke such pleasure in our singing of Psalms, that whensoever they resorted unto us, their first request was commonly this, Gnadh, by which they intreated that we would sing.

* * * * *

No Unitarian scholar since Alexander Gordon has made such useful contributions to historical learning as Dr. H. McLachlan, and we always open with eager anticipation a book which bears his name. The Chetham Society has now published his Warrington Academy: Its History and Influence (Manchester Univ. Press, 15s.), the account of

a small short-lived eighteenth-century nonconformist seminary of learning, open to all, struggling to establish principles, methods, and ideals, now largely accepted, together with something resembling a modern university education in the midst of a society hostile, when not completely indifferent, to its efforts.

Founded in 1757, the Academy was dissolved in 1786, lack of support and failure in discipline, together with some suspicion of its aims, bringing it to an untimely end. It endeavoured to train men for commerce and the professions as well as for the ministry, and sometimes their high spirits passed the bounds of decorum: once
they exchanged all the inn signs in the town, while two brothers, who afterwards made good, distressed their father, who kept them amply supplied with money, because "they think it a sight to appear without having their hair frisened, and this must be done by a dresser, even upon the Sabbath"!

Of the many scholars in the Academy, as teachers or students, the most famous was Joseph Priestley; Dr. McLachlan leaves open the identification of Fantin La Tour, who taught for a short time about 1770, with Marat. He does, however, definitely prove that there is no real connexion by descent between Frankland's Academy at Rathmell and Warrington, on the one hand, and between Warrington and Manchester New College, on the other. Here, apparently, even Alexander Gordon nodded. The liveliness of the Warrington students is suggested by the fact that the prospectus of the new College in Manchester in 1786 mentioned among the advantages of Manchester "well-regulated police and the serious attention of the townsfolk to the duties of public worship". Dr. McLachlan includes the College at Manchester with the Widows' Fund Association, the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, and various schools kept by alumni as "heirs" of the Warrington Academy, which is rather dangerous once he has disproved the claim to descent. "The Congregationalists" (p. 123) is unusual, and there is a misprint on p. 135, but the book is a scholarly piece of work for which we are grateful.

And how useful it would be if all ecclesiastical historians would bear in mind Gordon's words:

Arian, in the 18th century, denoted those who acknowledged our Lord's pre-existence and his agency in creation and in atonement, while denying his essential deity. Socinian was the name given to those who, denying our Lord's pre-existence, assigned to him no nature but the human: these points, no doubt, are features of the system of Socinus, which in other respects, that of worship, and of Christ's present relation to the divine government of the world, had at this period no access to the minds of the so-called Socinians.

* * * * * * *

Few churches can have had so many advantages as the beautiful Congregational Chapel at Swanland, E. Yorks. A history that goes back to 1693, with tempting suggestions of connexion with a 15th-century chantry, a long line of devoted ministers, laymen of character and generosity like Sir James Reckitt, and now a historian in its minister, the Rev. John G. Patton. A Country Independent Chapel (Brown, 7s. 6d.) is a well-illustrated and readable account which brings the story down to the present day.

1 3 *
Among other recent books members of the Society should make a point of reading are Professor H. W. Foote’s *Three Centuries of American Hymnody* and Mr. C. F. Dunham’s *Northern Preachers and the Civil War*. Mention of Professor Foote’s book naturally brings to mind the Hymn Society of our own country, though there is an affiliated Society in the States, two of whose meetings we have been privileged to attend. The Hymn Society has had some splendid enthusiasts at the helm, but they are conscious of increasing years and are anxious to associate younger scholars with them. The Society’s great enterprise is a new edition of Julian, and it is greatly to be hoped that this will not be a war casualty, with the resultant waste of much strenuous work. Inquiries about the Society should be made to Mr. F. J. Gillman, St. Davids, Jordans, near Beaconsfield, Bucks.

Meanwhile we express the hope that the plans for the new Congregational hymnbook will include a volume about the hymns corresponding to Dr. James Moffatt’s useful and readable *vademecum* to the *Church Hymnary*.

At the 1943 Annual Meeting of the Society held at the Memorial Hall, London, on Tuesday, May 11th, 22 members were present and the Society’s Officers were re-elected. The Society’s good wishes on his retirement from the Principalship of Lancashire College were expressed by Dr. Peel and the Rev. K. L. Parry to Dr. Grieve, the Society’s President, who addressed those present on “Early Years in Lancashire College”. Through the unfortunate omission of the notice provided, from the printed programme of the 1944 May Meetings of the Congregational Union, so few members were present for the 1944 Annual Meeting of the Society on May 9th that it was agreed to ask the Rev. R. G. Martin, who was to read a paper on “Selina Hastings, Countess of Huntingdon”, to hold this over till next year. It is to be hoped that there may then be a good attendance. The subject should prove of special interest to Cheshunt College men.
The Early Congregational Conception of the Church

The early Congregational churches arose by way of protest and dissent, in despair at the corruptions in the life round about them, and in a passionate desire for something purer and finer and more real. Their spirit was the spirit from which all religious revivals arise, from the successive waves of monasticism in the Middle Ages to the Methodist societies of the eighteenth century or the Groups of our own day. "Come out from among them, and separate yourselves from them, and touch no unclean thing": the recurrence of this text shows the power it had over these men, and their conception of the church is not likely to be understood without the effort, at least imaginatively, to enter into their life and to share the horror and despair which made them break away and form a society in which they might attempt to live and worship according to their conviction of God's will. The early Congregationalists were confessedly Separatists. There were different types of Separatist, from the fiery Barrow, who said of the Establishment that its churches could never be purged till they were laid on heaps as their youngest sisters the abbacies were, and who scorned "their forged patchery, commonly called The Apostles' Creed", through various stages of tolerance to John Robinson, who allowed there to be true churches in some parishes within the Establishment. But all were Separatists, John Robinson himself writing The Justification of Separation. They were not thinking in terms of Christendom, or of the one Church on earth. The only Church in that sense which they knew they had despaired of, of the Church in that sense they had no conception. Their conception was of something quite different, of an ideal which they sought to embody in newly-formed local societies by a process they called 'in-churching', the ideal of freedom to walk together in the ways of God known or to be made known, and of binding themselves to stand fast in such a freedom.

1b Cf. A. Mackennal, The Evolution of Congregationalism, 71.
2 H. Barrow, Discoverie of the False Church, 139; quoted by R. Baillie, Dissuasive from Anabaptism, 44.
3 H. Barrow, op. cit., 76; quoted by R. Baillie, op. cit., 48.
"The Lords people is of the willing sorte", writes Robert Browne in a familiar passage; "they shall come unto Zion and inquire the way to Jerusalem, not by force nor compulsion, but with their faces thitherward: . . . and they themselves shall call for the covenant, saying, Come and let us cleave faste unto the Lorde in a perpetuall covenant that shall never be forgotten. For it is the conscience and not the power of man that will drive us to seeke the Lordes kinglydome". The notion of the covenant was something newly discovered from the Old Testament, and was intensely fashionable. The covenant of grace between God and man, the social covenant between man and man in the state, the church covenant between man and man in the church: Professor Perry Miller has shown how these were all expressions of the contractualism so congenial to the age, "part of a universal tendency in European thought to change social relationships from status to contract". Our present concern is with the church, and "the heart of the church theory", says Professor Miller, "was the church covenant. Regenerate men, the theory ran, acquire a liberty to observe God's commanding will, and when a company of them are met together, and can satisfy each other that they are men of faith, they covenant together, and out of their compact create a church. . . . there can be no true church until there is a covenant of the saints, submitting to the rule of Christ in public observance out of their free and regenerated wills". The covenant is recognized as what formally constitutes a church: John Robinson says explicitly that "a company, consisting though but of two or three, . . . gathered into the name of Christ by a covenant made to walk in all the ways of God known unto them is a church".

Now there is no getting away from the fact that with this kind of conception of the church we are in another world from the conception of the church which was the normal basis of discussion then and is the normal basis of discussion now. The majority always tends to absorb the minority, and to force on the minority its own use of terms. It takes a clear head, and a courageous spirit, to accept, as Troeltsch does, the contrast between the church-type and the sect-type; and even he by his terminology favours the majority, the dominant churches, though his own sympathies happen to be with the sects. His twelve pages of contrast deserve to be read and re-read. He insists that the sect-type is

6 ib., 435.
7 J. Robinson, Works, ed. R. Ashton, II. 132.
not an undeveloped expression of the Church-type, as is so often unconsciously assumed even by its own exponents, but is an independent sociological type of Christian thought, and is equally with the Church-type a logical result of the Gospel.

What, then, are the implications of the early Congregational conception of the church as constituted by voluntary covenant? An early and important implication is that the church is prior to the ministry, which is of the church's *bene esse* only, not its *esse*. Barrow says that the gathered people "are to be esteemed an holy Church, . . . although they have attained to have yet among them neither a Ministry nor Sacraments, providing it be not by any default in them that they be wanting"; and Baillie, writing in opposition, complains that Congregationalists hold that "the Church, newly erected, makes the Minister; but no Minister can gather or erect a Church". "The Church is before the Ministers", writes Hugh Peter, "seeing the power of chusing Ministers is given to the Church by Christ". It will be observed how closely bound up this is with the fact that the people who constitute the church are already regenerate, and "of the willing sorte". Baillie makes the sharp criticism that "Their Pastors preach not for Conversion", because their flock is "converted already to their hands by other men"; and adds that "Of all that ever crossed the American Seas, they are noted as most neglectful of the work of Conversion". Of early missionary activity there was certainly little, though John Eliot's work among the Indians was by no means negligible; but, in arguing that the flock is "converted already . . . by other men", Baillie fails to recognize the charismatic basis of the new movement, and in effect he begs the question. These Separatists were not ashamed to acknowledge the converting power of God's Spirit in their hearts through His Word in the Bible, without the intervention of "other men". "I do tell you", says John Robinson, "that in what place soever, by what means soever; whether by preaching the Gospel by a true Minister, by a false Minister, by no Minister, or by reading, conference, or any other means of publishing it, three faithful people do arise, separating themselves from the world into the fellowship of the Gospel and covenant of Abraham, they are a Church". John Owen, again, who was not converted to Congregationalism till the 1640's, and who therefore represents a second and less enthusiastic generation, still argues that Scripture

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9 H. Barrow, *op. cit.*, 34; quoted by R. Baillie, *op. cit.*, 39f.
12 R. Baillie, *op. cit.*, 60.
manifests itself to us to be the Word of God "without the contribution of help or Assistance from Tradition, Church, or any thing else", and that "It is all one, by what meanes, by what hand, whether of a Child or a Church, by Accident or Traditions, by common consent of men or peculiar Providence, the Scripture comes unto us". Behind this is the Calvinistic theology: as Powicke puts it, "Preaching might 'mediate' the call of God to an elect soul; but the call would assuredly reach it, whether there was preaching or not". It is assumed, therefore, that the people, already, "have learned to know the Lord in their owne hearts" and therefore are not "unworthy to chuse their owne Ministers". The choosing is the important thing; as Hugh Peter says, "Ordination is lesse then Election". Ordination is the public recognition that God's Spirit has made a man overseer of a particular congregation; it is the congregation which ordains, not the other ministers present. The thought of ordaining to the ministry of the Church Catholic does not arise; Bridges and Ward, when they got to Holland, are even said to have renounced their earlier ordination in the Church of England; Hugh Peter certainly did.

It should be evident by now that we are in another universe of discourse from the church whose marks are the preaching of the word and the administration of the sacraments. John Robinson explicitly states that these are not its marks. John Cook, in his pamphlet What the Independents would have, also argues that they are not its constitution. Barrow, again, claims that sacraments "are not a perpetual mark of the church". Of course, the word is to be preached and the sacraments are to be administered; but the emphasis is wholly different from the emphasis of the church-type, because the ministry is so differently conceived. Congregationalism began in days sufficiently enthusiastic to revive the New Testament custom of "prophesying", "any private man of the flock" being permitted "publicly to expound and apply the Scripture" after sermon, and "to pray and blesse the people"—a mode of worship which laid the foundations for the Quaker Meeting, and must have made it less unfamiliar than might otherwise be supposed.

14 J. Owen, Divine Originall, 34, 80.
15 F. J. Powicke, H. Barrow, 124.
16 H. Peter, op. cit., 42, 15; quoted by R. Baillie, op. cit., 137.
16a Anatomy of Independency, 23; quoted by R. Baillie, op. cit., 82.
16b R. P. Stearns, "Letters and Papers by or relating to H. Peter", Essex Institute Historical Collections, LXXII. i. 47 foll.
17 J. Robinson, Works, III. 428.
19 F. J. Powicke, op. cit., 98.
20 R. Baillie, op. cit., 118.
"We know not", says Barrow, "what you mean by your old popish term of laymen... I am God's free-man... I have the spirit of the Apostles. John Robinson says that the practice of "prophesying" "out of office" was observed in each of the churches in exile in Holland; and he wrote The People's Plea for the Exercise of Prophecy, against Mr. John Yates, his Monopoly. Somewhat later he first difference of opinion between the Congregationalists and the Presbyterians was precisely over this preaching by "gifted brethren" (a charismatic phrase) who were not ordained to any pastorate; and the Congregationalists produced a host of controversial works under such titles as Preaching without Ordination and A Plea for Private Men's Preaching. Together with this, not unnaturally, went, somewhat hesitantly, permission for women to preach. Few of their names are known, but both Prynne and Bastwick remark the fact, and at least one Dutch theologian, influenced by the Congregational exiles, was prepared to admit it as justifiable in certain circumstances. Again, the foundations were laid for the women-ministers of Quakerism. The preaching of the word was therefore conceived in a much broader way than was usual in other communions, and the members of the church were given a wider freedom both of practice and of judgement. In his famous farewell speech John Robinson appeals to the people to follow him no further than he followed Christ; we may accept Alexander Gordon's caveat that this "owes something to the reporter's controversial needs", but that does not destroy its representative importance, as allowing "private judgement" its full value.

About the administration of the sacraments there was some division of opinion, as to whether it might be done by any but ordained ministers. The Brownists' Confession of Faith of 1602 states that "no Sacrament is to be administered until the Pastors or Teachers be chosen, and ordained to their office"; and the Pilgrim Fathers remained for some years in New England without observing the sacrament, on John Robinson's explicit advice, because they had no pastor among them, and could not persuade their elder, William Brewster, to accept the pastorate. This in itself shows that neither a pastor nor the administration of the sacraments was considered essential, however desirable. On the

21 F. J. Powicke, op. cit., 99, 10, 93.
23 Cf. R. Baillie, op. cit., 111, 140f.
25 A. Gordon, loc. cit.
26 P. 34; quoted by R. Baillie, op. cit., 39.
other side, Katharine Chidley, in her *Justification of the Independent Churches*, puts the sacraments on the same level as preaching, and allows them to be administered by others than pastors; and she is strongly supported by Milton, if he may be considered a Congregationalist, in his *Treatise of Christian Doctrine*. But the early Congregationalists were as much concerned about who should receive the sacrament as about who should administer it. John Cotton refused to baptize the child born to him in mid-Atlantic and called Seaborn, because there was “no settled congregation” in the ship; and some of the ministers who held livings during the Commonwealth were so strict about administering the sacrament only to the members of a church gathered by covenant, that they did not administer it at all. It is true that this non-observance, whether through lack of an ordained minister or through lack of suitable recipients, was, owing to high doctrine about the sacrament, not to loose doctrine; but there is much in Troeltsch’s remark that “sooner or later the sect always criticizes the sacramental idea”; and it may be argued that in *spirit* Dale continued the early tradition, when he was clear that, if a man could not conscientiously take the sacrament, this ought not to prevent him from being received into church membership. The way for the Quaker position was, again, being made open, even from the time when Barrow declared that “many thousands that never attained the symbol of the Supper yet do feed of the body and blood of Christ unto eternal life.”

If we consider the theological basis of such a structure as the early Congregational conception of the church appears to be, we find, as is to be expected in a movement of the charismatic type, that its main differentia is a concern with the Holy Spirit. Paul Wernle has the dictum, “‘Word and Spirit’ is the motto of the Reformation”; and on the ceaseless controversy about the relation of the two an illuminating treatise might be written. The emphasis of the early Congregationalists was on the Spirit. It was Congregationalists like Owen, Howe and the Goodwins, as Principal Rees has observed, who “bestowed upon the work of the Spirit the most elaborate exposition it has ever received”, Owen in fact declaring

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28 P. 8.
35 P. Wernle, *Calvin*, 182.
that he knew not any who ever went before him in his "Design of representing the whole Oeconomy of the Holy Spirit. But these men were the doctrinaire second generation, by whom "argument is fitted to practice in reversed order". The practice of the pioneers flowed directly, without overmuch conscious argument, from their enthusiastic consciousness of the workings of God's Spirit in their hearts. Browne, says Troeltsch, "believed that the spirit was all that mattered", and based "the life of the Church solely upon the inward power of the Spirit. Barrow's claim to have "the spirit of the Apostles" we have already noticed. "The spirit is all in all religion", says Walter Cradock of Llanvaches; and it was no doubt partly their stress on the Spirit, and on what was termed "experimental religion" as opposed to a merely "historical faith", which made Cromwell, a keen supporter of such an emphasis, choose largely Congregational ministers to be his chaplains. To recapitulate: the self-authenticating power of Scripture by its own intrinsic witness, the gathering together of those converted to form a church, the secondary position of the minister, the encouragement of preaching by laymen and even by women, the ability to dispense, at least temporarily, with the sacraments—these things which are characteristic of early Congregationalism are all dependent on a firm faith in the present and living power of the Holy Spirit in experience. For these pioneers faith is not an intellectual assent to doctrine preserved in an institution called the Church; it is something at work in themselves through God's Spirit, an εὐπροσόχθ, πίστις was to Paul. "Clearly and emphatically to Browne", says McGiffert, "the believer is first, and the Church second". *In spirit*, again, Dale continued the early tradition in insisting that experience, not the Church, authenticated doctrine; and in regarding it as "a fundamental principle of Congregationalism" that "the gates of the Church should be open to a Unitarian". Nor for these men is there any dependence upon sacraments which can be celebrated only by priests in a mechanical succession: "the true Succession", says Cromwell, "is through the Spirit". The conception has its perils. both intellectual and moral, which would be a subject fascinating to pursue; it may degenerate into humanism of a debased kind, just as sacerdotalism, which is the diametrically opposed conception of the church, may degenerate into super-

37 J. Owen, *The Holy Spirit*, "To the Readers".  
38 E. Troeltsch, *op. cit.*, II. 661f.  
40 Cf. P. Miller, *op. cit.*, 31  
43 T. Carlyle, Cromwell's *Letters and Speeches*, Speech I.
stitution. But it is a positive conception, with its own theological foundation and its own inner articulation.

In this connexion, it is interesting to find Vernon Bartlet declaring that "The Apostolic age was, above all things, the age of the Spirit"44, and Dr. Vincent Taylor that "it is not too much to say that the New Testament Church is the community of the Spirit"45. Certainly the time and the atmosphere in which the early Congregationalists lived had more than a little in common, on the religious side, with the time and atmosphere of the first Christians. Both were withdrawing and persecuted minorities; both were conscious, nevertheless, of "halcyon days" and increasing spiritual light; in both there was a party who thought the end of the world was at hand; both lived in a state of enthusiasm which did not last and, from a historian’s detached viewpoint, could hardly be expected to last. Fashion in New Testament criticism changes, and the present notion of eschatology no longer seems to carry with it the awkward corollary of an Interimselekh; but it might be argued that both the New Testament conception and the early Congregational conception of the church are interim-conceptions, bound up with such a general kindling of religious fervour as may recur at intervals but is part of those movements of man’s spirit which are beyond our power to effect or even to prophesy. A study of such movements, with consideration of the conditions in which spiritual revivals have occurred, and also of those in which they have not occurred, is urgently needed.

If the foregoing analysis be accepted in principle as correct, questions arise such as the following:—1. Was the early Congregational conception of the church good and wise, or was it bad and foolish? 2. If the former, then in the absence of such an atmosphere of enthusiasm as it requires, is it better to incline towards the sacerdotal conception of the church-type, which requires no such enthusiasm46 and continues to flourish? or to seek to hold and live by the early Congregational conception, despite the dry season, believing that the sect-type often continues unseen for a time in an underground stream, and that by so living we may foster a fresh spiritual revival? 3. Is there, in fact, a spiritual revival taking place at the present time, but as much in separatism from our churches, as the early Congregational churches were from the Church of England? And, if so, what are we to do about it?

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44 J. V. Bartlet, in Peake’s Commentary, 644.
46 I.e., in the technical sense used throughout, of the people’s ‘knowing the Lord in their owne hearts’ without sacerdotal mediation.
John Cotton's "Keyes of the Kingdom" (1644)

"The Independent Churches were born of Mr. Cotton and others in New England" 1: so William Erbury. If an exaggeration, it is the exaggeration of a truth. Few men had an influence on Congregationalism at once so wide and so deep as Cotton had. There is, indeed, another strain, more radical and enthusiastic, which does not spring from Cotton. Exactly how he came to his Independent principles seems not to be known; but it certainly was not through Browne or Barrow, for he and his party held that "God is not wont to make choice of men infamous for gross vices (as that Brown and Barrow were) to be the Discoverers of momentous Truths". 2 For "that very Middle-way," on the other hand, "between that which is called Brownisme, and the Presbyterian-government," 3 which was the Dissenting Brethren's way, John Cotton and his Keyes became definitive. By 1652, when Cotton died, the Independents in this country had been "turned aside by the unforeseen course of the wars and forced to preserve their lives in an unholy alliance with the sects upon a platform of toleration" 4, but of the actual early New England Congregationalism, as Dexter says, the Keyes remains the most complete and influential statement published. 5

The pamphlet has the further personal interest of having converted John Owen to Independency.

Of the congregational way I was not acquainted with any one person, minister or other: nor had I, to my knowledge, seen any more than one in my life. My acquaintance lay wholly with ministers and people of the presbyterian way. But sundry books being published on either side, I perused and compared them with the Scripture, and one another, according as I received ability from God. After a general view of them, as was my manner in other controversies, I fixed on one to take under peculiar consideration and examination, which seemed most methodically and strongly to maintain that which was contrary, as I thought, to my present persuasion. This was Mr. Cotton's book of The Keys. The examination and confutation hereof, merely for my own particular satisfaction, with what diligence and sincerity I was able, I engaged in... In the pursuit and management of this work, quite beside and contrary to my expectation, at a time and season wherein I could expect nothing on that account but ruin in this world, without the knowledge or advice of, or conference with, any one person of that judgment, I was prevailed on to receive that and those principles which I had thought to have set myself in opposition unto.

And, indeed, this way of impartial examining all things by the word, comparing causes with causes and things with things, laying aside all prejudicate respects unto persons or present traditions, is a course that I

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1 Wm. Erbury, Testimony, 327; quoted by T. Richards, Puritan Movements in Wales, 29, n.3.
2 "Life and Death of R. Mather, 1880 edn., 84; quoted by H. M. Dexter, Congregationalism, in Last 300 Years, 521, n.2.
3 Intro'd by T. Goodwin and P. Nye to Keyes, vii.
5 H. M. Dexter, op. cit., 433 f.
would admonish all to beware of who would avoid the danger of being made Independents. 

Since Owen became the leading Congregational divine of the Common-wealth period, it is of interest to observe that the Presbyterian Samuel Rutherford considered the *Keyes*, which converted Owen, to present a basis for compre-hension. 

Owen, indeed, remained "a very decided Conservative". The large place the pamphlet allows to a system of synods is sufficient to distinguish it from the extremer Independency. "The idea of holding occasional synods was not developed; both word and policy were repugnant to Cromwell." 

Cotton was born at Derby in 1584, and was educated at Derby and at Trinity College, Cambridge, which in 1606 he left for Emmanuel. To Emmanuel's Puritan atmosphere he probably owed much; to sermons by William Perkins and Richard Sibbes seemingly more. From 1612 till 1633 he was Vicar of Boston in Lincolnshire, where both his influence and his nonconformity increased. John Preston, Master of Emmanuel, whom a sermon of Cotton's at Cambridge had brought into the ministry, sent him divinity pupils, among whom were Thomas Hill, later Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Samuel Winter, later Provost of Trinity College, Dublin; John Angier was another. At first satisfied with the indulgence of his diocesan, John Williams, Cotton finally decided to seek the greater freedom of New England. Thomas Goodwin and Philip Nye, who later wrote commending the *Keyes*, John Davenport and Henry Whitfield were among the Puritans who sought to dissuade him, but were themselves converted to his position. John Goodwin also came under his influence. In 1633, with Thomas Hooker, Samuel Stone, and a son of Mrs. Hutchinson, Cotton crossed the Atlantic and landed at Trimountain, henceforth in his honour called Boston, and was ordained minister of the Congregational Church there. Here he remained, a recognized and revered leader, till his death in 1652, aged 68. 

Though condemned then, as now, for his intolerance, Cotton claimed a large latitude for his church members. 

For we have in our churches some well respected Brethren, who doe indifferently allow either Episcopall, or Presbyteriall, or Congregational Government, so be it they governe according to the rules of the Gospel. Neither do we disturb such, nor they us in our communion with them. 

We have tolerated in our churches some Anabaptists, some Antino-mians, and some Seekers, and do so still at this day. We are far from arrogating infallibility of judgment to ourselves, or affecting uniformity. Uniformity God never required, infallibility He never granted us. 

There were not many then prepared even to *say* so much.  

*Geoffrey F. Nuttall.*

On reading *The Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven* one soon understands why the pamphlet—it is only some fifty pages—was so influential. The thesis is moderately stated (as Cotton says, he is "as well studious of peace, as of truth") and is closely reasoned from the Scriptures. 

Analyzing *Matt. 16*19, "I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven
and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven," Cotton inquires What is meant by the kingdom of heaven? It is the kingdom of grace, the Church; and the kingdom of glory, heaven. Peter is given power to bind and loose in the Church on earth, with the privilege that the binding and loosing shall apply in heaven. What are the Keys? They are the Ordinances of the Church as "the preaching of the Word, (which is the opening and applying of it)" and the administration of the Seals and Censures. These being metaphorical keys, their acts are spoken of as to bind and loose; but, as with material keys, they close and open. What is the subject to be bound and loosed? "Whatsoever" does not mean "(as the Papists would stretch it) . . . oaths, or covenants, or contracts, or counsels, or lawes" but sin and sinners, John 20. The binding and loosing is partly in the conscience of the sinner and partly in his outward estate in the Church. To whom is the power of the Keys given? To Peter. Christ promised to use Peter's confession, Matt. 16, as the foundation of the Church and to give him the Keys of his Church. Was it given to him as an Apostle, Elder or Believer? This, being a controversial question and unnecessary to the argument, is not pursued. From other Scriptural passages it is clear that the power to forgive or retain sins was given to the Apostles as well as to Peter, John 20; the Apostles commended the rule and government of each church to the Elders, Heb. 13; also Christ gave the power of the Keys to the Body of the Church, Matt. 18.

The current allegorical interpretation of the keys is that there is a key of Knowledge and a key of Power, the latter being a key either of Order or of Jurisdiction. In this interpretation Cotton claims as defects that: (a) any key should be without Power; (b) the key of Church Liberty is omitted; (c) the key of Order is divided from the key of Jurisdiction; (d) Order is appropriated to the Officers only in the Church.

In point of fact, there are keys of Faith and Order, Col. 2; and there are two keys of Order, a key of Liberty or interest, which belongs to the Brethren, and a key of Authority or rule, which belongs to the Elders. "The Gospel alloweth no Church authority . . . to the Brethren, but reserveth that wholly to the Elders; and yet preventeth the tyranny and oligarchy, and exorbitancy of the Elders by the large and firm establishment of the liberties of the Brethren." Cotton proceeds to explain and prove these statements.

The key of Faith belongs to all the faithful, whether or no they belong to any church, since faith precedes, though it is naturally followed by, church membership.

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13 Throughout the pamphlet the Sacraments are generally referred to as the Seals.
14 On the controversy whether "the Church" in Matt. 18 means the Presbytery or the Congregation, Cotton says that both Classical and Congregational Divines are agreed that no offender should be excommunicated without the concurrence of the Congregation, at least by consent to, and practical support of, the sentence.
15 "The Popish Clerge omitted it," and it has been but partly recovered by Protestants, who have the liberty of preaching the gospel and the ministry of the sacraments but do not discern the necessity of discipline. Others have wrested to themselves a power which belongs to the key of Authority.
16 "Of purpose to make way for the power of Chancellours and Commissaries... who, though they want the key of Order, (having never entred into holy orders, as they are called, or at most into the order of Deacons only, whereof our Lord spake nothing touching Jurisdiction) yet they have been invested with Jurisdiction... even above those Elders, who labour in word and doctrine."
17 "For though wee be far from allowing that sacrilegious usurpation of the Ministers Office, which wee heare of (to our griefe) to be practised in some places, that private Christians ordinarily take upon them to preach the Gospel publicly, and to minister Sacraments: yet we put a difference between Office and Order. Office wee looke at as peculiar to those, who are set apart for some peculiar Function in the Church, which are either Elders or Deacons. But Order (speaking of Church-order properly taken) is common to all the members of the Church, whether Officers or private Brethren."
18 This is the same as the key of Knowledge in the older interpretation, since saving knowledge sheld to be synonymous with faith in the Scriptures, Is. 53 Luke 11 John 17.
The key of Liberty, as the key of interest is termed in the Scriptures, is given to the Brethren: "Brethren, ye have been called unto liberty," Gal. 5:13. "If we consult with the context, rather then with Commenters," since in this epistle chapters 5 to 6 touch on discipline, the reference is to church Liberty. Besides spiritual Liberties, as to be "set free by the blood of Christ from Satan, hell, bondage of sin, curse of the Morall Law, and service of the Ceremoniall Law," and power "to be called the sons of God, to come boldly unto the throne of grace in prayer, and as heirs of glory, to look for our inheritance in light," the Brethren have the following power:—

(1) to choose Officers. The early Brethren selected two, one of whom should be Divinely appointed as Apostle in place of Judas, Acts 1:25 ff. Cyprian is quoted as confirmation that they may choose or refuse their Ministers; for Deacons, see Acts 6:3-4; for Elders, Acts 14:22.

(2) to send forth one or more of their number in Christian service as required, as Epaphroditus was sent by Paul to the church at Philippi, Phil. 2:25.

(3) to propound any just exceptions against such as offer themselves to their communion or the Seals of it, as in the instance of Saul, Acts 9:18 ff. and Cornelius, Acts 10:47.

(4) as individuals to speak to a brother about an alleged offence, and collectively to join with the Elders in hearing and discussing a scandal which has not been settled privately, Matt. 18:17. It is for the Elders previously to have examined the alleged offenders and prepared the matter for discussion, and, if they discern the matter is one for censure, to declare "the counsell and will of God therein." That the Brethren may accept or decline these conclusions of the Elders is clear from 2 Cor. 10:6, where Paul waits (to apply revenge on disobedience, by censure) upon the obedience of the Church. The Brethren may also join with the Elders in binding an offender under censure, 1 Cor. 5:4 ff., and in forgiving the repentant, 2 Cor. 2:7 ff.; for this is an act not of Authority or rule but of Discretion, like the act of a jury who adjudicate while the judge (the Elders) alone passes sentence. The Brethren and Elders may hear and judge an offending Elder as well as one of the Brethren; thus Peter submitted himself to give satisfaction, Acts 11:18 ff. This raises the query, can the whole Presbytery be proceeded against? The Brethren have no power to excommunicate, since that is an act of Authority; but they have the power

(5) to withdraw from the Presbytery, Rom. 16:17. For practical reasons, however, the Brethren should not proceed without exercising their power

(6) to consult a Synod. For they have power

(7) to enjoy communion with other churches: (a) by participation in the Lord's Supper in another church, "for we receive the Lord's Supper, not only as a Seal of our communion with the Lord Jesus, and with his members in our own Church, but also in all the churches of the Saints"; (b) by recommendation of members to another church, Rom. 16:14, where they will be worshipping for a while, or, by letter of dismission, transferring a member who permanently changes his address; (c) by consultation about any person or cause, Acts 15:5; (d) by

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12 This Cotton generally does, and to a degree unusual in his time.
19 "Plebs Christiana vel maxime potestatem habet, vel dignos sacerdotes eligendi, vel indignos reprimendi"; Cyprian, ep. 4.
29 Although Synods are brought into the argument rather abruptly, the precipitation is hardly marked as it appears here.
JOHN COTTON'S "KEYES OF THE KINGDOM" (1644) 209

sending messengers to Synod to determine matters of common concern, Acts 15; (e) by contribution in the giving and receiving of supplies and succours, Acts 11; (f) by mutual admonition, as Paul to Peter, Gal. 2:11-14; (g) in the propagation and multiplying of churches.

The key of Authority is given to the Elders. Their office is to rule, "the Elders that rule well," 1 Tim. 5, Heb. 13. Their several acts of rule are:

1. to preach the Word and to administer the Seals of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, Matt. 28. If anyone should suppose from 1 Cor. 14 that private members may prophesy and so may also baptize, they overlook the fact that these people to whom Paul writes were not ordinary members but lived at a time when an extraordinary gift of the Spirit was bestowed.

2. to call together the Church "as any weighty occasion shall require", as for the election of Deacons, Acts 6.

3. to examine any, whether Officers or members, before they be received of the Church, Rev. 2.

4. to ordain Officers, whether Elders, 1 Tim. 4, or Deacons, Acts 6, chosen by the people.

5. to "open the doores of Speech and Silence in the Assembly", Acts 13.

6. to prepare beforehand the business to be transacted by themselves (as directions were given to Paul by the Apostles and Elders, Acts 21) or others, that it may be "carried along with most expedition and best edification," in which respect they have power to reject causeless and disorderly complaints.

7. to give sentence against an offender, as foretold in Ezek. 44.

8. to dismiss the church with a Blessing in the name of the Lord, Num. 6, Heb. 7.

9. to charge the Brethren in private that "none of them live either inordinately without a calling, or idly in their calling, or scandalously in any sort", 2 Thess. 3.

10. their powers in a Synod are mentioned later, under Synods.

11. to withdraw from the Brethren (whom as a body they cannot excommunicate, since in a censure they first must tell the Church and join with them), to carry away the Ordinances and to denounce the just judgement of God against the Brethren if they have fallen away from the way of grace, and "either no Synod to be hoped for, or no help by a Synod," Acts 19, Luke 10. Yet with all this power of Authority, the rule of the Elders is not lordly but stewardly and ministerial.

The power of the Elders and Brethren having been stated, the power and authority given to Synods may be considered; for Synods, rightly ordered, are an Ordinance of Christ. Scripture states three just causes for their assembly:

31 "As when a particular Church of Christ shall grow so full of members, as all of them cannot heare the voice of their Ministers; then as an hive full of bees swarneith forth ..." or "when sundry Christians coming over from one country to another; such as are come over first, and are themselves full of company, direct those that come after them, and assist them in like sort, in the combination of themselves into Church-order, according to the Rule of the Gospel."

32 They bind as they preach the Law, and loose as they proclaim the Gospel.

33 But this ignores the fact that the more radical people claimed they were living in a time when the Spirit was again especially vouchsafed. In any case Cotton is frequently quoting other incidents in apostolic times as precedents.

34 This means, apparently, to begin and call an end to discussion.

35 See also the reference to the Authority of the Elders under the fourth power of the Brethren.

36 The retention of the primitive amoral notion of the blessing as power may be observed.
(1) when a church desires the counsel and help of other churches; when the church at Antioch was disturbed by corrupt teachers, Barnabas and Saul and other messengers were sent to the Apostles and Elders at Jerusalem, Acts 15.

(2) when any church lieth under scandal “through corruption in doctrine and practice”; for, as there is brotherly communion between church members, so there is between churches, “what shall we do for our sister?” Cant. 8.

(3) when, in a time of general corruption in the churches, the corruption being discerned, churches may desire to meet for counsel in a Synod with a view to reforming, 2 Chron. 15:10-15.

Certain questions regarding Synods arise:

(1) What power has a Synod? It can do more than give counsel, it has a right to enjoin and command, as is implied in Acts 15:22, “It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us not to lay upon you any other burden”. A Synod is a Minister of the Gospel who may bind to faith and obedience because what is said is Gospel and is taught by a Minister for his calling’s sake, and “He that receiveth you receiveth me,” Matt. 10:40. It has power to withdraw communion from an offending church which will not heed its advice; and to publish such Ordinances as may, when the times require it, lead towards reformation, 2 Chron. 15:22.

(2) How far may the Brethren take part with the Elders in a Synod? They may express an opinion, Acts 15; and join in determining the sentence, Acts 15:22, and in choosing and sending messengers and in writing “Synodall Letters”, Acts 15:22f. Yet since Acts 16 seems to imply that the authority of the decrees there mentioned lay in the Apostles’ and Elders’ approval of them, it is safest to reserve authority to the Elders. If it be objected that Elders in Synod have no right to bind a church save in conformity with instructions received beforehand from it, Cotton replies that surely they may, for those who ask help of a Synod cannot determine beforehand how far they will go in accepting its decisions. Yet Cotton allows that the Brethren have a right to expostulate with the Elders on their return and to refuse to accept their decisions if contrary to “the Truth and Peace of the Gospel”. In modern language, the Elders at Synod are plenipotentiaries rather than proxies, but must have their decisions ratified.

(3) Has a Synod the right to enjoin non-essentials? Since only “things necessary” were laid upon the churches, Acts 15:28, and since the Apostolic Commission was only to teach all things which Christ had commanded, Matt. 28:19f., to this as stewards, the Synod must be faithful. Its rule is not lordly.

(4) Has a Synod power to ordain and excommunicate? While later and ancient Synods who claimed the power are not hastily to be censured, there is no instance of ordination by a Synod in Acts 1:26f., 13:2, or of excommunication in Acts 15. It is for the Synod rather to recommend and leave this act to the presbytery of the church concerned who will act in the presence of the church.

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37 This is taken as proof that they wanted the advice of the leaders of another church, not only of the Apostles. It may be noted, however, that the singularity of the Jerusalem conference drives Cotton outside the New Testament in his search for scriptural precedent, sometimes with ludicrous consequences. His interpretation of Cant. 8 is so strangely allegorical as almost to shake his whole foundation.
In conclusion Cotton considers what may now be adduced about the nature of the Church and its independency.

The nature of the Church is defined solely in relation to Christ. The Lord Jesus is head of his Church, Matt. 28. In consequence of his sovereignty all legislative power is in him, James 4, and others may do no more than publish and execute his laws, Matt. 28, neither adding to them nor altering them. He alone ordains the true constitution of his Church, its offices, ministries and their gifts, Heb. 3.

The subordinate and ministerial powers given in the Church may be summarized thus:

1. A congregation professing the faith is itself the first subject of all the Church offices, with all their spiritual gifts, "for all things are yours," 1 Cor. 3. Theirs was such a church in 1 Cor. 14, where, "they all came together in one place" for the communication of their spiritual gifts, God having set all members in their offices and with their gifts, 1 Cor. 12.

2. The Apostles were the first subject of apostolic power. They had all the power of all the offices, for they exerted as pastors, 1 Tim. 2; taught, 1 Tim. 2; ruled, 2 Tim. 4; were deacons, Acts 6; baptized, Acts 8; censured and excommunicated, 1 Tim. 1. Their power extended to all churches, "their line is gone out unto all the world," Ps. 19, Rom. 10. Theirs is the great commission; but they were the last holders of all this power.

3. When there is 'truth and peace' in a congregation:
   (a) the Brethren are the first subject of Church liberty, for they do not derive their power from the elders (whom indeed they appoint) or from any other church or Synod.
   (b) the Elders are the first subject of Church authority, for they derive it not from a Synod or from any other church or from the Brethren (though appointed by these) but from Christ, "take heed to yourselves and to the whole flock over which the holy ghost hath made you overseer," Acts 20. Indeed, the gift of rule is a mark of eligibility for eldership, 1 Tim. 3.
   (c) the Brethren and the Elders together are the first subject of all church power needful to be exercised within themselves. This is seen in that they have power to ordain and to censure, Matt. 18. They also have power to excommunicate, 1 Cor. 5, 2 Cor. 2. And, since a church lies under the guilt of offence when any member is unrecognised for offence, Rev. 21, it must have power to purge itself.

28 Cotton's entire dependence on the Bible for the constitution of the Church contrasts itself sharply with the modern tendency to shape the Church into the pattern of a changing society with little or no reference to the Bible.
29 Cotton says "all" is a better translation than "some" (anacolouthic οις μείναι).
30 To those who quote New Testament precedents for episcopal ordination, Cotton replies that Timothy and Titus ordained as Evangelists; this is expressly stated of Timothy, 2 Tim. 4, and may be "as clearly deciphered" of Titus. When they ordained, it was with the rest of the presbytery and in the presence of the church, 1 Tim. 5. Further, Bishop is synonymous with Presbyter, Titus 1, 1 Tim. 3. We read of many Bishops to one church, Phil. 1, not the reverse. Finally, acts of rule belong to the Elders. If there is a higher office than theirs, it is stated in 1 Tim. 5. "Let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honour, but especially they who labour in the word and doctrine."
31 "The Church," which is given this power, does not mean the Jewish Church then existing; the disciples knew what Christ meant, as also when he said he would build his Church upon a rock; and "is it likely he would send his lambs and sheep... unto wolves and tigers?" Nor does it mean a Bishop; one man is not the Church and can represent it only if sent forth by it, but the Bishops come "unsent for, (like water into a ship)". Nor does it mean a Synod; the words Church and Synod are never synonymous in Scripture; no more are Church and Presbytery.
(4) If a church is disturbed with error or scandal, a Synod or its messengers is the first subject of power to judge, and to declare and impose its findings upon the church. Since the power to bind and loose is given to a church only where there is agreement in the name of Christ, this power is absent where there is disagreement, and the church becomes subject to the power of a Synod, Acts 15.

The independency of the Church is involved in its dependence upon Christ for all church powers. It is subject to the judgment of another church or of a Synod, if it fall into offence, but remains independent of these while a place of truth or peace. It is subject to the power of the sword in matters that concern the civil peace, which are:—(a) civil matters, as "the disposing of mens goods, or lands, lives, or liberties, tributes, customs, worldly honours, and inheritances"; (b) the establishment of pure religion in doctrine, worship and government according to the word of God, and reformation as may be necessary in any of these32; (c) the exercise of some spiritual administrations, as proclaiming a fast in time of calamity, Joel 1:13f. Unjust persecution at the magistrate's hands the Church must bear patiently; its power is that of the keys, not of the sword.

Finally, while Cotton favours fellowship between churches, to discuss matters of common and weighty concern and to maintain brotherly love and soundness of doctrine, and quotes apostolic precedent for this, his clear stress on independency is seen in his caution that power be not allowed to pass to a Synod: "all the liberties of Churches were purchased to them by the precious blood of the Lord Jesus; and therefore neither may the Churches give them away, nor many Churches take them out of the hands of one."

Hugh R. Dolphin.

The longest section in the Journal of the Friends' Historical Society (for 1940) is a further selection from the A. R. Barclay MSS., LXI-LXXI, letters of early Friends written between the years 1652 and 1690 inclusive. Isabel Grubb writes on "American Visitors in Ireland", and Ruth G. Burtt publishes "Records from Nailsworth" from 1670 onwards. There is also a brief appreciation of A. Neave Brayshaw and an (incomplete) list of his writings.

In the Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society (March, 1944), the Rev. P. Lee Cole writes of "The Widows' Home, Dublin", the Rev. F. Baker presents the first instalment of an annotated list of "Wesley's Ordinations", and the Rev. F. F. Brereton has a note on "John Wesley's Visit to Holland in 1783".

32 The references in this section are all save one to the Old Testament. It may be noted, however, that in Cotton's argument this is exceptional.
Edward Pierce
THE SCULPTOR OF MILTON'S BUST AT
CHRIST'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

THIS, the one authentic bust of Milton, is very little known except to scholars; eighteenth-century busts, and nineteenth-century versions of them, are all based on the Faithorne engravings, but this bust—a terra-cotta model, now somewhat damaged at one side—dates from 1654-8, and is as authentic as the lovely Onslow portrait of the poet at ten years old, now in America. It was the work of Edward Pierce—written Pearce, Pearse or Peirce in various documents, but so spelt by the sculptor—and an account of that little-known artist may not be unwelcome.

Edward Pierce was the son of a decorative painter who worked under Inigo Jones at Somerset House and St. Paul's, Covent Garden; he was born about 1630, and was made a member of the Painter Stainers' (his father's Company), becoming Master of the Livery in 1668, Master in 1693, and his own master—for he was apprenticed in the usual way—was a Painter Stainer, like his father a decorative painter, named Edward Bird. The father, who lived till 1658, probably carried on his work under the Commonwealth, as many minor officials were not displaced, though the heads of Departments were ruthlessly dismissed, and it is easy to see how young Pierce, probably assisting his father, would come into contact with Milton as Latin Secretary, and Cromwell, of whom he did at least three portraits, the finest being that in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, which comes next in date to the Milton; the latest of the Cromwells, the bronze at the London Museum, has rightly been described as "only a memory".

The Milton represents the poet in early middle age, severer and less attractive than in the Faithorne portrait; Vertue the antiquary saw it in 1741 and acquired it before 1743, when he refers to it as in his possession; at his sale in 1757 it was knocked down to Sir Joshua Reynolds for £9 15s. Od., who resold it to Thomas Hollis for 12 guineas; from him it passed to Milton's College, Christ's. Terra-cottas are extraordinarily fragile, and with wise forethought it has been cast in bronze for the National Portrait Gallery, where many must have seen it who know nothing of its sculptor. Pierce's
career between the Milton and Cromwell of the Commonwealth and 1668 is obscure, but he married a widow, Anne Smith, in 1661, and moved from the City to Surrey Street, Strand. His portrait was twice painted by Isaac Fuller (d. 1674); but we may note that he had certainly abandoned painting for masonry at an early date—and to be a mason then often implied being a sculptor as well—and that he took apprentices to that craft. He must have been a marked man soon after the Restoration, since Wren very quickly took him as a colleague, and entrusted him with the building of St. Lawrence, Jewry, and St. Matthew, Friday Street; he was actually the architect as well as builder of St. Clement Danes, part-builder of St. Andrew's, Holborn, and the south side of St. Paul's, and from 1691 to 1696 worked at Hampton Court, as well as executing the whole of the lovely woodwork of St. Lawrence, Jewry, at the wish of the parish, decorations and fittings being the choice not of Wren but of the parishioners in all the Wren churches, and not part of Wren's designs—a fact too little realized today, when all fine wood-carving is recklessly assigned to Grinling Gibbons.

In 1673 the friendship between Pierce and Wren was signalized by the exquisite bust, Pierce's masterpiece, now at the Ashmolean Museum, one of the finest and most expressive things not in English art only but in European; and in 1687 he made the last portrait from the life of which we know, the noble bust of Thomas Evans, then Master of the Painter Stainers, shown at Burlington House in the winter of 1938.

His historical statues form a curious and interesting section of his work, and here we have the statement of a fellow-member of the Painter Stainers to Vertue the antiquary to go on. Pierce, he says, made the statues of Edward III and Sir Thomas Gresham on the Royal Exchange, and that of Sir William Walworth in Fishmongers' Hall; the latter is of wood. and in his hand is the dagger preserved by the Company which, tradition says, was the very weapon with which that valiant Lord Mayor killed Wat Tyler. The sott-crowned hat, the fur-lined robe are, however, the robes of Pierce's day, not of 1381, and we shall find much the same in Pierce's other medieval personage, the Edward III on the Royal Exchange, of which more presently. One of the Cromwells, as we have seen, is a bronze, and bronze are Pierce's delightful dragons on the Monument (1681), the bills for which are in the Bodleian, and the Vane on Bow Steeple; we shall see one of those dragons again when we come to 1699.

In 1679 Pierce, with five workmen under him, was employed to pull down Arundel House in the Strand, a deed for which we owe him a grudge when we recall the stately corridors shown in van
Edward Pierce

Somer's paintings of the famous collector Earl and his Countess, opening on to a cool garden by the river's edge: that Pierce rebuilt it also there can be little doubt.

In 1684 he had an odd commission. A Mr. Neal won largely in a lottery, and decided to devote some of his gains to what we should call a public clock, a great pillar with seven dials, to be put up at Seven Dials, St. Giles's; Pierce's drawing for it exists in the British Museum, though the Dial itself is now at Weybridge, the column bearing a crown in memory of Frederica, Duchess of York, who was much beloved in the neighbourhood; the Dial itself was degraded to a riding block for many years, outside an inn there, but is now properly protected.

In the same year a more important commission came his way. The death of Charles II in February, 1684 (to use the chronology of the time) caused the Gresham Committee hastily to resolve to erect a statue of that sovereign on the Royal Exchange, where the niches intended for statues were still vacant save for the Charles I from the old Exchange, which had been removed by the Commonwealth on the King's execution and was very properly replaced, as Evelyn tells us, in 1660. The Grocers' Company claimed the right of erecting the Charles II, but the Gresham Committee sent a whip to the other Companies allotting them the various sovereigns to fill the empty niches, the unpopular Mary and the popular Elizabeth being allotted jointly to two, so that neither was solely responsible for the odium or the glory of these particular works. The Skinners' Company had to erect an Edward III, and, though their own mason backed another candidate, they decided on Edward Pierce, who duly brought his model for inspection. It was approved, and the statue erected, only to be lost in the disastrous fire of 1838; but, fortunately for posterity, the Company carefully preserved the model, along with one of Sir Andrew Tudd, founder of Tonbridge School, also probably by Pierce, and in 1738 had two delightfully carved and gilt bracket cases made for them. They were shown at the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1926, at the Exhibition of City Treasures; by the kindness of the Company their records were inspected, and I published the story of the statuette in The Times for December 13, 1926.

The statue of Sir Thomas Gresham was also unhappily lost when this second Royal Exchange was burnt in 1838, but it was happily engraved, and showed him in the soft hat, doublet and hose of late Elizabethan days; it is commonly assigned to C. J. Cibber, but as Linton's statement as to Pierce's statues can be proved in two cases, he was certainly right in the third: the Gresham was by Edward Pierce.
A number of references in Hooke's *Diary*, only published in 1635, show Pierce as constantly in request as a critic and surveyor. He goes to Wren's new College of Physicians to pronounce on the statues of Charles II and Sir John Cutler, and himself carves the bust of Baldwin Hanney for that body; he is in touch not with Wren only, and that constantly, but with architects and sculptors everywhere; John Talman was right in calling him to Vertue "a great assistant of Sir Chr. Wren". And he must have done many monuments not yet identified, or he would hardly have been called on to design a colossal one for George Villiers, second Duke of Buckingham, "to be set up in Westminster Abbey". In fact, the Duke died in the greatest poverty, though Dryden's picture of him dying "in the worst inn's worst room" is overcharged; but a large drawing of the proposed work is in the British Museum, and shows the Duke and Duchess at length on a great sarcophagus, their one infant child beside them and mourning figures of a peer and peeress to right and left, the whole in a vast architectural setting, with trophies and beasts—a lion and a dragon, the latter related to Pierce's dragons on the Monument—set to right and left of a great curtained canopy and allegorical figures below.

In 1695 Pierce and the painter Thomas Manby held a joint Sale of their collections, which looks as though Pierce contemplated retiring from business; no copy of the Catalogue exists, but a notice of the Sale in the *London Gazette* is evidence of the fact. But he was still being paid for work at Hampton Court (begun in 1691) in 1696, and evidence of his skill is still to be seen, though no longer on the original site, in the shape of a magnificent "Great Urn", one of a pair described by Defoe in 1724 as "two marble vases or flower-pots, of most exquisite workmanship, one by an Englishman"; as the Treasury Accounts say that Pierce was paid £250 for this work, and mentions the "festoons of Shells", it is possible to identify this work as one of two now in the terrace garden at Windsor Castle; the lid ends in a pineapple, two Caryatids flank the central panel, a lovely low relief carving of the Judgment of Paris, and the body of the vase rests on three charming cherub figures; the festoons of shells run between the panel and the Caryatids. As an example of decorative garden sculpture no ancient example exceeds this delightful work.

Pierce died in March, 1698, and in the year 1711 he appears for the last time on the stage of history. John Talman, the greatest connoisseur of his age, was then in Rome, and by way of returning their hospitality gave a feast to the most prominent Roman antiquaries, connoisseurs and historians, adorning the room in which they dined with pictures done for the occasion. Three ancient
Edward Pierce

artists were chosen to represent Architecture, Painting and Sculpture, Vitruvius, Fabius Pictor, and the Glykon, whose signature appears on the Farnese Hercules; three to represent Italian art, Palladio, Raphael and Michael Angelo; and three to represent English, Inigo Jones, Isaac Fuller (who had painted Pierce's portrait) and Edward Pierce. To Talman, that is, Pierce was the greatest of English sculptors, and Talman, who possessed several of Pierce's designs, was the best judge of his day. It is singular to reflect that Edward Pierce's earliest work was the bust of Milton, and that his own last appearance, this time as a historic figure, should have been in the Italy which Milton loved and sang in deathless Latin verse before the iron of polemics had entered into his soul.

Katharine A. Esdaile.

A Letter from Philip Doddridge to Isaac Watts (Continued from page 240).

have stood wth an Air of Attention & Pleasure wh it gives me inexpressible Delight to recollect.

And now Dear Sir having permitted my Letter in this Manner stream- ing forth from so full a Breast to overflow its Banks to such a Degree as it has done It is more than Time I conclude wth telling you how much I am grieved to hear (since most of it was written[]) of ye Return of your Indis-position of which our good Friend Mr Roffey has just informed me. We have been largely joining our Family Prayers for your Recovery to which I hope I shall never be able to forget to add those of ye Closet & ye Sanctuary. If Lady Abney & you do not go a Journey this July I hope if God permit to come to you for a few Days. GOD grant I may find my invaluable Friend in such a State of Health as to be capable of giving me such Instructions Encouragements & Assistances as I have generally re- ceived from his Conversation. I hope then to bring you a Plan of ye Work you recommended to me wh I have drawn up in such a Manner as might least interfere wth that of my Sermons on Regeneration ye three first of wh I have sent up to ye Press & have all ye rest ready transcribed but ye 4 last are not corrected. I have sent by Mr Roffey a long letter to Mr Lardner concerning ye Jewish Proselytes wh I desire him to communicate to you for your Opinion upon it. At present our united humble Services to your self & Lady Abney Miss Abney & our good Friends at ye next Door must conclude from

Revd & Dear Sir your inexpressibly obliged & affect

P. Doddridge
The following pages contain copies of documents among the Welbeck Abbey MSS., which were sent by the Librarian to the Rev. A. G. Matthews, M.A., when he was working on *Calamy Revised*. They appear here through the kindness of Mr. Matthews, and by favour of his Grace the Duke of Portland. Most of them are letters written either to Sir Edward Harley (1624-1700), of Brampton Bryan, Herefordshire, or to his son Robert (1661-1724), afterwards first Earl of Oxford. Baxter, from whom a letter to Sir Edward appears here, called him "a sober and truly religious Man" (Rel. Baxt. I, 59f.). Macaulay, in one of his portmanteau sentences, thus sums him up:

Sir Edward Harley had been conspicuous among the patriots of the Long Parliament, had commanded a regiment under Essex, had, after the Restoration, been an active opponent of the court, had supported the Exclusion Bill, had harboured dissenting preachers, had frequented meeting-houses, and had made himself so obnoxious to the ruling powers that, at the time of the Western Insurrection, he had been placed under arrest, and his house had been searched for arms.

The correspondence of Sir Edward with Francis Tallents has already been noticed in Vol. VIII of these *Transactions*.

The documents require little annotation, but references to the *Dictionary of National Biography* and to *Calamy Revised* have been supplied. Superior letters have been brought down.

GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL.

For Sr Robert Harley, Knight of the Honorable Order of the Bath, and Member of the Honourable House of Commons sitting in Westminster present these.

Sr

I Receiv’d yor Nobly-Courteous Letter: and blesse God that I have so Honourable a Friend that will cast an Aspect on mee: as your Greatnes hath Honour’d mee, so your Goodnes (I speake it bona fide) hath warm’d my Heart many a time in yor company: and where (Besides Outward) I received spiritual Good, I thought it my Duty to Reciprocate the like again upon such a great Occasion: And I humbly thanke you that yor Generous and Gracious Spirit doth so Candily Interpret my letter to you: For when I writ to you that letter, yor Reputation was tossed about in some Mouths.
welbeck abbey MSS. 219

which did much grieve mee: For I do Earnestly desire that you might shine to the last; I am so dearly Engaged to you that wether blot fals vpon your Honor goeth to my Heart: and I hope, Sr, the Faithful Affection of a poore Creature so farre below you will not do you Hurt: you have been the Faithful Friend in the World to mee in my distresses, and should not I Echo Faithfulnes back again vpon you? I beseech you go on to con-
tinue your Favourable Interpretation of my letter, and if I were anything vnmanerly or sharpe in it, I pray you to pardon mee: The Lord Carry you on for Him & His church in these parts vpon His Wings of Love and strength. It doth much Rejoyce mee that you have such a Spiritual Care of Kingsland: God wil not let you loose your Labour of Love: The Lord knows that the progresse of the Gospell in these parts depends much vpon your zeale, & therefore or prayers are to god that Hee would preserve you long to us: Not to trouble your serious affayres, I desire Ever to Remember you at the throne of Grace, and to rest,

Sr
Yor Humble servant

Th. FroySELL.

Clun, Novemb. 9, (1648).

Sir Edward Harley, Miscellanea, no. 32.

The Ministers of Hereford to Sir Edward Harley.

ffor the Honoble Coll. Edward Harley

a member of the house of Comons

These present.

Noble Sr

ffearing that or former letters haue miscarried, wee hauing so good an opportunity by yor man, make bold to represent or humble service to you, congratulating yor safe returne from Dunkirk, wch wee thankfully ack-

nowledge to be a speciall mercy from God to you & yor noble family, to vs, & the whole church of God.

Good Sr, wee looke vpon it as or duty to acquaint you, whom wee haue found vnder God to be or cheife patron, wth or condition here. Wee are dayly threatened that wee shall be removed hence; if the Deane & Chapter be set vp agayne or station is the more questionable. Wee know that we are in the hands of God (blessed be his name) & desire to Comitt ourselves unto him by wdeltaing. May it please you to give vs a little light to direct vs what to doe, & according to yor wonted favor, to endeavor or settlemt, wth or salaries according to the Ordinance of Parlmt of the 28th of March 1646, wch yor noble ffather of blessed memory procured for vs. Wee desire to waite vpon the Lord & to keepe his way. Pardon wee beseech you the boldnes of

Yor most humble & obliged Servants

Wm. LOWE
SAM: SMITH
GE. PRIMROSE
WILLIAM VOILE.

1 A Herefordshire parish.
2 Ejected from Clun in 1662: C.R.
3 From 14 July 1660 to 22 May 1661 Harley was Governor of Dunkirk, which had come into English hands through the battle of the Dunes in 1658, but which Charles II soon sold to France.
4 For these signatories, cf. C.R.: they had all been preachers at Hereford Cathedral since 1646; all were ejected in 1660, as they feared would be the case. Voile left £3 a-piece to the other three, 'sometime my fellow preachers in Hereford'.
Herei: 30 June 1660.
Sir Edward Harley, Miscellanea, no. 54.

(Names of Lecturers at Knighton, all except the last, in the handwriting of Sir Edward Harley, with approbation signed by Herbert Croft, Bishop of Hereford):

Dr. Thomas Good Rector of Wistanstow
Mr. Sam: Berkley Rector of Clungunford
Mr. George Lawson Rector of More
Mr. Joh: Willcox Rector of Maynstone
Mr. Jackson Vicar of Clun
Mr. Peak Rector of Hopton
Mr. John Gouge Vicar of Bucknel
Mr. Lewis Vicar of Presteign
Mr. John Martin Rector of Bramton
Dr. Tonge Vicar of Leyntwarden
Mr. Alexander Clogie Vicar of Wigmore
Mr. Ralph Fenton Vicar of Ludlow
Mr. Millward Vicar of Bishops Castle

I doe approue of the persons abouenamed to preach in their turnes a Lecture at Knighton humbly beseeching God to be assisting to them with his powrfulfull spirit that it may be to his glory and the edification of his people.

Amen. HER: HEREFORD.

Croft Castle May 16, 1665.

Sir Edward Harley, Miscellanea, no. 86.

Endorsed by Sir Edward Harley: “New England”.
To the Elders and Ministers of every Town within the jurisdiction of the Massachutes in new England:
The Governour and Council sendeth greeting:

Reverend, and beloved in the Lord,
Wheras we finde in the Examples of holy scripture, that Magistrates haue not onely excited and commanded all the people under their government, to seek the lord God of their Fathers, and doe the Law and Commandment, 2 Chron: 14, 2, 3, 4, Ezra 7, 25, 26, 27, but also stirred up and sent forth the Levites, accompanied with other principal men, to teach the good knowledge of the Lord throughout all the Cities of Judah, 2 Chron: 17, 6, 7, 8, 9, which endeavours have been crowned with God’s blessing.

Allso we finde that our Brethren of the Congregational perswasion in England haue made a good profession, in their Book, intituled A Declaration of their faith and Order, Pag: 59, Sect: 14, where they say, That although Pastors and Teachers stand especially related unto their Particular Churches; yet they ought not to neglect others living within their Parochial Bounds, but beside their constant publikk preaching to them, they ought to enquire after their Profiting by the word, instructing them in, and pressing upon them (whether young or old) the great doctrines of the Gosple, even personally and particularly, so farre as their strength and time wil permit.

We hope that sundry of you need not a spur in these things, but are conscientiously carefull to do your Duty; yet for as much as we haue cause to fear, that there is too much neglect in many places, notwithstanding the

1 For all these, cf. D.N.B.
3 Robert: cf. G.R.
I acknowledge long since provided therein, We do therefore think it our duty to emit this Declaration unto you earnestly desiring, and in the bowels of our Lord Jesus requiring you to be very diligent and careful to Catechize and instruct all the people (especially the youth) under your charge, in the sound and Orthodox Principles of Christian Religion; and that not onely in Publick, but privately from houe to houe, as blessed Paul did, Acts 20, 20, or at least three, four, or more families meeting together, as strength and time may permit, taking to your assistance such godly and grave person\s as to you may seem most expedient. And also that you labour to Inform your selves (as much as may be meet) how your hearers doe profit by the word of God, and how their conversations do agree therewith and whether the Youth are taught to read the English tongue, taking all occasions to apply suitable Exhortations, particularly unto them for the Rebuke of thos that doe Evil, and for the encouragement of them that do well.

The effectual and constant prosecution hereof, we hope will have a tendency to promote the salvation of Souls, to suppress the growth of sinc and Prophaneness, to beget more love and Unity amongst the people, and more Reverence and Esteem of the Ministry, and wil assuredly be to the enlargment of your Crown and Recompence in Eternall Glory.

Given at Boston the 10th of March 1668 by the Governour and Coun\cil, and by them Ordered to be printed, and sent accordingly.

EDWARD RAWSON, Secret.

For The Honoured Sr Edward Harley Knt of the Bath at Brampton Castle. To be sent per Postmr of Ludlow, Shropshire.

Honoured Sr I sent not an answer to the second, because it was partly answered per Mr. Innis; and since I supposed you wold bee from home, here nothing done within the libertyes, only I heare of one or twoo Aldermen were surpriz\d & tooke Convictions, but noe Warrs granted out; one Informer confessed to Sr Wm Turner\' hee was onely encouraged by the Bp. of London\' and another B. who wold have transfer\d the odium of the Declaracon upon a noble person was sufficiently checkt, and the noble person not satisfied till hee had convincted the Informer of a notorious un\truth. Mr 1: saith if yu are not provided of lodgings hee will looke out for yu. I heare nothing of St Ros\' yet. Mr Cary\' hath been very ill. I wish it were dispatcht; generally persons do voluntarily lay downe their publique meetings, some upon the acct of the Magistrates desire, and promise of security in other places. Whaley hath driven Mr James a Mr quite out of Notting(h)amshire, and seiz\d upon all his goods, corne, and seed corne as they were sowing, broke open his house, tooke all within and without, and left him noe necessaries; at Exeter\' very bitter, the Minrs

1 For Jas. Innis, ejected from St. Breek, Cornwall (C.R.), and his son, who acted as agents in procuring licences for country ministers in 1672, cf. G. L. Turner, Original Records, III. 618-631.
2 'He never disturbed the Nonconformable Preachers... I never heard nor read of any Lord Mayor who was so much honoured and beloved of the City' (Rel. Bact., III. 48).
3 Humphrey Henchman: D.N.B.
4 'Mr. Rose (an humble Godly man)' is among the Independents excluded by Baxter among well-known London ministers (Rel. Bact., III. 95).
5 Nicholas Cary, ejected from Monmouth, who went to London after his ejection: C.R.
6 John James, ejected from lectureship at Newark, Notts.: C.R. 'Whaley' is Justice Whaley (ib.).
7 e.g., Lewis Stuckey, ejected from Exeter Cathedral, was fined £20 on 8 Nov., 1674 (Tilton's death-day) for preaching at Exeter: C.R.
forth to fly; at Taunton they keep up their publick meeting still; at Redding I hear they carried it at the Informers, the North Circuit like altogether to be hindered by a bruise on Littleton rec'd by the overthowing of his coach; my humble service to you. I rest in haste.

Your very hum' servant

(without signature, but in handwriting of RALPH STRETTELL). March 27, (1675).

Sir Edward Harley, Miscellanea, no. 84. c. 1675.

A Breif accompl of Bristol Prosecutions.

Bristol is a City of Considerable Trade, wherein his Maties Revenues by Customs have beene considerably Advanced through the Peace that Dissenters have enjoyed for many yeares past (the Trade being Cheefly manadged by them) who enjoyed their Liberty in their Private Meeting till the now Bpp came. And then He Imediately consults John Helligan an Attorney (whose is Indicted for Perjury, Barratry & other offences) calling him his son, & making him his Councillor. And prevails with him & 4 of his Clergy to be Informers.

Then the said Attorney and Clergy Informers haunt the Meetings, Convicts the Ministers, some of them upon the 5 Mile Act, & some upon the Conventicle Act: gets warrants to Detaine their goods. But the Magistrates forbore to proceed against the Ministers upon the 5 Mile Act till the Declaracon from the King & Councell came downe in February and then The Bpp goeth in Person with Divers of the Aldermen to Mr. Thompson's Meeting where Divers of the People were abused. One had a Pistill put to the Breast, & was threatened to be Shott &c. They Carry away Mr. Thompson to the Mayor's house where he was baited by the Bpp with virulent language such as—you Dogg, you a Minister of Christ; you are a Minister of the Devil, you deserve to stretch a halter—and so he was sent to Goale upon the 5 Mile Act.

Then the Bpp Procured the other 2 Ministers Mr. Weekes and Mr. Hardcastle to be taken up in their Meetings & Committed to Prison Accompanying them noe Ministers of the Gospell. And although Mr. Weekes offered to prove himselfe a Minister of the Gospell in the presence of the Magistrates and Bpp & that from the Scriptures, flathers, Schoolmen, & the most learned Episcopall Divines, yet he was not permitted soe to doe.

After a fewe days Mr. Thompson falls sick in Prison, & his friends & Physician offered sufficient Baile for his removall into some house fitt for a sick man; But the Bpp would not permit it, threatening the Sheriffs & Magistrates with the severities of the Law if they suffered him to be removed from his Prison. In 4 or 5 days after Mr. Thompson Dyed Declaring before his Death his Imprisonment to be the cause of his sickness, Saying they were Barbarously cruel, But he Did heartily forgive them.

1 The justices were recommended on 17 March 1676/7 to make inquiry about this 'publick meeting'; cf. C.R., s.t. Geo. Newton.
2 Yet Christ. Fowler, elected from St. Mary's, Reading, had been refused a licence for a conventicle in Reading in 1672; C.R.
3 Sir Thos. Littleton: D.N.B. Or his father Sir Thos.
4 Ejected from St. John Zachary, London: C.R.
5 With this account, cf. Broadhead Records, 1674; 6 Guy Carleton: D.N.B.
7 10 P.C. 1674:5
8 John: C.R.
9 Ralph Ollive.
10 John: C.R.
11 Thomas: C.R.
12 4 March 1674-5.
After these Ministers are in Prison the People Continue to Meete to Read, Pray & Sing Psalms. The aforesaid Attorney John Helliar with the Mayor's servants & Bpp's servants Come to the Meetings, where they haule, thrust, Punch & Pull the People, Raile & Revile them, sends some of them to Goale, Bindes over some to the Sessions, thrusts some into the Dungeon, Denyes them the Refreshments their freinds bring them, Indictments are framed against many, wherein they are Charged with many falshoods.

Robbins a Lawyer & the Bpp's Councillor said it would never be well till there were a Presbiterian Massacre, & that he could as willingly wash his hands in Presbiterian Blood as in faire water.

The Informer John Helliar falsly charges the People with Rebellion, Ryotts, Insurreccions and Treasonable Designes Proveing nothing.

The Bpp sits on the Bench with the Magistrates when Convictions are made where he threatens the Councill, calls the Attorney that appears for Dissenters Knave, Rogue, Rascal, sayes that he deserved to be hanged, or to have his bones broken, & threatens the Magistrates.

Many hundred Convictions are made, & some fynes levyed, to the great Prejudice of Trade. Many are Indicted upon the 35to of Eliz. And the Bpp Prosecutes many in his Courts to Excomuniation & Perpetuall Imprisonment.

Now in the Bpp's absence (yet by his speciall Order) this Helliar & the Mayor with his officers Comes to the Meetings where they beats & kicks the People, thrusts them out of their Meeting house, throwes their Seats into the River, & some of them among the People hurts many of them, women Greate with Child, &c.

Sends many of them to Prison Refuseing to take Baile for their appearance at Sessions. A maid was sent to Bridewell for saying a Sexton was a Dogg whipper.

The Heads of the Complaints agst. Robert Thoroton & Peniston Whaley Esqre Justices of Peace of the County Nottingham for their Irregular & unjust proceedings upon the Act against Conventicles [in or before 1678, the year of Thoroton's death.]

1. That they Convict & Condemne persons unsumoned & unheard.
2. That they Convict them by Oaths of the Informers who are to have a share of the Penalties.
3. That they make no Record of the Convictions (unless forced to it by Appeale of the party) for want whereof & of returne of such Record to the Quarter Sessions the King's & Poore's two third parts of the penalties are swallowed up by the Justices undiscovered.
4. That where parties have been acquitted upon their Appeals, & had Orders of the Quarter Sessions for restitution of their money levyed & received by the sd Justices they never could gett any of it out of the said Justices' hands.
5. That when Juries have found for the Appellants, the said Justices have refused to take their verdicts, gone out of Court leaving the Jury at Barre, & cursed them, saying also they hoped the King would take away Tryalls by Juries. And at other times they have threatened the Juries when they would not find against the Appellant, And sometimes sett aside the Jurors returned by the Sheriffe to try the Appeals & forced the Sheriffe to returne whom they named & some of their owne servants upon the Jury.

1 D.N.B.
6. They have levied £20 upon persons present at meetings for the owner of the place of meeting where it was not in any House but in the Highway & soe not within the word of the Act.

7. That they have arbitrarily laid the penalties of some (upon pretence of their poverty) on others, when the parties themselves were visibly able to pay, & in other cases where the pretended poor persons were unknowne.

8. That they have ordered the taking Excessive & Oppressive Distresses, whereby they have left the parties neither Bedd nor Bread nor the Tooles of their Trade to gett their livelihood,

9. And lastly when by the sd means the parties have had nothing left. They have fined the Officers in £5 apiece for not levying the penalties upon such Offenders & would not take of such Fines unless the Officers would compound with the Informers.

THO. CORBETT.

For the Worshipfull Robert Harley Esqr at Brampton Brian Castle in Herefordshire.
Leave ys at the Post House in Ludlow.

Dear & Honoured Sr

It is not that I have not preserved a grateful remembrance of yr great kindness to me att Brampton, wch was most acceptable to me, that I have not all this while returned my most humble & hearty acknowledgement for that as well as many former favours: But because the very great Respect & Esteem I most deservedly have for you made me afraid to trouble you with an empty & ill penned letter But the extreem love wch I am bold to say I have for you forces me at last to break through the fear I am in of yr judgement: & venture yr thinking me unworthy yr friendship, rather by infirmities, then by my fault, in not thankfully Imbracing & Cultivating to the best of my power so great an Advantage. I do flatter my selfe with some hopes of having once the honour of seeing you at my house, because you have Relations so neer me1; And it is partly the business of this letter earnestly to beg of you that you would please to think of a journey this way; & the rather because at this time I have an opportunity of doing you a piece of service, wch perhaps may not be unacceptable to you; but such as you may think worth the journey; besides the convenience of seing yr friends, & likewise visiting the poor Alma Mater before her last gasc2. I shall not trouble you with any more but to give my most humble service to Sr Edward, his Lady & to yr own & all the rest of the good family that are with you, & to beg that you would still preserve that kindness which you have hitherto shewn unto

Dearest & most Hond Sr

Yr most faithfull humble servant

J. BLAGRAVE3.

Longworth4

Jan: 16th (16)87/8.

1 Robt. Harley and his brothers had been at the academy kept by Samuel Birch (G.R.) at Cole, Brampton, Oxon., a mile or two the other side of the Thames from Longworth.

2 The reference is to the forcible Romanization of the University of Oxford by James II in 1687.

3 The Blagares were a Reading family; cf. D.N.B. for Daniel (1603-68), recorder of Reading, who signed Charles I’s death-warrant, and for Joseph (1610-82), astrologer.

4 Berks.; the house of a Baptist church dating from Commonwealth days, for which see J. Stanley, The Church in a Hop-Garden.
For the Worshipfull Robert Harley Esqr at Bramton Castle near Ludlow. 
Longworth March 1st (16)87/8.
Honrd Sr
I give you the trouble of this second letter because I think I did not (through hast) in my letter by yr servant give yu direction how to send to me And upon a review of yr letter I find yu are so obliging as to tell me I shd now & then have a letter from yu if yu knew how to direct it: wch great satisfaction I would by no means be deprived of.
If yu please therefore to direct for me to be left at Mr. Edmundson's, Linnen draper at the White Beare in Grace-Church street, London, it will be sent safe to me where ever I am. I have spoken about the Welch Bibles according to yr desire. But I find the designe is first to print folio Bibles for Churches, but as soon as that is over My Lord will very willingly hearken to yr proposals. I shall not now trouble yu with any more of my observations, much less with my advices as I presumed in my last letter till I hear from yu how they take with yu. I only beg that I may continue to have a place in yr good Opinion And wth my hearty prayers for yrs & all the Family's health & prosperity, I subscribe
Dearest & most Honrd Sr
Yr most affectionate humble servant
J. BLAGRAVE.

To Robert Harley Esqr
High Sheriff of the County of Hereford and a Member of the Honoble Howse of Commons this humbly present.
Nov: 9 (16)89.
Honrd Sr
Give me leve to divert your thoughts from yr more waighty Concerns and lay before you an Instance of the moderation & kindness I have of late found from the officers of the Chancellor's Court at Hereford; I was cited to Court to take the office of sidesman for the parish of Hampton Bishop and when I appeared the Register told me that1 the churchwardens had presented me as elected sidesman for the sd parish. I told the Court that I was not elected, & I desired that the Churchwardens might be cited to make good their presentmt, the Register Replied that the presentmt was upon oath, & if there was no election the Court had power to elect, & therefore required me to take an oath to execute the office or else they would proceed to decree me excommunicated, wch accordingly they did, & somtime after caused it to be published in the parrish Church, and I doe presume that the Register's Malice will not terminate here, he having a perfect enmity against all dissenters, & especially such as are accounted freinds to the present gover(n)ment, & therefore I doe expect he will take out the writt excommunicat io capiendo this Term, the 40 days being expired since my excommunication. Sir, my humble request is that you will favour me so far as to speake to yr Undersherriffe who I presume is now in London that if any such writt is brought unto him that he would not grant any warrant thereon, telling the promoter that he will execute the writt himself, and I will be ready to Render myself yr prisoner when Required. & I shall Remaine

yr obliged freind & most humble servt
SAMPSON WEAVER2.

Sir, upon enquiry I find there was no election of sidesmen by the parishioners, onely churchwardens.

Pray Sir give my most humble service to Sr Edward.

1 The italic words are run out from contractions.
These for the Honbl Sr Edward Harley Kt of the Bath.

Hod Sr

In July last by a very strang & I hope as good a providence of God a stranger from a parish call'd Horsmonden in Kent, 40 miles from London, came to Town for a minister to preach to a private Congregation in the saide parish for one moneth; but it pleased God to Continue me there Maidstone & Crambrooke Ever since, I hope not in vaine. Yor late Act of parliamt giving me incoragnut thereunto haueing Ever kept myself off the Rocke of dispensing powers. Now Sr the minister of the parish is one Bates a man who hath not taken the Oath of Allegianc as yet & saith he will live upon bread & water before he pray for our K: Wm & Queen Mary; the liueing is worth 120/ per ann. The Patron an honest prebition hath promised me his presentation in Case he were out, I humbly beg yor Answer to this question, when is the tymne over yt the Act appoints Conformists to sweare Allegianc, for I haue not the Act by me, & I do pray yor advise & assistance for the Patron & I accomplishing our end; but yt the ways are not passable I had waited vpon you in order to this affair; wth my humble service vnto & prayer for you, & all yors I remaine

Yor faithfull friend & servant whilst I am

RALPH STRETTELL.

Sr this bearer is a very good man & hath a question to ask you wch I beseech you to advise him in; pardon my boldness I pray you both touching him & my own Case.


For Sr Edward Harley at Colonel Cooper's house in Margaret's Lane in Westminster.

(With a curious seal)

Sr

If your parson that tells you of Mr. Verse's booke will do so much as a translator as but briefly to tell me these few things it will add to your kindness to procure it me

1. How he expoundeth your permonthes, or time, times & halfe time.

2. Who he taketh to be the 7 heads & 8 Kings, of which 5 were past, & one is, & one yet to come.

3. How he expoundeth the Beast that was & is not & yet is & was wounded.

4. Who are the 7 Heads & ten hornes.

5. What is the Image of the Beast.

6. What his Maker's name & number.

7. Who is the false prophet & the two horned Beast.

8. Whether Pagan or Papal Rome be Babilon, or both, viz. that meant in Rev. 17.

9. Whether the 20, 21, 22 Chapters speak of this world, or that to come.

10. What is the first & 2d. resurrection.

11. Who are the Witnesses.

12. What is the wildernes that the woman fled to.

I care not how briefly if I know his sense.

I rest

Your servant

Rl: BAXTER.
For the hoble Sr Edward Harley

at Bramton Castle

these.

Sr

the inhabitant doth not say he is sick, but satur dierum, bowed down
by the loss of sleep, stomach & strength, no paine, much peace; grace,
grace; my arms are weake, I cant dig, the vineyard is stiffe land, cant make
good worke, willinge to lay by the spittle, & goe home & drink out of the
flagon, no place so useful to me as Bramton, heaven hath often mett me at
Bramton, and accompanied me thence; O Bramton, be thou blessed of the
Ld, but I feare for Lemster, I was glad to heare Mr. Re. would not stay
Tuesday night, I humbly thank you, for the spiritts sent, & desire yr
recovery ten times more then my own, inwardly I desire to unyoke, wn I
consider the distance from Lemster, the neer approach of winter, and the
great duty expected from me, there is no more spirit in me. The Lord
chose in mercy for

Sr

Yr thankful & humble servant in our Ld

Wm WOODWARD1.

Nash, Octob. 23, 1691.

For the hoble Sr Edward Harley

these.

Sr

Yours conveyed by Mis Powle came to hand. I lament for your
indisposition, let all humble and whiten, since my fall, and I bless God,
you please to take notice of it, I have had wearisome nights, of which this
last was much the worst, I can now lye upon neither side, all this morninge,
I have had much paine upon that side, which at first, I thought was un-
touched; I am in the use of meanes wch the Lord bless; I would returne
home, though nothing be wantinge here, yet feare the saddle, I doubt I
shall not be able to preach, next Lord's day; But, Sr, falls, pains & black
clouds returninge after the raine, suffice not to deaden us to the world,
Christ Jesus, that faire one, hath not his just value wth me, I doe not long
enough to see his glory; indeed he let me slip out of his arms, he affrighted
me, but not harmed me; the fall should have been sooner, it should have
been lower, but grace & mercy, keep the throne stil; sin should give most
paine; the moor is servant to Bramton, the blessing of the N. Covenant be
wth you & all yours, wch have a principal place in the best affections of,
Good Sr,

Yr most humble servant

Wm WOODWARD.

Feb. 3d 16912.

For the Honourable Robert Harley Esq,

Speaker of the House of Commons

Lincolns Inne

London.

Worthy Sir,

I hope yor Honour will pardon the presumption of this Address, which
a just concern for the welfare of England & the Cause of Religion has given
occasion to; which I persuade my self I shall with so much the more ease
obtain from you, inasmuch as these things are (I question not) chiefly laid
to heart by your self, as they were by your worthy Ancestors before you.

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1 Ejected from Richard's Castle, Herefs.; C.R. Pastor of a congregation at Leominster.
2 His will was proved 28 July 1692 (C.R.).
There is a Bill on foot in yr House part of which (if I am not misinformed) your Honour contrived & framed, viz. the Bill for the preservation of the Protestant Religion, &c. which contains such things in it, as I conceive you desire not to have enacted, as being no way agreeable to what the Title bears, but of a contrary tendency. These 2 things are commonly said to be in it 1. That we Non-Conformists are to be denied the benefit of having our children educated by persons of our own principles & perswasion.

2. That no person in any office must be present at any of our meetings, on pain of being prosecuted as Popish Recusants. The first of those Heads will affect our sober & religious Gentry, many of whom, to prevent their children being tainted, both with respect to their principles & morals, have chosen rather to commit them to the private tuition of well qualified persons than to venture them in the Universities, & have found the good effect thereof. I might mention your worthy Father as an instance in this kind. But if this clause pass among the rest, they must be obliged for the future to take such measures as they would not, or want the means of having their Sons accomplished as they desire, in order to the fitting them for the better serving their Country. The effect of it, as to us, must be the entire ruine of accomplished any are among the severall denominations of dissenters in this nation, the less do they (usually) observe these methods. Those of the Quakers & Anabaptists afford instances enough in this kind, whose parties in time would gain considerable advantages from this branch of the Bill, should it pass into an Act. They deceive themselves that think the generality of those that go to meetings will ever be drawn to the Churches til they see them furnishd with such Teachers, as they can judge fit to commit the conduct of their souls to, and if they cannot hear men that are Scholars in the allowed congregations, they will run after them that are none, rather than sit under a notoriously debauched or corrupt minister, or one who in his preaching shoots over their heads, & is as a Barbarian to them. The Town I live in (whose minister is none of the worser sort neither) would I suppose ere this have been more than half Quakers and Anabaptists were here no other Dissenting Teacher but theirs.

The other Article may be supposed to be befriended by two sorts of men, as being adjusted to the promoting their several ends. The Jacobites would be glad to have it pass, in order to the disabling many from serving the Government that are fast friends to it. The famous Mr. Lesley1 in his Case of the Regale declares himself for it, & Mr. Bacon another Non-Jurant & accused of corresponding with the Enemies of the Govt pleads for it, in a Book styled Dutch Liberty. Those who are enemies to the Reformation of Manners would be glad likewise to see those quit the Magnificence of London & other places that have been among the forwardest to suppress Immorality & Prophaneness, the Increase whereof of late years has been matter of common observation & regret amongst all sober men of whatever denomination, & whose jeynt endeavours are no more than necessary for the giving check thereto. I question not but your wisdom has suggested to you such considerations as these, with others of equal weight to the determining you act those parts of the Bill. But I humbly crave leave to tell your Honour that there good men who are not strangers to your

1 Charles (1650-1722) D.N.B.
character promise themselves that you will, so far as the station you are in will admit, & according to the capacity it gives you, use your utmost endeavour to prevent those ill effects which can scarce be avoided, if these Heads be once enacted. I will not be so presumptuous as to take upon me to tell you what methods are fit to be taken in order to so good an end, whether the labouring to postpone the Bill, or moving to have some other things inserted which would not be likely by those that stickle for the Bill, tho' too popular for them handsomly to oppose. I suppose some of those Gentlemen that are for obliging all in office to forbear going to meetings would not be very forward to bring themselves under an obligation of going constantly to Church under the same forfeitures which they would have the others incur, or yet of relinquishing their debaucheries & Houses of Lewdness, tho' both of these would fall under the risk of the Act as well as the things they would have.

Sr, It has pleased God lately to remove my mother by Death1. The Lease of that we hold from you at Wigmore says there shall 40s be paid you as your Heir2 on the death of each Tenant in possession, to whom the land should be assigned by me. I am not so skilful as to know whether my Father or she be the person intended by this word Tenant, inasmuch as the same Assignment still remains to him by virtue of the Bond lodged in yor hands. I crave yor opinion herein, & directions where the money must be paid, if now payable. I shall be no farther troublesome to you at present, being sensible that I have trespassed too much upon yor time & occasions. I am

Sr
Yor most Humble Servt
RICH. BILLINGSLEY3.

Whitchurch
June 3d 1701.

References to RICHARD BAXTER

Letters of Ralph Stretell to Sir Edward Harley.

6 January 1671(-2) Upon Tuesday night I was with Mr. Baxter who safe & well receiv'd yor present of the 4 parcels & writ you the enclosed; his adversorie Mr. Bagshaw4 was buried upon Munday last . . . old Mrs. Baxter5 very well for her age presents her service to yor good Lady.

24 March 1673(-4). I receiv'd yor's for which I humbly thank you for God's gracious return of poore prayers in yor safe return unto yor family & findinge all well &c. Sr John Baber6 & Mr. Baxter (who is very weake) kindly thank you &c.

23 May 1674. Mr. Baxter hath beene very ill especially since yesterday was forinnit &c, hath been several days at Highgate, came thence this morning a foot much refreshed & dined at St Ja: Langham's7.

24 November 1674. Mr. Baxter is full of paine & very weake.

20 February 1674(-5). I was with Mr. Baxter this day, presents his service, remains very weake, but preaches constantly twice a weeke; no

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1 She was bur. at St. James, Bristol, 16 April, 1701. A Carmen Lugubre on her death is in Dr. Williams's Library.
2 i.e., heriot.
5 Baxter's stepmother: 'she lived to be 96 years old' (Rel. Baxt. I. 12).
6 Royal physician: D.N.B.
7 Sir John Langham befriended Thos. Burroughs (C.R.) and Sam. May (C.R.).
prosecution as yet of the orders of Council, only a repitition of them in a declaration... this day senit Dr. Twiss was buried at his own Chappell.

27 February 1674(-5). Friends are quiet yet here, though troublesome enough in other places, particularly Bristol where they have imprisoned 3 or 4 Mrs; a person serv'd a Warrant upon Mr. Baxter yesterday & brought him this day before Sr William Poltney a Justice of Peace in Westminster, but the fact being committed at Mr. Turner's in the City, hee would take no cognizance of it, & soe dismiss him; several Informers have been about here, but the magistrates give noe encouragement, wch makes them desist.

27 March 1675. Upon the receipt of yr last as touching yor Lodgings, I went to Mr. Baxter's & acquainted him wth yt affaire, unto wch he replied never a man in the world should be welcome to Lodge wth him then Sr Edw. Harley, & upon his discourse wth his wife they Concluded yt they had 2 good roome in the wch yor Neece my Lady fitch James daughter lies in at present, flyinge from the smale poxe of wch her sister is well recovered so yt she would return home before you came up or if you might know your worst neighbour &c., but Sr I mentioned terms, upon wch hee was not well pleased wth me, but because I know you, &c. I cann tell you what yor Neece payd, &c. I have studied a further Convenienc(e) for yr Lodgings there; honest Capt. Titus is yor neighbour &c. I have got a Collecon of prayers from Mr. Baxter, Mr. Borroughs, &c. for yor daughter; the good Lord issue her dis temper in much mercy, to God's glory, parents' Comfort & her own advantage.

Letters of Sir Edward Harley to his son, Robert Harley.

20 August 1680. Be sure that bodily exercise hinder not yr Endeavors after Godlines wch is profitable for all things. Use industrie to mend yr writing. Let mee know who yu hear on Lordsayes, and when Mr. Baxter; see him when yu can.

28 December 1680. I pray God sanctifie to you that visitation his holy fatherly Love and Wisdome continues upon you. Remembr what good Mr. Baxter (who stil inquires after you wth great affection) sayd to you that long diseases are to be specially improved to stablish and habituat the Heart in submission and dependance upon God to Live by Faith.

Edward Harley to his father Sir Edward Harley.

30 December 1691. (A long letter about his spiritual state.) I have not neglected to ask advise from some pious and judicious men, especially from Mr Baxter.

Robert Harley to his father Sir Edward Harley.

19 December 1691. My Brother got a cold at Mr. Baxter's funeral on Thursday.

1 Robt. Twiss, of Tothill Fields Chapel, Westminster: C.R.
4 Son of Sir Wm. Poltney, M.P. for Westminster; father of Wm. Poltney, 1st Earl of Bath (D.N.B.).
5 John Turner, ejected from Sunbury, Middlesex: C.R.
6 She and her three daughters gave 60 towards Baxter's New Meeting-house (Rel. Haxt. III. 172).
7 Silas Titus, a noted Presbyterian (Macaulay): D.N.B.
8 Probably Thos. Borroughs, ejected from Cottesbrook, Northamptonshire, whose will is as of London: C.R.
9 Baxter died Tuesday, 8 Dec. 1691.
Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, Miscellanea, no. 120.

"A List of all the Meeting Houses of Dissenters from the Church of England within the Cities of London and Westminster and Liberties thereof and Out-Parishes adjoyning".

(Endorsed by Robert Harley Earl of Oxford: "Nove. 15, 1723.")

A Meeting House at Lorimer's Hall. Presb.
The late Mr. Jacob's Meeting at Curriers Hall. Ind.
A Meeting at 'Turners' Hall in Philpot Lane. Presb.
A Quakers Meeting in Bull & Mouth Street.
Mr. Wright's Meeting. Presb. (Parish of St. Ann in Black-Friers.)
A Quakers Meeting in Lombard Street,
Mr. Robinson's Meeting. Presb. (Par. of St. Ethelburga.)
Mr. Grosvenor's Meeting in Crosby Square. Presb.
Mr. Reignolds' Meeting in Eastcheap.
Mr. Cummins' Meeting at Founders Hall. Presb.
Mr. Ridgeley's Meeting in Thames street near the 3 Cranes. Presb.
A Meeting at Haberdashers Hall. Presb.
A Meeting at Girdlers' Hall. Presb.
Mr. Clark's Meeting in Crooked Lane. Presb.
Mr. Noble's Meeting at Tallow Chandlers Hall. Presb.
Mr. Harris's Meeting in Crotchet Friers. Presb.
Mr. Brown's Meeting in the Old Jewry. Presb.
Mr. Wilcox's Meeting in Monkwell street. Presb.
The late Mr. Smith's Meeting in Silver street. Presb.
Mr. Hunt's Meeting at Pinners Hall. Presb.
A Meeting in Little Moorfields. Indep.
Mr. Newman's Meeting at Salters' Hall. Presb.
Mr. Atkin's Meeting in Bow Lane. Presb.
Mr. Brag's Meeting near Leadenhall Market.
Mr. Taylor's Meeting in Leather Lane. Indp.
Mr. Freke's Meeting in Bartholomew Close. Presb.
Mr. Nesbit's Meeting in Hair Court. Presb,
The late Mr. Pomfret's now Mr. Denham's Meeting in Gravel Lane, Houndsditch.

Mr. Key's Meeting in Devonshire square. Anabst.
A Quakers Meeting in Devonshire square.
Mr. Evan's Meeting in Hand Ally. Indt.
Mr. Bradbury's Meeting in Neville's Ally, Fetter Lane. Ind.
Mr. Park's Meeting. Presb. (Par. of St. George's in Southwark.)
A Quakers Meeting in the park. (Par. of St. George's in Southwark).
Mr. Burroughs' Meeting in Barbican. Presb.
An Anabaptists Meeting by London Wall near the Gate.
Mr. Kirby's Meeting in Glasshouse Yard. Anabst.
Mr. Asby's Meeting in Ropemakers Ally. Presb.
The late Mr. Gale's Meeting in Redcross street. Ind.
Mr. —— Meeting in Jewin street. Presb.
Mr. Molynaugh's Meeting in White's Ally. Anabst.
Mr. Gill's Meeting. Presb. (Par. of St. Olave in Southwark.)
Mr. Arnold's Meeting in Horsley Down. Presb.
Mr. Ingram's Meeting in Fair street. Anab.
Mr. Galloway's Meeting in Parish street. Presb.
A Quakers Meeting in Horsley Down.
Mr. Welling's Meeting in St. Olave's Court. Anabst.
A Meeting House in Salisbury Street. Presb.
Mr. Radcliff's Meeting in Salisbury Court. Presb.
Mr. Killinghall's Meeting in Deadman's Place.  Anabst.
Mr. Oldfield's Meeting.  Presb.
Mr. Bayes's Meeting.  Ind.  (Par. of St. Thomas in Southwark.)
Mr. Merriot's Meeting.  Presb.  (Christ Church in Surry.)
Mr. Dauke's Meeting.  Presb.  (Par. of St. Dunstan at Stepney.)
Mr. Reese's Meeting at Limehouse.  Anabst.
Mr. Mottershed's Meeting.  Presb.  (Par. of St. Dunstan, Stepney.)
The late Dr. Mead's Meeting.  Presb.  (Par. of St. Dunstan, Stepney.)
A Meeting in Virginia Street.  Presb.
Mr. Chapman's Meeting on Bednall Green.  Presb.
Mr. Hussey's Meeting in Spittle Fields.  Ind.
A Quakers Meeting in Spittle Fields.
Mr. Cotton's Meeting.  Presb.  (Par. of St. Giles's in the Fields.)
Mr. Harrison's Meeting in Wildstreet.  Presb.
A Quakers Meeting in St. John's Lane.
Another Quakers Meeting in Corporation Alley.
Mr. Jenning's Meeting.  Presb.  (Par. of St. John at Wapping.)
Mr. Bush's Meeting in Broadstreet.  Presb.
A Meeting in Nightingale Lane.  Presb.
A Quakers Meeting.  (Par. of St. John at Wapping.)
Mr. Smith's Meeting.  Presb.  (Par. of St. John at Hackney.)
Mr. Barker's Meeting in Mare Street.  Presb.
Mr. Davy's Meeting in Upper Moorfields.
A Meeting in Hoxton Square.  Presb.
Mr. Mathew's Meeting in King John's Court.  Presb.
Mr. Slaydon's Meeting at St. Saviour's Dock.  Ind.
Mr. Harris's Meeting in Mill Yard, Goodman's field.
A Meeting in Boar's head Yard in Petticoat Lane.  P.
Mr. Masters Meeting.  Presb.  (Par. of St. Mary at Rother hyth.)
A Quakers Meeting at Ratcliff.
An Anabaptists Meeting in the Artillery Ground, Spittle-fields.
Mr. Woods Meeting in New Court, late Daniel Burges.
Mr. Calamy's Meeting.  Presb.  (Par. of St. Margaret in Westmr.)
A Quakers Meeting.  (Par. of St. Margaret in Westmr.)
A Meeting in Hanover Street.  Presb.
Mr. Anderson's Meeting in Swallow Street.  P.
A Quakers Meeting in the Savoy.
Mr. Ingram's Meeting in Hart Street.  Presb.
An Anabaptists Meeting in the same street.
Woburn Abbey MSS.

[The following accounts of the generosity of William Russell, 5th Earl of Bedford, to Nonconformist ministers, are from among the MSS. at Woburn Abbey. Copies were originally sent to the Rev. A. G. Matthews, when he was at work upon Calamy Revised. It is by favour of his Grace the Duke of Bedford, and by the kindness of Mr. Matthews, that they appear here.—(GEFFREY F. NUTTALL.)]

[Extracts from the accounts of George Collop, Esq., Receiver General of the Revenues of William, 5th Earl of Bedford.]

[Account for one year ended 25 March, 1661.]

Gvifts and Rewards.

Octob.

20 To Mr. Manton1 to distribute to Poore Ministers ... ... £5

[Account for one year ended 25 March, 1664.]

Gifts and Rewards.

August

14 To Dr. Manton by way of Gratuety by his Lord's order ... £30

ffebur. 1 To Dr. Manton by his Lord's order to bestow Charitably £5

[Extract from the account of Randolph Bingley, Gent., Steward of the Household of William, fifth Earl of Bedford, from 24th March, 1688/9, to 24th March, 1689/90.]

[Extraordinary Payments].

To the Lord Wharton2 being his Lord's Gift towards Printing Welsh Bibles as by an acquit. of the 10th. of July 1689 ... ... Cs.

[From Ri: Baxter.]

Sir,

I received of Dr. Coxe3 as sent from ye E(arl) of Bedford 50 l. to give to poor Ministers. I intreat you to thanke my Lord for his Charitable liberality and to give him the true account of its distribution.

To Mr. Ri: Darley4 (lately fined &c.) ... ... ... ... 3

To Mr. Turner5 (long & dangerously sick) ... ... ... ... 3

To Mr. Parsons6 (long ill of ye stone in ye bladder) ... ... ... 3

To Mr. Wildbore7 ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 3

To Mr. Morris8 for 3 Welch ministers—

Stephan Hughes9, Sam: Jones10, David Jones11 ... ... 5

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1 Thos. Manton, ej. fr. St. Paul's, Covent Garden, London; D.N.B.; C.R.
2 Philip Wharton, 4th Lord Wharton: D.N.B.
5 John Turner, ej. fr. Sunbury, Middlesex: C.R.
6 Thos. Parsons, ej. fr. St. Michael's, Wood St., London: D.N.B.; as Parson; C.R.
7 John Wildbore, ej. fr. Fellowship of Clare Coll., Cambridge: C.R.
9 Ej. fr. Mydram, Caerm.: Calamy.
11 Ej. fr. Llandyssil (which ?) and 'generously assisted ... by the late Lord Wharton, and many other Persons of Quality': Calamy. (The David Jones ej. fr. Llanbadarn Fawr, Card., seems less likely.)
To Mr.フィヤエル  £2
To Mr. Shetle (imprisoned for debt)  £3
To Mr. Higs in Worcestershire  £2
To Mr. More in Worcestershire  £2
To Mr. Jarvis Bryan of (?) Bremicham  £3
To Mr. Eavens
To Mr. Joshua Barnet in Cheshire  £2
To Mr. Owen of Oswestry  £1
To Mr. Tailor of Wem (all in Shropshire)  £3
to Mr. Berry  £2

The rest Dr. Coxe desired to distribute of which he gave me this account.  £
To Mr. Knowles in prison  £2
To Mr. Bacon  £2
To Mr. Warre  £2
To Mr. Watson  £2
To Mr.フィヤエル (above named)  £1
To Mr. Jackson neere Brainford  £1
If any of this distribution be mislilk, I send this weeke to five poore Ministers in Yorkshire  £10
which shall stand instead of any of the rest.

My service to the Countesse of Bedford (I know none but her) I hope God supporteth her in her age & weakness; The Time is short & I (sic) whose bodyes are a continual burden to us, as we have speciall need of divine helpe, & the constant use of a lively faith of ye unseen world; so we have speciall helpe to be weary of this vaine world, & loose from the body, that we may with lesse unwillingnes come to Christ. Its our shame that we should have so much need to be driven out of our prison & that faith, hope & Love be not strong enough alone to draw us out. But we have a Saviour who knoweth & pityeth our frailty & himself maketh our excuse, that the spirit is willing but the flesh is weake. My humble service presented to my Lord & Lady, & though unknowne to the Lady Russell,

I rest Your feeble brother hasting homeward

RI: BAXTER.

[1684]

On Helping Our Successors

ONE of the disappointments of research is to discover the shortcomings of one's predecessors. Often the confidence with which one begins to handle their work is sadly shaken, and if personal knowledge has led too easily to that confidence the blow is all the more staggering. How many times does one handle a piece of work with the feeling that it has definitely said the last word, so that one ejaculates, "This job, at any rate, has been done once and for all".

A year or two ago an American, working on the history of Congregationalism, told me with what delight he had come across Waddington's five-volume Congregational History. This was to be for him henceforth a vade-mecum, the book of reference which would solve many of his problems. He was repeating, though he did not know it, the plaudits which, in the middle of the 19th century, greeted the work of an industrious worker in a comparatively unworked field. A day or two later, in the Dexter collection in the Sterling Library at Yale, I turned to Dexter's careful examination of one of Waddington's volumes. It pointed out glaring inaccuracies, and errors in detail on almost every page: it proved once for all that anyone relying on Waddington was sure, sooner or later, to be led astray. Not that Waddington did not render conspicuous service to the cause of historical learning. He did; he brought to light many hidden sources, and pointed the way to others. But he was not a scientific historian. He had no idea how to handle his documents: he did not refer to them accurately; sometimes he would paraphrase, sometimes he would quote, and sometimes by omission or suggestion he would lead them gently in the way he wished them to go. A Nonconformist Strype, he has Strype's virtues and Strype's failings.

But, it may be said, nous avons changé tout cela: the modern historian knows better: he handles his documents with care, nay with reverence and scrupulous accuracy. He shows no bias, he copies accurately and gives exact references, he makes neither omissions nor additions, and he can be trusted absolutely. Would it were so! But recent experience has shown how frail even modern historians be. During the last two years, in editing John Penry's
Notebook, I have had in almost daily use the works of William Pierce and Champlin Burrage, both of whom were known to me personally. Now no student of Elizabethan Nonconformity but is in great debt to these two scholars. Both gave many years to the elucidation of the period, and their labours were strenuous and fruitful. Pierce's *Historical Introduction to the Marprelate Tracts*, his edition of the Tracts, and his *John Penry* were notable contributions for a busy minister with no historical training. The edition of the Tracts will always stand, and if new discoveries may result in the suppression of some of the conclusions reached in the other two works, they will be made in virtue of Pierce's spade-work. Pierce's failings were those of training and temperament. He was a fierce partisan, and too easily allowed himself to accommodate the facts to his views—convictions, his friends would say, prejudices his enemies.

With Burrage the situation is different. He had taken a research degree, and with untiring energy had followed many a scent. His *Early English Dissenters* has proved of the greatest service to later scholars, and started many of them on researches of their own. So useful has it proved itself that sometimes those who have had no reason to go behind Burrage to the books and documents he quotes have come to place utter reliance upon him. Some of his weaknesses have, no doubt, long been obvious. So far from welcoming the assistance of fellow-students, and sharing the camaraderie of searchers after truth, he liked to play a lone hand: in the Bodleian it used to be amusing to see him place a piece of blotting-paper over the work he was doing as he observed one approach. His bias was in the desire to take a new line, a desire which led him in such directions as *John Penry, the So-called Martyr of Congregationalism*, where he maintained a view which has been supported by no other scholar (neutral scholars such as Prof. J. Dover Wilson, we mean, and not Congregational protagonists).

Here, however, the harm done was negligible, for Pierce (violently) and others could put Mr. Burrage in his place. It is rather in his handling of sources that he leads his successors astray; constant use of the *Early English Dissenters* has led us to the regrettable and unexpected conclusions that Burrage's copies of manuscripts must always be checked, and that he can never be trusted absolutely: in transcription he frequently uses dots without indicating what they mean; in practice we discover it is often to omit a difficult word or sentence. A telling illustration is seen in Pierce's copy of the *E.E.D.*, now before us. Pierce has worked over Burrage's transcript of B. M. Egerton MS. 2603.49 [*E.E.D.*, II. 93-1], correcting it from the original. There are understand-
able errors, such as "in the said tymes" for "ten thousand tymes", but Pierce replaces three dots by "proceedings", another three by "frendless", and another three by "straight", which in "From straight and close prison" should have been easy. In no instance does Burrage indicate that the dots represent an undeciphered word. Another example is the transcript of Penry’s Apology from a Bodleian MS., which I have compared with the copy in the Yelverton MSS. It would be unfair (with the Bodleian MS. inaccessible) to attribute to Burrage all the discrepancies between his text and the Yelverton MS., yet sad experience leads to the conclusion that in 14 lines to him is probably due "credence" for "coherence", "my" for "anie", "reason" for "risen", maybe "2" for "vii", though scarcely, we hope, "written" for "noted".

Pierce’s comments (John Penry, 412n) on his treatment of manuscripts are entirely justified, though characteristically Pierce gives the wrong page reference to Burrage and too wide a reference to Harl. MSS. 6848: speaking of the examinations of members of the congregation to which Penry belonged, he says:

These have been summarised in Burrage’s E.E.D. II. 19ff [sic, 31ff]. But these reprints are of no value to the student, who cannot be sure that the more interesting facts are not omitted, as sometimes they are. Important examinations are omitted altogether. In two cases only, the important fact is recorded that inquiry was made about the books of Barrowe, Greenwood and Penry. It would not be suspected that between forty and fifty of these examinations contain an inquiry about books. Even in the case of an examination of Penry, where the inquiry if he were acquainted with ‘Barrowe his booke’ is highly significant, Mr. Burrage omits this fact.

Personal experience therefore leads us to pray that all members of the Congregational Historical Society engaged in research will do their work so carefully and thoroughly that it will stand the test of time, and so make things easy for their successors.

Albert Peel.
A Letter from Philip Doddridge to Isaac Watts

Philip Doddridge needs no introduction to readers of these pages as an Eminent Congregationalist, but even they may not have realized, without some special study of the man, what an unusual, interesting and important character he was. He is probably the only minister whose very name is perpetuated in two churches in the town where he laboured (Doddridge, and Doddridge Memorial, Northampton). He superintended an influential Dissenting Academy, where he “broke away from university and academical tradition by substituting English for Latin as the language of the lecture-room” (McLachlan). He was largely instrumental in founding the first county infirmary, thereby setting an example copied by the Bishops of Worcester and Oxford in their respective cathedral cities. Many generations, down to our own day, have been brought up on his Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul, which has been translated into many languages, including Tamil and Syriac. Some of his hymns are among the best known in the English language, and in their warmth and enthusiasm (“Well may this glowing heart rejoice And tell its raptures all abroad”) well indicate his mediating position between the more radical type of Puritanism and the newer Methodism, to which he was by no means unfriendly. It was through him that Blair’s Grave, “the first and best of a whole series of mortuary poems” (Gosse), was accepted by a publisher; and he had a sufficient appreciation of Gothic to pronounce Salisbury Cathedral “fine”, Ely “very fine”, and King’s College, Cambridge, “charming”. He was persona grata with Heads of Houses at both universities, and included both scholars and representatives of the nobility among his numerous correspondents. The series of love letters printed by his great grandson would not disgrace any anthology of such literature. Alexander Gordon sums up his influence as “doing more than any man in the eighteenth century to obliterate old party lines, and to unite nonconformists on a common religious ground” (D.N.B.).

Doddridge’s Correspondence can be found in two collections, a single volume edited by Thomas Stedman in 1791, and five volumes by J. D. Humphreys in 1829-31; but with a letter-writer so indefatigable (he speaks of having 106 letters still to answer) it is only natural that much material was left to gather. The Daracott MSS. descending from his student, Risdon Daracott, were at the disposal of Charles Stanford, for his biography of Doddridge (1880). Gordon’s article in the D.N.B. draws attention to the Doddridge MSS. at New College, London, and to letters printed in the Monthly Repository, the Christian Reformer, and elsewhere. The list, both of MSS., and of published letters, could now be lengthened. An inclusive calendar of the letters of Doddridge would be a useful piece of work.

The following holograph to Isaac Watts, which appears not to have been printed before, was preserved by Watts’s secretary, Joseph Parker, and has been found in a family letter-book of Parker’s descendant, the Rev. Wilton E. Rix, by whose courtesy it is printed here. With it was enclosed a copy of the letter written to the church at Northampton by the elders and deacons, which is printed on pp. 20-22 of T. Coleman’s Independent Churches in Northamptonshire (the word printed common in its first sentence is concurrence in the MS.); its signatories are the four elders recently appointed, viz., John Evans, Job Orton, Sam. Hayworth, and John Brown,
and the six deacons, viz., George Mason, Henry Bunyan, Benj. Knott, Francis Butlin, Edw. Stevenson, and Henry Goode. The "Church Act" against bankruptcy copied by Doddridge in this letter is also printed by Coleman from the church book.

Revd & very Dear Sir

Northampton May 13. 1741

Mr Ortons writing to you a few Posts ago to acknowledge the Favour of your kind and generous Exhibition to him made me ye easier in ye little Delay of my Writing which a great Deal of Additional Business arising from what is peculiar in ye prest State of our Church has occasioned. Be pleased now Sir to accept my Thanks with his wh I also desired Mr Neal some Time since to present.

A Consciousness of a neglect in part of my Pastoral work occasioned by my frequent absence from home last Year & ye necessity of applying very close to my Academical Business when I was here engaged me quickly after my late Return to enter into Measures for a more regular Management of it for the future.

For this purpose having as I think I informed you some Time ago made Choice of four Elders one of wh had been a Clergyman & another had been pastor of a Baptist Congregation in Town, we established weekly Meetings in wh joining our six Deacons once a Month we held Councils for ye Care of the Church, & spent some Time at Prayer in each of them. In these we reviewed our Church-List considered who absented themselves from ye Lords Supper & who had given any offence. After this Survey the Elders & Deacons by my Direction wrote a Letter to ye Church ye Copy of wh I herewith send you in wh from several Scriptural Exhortations there recited & from a Consideration of ye Necessity of the Affair & its Importance for ye Honour of GOD & the Revival of Religion they press'd ye Church to take ye Cases of Absentees into proper Consideration wh at ye next Church Meeting it was determined to do & a Church Meeting extraordinary was then Appointed for that Purpose in which we found our selves obliged to cut off from our Communion no less than five persons three of them upon ye Account of Bankruptcy wh occasioned ye following Church Act of wh signed by me & ye Elders in ye Name & presence of the Church.

"It is ye unanimous Judgement of this Church that ye frequent acts of Bankruptcy wh have happened in Dissenting Congregations as well as elsewhere, have brought so great a Dishonour on Religion, & occasioned so much Mischief & Reproach that we are obliged in Duty to enter our publick protest and Caution on this Head. And we do hereby declare that if any person in Stated Communion with us shall become a Bankrupt or as it is commonly expressed fall in ye world, he must expect to be cut off from our Body, unless he do within two Months after his absconding give to ye Church by ye Elders either in word or writing such an Act of his Affairs as shall convince us that his Fall was owing not to his own Sin or Folly, but to ye Afflicting Hand of GOD upon him. In wh Case far from adding Affliction to ye Afflicted we hope that as GOD shall enable us we shall be ready to vindicate comfort & assist him as his Friends & Brethren in Christ"

Some of the Grievances referred to have been of some years standing, but thro' a faulty Negligence in part Chargeable on me have been put off from Time to Time which has made this a very melancholy Season but I hope GOD will own what we have done for two of our offending Brethren under Excommunication & two more under Admonition seem so much humbled that I believe they will publickly confess their Sin & declare their Repentance & as I verily believe that in all these proceedings we act accord-
A LETTER FROM PHILIP DODDRIDGE

ing to ye Laws of ye great Lord & Head of ye Church I greatly hope he will bless his own Ordinance & make it a means of glorifying his Name & reviving his work among us.

I have been going over my Congregation & taking an Account of ye Families & their respective Members. I have not yet quite finished ye Survey but according to ye Mcmorandums I have already taken I find about 308 Heads of Families, 360 young Persons & Children (including Infants) who may be called ye Children of ye Congregation & about 40 Servants that are not so & I suppose there may be about 100 Persons of Different Ranks & Ages not yet on my List. Our Church consists of about 240 about 180 have been admitted since my Coming and I have a List of above 70 hopeful Youths & other persons of a more advanced age in whom I have such satisfaction that I shall joyfully recommend them to ye Church whenever God shall incline them to offer themselves unto it.

I have on my List of Cat cachumens 92 Children most of them between ye ages of 6 & 12 whom ever since my Return from London at Christmas I have catechised once a week excepting Times when Preparation Days Assizes Fairs &c have prevented. All these Children (who have attended generally for such a Number wth surprizing Constancy) have learnt either your first or second Catechism or both & almost every one have learnt some & five parts out of six at least all ye prayers belonging to those Catechisms & some of them all ye Scriptures of ye Second & a few also to keep them full employed ye whole Book of your Songs for Children & two or three your Preservative. For their Encouragement & to avoid offence by invidious Distinctions I have given them all their Books intirely at my own Expence. I have within these few Days heard of a generous Design to give away some Books & other Rewards as an Encouragement for Children to learn & Ministers to teach these useful Systems. I hope therefore Sir the Case of Northampton will be taken into Consideration my own Labour I shall cheerfully give but if instead of ye Salary granted for this Work to poorer Places any thing could be granted towards putting poor Children to School I believe it wd in a little Time procure a Considerable Addition to our Numbers from ye Children of Church People & might be a Foundation for setting up Catechetical Lectures in Neighbouring Villages where my Pupils go to repeat & might be attended wth much good to ye Children & them. This therefore Sir is an Affair wh I hope you will please to take into Consideration & that if any Thing can be done to assist us in it you & ye other Gentlemen Trustees will shew as tender a regard to ye dear Lambs of my Flock as Convenience will admit, Children of ye finest parts & most serious Turn of Mind I keep my Eye upon & am in hopes, that some of my poor Boys whom I am at my own Charge supporting in their Grammar Learning will at length come out Ornaments & Supports to our publick Cause under ye Ministerial Character. Some of them are indeed Most delightful Children & such as God has seemed very Early to sanctify to himself by remarkable Influences of his Grace. I thought it proper Sir you should know these Circumstances but whether you can or cannot give me any Assistance in them otherwise than by prayer I shall do all I can to carry on this good & pleasant work in wh I evidently see that God owns me. And I bless God who has put this excellent Scheme into your Hearts by wh I hope & believe ye Dissenting Interest will in a very few years Time be greatly revived & Ministers as well as people much quickened. I have truly found it has had this Effect on me & never poured out my Soul before GOD with such earnestness for ye Rising Generation as since I have been once a week praying over them & talking with them on religious Subjects in their own way & many a Tear has I seen drop from their dear little Eyes while they

(Continued on page 217)
Kensington Chapel

In the year 1732 there was born in the parish of Cockburnspath in Berwickshire one of a group of four men who some sixty years later were instrumental in founding the church. Although born in Scotland, he came of English ancestry, his forbears having been Northumbrian yeomen from the neighbourhood of Hexham, who had moved into Scotland. Trained as a cabinet-maker, he found no sufficient scope for his ambition in the small community in which he was brought up; he felt the attraction which London has always exerted on the inhabitants of Scotland and, turning his back on his native land, he walked to London to seek his fortune. There he found employment with Burkhardt Tschudi, a Swiss harpsichord maker, whose daughter Barbara he subsequently married. He was taken into partnership by his father-in-law, and on the latter's retirement in 1769 succeeded him in his business, which has ever since borne his name of John Broadwood.

He is described as an amiable and cultivated man, a clear-headed man of business and very independent and energetic. In his early days in London he probably resided on the premises in Great Pulteney Street, where the business is still carried on. At all events we know that he was for many years a member of Wells Street Chapel, whose minister was the Rev. Archibald Hall, of the Original Secession Church of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. Later on when he was nearly 60 years of age he moved to 14 Kensington Gore, where, as he himself puts it, he found himself at a great distance from any place of worship agreeable to the dictates of his conscience.

Five years after the birth of John Broadwood another of the founders of the church—William Forsyth—saw the light of day at Old Meldrum in Aberdeenshire. He lived there until he was 26 years of age, but then the lure of London attracted him as well. He found employment in the Apothecaries' Garden at Chelsea, of which he became head in 1771. Thirteen years later he was appointed Superintendent of the Royal Gardens of St. James' and Kensington, with an official residence in Kensington. He had a considerable reputation as a gardener, his Treatise on the Culture and Management of Fruit Trees running into seven editions. He brought out a plaister to cause new growth in place of previously diseased wood; for this he received a vote of thanks in both Houses.
KENSINGTON

of Parliament as well as a pecuniary reward. His name is even better known than that of John Broadwood, though I doubt whether many of the inhabitants of Kensington who admire every spring the bright yellow blossoms of Forsythia Speciosa ever connect the name with William Forsyth, the Superintendent of the Royal Gardens from 1784 to 1804 and one of the first three deacons of Kensington Chapel.

Of James Mackintosh, the third of the little group, little is known, but we may guess from his name that he also came from north of the Border. We know that by his will he left a sum of £100 4 per cent Annuities to the Minister and Churchwardens of Kensington to apply the dividends every Christmas in the purchase of coals or bread or both for the relief of ten poor families in Kensington. The income of this fund, now amounting to £3 5s. 8d., is still distributed each year.

James Gray, the fourth of the small group and the only Englishman, was a nurseryman, who lived in Kensington Gore and cultivated an old established nursery of some 30 acres not far from the present site of the Albert Hall. His nursery was a famous one, and had been in existence for more than 150 years: Evelyn refers more than once to his visits there.

These four men were mainly instrumental in founding the church, but we must not forget Mr. Saunders. Most of the information we have about him comes from Faulkner's History of Kensington: "A Mr. Saunders, who had been body-coachman to King George II and also to his late Majesty, had been useful in forming this religious Society, which afterwards worshipped in Hornton Street Chapel and which had previously met in a very humble dwelling. To this good man the late King was much attached, and was accustomed to converse with him, in the most gracious manner on the subject of religion. On one occasion, having left some religious tracts in the coach, whether by accident, or design, is not now certain, the King was observed diligently to peruse them and shortly afterwards required Mr. Saunders to see that some more of a similar kind were put in the same place".

The first step in the formation of the church was taken on the 1st June, 1792, when Messrs. John Broadwood, James Mackintosh and James Gray entered into an agreement with Mr. Edmund Rogers of Warwick Street, Westminster, to acquire a site in Hornton Street measuring 109 feet in length by 40 feet in width on a lease for 99 years wanting 7 days at a ground rent of £7 7s. 0d. per annum. By the same agreement they covenanted to erect and completely cover in a chapel and vestry room by Michaelmas 1793, and to employ Mr. Edmund Rogers as their architect.
They also issued an appeal to others to join with them in this undertaking, and although the copy of the document which appears in the Church Records bears no date or signature it was probably issued about the same time. The appeal was in the following terms:

To the friends of Religious Liberty Sincere Christianity and of Benevolent dispositions etc.

We the undersigned of whom some have been educated in the principles of the Established Church of Scotland and others in that class of dissenters in England whose principles, opinions and faith, is the most generally consonant to, and founded on the Word of God, as revealed in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and of these essential doctrines of Christianity as professed by both the National Churches of England and Scotland;—Being therefore dissenters from the established Mode of Worship in this Country, and being situated at a great distance from any place of Worship agreeable to the dictates of our consciences, We, from pure motives of Religion and Piety alone, for conveniency to ourselves and familys, and to others who may be likeminded with us in matters of Religion, do propose under the favour and blessing of Divine Providence to erect and build a Temple for the Worship of Almighty God, in the Parish of Kensington and County of Midlesex.

We profess our religious opinions to be according to the rites and forms of Worship as well as of the doctrines and discipline agreed upon in the Confession of Faith by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster (so far as the circumstances of our situation will admit of), we wish to follow their soundness of Faith, Purity and Simplicity of Worship, as far as we can judge them founded on the Word of God and agreeable to the Standard of Truth contained in the Holy Scriptures, the alone unerring Guide of Faith and Manners;

We therefore invite the serious Christian, and the friends and lovers of Gospel Truths to join with us in this good Undertaking, to promote the Glory of God, the interests of true religion and the eternal happiness of ourselves and fellow Christians, having nothing in view but to forward the attainment of these great objects, we leave the briars and thorny fields of disputation and false philosophy, of factious politicks, and jarring interests of ambitious men "That we may lead quiet and peaceable lives in all Godliness and honesty" as commanded i Tim. 2, 1-2.

In March 1793 Messrs. Broadwood, Mackintosh, Gray, and Forsyth issued a further appeal to "the Friends of Christianity and
Religious Liberty'', asking for voluntary gifts and contributions towards the erection of the chapel, and on the 14th May 1793 they entered into a contract with Robert Sanderson, Carpenter, of Chelsea, to build the chapel for £927 15s. 0d.

On 13th Nov. 1793 Messrs. James Mackintosh, James Lake, Edward King, William Forsyth, and Matthew Stenson certified to the Bishop of London that a new building situate in Hornton Street, Phillimore Place, was intended to be set apart as a place of religious worship of Almighty God for Protestant Dissenters from the Church of England commonly called Presbyterians, and this certificate was registered in the Bishop's Registry on the following day. This was a necessary preliminary required by a provision in the Toleration Act of 1688 and not repealed until 1871.

Having thus erected a chapel, it is perhaps not surprising to learn that in seeking a minister the founders turned their eyes to Scotland. An invitation to preach to the congregation was sent to the Rev. James Hall, minister of Rose Street Chapel, Edinburgh, who belonged to the Burgher Synod of the Presbyterian Church. He accepted the invitation and applied to the Edinburgh Presbytery to appoint a substitute for him during his absence in London, which they did at their Session on the 12th November.

Vol. II of the Evangelical Magazine contains this account of the opening of the chapel:

On Friday, Dec. 6th, 1793 was opened a new Chapel at Kensington in the neighbourhood of London. The Service was conducted by the Rev. Mr. Stephens of Crown Court, Covent Garden; the Rev. Mr. Smith of Camberwell; the Rev. Dr. Hunter of London-Wall; and the Rev. Mr. Hall of Edinburgh.

As all the above gentlemen are Scotch divines, agreeable to their custom, many well-adapted portions of Scripture were read upon the occasion, and an able discourse was delivered by the Rev. Mr. Hall from Psalm xxiv, 7 ''Lift up your heads O ye gates, and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors, and the King of Glory shall come in''.

This Chapel is neatly fitted up; is situated in a genteel neighbourhood; and will accommodate about four hundred and fifty persons. We sincerely wish that it may never be destitute of a congregation of spiritual worshippers, and of a minister that shall feed them with knowledge and understanding.

The ministrations of the Rev. James Hall must have been acceptable to the congregation, for early in 1794 James Mackintosh, William Forsyth, and James Gray wrote to the Edinburgh
Burgher Presbytery praying that Mr. Hall's stay among them might be prolonged, that the people to whom he ministered might be erected into a Presbyterian congregation, and that they might have elders elected and ordained among them. At the same time Mr. Hall wrote to the Presbytery informing them that if the congregation at Kensington to whom he was presently ministering should be by them erected into a congregation and should be favoured with a succession of agreeable supplies they would in time naturally be led to elect one of "our preachers to be their Pastor and if they shall do so everything else will come in course".

These letters were considered by the Presbytery on 14th February, 1794; they decided to recall Mr. Hall at once from London and to appoint him to minister to his own congregation. They also informed their petitioners that they could not grant any part of their petition because they had not yet acceded "to our principles nor given any intimation of their intention to connect themselves with us and put themselves under our personal inspection".

At the same time that these letters were written to Edinburgh the founders of the church approached various Scots ministers in London for the purpose of obtaining financial assistance from their congregations, with the result that an appeal was issued on the 11th February 1794 signed by the following Ministers and Elders:

Hen. Hunter, etc., Minister of the Scots Church, London Wall.
William Smith, Camberwell.
Thos. Rutledge, Broad Street.
James Stevens, Minister of the Scots Church, Crown Ct., Covent Garden.
John Love, Minister of Crispin Street, Spitalfields.
John Trotter, Minister of the Scots Church in Swallow Street.
Pat. Clayson, Elder.
Jas. Jaque, Elder.
Geo. Theakston, Elder.
Robt. Winter, Hammersmith.

After a lapse of eight months a meeting of the trustees and subscribers, at which about 60 persons were present, was held on the 30th October, 1794; after a sermon by the Rev. Robert Winter and prayer, it was unanimously resolved to invite the Rev. John Neal Lake, A.M., of Walthamstow, to become the stated minister to the chapel.

On the 12th November 1794 Mr. Lake accepted the invitation, and on Thursday, April 9th 1795 he was set apart and admitted to
the pastoral office. He had commenced his ministry on March 1st, and on the 15th March it is recorded that he baptized Edward King, son of Edward and Mary King, the first child to be baptized in the chapel.

On 12th April 1795 the first Communion Service was held, 40 persons being present. The following account of this Service is preserved in the Church Records:

The Lord’s Supper was dispensed in the Chapel for the first time, this day by the Rev. Mr. Lake in the following manner—After preaching a suitable discourse from 1st Corinthians, 11, 26 and giving out a Psalm, he came from the pulpit to the Communion Table where a Linen Cloth and Elements had been previously laid; the great Pew as well as three or four of the adjoining Pews were filled with Communicants. After rehearsing the Institution with some useful remarks Mr. Lake prayed what has been called the "Consecration Prayer"; then with further address to the Communicants he distributed the Elements of Bread and Wine after which during the singing of a Hymn he returned to the Pulpit gave an exhortation to those who had received and concluded the whole with prayer, benediction and a collection as is usual on such occasions—Messrs. Forsyth and Mackintosh assisted the Minister in carrying about the Elements. Upon the whole it was a good day to many present, and it is hoped a day to be remembered.

The names of those present were recorded:

Rev. J. N. Lake, Pastor.

William Forsyth | James Mackintosh | Edward King | James Gray | Alexander Wilson | John Wilson | Roby Thomas Lake | John Forster | Thomas Chandler | James Skeen | Robert Imray | William Hockaday | Malcolm Macduffie | John Fowler | Mrs. Anderson | Miss Ann Roby Lake | Miss E. Dunsford (since Mrs. Hockaday)

Mrs. Sarah Forsyth | Mrs. Frances Mackintosh | Mrs. Mary King | Mrs. Smith | Mrs. Susanna Floyd Farquhar | Mrs. Christian Wilson | Mrs. Adelson | Mrs. Martha Forster | Mrs. Margaret Denham | Mrs. Thirsk | Mrs. Ann Hansard | Mrs. M. Darkin | Mrs. E. Macduffie | Mrs. Ann Howard | Mrs. Weston | Miss J. Toller
Occasional Communicants:

Mr. and Mrs. Lake (of High Street)  Mrs. Lake (of Phillimore Place)
Mrs. Beamish  Mr. Saunders
Dugald Cameron  Mr. Gray (of Richmond)

I do not think that there are any descendants of these 40 persons still connected with the church, but if there are any I shall be glad to hear from them. Probably the family of Mr. Thomas Williams, now a deacon, has been connected with the church longer than anyone else now attending. His grandparents, Mr. Joseph Hunt and Mrs. Elizabeth Hunt, were admitted members in 1826, and he believes that Mr. Joseph Hunt's father was connected with the church from its very early days. A Miss Fanny Hunt, who Mr. Williams thinks was his grandfather's aunt, was present at a church meeting held on the 23rd July, 1805 called to consider an invitation being sent to the Rev. Frederick Hamilton of Brighton.

At a meeting of the congregation held on 23rd April 1795 the first elders of the church were chosen—James Mackintosh, William Forsyth, and Edward King. The first two of these have already been mentioned; the last named was a grocer in the High Street and remained an elder, or deacon as he was more usually called, until 1806, when he resigned. In that year he started a Sunday School in Gore Lane, which on October 25th 1809 was adopted by the church. He held the position of superintendent for 10 years, when he was succeeded by his son-in-law Joseph Andrews, who was superintendent until 1834.

The records of the next few years are very scanty. From other sources we learn that in 1795 an attempt was made to make the trustees liable for parochial rates. This was resisted, and in 1796 the magistrates decided that a dissenting chapel was not rateable.

The church has always been very keenly interested in the work of the London Missionary Society, and the following extract from the records for 1798 shows a very early connection with the Society.

1798, May 7. Monday Evening.—The Monthly Prayer Meeting of the Society which was instituted in 1795 for sending Christian Missionaries to Otaheite, Africa and other distant places was held, by rotation, in Kensington Chapel this evening. This Society is composed of a number of serious persons, Ministers and others, of different Denominations, in England and Scotland, who besides their Monthly Prayer Meetings, have annual services in London.

The Prayer Meeting of the Society began at half-past 6
o'clock the Rev. Mr. Knight prayed, after singing a hymn—then the Rev. Mr. Humphries of Hammersmith prayed—The Rev. Dr. Haweis, Rector of Aldwinkle and Senior Minister at Spafields Chapel etc. preached from Isa. 51, 9 ‘‘Awake, awake, put on strength, O arm of the Lord.’’ The Rev. Mr. J. Lake, Minister of the Chapel, gave out the Missionary Hymns, which are sung upon these occasions, from the desk.

A considerable number of persons from neighbouring Congregations, as well as several Ministers attended; and the people in general, seemed much pleased with the services of the Evening and the occasion of their assembling together.

From 1798 no entries were made in the records until 21st January 1804 when ‘‘A brief recital of some of the principal transactions of the religious society assembling in the aforesaid Chapel since the month of May, 1801’’ was inserted.

From this we learn that the Church had been deprived of the ministerial labours of the Rev. J. N. Lake by his resignation, and had remained without a minister till the month of May 1801. From another source we are informed that the Rev. J. N. Lake quitted ‘‘The Dissenting interest for a curacy in the Established Church, where he sustained a respectable and useful character to the day of his death’’.

On the 28th May 1801 the trustees, church and subscribers of the chapel, numbering over a hundred persons, invited the Rev. John Clayton, then only 21 years of age, to be the minister of the church and on the 21st October 1801 he was ordained to the pastoral office. He held the pastorate for just three years, resigning at the end of 1804. The church was then again without a minister for some time, but on 2nd February 1807 they sent an invitation to John Leifchild, then a student at the Hoxton Academy, to become minister the following mid-summer. In his reply he stated that he could not accept any call until the midsummer of the following year. The church decided to wait, and on the 2nd June 1808 Mr. Leifchild was ordained, and began a ministry which lasted till 1824.

F. P. Winterbotham.
Mrs. Anthony Hickman's Recollections

HAS full use been made of Rose Hickman's recollections, hidden away in Adam Stark’s *History and Antiquities of Gainsborough*, 1817?

Rose, a daughter of Sir William Lock¹, married Anthony Hickman, a London merchant. In the 85th year of her age (about 1620) she wrote “Certaine old Stories” (we run out the superior abbreviations and modernize punctuation. ALBERT PEEL).

*Certaine old Stories, recorded by an aged gentlewoman, a time before her death, to be perused by her children and her posterity. Written by her, with her owne hand, in the 85th yeare of her age, and about the yeare of our Lord 1620.*

Of my father, in Hollinshed’s Chronicle, I find this story. In the 25th yeare of King Henry 8 being the yeere of our Lord 1534, at the sute of the ladye Katherine, dowager, a curse was sent from the pope, which cursed both the king and the realme. This curse was set up in the town of Dunkirk, in Flanders; for the bringer thereof durst no neerer approach, where it was taken down by Mr. Lock, of London, mercer.

Now I, his daughter, Rose Throckmorton, widow, late wife of Simon Throckmorton, Esq. and first the wife of Anthony Hickman, a merchant of London, reading this of my father, have thought good to leave to my children this addition to it, that for that act the King gave him £100 a yeere, and made him a gent. of his privy chamber, and he was the King’s mercer, and his majesty younhsafed to dine at his house. Moreover he was knighted, although he was never maior, but onely shereif of London, and so was never any Londoner before him.

I remember that I have heard my father say that when he was a yong merchant, and used to go beyond the see, Queene Ann Boloin, that was mother to our late Queene Elizabeth, caused him to get her the gospels and epistles, written in parchment in French, together with the psalms.

Of my mother. My mother, in the dayses of King Henry the 8th, came to some light of the gospel, by meane of some english books, sent privately to her by my father’s factors, from beyond sea; where-upon she used to call me with my 2 sisters into her chamber, to read to us out of the same good books, very privately, for fear of troble, because those good books were then accounted hereticall; and a merchant, named Paginter, who used to bring english bybles from beyond sea, was slaine with a gun as he went in the streete. Therefore my mother charged us to say nothing of her reading to us, for feare of troble.

¹D.N.B. (by Sidney Lee). This confirms some of Rose’s statements, and gives various references.
Then there was a plague in London, and my father and mother removed 7 miles off into the country, where she was delivered of a chylde, fell sick, and dyed. In time of her sickness, she fell asleep, and being awakened, she smiled, saying that she saw God the father, and Christ at his right hand, stretching forth his hands to receive her. And so dyed comfortably in the faith.

_How my husband and I spent our time in the rayne of Queene Mary._

As in token of my most bounden duty and thankfulness to the almighty, I do rise often in the day time, but especially in the night, as I lay waking in my bed, to meditate on his most merciful deliverances which he hath given to my good husband, Mr. Anthony Hickman, and me, in the days of Queene Marye, when the cruell papistes persecuted the people of God. So I, now being above 84 yeeres old, and looking continually when the Lord will call me forth of this lyfe, have thought good to set down the same in writing, and to leave it to my children, to move them to continue that thankfulness to almighty God which I, their old mother, cannot acknowledge too much nor too often to his glory and praise; and to stand fast in that faith and service of God unto which their father and mother du [sic] stand so firmly, and manifest such sacle and affections as in this little treatise appeareth.

My husband, before he did marry me, was found to be worth £1000 by his books of accompt, that were examined by my father's appointment, and he being a great dealer in the trade of merchant ventour, was in the same, joint partner with my eldest brother, and they together had some ships of their owne, and did make divers voyages into farre countries, some of which voyages were of such note and fame as they are spetially recorded by Mr. Richard Hakluit in his 2d. printed vol. of English voyages to the south and south-east parts of the world; and I do well remember one goodly ship they builted at their owne charges, which they nam'd the Mary-Rose, being the name of us, their wives, for my brother's wife's name was Mary, and mine Rose. This ship Queene Elizabeth alter'ds had, and went in Cales voyage. 1596. It pleased God to bless and prosper well their adventures, and though thereby their riches did increase, yet they did not set their harts upon them; they had learned not to trust in uncertaine riches, but in the living Lord, who giveth abundantly all things to bee enjoyed: for they were not unmindfull to use and employ their substance to the glory of God and good of his church, as they daily manifested by giving entertainment to Byshop Hooper, Mr. Foxe, Mr. Knox, and divers other godly preachers, of which some did alter'ds suffer martendment in Queene Marye's days, who, if they were living on earth, as undoubtedly they are in heaven, would not forget to declare what kind usage and bounty they have found at the hands of my good husband, for the gospell of Christ's sake.

When Queene Mary came to the crown, the idolatrous masse was set up with publique profession of popery throughout the realme, and cruell persecution of those good Christians that in a good conscience refused to yield themselves to that idolatry; at which time we did receive into our house in the cittie of London divers godly and well disposed Christians that were desirous to shelter themselves from the cruell persecution of these times. And we and they did table together in a chamber, keeping the doores close shut, for feare of the promotors: as we read in the gospell, the disciples of Christ did, for feare of the Iewes. And thus we kept our house in London, in the beginning of Queene Mary's days.
But then came forth a very strict proclamation, enjoiynig all to come to church and receive the sacrament after the popish fashion; after which proclamation we durst no longer keepe our house, but my husband used means to convey the preachers and other good Christians (that were in our house) beyond sea, giving them money to supply their wants. And one of those men was named Romiger, being then a proper young gent. that went to Loraine to studdy divinity, and afterwards became doctor of divinity, and died some few yeeres since, being one of the masters of the close of Lincoln. This man had £5 in gold of my husband at his going away, which, at his return, he thankfully repaid, and whilst he lived he was readie to acknowledge the kyndenes that he received from my husband.

Then my good husband was accused to the high commissioners, for the conveying away and releiving these good Christians, whom the high commissioners called the Queene's enemies, and for not conforming himself to popery, according to the Queene's Iniunctions; and for the same my husband and my brother (who was also accused with him) were committed to close prison in the fleete. And, during the time of their imprisonment, they could not be suffered to have any private conference together; neither could any other be suffered to have conference with either of them: but they were kept in several rooms in the prison, and were often severally examined; and when one of them was examined, the commissioners would endeavour to make him believe that the other had confessed as much as they would have drawn from him, and thereupon they would advise him to confess, as his brother had done before him; but, nevertheless, there was not much gotten forth, of their owne confession, by that means; although, indeed, there was a collection of xi marks a week, duellie collected and exhibited by my husband and brother, with some other well disposed merchants, to the relief of the distressed ministrie; about which my husband and brother were sore charged in their examination. And, at the same time, there was also in the fleete the jury that acquitted Sir Nich. Throckmorton, upon his arraignment of high treason, who, because they chose rather to discharge their consciences by fynding him not guilty than to please the commissioners and judges that sate upon his tryall by fynding him guiltie contrary to their conscencies, were committed to the fleete; but so as they had the libertie of the prison. And these Jurymen, being all merchants of London, had compassion upon the distress of my husband and brother: for these jurymen, having the libertie that was wanting to my husband and brother in the prison, would come under the chamber window where my brother was, and under the chamber window where my husband was, and talk aloud one to another, to the end that my husband and brother might heare them, what they heard touching any o. the matters for which my husband and brother were questioned, and so, by that means, gave them light of many things before their examination.

 Afterwards, by great means that was made for them, they were removed from the fleete to the house of the Marquesse of Winchester, who was then Lord Treasurer, but were also there kept in several rooms, as close prisoners, not being suffered to come together but by stealth; when the Marquese was at dinner, or gone abroad, then they procured to themselves libertie to come together by giving gratuities to the gentlemen that attended about the house. And, whilst they were thus detained prisoners, there came to the court the Lord of Barrowe, in the Low Countries, who became a great sutor for their inlarements, in regard of the want that his country had of their trading and mer-
chandize; and partelie by his meanes, and partelie by the Lord Tre-
asurer's favor (which we purchazed with chests of sugar and peeces 
of velvet, to the value of £200 or thereabouts) they were (after long im-
prisonment) set at liberty.

Afterwards my husband (to drive away the wicked dayes) went to 
Antwerpe, where he had a faire house, which he rented for £70 a yeere; 
and I, being with chyld, went into Oxfordshire, to a gentleman's house 
that was a Lodge and stoode farre off from any church or towne (the 
name whereof was Chilswell) and there I was delivered; and from 
thence I went to Ox ford, to the Byshops (who were then and there in 
prison, and did afterwards suffer martirdome there) to be advised by 
them whether I might suffer my chyld to be baptizd after the popish 
manner; who answered me that the sacrament of baptisme as it was 
used by the papists was the least corrupted, and therefore I might; but 
therewithall they said that I might have gone out of England before 
that time if I had done well: and so my chyld was there baptised by 
a popish priest: but, because I would avoide the popish stuff as much 
as I could, I did not put salt into the handkerchief that was to be 
delivered to the priest at the baptisme, but put sugar in it instead of 
salt.

Afterwards, I prepared to go to Antwerpe, to my husband's house 
there; and although my husband had two faire houses in England, the 
one in London, the other in Essex, at Rumford, both of them well 
urnished with household stuffe; yet I accompted all nothing in com-
parison to libertie of conscience for the profession of Christ. So I 
conveyed my household stuffe into certaine frends houses, carrying none 
with me but a large feather bed, which I layed in the bottom of the 
old hulk, wherein we went to Antwerpe. I may well call it an 
old hulk, for the master of it said that if it pleased God to speede us 
well in the voyage it should never go to sea againe. We were five days 
and nights uppon the seas, in stormy and tempestuous weather.

I might here tell that my brother, Tho. Lock (who was partner 
with my husband) would have none with us but that he could not get 
his wife's goodwill to go out of England. Whereupon I would say 
to her, 'Sister, you stay heere for covetousnesse and love of your hus-
band's lands and goods; but I feare the Lord's hands will be uppon you 
for it.' And, indeed, so it came to passe: for he, being constrained for 
feare of further trouble, to fashion himself outwardly to the popish 
religion in some sort, was soo greeved in mynd thereat that he died 
shortly after, with seven of his children.

The reason why we did thinke ourselves safer in Antwerpe than in 
England was not for any more liberty of the gospell given there, but 
because there were not parish churches, but only cathedrall; wherein, 
though the popish service was used, yet it could not be easily knowen 
who came to church, and who not. But there was a chappell for the 
English Merchants, and thereunto all of them were compellable to go 
upon solemn feast-days, to wait uppon their governor; and the night 
before that day my husband would lie mourning in his bed, and could 
not sleepe for greif to think that he was on the morrow to go with the 
governor to that idolatrous service. But the governor, though he was 
a papist, yet he was no persecutor nor cruel papist; for he was con-
tented to beare with my husband, so farre as he might without being 
scene to do it, and would say to him, that though he did bark yet he 
did not byte.
Whilst I was in Antwerpe I had another chylde, and had great care to keepe it from the baptisme of the papists; for, in hatred that the inhabitants there do beare to the anabaptists, the magistrate used to enter at midnight into houses where any children were suspected to be kept unbaptized, and if he found any such he used to put them in a sack and cast them into the water, and so drown them; from which cruelty to save my chylde I did as followeth, viz.—Whereas it is the custom there, to hang at the streete doore where a woman lyeth in, a little peece of lawne, it was so that our house opened into 2 streetes, therefore I hanged forth a peece of lawne upon either side or doore, to the end that the neighbours on either side might suppose that it went out at the other doore to be baptised. And so it pleased God that there was a secret congregation of protestants, unto which congregation, by the helpe of some godly weomen there, I procured my chylde to be secretly carried, and there to be baptised by a protestant minister, I not knowing godfather or godmother.

And thus I continued in Antwerpe till the death of Queen Mary, which was not a little joyful to me to heare of; for, during the time of her tyrannous rainge, I had often prayed earnestly to God to take either her or me forth of the world. In all which time I never was present at any of the popish masses, or any other of their idolatrous service, for all which blessings and deliverances, sent to me from my good God, I most humble beseeche his majestie that I and mine may never forget to be thankfull; not seeking our owne vaine glory thereby, but giving all praise and glory to his goodness, who so graciously preserved, blessed, and delivered me.

VISITATIONS IN THE DIOCESE OF LINCOLN, 1517-1531. Edited by A. HAMILTON THOMPSON. Vol. II. (Lincoln Record Society, Vol. 35. Hereford, 1944.)

This second volume of a work, whose first volume was mentioned in our issue of 1941, contains, as promised, Bishop Longland’s visitations of rural deaneries, and his and Bishop Atwater’s visitations of religious houses, in the diocese of Lincoln. A detailed record of the visitation of the Newark College at Leicester, whose history Professor Hamilton Thompson has described elsewhere, is relegated to the third volume. There is no separate introduction, and the appendixes deal largely with lists and matters of chronology. The spelling, punctuation and abbreviation of references is not always perfectly consistent, and in the usual admirable index of persons and places Joyce Bulkeley is entered (by assimilation to Joyce Byckeley below) in error for Katharine Bulkeley, the redoubtable Abbess of Godstow, who on different occasions sent Cromwell two Banbury cheeses, a dish of old apples and an assurance that there was “neither Pope. Purgatory, image nor pilgrimage, nor praying to dead saints used amongst us”. For the production of so careful a work, especially in war-time, both the editor and the Lincoln Record Society deserve the warmest thanks of all interested in the state of the Church in England, and in the careers of her priests, in these years immediately preceding the Reformation.

GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL.
REVIEWS

THE CHRISTIAN BASIS OF DEMOCRACY. By Albert Peel.
Independent Press. 4s. 6d.

It is meet, right, and our bounden duty to record in the official Transactions of our Society the extraneous transactions of our admirable editor. Dr. Peel has a growing list of published work to his credit, the latest item being the book here noticed. It consists of four pithy lectures delivered at University College, Bangor, and now happily available to a wider public. At the outset there are wise suggestions for further reading, to which may now be added Mr. C. K. Allen’s excellent work, Democracy and the Individual. I quote a sentence or two: ‘There has never been a time in the history of Christianity when the equality of souls was not a fundamental article of faith, though there have been many times when it must have been difficult to carry into practice. . . . Christianity itself, however, built upon the life of a carpenter’s Son, has always been the religion of the Common Man and the hope of the Depressed Classes caught in the toils of States. . . . The crusade against slavery . . . had become possible, because more than a century before, the Puritan congregations had marked the junction between Christian and political equalitarianism’.

Dr. Peel, as might be expected, after defining his terms and analysing the causes of the contemporary eclipse of both Christianity and democracy (which stand or fall together), develops and illustrates his thesis along the line of Independency in general and John Penry in particular. He thus whets our appetite for his forthcoming edition of Penry’s Notebook. It is a field in which he is particularly at home. But while doing full justice to what was preached and practised by the first Congregationalists and their successors and emulators—a tribute amplified by many testimonies from others not of our ‘Way’—he is insistent on the very much land yet to be possessed. It is for our generation to go beyond these pioneers of Christian democracy. In some respects we have already done so, e.g., in a better appreciation of Scripture, and a scope that is not limited to the elect and to the male sex. We still have to apply our principles (or, if you like, the Four Freedoms) to the whole of life, to mankind everywhere, and to economics as well as politics. Great tasks await the Christian, and ‘democracy, to be healthy, must’ (as Mr. Allen says) ‘offer not only rewards but tasks’.

It is refreshing to find at the head of each right-hand page an indication of the subject-matter of that page; while the synopsis on pp. 5f. affords a ready guide to the whole argument.

Alex J. Grieve.

THE EVERYDAY WORK OF THE WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY. By S. W. Carneuthers. Presbyterian Historical Society. 12s. 6d.

Not the least of the services rendered by our allies and kinmen of the United States in our present distresses is this very handsome volume jointly sponsored by the Presbyterian Historical Societies of America and England and produced in Philadelphia. It is, of course, most timely (1643—1943).
and the name of Dr. Carruthers is a guarantee of reliability. It is good to learn that he has in mind, if not in hand, a further volume which will reveal something of contemporary opinion, friendly and otherwise, on the work of the Assembly.

As the title of this book indicates, it is not a formal history of that remarkable Council and its undertaking; that was already in existence, as the bibliography bears witness. It is rather a series of "Studies" (which might have been a more exact title) of the varied concerns which engrossed the attention of the divines from time to time, though hardly "everyday", and so it is best taken piecemeal rather than to be read through without intermission. The normal task of the Assembly was continually interrupted by remits from the Parliament to which it owed its existence, and which maintained a close oversight of its proceedings. It would take too much space to enumerate the score of topics which Dr. Carruthers has collected and selected for our delectation.

The Independents do not attain to a separate chapter, but they crop up pretty frequently, as the excellent index proves. In his introduction Dr. Carruthers admits that they stung Lightfoot and Baillie into strong language. Few in number, though representing a larger constituency than the majority of the divines, they declined to efface themselves, and chose the alternative of obstruction. They were in a dilemma—needing toleration for themselves but denying it to the innumerable "fancy" sects of the extreme left; but they (particularly Nye and Goodwin) obstructed well and thoroughly, as many a passage in this book reveals.

I like the author's pawky comparison of the Assembly with any other consultative body, as having three elements—the businesslike, the loquacious, and the apathetic. And there is scarcely a page in the whole two hundred where one does not come upon something of interest. Apropos of the metrical psalms, or rather of the later allied paraphrases, I remember the late Dr. Wallace Williamson of St. Giles saying that nothing had done more for Scots piety than the 2nd and 54th ("O God of Bethel!" and "I'm not ashamed"), and the holy olee with which, as the next speaker, I pointed out that they were the work of Doddridge and Watts respectively.

Alex. J. Grieve.

East Anglian Congregationalists will have a special interest in the article on "The Norwich Chapelfield House Estate since 1545 and some of its Owners and Occupiers" in Vol. XXVII of the Proceedings of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society, by Mr. B. Cozen-Hardy, Hon. General Secretary of that Society and one of our own members. For nearly 250 years the estate, on part of which stands the modern Congregational church of Chapelfield-Chapel, was associated with the Hobart family, to whom John Collinges, the ejected minister, was chaplain from 1646 till his death in 1691. The article is based on the Blickling MSS.

Geoffrey F. Nuttall.
## Congregational Historical Society

*Accounts for the Year ending 31st December, 1943.*

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Transactions of the
Congregational Historical Society
Vol. XV. 1945-1948

Edited by Albert Peel, M.A., Litt.D., and Geoffrey F. Nuttall, M.A., D.D.

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EDITORIAL

THE Annual Meeting of the Society will be held in the Intermediate Room in Westminster Chapel, London, on Wednesday, 9th May, at 4 p.m. Last year the Meeting was squeezed out by the pressure of other gatherings: this year we hope there will be a large attendance of members both to transact the Society’s business and to hear the Secretary, the Rev. R. G. Martin, M.A., speak on ‘‘Selina, Countess of Huntingdon’’.

* * * * *

In Hugh N. Dixon the Society has lost one of its foundation and one of its most faithful members, and one whom we shall greatly miss. A Cambridge man who remembered much from his College days, Hugh Dixon remembered much too of the churches to which he had belonged: there is probably no living person who has the same fund of knowledge of Congregationalism in parts of Essex, Herts., and Northamptonshire. His complete set of the Transactions has found a home in Doddridge Church, Northampton, which he served as deacon so faithfully for many years.

Dixon had many interests. He was a Fellow of the Linnaean Society, and his book on British mosses was the standard work: from all over the world mosses were sent to him to identify and classify right to the end of his life. He had no mean gifts with the pen—prose, poetry, sketching. For many years he and his wife taught deaf and dumb children, and together they spent themselves in all good works. Northampton has lost a sterling citizen, and its Congregational churches their finest figure. He looked like C. F. Andrews, and he lived the same kind of life as ‘‘C.F.A.—Christ’s Faithful Apostle’’.

Many who read these words will have enjoyed the gracious hospitality of their home in Northampton, to which for over thirty years we have ourselves been a frequent visitor. Mrs. Dixon was one of the sweetest and best women it has been our lot to know: she was always associated in our minds with the wife of another of our members, Mr. H. F. Keep, of Carrs Lane. To the homes of both one could return time after time sure of an affectionate welcome. It was no surprise that both Mr. Keep and Mr. Dixon did not long survive their wives: in each case the partnership had been complete and wonderfully happy.
Ultimately the Society will benefit from a gift which Mr. Dixon’s executors have made to the present writer. Mr. Dixon was, it will be recalled, nephew of Dr. Henry Allon, of Union Chapel, Islington, Editor of the British Quarterly, and twice Chairman of the Congregational Union of England and Wales. In his possession was a magnificent collection of letters to Dr. Allon from contemporaries in the political, literary, and religious life of his day. Mr. Dixon placed this collection in our hands, and from it in 1929 we published a selection, Letters to a Victorian Editor. Subsequently Mr. Dixon was good enough to present us with sections of the collection on which we thought we might work further. These we accepted with some hesitation, for collections of this kind should be kept intact. Now Mr. Dixon’s executors have handed over the major part of the collection, so it is a unity again. They have, however, accepted the suggestion that the letter from David Livingstone, printed in Letters to a Victorian Editor, should be given to the Livingstone Memorial at Blantyre. Apart from that, the whole collection will, on the death of the present writer, and probably before, become the property of the Congregational Historical Society.

* * * * *

This raises a domestic problem for the Society. For long years the first Secretary and Editor of the Society was the Rev. T. G. Crippen, the Librarian of the Congregational Library, and the denomination and the Library have had no better servant. All the Society’s papers were kept in the Library, and it has never been possible to say which were the Society’s documents, which the Library’s, and which Mr. Crippen’s own. The Rev. Wm. Pierce, who followed Mr. Crippen as Secretary and Editor, found the problem beyond his solution, and the present Editor has never had the time to tackle it.

At the moment the Library and the Librarian’s room are in use as a L.C.C. Restaurant, and this has multiplied the confusion. Soon, however, the premises should be released, and the contents of the Librarian’s and Students’ Rooms available for examination—if there is anybody with the leisure to undertake the work. The Society needs a small Committee for the consideration of this and other matters, and we hope one will be appointed at the Annual Meeting. Such a Committee might be able to persuade the Memorial Hall Trustees to appoint a full-time Librarian competent to discharge the research and other functions of the office. There are several young Congregational scholars fully equipped for an office of this kind, who would probably be prepared to accept the post as an
aid to their own researches. We have always held that the Trustees should have kept intact the £8,530 handed over from the old Congregational Library to the new Memorial Hall and Library as an endowment for the maintenance of the Library. Maybe they will now make amends. The Library could become a real centre of light, learning, and leading were the money made available.

* * * * * *

We hoped in this issue to have been able to notice the Rev. Norman Goodall’s History of the London Missionary Society from 1895, which it was planned to issue as part of the commemoration of the 150th anniversary of the Society. It has been found impossible to issue the volume in time, but meanwhile summaries of the story of the Society’s work since its foundation have appeared in various forms.

* * * * * *

The Congregational Union of England and Wales has also become conscious of the need for a volume on World Congregationalism. It is indeed true that in this country we know little of the American story after 1630, and of the existence of Congregationalism in other parts of the world. The whole matter is just now under consideration.

* * * * * *

In 1930, thanks to the help of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, then Prime Minister, who made a contribution from the Royal Bounty Fund, the sum of £537 was raised for the use of the daughters of the Rev. T. G. Crippen. Only now has the sum been exhausted, and all who contributed can be assured that it has been of the greatest help.

* * * * * *

From an unexpected quarter—the South-West Essex Technical College—comes a fascinating little volume, Dr. D. C. Collins’s Handlist of News Pamphlets, 1590-1610 (10s. 6d.). Dr. Collins is a disciple of Dr. G. B. Harrison, and his book has the same kind of interest as Dr. Harrison’s volumes. To the Handlist of 271 extant news pamphlets he adds a list of news pamphlets and ballads entered in the Stationers’ Register for the two decades, but not now extant. The two decades are important not only in English history and literature, but in the ecclesiastical sphere, but no pamphlet tells of the execution of Barrow, Greenwood, and Penry, or of the Hampton Court Conference; indeed one dealing with the Arthington-Hacket conspiracy is the nearest we get to religion. We have, however, many about fires and floods, murders, monstrosities, and
witches, and half of them bring news from abroad. Dr. Collins has rendered students a most useful service, and even the general reader will find his summaries of the pamphlets full of interest.

* * * * *

There are still those to whom the name "Unitarian" is as a red rag to a bull, but abuse is no longer as violent as it was in the last century. And there is one way in which Unitarians set an example to all—and that is in devotion to their history. The Unitarian Historical Society is alert and alive, with Transactions ably edited by Miss Anne Holt, and students of Nonconformist history are in constant debt to Alexander Gordon, whose papers, by the way, we hope before long to examine. Dr. H. McLachlan has proved a worthy successor to Gordon, and his imposing list of publications well merits the Litt.D. degree conferred upon him by the University of Manchester.

* * * * *

Recently there has reached us from America—and what a delight to handle a book with good print on good paper with wide margins—an exceptionally useful piece of work on the Unitarians: Mr. Francis E. Mineka’s The Dissidence of Dissent (North Carolina & Oxford Presses, 24s.), an account of The Monthly Repository from 1806 to 1838, when it was under the editorship of Robert Aspland, W. J. Fox, R. H. Horne, and Leigh Hunt. A long section devoted to identification of the authorship of articles will be of constant use for reference, and not less so the chapter on Religious Periodicals from 1700 to 1825.

This volume revives two projects to which one day we hope to address—or readdress—ourselves: the first is a list of all Nonconformist religious journals, official Congregational, and those with which Congregationalists were associated, from the beginning of the 19th century; the second, the identification of articles in the British Quarterly Review, at least for the period when it was under Henry Allon’s editorship.

* * * * *

Underbank Chapel, Stannington, near Sheffield, whose history has just been written by Dr. F. T. Wood (Sheffield: Northend, 6s.), has had an evolution which it is interesting to trace. Originating in 1652 from a bequest for the maintenance of “a minister of religion”, it is found subsequently using the Book of Common Prayer; but in 1714 a further gift leaves no doubt of the views of the testator, or of the congregation, for on the death of the minister the trustees are to procure a minister dissenting from the Church of England, and the said rents and premises should never be given to any
minister of the Church of England so called, as by law now established [nor should the trustees] suffer any such minister that has been ordained by the imposition of the hands of a Diocesan Bishop that useth the liturgy of the Church of England . . . to receive the profits thereof.

The minister seems often to have been an Independent, but from 1785 the church has been definitely Unitarian, attempts in the first half of the 19th century to prove that this was a breach of a Trinitarian Trust failing.

* * * * *

The strife between Unitarians and Trinitarians, often very bitter until the passing of the Dissenters’ Chapels Act in 1844, is reflected in two timely articles about the Act in the last issue of the Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society (Oct., 1944). Another article, on “The Unitarian Tradition in Liberal Christianity”, tells of the Van Mission preacher who, challenged to give the names of two well-known Unitarians, replied, “Joseph Chamberlain and Jesus Christ”.

* * * * *

We are glad to report that, despite the claims of Civil Defence duties, the Rev. C. E. Surman continues to make progress with the Directory of Congregational Ministers. It is a task which might dismay the stoutest, but Mr. Surman holds on with immense perseverance and tenacity. Members of the Society should do everything in their power to lend him a hand.

* * * * *

With this issue begins Vol. XV. At the moment it is impossible to forecast when the next issue will appear: we hope that we may soon be able to revert to regular issues in April and September. Meanwhile members will desire to congratulate one of our editors, the Rev. Geoffrey F. Nuttall, on becoming a D.D. of the University of Oxford.

A. P.

* * * * *

We are glad to see the Home University Library volume on The Church of England (Oxford Press, 3s. 6d.) in a new edition, with an epilogue dealing with the years 1914-43 by the Bishop of Durham, but it is regrettable that the book should have been reprinted without revision. To say, for instance, of the Ejection of 1662 that “The truth cannot be stated as yet . . . But it is probable that the whole number . . . who resigned . . . was a good deal less than is commonly assumed” was permissible in 1914, but is not so
in 1944, ten years after the appearance of *Calamy Revised*. Canon Watson’s curious reference to the disabilities under which in 1749 “the Dissenters laboured by law, though not in practice” reappears, as does his comment on Nonconformists’ receiving communion in a parish church in order to qualify for civil office until the repeal of the Test Act in 1828: “There was no need for them to do so; it was a mere act of traditional kindliness”. It is impossible now to alter the attitude of mind which lay behind such phrases as (of the Act of Uniformity) “This severity was impolitic” and (of Baxter’s plans for conciliation) “We need not be sorry that the negotiations failed”; but it is surprising that the Bishop of Durham should be content to let this attitude stand as if representative of Anglicanism today. There is so much that is good in this little book that these observations may seem captious, but we hope that, if the companion volume on *Nonconformity* is re-issued, an opportunity for revision will be allowed.

* * * * *

In the *Baptist Quarterly* for Oct.-Dec., 1944 and Jan.-April, 1945, are articles by the late Dr. F. M. Harrison on “Repudiable ‘Bunyan’ Writings” and “The Portraiture of John Bunyan”, and a history of Chipping Norton Baptist Church by the Rev. F. H. Rollinson.

G. F. N.
Cavendish Church, Suffolk

The village of Cavendish lies on the Roman road (and on the railway) from Colchester to Cambridge, being about half-way between these towns. It is also in the valley of the Stour, which for most of its course is the boundary between Suffolk and Essex. Its position may be further defined as roughly midway between Sudbury and Haverhill, or more closely still, between Long Melford and Clare. Its fifteenth-century Parish Church, though not in the same class as those of Long Melford and Lavenham, holds a worthy place in the galaxy of East Anglian sanctuaries, and there are several quaint bits of domestic architecture as well as a village green. The population at present is about 600 (the rector tells me it drops by 100 at every census), and appears to consist in the main of over-seventies and under-twos. We have "our young men (and our maidens) at the war, our little ones (and our aged ones) at home". There is no other Free Church in the village.

This borderland between Essex and Suffolk is good Puritan soil. Sudbury has two Independent Churches (one of them going back to 1651), so has Haverhill—and both towns have daughters in New England; so too has Halstead over the Essex border. Long Melford dates from 1662, and has had some notable ministers, including Lyon Turner and J. G. Stevenson; Clare from 1687. Cavendish has its link with 1662 in that Daniel Sutton, who was ejected from Great Marlow in that year, was rector of Cavendish in 1645. But no licences were taken out in 1672, and there are no Independent or Presbyterian causes in the returns of 1715, 1725 or 1780. Clare church is Cavendish's mother. Any Congregationalists who lived in Cavendish made light of the three miles' walk in pre-railway life.

---

1 Who was the original Caf or Cafna who gave his name to the edic or enclosure is not known. More is known of the Cavendish family that derives from Sir John, the Chief Justice who was lynched at Bury St. Edmunds by a mob which resented his son's share in killing Wat Tyler in 1381. A hundred and fifty years later George Cavendish was the friend and biographer of Wolsey. Sir William Cavendish (?1505-57), enriched by monastery spoliation, was persuaded by his third wife, "Building Bess of Hardwick", to buy land in Derbyshire, and began the building of Chatsworth. His second son became the first earl of Devonshire (by a clerk's mistake for Derbyshire), whence in 1694 the famous dukedom. A nephew of the first Earl became Duke of Newcastle.
days. Amongst them was Joseph Stammers Garrett, a grain merchant, who was a member of the Chapel Committee at Clare, but having acquired a couple of cottages in the middle of his village, was the main instrument in replacing them by a chapel in 1840. The venture was so successful that the building was enlarged in 1843. The present structure was erected in 1858, and is as worthy a village Bethel as is to be found in at any rate a month's march.

Unfortunately the extant (or available) records of Clare shed no light on the beginnings at Cavendish, and, worse still, some unknown miscreant has removed from the first minute book of Cavendish the "historical account". So that our records date only from 1869. But it would seem that the church was formed in 1845 mainly by discharge of members from Clare and was under the pastoral oversight of the Clare minister, Samuel L. Harris (1840-51), until he left for Australia, and then under his successor, John Reynolds, from 1851 to 1855 or 6, when Stephen Harber, a Scripture Reader from Saffron Walden, became its first minister. Mr. Harber moved to Thurlow and Roydon in 1865 and lived till January, 1908 (obit. in Y.B. 1909): I wish I could call up his spirit to tell me something of those early years!

This record is something like an old-fashioned history of England in that it is based on kings (i.e., ministers), though I hope something of the Green or Trevelyan type may be visible. The second whole-time pastor was William Novelle, straight from the Nottingham Institute, who after two years (1866-68) moved on to Falkenham (1868-75), Oxford Road, Putney (1875-7), and Newport, Mon. (1879-82), after which he drops out of the Year Book and has no obituary notice. His successor at Cavendish was George Newbury (1868-73), with whom our minutes begin. He came from Sudbury ("out of charge"), but had been minister at Hampton (Middlesex). One or two extracts from his first Church Meeting, 31 Jan., 1869, are worth repeating. He began by reading the "Principles of Church Order and Discipline" from the 1833 Declaration of the then newly-formed Congregational Union of England and Wales, and expressed his desire for a faithful record of all

2 To add to the trouble there is no mention of Cavendish in the Evangelical or Congregational Magazine, which is curious, as Suffolk is generally well reported. I am indebted to Browne's Norfolk and Suffolk for a few particulars, and to our Research Student, Rev. C. E. Surman, who tells me that the Chapel appears in the first C.U. Year Book (1846) among a number of "Village Chapels", and so to 1857, when it appears in the county list as an independent church under S. Harber. In the 1858 Year Book it is noted in a list of "new chapels opened or old ones rebuilt" thanks to the help of the Chapel Building Society.
church affairs and an annual statement of church accounts. Prayer was offered by "the deacon", Mr. Sam Thompson. After two candidates for membership were proposed and "female" visitors appointed to interview them (though the pastor stated it had not been the custom in his former pastorates), the case of Rachel Brown was brought before the Church. She had formerly been a member but had married an unconverted husband; she had been cut off from Christian communion. It having been ascertained that her character and conduct, although debarred of the privilege, had been consistent, and that she had not in any way neglected the means of grace, it was unanimously resolved that she be restored to her former position as a member of the Church.

The meeting also resolved to send a letter inviting Mr. W. Wight (Superintendent of the Sunday School) and his wife to become members (an invitation which was affectionately declined). One item of great future significance was a request to the Church at Braintree for the transfer of Miss Henrietta Garrett (eldest daughter of many of Mr. J. S. Garrett), who was finishing her education there. This was the beginning of a membership that lasted 75 years and was as fruitful as it was long. She had known all the twelve ministers of the church and "sat under" nine of them. For 55 years she was organist, and for 26 treasurer. She gave the organ to the church, and also the Lecture Hall, which she had persuaded her father to build as a day and Sunday school. A woman of remarkable shrewdness and ability, she was equally prominent and serviceable in every village institution—coal club, penny bank, library, War Savings Association, and Nursing Association. When she died in 1944 we felt that an ancient landmark had been removed and that a princess had fallen in our Israel.

At the same meeting at which Miss Garrett was received, Samuel Thompson, the deacon, received a partner in the person of Henry Cook, another central figure for a generation. Mr. Cook was manager of a large horse-hair factory at Glemsford, a neighbouring village, and became secretary in 1872. He held that office till his death in 1908; a tablet in the church records his sterling worth and his devotion to the cause. His first recorded utterance in Church Meeting was on 30th May, 1869, when

Emma Parsonson, a member of the Church at Friars Street, Sudbury, having removed in the providence of God to Cavenish, expressed her desire to be transferred... in order to the enjoyment of full communion. (She was "lovingly" received in June.)
At the July meeting the minister and Mr. Cook reported on Miss Bowers:

She could not bring her mind at present to continue a member; her impression was that some of the members had "looked cool" upon her. (She later married a deacon, which may have led to a rise of temperature.)

In August Mr. Cook reported that "the Newmans" desired "to wait a little longer to see how the cause went on". "This", says the minute, "brought the affairs to a close respecting them in regard to membership with the Church".

In May, 1872, Saml. Thompson firmly resigned as deacon—"the Church was now in a position to choose officers better qualified than himself". He was probably one of the original members. So in March, 1873, there was an election of deacons, when George Green (recently transferred from Bishop's Stortford), Wm. Bird (brickmaker), and John Salmon (draper), were elected alongside Henry Cook. George Green also took over the treasurership from Mr. J. S. Garrett. It is noted here that the call to George Newbury had been signed by 17 members out of a roll of 22, and that 28 new members had since been received. The Sunday School was in a "promising hopeful condition".

Mr. Newbury, who had previously been ailing, now removed to Hastings, and on 12th November Deacon Cook presided and read a statement to the effect that G. N., being unable to obtain his annuity from the Pastors' Retiring Fund without another year's service, he was to continue nominally in charge, but a locum tenens was available in the person of Alfred Balfour, whose preaching had been appreciated. Mr. Balfour was a Cheshunt man then at Cotherstone, married but childless, "a man of education with a little property". The Church gladly assented to the arrangement and Mr. Balfour stayed just 12 months, when he left for Thetford. His last pastorate was at Silver Street, Trowbridge (1880-1). He died at Budleigh Salterton in 1892 aged 82 (Trans., II. 207, 216; Obit. Y.B., 1893). We have no record of any church meeting during his tenure.

In the spring of 1875 it was resolved to invite Matthew Joseph Totten, of Wortwell (Norfolk), "if £90 per ann. can be raised and the testimony of his church be satisfactory". He accepted in May and a happy recognition service was held in the Lecture Hall on 8th October. Here are a few items from 1876 and 1877:

March 29. Prayer themes for the Wednesday evening meetings: 1st week—Christian missions abroad and preaching at
CAVENDISH CHURCH, SUFFOLK

home; 2nd week—Sunday Schools; 3rd week—the unconverted; 4th week—the Christian Church; 5th week—prayer for all people.

April 26. E. W. had been visited. "Absence arose from a sense of shame on account of having fallen into sin". Name retained as she expressed contrition.

6 hymnbooks to be provided for visitors; 5 were given by members and 1 bought by the congregation.

Aug. 11. "That the duty of the church was to remove the name of E. W. from off the church book, because from her own confession she had fallen from a state of grace. Also that a letter expressive of sorrow for her state be written and sent to her".

Feb. 28. "The case of our brother T. M. was then brought forward and discussed. It was considered either that the Beer he had drunk was drugged or that he had something of a fit, and consequently that he be exonerated from the charge of drunkenness, but that he be requested never again to sit down and drink with ungodly men in a public house". (In June his name was removed, for he had said he was henceforth going to the Established Church.)

Aug. 1. Reported that Mrs. Jarvis had no one to lead her to chapel. Mrs. Golding offered to do so. (Mrs. J. resigned membership in Nov., 1878.)

During 1877 a society called 'The Christian Band', a kind of catechumen class, was formed. Meetings were held fortnightly after the Wednesday prayer meeting. Subject, "The characters and titles which Christ sustains in relation to His people", to be taken alphabetically beginning with "Christ as our Advocate".

In the summer of 1878 Mr. Totten was given 8 weeks' holiday to visit a relative in Canada. Two years later he went there for good, and held several pastorates in Canada and U.S.A. He died in July, 1900 (obit., American Y.B., 1901). His departure from Cavendish was not happy, as his letter of resignation shows:

... Taking all things into consideration I am glad to resign back into your hands the charge you committed to my trust some five years ago... on the conditions which you name, viz. Thirty pounds and the interest of the moneys now in the bank towards building a minister's house. I have nothing more to say only, Pray 'that the grace..."
In April, 1881, an invitation was given to Thos. Jas. Russell Pattenden, Bible Christian minister at Oakhill, Som., and accepted with pleasure because (a) it was unanimous, and (b) given by adherents as well as members. He suggested a monthly “social meeting”;

substituting an address for a formal discourse, Sankey (with or without organ accompaniment) and a prayer meeting, so as to make an interesting mission service of it.

He would be glad of help towards travelling (? removal) expenses. The church resolved to introduce the Congregational Hymn Book with Supplement, and to purchase a number of Sankeys for the special Sunday evening services; also to hold a cottage prayer meeting once a week in different parts of the village. As the L.M.S. offered a dozen copies of the Missionary Herald monthly free, Deacon Cook undertook to get 12 subscribers of ½d. each to defray postage.

In February, 1883, the question was put, “Will the Church pay the expenses of delegates to the Annual Meeting of the Suffolk Union?”, to which there was no response. In October the minister suggested the advisability of affiliation to the Congregational Union of England and Wales (decision deferred), and there was a request for the repetition of the Lord’s Prayer after the minister.

At the end of 1885 there were 46 members on the revised roll. In June, 1886, a proposed visit of Andrew Mearns on behalf of the Church Aid Society was turned down, and the minister wondered if he could continue his membership in the Suffolk Benevolent Society as the collection had not reached the necessary two guineas. Resolved to take another collection.

In March, 1888, there was a discussion on conditions of grant imposed by the Church Aid Society and the County Union, viz., “to hold a mission service in an adjoining village and to raise £80 in cash independently of the minister’s house”. Both conditions were deemed impracticable. In May, 1888, Joseph Day was recommended for admission to Regent’s Park College (Dr. Joseph Angus)—our only contribution to the ministry and he a Baptist. (Older members recall that Oliver Tomkins of New Guinea, a Norfolk man, lived in Cavendish for a time.)

Mr. Pattenden’s star was now on the decline. In October, 1890, he read part of a private letter from the deacons intimating that a majority of the church and congregation desired a change in the pastorate. He declined to believe it. Members present made no reply; the deacons said they had no idea the matter would thus be
made public. On 3rd December Mr. P. said he had no wish to remain against the wish of a majority. He had heard of two vacant churches from which he hoped to receive an invitation to supply, and at one of which he would be very willing to settle. Deacon Green explained why he and his colleagues had written privately. Early in 1891 Mr. Pattenden retired to Thaxted. He died in May, 1911, but had no obit. in Year Book. At the end of that year Benjamin Baxter (a Nottingham Institute man, apparently in charge of Stowmarket village churches) was invited and accepted on behalf of himself and his wife: "We are in receipt of your kind letter . . . that we should come and labour amongst you. . . . We accept your invitation".

Here ends our first Minute Book.

Mr. Baxter began early in 1892, and he was ordained on 5th July, C. H. Vine (Trinity, Sudbury), Ira Boseley (Friars Street, Sudbury), W. Courtnall (District Sec.), and A. A. Dowsett (Ipswich) officiating. Stowmarket Church sent a gift of £15. In the evening L. W. Caws of Stowmarket preached and gave the charge to the church.

Meanwhile on Good Friday Miss Garrett had laid the foundation stone of the new manse, which was soon completed. This lovely house and capacious garden have been the joy of all subsequent ministers and is a fitting complement to the little church.

To fill a vacancy in the diaconate caused by the death of Mr. Green, Wm. Barber, a farm bailiff who had come to Pentlow from Wickham brook in 1882, was chosen from a list of four.

In November, 1892, the church received a noteworthy accession in Miss Sarah Carveley by transfer from F. B. Meyer's church (Regent's Park Baptist). She made the Old Rectory (a charming old house with an exquisite garden) into a guest house, which became very popular and entertained many Free Church visitors, who helped to swell our chapel congregations. F. B. Meyer himself was a frequent sojourner, and several chapel fêtes were held in Miss Carveley's grounds. This lady bountiful lived to be 84 and died in September, 1923.

At this time, and I presume earlier, there appear to have been three services on Sunday (it was so in the "middle ages" at my old church in Romsey), for on 21st May, 1893, when the new rostrum (the work of Mr. Graham) was first used, Mr. Baxter preached morning and afternoon, and Hy. Cook in the evening. A contemporary minute refers to some disturbance of worship (by village youths and children sitting near the door), and a request to the
elder members near them to assist in maintaining order. Gipsy Smith was asked for a January (1894) mission, but in vain. There is no record of church meetings between January and December of that year, nor the whole of 1895.

In February, 1896, Deacon Barber resigned and Deacon Bird was persuaded not to. In September there was a debate on the afternoon service, which had been suspended for four months. Resolved: to return to it for 6 months, the Cong. Hymn Book to be used at all 3 services, with afternoon communion. Opinion was divided on responsive reading of psalms. Twelve months later a similar decision was reached, but Sankey was to be used in the evening. In March, 1898, afternoon service was suspended till further notice and Sankey relegated to one evening a month. In the autumn Mr. Baxter accepted a call to Brill (Bucks):

he thanked God for a goodly portion of His rich blessing. Though this portion may have been somewhat lessened by his many shortcomings yet he rejoiced that the Spirit of God had been found out (!) and that sinners had been saved.

He survived till May, 1929, but has no obit. in Year Book.

The ministry of Daniel Lloyd Jones, 1899-1915, was the longest in our story, and was perhaps our Golden Age. Trained at New College, he came to Cavendish from New Eltham. A bachelor until near the end of his stay with us, he made his home at the Old Rectory. He was a vigorous and picturesque character endowed with what is called the Celtic temperament and greatly beloved. His health was not good and he wanted to resign in 1904, in 1910, in 1912, and did resign in 1915. His only other charge was at Mayfield, Sussex (1920-3), but he lived on till February, 1938 (obit. in Y.B., 1939). He was followed by Thomas George Boyne from Lowestoft (1916-23) and Sydney Milledge, A.T.S., from Bath (1924-36), both of whom are still living. Their gracious and strengthening ministries are gratefully remembered.

To return to the early years of the century. The church had a hand in the rather abortive Twentieth Century Fund and adopted the Hymnal. No meeting is recorded between January and December, 1900. April, 1902, saw Miss Garrett’s gifts of the organ and the Lecture Hall; December the introduction of a localized magazine (120 copies). In 1903 (after the Balfour Education Act), the minister, with Miss Garrett and Messrs. Thompson and Pettitt, became foundation managers of the Day School—which ultimately was closed as the number of scholars fell below 30. There were 56 members present (a record) on 12th October, 1904 (the minister’s
first resignation), and in December the long deferred affiliation with the big Union was agreed to. In 1905 there was an amicable discussion on whether the minutes of the Church Committee should be communicated to the Church, and in 1906 another on the repetition of the Lord’s Prayer (a divided vote and no action). The same year witnessed the entire renovation of the interior of the chapel—new floor and ceiling and repairs to the roof. Estimated at £150, it is no wonder it cost £295; but it was all raised by January, 1907. Attendance at church meetings had now fallen to an average of 15.

In February, 1908, Henry Cook died, and Oliver John Thompson (nephew of the original deacon) was elected secretary, an office which he holds to this day. In April, James Blair (a Scot, manager of a silk mill at Glemsford), G. E. Graham (builder), Alex. Pettitt (Pentlow Mill), Herbert Taylor (district surveyor), and O. J. Thompson (saddler) were elected deacons, Wm. Bird being a life deacon. In April, 1910, a motion to discontinue Sankey at evening worship was heavily defeated, but in June it was resolved that the church would not provide the books. 1911 brought a pledge of £1 per member for the Central Fund; in 1909 there had been the L.M.S. million shillings appeal, and in 1910 Mr. Jones was offered six or even twelve months’ holiday in lieu of his (second) resignation. In November, 1912, he was relieved of Sunday duty for four months, having asked relief from either that or pastoral work in lieu of resignation. His stipend for 1913 was £80 plus manse rent £25. Just before the outbreak of the first war with Germany he was appointed the “authorized person” for marriage registration. In October of that year Mr. and Mrs. Hawker, who had retired from L.M.S. service in India and Samoa, were received; it was a loss when they removed to Sudbury in 1918. In April, 1915, Mr. Jones said good-bye on his removal to Hutton and Shenfield, and was the recipient of a purse (filled) and an umbrella (£1 10s.). During the “interregnum” Deacons Blair and Taylor resigned on removal, but the Rev. T. A. Boucher, formerly minister at Stansfield and then living in Cavendish, gave most useful service, and in 1916 an offer by T. G. Boyne, of Lowestoft, to take charge till the end of the war was gratefully accepted. He stayed till 1923; his Sunday evening addresses on subjects like The Pilgrim’s Progress and The Bible were much appreciated.

The rest of the story is soon told. Delegates to the Suffolk Union were to exercise their own judgment on the adoption or rejection of the moderatorial scheme. In July, 1924, the Rev. Sydney Mledge, who had just lost his wife, began his ministry. The second minute book ends in April, 1925, on the note that the church
couldn't do any more for the Forward Movement fund but would try to augment its contribution to the Suffolk Union.

In 1927 the organ was removed from the gallery to the area; in response to a circular asking minister and church to subscribe equally to the Union superannuation fund the answer was in the negative. "No action" was taken on the Prayer Book Revision Bill of 1928. The chapel deeds (or rather a new trust deed) were transferred to the Suffolk Union (all trustees having died); the Charity Commissioners sealed the transaction on 22nd February, 1929. Morning Sunday School was discontinued in February, 1930. At the end of 1931 the Manse and the old manse cottages were put in trust with the County Union. In 1932 electric light was installed in the church and vestry under the expert supervision of the minister. Apparently the old custom of appointing members to visit and report on candidates was dropped in 1933. There was no church meeting between 31st January and 18th September, 1935, but in the latter month the weekly Women's Bright Hour came into being and has continued to this day, albeit now a fortnightly affair. In the following spring Mr. Ellett Page, Mr. T. Page, and Mr. E. Underwood were elected deacons in the room of Mr. Graham (deceased), Mr. Pettitt (removed), and Miss Garrett (resigned).

In June, 1936, Mr. Milledge, whose health had not been good, especially in winter, retired to Devonshire, and with him his sister, who had not only been Treasurer since Miss Garrett resigned in 1934, but had sometimes conducted worship and been our delegate to the Union. Mr. Milledge had commended Mr. F. B. HALTRIDGE REEVE, a retired business man and a deacon at Harpenden, as a possible successor, and a call was given and accepted. Mr. Reeve served the church till the autumn of 1942. During his ministry, Mr. H. J. Hawes, of Pentlow Mill, became deacon and treasurer in 1937 (after a brief tenure of these offices by Mr. and Mrs. T. Page); internal decoration and external repairs were carried out.

In 1938 the hour of morning worship was decreed to 11, twelve new members were received, and three dozen Sankeys ordered. This was also the "George Savage Charity" year. G. S., one of our people, left some £12,000 for the poor of Cavendish, and as he made the ministers and deacons trustees it was (wishfully) thought that he had the chapel and its people especially in mind. In the end the minister and deacons asked the Charity Commissioners to draw up a scheme, which was sealed 13th December, 1938. It provided for 4 representatives (2 from County Council and 2 from Parish Council) and 3 co-optative trustees. Two of the latter have
since been the minister and the secretary. The Trust dispenses some £360 a year, mainly in monthly grants to "deserving" aged parishioners.

During the war years we underwent the usual experiences. Our young men and women gradually disappeared, our Lecture Hall was requisitioned by the military, and for a short time in 1940 a battalion of the Highland Light Infantry was quartered among us and worshipped with us. Fire and blitz precautions, the vexed question of afternoon or evening service, a gift of £5 for the distressed coastal churches, the Reconstruction Fund for which we ultimately raised £57—such are the themes that make up our story.

When Mr. Reeve felt the strain insupportable and retired to Ipswich, the Church took counsel with the Moderator, the upshot of which was the settlement of the present minister and writer on Easter Sunday, 1943.

Such is the story of a typical Suffolk village church. It may seem trivial, and of course the minutes are full of references to jumble sales, preachers for special services, weeks of prayer, lantern lectures, annual teas, Band of Hope, open-air services, how to cure the draught. The decline of the population is reflected in the fact that we sent 45 men to the first war, only 14 to the second. Our Sunday School is very small and we have few members under 40 years of age. We live by and on the land. But our quality cannot be surpassed and our hopes are the reflection of our memories and are based upon our faith and our love.

ALEX. J. GRIEVE.
Letters of Oliver Heywood
and
Life of Richard Heywood

The papers transcribed in the following pages appear here by the kindness of Miss Howard, of Bolton, a lineal descendant of Oliver Heywood, and are at present in her keeping. They consist of a collection of twenty-two holograph letters from Oliver Heywood and one from his widow to his nephew James Lomax, and a manuscript book in which has been copied an early nineteenth-century hand Oliver Heywood's life of his father, Richard Heywood, and a love-letter from Oliver Heywood to his first wife, Elizabeth Angier. The holograph letters are somewhat torn, but only one is in a fragmentary condition; and all but three bear dates, ranging from 1695 to 1702 (the widow's letter is dated 1703). The letters deal mostly with matters of business, rents, etc., interspersed with exhortations to piety of a conventional kind. Two letters are printed here in extenso, extracts from eight others are printed, and the dates of the remaining thirteen are given. These letters do not appear to have been available for use in R. Slate's Whole Works of Oliver Heywood, J. Hunter's Rise of the Old Dissent, exemplified in the Life of Oliver Heywood, or J. H. Turner's Diaries of Oliver Heywood; but they may be compared with the diaries for the years 1695-1702, and with other letters of these years published by Slate. A version of Heywood's life of his father appears in Slate, I. 579-586, but, in comparison with the MS. copy of the original in Miss Howard's possession, it appears incomplete and often bowdlerized, especially in reference to Richard Heywood's debts. The copyist's evident faithfulness here creates confidence in the authenticity of the love-letter copied by the same hand.

The genealogical table printed in Slate, I. 506-514 elucidates the identity and relationships of many of the persons mentioned in these letters. Their recipient, James Lomax, had married Esther, daughter of Oliver Heywood's brother John, and lived at Little Lever, Lancashire. William Whitehead, mentioned in Letter 1, had married Oliver Heywood's sister Esther, who died in October, 1695, the month before the letter was written. Letter 17 provides the exact date of his second wife's birth. For further information about Heywood, cf. A. Gordon, in Dict. Nat. Biog., s.v.
Letters of Oliver Heywood to James Lomax, 1695-1703. Usual address:
These for his loving Cozen James Lomax in Little Leavre, Lanc.

1. Dear Cozen  

Nov. 23, 95.

I received your large account of matters betwixt W. Whitehead and his sisters, and doe heartily thank you for your care about that concern, and am very well satisfied that my dear sisters soul is got safely to heaven, and that her body was so decently and honourably interred, I gave cozen Thos Worsnam 20th towards it, and shall give 50th more in due time, but I must doe it gradually as I can, and could wish I had the opportunity to send it now and then at several times I have given my dear sister 3th a year for about 9 yeares, and will doe somthing for her daughters, if I live, it may be as much as they demand of their brother, but you must say nothing of this, I am willing to do what I can able so it be discreetly managed, I desire all my Relations may be better for and by me both in temporalls and spirituals, but I cannot endure contention, W. W. mist it in 1 taking letters of administration, 2 mistrusting his sisters, 3 receding from agreement, 4 running to me to tell me storys, these and some other things were weakly done but I writ to him, and I hope the goods are delivered to his sisters before this, my dayly prayers are ascending to heaven, that all my kindred may be seriously religious, and may land safely in glory. Mine with my wives love to you, your wife with thanks for her token.

Your lo uncle  

Ol Heywood

2. June 11, 96.


... I send my manuscript by W. W. (because he lives in Bolton near the Carrier) you may read it, and give it Mr. Math Pinkerton at your leisure, had I had time I would have transcribed it because its defective both in ink and matter, but you may give him this inclosed, and let him use his liberty.

4. Loving Cozen  

Oct. 17, 96.

Mny two sons were over this week, and cannot come into Lanc this year, El goes shortly to London, John is not well, but wants his 4th from J. Crompton, pray tell Joshua to bring it shortly, he wants to pay his Rent at ponfret, and can get no money, and indeed we are all extreme scant, and know not which way to turn us, some of us, I beseech you to use your utmost endeavours to get up my rents, you know what's behind since May-day, and then, and send it me by cozen Tho Worsnam whom I expected before this, tell my tenants, if they spare all now, I will be kind to them next time, let me know what Mary Leaver doth with W. Rothwel about the house—I am in a great strait, Mr. Wyke and M. Pinkerton came purposly to sollicit me to come to Manchester, they must have no denyall, I am glad to beg time for consideration but know not how to leave my beloved people, to whom I have stuck 46 through storms and calmes. pray for me, as I doe dayly for you, that you and your may be good and doe good: get the MS. read and give it to Mr. Pinkerton as soon as you can, I told him of it, my love to Cozen Peter and all my relations and friends, This is all from Your loving uncle  

Ol Heywood


7. Sept. 18, 97.

... W. W. writes for my Book of Heart (as he calls it) I suppose he means Heart-treasure. I have none, and know not where they are to be
had, I met this week with my Heavenly-converse, the MS. I sent to M. Pinkerthen, printed, my poor labours increase, I am still very busy, I have taken no journeys this year as I was wont, to York, Nottinghamsh--Lanc—only one journey the other week to Ponfret, and was grievously tired, I question whether ever I shall see my native countrey again, tho I confesse I but age and unweldines; and of late a caugh and shortnes of breath. . . .


. . . give me an account of my Cozen Nath Heywood, and his wife and son, who lodged with us as they went to Scarborough Spaw. I expected them in there return, but I hear they went back another way, I shall be glad to hear he is better, Rich Leavre gave my son fare words, but I hear nothing of him for money, tell him from me, if he come not he shall hear from me another way, I am loath to use severity, but I will not be mockt Mich- rent will be here shortly, and I need mony at present. . . .


. . . I will doe any thing I can for Relations, but cannot come over to preach that sermon on 1 Cor. 15 19, but am taking some pains to write a discourse fair over upon that text, which I purpose to send you to be read by or amongst my very dear naturall Relations whom I love in the Lord, and doe dayly pray for you all, as I am able, my wind cuts sore, I travel very little, and am ready to think my time will not be long, I am the last of the old stock, and long to be with my choyce friends above, God grant you may have better hearts, doe god more service, see better days, than Your lo— uncle Ol Heywood.


. . . now when I am past the year of mans age, which was 70 in Moses time, I have outlived all my Relations but my father, and death is welcom, I am not now fit for travel, but must visit you with my pen, I hope you have had my MS, my soul longs for the conversion and salvation of all my Relations, its not civility, profession, prayers nor some sort of graces that will serve turn nor bring us off at the great day, Christ must plead for us, or we are undone god almighty blesse you, and make you a blessing, mine and my wives dear respects to you and my dear neece, ends this, from Your loving uncle Ol Heywood.

15. July 6, 700.

. . . I did resolve to write to you this day to give you intelligence how it is with my wife, I blesse god she is mending, but slowly, being ancient 69 on tuesday next and of a weak constitution, her feaver hang'd long on her, her stomack begins to come, and I hope strength, tho slowly. . . . I blesse god I am in tolerable health, onely very short-winded, yet keep close to my study and preaching, and god doth help me. . . .

18. Nov. 29, 1701.

. . . Ah cozen what prayres and teares have been pour out under that roof where you live, let there not be a falling or falling short its not enough to be religious before others, but in the sight of the alseeing god.
injoying god in a corner is the life of Religion, I have some few Books of
Christ's intercession which John Whitworth of Leeds printed I would send
you one if I knew how, much of my heart was in it, I am sure tis the life
of our prayers and dutys, I am worse and worse in my short-windednesse,
and yet have ease and can study and preach . . .
19. April 25, 1702.
21. (Date torn away).
22. (Date torn away).
Dear Cozen
I received your letter last saturday and [the] joyfull news of 1 your
wives recovery, 2 her great deliverance in child-bearing, 3 of another of my
name come into the old station, 4 of my Cozen N. Heywoods being better,
blessed, blessed be our covenant-keeping prayer-hearing god: O for hearts
affected with these mercys, but much more with the god of our mercys,
who must be our exceeding joy, psal 43 4—its fit we take delight in god,
who never failles, but Relations may and will fail: heart-thankfulnes and
life-fruitfulness are the life of gratitude? god fills and he emptys nothing
such an Enemy to us as sin, nothing will help so much as grace, grace will
assist grace received a Christians life is a life of dependance, the emptier we
feed ourselves the fuller we are, sense of weaknes is our best strength: keep
near to god and god will be near to you, be in secret with him and god will
appear openly for you . . .
23. (Fragment.) (Date torn off.)
Copy of letter written by Oliver Heywood to Elizabeth Angier (no date, but
1655 probably).
Endeared Sweetheart
For such a privileged title God's good providence, friends consent, and
my mutual love admits of. When I was last with you there fell into my
bosom such a spark of love that nothing will quench it but yourself. The
nature of this love is, I hope sincere; the measure of it great; and as far as
I know my own heart, it is right and genuine. The very bare probability
of success ravished my heart with joy, & made me wrest those words of
Elizabeth upon the sight of Mary, that these things are too good to prove
ture. But since the finger of God hath carried it on in a slow pace, thro'
dark and dubious interruptions, and hath set this matter in a full and legal
light, my heart was much affected with it, chiefly for the great regard I
have for a praying family, whose tears in God's bottle and prayers in God's
book are the best inheritance in the world to a surviving posterity. I have
already found the advantage of it which I would not change for all the
gold in the Indies; and I hope the Lord has given you in part your father's
spirit, and has made you all glorious within: he has beautified your body;
very pleasant are you to me. You are in my heart to live and die in wait-
ing on you. I extremely please myself in loving you, and I like my affec-
tions the better because they tell me they are only placed upon you: but
here I stop lest I should be suspected of flattery. It is indeed contrary to
my natural inclination, but more to my grave calling, as I am a minister of
the gospel to speak beyond the truth. I rather beg pardon for my pur-
pose plainness, but sweet Mrs. Betty, as I have given my heart to you,
you ought in return to give me yours, and you cannot in equity deny it me.
I have been very urgent at the throne of Grace, and that which is won by
prayer may be worn by praise: but I fear now I shall tire your patience and
beg leave to conclude, who am by a thousand links and chains of pure
affections
Your devoted servant till death
Oliver Heywood.
Life of Richard Heywood

by
OLIVER HEYWOOD

WRITTEN IN 1695

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE OF MY DEAR AND HONOURED FATHER, RICHARD HEYWOOD, OF LITTLE LEVER, IN BOLTON PARISH, LANCASHIRE

Richard Heywood, my dear father, was born, as I suppose (for the Register at Bolton was lost in the late war), about the year 1596. He was brought up in the ordinary way of weaving fustians, the great trade of that country, though his father was a carpenter. In process of time God sent a godly minister (marginal note: Mr. Hubburt\(^1\)) to Cockey Chapel, about a mile from his house, by whose preaching many were convinced and converted. It pleased the Lord to awaken the heart of this Richard Heywood when he was about 19 years of age, so that ever after that he associated himself with God’s people, promoted days of tasting and prayer, conference, and other Christian exercises. In my childhood I can remember many days of the nature; the apparitor\(^2\) searching them out, one was appointed in the entry to deaden the noise of such as were praying in the parlour.

He married Alice Critchlaw of Longworth in Bolton parish, in A.D. 1615, he being 19 years of age, and she 21. Mr. Alexander Horrocks\(^3\) preached the nuptial sermon. They had 9 children, John, Hannah, Mary, John, Esther, Oliver, Alice, Nathaniel, and Josiah. God, that intended to build them high, laid their foundation low, by taking from them their first born son, John, when he was about a year old, and afterwards bringing them into debt and danger by my father’s answering another man’s debt, so that he was often forced to skulk into holes and to flee. He removed (one year) from his house to the Walk-Mill\(^4\) at Water-side for secrecy but it was a sad afflicitive year, partly through poverty, partly through debt and danger, and partly through want of godly society. They fared barely, worked hard, and were often put to

\(^{1}\) cf. R. Halley, Lancashire: its Puritanism and Nonconformity (1872 edn.), 131.
\(^{2}\) apparitor: officer of court, civil or ecclesiastical (N.E.D.).
\(^{3}\) cf. R. Halley, index, s.v.
\(^{4}\) walk-mill: fulling-mill (N.E.D.).
their shifts: but God had mercy on them, made his father kind to them, and raised them up many other friends beyond expectation. At last (about the year wherein I was born) the Lord was pleased to extricate them out of troubles, and, my father being careful, began to make fustians (on his own account) which was then a gainful trade. By trading to London God graciously blessed him in matters of the world so that he grew to a considerable estate, and things succeeded comfortably far beyond expectation. It is very strange to consider how God increased him in the world, even whilst his family was increasing, so that he bought much land, gave 3 portions to his daughters, sunk coalpits, built houses, and maintained two sons in London, and two at the university. I must confess it is matter of great admiration to me to consider what an estate God gave my father, that he might accomplish works for the education of his children, and for training up my good brother and me at the university for doing God service in his Church, and, when he had done that work for which he gave it him, took it quite from him again.

His entanglements and troubles in the world returned again upon him in his old age after this manner. Whilst our dear mother was living, my father saw that the fustian trade failed, and he having a Walkmill in his hands, began to have an itching to be dealing in woolen-cloth, which was an employment wherein he had not been versed. So he came to Rochdale every monday, bought cloth, got it mill-drest, and sold it at London. He often told me he knew how he bought and how he sold, and was confident he got abundance of money; and yet he also saw it went faster than it came: he saw it, but could not tell how to help it. As for himself, he hath always been exceedingly sparing, provident, and forecasting enough for his calling; yet he was unawares cast into £1,200 debt, which I confess is the strangest thing imaginable, and hath been the wonder of many: but I shall give my conjectures upon sufficient grounds, from what I have observed, though at a distance and a stranger to his trading. 1. He went up to London and employed there a kinsman called Adam Crompton, whom, having no subsistence, my father to do him a kindness, employed as his factor. He traded for him many years, but spent wastefully of my father’s money, made bad debts, unprofitable bargains, neglected payments, yea, as hath been since found out, ordered Bills to be paid twice over and so, like a wicked steward, did willfully waste his master’s goods. 2. My eldest brother, John, after my mother’s death, kept house in the country and traded on my father’s account, his wife was very expensive in her housekeeping, and he was too kindhearted (as they call it) abroad; and my brother Josiah was too prodigal, and cost
my father a great deal known and unknown. Besides all this my brother John would needs build a stately barn of stone. 3. My father was grown ancient and not so capable of trading as formerly. He often forgot himself and his business, and thereby was injured, for not being able to follow it himself, others were employed who proved not so faithful as they should have been. 4. I look principally at the hand of God in it, which is to be principally owned in this affair, partly for probation and partly for punishment, and God is righteous in both. As Job said to his sons, I may say of my dear father and his family: It may be we have sinned and offended God in our hearts! Possibly my dear and honoured father sinned in changing his calling from a too eager pursuit of the world, in unfaithful dealing, in pleasing himself with hopes of riches, or imaginating a kind of contentment in worldly enjoyments. However this I observe in him and others, that when God sees persons have needful work for him with estates, he is pleased to lead them to them; but when men aim at the gratifying a covetous design, if God mean them good, he crosseth them therein.

My perplexing state for many years. His captivity hath run parallel with ministers. God commenced a suit against him in the year 1662, the same year in which ministers were turned out of their public employment by the act of uniformity, and there seems to be a proportion, though not in the causes yet in the nature of our sufferings, wherein my father hath two sons who have borne their share in this difficult concern. Men have prosecuted him, and they have also prosecuted us. We have been shut out of public employment in God’s house, and he hath been excluded the enjoyment of public ordinances. It hath fallen heavily upon our estates, and his substance hath been swept away. He hath been twice a prisoner, and so have many of us. He had fled from his house for fear of arrests, and we have many times been put to fear and to flight. He hath been loaded with reproaches (as is usual in his case) and we have been exceedingly filled with contempt, scorn, and slander, as the only seditious, factious, rebellious spirits in the land. His trouble hath taken him off from his calling and hath great influence upon many others, not only relations that have deeply shared with him, but his work-people also that depended on him; the same may be said of ministers, many have fallen by our fall, and many souls in danger of perishing by our being turned out of the Lord’s work. As we have run parallel in sufferings, so I hope in behaviour, using God’s appointed means for deliverance. He has had many days of fasting and prayer, wherein I have discerned some workings of humiliation, self-condemning confessions, a readiness to justify God,
and a willingness to part with all he hath to satisfy creditors. Indeed he hath parted with all he can part with, and God hath not been wanting in his gracious providences towards him as well as to us in our afflictions. I must confess it is matter of admiration to me to consider how strangely he hath been secured out of prison in many eminent dangers, and had a way of escape found out in many desperate cases beyond the power of man to help him, yet God hath brought him off. May 30, 1675 was the first time he appeared at Church or chapel in his neighbourhood for several years. In the greatest straights he met with he had a contented mind, his conscience did not upbraid him with unfaithful dealing, but he justified God, humbled his Soul for sin, and sought peace and reconciliation with God. His creditors had patience with him till he could dispose of his lands, he made cordial use of all diligent endeavours to extricate himself out of this labyrinth, and the matter was brought about to great satisfaction.

This good old man had various afflictions and difficulties to encounter, besides what befel him in his younger days, one of which was very peculiar, and scarcely admits a parallel. The case was this: A.D. 1647, or thereabouts, the Presbyterian government was established in Lancashire, every congregation had its eldership, several congregations had their classis, and these maintained intercourse by a provincial assembly for all the country, which was usually held at Preston, to which appeals were made, and they determined differences. At Bolton, where my father had joined in communion, there were two ministers, Mr. John Harpur, and Mr. Richard Goodwin, with whom were joined twelve elders chosen out of the parish. These sat with the ministers, carried them votes, enquired into the conversation of their neighbours, sat usually with the ministers when they examined communicants, and though the ministers only examined, yet the elders approved or disapproved. These together made an order, that every communicant as often as he was to partake of the Lord’s supper should come to some of the ruling elders of the friday before, and demand and receive a certain ticket, which he was to deliver in to the elders immediately before partaking that ordinance. This ticket was of lead with a stamp upon it, and design of it was, that they might know that none intruded themselves but such as were first admitted. The elders went through the congregation and took the tickets from the people, and they had to fetch them again by the next opportunity, which was every month. But this became the occasion of great dissent in the Congregation, for several conscientious christians stumbled at it

5 cf. R. Halley, index, s.vv.
and refused to come for Tickets, yet ventured to sit down, so that when the elders came they had no tickets to give in; whether these passed unnoticed I am not certain. My father was one of these ticketless persons, and because they judged him to be the ringleader of this faction of schismatics, they singled him out and summoned him to appear before the eldership. They required his reasons for non-compliance, which he then, and afterwards, gave in against that practice, such as the following:—1. Because there is neither precept nor example in scripture for any such practice, therefore it is not a divine institution but of human invention, and if allowed would cross the nonconformist principles, and re-establish popish and prelatical ceremonies. 2. No other church in Lancashire, London, or England have invented or used this rite, though they are as careful of order as this church; and innovations are dangerous. 3. Because it was cumbersome to the communicants, for the poor must leave their callings to attend the elders, and perhaps not find them at home. 4. It was an uncertain means to attain the end, as experience testified. 5. The practice might degenerate to worse consequences and greater inconveniences than could be foreseen. 6. It already did, and might hereafter, prove a snare to some persons, as if their getting a ticket was a sufficient qualification. 7. Other and more profitable means might be made to distinguish communicants, and time might be better spent both by ministers, elders, and people in endeavouring to prepare themselves and others for a due participation of the sacred ordinance.

These, and such like reasons he exhibited in writing to the presbytery at Bolton; but they did not satisfy them, and what they said did not satisfy him. They sent several times for him; he went, many disputes they had on this occasion, for they had nothing else to lay to his charge. At last they admonished him, and when they saw him still resolute that he would not revoke his error, they suspended him from the Lord's supper for contempt, as they construed it, because he could not in conscience comply. They said he laughed them to scorn; but he, having naturally a smiling countenance, might possibly smile in his discourses with them. His dear tender-spirited wife would have had him yield to them for peace sake, but he durst not in point of conscience. Others, though they approved of what he did and encouraged him, did not much appear, but held off out of policy or cowardice, so that he was left alone to struggle with them, which he did manfully. R.H. being in this great strait, shut out from the communion of God's people, knew not what to do. He first applied himself to God, appealing to him for the righteousness of his cause, confessing his sin, begging pardon, getting his heart nearer to God, and seeking counsel in this
arduous case. He consulted christian friends, and, at last, resolved to make his appeal to the classical presbytery of ministers and elders meeting at Bury. There the matter was debated a considerable time, and though the classis was dissatisfied with the eldership of Bolton, yet they were loth to censure them, only desired they would pass it by and admit him to the Lord’s supper again. But they trifled about it and did nothing so he made his appeal from the classical presbytery at Bury to the provincial assembly at Preston. When the business had been stated and debated there, they made an order that the congregational eldership at Bolton should revoke the sentence of suspension publickly, and admit him again into fellowship, exhorting both sides to mutual accommodation; and, as I remember, about this time the occasion of this contention was laid aside. When this order came to the ministers and elders at Bolton, they somewhat stickled at his restoration without submission. However, they were bound to obey the order of the provincial assembly, and at length framed a paper which was read in the Church, but gave some hints therein as though he had submitted, which he did not; so it was not all satisfactory, and I think he never joined with them in the Lord’s supper afterwards, but was entertained at Cockey chapel, a mile nearer him than Bolton, and at all other places about, and maintained private communion in days of fasting and prayer, in Bolton parish and elsewhere. This is a true and short account of that unhappy difference. Behold how great a flame a little spark may kindle! I wrote many papers for him in 1648, as replies to the eldership at Bolton, and some appeals which I have now forgotten. This controversy continued some years, occasioned many animosities amongst good people, and opened the mouths of haters of religion, that for such a trifling business so good a man was cast out. It divided the whole society into parties, and greatly affected the heart of his good wife, who was all for love and submission; but he insisted upon his integrity, and often alleged Job, 27.2.6. It was indeed a great affliction to his spirit, which he bore with invincible courage, and managed with great wisdom and sobriety. Few would have been found so capable of defending christian liberty at the same rate. Whether it was well done in them to impose, or in him to oppose, I leave; he and they are gone to appear before the impartial judge. It is very rare but in such controversy both sides may miss it in the manner of managing: I hope God hath pardoned, accepted, and saved the souls of the good.

It were endless to relate all the troubles R.H. went through, the remarkable deliverances he had in his 14 years of his troublesome captivity, from 1662 to 1676. But God put an end to his debts
and dangers several years before he died, so that he lived quietly and comfortably with his second wife, Margaret Breerton. He was a man of excellent natural parts, large capacity, tenacious memory, and of a plodding head, always contriving something. He built a paper-mill a little before he fell into debt the last time, which cost him £200 which he designed for his second wife; but it came to nought. He dug up ground in many places to get Coals; but never got anything by it. It was observed that as God prospered him exceedingly in the middle of his days, in every thing; so towards the latter part of his life God frustrated and crossed him in all that he undertook; doubtless it was to take him off the world, and to prepare him for Heaven. He was of a strong, vigorous, and healthful constitution, naturally very cheerful, and of an affable, sociable, and loving temper. About two years before he died, when he was 79 years of age, he look a journey to London as witness for one Richard Watts in a trial for £4 or £500. Most of his relations knew nothing of his journey till he sent a letter signifying he was well, and kindly entertained by his cousin Mr. Nath. Hilton, whom he had employed as a factor, and was grown very rich.

When my very dear and honoured father went to Cambridge with me at first, O what care did he express for my good! What prayers did he put up for me! What serious advice did he give me, viva voce, and after he had placed me in the best manner he could, by the advice of Dr. Hill⁶, when he left me gave me these (written) instructions. see a copy⁷.

He had not those strong religious affections as some christians, but was sober, solid, and well fixed in the principles and practices of religion; very judicious in his answers to questions at stated conferences, and in discourse with ministers and christian friends. Many days of prayer I have known him keep with God's people, yea, I remember a whole night in which he, Dr. Bradshaw⁸, and several excellent men, were engaged all night in prayer, on account of King Charles demanding the five members of the House of Commons. It was such a night as I was never present at in all my life; the case and work were extraordinary. Bolton parish considered R.H. as a man of some judgment, capacity, and interest, when in the year 1644, on the death of Mr Gregge⁹ vicar of Bolton, the parishioners sent him into the low countries with a message to

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⁶ Thomas Hill, Master of Trinity: cf. D.N.B., s.v.
⁷ This copy has not been transcribed in the MS, book.
⁸ Perhaps Peter Bradshaw (cf. Hunter, 98; Halley, 263); for a fuller account, cf. Hunter, 33.
Mr Robt. Park\textsuperscript{10}, formerly vicar of Bolton and then preached to the English congregation at Rotterdam. He went, visited Amsterdam and other places in Holland, dispatched his business effectually, and had a promise from Mr Park that he would come in convenient time. He came within a year and settled at Bolton, till ejected in 1662, and lived there till he died. At my father’s landing at Hull, he heard the astonishing tidings of Prince Rupert’s taking Bolton, killing man, woman, and child, as represented to him, when he came by Hessah-moor\textsuperscript{11}, after the battle there, he beheld a most lamentable spectacle of multitudes slain and plundered. The saddest object that ever his eyes beheld, which he often mentioned. When abroad his practise was to hear the best preachers. He travelled to London once or twice a year, and constantly heard old Mr Edmund Calamy\textsuperscript{12} at Aldermanbury, Mr Thos. Case, and such like. When at London, he furnished himself with the best books, the most plain, practical and experimental treatises in Divinity, such as Calvin, Luther, Perkins, Preston, and Sibbs, in which he took much pleasure in reading. When Prince Rupert’s forces took Bolton and ravaged all the country over, my sisters had the books conveyed away into a coal-pit house under piles of wood: but they found them, carried them away, and, it is said, burnt them on Cockey-moor.

R.H. had enjoyed a great measure of health most of his days, but when he was at any time ill, he was very ill and made account he must die. He had been at Liverpool the winter before his death on a special occasion. He had often said he would go to his two sons, and continue a month with each; but kept putting it off. His son Nathaniel came over to him at the time called Christmas, stayed a fortnight in the neighbourhood, and lodged several nights with him; he conversed familiarly with him, preached in his house on Lord’s day, and remained longer with him than he had done above twenty years, and was much affected with his company. About this time, he got several ministers to spend the Lord’s day in his house, in preaching and prayer. The Lord’s day before he died, Mr. Aspinal\textsuperscript{13} preached; he prayed and discoursed with him that day and the Monday morning, and had good satisfaction from him. Several months before his death he was much affected with the sense of God’s great goodness to him, and in his prayers was

\textsuperscript{10} cf. D.N.B.; Calamy Revised, ed. A. G. Matthews, s.v.
\textsuperscript{11} Halshaw-moor in Slate’s version; for the sack of Bolton, cf. Halley, 221 ff.
\textsuperscript{12} I.e., Edm. Calamy, for whom and Thos. Case, cf. D.N.B.; C.R., s.v.
\textsuperscript{13} probably William Aspinwall, for whom cf. D.N.B.; C.R., s.v.
greatly drawn out in thankfulness to God. He appointed several
days of solemn thanksgiving, at which he desired the help of
christian friends and neighbours, and was much enlarged on those
days. A good man told me, that the last day he was with him on
that occasion, he praised God with so much affection and so many
tears, as much affected his heart and others that joined with him.
He blessed God for his soul mercies, which were many and singular,
and for the late signal appearance of providence in extricating him
out of his entanglements, so that he could go in peace and safety.

I came to him, Feb. 22, 1676/7, and found my dear and
honoured father sick in bed. I was much surprised with fear, and
suspected, as it proved, that he was sick unto death. He had been
abroad on the monday, and thought he had got some cold. I
visited him on the thursday. He had a bad cough, and told me he
was extremely weak, and that however God would deal with him,
he was never in such a condition before, and was waiting God’s
pleasure. I asked him, how it was with him as to the state of his
soul? He cheerfully answered in these words: It is now threcscore
and two years since God shewed me my woful state by nature, and
helped me to lay hold on Christ; and though I have had many
failings in the course of my life, yet I hope I can say, I never took
my leave of Jesus Christ. These words, so sensibly spoken, did
greatly melt my heart. We had further discourse about soul con-
cerns. He complained he had frequently gone to private days of
fasting and prayer, but had carried a hard, stupid, and distracted
heart, notwithstanding fair pretences: that of late God had much
withdrawn himself from him in secret addresses, which much
troubled him: “in my family”, said he, “and with others, God
doeth in some measure assist me, but I find not his presence by my-
self as I desire; and I have been guilty of many sins, but I will
cleave to my Lord Jesus and lie at his feet, and let him do with me
as seemeth good”.

We discoursed also on some worldly things. He told me he
had lately been searching the writings of the house and land where-
in he lived, and found himself utterly mistaken, for he had made full
account it had been entailed upon the heirs male, and then it would
have descended to me, for his eldest son John was dead, and his
grandson Richard and his great grandson John Heywood were also
dead, so that there were no heirs male left: but there were two
daughters, Esther and Mary, both married. I told him I did not
see any reason why females might not heir land, and I was glad it
fell to them, but if it had fallen to me I should have given them the
worth of it. I put him into God's hands by prayer, and he slept much, yet in the morning I perceived his strength was much abated, and that his memory failed him, repeating often the same things. I told him I was obliged to leave him. God did more than ordinarily assist me in prayer, and in expounding part of Job 33. My sisters, Esther and Alice, and several other friends and relations were present. There was a solemn parting and a flood of tears. Seldom hath my heart been in such a frame, reflecting on his more than ordinary care of me and prayers for me, when I could not or did not pray for myself. With much ado I parted from him about 2 (or 3) o'clock in the afternoon, Feb. 23. Lodged at Rochdale that night, preached at home on Lord's day, at Warley on Tuesday, at Idle on Wednesday, and, immediately after my return home on Thursday night, a messenger came to acquaint me with his death that morning, March 1, 1676/7. On Friday I went back with the messenger. They told me how he died, just as he had foretold, for he had often said, he thought he should die without much sickness or pain, as it proved. He slept quietly most of the night before, and about break of day called for something to wet his mouth, which while his wife was fetching, he opened his mouth twice as if yawning, and breathed his last, without noise, groan, or the least struggling. On Saturday, his funeral was solemnized at Bolton, according to the decent custom of the country. His son Nathaniel met us there from Ormskirk. Mr Tilsley14, who kept his station at Dean church, preached the funeral sermon in Bolton church, from 2 Tim. 1. 12, "I know in whom", &c. These words, a dear sister of mine observed, our good father had frequently repeated, and recommended them to him as the subject of his discourse. Mr Tilsley very cheerfully complied, and resolved to give us his trouble out of dear respect, as he said, to the good old man that was gone, and to us his sons. The day after, being Lord's day, I preached at Cockey chaped on Rev. 10. 6, "There shall be time no longer". O that it would please God to bring in some soul of our relations to fill up this vacancy, to do our dear Lord some acceptable service!

R.H. passed through a variety of conditions and dispensations with such equanimity of spirit as I have seldom known, not being lifted up in prosperity beyond what was meet, nor too much cast down in adversity. He bore all his troubles with an invincible courage, for God wonderfully upheld him, and I doubt not sanctified his troubles for the bettering of his heart; he had a good report of all men and of the truth itself. He lies buried in the middle of

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14 For John Tilsley, cf. D.N.B.; C.R., s.v.
Bolton churchyard, with a handsome gravestone laid on him, having a Woolpack graven on it, and this inscription:

Here lyeth the Body of
RICHARD HEYWOOD,
of Little Lever,
Who had followed the Lord 64 years\(^\text{15}\) fell asleep March 1, 1677, in the 81 Year of his Age.
There the weary be at rest.

Reviews

THE NOTEBOOK OF JOHN PENRY. Edited by ALBERT PEEL for the Royal Historical Society.

The Attorney-General at the time of Penry's trial in 1593 was Thos. Egerton, 1st Baron Ellesmere. The Ellesmere MSS. were purchased by the Huntington Library, San Marino, California. There our indefatigable Editor found, amongst other germane material, this little book which Penry himself said he had "written these two or three years past" partly in Scotland, partly in England. It was on extracts from it that the indictment against him was drawn up. Dr. Peel was enabled to secure a photostat of it.

Then the task of deciphering it began. It may fairly be said of the Notebook that it resembles the description of the earth given in Gen. 12 tohu wabohu, which has been happily rendered 'higgledy piggledy'. All sorts of subjects in utter disorder—notes on passages of Scripture and on theology, the true church and ministry, personal entries and letters, defence of the Separatists, charges against prelates, logical definitions, and petitions galore to Burghley, Essex and the Council. Three different hands often far from legible; sentences in Welsh and a Welsh word in Greek letters; inconsistent spelling. With meticulous care, indomitable perseverance, and his usual mastery Dr. Peel has interpreted and arranged these chaotic jottings and given us an ordered presentation of a truly human document. Some idea of his labours may be gathered from the photostat leaves inserted between pages 52 and 53.

One may find the petitions somewhat wearisome by reason of repetition and may marvel (albeit with admiration) at the writer's outspokenness—both to the Council, the Queen, and his own children, but out of it all and especially from the more personal items emerges the true martyr stuff and a figure as winsome as he was undaunted.

Our debt to Dr. Peel is much enhanced by his Introduction, where a succinct life of Penry (by correction of former inaccuracies and the use of newly discovered data) gives us the best biography we possess, and handles anew the hoary and baffling enigma of the Marprelate Tracts. I could wish for definite evidence that Penry himself did some evangelistic work in his native land, and I have wondered whether Presbyterian records in Scotland have been dredged for references to him.

The Royal Historical Society has honoured itself and our society in producing this book, and we are grateful to it and to its resurrectionist. It is a happy prelude to the long awaited corpus of our Congregational Fathers.

ALEX. J. GRIEVE.

\(^{15}\) Slate adds here: "in Christian Profession and Practice, through various Conditions, At last".
The Bedford Missionary Training College and its connection with the London Missionary Society

The Bedford Missionary Training College belongs to the later period of the Nonconformist Academies, which had a widespread and revolutionary influence on the course of English education. In the days when Nonconformists were not admitted to the Universities, those who realized the value of education were forced to set up their own independent institutions. These took the form both of grammar schools and of training colleges, especially for the training of the ministry and those going out to the mission field. The Academy at Newport Pagnell under the famous William Bull, friend of the poet Cowper, was one of the latter, and Samuel Gieathed, who was on the staff of the Academy and afterwards became pastor of the Independent chapel at Woburn, Beds., was one of the original founders of the London Missionary Society.

At the beginning the founders of the Society were not all equally concerned about the importance of preliminary training for those going out to the mission field. But the disastrous experiences of the earliest missionaries proved the need for it conclusively. As the result of a decision of the Society to support an educational institution for the training of missionaries, David Bogue set up his Academy at Gosport in 1800. At that time there were still some who, to quote the words of Dr. Bennett, sincerely thought that "the best education for missionaries was none at all"; but thenceforward some form of missionary training became the settled policy of the Society, and many of the ablest of the early missionaries in the Society's service were trained under Dr. Bogue at the Gosport Academy.

In later days the Society appears to have followed various methods, at times supporting institutions of its own, but gradually tending to use the educational facilities of the best theological colleges available. The college at Bedford appears to have occupied a position midway between these two categories—that is, it would seem to have been a private venture having as its main purpose the supplying of the needs of the training of ministers and missionaries in the period immediately preceding the establishment of the recognized theological colleges.

The Bedford College was established in 1840 by Rev. John Jukes, minister of Bunyan Meeting, and Rev. William Alliott,
of Howard Congregational Church, who carried on the work as a joint enterprise for some twenty-five years in the Howard Manse in St. Peter’s Street. Unfortunately there are no records available of the history of this interesting educational venture beyond certain lists of names of men who were trained at the college. It appears from a list which was supplied by Rev. Thomas Bryson to Rev. V. A. Barradale in 1925 that there were some hundred names in all, of whom between fifty and sixty subsequently went out to the mission field. Amongst them are the names of men who rendered distinguished service to the Society, such as Alfred Corbold, Griffith John, Samuel Macfarlane, W. G. Lawes and his brother F. E. Lawes, W. E. Cousins, James Sadler, Thomas Bryson and Evan Bryant.

John Jukes was minister of Bunyan Meeting from 1840 to 1866, and William Alliott was at Howard Church from 1832 to 1867. The earliest names on the list appear to have been trained for the home ministry, the first missionary name being that of Alfred Corbold, who entered the college in 1849, and the last that is definitely dated that of Evan Bryant in 1865. The young men lodged in the town and came to the Manse for classes and tutorial work. In a number of instances they married young women of the local congregations, thus establishing a family connection with the two Churches. In some cases their wives and families came to Bedford later, either on furlough or to settle there in retirement. An old portrait in Bunyan Meeting Vestry shows a group of students (some wearing beards!) with F. E. Lawes in the centre.

Two of the students, Griffith John (1854) and William Jones (1857), came from Brecon College to Bedford for the completion of their training. J. C. Dick trained at Edinburgh Theological Hall and Airedale College before proceeding to Bedford, but unfortunately his career was cut short, for he died on his way out to India. John Lowe (1861) studied medicine at Edinburgh before coming to Bedford. A number of names are shown in the Society’s Register as having proceeded from Bedford to Highgate College, especially from about the year 1860 onwards. The order of the names “Bedford and Highgate” (rather than “Brecon and Bedford”, as in earlier years) suggests that the college at Bedford eventually came to be looked upon as providing a course of preliminary rather than advanced study, the students proceeding elsewhere to complete their training.

The college seems to have come to an end with the close of John Jukes’ pastorate in 1866, the remaining students transferring to a similar private Academy established by Rev. John Frost at
Cockett, the theological South member Watson he possibly because of the establishment by that time of recognized theological colleges.

The following extract from a letter written to Rev. C. Bernard Cockett, a former Minister of Bunyan Meeting, from Miss Gertrude Watson of Hull, and dated 21st April, 1929, gives a glimpse into the life of the College from an old man’s memories. Her father was Rev. W. J. Watson, who married Sarah Jane Whitmee, a Church member of Bunyan Meeting, and who served the Society in the South Seas from 1866 to 1870:

You wrote, I find, a letter to my father a few weeks ago, asking for a few particulars regarding some of the events of his studies at Bedford. I am sorry to say that his memory is uncertain regarding some things, but I do know that his year and a half at Bedford was a very happy time. He was under Rev. Jukes and Rev. W. Alliott, and he frequently refers to them. He went from there to Cheshunt College and Thame. He mentions Rev. Joseph King, whom he had a high regard for, Rev. Bryant, Bryson, and I am not quite sure, Rev. Savile, late of Rye. My mother’s father and mother, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Whitmee entertained the students every Sunday for tea. (This went on for three generations). The students in those days had to walk long distances to the villages, Stagsden, Elstow, Bromham, I believe Old Warden, and other places. No bus or carriage for them then. Later on a conveyance took the preachers over from Bedford during Mr. Arthur Whitmee’s tenure of Bunyan Farm (Stagsden). I know the students tramped long miles and I know in my father’s case it was a joy... I know Griffith John was a frequent visitor at my grandmother’s farm and the family adored him1.

The appended list of names of missionaries trained at the Bedford Missionary Training College is compiled from three sources:—

(1) A list supplied by Miss E. F. Anthony of Bedford.
(2) A list given by Rev. Thomas Bryson to Rev. V. A. Barradale in 1925.
(3) The London Missionary Society’s Register2.

1 Quoted by kind permission.
2 Rev. Harold Thomas of the L.M.S. has given valuable help in this connection.

[The College “Highgate” so frequently mentioned arouses doubts in the mind. Should it not be Highbury? The list as transcribed from the
The date after each name indicates the date of admission to the college.

**Corbold, Alfred.** 1847. m. Betsy Church Everett, Ch. mem. Bunyan Mtg. and daughter of a deacon; the first marriage celebrated in the present building. Ordained 1850, was appointed Gujerat, N.W. India, later to Madras. Ret. through ill-health 1875. d. 1877. Mrs. Corbold, who was blind for some 20 years, and family resided in Bedford where she died in 1917 aged 87.


**John Griffith, D.D.** 1854. Studied at Brecon and Bedford. Hankow, China 1855-1912. This celebrated missionary laboured for 57 years in Hankow and his memory is enshrined in the Griffith John College with its Theological Seminary. Of his connection with Bedford Griffith John said: "I made a host of friends in Bedford. Though fresh from Wales, I felt quite at home in the midst of my new surroundings. My missionary fellow-students were Dennis, Lea, and Duthie. We became fast friends and spent much time together. . . ." It was while at Bedford that Griffith John, who originally wished to go to Madagascar, had his mind turned towards China, largely through the influence of John Jukes. He is said to have shown promise of his future distinction in the reputation which he gained in his student days. See further Dict. Nat. Biog.

**Lea, William Knibb.** 1854. Amoy, China, 1855, where he itinerated in country districts and in addition carried on the work of a training institution. ret. 1866.

**Dennis, John Joll.** 1854. Nagercoil, Travancore, 1855. For some years carried on a vigorous work until his health failed. d. 1864.

**Fletcher, Duncan.** 1854. m. Mary Ann Kilpin, Ch. mem. Bunyan Mtg. Jamaica 1856. ret. 1862. Was concerned in the Jamaica Revival of 1860, of which he gave a vivid account (see Lovett's History of the L.M.S., vol. ii, p. 385). A change of policy took place in 1867 which ultimately led the Society to close its work in Jamaica. John Fletcher, son of the above, also became a missionary and other members of the family still live in Bedford.

**Duthie, James.** 1854. Madras 1856. A pioneer of the indigenous Church in South India, in 1859 assumed charge of the Nagercoil Seminary, and in 1895 was still there in full and active service. Griffith John spoke of him as his most intimate friend: "We have seen each other only once since we left Bedford; but the love which sprang up between us at our first meeting is still burning, and will burn on for evermore". d. 1908.


**Blake, William.** India 1858. ret. 1871.

L.M.S. Registers says "Highgate". Is this a mistake in the Registers, in the transcription, or was there an institution at Highgate? Further investigation is called for here.—Editor.
MACFARLANE, JOHN. 1855. River Zambesi, S. Africa 1858. Was concerned in the opening up of the ill-fated Makololo Mission projected by Livingstone. The missionary party sent to evangelize this tribe was practically wiped out by fever; Mackenzie survived to tell the tragic story (see Lovett, vol. i, pp. 602 ff.). Afterwards became superintendent of the Moffat Institution for training native evangelists from 1872-1884, when he retired to become Resident Commissioner in Bechuanna-
land.

MATEER, SAMUEL. 1858. Described as "Travancore's literary missionary", his name with that of James Duthie was associated with Travancore for over thirty years. Preychaleyl 1859, in 1861 took temporary charge of Trivandrum and Quillon, and in 1863 his headquarters became Trivandrum, where he remained more or less continuously for 25 years. d. 1893.

MACFARLANE, SAMUEL, LL.D. 1856. m. Elizabeth Ursula Joyce, Ch. mem. Bunyan Mtg., and sister of Rev. Alfred Joyce, 1858. Sent out to Loyalty Islands 1859, took up work in Lifu Mission 1866. Compelled to leave owing to intolerance of French authorities, he took a leading part in the commencement of work in New Guinea in 1871. Introduced Chalmers to his first post of work in New Guinea in 1877, when he started work in the South Cape. Degree of LL.D. St. Andrews 1887. Withdrew from foreign field and became deputation agent for East and Midland Counties 1887-92. Special deputation 1892-94. d. Southport 1911. Mrs. Macfarlane d. 1913. Dr. and Mrs. Macfarlane lived in Bedford for some years and their three sons took up missionary work.

DICK, JOHN CRICHTON. Studied at Edinburgh Theol. Hall, Airedale, and Bedford. App. to Benares 1859, but died on way out.

GEE, HENRY. 1856. m. Mary Burr, Ch. mem. Bunyan Mtg. Samoa 1860. ret. 1868.

PAYNE, JAMES EDWARD. 1858. Calcutta 1860-86. "Teaching, examining, writing articles and books, acting as pastor now of Cooly Bazaar, now of Hastings Chapel, and now of Union Chapel, he used to say of himself, 'As for me, I'm Jack of all trades'" (Lovett, vol. ii, p. 187). Was deeply interested in the native Church in Calcutta, where he died in 1886.

BIRD, PETER GOOLD. 1859. Savaii, South Seas, 1860. d. 1864.

SIMMONS, JOHN WILKES. Sailed for Samoa 1860, but on account of health left the L.M.S. and took pasture in Tasmania (Union Chapel, Hobart).

LAWES, WILLIAM GEORGE, D.D. 1858. Appointed to Niue 1861 where he directed the work alone until 1868 when he was joined by his brother, F. E. Lawes (see below). In 1872 visited England on furlough and was then appointed to New Guinea, whither he sailed in 1874, F. E. Lawes having been left in sole charge of the Niue Mission. Became permanent missionary at Port Moresby in 1874 and colleague of Dr. Macfarlane. Was concerned in opening up of S.E. New Guinea, where Chalmers began his work. Began preparation of New Guinea Bible. Was awarded D.D. degree by Glasgow University. In 1894 superintended literary work of Training Institution at Vatorata. ret. 1906. d. 1907. See further D.N.B.

PHILLIPS, MAURICE. 1858. Tripatoor, S. India, 1861-1908. Carried on a systematic work in preaching in Tamil to the Hindus. In 1869 added the charge of Salem Mission to Tripatoor, and continued in charge until 1884. "There were at the end of 1869 11 out-stations, 14 native preachers, 129 communicants, 475 baptized persons, 5 boys' schools
and 2 girls' schools in connection with the mission" (Lovett, vol. ii, p. 72).


MORRIS, WILLIAM EDWARD. 1859. Tripatoor, S. India, 1861. Was obliged to go home in 1869 to recruit shattered health, with the hope of return, which was never realized. ret. 1872.

JOYCE, ALFRED. 1859. Born at Kempston 1837; Ch. mem. Bunyan Mtg. m. Sarah Anne Nichols, also Ch. mem. Bunyan Mtg. Mount Zion, Jamaica, 1862. Ret. to England 1874. Died at Bedford 1876. Mrs. Joyce and family lived in Bedford from 1874 to 1890 when she died. Two of the children followed her in missionary work.

GANNAWAY, JAMES FRANK. 1860. Travancore 1861-65. ret. 1865.

KING, JOSEPH. 1860. Samoa 1863-72. Resigned 1874. Deputation work 1877-1911. Was member of important deputation sent to Samoa by the Directors in 1888. L.M.S. Secretary for Australia.


JOHNSON, ALFRED WILLIAM. 1860. Studied at Weston-super-Mare and Bedford. Brunswick, Berbice. ret. 1866.


SHREWSBURY, GEORGE. 1860. Berhampore, India, 1861-65, when his health failed. ret. 1870.

THOMSON, ALEXANDER. 1860? Cuddapah, S. India, 1861. Died 1862 after being in the country eight months.


LOWE, JOHN, L.R.C.S.E. 1861. Studied at Edinburgh (medicine) and Bedford. Travancore 1861-71. Opened hospital at Neyoor, establishing three branch dispensaries and a training class for young men to become medical assistants. During his superintendency the Rajah of Travancore became so interested in the medical work that he aided it with an annual grant. Resigned 1871 on account of wife's ill-health and became Supt. of Dispensary and Training Institution of Edinburgh Medical Mission. d. 1892.


Wareham, Edward Allport. 1861. Studied at Bedford and Highgate. m. Susannah Carling, Ch. mem. Bunyan Mtg. India 1864. ret. 1872 and became L.M.S. Secretary for Scouland.

Hawker, John Giles. 1861. Studied at Bedford and Highgate. m. Emma Suskin Nichols, Ch. mem. Bunyan Mtg. and sister of Mrs. Alfred Joyce (see above). Bellary 1866-71. Belgaum 1871-95, in charge of Mission in conjunction with James Smith (see below).


Michie, Alexander. 1862. m. Sarah Fever of Harrold, Beds. Sailed in 1866 for Samoa, but owing to an accident to Mrs. Michie, left the “John Williams” at Melbourne and engaged in pastoral work there. d. 1902.

Smith, James. 1862. Studied at Bedford and Highgate. India 1866. Reached Belgaum 1867, and was joined in 1871 by J. G. Hawker (see above). ret. 1906.

Davies, Samuel Hickman. 1862. Samoa 1866. Had a long missionary life and was also at Neyoor (S. India) and Niue. Resigned 1905. d. 1917.


Lawes, Francis Edwin. 1862. Studied at Bedford and Highgate. S. Seas 1867. Brother of W. G. Lawes, was in charge of the Niue Mission from 1872. ret. 1910. d. 1917. (See above on W. G. Lawes.)

Irvine, Alexander. 1862. App. to Loyalty Islands, but died on way out (1863).


NOTE A.—The following names appear in Lists (1) and (2), and may have received part of their training at Bedford, but no reference to this is made in the L.M.S. Register. The colleges there named are given in parentheses.
THE BEDFORD MISSIONARY TRAINING COLLEGE

LAW, WILLIAM. 1849. Samoa 1851. ret. 1854 Launceston, Tasmania. (Rotherham).


NOTE B.—The following names appear in List (1) only.

RIORDAN, JOHN. Madagascar 1873. ret. 1878. m. Rebecca Nicholls, Ch. mem. Bunyan Mtg. (New College, London).

MATTHEWS, THOMAS TROTTER. Madagascar 1870. ret. 1899. d. 1928. (Lancs. Independent Coll. and Highgate). (These two may have had periods in pastorates in this country, after the college at Bedford closed in 1867. Riordan went on to Cotton End College in 1863, according to a list kindly supplied by Rev. J. P. Pugh.)

NOTE C.—The following names appear in List (2) only.


HASLAM, THOMAS. 1859. Pullachy, India, 1864. d. 1869. (Cheshunt and Highgate).


NEWPORT, GEORGE OLIVER. 1858. Pareychaley, India, 1862. d. 1894. (Cheshunt).

MEADOWCROFT, DAVID. 1859. Cuddapah 1864. ret. 1867. (Cheshunt and Highgate).

WATSON, WILLIAM JOSEPH. 1861. m. Sarah Jane Whitmee, Ch. mem. Bunyan Mtg. and served in the South Seas from 1866-70. The letter quoted above (p. —) proves that he must have been at the Bedford College for some period of his training, proceeding thence to Cheshunt. LEONARD T. TOWERS.
Lyon Turner’s *Original Records*

NOTES AND IDENTIFICATIONS IV.

What follows is a fourth list of identifications of the Nonconformist lay conventicleers of 1669 and 1672, in continuations of those published in *Transactions* in Vol. XIV, 15-24, 113-120, 182-187. Most of the names now presented are those of Baptists and Quakers. Many Baptist identifications have been made from the works of Dr. W. T. Whitley, who very generously provided some of them himself in the course of correspondence; I hope to analyze his *Baptist Bibliography* more thoroughly at a later stage. The *Fenstanton Records* also supplied much interesting information about Baptists belonging to the many churches mentioned in that volume. Another important source has been *Extracts from State Papers relating to Friends, 1654-1672*, edited by Norman Penney, a work which appears to have no parallel for other denominations, although references to the State Papers are frequent in Dr. Whitley’s books. Of particular interest are the lists extracted by Penney of those who were considered by the Quakers in 1659 to be suitable persons to be Justices of the Peace, whether Quakers themselves or “moderate”, with some names of persons already Justices who were persecutors of the Quakers. A few Quaker identifications have been made from the *Papers for Parliament* against tithes, which were presented by 7,000 Quaker women in 1659; and I have added one or two notes from the Swarthmore MSS. at Friends House.

Two further examples of careless denominational attribution appear: Gerrard Roberts of Edmonton, a prominent London Quaker, is given as a Presbyterian, and Nehemiah Cox, of Bedfordshire, a Baptist minister, as a Congregationalist.

The number in parentheses following each name and address is of the page in *Original Records*, Vol. II.

Geoffrey F. Nuttall.

**ABBREVIATIONS.**

*Bedford Ch. Bk.:* The Church Book of Bunyan Meeting, Bedford, ed. G. B. Harrison.

*B.H.S.T.:* Transactions of Baptist Historical Society.


*Crosby: T. Crosby, Hist. of the English Baptists.*

*D.N.B.:* Dictionary of National Biography.


*Ford Ch. Bk.:* The Church Book of Ford Baptist Church (Bapt. Hist. Soc.).


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Papers for Parliament: These several Papers was sent to the Parliament, 1659.

Penney: Extracts from State Papers relating to Friends, 1654-1672, ed. N. Penney.

Swarthmore MSS.: MSS. of Quaker correspondence in 17th century, at Friends House.

Taylor: A. Taylor, Hist. of the English General Baptists.


ALLEN, Jn., Easton, Lincs. (732); min. of Bapt. ch. here, 1655 (Fenstanton Recs., 137).

ARMALT, Mary, Radcliffe, Bucks. (770); signed petition agst. tithes, 1659, as Mary Arnott (Papers for Parl., 47).

ASTWOOD, Robt., Abbotsley, Hunts. (849); member of ch. at St. Neots, 1670 (Bedford Ch. Bk., 44).


BATES, Wm., Dinton, Bucks. (840); deacon of Ford Bapt. Ch. (Ford Ch. Bk.).

BAXTER, Jn., Kempston, Beds. (854); member of Bunyan Mtg., Bedford (Bedford Ch. Bk., 6).

Bell, Christ., Peterborough, Northants. (814); signed letter fr. Bapt. ch., Peterborough, to Bapt. ch., Fenstanton, 1656 (Fenstanton Recs., 198).

BERRY, (Mary), Simpson, Bucks. (841); signed petition agst. tithes, 1659 (Papers to Parl., 49).

BLACKETT, Hy., Witton-le-Wear, Durham (636); a Particular Baptist leader, involved in Kaber Rigg plot (Whitley, H.B.B., 102, 114).

BLACKMORE, Jas., Marden and Tenterden, Kent (1006 f.); imprisoned at Maidstone, 1660 (Crosby, ii. 26); signed petition fr. Kent, 1661 (Whitley, G.A.G.B., i. xxxvi).

BLAKE, Benj., Bridgewater, Som. (1105); recommended by Friends for J.P., as “moderate”, 1659 (Penney, 107).

BROOKE, Ambrose, Horrington, Som. (1122); signed Consecration of Faith for Bapt. ch., Wincanton, 1656 (Conf. of Faith, 73).

BURNET, Wm., Chertsey, Surrey (1017); took part in debate agst. Geo. Whitehead, 1670 (W. Sewel, Hist. of the . . . Quakers, 478).

CEELY, Edw., Esq., Creech St. Michael and Thurloxton, Som. (1096, 1103); recommended by Friends for J.P., as “moderate”, 1659 (Penney, 108).

CHAPMAN, Thos., Warboys, Hunts. (849); elder of Bapt. ch. here, 1655 (Fenstanton Recs., 272 et al.).

CHILD, Jn., Newport Pagnell, Bucks. (838); D.N.B.


COLE, Robt., Over, Cambs. (871); member of Fenstanton Bapt. ch., 1651/2 (Fenstanton Recs., 83, 121, 251).

COLLINS, Wm., Matching, Essex (938); presented address of thanks for Indulgence to James I. 1687 (Whitley, H.B.B., 150).

COX, Neh., Maulden, Beds. (857); son of Benj. Cox (D.N.B.), and Bapt. min. at Bedford and later at Petty France, London (Whitley, H.B.B., 131 f.).

CRANFORD, Wm., Over, Cambs. (871); member of Fenstanton Bapt. ch., 1656 (Fenstanton Recs., 254; cf. 123, as Cranfield).


DAGNALL, Stephen, itin. min. in Bucks. (838 ff.); signed Humble Represen-
tation and Vindicatn., 1654 (Whitley, G.A.G.B., i. 5).
Dando, Jn., High Littleton, Som. (1083); recommended by Friends as J.P., as Friend, 1659 (Penney, 107).
Davison, Jn., Frome, Som. (1123); prominent Bapt. author (Whitley, B.B., 215).
Eckles, (Jn.), Bradley and Kington, Worcs. (786); clothier, exercising care over a wide group (Whitley, H.B.B., 151).
Elliot, ——, Winslow, Bucks. (838); sentenced to death, 1664 (Crosby, ii. 182).
Farmer, (Rich.), Leicester and Arnesby, Leics. (769, 771 f.; should be in light type); (not Jas. Farmer, ej. fr. Leare, as G.L.T., but) Quaker imprisoned at Leicester, 1658 (Penney, 53).
Fawne, Roger, Lincoln (731); signed address to Charles II, 1660 (Taylor, i. 188).
Feake, ——, Dorking, Surrey (1016): ?Christopher Feake: D.N.B.
Feckenham, Thos., Bradley and Kington, Worcs. (786); a prominent Baptist, impris. 1661 (Whitley, H.B.B., 105).
Fry, Wm., Buckereell, Devon (1148); recommended by Friends as J.P., 1657 (Penney, 34).
Garland, Tim., Mansfield, Notts. (725); Quarterly Meeting held regularly at his house (J.F.L.S., 1907, 153).
Gay, Rich., Englishcombe, Som. (1181); recommended by Friends for J.P., as "moderate", 1659 (Penney, 107).
Goodridge, Jn., Little Greenly, Clarborough, Notts. (715); John Goodrich, of Sturton (a neighbouring parish), mentioned, seemingly as a Friend, in Swarthmore MSS., iii. 52.
Goslett, Jn., Marshfield, Glos. (817); J.P. for Glos., persecutor of Friends and half convinced 1655 (Swarthmore MSS., i. 36).
Gottred, Thos., Streatham, Camb. (871); deacon of Bapt. ch. here, 1656 (Fenstanton Recs., 200).
Gretton, Thos., Nottingham (722); recommended by Friends for J.P., as "moderate", 1659 (Penney, 113).
Guy, Robt., Isham, Northants. (811); "Clarke of the peace", persecutor of Friends, 1659 (Penney, 10, 80).
Halse(s), (Joan), Bremhill, Wilts. (1077); signed petition agst. tithes, 1659 (Papers for Parl., 42).
Hartley, Jas., itin. min. in Yorks. (651, 658 f.); "a notable Antinomian" (T. Jolly, Church Book, 14).
Hartnell, Jas., Cullompton, Devon (1152); for letter signed by him, 1698, cf. Murch, 303.
Hartnoll, Jn., itin. min. in Bucks. (838 f.); signed Humble Representati. and Indicatn., 1654, and Assembly Minutes, 1656 (Whitley, G.A.G.B., i. 5, 9).
Henley, Hy., Esq., Winsham, Som. (1113); M.P. in Barbone ?arl. (Gardner, Commonwealth and Protectorate, ii. 308, n. 1).
Hildesley, Jn., Christchurch, Hants. (1041); J.P. for Hants., persecutor of Friends, 1659 (Penney, 114).
Hitchcock, Hy., Ingoldsby, Lincs. (732; should be in light type); (not ej. fr. Lincoln Coll., Oxon., as G.L.T., but) signed letter fr. Bap. ch., Westby, Lincs., to Bapt. ch., Fenstanton, 1655 (Fenstanton Recs., 137).
Holdstock, Robt., Elstow, Beds. (855); member of Bunyan Meeting, Bedford (Bedford Ch. Bk., 5).
LYON TURNER'S Original Records

HYFIELD, Thos., itin. Quaker in Notts. (724 f.); mentioned as "voiding the simplicity, and hath been often spoken to, still goeth on" (1655?), in Swarthmore MSS., i. 374; one of those who sent up names of those considered by Friends to be fit or unfit for J.P. for Notts., 1659 (Penney, 113).

ISAAC, Edw., Goldington, Beds. (856); member of Bunyan Meeting, Bedford, 1668 (Bedford Ch. Bk., 27).

JAMES, Ralph, N. Willingham, Lincs., and JAMES, Valentine, Hackthorn, Lincs. (730); both signed Faith and Practice of Thirty Congregations, 1651, and Address from Lincoln, 1661 (Whitley, G.A.G.B., i. xxxviii).

JAMESON (not GIMSON), David, Amersham, Bucks. (841); asst. min. of Bapt. ch. here, 1678, d. 1708 (W.T.W.).

JEFFES, Thos., Priors Marston, Warws. (797); signed Faith and Practice of Thirty Congregations, 1651 (Whitley, G.A.G.B., i. xxxviii).


JOHNSON, Anth., Dover, Kent (993); "a Dutchman" (Penney, 278).

JONES, Jas., The Borough, Southwark (990); (not Jones ej. fr. Somborne, Hants., as G.L.T., but) prominent bapt. leader, tailor and coffee man (Whitley, B.B., 221).

KENDALL, Wm., Rempston, Notts., and Sileby, Leics. (724, 769); signed Faith and Practice of Thirty Congregations, 1651 (Whitley, G.A.G.B., i. xxxix).

KING, (Dan.), Castle Donnington, Leics. (769); prominent evangelist in Midlands (Whitley, B.B., 222).

KINGSNORTH, Dan., Charing and Lenham (as Kingston), Kent (1005); brother of Richard Kingsnorth (D.N.B.).


KIRBY, Robt., Bradmore, Notts. (720); recommended by Friends for J.P., as "moderate", 1659 (Penney, 113).

KNOTT, Laurence, Dover, Kent (1004); governor of Sandgate Castle, Kent; host of Wm. Caton, 1655 (W. Caton, Life, 23); "a very moderate, plain-hearted man" (Swarthmore MSS., iii. 151).

LACY, Jn., Godmanchester, Hunts. (849); either Jn. Lacy, sen., who was excommunicated, or Jn. Lacy, jun., who died in the faith, both members of Warboys Bapt. ch. (Penstanton Recs., 255 foil.).

LAVER, Hy., Yeovil, Som. (1121); recommended by Friends for J.P., as Friend, 1659 (Penney, 107).

LOVE, Wm., Cranbrook, Kent (996); for Baber's Cross read Baker's Cross, a crossroads, with neighbouring barn, still called after Sir John Baker (D.N.B.).

LUCAS, Jn., Wingrave, Bucks. (842); imprisoned 1658 (Penney, 50, 74 ff., 90).

LUKE, Ralph, Midlue, Beds. (849); member of St. Neots Bapt. ch., 1670 (Bedford Ch. Bk., 44).

MAYNARD, Jn., Corfe, Dorset (1143); father of Jerom Maynard, of Honiton, Devon, 1677-1762, for whom see Murch, 329.


MILFORD——, Dover, Kent (1003); "a servant of his" (i.e., of Edw. Wyvel, q.v.) "a great Holder forth" at conventicles (Penney, 278).

MONNINGS, Capt. Thos., Canterbury, Kent (1001); see Penney, 115, for
letter fr Sir Jas. Harrington, 1659, to him and others, requesting inquiry into disturbance by Quakers in the cathedral.

M orecoCK, Eliz. and Rebecca, Chatham, Kent (1008); of a family "in great force at the navy yard"; their house "used continuously ever since" (B.H.S.T., 152, 173).

Nichelson, Anne, Hollym, Yorkshire (667); signed petition agst. tithes, 1659 (Papers for Parl., 28).

Nobbs, Jas., Horton, Glos. (825); signed Confession of Faith for Bapt. ch., Sedbury, 1656 (Confessions of Faith, 73, as Nobs of Sedbury).

Oldmixon, Jn., Bridgewater, Som. (1124); father of Jn. Oldmixon (D.N.B.).


Parker, Wm., Rempston, Notts. and Loughborough, Leics. (724, 769); signed Faith and Practice of Thirty Congregations, 1651, and Humble Representa[n. and Vindica[n., 1661 (Whitley, G.A.G.B., i. xl).

Parson(s), Thos., Portishead, Som. (1125); recommended by Friends for J.P., as "moderate", 1659 (Penney, 107).

Partridge, Thos., Guston, Kent (1003); part author of anti-Quaker work, 1667 (Whitley, B.B., 92).

Pate, Widow, Harston, Cambs. (873); prob. widow of Robt. Pate, of Hawson, mentioned in Fenstanton Recs., 211.

Peck, Widow, Thurby (not Thoresby), Lincs. (730); widow of Robt. Peck, who signed Faith and Practice of Thirty Congregations, 1651 (Whitley, G.A.G.B., i. xl).

Pen, Hy., Broadchalk, Wilts. (1076); elder of Porton Bapt. ch., 1655 (B.H.S.T., i. 56 foll.).

Phillps, Wm., Marton, Salop (740); a Wm. Phips signed petition on behalf of Jas. Nayler, 1656 (Penney, 22).

Prescott, Edm., Guston, Kent (1003), mayor of Dover, 1655 (W.T.W.).

Pritchard, Wm., Llantiliopertholey, Mon. (1226); elder of Bapt. ch., Abergaven ny, Mon., who signed letter to Bapt. ch., Hexham, Northumberland, 1653 (Fenstanton Recs., 344).

Rede, Jn., Birdlimes Farm, Porton, itin. min. in Wilts. (1074 f.); J.P. for Wilts.; elder of Porton Bapt. ch., 1655 and min. 1679 (B.H.S.T., i. 56 foll.).

Redgate, Hy., Waltham in the Wolds, Leics. (769); signed Faith and Practice of Thirty Congregations, 1651 (Whitley, G.A.G.B., i. xl).

Reynolds, Robt., Portsmouth, Hants. (1044); J.P. for Hants., persecutor of Friends, 1659 (Penney, 114).

Roberts, Ger(ri)ard, Edmonton, Middlesex (955); "the leading London Friend in all matters of business. His house was the residence and headquarters of the Publishers of Truth who were in the city" (W. C. Braithwaite, Beginnings of Quakerism, 377, et al.).

Roper, Randal, East Smithfield, London (989); prob. an error for Roger, member of Loveday's Bapt. ch., 1658 (Fenstanton Recs., 236).


Rudrup (not EdrEPP), Edw., Amersham, Bucks. (841); member of Amersham Bapt. ch. (W.T.W.).

Rumsey, Hy., Caerleon, Mon. (1223); presumably rel. to Walter Rumsey (D.N.B.).

Sabine, Anne, Harbury, Warws. (803); signed petition agst. tithes, 1659 (Papers for Parl., 49, as Sabel).
SKERRETT, Jan., Manthorpe (not Count horpe), Lincs. (732); signed Second Hume1 Address from Lincoln, 1661 (Whitley, G.A.G.B., i. xli).

SMITH, Edm., March, Cambs. (871); elder of Bapt. ch., Wisbech, Cambs., 1655 (Fenstanton Recs., 157).

SMITH, Jn., Cullompton, Devon (1152); mentioned in letter fr. Jas. Hartnall (q.v.), 1698 (Murch, 303).


SQUIBB, Arthur, Chertsey, Surrey (1017); member of Barborne Parlt. (Gardiner, Commonwealth and Protectorate, ii. 308, n.1; cf. Whitley, B.B., 228).

STEAD, Robt., Dartmouth, Devon (1185); prominent Bapt. author, d. ?1695 (Whitley, B.B., 228).

STOKELEY, Robt., Warboys, Hunts. (849); signed letter fr. Bapt. ch. here to Bapt. ch., Fenstanton, 1658 (Fenstanton Recs., 238).

TAYLER, Edw., Poole, Dorset (1139); J.P. for Dorset, "moderate and against persecution", 1659 (Penney, 13).

TAYLER, Thos., Wisbech, Cambs. (870); (not ej. fr. various East Anglian benefices, as G.L.T. but) member of Bapt. ch. here, 1655 (Fenstanton Recs., 138, 156).

THORPE, Jn., Frampton, Lincs. (732); signed Second Hume1 Address from Lincoln, 1661 (Whitley, G.A.G.B., i. xli).

TORY, Stephen, Stepney, Middlesex (963); signed Brief Confe1sion, 1660 (Whitley, G.A.G.B., i. 21).

TURNER, Capt. Robt., Amersham, Bucks. and Rickmansworth, Herts. (841, 883); malster, first to be buried in new meeting-house at Amersham, 1677 (W.T.W.); a Bapt. Capt. Turner mentioned as having come to Dalkeith, 1652/3 (Fenstanton Recs., 318).

VIGION, Jas., Molash, Kent (994); conventicle at his house at Canterbury, 1665 (Penney, 243).

VOKINS, Joan, West Charlow, Berks. (953); D.N.B.

VOKINS, Rich., West Charlow, Berks. (953); husband of last-named.

WAGSTAFFE, Jas., Knightcote and Burton Dassett, Warws. (797 ft.); Quaker meeting at his house at Banbury, 1657 (W. C. Braithwaite, Beginnings of Quakerism, 394); distributor of Quaker books, 1664 (Penney, 229).

WAITE, Jn., Toft, Cambs. (868); Paul Wayts, of Toft, mentioned in Fenstanton Recs., 75.

WALCOTT, Thos., Bungay, Suffolk (913, 921); involved in Rye House Plot and executed, 1683 (Whitley, H.B.B., 148).


WALLIS, Eliz., Horton, Wilts. (1077); signed petition agst. tithes, 1659 (Papers for Parl., 42).

WALLIS, Mary, Mallet Moorlinch, Som. (1126); signed petition agst. tithes, 1659 (Papers for Parl., 44).

WEB, alias LONG, Thos., Amesbury, Wilts. (1074); deacon of Porton Bapt. ch., 1655, min. 1679 (B.H.S.T., i. 56).

WHEELER, Jn., Elstead (not Elstood, as G.L.T.), Surrey (1018); signed minutes of General Baptist Assocns., 1656 (Whitley, G.A.G.B., i. 9).

WHITEMAN, Jn., Cardington, Beds. (855); member of Bunyan Meeting, Bedford, 1657, elder 1659 (Bedford Ch. Bk., 19, 22).

WILSON, Jas., Cardington, Beds. (855); member of Bunyan Meeting, Bedford (Bedford Ch. Bk., 6).
Certificate for Dissenters' Worship, 1807

To the Reverend and worshipful Henry Kitley, clerk, Batchelor in Divinity, official lawfully constituted of the Reverend and worshipful John Elkins, Doctor in Divinity, Dean of the Cathedral Church of Sarum;

We whose names are hereunto subscribed, being protestant Dissenters from the church of England, under the denomination of Independants, and Housekeepers dwelling in and near the Parish of Heytesbury in the County of Wilts, and within your peculiar jurisdiction, do hereby certify, that we intend to set apart the Building and Premises adjoining to John Mantle's dwelling House and belonging to William Marven Everett situated in the Parish of Heytesbury aforesaid, for the Service and worship of Almighty God. And we do request that this our Certificate may be duly recorded, and the Entry thereof be duly certified according to the form of the Statute in that case made and provided.

In Testimony whereof, we have hereunto set our hands this first day of October in the Year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seven.

W. M. Everett.
Robt. Fussell.
Jno. Moody.
J. L. Vardy.

These are to certify whom it may concern that the above written Certificate hath been duly entered in the Registry of the Dean of Sarum according to the Directions of the Act of Parliament in that Behalf made. Witness our Hands this Sixth day of October in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Seven.

Edw. Davies
Jos. Warden

D. Registrars.
# Congregational Historical Society

*Accounts for the Year ending 31st December, 1944.*

<table>
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The Society holds two Shares of £25 each in the North West Building Society.
EDITORIAL

THE War played havoc with our Annual Meetings, but with 1946 we make a new start. The Rev. R. G. Martin's paper on "Selina, Countess of Huntingdon," which was lost in the Victory celebrations last May, is printed within. The Meeting this year will be held in one of the rooms at Westminster Chapel on Tuesday, May 7, at 6 p.m., the date and time being chosen to suit our guest speaker and to catch as many people as possible in a busy week. The speaker will be Professor Norman Sykes, who occupies the Dixie Chair of Ecclesiastical History at Cambridge formerly held by Creighton and Gwatkin. Prof. Sykes has made notable contributions to history in his life of Edmund Gibson and his Church and State in the Eighteenth Century, and it is interesting to note that he has already added a "Nonconformist" option to the Tripos. Prof. Sykes will have a warm welcome in our midst, and we must secure a good audience to meet him. He will speak on "The Church of England and Non-episcopal Churches, from Hooker to Wake."

In this number we print a List of Members, which will reveal to members those who ought to be members but are not. It should be easily possible by a personal word to add another hundred names during the year.

* * * * *

The officers of the Society are doing their best to set an example in their activity in historical research, as in other ways. The President, Dr. Grieve, is not only showing what can be done in a village chapel, but is working on the church book of the Bury St. Edmunds Church, which goes back to 1646. That church is celebrating its tercentenary during this year, and a history is in the press. Dr. Peel writes on Congregationalism in Bury St. Edmunds before this church was formed, Dr. Grieve on the Church Book, and the present minister, the Rev. W. Marshall Jones, on the more recent history. The volume will be published during the summer, and reference will be made to it in our next issue. This remark applies also to Dr. G. F. Nuttall's thesis accepted for the Oxford D.D., which is due out almost any time. The Secretary, the Rev. R. G. Martin, whom we congratulate on his appointment as chaplain of Taunton School, is represented by the article within. Similar congratulations must go to the Rev. C. E. Surman, who becomes minister at Erdington, after his exemplary work in Civil Defence in Reading. Mr. Surman's Directory of Congregational Biography proves of inestimable service
to researchers as the days pass: we refer scholar after scholar to it and never in vain. Its gaps are steadily being filled, and we trust all our members will help by replying expeditiously to any inquiries Mr. Surman may send.

Meanwhile we ourselves are clearing away the accumulations of twenty-three years' editorship of the Congregational Quarterly, and seizing such days as we can for work on manuscript collections. Soon we hope that the Manuscript Room in the British Museum will be opened; meanwhile the treasures in some of the College Libraries in Cambridge, and of the Yelverton-Calthorpe MSS., have had attention. The programme before us looks presumptuous for one who has just entered his sixtieth year, but the quantity of work possible on Elizabethan printed books and manuscripts is colossal: the idea that such resources have now been exhausted is fantastic in the extreme. At the moment the problem is which work shall be prepared for publication first. In another period the volume relating to Alexander Stewart, to which reference is made within, is ready for press.

* * * * *

For many years one of our members, Mr. J. C. Whitebrook, Barrister-at-Law, has been investigating the vexed question of the consecration of Matthew Parker as Archbishop of Canterbury in 1559. Despite failing eyesight and many losses through bombing he has persisted in his task, and the result now appears in The Consecration of Matthew Parker (Mowbray, 8s. 6d.). Mr. Whitebrook builds up a logical and, up to a point, a convincing case, though his style, and notably the profusion of commas, is sometimes difficult. The hero of his mystery story—for the book has all the fascination of such a book—is Anthony Kitchen, Bishop of Llandaff, who has generally been looked upon as a timeserver at best, and at worst as a "hoary old rogue", as William Pierce used to describe him. For some unexplained reason Henry VIII regarded Kitchen with favour, and left him undisturbed in his see. Mr. Whitebrook does not suggest that the King kept him there to be a link between the Roman Church and the English Church in case of reunion, but he does suggest, and we think proves, that Kitchen was used in the consecration of Parker because Elizabeth, Cecil, and Parker himself desired a ministry that Rome would recognize as regular when the union came for which they at first hoped. The consecration was on 29th October, 1559, and not in December, as the Lambeth register (unreliable in many details) suggests: a smoke-screen was thrown about the ceremony lest the keen Reformers should see what Queen, Secretary, and Archbishop had at the back of their minds. That is the essence of the story, but there are many other clues to follow—
the disappearance of Kitchen's Register at Llandaff, the fact that all along the diocese was administered as if the Reformation had never been, etc. Often we have to part company with Mr. Whitebrook, and his book is that of an advocate who has selected his evidence; but the points he makes have to be answered; he and his courage, pertinacity, and industry win our admiration, even while it must be said that many facts he has wittingly or unwittingly omitted must be considered before a final judgment is possible.

Robert Browne has long been an enigmatic figure, and his mind is said to have been unhinged and his temper, to say the least, uncertain. As he said he had been more than thirty times imprisoned, perhaps there are excuses for him. Certainly few men have been called more names. In a manuscript written within a few months of the publication of his first books in 1582 he is said to have been guilty of these heresies (we copy the manuscript's spelling): Libertinism, Severianism, Papisme, Anabaptism, Acéphalism, Eutichianism, Montanism, Donatism, Macedonianism, Priscillianism, Catharism, Saturnimianism, Basilidianism, Carpocrates, Valentinus, Nestorian, Sabellian, Familist, Pythagorian, Anthropomorphites. Sethians, Orphians, Orphites, Apostolici, Menandrians, Saturnitians, Novalians, Catabaptists, The Hydroparastatae, Eustathius. Any reader familiar with all these should be able to graduate in one of those Universities where they believe that the history of the Church, if not of the world, ends in a.d. 451.

Students of history should examine the October issue of the Church Quarterly Review for examples of how to do it—and how not. It is generally assumed that the Bishop of Gloucester finances the Review: otherwise it is difficult to see how any editor could have been persuaded to print his "The Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians", a violent and sometimes incoherent attack on Dr. P. N. Harrison, B. H. Streeter, and higher critics in general. Then there is a "Vindication" of Laud, which is perhaps even more outrageous than the Bishop's pages. Here are some of its sentences:

Devout Anglicans were sick to death of the ministrations of the tinkers and tailors who had obtruded themselves into the Church pulpits. . . . Weak and commonplace preaching produced in its votaries a character of hard and narrow arrogance, intolerant to the core. . . . Self-confidence, not faith, was all-essential to the Puritan. [If Laud had had his way] Churches would not have degenerated into mere preaching booths. Unregulated emotion and undisciplined individualism would have
disappeared. . . . Hence, by constantly speaking the truth, boldly rebuking vice, and patiently suffering for the truth's sake, Laud is enrolled among the noble army of martyrs.

In another article the writer prints documents from the 19th century, with "f" for the long "s" in every case!

In contrast with these is an admirable account of the Holy Inquisition, packed with information and sound scholarship, and objective in its treatment.

* * * * * *

It is always a matter for regret when industrious and hard-working scholars are found wanting. John Waddington in his day had the reputation of being a discoverer, and many of his contemporaries lauded him to the skies as the historian of Congregationalism par excellence. And not only his contemporaries. A year or two ago we happened on an American scholar who had just met Waddington's five-volume Congregational History, which, he said, promised to be of the greatest assistance in the work on which he was engaged. At the same time we came across Dexter's review of Waddington's Vol. II, bound up with that volume in the Dexter Collection in the Sterling Library at Yale. Here it is:

The most conspicuous defect of the book, however, and that one which, were it immaculate in every other respect, would well-nigh destroy its value to the student of the Congregationalism of the past, is the utter and amazing looseness with which it conveys to the reader those documents and those printed extracts, on which Dr. Waddington relies to interest and instruct the intelligent audience which he addresses. It is bad not to be told where in a quarto, or a folio, of some hundreds of pages, one is to look for five or ten lines to which his attention is called, as being specially important; but patience and perseverance will supplement that. It is worse to be left, without the slightest suggestion of help, to flounder through all possible contemporaneous literature, if haply one may so feel after some extract, to which neither author's name nor any book on manuscript title has been given, as to find it; but then, if one can be absolutely sure that somebody did say exactly those words at that date, there will be value even in such anonymous and unassigned utterances and arguments. But it must necessarily be worst of all, if to other elements of incertitude is to be added the fear—and should it amount to a presumption, so much the more unfortunate—that you are so at the mercy of a careless copyist, an unskilled reader of crabbed and obscure manuscripts, and a general blunderer, as to be prohibited from much
reasonable probability that what you are reading in any case fairly represents the old-time author to your eye: this so fatally dilutes all possible remaining value as to condemn such a volume as a mere cumberer of library shelves. It should, moreover, be borne in mind that all this must be pre-eminently true in the case of a history which is avowedly, and of set purpose, so largely "Documentary" as this is. Dr. Waddington's own claim for his work is (p. 12) "to state the principles of the Congregational churches, to give their international history with correctness, and to adduce the necessary evidence at every step in the form that bears on the face of it the impress of authenticity. The witnesses are allowed to appear in regular succession in their proper garb, and to speak for themselves in their own manner. It is due to the memory of those men, of whom 'the world was not worthy', that their words, as well as their noble and heroic deeds, should be recorded". This is admirable; but it surely pledges the author in advance to more than the ordinary pains of every respectable writer to deal in the spirit of scrupulous fidelity with all whom he summons to the stand as witnesses. Had he been reasonably faithful to this pledge he would have deserved the gratitude of all whose tastes and occasions lead them over the broad field where he has gleaned.

But Dr. Waddington's volume seems to have fallen into errors of quotation from four causes: (1) There is a want of sufficient care in deciphering some of his originals; (2) in copying from perfectly plain printed pages, he has evidently now and then missed a line or a sentence; (3) his printers appear sometimes to have misread (and so misrepresented) what he wrote, while he has failed to revise their blunder; and (4) he evidently believes in and acts upon a principle of quotation which to all right judgment is vicious, misleading, and wholly indefensible, and whose adoption by any writer should at once throw him out of the company of authors "in good and regular standing."

These four points are examined, and the charges proved up to the hilt; many appalling examples being given. Not only so, but there is an amazing list of instances where omissions in copying a quotation have not been noted—in one case the omission being 38 lines, in another 24 pages. It has regretfully to be admitted that Waddington, much-respected divine as he was, was no scientific historian. Often he points the way, often his sources are useful, but he makes work where he could have saved it, and he must always be checked.
The United States is fortunate in the existence of the American Church History Society, to which most of the leading church historians belong. Some enterprising young scholars should set to work to establish a similar Society in this country. The American Society has already to its credit an imposing series of publications, the last of which is Dr. Babette M. Levy’s *Preaching in the First Half Century of New England History* (from the Society at Hartford, Conn., $5.00). Dr. Levy has much material in the sermons of John Cotton, Thomas Hooker, Thomas Shepard, Charles Chauncy, John Davenport, William Hubbard, and others less well known, and she is able to show what these divines preached and how they preached it—about war, the relation of Church and State, the power of the ruler, hell, and so on. Many readers, we suspect, will be surprised both at the things included in the sermons, and the things missing. Dr. Levy raises one interesting point—how far we have the correct text of what the preacher said: generally the sermons were taken down in shorthand, sometimes the preacher revised the script, but often he did not even see the proofs. In one instance quoted the words given as "naturally able" were obviously "naturally liable", and, of course, there were much more serious mistakes, as well as additions and deletions. The volume is a very interesting study. The Americans are setting us a good example in this field.

Another volume from America (Grand Rapids: Erdmans, $2.50) not yet published in this country is ‘‘right down the street’’ of readers of these *Transactions*—Dr. Peter Y. De Jong’s *The Covenant Idea in New England Theology*. After surveying the Covenant Idea in the Reformed and Anabaptist Churches (and how strange that there should be among us those who forget their Anabaptist heritage!) Dr. De Jong outlines the long discussions centring round the Half-Way Covenant. He then examines the influence of the Covenant Idea upon New England Thought, and especially its effect upon New England Calvinism. This is an invaluable study, from which few will not learn much, while it should be compulsory reading for all engaged on negotiations with Presbyterians or others. A fuller account of it may be given later.

A much bigger American book which will give joy and instruction when it reaches these shores is *Puritanism and Democracy* (Vanguard Press, $5.00), by Ralph Barton Perry, of Harvard. Although Mr. Perry is a Professor of Philosophy—and we admit to liking our history and our philosophy (if at all) neat—he has written a treatise historians will invariably find stimulating and suggestive. Perhaps the weakest pages are those dealing with the English background,
where a copied mistake (p. 262) reveals that his knowledge is second-hand, and where he telescopes too much into small space. At any rate he is provocative: we found ourselves wanting to argue about the last four italicized words in this sentence:

The puritans in the strictest sense were the left-wing protestants within the Anglican church during the century from the liberal policy of Elizabeth to the repressive policy of Charles II, or from Thomas Cartwright, the reformer, to Richard Baxter, the outlaw.

Professor Perry understands and emphasizes the difference between the Puritans and the Separatists, and between the outlook of Plymouth, Massachusetts, and Connecticut. His commentary is sound and thought-provoking, and his summaries concise and helpful: thus, e.g.:

It is not necessary, therefore, that the later historian should build a bridge from puritanism to democracy. The puritans themselves built such a bridge, and many of them crossed it, some decades before John Locke. Men such as Cromwell, Milton, Williams, and Penn belong alike to the history of protestantism and the history of democracy. The separation of church and state, the diversity of religious creeds freely held and lived within a common civil framework, the spirit of inquiry and discussion, the ideal of voluntary agreement, the appeal from the political authority to the universal human faculties of conscience and reason, the sentiments of equality and humanity—all these were all cherished within the bosom of puritanism against the time when their fuller implications could be realized in appropriate political and legal institutions.

A volume not easy to read, but to be read more than once.

This reference to an American Andrew Reed will fill out articles on Congregational workers among the deaf and dumb which have appeared in our pages. H. K. Rowe, in his History of Andover Theological Seminary (1933) writes:

Thomas H. Gallaudet graduated from Andover in 1814 with bright prospects for success in the ministry, but his interest in the deaf and dumb turned him aside. Presently he accepted an appointment to become the head of the Connecticut Asylum for such defectives at Hartford, and he established it on firm foundations. Later in life he was chaplain of a county prison and then of the Connecticut Retreat for the Insane. He was prominent in philanthropical societies, a writer, and an acceptable preacher.
Editorial

We hear that a history of the Wilmslow Congregational Church is nearly ready, and hope to refer to it in our next issue. It has been encouraging to notice that during the celebrations of the Triple Jubilee of the London Missionary Society, many Districts have prepared histories of their own contributions to the Society's life and work. We trust that the Society is making a collection of these, and that in due course one will be given to the Congregational Library.
Selina, Countess of Huntingdon

In his novel The Path of the King, John Buchan reminds us that "the things we call aristocracies and reigning houses are not the best places to look for masterful men. They began strongly but they have been too long in possession. They have been cossetted and comforted and the devil has gone out of their blood". Like all generalizations Buchan's statement only expresses part of the truth; another of its facets is expressed in the ancestry and life of the remarkable woman who was the foundress of one of our oldest theological colleges. Lady Selina Shirley, born at Stanton, in Leicestershire, in the year of the Act of Union with Scotland, had the blood of princes, dukes, and earls from the Confessor's time mingled in her veins. She came of imperious stock, and she herself was imperious. At the age of 21 she married into another ancient family which traced its ancestry back to that Duke of Clarence who was brother to Edward IV. Theophilus Hastings, 9th Earl of Huntingdon, had been selected by his peers in the House of Lords to carry the Sword of State in the coronation procession of George II (1727-8); he was the intimate friend of Lords Bolingbroke and Chesterfield, the cynical wits of the day; a persona grata at Court; a nobleman of substance and position. His young bride had all the necessary qualifications to fit her to become hostess in the brilliant hospitality of Donnington Park and the London Drawing Room and to take her part in the fashionable life of 18th century aristocracy. One incident in her early married life shows her already to be a woman of spirit, independence, and enterprise. With the Duchess of Queensberry, the Duchess of Ancaster, and other titled ladies she arrived early one morning at the House of Lords to listen from the Strangers' Gallery to the debate on the question of Spanish encroachments on English property, only to find the door shut again. Her and her friends, there being not an inch of space in the House available for them. The Chancellor had made an order forbidding any more admittances; pleadings with Sir Ian Sanderson were vain until Her Grace of Queensbury announced that they were determined to come in in spite of the Chancellor and his order. The Peers retaliated by attempting to starve their ladies out; but these vigorous Amazons were not to be deterred; till 5 in the afternoon they thumped, kicked, and rapped the door so that speakers in the Assembly were heard only with difficulty. Then the Duchess of Queensberry ordered a silence of half an hour. This unexpected cessation of active hostilities
succeeded in doing what it was aimed to do; the unsuspecting Chancellor, imagining that the besiegers had retired, gave orders for the door to be opened, whereupon the ladies rushed the entrance and pushing aside all competitors occupied the front row of the gallery and beguiled the time till the house rose at 11 o'clock with laughter, jibes, cat-calls, and contempt. Selina and her friends were 150 years before their time: they would have chained themselves to the railings of Buckingham Palace with eager abandon.

But it was not the giddy round of balls and entertainments, nor excursions into politics, which really held the Countess of Huntingdon. Always seriously minded, at the age of nine she had been stirred to dwell on the eternal issues of life and death by the funeral procession of a little girl which she met on one of her walks. Brought up in the culture and traditions of the Church of England, married to a serious and earnest man, practising sincerely, as distinct from most of her class, the tenets and habits of her church, early in her married life she came to appreciate the spiritual fervour of the recently expressed doctrines of the Wesleys through her two sister-in-law, Lady Margaret and Lady Catherine Hastings, who each married a parson with Methodist leanings. Lady Margaret, indeed, once expressed to the Countess that ever since she had known some of these Methodist preachers and had embraced their doctrines she had been "as happy as an angel". Was Lady Huntingdon as happy as that? She had all that worldly position and wealth could supply to make her happy; she was properly devout in her religious exercises and faithful in the discharge of her religious duties; but she could not rest in the Lord; she did not know joy and peace in believing. Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, was much concerned about her spiritual life when a sudden serious illness settled the matter for her. In her physical weakness she cast herself and her sins upon her Saviour, yielded herself fully to Him, and renounced every other hope. Hearing, during her convalescence, that the Wesley brothers were in the neighbourhood, she sent them a message of Christian greeting, and in doing so seemingly cast in her lot with the despised and derided Methodists, sharing henceforth in the opprobrium and abuse with which they were loaded.

Lord Huntingdon, unlike most husbands of the time, did not attempt to interfere with his wife's religious concerns and activities; though he urged her to see his former tutor, Benson, at that time Bishop of Gloucester. Benson had been the friend and helper of George Whitefield, the Gloucester pot-boy, and had ordained him some years before. Whitefield, at this time in America, had taken London by storm, castigated the fashionable for their vices and scandalized pious Churchmen by his own extravagances. The good Bishop found it difficult to forgive his own haste in ever ordaining
such a firebrand and admitted as much to the Countess, who replied, "My Lord, mark my words, when you are on your dying bed that will be one of the few ordinations which you will reflect on with complacency". Possibly that is so, for shortly before he died, Benson sent Whitefield fifteen guineas and asked to be remembered in his prayers. Apart from this, though Selina's interview with the Bishop was cordial enough, it was not very helpful, save in so far as it confirmed her in the sympathies she was feeling for Methodist doctrines, despite the fact that everywhere Methodist preachers were under an ecclesiastical ban; they were prevented from entering most of the parish churches, John Wesley indeed preaching at least once from his father's gravestone at Epworth, while the church in which his father had ministered was fast shut against him. After her interview with Bishop Benson, Selina became a warm supporter of the Methodist cause, writing to John Wesley when he had submitted an extract of his Journal to her, "I think there is not one thing that ought to be omitted. We never forget to recommend you, and all your undertakings, at the throne of grace", while he for his part dedicated to "The Right Honourable Countess of Huntingdon" a Collection of Moral and Sacred Poems. "I inscribe these poems to you, not only because you were the occasion of their thus appearing in the world, but also because it may be an inducement to many to read them. Your name indeed cannot excuse a bad poem; but it may recommend good ones to those who would not otherwise consider whether they were good or bad".

John was not insensible to the influence of the Countess upon her own aristocratic circle, which he and his preachers had little opportunity of meeting. In fact, one of the characteristics of the Countess's new-found joy and peace in believing was that instead of leading her to minister among the poor as it has led so many of her social standing, it led her, together with a concern for the depressed, to have an even greater concern for her own large, brilliant, and fashionable acquaintance. She appreciated the strategic value of winning the aristocracy of the 18th century for God, and set herself to do it. To this end, after her husband's death in 1748, and on her removal to Ashley and becoming mistress of the London house, she appointed the golden-tongued Whitefield to be one of her private chaplains, with the express object of having him present the grace of God in the gospel to the smart set who were always eager to attend her drawing-rooms. Such was her own charm and graciousness that her identification with the despised hot gospellers in no way estranged from her the titled company in which she moved as social and political equal. Sarah Churchill, Duchess of Marlborough, the saucy Mrs. Freeman of Queen Anne, can write to the Countess,
My dear Lady H. is always so very good to me, and I really do feel so very sensibly all of your kindness and attention that I must accept your very obliging invitation to hear Mr. Whitefield though I am still suffering from the effects of a severe cold. Your concern for my improvement and religious knowledge is very obliging, and I do hope that I shall be the better for all your excellent advice. It might be the means of doing me some good, for good, alas! I do want; but where among the corrupt sons and daughters of Adam am I to find it? When alone my reflections and recollections almost kill me and I am forced to fly to the society of those I detest and abhor. Now there is Lady Frances Saundersen's great rout to-morrow night, and all the world will be there and I must go. I do hate that woman as much as I do a physician, but I must go if for no other purpose than to mortify and spite her. This is very wicked I know, but I confess all my little peccadilloes to you, for I know your goodness will lead you to be mild and forgiving and perhaps my wicked heart may get some good from you in the end.

We are not told whether Viceroy Sarah got the good she spoke of; similar uncertainty surrounds many another of those drawing-room devotees, but there were many who, like the wife of Lord Chesterfield and his sisters, were affected; and certainly amid a frivolous and corrupt society a leaven of wholesomeness was at work, while even David Hume the philosopher, present on one occasion, testified that Whitefield's preaching "surpassed anything I ever saw or heard in any other preacher".

Under Whitefield's influence Lady Huntingdon's work began to take on richer and deeper form. Deeply concerned by the exclusion of Methodist preachers from the pulpits of the Establishment, and the often lax theological position of many Methodists themselves, with determination and insight the Countess applied her great wealth and prestige to securing more order and harmony in the Revival movement by the provision of chapels and preaching centres. So began — first as a missionary organization rather than as another denomination — the famous Connexion. It is worth noting that Wesley, the Calvinistic Methodists of Wales, and later the Primitive Methodists, also had their "Connexions" and considered themselves in that way rather than as Churches in the commonly accepted sense. To begin with, the pulpits at York, Huddersfield, Gloucester, Worcester, Lewes, Brighton, Norwich, Margate, Bath, Bristol, and Tunbridge Wells, were mainly supplied by clergymen, and the prayers of the Church of England were read in the services, at the express wish of the Countess; in many of the chapels this is still the custom to-day. Selina hoped her ministers
might occupy a middle position between Anglicanism and Dissent, and enter any doors of opportunity without giving offence to either side; but this hope was never fulfilled and at last she herself was forced by circumstances to secede from the Church of her birth and tradition and become the foundress of yet another sect. The occasion was the dog-in-the-manger attitude of the incumbent of Clerkenwell in respect of Northampton Chapel in Spa Fields. Two clergy of the Methodist persuasion were appointed by the owners as preachers till an ecclesiastical lawsuit gave to the incumbent of Clerkenwell prior rights over the building and the pulpit. As a result the chapel came into the market and the Countess bought it and placed it on a footing with her other preaching stations, under the protection and jurisdiction of a peeress with the name of Spa Fields Chapel. But once again in the Law Courts the incumbent vindicated his rights; and the Countess’s preachers were prohibited from ministering there. Secession seemed to her now to be the only available course in order to save the Spa Fields congregation; she withdrew from the Church of England, hoping still to maintain the neutral position between Anglicanism and Dissent. But this expectation proved abortive; not even the Countess could keep Spa Fields and her other chapels as a kind of ecclesiastical no-man’s-land; the circumstances of the time drove her in the direction of Dissent while the ordination of six young men from her College at Trevecca at Spa Fields in 1783 caused her societies to assume the form of a separate denomination. It is interesting to record that Dr. Haweis, one of the Countess’s chaplains, whom she appointed to be the first minister of Spa Fields in 1779, was 16 years later to be one of the founders of the London Missionary Society. On the site of the chapel to-day stands the Church of the Holy Redeemer.

Meanwhile as the Connexion developed, the need for providing a regular trained ministry became obvious to the Countess, and she consulted her friend, the Rev. John Fletcher of Madeley, near Bath. Trevecca House, near Talgarth, was a massive building believed to be part of an old castle dating back to the time of Henry II, the date over the entrance being 1176. Here the Countess proposed to train Christian young men who desired to enter the ministry of the Church of England or any other Protestant denomination, and with her usual discrimination she invited Fletcher to undertake the superintendence of her College while he still continued as parish priest of Madeley.

The College was opened for religious and literary education, and the chapel was dedicated by Whitefield and other chaplains on St. Bartholomew’s Day, 1768, the Countess’s 50th birthday. Lady Huntingdon with many friends stayed in the College for the opening
ceremony and frequently visited it, particularly at Anniversary
time. Added to the expenses of her chapels up and down the
Kingdom the cost of maintaining the College would have been too
much had not many friends, among them John Newton’s patron,
Thornton the banker (£1,000), and her own friend and fellow-
worker in Scotland, Lady Glenorchy (£1,000), co-operated with
her in its upkeep. Her own son, the 10th Lord Huntingdon, never
shared but rather opposed his mother’s zeal for evangelical religion,
and did his best to hinder if not to thwart her enthusiasm for the
College. When the lease of Trevecca House expired in 1792, the
College linked up, at the Countess’s wish, with the well-known
Nonconformist theological foundation at Cheshunt, Herts., and
was opened on August 24. The affairs of the new College were
to be managed by seven Trustees, and to it went the Communion
Plate and Library, Lady Huntingdon’s original gift at Trevecca.
As we all know, the College moved once again in 1905 to its present
and, we may hope, its final home in the leading University of the
Kingdom; Selina’s portrait looks down from her place over the man-
telpiece in the Hall upon successive generations of Cheshunt men;
her furniture is in the Combination Room, and it is from her Table
that the sacred elements of the Sacrament are administered to sons
who may justly call their foundress Alma Mater. Accounts of early
anniversaries make astonishing reading for men reared in the
Cambridge tradition of the 20th century. A supper and two sermons
on Anniversary eve; at 6 a.m. on the great day, a sermon in Welsh
followed by one in English; at 10.30 more sermons in both
languages till Mr. Toplady announced the hymn “Blow ye the
trumpet, blow!” to people who had been standing since six and
who were not to get their dinner till nearly 3. There followed three
more sermons and then the Sacrament by the light of the setting
sun, administered in a natural dell in the College garden. Modern
Commemoration, with short service, an address and tea in the
court is small beer compared with the super-abundant spiritual and
material feast of the late eighteenth century.

There is one sad feature in the long record of the Countess’s
story which cannot altogether be omitted — the controversy be-
tween Wesley and Whitefield provoked by the attitude of the former
to Calvinism at the Methodist Conference in 1770. Twenty years
earlier the apostle of grace and the preacher of Calvinism had
crossed swords, but the incipient rift between them had been healed
by Lady Huntingdon. In 1770, however, the conflict started again
and she came down firmly on the side of her Chaplain and decreed
that no one holding Mr. Wesley’s views could remain in her College.
Feelings were aroused on both sides; then a reconciliation seemed
near when a tract, written in the early days of the controversy by
one of Wesley's men, John Fletcher, was produced which made the healing of the breach almost impossible. Both sides contended earnestly for what each believed to be the truth; each side would have welcomed a via media, but in the circumstances of the time none was to be found. For the remaining twenty years of their lives Wesley and the Countess remained on friendly, even cordial terms, but a real working partnership was no longer theirs.

Whitefield died in 1770, before the Calvinistic controversy was many months old; by a strange coincidence the man and the woman who in the whole course of our history did more for the evangelization of our country than any others were born within a few months of each other when the 18th century was dawning and died within a few months of each other when it was in its last decade. The converts of the Countess among high and low were innumerable; she established chapels for the preaching of the Word and organized and trained men to preach it; she spent her large fortune and sold her precious jewels for the sake of her Lord; before our great missionary societies came into being she poured out her material treasure in support of Whitefield's mission stations, schools, and orphanages in America, for the winning of West Africa for Christ, and in her 84th year was full of a project for sending the gospel to Tahiti; she rebuked the Archbishop of Canterbury for the irresponsible frivolities of Lambeth Palace, and being rebuffed by his vigorous wife appealed to the King to rebuke the lackadaisical prelate.

For a life of such amazing energy, there may to-day be little enough to show in any comprehensive catalogue, neat diagram, or table of statistics; perhaps the Countess lacked John Wesley's penchant for careful organization, but in an indefinable influence which spread over England, in the constant stream of men from her College, Lady Huntingdon is not lacking a memorial.

To Cardinal Newman, the Countess was the high priestess of a poisonous heresy, but he salutes her as one who opened new worlds to the revival, the representative, in an evil day, of the rich becoming poor for Christ: she acted, he says, as one ought to act who considered this life a pilgrimage, not a home.

It is her unique distinction in the course of sixty years from the time of her marriage till her death to have compelled practically every man in England from the King on his throne to the peasant and the artisan in his cottage to give serious consideration to the condition of his immortal soul. Horace Walpole's gibe, "Queen of the Methodists", may be a little hard on one who has given so much to the universal Church, Macaulay's verdict that had she been a Catholic, Rome would have canonized her, may be a little extravagant. Perhaps Whitefield put it best when he called her a Mother in Israel, all aflame for Jesus. R. G. Martin.
Congregational Martyrs at Bury St. Edmunds.
How Many?

THE Congregational Church at Bury St. Edmunds celebrates its tercentenary in 1946, and it is fortunate in possessing a minute book which dates from 1646. This commemoration adds interest to a discovery among the Ellesmere MSS. in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

It has long been known that high on the name of Congregational martyrs must be placed William Dennis, executed in 1583 at Thetford—"a godly man, and faithful in his place", Governor Bradford called him—and John Coppin or Copping and Elias Thacker (or Fawker) executed at Bury St. Edmunds in the same year. Bury had long been a centre of Puritan activity, George Withers having been silenced there for a time in 1565. John Handson, curate of St. James's, seems to have been influenced by the teachings of Robert Browne, who was arrested for preaching in private conventicles in or near Bury in April, 1581. At that time Coppin had been in prison for five years: a layman, he refused to allow his child to be baptized by an unpreaching minister, and declared the Queen was perjured in describing herself as Head of the Church. When he was joined in prison by Thacker is not clear, nor do we know how the two of them came to accept Browne's views, but in 1583 they were charged with being "great dispersers" of the books of Browne and Harrison, which had come over from Middelburg (perhaps in sheets to be bound by Thomas Gibson, who was also charged). Gibson was found guilty, but submitted and was reprieved; the other two remained firm, commending everything in the books as good and godly, and declaring that the Queen's rule was in civil matters only. While the Court was still sitting—perhaps to prevent an appeal to Queen, Parliament, or Council, perhaps to avoid popular clamour—Thacker was hanged (4 June, 1583), and Coppin on the following day or two days later (the accounts vary). Bradford, writing long afterwards, said:

God gave them courage to bear it, and to make this answer: "My Lord [Sir Christopher Wray, the Lord Chief Justice], your face we fear not, and for your threats we care not, and to come to your read service, we dare not".

When, among the Ellesmere MSS., a reference to men put to death at Bury was noted, it was assumed the reference would be to Coppin
and Thacker, and that maybe a date had gone astray, but the date
in each case seems clear, 4 and 5 June, 1583, for Coppin and
Thacker, and 11 July, 1584, in the Ellesmere document, with "my
L. Anderson [Sir Edmund, Lord Chief Justice of the Common
Pleas]" as the Judge.

The relevant Ellesmere MSS. are three in number, two of them
being duplicates of the same story, and the other a confession of
faith. The abbreviations are run out.

I. 2076.C. [on p. 34 a verso, upside down]

Set down your pen to paper, and write this that was told me of a
gentleman of good Credet, that hathe good Frendes in the Courte, who
told hym, that some of the Counsell had dealt were earnestly with her
Majestie concerning the execution of those men at Berye, and for their
Relygion, & for the depryvyng of the Justices [? ,] for the trowblynge
of the preachers, & Christyan professors. And her grace did answer,
that they were purytyanse, & that she was Credebly enfromed of them
that they wer the worste people in the land & doethe most hurt, &
disturbe the Comon Welthe of her Contrey, And my Lord Threzurer stept
in & desyred her grace to heare hym speake, who told her, that her
land stood cheifly with three sortes of people, the one was papistes, who
wyshethe her death, and hopeth for a day, & never prayethe for her.
And the greatest sorte of people ar Atheystes & did hold no Relygion
But always accordyng accordyng [sic] to the lawes, & doethe not
Care for you, but are Redie always to serve an other as well as you, what
Relygion so ever they be of, but those you call purytyanse are your best
subiectes, & do always pray earnestly for your grace & most cheifly
care for you, & therfor be most trowbeld, & some put to death for
their Concynce. Then her grace sayd that it was not her will that any
should be put to death for their Concynce. And then Commanded
that those Judges should be sent for, & lykewyse those Justices that
were depryved frome their offfycese noe what will come of this wee
knowe not but let us praye

II. Unnumbered, on 50 a verso, foot

Ther wer certayn of the Counsell had delt with her Majestie concerning
the execution of those men at Berie & for their Relygion & for the trowble
of the preachers & Christian professors. And her Grace answered, that
she was credebly informed of them, that they were of the worst people in
her land & do most hurt, & disturbe the Comon weale of the Contrey
And then my L. Threz. stept in, & requested her grace to heare hym
speake, who told her, that her land stood cheiflyy with 3 sortes of people,
the one was papistes who wyshethe her death, and hope for a day, & the
greatest sort of the people were Atheists, & did hold of no Relygion, but
allways accordyng to the lawes, and do not care for you, but are redy
allways to serue an other as well as you, what Relygion so ever they be
of. And those you call purytyance are your best subiectes, & do always
pray earnestly for your Grace, & most of all care for you, & these be more
trowbeld, & some put to death for their concynces, & then Comanded
that those Justices for sayd she, it is not my will that any shall be put
to death for their concynces.

1 Obviously something omitted here.
III. 2066. On 74 recto.

The maner of the faythere wherein the towne men dyed which were put to death at berye adiuged by my L. Anderson the 11 of July in Anno 1584.

Wee beleue in one God Father allmightie maker & governor of all Creatures. And in one Jesus Chryste, our [?] Kyng prophett & priest Our Saveour & Redeemer beyng bothe perfecte God & man, The true Messias, one mediator & advocate.

Even so we beleue in one holie Ghoste beyng vere God of God, proceedinge frome the father & the Sonne, even of the selfe same nature, powre, and dignetie, who is our sanctefyer & the Seale of Our Redempotion purchased by Jesus Chryste.

And wee beleue that these three several persons, are but one everlastyng & lyvyng God.

We beleue that the father is a person by hym selfe, yet not without his Sonne. We beleue that the Sonne is a person by hymselfe & yet not without his father. We beleue that the holie Ghost is a person by hym self, yet not without the father, & the Sonne.

We beleue that Jesus Christ was Conceaved by the holie Ghoste, even of our fleshe, & borne of the Virgen Marie, A man lyke unto us synn excepted. In this his humanity wee beleue that he suffered death, hell torments, & the Sorowes of death, to delyver us from synne & the punnyshement which by the laue of God is due to the same.

And that he was buryed, & Rose agayne the third day, for a more confirmation of his death, wherby we beleue our justificacion is fyneshed, and we are assured that after deathe at the last day by the vertue of his Resurrection to ryse agayne lykwyse frome death to lyfe. And so assend with hym in glorie ther to Remayne everlastynglye.

So we beleue that he hath all power given hym of his father, & that is ment by syttyng on his Ryght hand in the heavens.

Ww beleue that from heaven he shall come to judge bothe those that are alvye nowe, and then at his comyng, those that are all rede dead.

We beleue lykewyse that he hath a Churche wiche is holye (wherof we are members) and he is the head therof, & that is his body to whom he hath granted & given Repentance, & to non but to her, to her onlie hathe he strycken this Covenant, I will put my lawes in their myndes (jeremy 31 chap. 31-34 v.), & in their hartes I will wryt them, & I wilbe their God, & they shalbe my people, for I will be mercyfull vnto theyr unrighteousnes, & I will Remember theyr synnes & inyqytes no more.

their prayer

O God & mercyfull father perforne this thy Covenant unto us poore synnfull Creatures to forgeve all our unrighteousnes, & be our God. And in the name of Christ we stryke this Covenant on our Partes severally every one of us to be thy people, & thy Churche acknoweleyenge non other heade & Kyng to rule over us spirytuall, but thy only begotten Sonne Jesus Chryste our lorde.

Therfor we vowe & swear by the lyvyng God to suffer oure selves, & freely geve our obedience to be governed & ruled by his lawes, & government to the uttermost of the power which thowe by thy Spirite shalt enhabe us withall.

And by the vertue of the same we bynd our selves to be taught by Jesus Christ & his mynisters, whom thow hast or hereafter shall send, for the worke of thy mynystere. And lykwyys by the order of Admonytion which thow has apoynted in thy Churche, that is for every Brother & Sister severally to styrr up one an other & provoke unto love & to good
woorkes, usynge the fellowshipp of Sayntes & thus we will be taught by Christ thy prophet. And even so by vertue of the same oathe we bynd our selves to his preestly office, acknowledge thy hyme onlie to be our mediator betwene God his father & us, & non but he. And therfor will use & Receave his Sacraments at the handes of those he shall send withe his word of message. Thus we bynd our selves to be thy people & Churche apparrant, holdynge Christ to be our head captayne & Kynge, & therfor willyngly submytt our selves to his government, & hold hym to be our prophet & teacher, and willingly will suffer oure selves to be taught by hym & his orders apoynted to teache us.

And lyk wise we will hold hym to be our heighe preist of attonment betwene God & us, & our Contynuall mediator & advocat & will make no prayers to the father, but in his name.

And thus wee beleive all that wee have here professed by our mouthes, to be the only truthe even withe our hartes, & ended their lyves to the good of many atheists papists & lybertyns which confessed that they wer never so lyvely touched to the quyck as by this their pacynce & prayers for her Maiestie & all their enemyes, &c.

So far we have been unable to discover anything about the 1584 executions. Some information about their trial should be forth-coming, but inquiries so far have been fruitless.

Albert Peel.
The Beginnings of Dissent in Painswick,
SOME HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS

A PATHETIC little note opens the old Church Minute Book of the Painswick Congregational Church. It reads:

In consequence of the neglect of our forefathers in committing to paper the accounts of their churches, we in the present age (1863) have but scanty materials wherewith we can fill this important section (Historical Account) of this valuable book. We hope that coming ages shall not be compelled to make the same complaint.

The very note serves as a challenge to seek out the beginnings, and once having undertaken the task it is surprising how much may be gleaned. While a detailed account of the beginning and immediate continuance may not be secured, the fact was actually placed on record because it was historically important.

The middle years of the 17th century were marked by a strong demand for religious liberty, and those who had been active in the more populous centres migrated to other regions to secure that for which they sought. The Cotswold Hills harboured many of that cast of mind, and the knots of Christian revolutionaries which they gathered eventually were formed into churches. In the immediate Cotswold region there are five Congregational Churches which claim 1662, or an earlier date, as their commencement. The actual date, however, is often selected as the earliest general declaration of dissent, since it is not known how many of them were gathered as churches prior to this. There were few, if any, meeting-houses for them, so the Dissenters continued in uneasy communicant membership of the Established Church, and it would appear that many of the priests in charge were of a like temper. At length, however, it was inevitable that the simmering demand for freedom should become active.

In the story of the Painswick Congregational Church, a cross-section of English history in which it is set reveals some fascinating fragments of the jigsaw of early Nonconformity.

The first fragment on record in the story of dissent at Painswick is dated 1644, a date which is much involved in the civil disturbances in Britain. The fragment reads:

1644, The Rev. George Dorwood turned the family of the Rev. Thomas Wild (or Wilde), the minister, into the street in the depth of winter, and he commenced the Nonconformist cause.

There the narrative broke off and gave no clue to further developments. On the face of it, the obvious conclusion is that Thomas Wild was the "Nonconformist" who started the cause. The term itself, in this connection, is somewhat previous since it did not come into definite usage until 1662. Evidently that scrap of information was written with a backward glance. Of the result of George Dorwood's action nothing is known—from the Free Church angle. It is easy to see that whatever attempt to secure liberty there might have been, it was abortive.

Twelve years later, however, that is, by 1656, it is seen that the desire for freedom is not dead, for, by the eventual strength of the Dissenters, it may be safely held that the "Nonconformist cause", once begun, could not be easily uprooted. The question as to the actual founder of this "Nonconformist cause" is partly answered by the records of the Parish Church. I quote from the book by the late Sir Francis Hyett, entitled Glimpses of the History of Painswick. By 1641, the right of appointment of a vicar was vested in certain trustees on behalf of the people, but there was a clause that a certain Thomas Wild (who was a royalist) should be presented. This was accordingly done in 1641-2, and it led of course to complications. Wild was forcibly ejected in or about 1644, when his successor, George Dorwood, who was probably the first vicar chosen by the parishioners, took possession of the living.

It is a principle of Congregationalism that each gathered company has the right to invite its own minister. Here was the principle in action, and the fragments fit together with fair compactness.

It was Dorwood, therefore, not Wild, who was the reforming spirit, and his action was in keeping with the temper of the people themselves. It has been stated that the Rev. George Dorwood became the first Dissenting minister, but this is so only in an oblique sense, and not in the actual sense of taking charge of the Dissenting body. Cornelius Winter's written account, now in our possession, reads:

The Revd. George Dorwood minister of this parish in the close of the last century laid the foundation of the little interest over which I have presided as Pastor from July 1788... On the death of Mr. Dorwood a division ensued for the choice of another minister. The number of them who were strainous (strenuous?) for evangelical doctrine being overpowered by the influence of Sir Robert Atkins... congregated together in a private house under the charge of the Revd. Mr. Tippets...

As for George Dorwood the man, a pen picture of him is given by Winter, who recorded what was commonly said about him:

It is remarked of him that he seldom left the pulpit with a dry shirt or dry eyes...
There is actually a gap in Winter's account and it has not been possible to bridge it from local sources. This refers to the period between the disruption and the coming of Andrew Tippett (or Tippets) in 1690 or 1705. The Parish Church records, too, are extremely sparse. Civil war swept the hills during 1640-44; Charles I and his army occupied Painswick for a period, and the following years were unsettled. Sir Francis Hyett records that "the Parish Registers for the years 1628-1653 have disappeared". A few years later, by 1662, George Dorwood subscribed to the Act of Uniformity, which disposes of the conjecture that he was the first minister of the Dissenting company.

After ten years, however, the Dissenters are seen to be strong enough to support a "Teacher", and the Rev. Francis Harris, Curate of Deerhurst, Gloucestershire, having been ejected under the Act of Uniformity, took out a Licence under the Declaration of Indulgence in 1672, to be a Congregational Teacher at Painswick, and his house was licensed as a meeting-place. That, again, is an interesting fragment. Nothing more is known of Francis Harris, whether he died in Painswick, or removed elsewhere.

The church comes into the bigger picture of the Nonconformist tradition during the latter years of the 17th and the early 18th century. Cornelius Winter gives the information that three outstanding men were distinguished under the denomination of Presbyterians, which, however unwarrantable, being unconnected with any Synod, is the name by which our neighbours now distinguish us... It is here that Winter mentions Mr. Tippets, in whose ministry a chapel was secured. Whether this was the original meeting-house licensed by Francis Harris or another is not mentioned. In connection with it, however, it became necessary, during the ministry of Cornelius Winter, to declare the right to it. The manuscript has no date. It reads:

BE IT KNOWN

That the place of worship called the upper Meeting-house in this town is the sole property of the Congregation worshipping therein being purchased by them in the year 1705 consequently all expenses incident there-to must be borne by them. The aforesaid meeting being copyhold of inheritance is subject to fines and other expenses attending surrenders—The late Mr. Thos. King died in the possession of it his widow according to the manorial custom would enjoy (the?) free-bench which made two surrenders in court necessary the first a surrender of her free bench to the congregation second their surrender of the fee-simple to Mr. Jn. King whom they have chosen for their present trust: further—to prevent its being claimed as private property by the trust or by his heirs & in case of his demise he gives his bond to two eligible members of the Church that it shall continue (bona fide) the property of the congregation for the worship and service of God the expence incur'd by surrenders, fines,
copies & Bond is - - - - £5 12/- which is paid by voluntary contribution in manner following

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It does not state how the remainder of the money was found.

As in other places—for instance, at Tewkesbury—there was some confusion between Presbyterian and other Dissenting bodies. It appears to have arisen because of the strength of the form of the Church in Scotland, and by the action of the Long Parliament in abolishing Episcopacy—at any rate for a time. At Painswick, this was merely a common misapprehension and led to no Synodical links.

Step by step Nonconformity grew in strength. By 1715, Dissent was of sufficient strength to permit ministers to be ordained by those of their own conviction. Hence, Leonard (or Leoline) Edwards, who settled in Painswick about 1715, had been ordained by Matthew Henry.

Spanning the century swiftly, we come to the humble figure of Cornelius Winter himself. By 1788, the year in which he came to the place, Nonconformity had dwindled considerably. Wars with France and America had made severe inroads on the resources of the land and its people. To offset such adverse influence, however, there were other, and more important, factors at work. Persons are more powerful than organizations in the long run, and this was the case when Wesley set out on his campaign, and the preaching of Whitefield roused men.

One of Whitefield’s hearers at the Tabernacle society was the young Cornelius Winter. It is recorded, sadly, that Winter was not altogether kindly treated by the great preacher, but he acknowledged that he had at least received education from Whitefield. Later, Winter laboured among negro slaves in Savannah and afterwards returned to Britain intending to seek episcopal ordination. This was curtly refused him because of his earlier association with Whitefield. Shortly after this, guided by the counsel of Rowland Hill, he was ordained as an Independent preacher, at Christian Malford, Wilts. From that centre he travelled through the Cotswold and Severn Valley villages. His first settled pastorate was at Marlborough, where, in addition to his ministerial activities, he kept an academy. One of his pupils became the Rev. William Jay, of Bath, and Winter’s biographer.
Cornelius Winter was 46 years old when he responded to the invitation to Painswick. Here again, to augment his stipend, he took pupils. He ministered at Painswick from 1788 to 1808.

Little is known of the several chapels which have been erected on the site of the present building. Notes gathered in 1903 state that the site is that on which the first meeting-house for Dissenters was built. In 1892, the chapel, which had been erected by Cornelius Winter on the site of the earlier chapel by Tippets, was itself rebuilt, and, in honour of a man who held a settled pastorate during turbulent times, it was given his name as Winter Memorial.

T. E. Morris.

£100 Prize

We hope members of the Society have noticed the offer by Independent Press of a prize of £100 for a manuscript on theology, apologetics, or church history by an author who has not yet published a work sold at more than 5/- . It would be encouraging if the prize could be won by a member of our Society for a work on church history.
Cavendish: Further Notes

The last section in the Toleration Act of 1689 enacted that "no congregation or assembly for religious worship shall be permitted... until the place of such meeting shall be certified to the bishop of the diocese or to the archdeacon... (or to the justices of the peace at the general or quarter sessions... )... and registered in the said bishop's or archdeacon's court... or recorded at the said sessions; the register or clerk of the peace... is required to register the same, and to give certificate thereof to such person as shall demand the same" [fee not to exceed 6d.].

Since 1852 such places have been certified to the Registrar-General. Through the skill and kindness of Rev. W. Marshall Jones of Bury St. Edmunds the following items have been extracted from the archidiaconal records of Sudbury. They show that In-dependency in our village had a much earlier birth than we supposed.

1703—Nov. 24. It was certified by John Rae of Bury St. Edmunds grocer that the dwelling houses of Elizabeth Price, widow, and John Rowell, situated in Cavendish were set apart for the religious worship of protestant dissenters. [John Rae also certified for a place in Clare 1718.]

1711—Oct. 19. John Morley of Bury certified that the house of Thomas Revell, grocer, in Cavendish, was set aside, etc.


1718—April 3. John Rae of Bury certified for the houses of John Revell (Webster), Abram Thompson (weaver) and John Relton (weaver) all of Cavendish.

1840—July 29. J. S. Garrett certified for a building, the property of Elizabeth Garrett, as set apart, etc. This was our first chapel, enlarged in 1843 and rebuilt in 1858.

Notes:

1. Evidently the 18th century was a period of cottage meetings, the church in the house.

2. John Revell (1718) and Thomas Revell (1711) were probably kinsmen; so perhaps also John Rowell (1703)—in the handwriting of the time 'ow' and 'ev' are almost identical.
3. Mr. Jones has also collected similar references to Clare and Sudbury; they bear witness to the evangelistic zeal of the Church at Bury which celebrates its tercentenary in 1946.

4. There are also certifications for Baptist (1831) and Wesleyan (1818) meeting places in Cavendish, but neither of these were perpetuated. Our cause has become a real Free Church (Congregationalists, Baptists, Presbyterians, and Methodists dwell together in unity).

A. J. Grieve.
Life at Hoxton College¹
1820—1823

Being part of the Autobiography of
Alexander Stewart,
written for his children.

MS. II 1-16, with one or two omissions.

Alexander Stewart was born at Kirkcaldy, 27th May, 1790. He ran away to sea when a boy, and had many adventures and narrow escapes from drowning. Before he was fifteen he was a prisoner of war in the hands of the French, and the next eight years he spent in captivity in France; at one period he and his companions were marched 800 miles, chained by their necks. He survived many hardships, picked up some education, and at last reached England. After a voyage to St. Petersburg, he became a teacher at Hammersmith, Egham, and Mr. Lemon's school at Islington in turn. He then decided to enter the ministry and became a student at Hoxton in 1820.

In 1823 he became pastor at Barnet, and shortly after opened a school for boarders and day boys. From 1833 he began to take students for the ministry, some preparatory to entering Highbury and other colleges, others for a full course. From 1847 he and his sons conducted a school in Holloway, though he continued his pastoral charge at Barnet for some years. He died 3rd November, 1874.

Toward the end of his life he wrote a narrative for his children, which describes the years spent in France in considerable detail, and brings the story down to 1869.

Two sons, George and Halley, became ministers, Halley at The Croft, Hastings, and Caledonian Road, London, for some years before turning to the business career which in due course led to the foundation of the Sir Halley Stewart Trust.

The narrative is now in the possession of Sir P. Malcolm Stewart, Bart., Alexander Stewart's grandson. A volume will shortly be published containing the narrative of the early years in full, and the rest of it summarized. The whole gives a picture of the life of a Congregational minister whose training, equipment, and career were altogether out of the ordinary. We are indebted to Sir Malcolm Stewart for permission to print in extenso parts of the narrative. In this number will be found the account of life at Hoxton from 1820

¹ Compare John Stoughton's account of life at Highbury College, 1828-31, in Recollections of a Long Life (1894), 16 ff.
to 1823, and in the following number Stewart’s account of the men he trained for the ministry. [EDITOR.]

I begin with a brief account of my College course. I had become a Dissenter from conviction, and of course joined their ranks. The English dissenters had at that time a number of small colleges, situated in different parts of the kingdom, for the training of young men for the ministry, supported by voluntary contributions, and managed by Committees chosen for the purpose, at the head of each a Treasurer and Secretary. The students had instruction, board, and lodging free, when unable to defray their own expenses. The Committee chose the Tutors.

I made application to the College at Hoxton, one of the largest of the number. It was afterwards transferred to Highbury, and then, with some others, incorporated in New College, St. John’s Wood. Thomas Wilson of Highbury, one of the most benevolent of men, was Treasurer, Dr. Wm. Harris resident Theological Tutor, Dr. Burder Mental and Moral Philosophy, the Rev. Mr. Hooper Classical Tutor.

Before making application I made myself acquainted, as well as I could, with all the requisites for such a course. In addition to other preliminary knowledge I had reason to conclude I now possessed a sufficient knowledge of Greek and Latin, and I presumed I had the religious experience required. But pounds shillings and pence were the desideratum. I had saved 50£, but this was scant means for clothing, books, etc., for a three years’ course. Mr. Lemon2 offered me help in the following way—he offered to pay me well if I could continue to come twice a week to teach French. This I did for a year and a half; and in this way I was enabled to pay for tea, sugar, and coals—extras which each student had to provide for himself. What disturbed me most was the paying of my mother’s rent, which I had done for some years past. With economy, however, I managed it while at College as well as when I was teaching.

I had been informed the Treasurer of the College had a small Fund entrusted to him to enable him to assist necessitous students, but I never applied for any. I never had a turn that way—though often sharp run I maintained myself by the work of my own hands. When I left College I owed no man any thing.

I made my application to the Committee, stating as requested “my experience” as it was called—my religious views—my denominational sentiments—my scholastic knowledge—the books I had read, etc., and soon received a favourable answer, with a request to appear before the Committee on a given evening—to engage in prayer before them—deliver a short sermon—and then undergo a questionary by the Committee, as the whim might take them severally, before they gave me a final answer.

This was an ordeal at which my heart revolted at the time, and certain parts of which I have never since seen in a more favourable light.

I attended at the time appointed. It was in the evening. I knocked at the door of the house, a servant opened and led me along a dark passage, opened a door, and put me into a dark room, where I had to grope about for a seat. Such a process was little calculated to soothe a heart already sufficiently palpitating with anxiety. When I had been here about ten minutes the door opened again and somebody entered, and before I could well draw my breath I heard heavy sobbing, which continued until the door opened again, when I was called by my name. The name of my unsuccessful

2 In whose school he had been teaching.
sobbing companion I never knew. I was at once ushered into the Committee room. The president in a very unceremonious way asked me to engage in prayer. This over, he then asked me to deliver my address, which I did, though not without some choking of feeling and some incoherence of thought and expression. I was then asked a few questions which, when answered, I was requested to withdraw. I was re-conducted to the "cachet", whence I was again sent for, in a few minutes of time but many by the beating of my pulse. On entering the Committee room the chairman, Mr. Thomas Wilson, congratulated me on being elected by the Committee. He wished me success. I bowed and retired.

Some time after this, during the College vacation when the students were absent from town, Mr. Wilson wrote and asked me to preach at some of the places where they were accustomed to supply. This request took me "all a back", and yet I could not refuse. I engaged to go, and set about getting up a few sermons with all speed. I was not without certain inklings of pride at times, in view of holding forth in public, even in small places, but as the time and place approached they vanished.

I preached my first sermon in a small chapel at Chertsey, near Windsor. I cannot describe my feelings on going into the pulpit, assuredly there was no pride felt just then, and though on returning home I had reason to thank God and take courage my conscious shortcoming checked the pride which my natural feelings suggested. Such was my general experience at the beginning of my preaching career.

I entered Hoxton at the beginning of the next session, 1820, with a very scant supply of "kit" and clothing. Each student had a small study for himself—the bedrooms were large and numbers slept in the same room—one general room for washing, far from the bedrooms. The studies we had to furnish ourselves. I got a lamp, a chair, a desk with drawers which I have still, a tea caddy, a coal scoop, and at length some shelves for my books. . . .

I reached the College in the evening in common with many others. Next morning we all met at breakfast. The scene was novel and as pleasing as novel to me. There was indeed a little scanning and quizzing, but I very well bore my share of that.

In the course of the morning the juniors—newcomers—met the Tutors. After a little questioning and conversation they said to me, You had better join the second year class, for you already know all the first will have to do this year: we only suggest this course to you, it is for you to decide. I decided at once as they suggested, for I felt that in many respects and especially in a money point of view it was the wisest course in my circumstances.

We now set to work in good earnest with our studies—Hebrew, Theological Lectures, Old Latin and Greek Divinity, with Dr. Harris, and sermons of our own composing to be read and criticized by the class and by him. This was sometimes a sharp ordeal, yet it was a salutary one: each man got his angular points rounded in his turn. This process is of vast moment to a young man, especially to one who had not had the advantage of regular school training. How nicely it brings each one to his proper level! Dr. Burder's department was the Mathematics, Mental and Moral Philosophy, Logic, etc. To read up for these was hard work. To this Tutor we had also to write and read essays which were criticized as the sermons to Dr. Harris. Mr. Hooper required us five days in the week for Latin and Greek. In these several ways I found quite as much as I was able to do with my two afternoons a week at Mr. Lemon's.
Dr. Harris was prosy in his Lectures, well up in the Hebrew, a candid critic on our sermons, a well-read Noncon. of the old school. He often produced deep emotions and even drew tears from many of us in many of his common prayers at the family altar.

Dr. Burder had a clear but narrow mind, prim, stiff, and formal in all his intercourse with the students, always the gentleman but no less always the distant Tutor.

Mr. Hooper was the students' favourite, a genial man in all he did, plain in manners and dress, often very amusing in his teaching and explanation of the authors we read with him. He seemed as if he could mimic the tones of Demosthenes well, and at times he sang to us whole pages of Homer—he had a fine voice.

My "kit" of books was very small, only working tools—Scott's Commentary of [sic] the Bible, which I had well read at Lemon's; Rollin's Ancient History; Enfield's Philosophy mental and moral with its early history; Edwards on the Freedom of the Will; Paley; Dr. Chalmers; Gregory's Letters; Lessie on the Evidences of Christianity; Blair's Lectures; Jones on the Figurative Language of the Scriptures; Claude on the composition of a sermon; Dr. George Campbell and Fénelon on Pulpit Eloquence; Part of the works of Dugald Stewart on the Philosophy of the Mind and Morals; Dr. Wallis' Logic; Irving's Elements of Composition and Walker's Pronouncing Dictionary which two were my daily companions—such is a specimen of the kind of books in which I had felt the most interest for some years past.

I had never been in circumstances to take any books but those I purchased or occasionally got on loan from a friend. I knew of no Loan Libraries such as are now so common. You will easily conceive then what a new world opened to me when I found free access at all times to the large College Library. Here I could get often in an hour what I had often sought for in vain for months.

It was customary with the students to start various topics at the breakfast table for a little friendly conversation or sparring as the case might be, sometimes matters of etiquette among ourselves—the politics and "on dits" of the day. This was a good nursery for conversational purposes—when and how best to introduce a subject; how to bear contradiction in the best spirit, how not to be too readily elated by applause. That breakfast school did me much good.

This practice was much farther cultivated in a Debating Society, in which most though not all the students took part. This Society captivated me at once, and when I had been about a year at College I became its President and continued so till I left.

Strange to say, one of the topics most warmly debated was that of Dissent—yes, Dissent debated at a Dissenting College, and from conviction, and not merely from debating purposes. The fact is that most of those who separated from the Established Church up to that time were rather non-conformists than dissenters—they did not object to an Establishment of religion by the civil government, but to the incidental peculiarities, much the same as most of the Wesleyans and the Free Church in Scotland at the present day—an Establishment per se they approved, provided only that it were one on their own model. On every hand were found members of our churches and regular attendants at our chapels who deemed themselves happy in "being allowed" by the Established Church and the Government to worship God in their own way, even though debarred from the right of "marrying" and from every civil appointment except on the condition of taking the Sacrament at the parish church.
A few of us were Dissenters on principle and never would yield an inch—we gradually gained converts—we had no deserters. When I left the majority of the students were Dissenters.

I was at first also in a very decided minority on two important subjects discussed, viz., capital punishment and the literal restoration of the Jews, and yet I have lived to see my views become, if not in the ascendant, yet widespread in the public mind. I have ever considered that the Giver of Life and no one else has the right to take it away, and that the restoration of the Jews is figurative and not literal. I long retained a very pleasant recollection of those debates and have no doubt that they much aided in the culture of my mind.

On these occasions we never touched on any topics strictly religious. Some of us had separate special associations for religious enquiry and discussion—twos and threes as taste and inclination determined used to meet occasionally in our studies to compare notes and seek Divine assistance. The Inspiration of the Scriptures and the Atonement were the most fully inquired into.

We had our times of relaxation, in a "big boys" playground. It was well enclosed. There we could jump, wrestle, etc., at pleasure, and most of us used it freely. By the way, on one of these occasions a grave country deacon, who had come to Hoxton for a pulpit supply for the next Sabbath, on passing through the corridor happened to look out of one of the windows and saw what he saw—he raised his hands and his eyes heavenward and exclaimed—and these ministers of the Gospel!! He seemed all at once seized with the tremor of the "unco guid" Scotsman who dared not trust the celebrated Erskine to baptize his child when he found out that Erskine played on the fiddle.

Thursday evenings were always looked forward to with some anxiety, for then the preaching List for the following Sabbath was put up in the Hall. That List was generally regarded as the index of the personal feeling of the sub-committee and more especially of the presiding genius, the Treasurer, who was seldom ever absent. Some students "happened" always to have good places while others as regularly "happened" to have poor ones—at least such was the prevailing feeling among succeeding generations of students. The pockets of some of us made us quicker-eyed on such a point and perhaps not the most impartial and charitable.

Our preaching rounds were very interesting, from which many anecdotes were supplied at the breakfast table on Monday mornings. Had I a turn that way I might fill pages with these. We met every kind of treatment when out on these occasions, from the most gentlemanly to the opposite, from the most generous to the most penurious while our own feelings lent their coulor [sic] to not a few. When on one occasion I was at Leatherhead... a sudden death in the Sabbath School room prompted me to an extempore address of nearly an hour. Much was said of that address for some time after.

Much of human life might be learned in these preaching tours, and especially by me, for I was moving in a sphere entirely new. I knew what it was to be complimented without being elated and to be frowned on without being discouraged. One specimen of the latter I may note as showing the vulgar habits we met with in some deacons of our churches. One Sabbath morning on entering the vestry I was thus accosted by one of the deacons—"the sermon!! well!! it may be very fine, but it's not the Gospel".

But I pass on to other matters. I had not been long at Hoxton when my knowledge of the French language became known and especially my
being able to speak it. However common such a thing may be now, it was rare then. Several of the students wished much to learn the language. This resulted in my establishing a class for this purpose. It was quite gratuitous—ten or a dozen joined, among the number John Harris, afterwards Dr. John Harris, Theological Tutor of Cheshunt College, and Ashton, the Secretary of the Congregational Board. We met in the Library several times a week. This course afforded me much pleasure and improved my position among the students. When I left Hoxton this class made me a present of Saurin’s Discourses in French, which I think has never been translated into English—the copy is still in my Library.

During one of our vacations I visited Dorsetshire with my friend and fellow-student Attkins. This was his native county. On returning home the coach, on the top of which I was riding, was upset—some of the horses shied and threw us into a ditch—one lady was seriously hurt, we left her at an Inn, whose landlord engaged to take care of her. I was thrown into the ditch, which being low saved me from being injured by the coach which was above me. While lying there I was and unable to move the forefeet of the horses were prancing close to me. I was frightened, but none of them touched me. Several of us were bruised, but quite able to return to London with the coach.

During another vacation I visited Scotland, when we had as fellow-passenger the celebrated Thomas Erskine, Treasurer of the Glasgow Theological College presided over by Dr. Wardlaw, author of the Internal Evidences of Christianity, an Essay on Faith, and other works of sterling worth I did not know him at first, yet his venerable appearance drew my attention. I often noticed him reading alone in his cabin—afterwards I found he was reading his Greek New Testament. On Sabbath morning I found him in deep and earnest conversation with two gentlemen on the Quarter Deck. These turned out to be Professors in the university of Edinburgh—all three seemed quite willing that others should share the conversation. I soon learnt they were either disputing in earnest about the Trinity or were having a friendly sparring on the subject. I felt great interest. The professors said they could not understand the Trinity, they could not conceive how it could exist. Erskine seized this how and showed them it was the what and not the how that concerned us in the matter in dispute as in the case of the union of spirit, soul, and body in our own persons.

In the evening the weather became rough; some of the lady passengers became frightened; one of them sitting by Erskine asked him if he was not afraid: afraid of what, he asked—of being drowned—oh no, said he, I shall not be drowned. What, not if the ship sinks? No, not even if the ship sinks. The I, the conscious I, the thinking, feeling I which converses with you cannot be drowned, and the Christian I will only exchange earth for heaven. Does not the Saviour say, ‘The spirit that believes in me shall never die?’ Don’t you believe what he says?

Before the voyage ended I often got into conversation with him. I told him I was a student from Hoxton, of which Institution he seemed to know much more than I did. He invited me to go with him to his house near Dundee or at any time to pay him a visit there.

[The next paragraph describes a visit to his home town of Kirkcaldy to see his family, and his experience of preaching in the Independent Chapel on the invitation of the minister, Mr. Aikenhead.]

The next vacation I spent at Manningtree in Essex at the request of the church there, among whom were many who wished to invite me to be their

Life at Hoxton College

 ministers and yet I never felt much attracted to the place though there were several families whose society and friendship I could not but have prized highly. Here I wrote my first piece in an album. I wrote it in French, and for a young lady, the daughter of a neighbouring minister who kept a Boarding School in the town and attended the chapel.

For a few Sabbaths of the following vacation I supplied at Whetstone. [Describes two experiences in Whetstone—a struggle with a young man who had cut his throat: "At the Inquest I received the thanks of the Coroner and the Jury"—and refused the reward on returning a watch he had found. The first brought him the local name of "Barnabas", the second the description ' an honest man'.]

Not long after this vacation I left Hoxton, but in the meantime I had the misfortune of incurring the displeasure of Mr. Wilson, the Treasurer. It was occasioned as follows. A misunderstanding had arisen between the Committee and the students in which I was in no way personally concerned while I was for a Sabbath or two supplying again at Manningtree. The students had been invited through Dr. Harris to attend an ordination service at Tooting. The students were meantime privately informed of this fact. Dr. Harris took no notice of this ordination till the time was past. On the day of its occurrence, however, many of the students, acting on their private information, absented themselves from Lectures and went to the ordination. This the Dr. reported to the Committee, a collision ensued and threatened to become serious—there were even threats of expulsion.

The students wrote to me at Manningtree and Bunter another student who was absent to come to the College as quickly as we could. On arriving we were informed how matters stood and requested to act as intermediaries in the matter. Bunter went privately to some of the Committee, I went to others, among whom was Mr. Wilson. We had a long conversation, in the course of which I admitted there were occasional laxities and irregularities among the students, while he admitted some of the Committee were hard and overbearing. The Committee met. Bunter and I were called to meet them. Wilson was in the Chair, and had informed the Committee before we entered what I had admitted to him. They asked me to specify particular cases. This I not only refused to do, but also protested against acting on what I had said as coming personally from me. I maintained it was a breach of confidence. Wilson got offended. He would not sit in that Chair and allow such language from a student. I then appealed to the Committee to say whether they approved such a course. No one answered. Then, Gentle- men, I said, I must take the liberty to tell you also what the Chairman admitted to me. Wilson rose from the Chair and was going to leave the room. I stood firm for a few seconds. Dr. Harris came to me and in his own quiet gentlemanly way said to me, Don't you think it better to let the matter drop? I said, I go with pleasure, if you advise it. I immediately left the room.

On reaching the Library where the students were assembled waiting the issue of our interview with the Committee, Bunter briefly told them what had transpired. They almost all rushed round me. I had such a hand-shaking and shoulder-slapping as one could not well bear long, nor readily forget.

The matter between the students and the Committee was compromised through the Tutors. But from that day I long stood at zero in Wilson's esteem. But the affair [sic] had taken wings—it soon got far beyond the College walls, and disturbing echoes returned which led the Committee to print an address to the supporters of the Institution. With much of that address I could not agree. I drew up strictures on it and read them to the
students and had their approval. I have preserved a copy of their address and also one of my Strictures. They are on the File.

A reference to this episode is made in Joshua Wilson's *Thomas Wilson*. 356 ff. Writing to John Sibree, 19 March, 1823, Thomas Wilson says:

I feel obliged by the respect you manifest towards me, and the more, because I have lately been treated by some at Hoxton with marked indifference, to say the least, notwithstanding my desire to serve pious young men, intended for the ministry, which has been my employment for nearly thirty years.

Joshua, a dutiful son, says this refers to

a painful subject—a spirit of insubordination, which had risen among the students of Hoxton Academy, leading them, under the influence of strong temporary excitement, to make a combined resistance to the authority of the committee, but which terminated in their submission. On such trying occasions, my father uniformly exhibited the characteristic qualities of his mind—firmness, energy, and decision, animated by a strong sense of duty. Referring to this 'very unhappy dispute', he says, 'Knowing that the committee were right, I felt no uneasiness for the result'.

Soon after this a yet more serious cloud darkened Hoxton. The former was between the Committee and the students, this was chiefly among themselves. Bunter's glod [sic] watch was stolen from his study. We met in the Library for consultation and enquiry. The Tutors were informed. The servants and all the Dr.'s family were questioned and requested to say distinctly and positively whether they knew anything about it. They all denied any knowledge of it. I then said I thought we ought to do the same thing as openly and firmly. This offended their 'amour propre', some even hissed me. I defended myself and said if the most select and the best Society that ever existed in the world had a Judas among twelve, am I to be put down for supposing it possible a culprit might be among forty. The fact was that some really incurred suspicion—they attended Theatres, kept late hours and pursued other courses which involved spending of much money.

The watch was found at a Pawnshop. The culprits were discovered—two students— from Wales, and —, son of the popular minister at —. They were expelled.

For years before I went to College, while there, and for many years afterwards I used to rise about 5 every morning. I was often employed to call any one who wished to rise early. In remembrance of this the students made me a present of a match Box, which had just made its appearance and was the first to supersede the celebrated old tinder box—the flint and steel—a process which would often irritate a saint before he could get light in the morning—rapt knuckles—damp tinder—poor matches. Well I remember all this. For you it is but a thought and then it vanishes. You have your [?] box—light in an instant. The box the students gave me cost 7s. 6d. It patented. This box I kept for many years and some of you may even remember taking it to Smith the chemist at Barnet for a new supply of phosphorus.

What a contrast between the gas of today and the tallow-candle of my most studious days, between the meanest match and the tinder-box!! But I must stop or I know not where such contrasts will end. Happy are they

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4 The names are given.
5 Illegible word.
who feel grateful and make progress according to their privileges and advantages.

I close this part of my narrative with a brief statement of the several invitations to a settlement which I received, some before, and some after, I left College.

[These summarized, and then thus outlined in greater detail.]

Of the Manningtree invitation [called "unanimous and orderly" in the summary] I have little to add. I long felt the friendly feelings created there between some of the families and myself, yet on the whole I never regretted declining it.

The case of Malacca was thus—about the time of my leaving Hoxton an Educating Institution was in the course of formation under the guidance of the London Missionary Society, to be superintended by Dr. Milne, who was well acquainted with China and Malacca. Its primary object was to teach young Chinese and Malays both in their own literature and in that of Europe as subservient to missionary purposes. That Society applied to the Tutors of Hoxton for some one they could recommend to unite with Dr. Milne in this undertaking. From being engaged in tuition before I entered College, and from my knowledge of French as well as English all the Tutors recommended me.

This became a matter of deep anxiety to me and after serious reflection I respectfully declined having my name sent in: yet I was long harassed with doubts as to the decision I had made. This Institution flourished long under the name of the Anglo-Chinese College at Malacca.6

Soon after the above the Russian case was presented to me. The Rev. George Burder and father of our Tutor, the first Secretary of the London Missionary Society wrote me and asked me to call on him at the Society's office. When I saw him he told me his object was to bring under my consideration a request which they had received from a Russian nobleman to send him out to Moscow a suitable young man to teach his children—namely the French and English as well as the classics as requisites, and also to distribute Bibles, Tracts, etc., on his estates—no doubt chiefly among his serfs—and elsewhere as openings might present themselves. I thanked him for the compliment he paid me and requested time for consideration.

Let me note here an historic fact of no minor importance. When in 1814 the Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia, &c., came to England on the overthwart of Bonaparte it was ascertained that the Emperor Alexander was decidedly favourable to the distribution of Bibles, Tracts, and the location of Missions in Russia, and that many of the nobles cherished the same spirit. The knowledge of this fact made the overture to me more promising, and yet I was led to decline it, partly because it did not seem to me sufficiently ministerial, and in the course of a few years I had reason to thank God for inclining me to decide as I had done. Alexander soon died and was succeeded on the throne by his younger brother Nicholas, under whose iron hand the missionaries, among whom were Knill and Stallybrass, part of whose family was well known to Ma and me, were obliged to leave the country, and I should have been among them had I gone.

6 Probably Milne was no longer alive when Stewart was considering this proposal, for he died in June, 1822, and the news would take long to reach England. He had gone out in 1813 to assist Robert Morrison (a Hoxton student, by the way), but the Portuguese authorities refused to allow him to stay at Macao, and in 1815 he established the Ultra-Ganges Mission at Malacca. The men who went to help him proved failures—"no one likes to be second", said Morrison—and so the Society turned to Stewart.
Some time after I settled at Barnet I had yet another pressing offer from the London Missionary Society. It was to take the superintendence of the Mission at Madagascar. Much correspondence took place between the Secretary and me, and some of his arguments had weight and could not easily be set aside, the chief being my being able to converse freely in French which was not the case with any other young minister he knew. This was an important consideration for a station where French was the language of the Court and the upper classes in the Island, as it was in England for many years after the Norman Conquest. I was to reside in the capital, under the sanction and protection of Radama the King, a professed Christian as were many of the nobles and others.

Such an offer—nay, I may say such a request—was not readily to be set aside, but after a struggle in my own mind, with the advice of some valued friends, it was thought best to remain at Barnet for a season and give it a fair trial.

It may seem strange to you, for it has always seemed so to me, that after the preceding openings, some of which had special attractions, that I should accept one from Barnet with less to recommend it than either of these foreign offers. It would be tedious for me to detail to you the complication of reasons, feelings, and circumstances which led to this preference. I cannot doubt the thing was of God, though misgivings have not seldom entered my mind in certain phases of my subsequent course.

Reviews

The church worshipping on Castle Hill, Northampton, made famous by Philip Doddridge's ministry and now bearing his name, is notable, among many other things, for being the mother of daughter churches, among which is one at Primrose Hill. This was not formed till 1903, but in The Story of Primrose Hill Church, Northampton, 1865-1945, Mr. Bernard S. Godfrey, a son of the present Castle Hill Church Secretary, traces its pre-history to the establishment of a Sunday School in that area by the Rev. Thomas Arnold, then minister of Castle Hill, as far back as 1865. Mr. Godfrey, whose work is based largely on the manuscript records of Castle Hill and Primrose Hill, presents a readable account of some 25 pages, and adds an appendix giving biographical notes on the eight ministers. Copies may be obtained from Mr. Godfrey, 46 Baring Road, or from the Rev. E. E. White, 103 Queen's Park Parade, Northampton, at 1s. 6d. each.

Mr. V. H. H. Green's Bishop Reginald Pecock: A Study in Ecclesiastical History and Thought (Cambridge Press, 12s. 6d.), which won the Thirlwall Prize for 1941, is a painstaking piece of work, which usefully fills a gap in the history of the medieval Church. To Free Churchmen Bishop Pecock is of interest both for the evidence he provides that in the middle of the fifteenth century the Lollard Movement was still flourishing, and for his own anticipations of the larger place to be given to the right to think for oneself. On the later Lollard Movement much still remains to be done, and Mr. Green, in his chapter on the Lollards, does not go beyond c. 1450, when Pecock wrote his Repressor against them; nor have the limitations of his essay permitted him to undertake the scouring of episcopal registers which is desirable. On the place and nature of reason in Pecock's argument —"The 'doom of reason' is the central feature in his thought'"—Mr. Green is detailed, sound and interesting: he brings out well the medievalism and the new spirit, the balance of which makes Pecock so fascinating a figure.
Besides a full sketch of Pecock's life, Mr. Green writes on Pecock as scholar, critic and theologian, notes his importance in the development of the English language, and adds a striking appendix on his biblical references, whence it appears that he built his argument more on the Gospels than on the Epistles. Acknowledgment is made to the work and support of Bernard Manning, but the extensive bibliography lacks a reference to an article published in these Transactions in 1938.

It is something that Nonconformist architecture should be noted and illustrated at all in a history of the subject; and one is always loth to find fault with Batsford books. The following, however, from Mr. A. H. Gardner's admirable Outline of English Architecture (Batsford, 12s. 6d.), can hardly be let pass:

Nonconformist chapels are first represented by the Quaker meeting houses of the closing years of the seventeenth century, such as Spicelands, near Uffculme, Somerset, or Jordans, Buckinghamshire, built before the ban on nonconformist buildings. Then came the Wesleyan chapels. . . . (p. 93).

On this it must be said: 1—Nonconformist chapels were not first represented by the Quaker meeting-houses, in fact it is hardly true to say that, as a whole, they were represented by them at all. The elders' gallery and the absence of pulpit and communion table puts Quaker meeting-houses in another class from the Presbyterian, Independent and Baptist, which were the true representatives but receive no mention. 2—The first Quaker meeting-house mentioned, Spiceland (not -lands), Devon (not Somerset), does not illustrate the argument save as an archaism; for, though the original meeting-house was erected in 1683 (not ca. 1700, as stated under the charming photograph), this was pulled down in 1813 and the present building erected in 1815. 3—To what 'ban on nonconformist buildings' after this time (Jordans dates from 1688) does the author refer?

G. F. Nuttall.
Another Way of Union

On 27 Oct., 1896, the Rev. James Cooke Yarborough, Vicar of Romsey, wrote thus to the Abbey Congregational Church.

Gentlemen,

I am sure that you will sympathize with me in an earnest desire to leave no means untried to promote the cause of Christian unity. This desire on my part is the reason, after careful consideration, of what may seem to you an unexpected proposal.

I have perceived for a short time past that you have not as yet appointed a Minister to your congregation in Romsey, & I have felt very strongly that this delay may under God's guidance present an opportunity for a mutual drawing together. The differences which part the congregation of the Abbey Church from those of the Abbey Chapel are, I am convinced, comparatively small, & most of the causes which operated when your chapel was founded some centuries ago have ceased to operate. There is, too, owing to our divisions a heavy burden imposed upon the shoulders of our members in providing for the support of the ministry and there are other expenses that would not be needed if those divisions were removed, & above all, who is there who does not realise, how our hands would be strengthened and our hearts cheered against our real dangers of sin & indifference if only we were more united?

I am, therefore, Gentlemen, writing to ask if you would be willing to intrust me with the ministry of your chapel, upon my undertaking with the assistance of my colleagues to maintain the same number of services as at present.

I need hardly say that if you accept the offer I should consider myself bound to conduct the services with such simplicity and absence of ritual as should avoid hurting the feelings of your worshippers, I would of course continue in office all the present Churchworkers, Sunday School Teachers and office holders, & I would leave the entire question of finance in the hands of those who at present manage such matters, nor would I ask for any Stipend in return for my labours.

I do not propose that the Prayer book service should be used except in the morning service, the afternoon and evening services retaining their present character of extempore prayer and sermon.

I would invite you very earnestly, Gentlemen, to consider this proposal. I have myself made it a matter of prayer for Divine guidance and I believe that in making this offer I am seeking the best interests of our common Christianity. It may be that such an opportunity of healing the divisions that we all deplore may not occur again for many years, and I implore you to hesitate before you decide whether to accept or reject my offer. Mutual charity and forbearance are all that we need, and I venture to ask you at least to permit me to meet and confer with your representative members as to the possibility of our coming to some understanding.

That God may guide your deliberations to accord with His holy will and in His own good time reunite us again is the sincere prayer of your faithful servant in Christ,

James Cooke Yarborough.

Vicar of Romsey.
Surely a nice and Christian letter on the face of it, even if it does betray colossal ignorance of what a Congregational Church is and does. Unhappily, however, the Romsey Congregationalists had reason to think that there was more in it than appeared on the surface, and at that time feelings between Anglicans and Nonconformists were inclined to be bitter. It is said to be the only time when the silent deacon of the time was roused to speech, while a letter to a previous minister, William Crosbie, brought this answer to Mr. Roles, who is still a member of the church:

The letter of the Vicar of Romsey is an extraordinary production. Not knowing the Vicar I cannot divine his motives. The letter seems to breathe a catholic spirit; nevertheless, it is an impertinence, and an insult of the greatest kind to the Abbey Congregational Church, with its long and honourable history, and noble traditions. A proposal from the Abbey Congregational Church to take over the Abbey Episcopal Church, and all its belongings, would just be as reasonable, and have as much right in it, as this proposal of the Vicar’s. The poor man must surely have taken leave of his wits!

The Abbey Congregational Church should close its ranks, and stand shoulder to shoulder in its resistance of this kind of thing.

The italics are almost as bad as Queen Victoria’s, and looking back after fifty years one cannot but say, ‘‘Doest thou well to be angry?’’ After all, Crosbie did not know the vicar, who was probably a well-meaning but ignorant man, who had not the slightest intention of insulting the Congregationalists, who on 5 Nov. passed this resolution:

That this meeting of members and subscribers at the Abbey Congregational Church, while desiring most heartily to reciprocate the wish of the Rev. J. C. Yarborough for more union among all sections of Christ’s Church, feel that the differences between the principles of Nonconformity and the Established Church are such that the suggestions made by the Rev. J. C. Yarborough’s letter would be decidedly impracticable.
Eighteenth Century Sidelights on Derbyshire Nonconformity

Extracts from The Derby Mercury:

1732—April 20:

Stray’d from FINDERN near DERBY, a brown bay Gelding, about Fifteen Hands high, comes Seven Years old, with a Star and Snip, and Two white Heels behind, black Tail and Main: Whoever brings him to Dr. LATHAM’s at Findern, aforesaid, or to NICHOLAS CHARNELL’s Esq; at Snareston in Leicestershire, shall have Half a Guinea Reward.

1733—October 18:

TO BE SOLD,

A new milch’d ass and She foal six Weeks Old; Enquire of the Rev. Dr. LATHAM at Findern near Derby, or Mr. JOHN BINGHAM in Derby.

N.B. The Ass is but three Years Old.

1735/6—March 18:

Derby, March 18th. Upon receiving the News by the Post on Monday last that the Dissenters had miscarry’d in their Endeavours to get the Corporation and Test Acts repeal’d; Orders were given for ringing all the Bells in each of our Parish-Churches, which was continu’d most Part of the Afternoon, at Night Bonfires were made in several Streets of the Town, some few Houses were illuminated, and the Night concluded with Huzza’s and drinking Healths round the Bonfires. Upon this Occasion it may be remark’d that not one of our Publick News-Papers have as yet given us any Account of any publick Rejoicings in London or any other Place.

1738—April 27:

This Day was published (Price One Shilling)

A Further Defence of the Common Rights of Christians, and of the Sufficiency and Perfection of Scriptures, without the Aid of Human Schemes, Creeds, Confessions, &c. occasion’d by Mr. SLOSS’s pretended True Narrative of the Case of JOS. RAWSON, who was Excommunicated by the Congregation of Protestant Dissenters meeting in Castle-Gate, Nottingham, by JOHN TAYLOR, Minister of the Gospel at Norwich, and late of Kirkstead in Lincolnshire; Author of the Prefatory Discourse to Rawson’s Narrative. Printed for Richard Hett, at the Bible and Crown in the Poultry, London: and sold by W. Ward, and T. Collier, in Nottingham; Jer. Roe in Derby, and J. Slater in Chesterfield.

—July 27:

JUST PUBLISHED, The things that make for Peace and Edification amongst Christians; Recommended in a SERMON preached at an Assembly of Ministers, at the High Pavement in Nottingham, June 28, 1738. And Published at their unanimous Request. By J. CLEGG, V.D.M. M.D. Nottingham. Price Six-pence.
1738/9—February 1:

WHEREAS an Incendiary LETTER, was put under the Door of the Rev. Mr. ROGERSON, the last Night; in order to the Discovering the Author, or Authors of such villainous Letter, the Worshipful the MAYOR, and JUSTICES of this Corporation, do promise to pay One Guinea to any one that can discover the Hand Writing of such Letter; and Ten Guineas to any one that shall discover the Author of the said Letter, or any Person therein concern’d, so as that he, or they, may be convicted thereof.

ROBERT WAGSTAFF, Esq; Mayor.
THOMAS GISBORNE, Esq; Alderman.

N.B. The Original is left at Mr. Jer. Roe’s, Bookseller, to be view’d by any one.

The following is an exact COPY of the aforemention’d Letter, and in the Manner as it was spelt, viz:

For the Revd. Mr. Rogerson In Derby.

Sir, You are desired to la 5 gines at the Middle Dore Stone of the Meeting house on thursday the 1st of february or by god I will born down youre house to Dust for I have a Grate Sum of Munny to Rase or elce I wold not trobble you but by god I must heat It at this time &c by ten o Clock or I will born down youre house by a Leven If it is not there; Do not wach for If you do I shall know &c there fore Mak no Delays for I must not be trifel’d with now so as you prise youre self La the Munny or EIs take wat fouls.

Sir I am youre Most Humble Servant.

1739—June 7:

Yesterday was committed to this County Goal, Mr. S. BRENTNAL, a Preacher among the Dissenters; being charged with Counterfeiting Moidores and 36s. Pieces; he is sworn against by one —— Ashmole, who hath been strongly suspected to have made several 36s. Pieces, and hath on that Account absconded for several Months, during which Time, he, or his Relations, have in vain made several Attempts to extort Money from the said Mr. BRENTNAL, by threatening to swear against him if he did not supply them. The said Ashmole is also committed to Goal, since he swore against Mr. BRENTNAL, for Horse-Stealing.

—August 16:

Yesterday, Mr. Samuel BRENTNAL, a Dissenting Minister, was try’d for High Treason, by filing a certain Number of Guineas, sworn to by Geo. Ashmore, whose Evidence not being sufficient to convict him, he was Acquit. He was afterwards try’d for coining Moidores and 36s. Pieces, the former of which he was convicted of, and receiv’d Sentence, To be imprison’d for Life and to forfeit all his Estate, Goods and Chattels. Geo. Ashmore, the chief Evidence against Mr. BRENTNAL, was acquit on every Thing he stood charged with.

1739/40—March 6:

To be SOLD altogether, or by distinct Farms, or in Parcels. SEVERAL Freehold Estates and Farms lately belonging to Mr. SAMUEL BRENT-NALL, of Osleston, in the County of DERBY; consisting of one very good capital Mansion, or Hall House, and other substantial Farm Houses, with Lands Arable, Meadow, and Pasture, suitable to each Farm House,
all inclosed in very good Condition, and well Tenanted; containing in the whole about 400 Acres of Land, with a Quantity of Timber growing thereon, lying and being in Oslaston, Thurcaston, &c. all in the Parish of Sutton, in the said County of DERBY, five miles from DERBY and six miles from the Market Town of ASHBORN, in the said County of DERBY. . . .

N.B. The Day for selling up the personal Estate of the late Mr. BRENTNALL’s, at Osliston-Hall [sic], will be on Tuesday the 11th of this Instant March, where Cows, all manner of Household Goods, Wood, Boards, Hay, and Husbandry Implements will be sold.

—March 13:
On Thursday Night last George Ashmore, (who turn’d the King’s Evidence against Mr. Brentnal, the last Assizes, for Coining) was again committed to our Goal, on Suspicion of having made a Key to unlock the Prison Door, and thereby set the Felons at Liberty, who now lie confined, in order to take their Tryals at the approaching Assizes.

1740—March 27:
On Friday last the Assizes ended here. . . . Geo. Ashmore to continue in Goal till the next Assizes.

—April 17:
Last Friday a Letter, directed to Geo. Ashmore, now in our Goal, was intercepted, and carried to Thomas Gisborne, Esq; one of his Majesty’s Justices of the Peace, and being open’d has made a fresh Discovery of his having been concern’d in Coining several Guineas and Crown Pieces in the Month of Feb. last; since which strict Orders has [sic] been given for his closer Confinement, to prevent him making his Escape.

—August 6:
On Tuesday last the Assizes ended here, when Geo. Ashmore, jun. was try’d and convicted of High Treason, in counterfeiting the Current Coin of this Kingdom, and receiv’d Sentence of Death for the same. . . .

Samuel Brentnall, having received his Majesty’s most Gracious Pardon, as before-mentioned, pleaded the same, and was discharged.

—August 14:
Yesterday it was very currently reported about this Town, that Geo. Ashmore (now under Sentence of Death for Coining,) had obtai’d a Reprieve till the next Assizes; but we are credibly informed the said Report is entirely false, and that his Execution is fix’d for Friday the 22nd Inst.

—August 21:
On Monday last a Special Messenger was sent up to the Lords of the Regency, in Behalf of George Ashmore, now under Sentence of Death for Coining, and we hear he return’d this Afternoon, but without Success; since which Orders have been given for executing him To-morrow at the usual Time.

—August 28:
We are inform’d that Geo. Ashmore will certainly be Executed To-morrow.
—September 4:
On Friday last George Ashmore was Executed here, pursuant to his Sentence at the last Assizes, for High Treason, in Counterfeiting Guineas and Crown Pieces; for a particular Account of whom we refer our Readers to his Confession, printed and sold by the Printer of this Paper.

—October 16:
On Saturday the 11th Instant, died after a lingering illness of seven Weeks, Mrs. Elizabeth Shaw, Wife of the Rev. Ferd. Shaw, M.A. who has been Minister of the Congregation of Protestant Dissenters in this Town, upwards of Forty-two Years. They lived together in constant conjugal Happiness upwards of Thirty-two Years.
She was one of the Daughters of that worthy Gentleman W. Eyre, of Holme, in the County of Derby, Esq; by Catherine his Wife, one of the Daughters of the second Sir John Gell of Hopton, in the said County, Bart.
It is somewhat remarkable that two of the Sons of this worthy Pair changed their Names from the Name of their Father. The Second Son Sir John Gell, Esq; died at his Seat in Derbyshire in 1738. The Eldest Brother W. Archer, Esq; died at his Seat near London in 1739, when he was Knight of the Shire for Berks.
The Excellent Spirit, Affable Disposition, Condescending Humility, Gentle Behaviour, and unlimited Christian Charity of the Deceased, most deservedly gained her the Respect of all who knew her. She was always ready to do Good to all, and to speak Evil of no one. And it is universally agreed by all her Acquaintance, that it may with as much Justice be said of her, as of any Person in the present Age, That she was Righteous before God, walking in all the Commandments, and Ordinances of the Lord blameless.

1744/5—February 1:
Derby, January 31. On Saturday Night last died, aged 72, The Rev. FERD. SHAW, M.A. who had been Minister of the Congregation of Protestant Dissenters in this Town 46 Years. He was a Gentleman of great Worth, and endued with many Christian Virtues; amongst others, he was very patient under the most acute Pains, and many Years Confinement; of a cheerful and agreeable Temper during any Mitigation of them; and Diligent and Faithful in the Ministry, notwithstanding his Bodily Infirmities: He was affable and courteous to all; generous, and extensive in all his Charities to the Poor, not confining them within the narrow Bounds of any particular Sect or Party, but did Good to all, to the utmost of his Power; which gain'd him an universal Esteem and Good-Will from all who knew him. His Corpse was this Afternoon brought from his Dwelling-House (The Pall being supported by six Dissenting Ministers) and carried into the Chapel, where a Sermon suitable to the Solemnity, was preach'd to a very numerous Auditory, by the Rev. Mr. Rogerson; He was afterwards carried to be interr'd in the Parish Church of St. Werburg, followed by the People of his Congregation, as a Testimony to their Last Respect to so worthy a Man.

1748—November 4:
Derby, November 3. We hear from Mansfield that on Tuesday Night last died suddenly of the Gout of his Stomach, the Rev. Mr. Samuel
18th Century Sidelights

Shaw, Minister of the Dissenting Meeting-House there, and only Son of the late Rev. Mr. Ferdinando Shaw of this Town.

Reginald Mansfield.

Identifications

1. Ebenezer Latham, M.D. (d. 1754); Minister Findern, Db., 1720-46; Derby 1746-54.
2. James Sloss, M.A., Minister Castlegate, Nottingham, 1733-73.
4. John Taylor, D.D., Minister Kirkstead 1715-33; Norwich 1733-57 (formed Octagon Chapel there, 1754); Div. Tutor, Warrington Academy 1757—d. 1761 (D.N.B.)
5. John Platts—Minister Loscoe and Ilkeston 1708-35; d. 30 Nov., 1735.
6. James Clegg, M.D., Malcoffe 1702- and Chinley 1711-55. d. 1755 (D.N.B.)
8. Samuel Brentnall—Oslaston Hall, Derbys before 1715—? (late Mr. B., 1740). (? Presb. minister, Duffield, Derbys).

C. E. Surman.

Our Contemporaries


Historical articles in the two issues of the Baptist Quarterly for 1945 include the Rev. Percy Austin’s account of “Barton-in-the-Beans” (“a prolific mother of churches within its own Midland area”), Dr. F. Mott Harrison’s study of “The Portraiture of John Bunyan” with illustrations, and the Rev. E. W. Burt’s observance of “The Centenary of Timothy Richard”, a Baptist missionary to China.

In the Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society for October, 1945, Dr. H. McLachlan tells what is known of the “Bridgewater Academy, 1688-1756?”, and the Rev. F. A. Amphlett Micklewright urges “A New Approach to Unitarian History” of a sociological nature; “The Architecture of the Old Meeting Houses” and mission work in Birmingham are the subjects of other articles.

The Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society is largely taken up with Mr. D. Coomer’s “The Local Preachers in Early Methodism”; who were “to some extent an excrescence”; “Methodism, in its essence, was the Society meeting, not the Church worshipping”.

G. F. N.
Seats and Graves from the Poole Church Book

Poole, 18 November, 1777.

Whereas the New Meeting House being nearly finished and it is become necessary to form a plan for the regulation of the Seats, we have therefore thought the following rules the most eligible, for the preservation of the public peace, and in order to give general satisfaction.

1. That the Minister have his choice of a Seat.
2. That the six Old Trustees have the next choice.
3. All the other Subscribers to take their Seats according to their Subscription to the Minister, and if it happens that some persons subscriptions of that sort are alike, the preference to be given to him that has subscribed most to the building of the New Meeting House—but if the subscriptions are alike in all respects, then to be determined by lot.

These rules appear equitable to us whose names are underwritten.

Richd. Miller  Robt. Bayly  Wm. Thomas
George Kemp    John Taylor  N. Fryer
Thos. Tile     Robt. Coward

It is agreed that no persons shall have liberty at any time to put any Banisters, Linings or any thing that shall be above the Coppings of the Seats.

About "the Ground appointed for a Burying place"—

all persons who shall hereafter be buried there, being subscribers to the minister, their Friends or relations shall pay for the opening of the Ground four shillings — to the Minister two shillings and to the person digging the Grave one shilling and sixpence, if it be a Common Grave, but if any extraordinary depth to pay in proportion — such persons as do not belong to the Congregation are not to be allow'd a burying place in the said Ground, unless in particular cases at the request of some Subscriber, in which case (if the privilege be granted by the persons who are entrusted with the management of affairs respecting the burial Ground), there shall be double fees paid for such person or persons buried there, not belonging to the Congregation — the fees to the minister not to be paid at all in case there should be a funeral sermon for the person buried and a present be made to the Minister on that account, but if nothing be paid for the Sermon, the fees shall be paid to the Minister as before.
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(*) = LIFE MEMBER

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Rev. A. G. Matthews, M.A.
Rev. T. W. Mason.
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Rev. R. R. Turner, M.A.
Sydney G. Turner, Esq.
Rev. George Walker.
Warminster Congregational Church.
H. Wash, Esq.
*Sir Angus Watson, J.P.
H. Whitebrook, Esq.
Rev. W. T. Whitley, M.A., LL.D.

D. J. Williams, Esq., M.A.
Wilmslow Congregational Church.
Wilsden Congregational Church.

National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.
City Library, Birmingham.
Congregational Library, Boston, U.S.A.
Yorkshire United Independent College, Bradford.
Public Library, Gloucester.
Huntington Library, San Marino, California, U.S.A.
Public Library, Leeds.
Public Library, Liverpool.
Friends’ Historical Society, London.
New College, London.
John Rylands Library, Manchester.
Dr. Williams’s Library, London.
Lancashire Independent College, Manchester.
Public Library, Manchester.
Hills Library, Newton Centre, U.S.A.
Public Library, New York, U.S.A.
Manchester College, Oxford.
Mansfield College, Oxford.
Paton College, Nottingham.
School of Religion Library, Indianapolis, Ind., U.S.A.
Public Library, Stockport.
Union Theological Seminary, U.S.A.
University Library, Yale, U.S.A.
# Accounts for Year Ending 31st December 1945

## Income

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<th>£</th>
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<td>Treasurer's Postage Expenses</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>£175</strong></td>
<td>14</td>
<td><strong>7</strong></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Roland H. Muddiman, Hon. Treasurer.
EDITORIAL

PROF. NORMAN SYKES'S presence drew a good attendance to the Annual Meeting in 1946, and his paper on "The Church of England and Non-episcopal Churches, from Hooker to Wake" was greatly appreciated. We hoped to be able to print it in this issue, but, unfortunately for us, it has to appear separately, in revised and expanded form, for other purposes. Our readers, we know, will be on the look-out for it. All the officers were re-elected. The balance-sheet disclosed a modest balance, and we began to have hopes of two issues of the Transactions a year as of old. But for the moment rising costs and continued shortages stand in the way.

* * * * *

So far from its being unfitting for the senior editor to welcome his colleague into the ranks of authors, we are sure that readers would desire him to do so, for they have owed much to Dr. Nuttall's contributions to these pages during the years. The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience, accepted for the Oxford D.D. degree, is an important book, and one which should have special interest for members of the Society. It is fully documented —its catena of quotations will long be of service—but it is no mere dry-as-dust compilation. Indeed the chapter, "Critical Conclusion," is perhaps the most useful in the book: Dr. Nuttall is not one of the historians who hesitate to draw conclusions; he has convictions, though he never goes beyond his authorities, and he states them fearlessly.

What is the relation of the Spirit to the Word, to preaching, to the sacraments? In what sense is the Spirit's operation limited? How can the spirits be discerned, and how can liberty be prevented from becoming licence? How far did the Puritans share the Quaker witness, and where did the two differ? These are some of the questions Dr. Nuttall discusses, and it will be seen that they are not irrelevant to present-day controversies.

Dr. Nuttall, although his title may suggest otherwise, does not make the mistake of so many thesis writers, of covering too big a period. As a matter of fact, the thesis suffers from starting too arbitrarily: remembering Dr. Nuttall's admirable work on the Lollard period, and with our own Elizabethan interests, we looked in vain for an account of the subject in the centuries before Puritanism per se emerged. There is much in the Elizabethan writers very relevant, and Dr. Nuttall has now the task of working back-
wards, and of showing us what ideas of the Holy Spirit are to be found, not merely in the writings of the early Independents, but in the works of men like Richard Greenham, William Perkins, and a host of others.

The valuable chapters on tolerance and toleration will also bear expansion: there is much to be written about the Spirit’s influence on individuals in a church-meeting leading to a consensus, as well as on the training in democratic self-government such meetings furnished. Scarcely enough is said about the sense of joy found in the fellowship of the saints: here classic passages in Barrow and John Robinson would have paved the way.

The book bears some of the marks of its origin (though several times we are surprised to find quotations at secondhand); it breaks far too often into the tongues, even when adequate English words are available (e.g., Selbstbildnisse and Blütezeit on p. 8). The number, even of ministers of religion, who read both Latin and German, is few, and Dr. Nuttall has a message which should go far beyond ministers of religion. We hope, therefore, that now it may be assumed that he has won his spurs, and henceforth he will write for the people in a language they understand, consigning the Latin and German to the footnotes.

We welcome this book both for what it is and for the promise of that which is to come. Its author has laid the foundation of sound learning, and he has a knowledge of the history of our churches few can claim. The reception of this work we trust will be such as to be of great encouragement.

*   *   *   *   *

While working on the biographies of eminent American Congregationalists we learnt of some who had lost their lives in the service of the Gospel. Already we had compiled a list—and it is far longer than is generally recognized—of Congregationalists who were put to death or died in prison in Elizabeth’s reign, and it suddenly occurred to us that — incredible as it may seem — there had never appeared a complete Congregational martyrology. This, of course, must be put right at the earliest possible moment. Dr. F. F. Goodsell and his colleague, Mrs. Dunlap, of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions, gave ready help, and they have prepared (what has never previously existed) a list of missionaries who have met death by violence while in the service of the Board. With a similar list from the London Missionary Society, we should have a fairly complete record. It depends on the final length whether this will appear as an article in our next issue or as a separate booklet.

*   *   *   *   *
It is good to know that Miss Mary Ellen Chase, whose writings about New England are so widely welcomed, is at work on a biography of Jonathan Fisher, Congregational minister of Blue Hill, Maine, from 1796 to 1837. The sketches prepared by Fisher’s descendants, and Miss Chase’s references in *A Goodly Heritage*, have already acquainted us with the gifts of one of the most versatile men who ever served in the Congregational ministry. What single-track men we seem as we read Miss Chase’s account (in *A Goodly Heritage*) of one whose memory still lived in her home town, though he died forty years before she was born:

His genius was indeed a multifarious one, mechanical, financial, intellectual, social, spiritual. His energy was exhaustless. Once arrived at Blue Hill with his young wife, he began the erection of a substantial and beautiful home. The design was his own, even to the minutest details; much of the actual building he did himself. During an evening walk he discovered yellow ochre on a portion of the land allotted to him as settlement and was freed from any further anxiety on the score of paint. Practically every piece of furniture he made with his own hands. He constructed a clock which ran for fifty years without repair and with no attention save winding. He built the first windmill in town, and to be served by it a machine for sawing wood. . . . He was, of course, a farmer, raising practically all the food which his family of nine children consumed. He was also the surveyor for the community, utilizing his knowledge of mathematics to accomplish the work made possible by the surveying instruments he invented. He found leisure to adorn the walls of his dwelling with pictures, to paint a portrait of himself as he sat before a mirror, and to paint also a picture of Harvard College as it was in his days as a student. . . .

He devised a system of shorthand which enabled him to write any ordinary morning’s discourse on one-eighth of a sheet of foolscap [thus saving $70.00 in 30 years!]. . . . His Hebrew lexicon, still in manuscript, remains the great achievement of his life.

Having no horse he used to walk 35 miles to the Trustees’ Meetings of Bangor Seminary.

Ministers who, in days when they have to perform duties many and varied, cannot wait for Miss Chase’s volume, should turn to Vol. II of Sprague’s *Annals of the American Pulpit* to see what is there said about Fisher, or try to get Mr. G. C. Hall’s *Biographical Sketch* and its *Supplement*.

A fanfare can scarcely be deemed either history or biography.
but the notes added to each chapter of Miss Edith Sitwell’s *Fanfare for Elizabeth* make the reader believe that the author considers it either the one or the other. A glance at the books and authorities mentioned in these notes is sufficient to assure the student that the book is little more than fiction, and to give him considerable amusement. Miss Sitwell neither knows what authorities are important nor how they should be used, and she is ignorant of the meaning of common Elizabethan words. One wonders why this book was written at all: it brought back to mind the reviewer’s description of *Hilda Lessways* as “the prolonged squeezing of a dirty sponge”. The adulteries, infidelities, familiarities, of the Tudors and their Courts, plus more or less irrelevant descriptions of the plague and the pox, cures and recipes, make up the book, with a few of Miss Sitwell’s prejudices thrown in. Miss Sitwell has nothing new to tell us: there is not a thing in the book which is not well known to students, and it is regrettable that she has again stirred the putrid waters. Any who want a reliable account of Elizabeth’s youth will find it in Prof. J. E. Neale’s *Queen Elizabeth*, which is readable without being a fanfare!

* * * * *

While perhaps only one of our Colleges—New College, London—has a Library at all comparable with that of New College, Edinburgh (had Mansfield received Acton’s library, as it nearly did, there would have been a different story to tell), yet many of them have had a longer and a not less interesting history. We wish that all of them would make that history available in as readable and handy a form as the Principal (Dr. Hugh Watt) and the Librarian (Dr. A. Mitchell Hunter) have done in *New College, Edinburgh: A Centenary History* (Oliver & Boyd, 15/). Dr. Watt describes the story of the College through the various crises from its foundation: the rally of the Free Church after the disruption, the shock of 1904, and reunion with the Church of Scotland. We are given lists of the principals and professors, with biographical and bibliographical notes, all well arranged. The Library shared in the College’s vicissitudes, and in 1904 the then Librarian nearly succumbed to the temptation to remove some of the most valuable books before the House of Lords decision took effect: indeed he did succumb, but restored one night the volumes he had taken home in a cab the previous one! The Library has now been made easily accessible to students, and in this volume Dr. Mitchell Hunter, who rightly takes pride in it, describes some of its treasures. Would that anyone could take pride in the condition of the Congregational Library at the Memorial Hall!

Accounts of the various Students’ Societies, *etc.*, add to the value
of a fascinating volume which will always be a valuable work of reference.

* * * * *

We give a warm welcome to Mr. Martin S. Briggs’s *Puritan Architecture and the Future* (Lutterworth Press, 8/6), though it would have been as well if its historical pages had been vetted. Mr. Briggs is a son of the Congregational Manse, and an architect of standing, and he has made some notable contributions to the study of his craft. He believes that there is a Puritan tradition in church building, and that it should find expression in the new buildings to arise under ‘‘reconstruction’’; he aims at the elimination of all restless, discordant, and unsymmetrical features in the ritual requirements of the auditorium: pulpit, communion table, organ, and font. The result should be a very simple and restful church, leading the average mind to worship instinctively because of the lack of distractions, whether such distractions be consciously apprehended or not. The plates and line drawings give some idea of what Nonconformists have done in the way of church building, recently as well as in times long past, and a study of Mr. Briggs’s pages should prevent any addition to the monstrosities of which, it is to be feared, they have sometimes been capable.

* * * * *

Sir John Lloyd writes:

‘‘That Trevecca House (now College Farm) bears date 1776 (*Trans.*, p. 61) is a misreading of 1576. Theophilus Jones exposed the error in his *History of Brecknockshire*, Vol. II (1809), under Talgarth.’’

* * * * *

ANNUAL MEETING, 1947

This year we have another distinguished visitor for the Annual Meeting, Dr. E. F. Jacob, Fellow of All Souls, Oxford, who will speak on ‘‘Lollardy and the Reformation’’. The meeting will be held in one of the rooms of Westminster Chapel on Wednesday, May 14th, at 5.30, and we hope members will make it widely known to delegates to the Congregational Union and others.
Alexander Stewart’s Students at Barnet

In the last issue of the Transactions (XV.75-83) we printed Alexander Stewart’s account of life in Hoxton Academy from 1820 to 1823. In the latter year he settled at Barnet, and in 1827 opened a school for boys. Before long he was employing older boys as pupil teachers, and almost invariably they entered the ministry. With “ten or twelve boarders and rather more day scholars” and only a pupil teacher for help, Stewart thought his hands were full. Here his narrative* takes up the story:

I soon found that additional work was cut out for me. The Rev. Thomas James1 of Woolwich, wrote and asked if I could take a young man from the West Indies, who was under his care and who wished to enter the ministry, on trial for a time as he did not like to take all the responsibility on himself of either recommending or discouraging him. I agreed to this at once.

Shortly after I received a letter from Thomas Wilson, Treasurer of Highbury College, informing me that the Rev. W. Scott2, who had for many years had charge of the preparatory studies of young men for that college, had been invited to take the principal chair in the college recently instituted at Airdale in Yorkshire, and had accepted it, and thus left vacant the position he held in connection with Highbury. Mr. W. said also that he would be glad to see me for some conversation on the subject. You may readily suppose that this letter took me no less by surprise than gratitude after the coolness that so long had subsisted between us, even though I had of late seen some faint indications that his aversion to me was abating. I went to see him at once, and perceived in the course of a few seconds that the matter was already decided in his mind, and it came out some months afterwards that both he and the Highbury Committee were so well pleased with the training Bevan3 had received, and the Tutor’s recommendation of me to the College at Malacca4 that it was agreed Mr. Wilson should see me on the subject.

I agreed to take the students on the same terms and conditions as Scott, viz. at 40£ a year, and to keep them during the holidays unless they wished themselves to relax their studies at such times.

About a year afterwards I had a similar request from the London Missionary Society.

When it became pretty well known that I thus took students some came

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* See the previous article for a description of the narrative, now printed for private circulation by Sir P. Malcolm Stewart, Alexander’s grandson.
1 1789-1873. Brother of John Angell James. Leaving Woolwich in 1843 he was Secretary of the Irish Evangelical Society from 1843, and of the Colonial Missionary Society from 1850.
2 Walter Scott (1779-1855), Minister at Rothwell from 1812, and had an Academy there, 1816-33, Tutor at Airedale (which Stewart always spells without the ‘e’ in ‘Aire’), 1834-56.
3 See below, p. 104.
4 See Trans., XV. 83.
to me on their own account and paid for themselves, and others came from
different churches direct, and not through any other institution; hence
some went to other colleges than Highbury and others direct to the
ministry.

In this way I was supplied with students for a number of years, having
sometimes as many as ten at a time. But the average number was
about five.

As our two houses were too small to accommodate these students as
well as our boarders I acquired additional room from the house adjoining
the school-house. Here I obtained, first two, then three, rooms, in one
of which I taught the students separate from the boys. We cut a doorway
into this house from the stairs of the school-house and nailed up the doors
which led to the parts of the house which we did not occupy.

Now I felt afresh that I must have more assistance in the school than
Nisbet 5 could give me. I advertised for an assistant . . . It happened
at that very time that my friend Samuel Taylor had a youth whom he
had trained for teaching, in whom he took much interest and wished to
get advantages his own school did not afford. He came to Barnet to talk
to me on the subject. The result of this was that George Jones came to
me almost immediately: he was then about twenty years of age and
fully answered my purpose. He taught in part, and in part I taught
him, in some things with the students, in others in school. I paid him
nothing, he paid me nothing. Mr. Taylor assisted him.

I will here state in brief the course of studies through which I led
these students. Casar, Virgil, Horace, Greek Minora, The Dialogues
of Lucian, Homer, Hebrew Grammar, Part of Genesis and some Psalms,
Euclid, Taylor's Elements of Mental Philosophy, Ancient and Modern
History, Paley's Natural Theology, Butler's Analogy, Digest of Blackstone
on the Laws of England, Pinnock's Outline of Natural Philosophy. Draw
up outlines of sermons, write Essays, Smart's Elocution, and weekly
recitations. We took our relaxation generally together. I walked with
them, ran with them, jumped with them, wrestled with them, and took a
most active part in the playground at our game of Fives.

They occasionally preached for me, especially when I did not feel quite
well. In the Hay season, every Sunday, they went and addressed the men
in every direction — were often sent for to supply Pulpits in the neighbour-
hood, while most of them took an interest and a part in our Sunday school,
Tract Society, and in my social meetings for prayer and exhortation in
different houses in the town.

They gave a healthy tone to the boys in the school, increased our
influence in the town, while as critical hearers, to some extent, they had
their influence on my own preaching.

As I consider my course in connexion with the students, seeing it
included a treble course — my ministry, the school, and themselves — the
most laborious, the most interesting, and the most useful in my life, a
brief account of the students and some incidents connected with them
may claim a place in this Narrative . . .

Most of the students came to me from Mr. Wilson, so that they neces-
sarily went to Highbury College when they left us. Others went, some
to Cheshunt, some to Airdale, some to Newport Pagnell, one to Spring
Hill: others went direct into the ministry, and the missionary students
who went for teachers, went also direct into their respective fields of labour.

I shall notice first those who were with me as Teachers as well as
students, and then those who were students only.

5 See below, p. 104.
Bevan\(^6\) was the first; he came to me as a pupil in the year '27 when I began school, when fifteen years of age, and in a year or two afterwards partially assisted me in the school while I continued to instruct him. I found him a very interesting youth from the very first of his coming to us — was always in great favor with the boys and all in our house — he came a decided Christian under my ministry — held frequent prayer-meetings with the boys — wrote much for me in my study — with my approval entered the ministry — came often from College to see us and sometimes to preach for me — and when he left College, settled at Wellingboro, where Dr. Halley stated the nature of a Gospel Church and I gave the charge at his ordination. When his Father died he left me as the Executor of his Will, his brother Charles came to us as a pupil, and his two sisters . . . joined the Misses Sherley and Adams in my school for French, etc.

When he got hold of the few hundred pounds — nearly a thousand — which came to him after his father's death, he became a little extravagant, and almost foppish for a time, and caused him to leave Wellingboro*, but he soon rallied, obtained a charge in Liverpool, became Secretary of the Evangelical Alliance, was congratulated by Lord Brougham for his promising oratory at an Anti-Slavery meeting. He has lately\(^7\) had a church and congregation at Bow. Though our intercourse of late has been little, unbroken friendship has continued from the first. I have just destroyed the mass of letters which have passed between us, ever abounding in expressions of grateful feelings towards me.

Nisbet\(^8\) came to school much about the same time as Bevan. He was at first a Day Scholar — his father was a butcher in Barnet, his mother a member of our Church. I found he had promising talent and took an interest in him, induced his father to leave him longer at school than he intended or indeed could afford. I then took him in Bevan's place, though I got much less with him than I had with Bevan. At last indeed his father declined to pay anything at all. I then took him entirely at my own cost.

Like Bevan he became a Christian under my ministry — wished to enter the ministry which I encouraged, but could not send him to College for want of pecuniary means. He continued to teach and I to instruct him for two or three years, when an opening for his services in Van Dieman's Land presented itself, and was accepted by him. I got Mr. Thomas Wilson to pay his passage, and managed to get him a good fit out in Barnet. Dr. Halley of Highbury and John Clayton of the Poultry Chapel took part with me in his ordination in our chapel. I got him a ship and he left for Van Dieman's in the year '35 where he has been ever since. Thence he wrote me many long letters giving me full particulars of all his movements for several years till he returned on a visit here for a short time with a family by the name of Hopkins\(^9\) . . . He was engaged to one of the daughters of this family, and evidently he was lifted up and changed. He lived with them in their splendid appartments in town, and came but once

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\(^6\) William Bevan (1812-74). Salem, Wellingborough (1835-7); Newington, Liverpool (1837-47); Sec., Evangelical Alliance (1847-9); Snow Hill, Wolverhampton (1849-60); Harley St., Bow (1861-74).

\(^*\) Stewart's note: 'write a letter to Bevan on his leaving Wellingboro for Liverpool in March/37, on his dressiness, and some other matters.'

\(^7\) Written in 1868.  
\(^8\) John Nisbet (1814-99?). Hobart Town, Tasmania (1835-51); New Town, Tasmania (1852-95).

\(^9\) Hopkins, who was a wealthy merchant, tried to persuade Stewart to go to Van Dieman's Land to establish a Collegiate School.
to Barnet, when he refused to go and see his Father, for which I blamed him. He got offended and has never written to me since. Nor has he ever returned me several volumes of Skeletons of Sermons, by Simeon of Cambridge, which I lent him when he first left us. I have ever regretted this because these volumes were a part of the books which the boys at Lemon's gave me when I went to college.

I have burnt all his long letters to me, as well as mine to him, except one or two to show his feelings of gratitude to me when he first left Barnet.

George Jones\textsuperscript{10} . . . helped me in school long before Nisbet left. He came, like Bevan and Nisbet, under the felt influence of religion, and I got him often to come to me with the students when I ascertained that he longed to enter the ministry, and grieved over his want of means to do so. I mentioned his case to Mr. Thomas Wilson, who, on my recommendation, proposed him to the Highbury Committee, after engaging to give him 10\pounds a year during his College course, while I got the church at Barnet to give him 5\pounds more.

At the close of his College course he settled at Woodford. At his ordination I gave the charge — often visited him and preached for him. He left Woodford a few years after to take another charge in Hampshire . . .

William Sharp\textsuperscript{11} was my next assistant in the school. He came in consequence of an advertisement. His father was a London minister. He paid me nothing. I paid him nothing. For his assistance I assisted him. Like Jones he often joined my students' class as he wished to prepare himself for the ministry, though for some time he was undecided. I liked him very well as a teacher in the school and he took a very good position among the students. I joined with his father in recommending him to Cheshunt. His father soon died, but during the whole of his College course he came often to see me and not seldom to preach for me. When he left Cheshunt he took a charge in a very distant part of the country, but he soon died of consumption.

I next got assistance from my two senior pupils, both just turned 16 years of age — Edward Sherley\textsuperscript{12} and John Holford\textsuperscript{13}. I received from their parents 20\pounds a year instead of 35\pounds, while I engaged that they should in part join the students' class. They took alternate weeks in school and with the students. I divided my own time thus and from 9 to 11 I was always in school with the boys, from 11 to 1 I was with the students, and an hour to each in the afternoon. I could very well hear all the students could prepare for me in these three hours, and also the more important of the boys' lessons in their three, with occasional attendance and regular revision of what was done by the boys under their teachers. The students were not only at liberty to be with me in the school while I heard the boys, but invited to attend, and some of them even joined in the boys' classes at their own request. The students read Smart's Elocution and said their recitations in turn with the boys in the school-room, and all felt the more present the better . . .

I liked Bevan much, Nisbet and Jones not so much but Sherley more, and my special regard was as well deserved on Sherley's part as it was

\textsuperscript{10} Woodford, Essex (1840-7), Emsworth (1847-9).

\textsuperscript{11} Was at Abingdon 1842-4, when he died. Query, Abingdon does not seem "very distant." Did he first go elsewhere?

\textsuperscript{12} 1821-44.

\textsuperscript{13} A "J. A. Holford" was student at Fakenham in 1839, but does not seem to have entered the ministry.
cordially given on mine. He lost his father as I have stated, and his mother and sisters always looked to me in my measure to supply his place. Edward was with me eleven years from between six and seven years till he went to College when turned eighteen. Under my teaching and preaching he was led to consecrate himself to God, and then to the ministry. A more interesting youth I never knew — attractive in person — with talents much beyond the average, and manners that bespoke him favour in every circle. He went to Cheshunt College from our house better prepared than any other that left our house. Dr. Harris, the resident Tutor of Cheshunt, told me he considered Sherley’s talents equalled any in their house, while he was the only student they had ever received who could read a Psalm or a chapter in Hebrew when he came to them.

Early in his College course he set his mind on going to China, consulting me on every stage of the process, but the medical men of the London Missionary Society declared the state of his health unfavorable. He, however, continued at College till nearly the close of his course. At last the fatal disease set in on him, and he was obliged to leave. Consumption carried him off in the 22nd year of his age. I was much with him in his illness and often marvelled at his perfect resignation and thanked God for his bright dying hope, but I long felt his loss. I have preserved many of his letters, not on the File, but in a small package tied round with a bit of string, because I could not bear to burn them with my own hands.

John Holford was the elder of two brothers who had been long with me as pupils. He also was an interesting and affectionate youth, though he possessed neither the talents nor the perseverance nor the dignified character of Sherley. He joined the Church at Barnet, and wished me to introduce him to the ministry, but a certain giddiness which I occasionally saw in him, and a great propensity to flirtation with some young ladies in the town made me hesitate. In the meantime a matter came to light which in some measure accounted for some of his conduct and tended to sober his mind. He found that all was not right at home, that his mother was not his father’s wife. This greatly unsettled him, caused unpleasantness with his father, and led him to wish to leave Barnet where the thing was becoming known. He left us and went to prosecute his studies with another minister. From that minister’s he went to Highbury, but did not long continue there. After his leaving Highbury the next I heard of him was that he had gone to California. He came several times to see us at Barnet, wrote me many letters both before he went to Highbury and while he was there, in which he expressed much gratitude and strong personal attachment.

When Sherley and Holford left I was for some time very unsettled in respect to assistance in the school. I had two, each for a short time. They did not suit me.

Henry Allon came next. Mr. Challis, the Treasurer of Cheshunt College, wrote and asked me to take him for a time as a student, but could not give me anything with him, as their College had no funds for such persons as Highbury. He wished him to help me in teaching as a

11 Guilty of forgery, he had been helped by Stewart to flee first to France, then to America.

15 For Allon, who was to become minister of Union Chapel, Islington, editor of the British Quarterly Review and several hymn books, and twice Chairman of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, see Peel, Letters to a Victorian Editor, p. 2, where some of Sir Halley Stewart’s recollections of Allon are given.
compensation. I was not in circumstances at that time to refuse such help, so I agreed for him to come. He did pretty well for one not accustomed to teach, with very little knowledge of Latin, and no knowledge of French, and he kept the boys in good order while he gave us good assistance with our singing.

As a student he did not seem to me to have much aptitude for languages but he was fond of history, general knowledge, theology, and the elements of mental and natural philosophy. He had read a good deal and always wrote good essays and spoke with ease. He copied large and numerous extracts from my sermons into his Commonplace book, and after he settled at Union Chapel he told me he found more thought in one of my sermons than in half a dozen of Lewis’s.\(^\text{16}\)

He was with us in the year ’40 when my sister died, and he was always ready to conduct our social meetings when I was unable to attend. In ’41 I sent in my report of him to the Committee, and then he went to Cheshunt and joined Sherley and Sharp there.

Let us now turn back and take a more cursory view of those who were students and not teachers.

I have already said our first came from Thomas James of Woolwich — a West Indian by the name of Mayne.\(^\text{17}\) He had not been long with us when I found that I could not recommend him, as I could not see the requisites necessary for a College course of study. I told Mr. James what I thought. Mayne got offended. He left us for a time, and then he came to study as a Teacher for some Missionary station in connexion with the London Missionary Society. He never got on well — he was very conceited and self-willed and never agreed well with the other students. He was with us about 18 months, then went to the West Indies when we lost sight of him.

Mr. Field\(^\text{18}\) was the first that came to us from the Highbury Committee. He had been a short time with Mr. Scott, but came to me when Scott went to Airdale. He did very well with us. At the expiration of a year he went to Highbury — then settled in Norfolk, where he has been ever since.

Mr. Flower\(^\text{19}\) was the second — did well — preached for me again and again — was one of the most zealous in preaching to the Haymakers in the season — obtained from me a very good report — went to Highbury — settled in Cambridgeshire — married a sister of Mr. Ball, late\(^\text{20}\) M.P. for Cambridgeshire, whose son I got as a pupil through him. The boy became consumptive. I wrote to his Father — he came and remained with us several days — took the son home where he soon died. Mr. Ball wrote me a very nice letter and made me a present of 10£.

Mr. Dartnell\(^\text{21}\) came in a few weeks after Flower. His appearance and his manners created an interest at once — polite — courteous — intelligent and studious. But in less than 8 months a suspected latent disease made progress. He was advised to take a sea voyage. He went to Van Dieman’s in the ship with Nisbet, thence to New Zealand, where he died in about a year afterwards.

Mr. Mann\(^\text{22}\), a relative of the Manns on Barnet Common who attended

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\(^{16}\) Thomas Lewis was the senior minister at Union Chapel, to whom Allon went as colleague, and whom he succeeded in 1852.  
\(^{17}\) Nothing further ascertained about him.  
\(^{18}\) Joseph Field, Diss, 1837-77.  
\(^{19}\) David Flower (1812-59); Burwell (1840-7); Clavering (1848-59).  
\(^{20}\) This word uncertain.  
\(^{21}\) Nothing ascertainable.  
\(^{22}\) Thomas Mann (1814-98).  
Isle of Ely (1837-9): Trowbridge (1839-94).
our chapel and sent their son a pupil to us, came next. He honorably passed his course with us and in due time went to Highbury, always visiting us during his College course when he came to see his relatives. He settled in a distant part of the country and thus we lost sight of him.

Mr. Kay23 came about the same time as the above, from Angell James of Birmingham and also a letter from Thomas Wilson engaging to pay for him. He did well with us in every respect — preached for me frequently when with us at Barnet, when at Highbury, and after he settled in the ministry. He married Miss Adams of Barnet, one of the young ladies who came to our school in the afternoons for French, etc.24 . . . an office which I performed for him.

Lewis25 came in a few weeks after Kay. He did not seem the most polished at first sight, but he soon showed that he had both a head and a heart. He excelled all in Euclid, while inferior to none in the languages, etc. He went from Highbury as a missionary — remained many years in India — became a first-rate Bingalee [sic] scholar, and returned in bad health some years ago. He was one of my chief competitors in playing at Fives . . .

Corbin26 came about the same time as Lewis. He was of gentle, engaging manners — always ready to oblige, but did not evince first-rate talent. He had one eye to my sister, while she by no means frowned on it. I urged on both to delay engagement till a more advanced period of the College course, as I had often seen hasty engagements with young ladies broken off by students when they got into new connexions. They both accepted my advice. My sister died before he finished his College course. He settled at Derby, then joined Dr. Campbell as his assistant or co-pastor in London. He is now at Hornsey and sent his sons to us at P.H.27

Browning28 came next — did well in all his course with us — went to Highbury — settled in Suffolk, where he has been ever since, and took part with me in an ordination service in his neighbourhood several years after his settlement. He was no favorite with my sister as she never could relish what seemed to her and perhaps to others his untidy habits. He was my most formidable opponent in wrestling and fencing: on one occasion, lest he should conquer, I roused up, put forth all my strength, and threw him with such force that all feared for some days that he was seriously injured — all however passed off well.

Easterbrook29 came the same day as Browning — he had very good talents, but sadly lacked application, yet on the whole I felt bound to recommend him. He passed through his course at Highbury also, and settled in the ministry. Even when with us he felt hard-pressed for money for some necessary things. I lent him some and got it again before he left College. Things did not come out well with him. He called on us at Camden Road a year or two ago hawking books.

23 John Kay (1813-51). Coggeshall (1838-54).
24 Miss Adams had written love-letters to Holford, also at Highbury. This brought Stewart into trouble with Mrs. Adams, as the narrative relates.
26 John Corbin (1811-90). Victoria St., Derby (1838-53); Moorfields, London (1853-6); Park Chapel (1856-71).
27 Palmer House, the school Stewart and his sons opened in Camden Rd. on leaving Barnet.
28 Samuel Browning (1809-90). Felling (1839-43); Framlingham (1843-70).
29 W. Easterbrook was at Overton, Hants. (1837?-43); Tuxford (1843-52)
All the above came to us in the year 1833.

Beazley\(^{30}\) came to us at the beginning of '34. He came direct from an Iron Foundry, recommended by Mr. Pope\(^{31}\), his minister and brother of Mr. Pope of Barnet Common, and a warm friend of ours. Mr. Wilson paid for him as a probationer for Highbury. He was a diamond in one — his natural talent was considerable — his application surprising. In most things he soon got ahead of those who had had a better early education. How many anecdotes — all to his credit — could I gladly give you . . .

Though at first he was troubled with a rather low provincial accent, and a stranger to a large vocabulary of words, yet, by sheer determination and industry, he became the best critic on the pronunciation of words at our regular readings at the breakfast and the tea table. He willingly joined in with the youngest class in the school and changed class only as he got ahead. This was extra to his student work. At the expiration of twelve months I recommended him to Highbury, and was not a little mortified at their refusing him — he was the only one they refused whom I recommended. Mr. Wilson told me he did not agree with the Committee in refusing him, and said he would pay for him, apart from Highbury, to remain twelve months longer with me in order to be better able to take some charge when he left Barnet.

In due time he agreed to go to Van Dieman's in connexion with the Colonial Missionary Society. He was ordained at the Poultry Chapel — I gave the charge — Mr. Wilson gave me 20£ for his fit out and I got 20£ in Barnet, chiefly from Mr. Roberts. I got him his ship — he labored honorably in Van Dieman's many years and now he succeeds Mr. Sherman at Blackheath.

Rogers\(^{31a}\) was the next that came to us — he was lame in one of his legs. He evinced no special aptitude for a College course, yet he had a very good turn for preaching. At the close of his year, I informed Mr. Wilson, yet pleaded for encouraging Rogers as a preacher in some country place. Mr. Wilson agreed to support him another year with us, at the close of which got him introduced to the church at Lowestoft in Norfolk. I gave the charge at his ordination there — did a similar service when he went to Rendham — and again at Bedford Chapel when he came to London. Since then he has again removed into the country. I had much correspondence with him. His letters abound in expressions of gratitude to me.

Emeric de St. Dalmas\(^{32}\) came about the same time as Rogers. He came from Guernsey, guided and helped by Mr. Wilson. He evidently came from a most respectable connexion. He was young — handsome — well-educated and quite the gentleman — the favorite in our house. He brought his sister from Guernsey on a visit to us . . . He went to Highbury, but left before the end of his course. He joined the Plymouth Brethren.

David Jones\(^{33}\) soon followed. He was Welsh — knew English but very imperfectly. His Father brought him and paid for his year at once. He got on very well with all his studies except reading Smart and his recitations. He went to Airdale, settled in the North, and remains there.

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30 Joseph Beazley (1821-99). Tasmania (1836-46); Sydney 1846-60; Blackheath (1860-74).
31 Alfred Pope, minister of Spencer St., Leamington.
31a John Rogers (1815-71). Barnet (1835-7); Lowestoft (1837-41); Rendham (1841-50); Bedford Chapel, London (1851-6); Bridport (1857-71).
32 No information.
Lings\textsuperscript{34} came in the beginning of '36, made his own arrangements with me, paid me — continued about a year — preferred Airdale and went there on my recommendation. He was quite the gentleman. He settled in the North, and has since paid us several visits. He always speaks in high terms of the time he spent with us at Barnet.

Robinson\textsuperscript{35} came about a month afterwards, sent by Mr. Wilson. He had had but very little education — but very fair talents. He was not a favorite in our house nor most liked by the rest of the students. I had to battle often with the high Calvanism [sic] of some of the students, Mr. Robinson clung to his to the last. There was some hitch that kept the Highbury Committee from receiving him — with some difficulty I got him to Cheshunt.

Charlton\textsuperscript{36}, who had just closed his apprenticeship with Cowing\textsuperscript{37}, came to me on trial for a time with a view of entering the ministry. His Father paid for him, but it was "no go" — he returned to business.

Taylor\textsuperscript{38} followed him. At the request of the church at Hatfield he often preached there, but when I saw it was interfering with his studies I told him he must not go so often. He went to Newport Pagnell, a small College under the tutorship principally of the Rev. Mr. Bull.

Drew\textsuperscript{39} came at the same time as Taylor. He came on the recommendation of Stratton\textsuperscript{40} of Paddington who was son-in-law of Mr. Thomas Wilson, but his own Father paid for him. He was very respectably connected — had had a very good education, and did all his studies with ease, but I never could get him to engage in prayer in turn as the rest. He went to Cambridge and not to Highbury when he left us.

Griffith\textsuperscript{41} came to us in a fustian jacket — with a very scanty degree of education, and an exchequer not much better. If I remember right, a small bundle contained all he brought with him. I made him a present of a pair of boots I brought from Calais which had been always too small for me. Nevertheless Griffiths had a head, and in a short time took and held his position well. He went from us to the College at Spring Hill near Birmingham. He has just removed from Hitchin to Eastbourne.

Charles Brown\textsuperscript{42}, who came as a pupil to me in '27, now came as a student in '37. Mr. Wilson paid for him. He went through his course with us very well — passed on in course to Highbury — remained there a few years, but not his full time — he returned again to business and has since sent his son to us at P.H.

Richards\textsuperscript{43} came to us in '37 — remained a year — went to Airdale and has remained in the North.

Watson\textsuperscript{44} came in '38 — corresponded with the London Missionary Society for a time — had an altercation with his uncle — sent their correspondence to me as umpire between them, went to business again when he left us. His son is now a pupil at P.H. Most of you may remember the Bible he gave me when leaving. I have almost always used it when marrying a couple.

\textsuperscript{34} Henry Lings (1810-1900). Oak St., Accrington (1846-53); Fleetwood (1854-79).
\textsuperscript{35} No information.
\textsuperscript{36} No information.
\textsuperscript{37} A local printer.
\textsuperscript{38} John Taylor (? -1845). Tooting (1840-1). Hounslow (1841-5).
\textsuperscript{39} Unknown.
\textsuperscript{40} Of Paddington Chapel.
\textsuperscript{41} William Griffith (not Griffiths), 1817-99. Tutbury (1842-8); Keyworth (1848-51); Hitchin (1851-68); Eastbourne (1868-79).
\textsuperscript{42} Nothing further known.
\textsuperscript{43} George Richards. Alnwick (1844-9); Howden (1850-62); Beverley (1862-71)
Charter 44 — Parish 45 — O’Kell 46 — Henderson 47 — came from the London Missionary Society chiefly for preparatory study to go into the field of missionary labor as teachers. They did well with us — left a good impression behind them — and wrote afterwards to me from the West Indies and South Seas.

I have thus . . . given you a view of my student teachers and students proper, running through about 15 years of my school course at Barnet, including incidents which will enable you pretty well to see that my life at that time was no sinecure . . .

But a change became necessary. As our number increased, we felt the crowded state of the boys more and more, and in review, I often wonder how we managed so well with such a variety huddled together from day to day, from night to night. It was often a matter of conversation beyond our family circle. Mr. Thomas Wilson and others saw and said that my hands were too full, as well as our accommodation too small. He proposed that I should take a good-sized house in Barnet or in its vicinity — give up my school and confine myself to students, informing me he had had conversations with the principal managers of the London Missionary Society on the subject — he would guarantee a certain number.

This matter pressed heavy on my mind for some time. While I should have much liked what Mr. Wilson suggested I saw the difficulty about the educating of my own children, both in respect to moral training and the means of sending them to schools such as I should like. Besides I knew some of the leading men of the Missionary Society had set their minds on having a similar provision exclusively for themselves, while I could not ignore the palpable [sic] fact that Mr. Wilson was ageing fast, and that his successor might not “know Joseph.” I decided, God helping me, to keep to my school.

[I am indebted to the Rev. C. E. Surman, B.A., for most of the identifications in the above narrative.—ALBERT PEEL].

46 William O’Kell (1812-7). L.M.S., Schoolmaster, Jamaica (1838-40), then resigned.
47 Thomas Henderson (1812-70). L.M.S. Schoolmaster, Demerara, afterwards ordained; Lusignan (1840-68); Bertice (1868-70).
Tattenhall Congregational Church, Cheshire

TATENHALL, which lies half-way between Chester and Nantwich in the south-west corner of the county, has just celebrated the "triple jubilee" of Congregationalism in the village. Its history, which has never yet been written, is that of struggle and of alternating success and despondency and is mirrored in the "Tattenhall Independent Chapel Church-Book, 1822," which covers almost exactly a century of the century-and-a-half and brings the story down to 1921. For the early years, the first formative quarter of a century, we must search in other places.

When William Urwick compiled his Nonconformity in Cheshire he relied upon notes "furnished by the Rev. J. Morris, minister of the place" for the paragraph on Tattenhall. John Morris, whom we shall meet later in the Church-Book, was then seventy years of age and had been minister for forty-four years. His knowledge of the days before his ministry began in 1818 was not very accurate and there is evidence of his "telescoping" some of the events. He rightly calls attention to the fact that no minister was in 1662 ejected from Tattenhall and that a long period of darkness had settled upon the whole district but says that "simultaneously (sic) from three quarters light broke in upon our benighted village: from Chester by the Rev. W. Thorpe of Chester; from Coddington through the Rev. Isaac Nicholson, curate of that place; and by means of the Cheshire Congregational Union." The synchronization is faulty—William Thorpe was minister of Queen Street, Chester, for only a year between 1794 and 1795; Isaac Nicholson left Coddington to become president and tutor of Cheshunt College in 1792; and the Cheshire Congregational Union was not formed until 1806.

It is probable that William Thorpe had some hand in founding the cause, for he was brought back from Bristol (to which he moved in 1795) to open a thatched cottage for public worship in Tattenhall in 1796. It is also true that from its beginning the Cheshire Union had a real concern for the infant church. But it is to the names of Isaac Nicholson, Job Wilson of Northwich, "Captain" Jonathan

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1 Urwick, p. 104, n.
2 Urwick, p. 105.
3 Powicke, Centenary History of the Cheshire Union, p. 128.
4 Ev. Mag., 1808, p. 236.
5 So John Morris in Urwick, p. 105.
Scott, and William Silvester of Sandbach that we must turn if we would learn of its early days.

There is no direct evidence beyond that of John Morris of the connection between ISAAC NICHOLSON and the church, but Nicholson’s memoir in the Evangelical Magazine for 1808⁶ says that he was appointed to the curacy of Coddington in 1784 at the age of twenty-three and that he laboured there for eight years. He suffered much opposition because of his zeal and was charged with the allegations “that he preached justification without works; that he was irregular in his preaching; and that he associated with the Methodists”⁷. Possibly there is a reference to his work at Tattenhall in the statement that each Sunday, after preaching three times in his own church, he rode five or six miles to a neighbouring village, or in the more general statement that “other congregations in the vicinity have been much benefited by his labours”⁸. Morris adds that Nicholson’s converts banded together, chose Tattenhall for their place of worship, and fitted up a room belonging to Mr. G. Walley of Newton Lane as a place of worship.

The work of JOB WILSON is much more easy to trace. In 1794, JONATHAN SCOTT⁹ asked at Northowram Academy for a student to help him in Cheshire. Scott was then about sixty; an ex-captain of the Seventh Dragoons who had been converted by the preaching of William Romaine and became a preacher in the Army until he resigned his commission in 1760. Thenceforward he was a “presbyter or teacher at large” (for so he was ordained at Lancaster in 1774) and a heroic itinerant in five counties—Shropshire (including Whitchurch), Staffordshire (Leek, Newcastle, Stone, Hanley and Stafford), Derbyshire (Matlock), Lancashire (Lancaster and the Fylde) and Cheshire (Macclesfield, Chester, Congleton and Nantwich). JOB WILSON was the student whom he chose, though he had been only recently admitted to college⁹. “At the end of a few weeks he quitted Northowram for Cheshire, and study (to which he never felt himself adapted) for active pastoral work (which called forth his best powers)”¹⁰. Wilson’s first centre was Macclesfield but he itinerated in Congleton, Leek, Nantwich, Middlewich and other places and finally settled as pastor of Northwich where

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⁶ Ev. Mag., 1808, pp. 233ff. Nicholson left the Established Church when he became president of Lady Huntington’s College at Cheshunt. He was at Cheshunt from 1792 to 1803 and during this time was in pastoral charge at Chace-side, Enfield. In 1804 he became pastor of Mulberry Gardens until his death in 1807.

⁷ Ev. Mag., 1808, p. 235.

⁸ vide Ev. Mag., 1807, pp. 489ff, pp. 537ff; Urwick, pp. 136-8; Powicke, pp. 15-17, etc.

⁹ James Johns in Urwick, p. 394; Powicke, p. 17.

¹⁰ Powicke, p. 18.
he stayed from 1795 to 1838—he died on the day of Queen Victoria's coronation.

Extracts from Wilson's diary, quoted in Urwick, and possibly for the year 1796, show that in one period of three months he travelled about nine hundred miles, mostly on foot, and included Tattenhall several times in his visits\(^\text{11}\). John Morris\(^\text{12}\) suggests that in 1795 William Silvester (whom he spells Sylvester) came with Job Wilson to Tattenhall but Powicke rightly points out that this is a mistake\(^\text{13}\). It is another example of Morris's telescoping. Silvester in 1795 was apprenticed to a tailor in Stafford and it was not until 1807 that he came to Sandbach. In the interval he had gone to Manchester in 1801 and been encouraged by William Roby to become a minister. It was William Roby who recommended him as an itinerant when the Cheshire Union appealed to him in 1807\(^\text{14}\). But although Silvester was not in at the beginning of the cause, he was a great help later for tradition tells of help which came from the ministers of Sandbach (which would be Silvester), Chester (which would be Ebenezer White who had settled at Queen Street in 1802\(^\text{15}\)), Nantwich (from which would come Captain Scott and those whom he persuaded to go) and Northwich (Job Wilson, of course).

The first services were held in a thatched cottage until in 1808 on October 19 a new chapel was opened, built on land given by Mr. Orton, a gentleman of the village\(^\text{16}\). It was an inclement day, but there was an excellent congregation in the thirty-nine feet by twenty-four feet room; the Rev. W. Evans of Stockport preached in the morning from Phil. i. 18; the Rev. Mr. James of Boughton in the afternoon from I Cor. ii. 2; and the Rev. Mr. Macdonald of Market Drayton in the evening from Matt. xxiv.14\(^\text{17}\).

This chapel, to which a gallery was later added, was used until 1872 when it was let to the British School. When an appeal was made for a new church building, the old building was then described in 1870 as "far behind the age as to site, commodiousness and comfort. It is situated at the furthest end of the village, and the approach to it in wet weather is most inconvenient. It has neither Vestry, nor Class Rooms, in consequence of which the Sabbath

\(^{11}\) Urwick, p. 396; also Powicke, p. 19.

\(^{12}\) Urwick, p. 105.

\(^{13}\) Powicke, p. 141, n. 1.


\(^{15}\) Ev. Mag., 1611, pp. 329ff.; 373ff. See also T. Raffles, Memoirs of Thomas Spencer, pp. 10, 246, for White's earlier ministry in Hertfordshire, and for his death.


\(^{17}\) Urwick, p. 106, n. 1.
School, Prayer and other meetings are held in it. The arrangement is felt to be most unsuitable, and from a hygienic point of view very objectionable’.

With the opening of this first chapel there came in due course a minister, THOMAS HITCHIN, who was engaged by the Cheshire Union. The date of his settlement is uncertain, but it was probably in April, 181018. The new minister made Tattenhall the centre, and from there he worked in the neighbouring villages of Barton, Tilston, Bickerton and others “for nearly ten years” then “he removed to a larger sphere near London,” says the appeal circular of 1870. Morris in Urwick says that it was to Towcester he removed “owing to an increasing family and small remuneration”.

His successor was JOHN MORRIS19, a student from Rotherham, whose ministry lasted from the second Sunday in June, 1818, to his resignation in June, 1862, and who lived on in the village to the age of ninety-five, dying on January 15, 1883. He was born at Oswestry on August 18, 1787, and entered Rotherham in January, 1813. He settled at Colne, Lancashire, for twelve months20 but “discovered he had fallen upon an Antinomian nest” and returned home to Oswestry on the advice of his minister, who promised to find him work to do. Having preached at Tattenhall, he was invited to settle and was ordained nearly eighteen months after he had begun his ministry, on November 10, 1819. William Silvester of Sandbach opened with the reading of Scripture and prayer; James Turner of Knutsford delivered the introductory discourse; Job Wilson of Northwich asked the questions and received the ordinand’s confession of faith; Nathanael Scholefield of Over offered the ordination prayer; Dr. Bennett of Rotherham gave the charge to the minister; and Dr. Raffles of Liverpool preached to the people. Mr. Kidd of Whitchurch preached in the evening. On the preceding Sunday two deacons had been set apart when Mr. Atkinson of Liverpool gave them a charge21. It is noticeable throughout the Church-Book that for almost exactly a hundred years (until March, 1919, when it was resolved to have five deacons) there are usually two deacons and sometimes only one. But it is impossible to ascertain who were these first two.

The church and congregation managed without the grant of the Cheshire Union soon after the settlement of the new minister, whose influence was soon felt in the village and the district. Auxiliaries of

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18 Cheshire Union Report for 1811, quoted in Urwick, p. 106.
19 C.Y.B., 1885, p. 216.
20 B. Nightingale, Lancashire Nonconformity, vol. ii, p. 178, n. where Nightingale makes the correct identification of “Mr. Maurice” and John Morris, though he makes him minister of “Tattersall”.
21 Ev. Mag., 1820, p. 333.
the London Missionary Society and of the Bible Society were formed and real zeal engendered—from 1824 to 1862 the people of Tattenhall and its vicinity contributed £1,114 2s. 5d. to the L.M.S.\textsuperscript{22}. Congregations and membership increased and an addition was made to the chapel for the purpose of accommodating the Sunday School children. During the years of John Morris's pastorate the Church-Book, however, is not very fully kept. It is in the handwriting of the minister himself, growing shakier as the years passed by. There are lists of members, the first names being Thomas Dutton, George Walley (the owner of the first room fitted for worship?), William Prince and John Dunn, who all joined on December 6, 1797, closely followed a month later by Martha Weaver, Martha Rathbone and Elizabeth Walley. It is probable that they entered into covenant relationship, as we shall see later, but the terms of the covenant are lost. Not many Church meetings are recorded, and those are badly attended, though they took seriously the matter of admission of members, and there are no records of meetings from February, 1830, to November, 1856, except that in April (no date given), 1842, "Thomas Jackson was unanimously chosen to fill the office of Deacon in connexion with Brother Prince and commended accordingly to the grace of God". The story which the Church-Book tells is resumed in 1856 when some interesting letters of transfer are pinned in, and a meeting of November 7 is noted at which new trustees were elected to hold a new trust deed ("all the old trustees being gathered to their fathers") and George Jackson of Tattenhall Hall, and John Capper were elected deacons and commended to God by the pastor. So many blank pages are left that it must have been the intention of someone (probably the pastor himself) to write up the story of those lost years had procrastination permitted. John Morris resigned his charge on June 8, 1862, and the letter is preserved:

My dear Brethren and Sisters in the Lord,

After much deliberation and prayer, also consultation with, and advice of beloved brethren in the ministry, the Deacons, and Members of the Church, according to notice given, I do now, in the presence of you all, resign the Pastorate of this church, together with the right after this day, of occupying the pulpit of this place, only reserving (with your generous consent) the occupancy of the Chapel house, and the privilege of membership.

Witness my hand,

JOHN MORRIS,

GEORGE JACKSON, JOHN CAPPER, DEACONS.

\textsuperscript{22} Urwick, p. 107.
He lived on for another twenty years and was regular and faithful in his attendance at church meetings and in visiting those who were proposed for membership. He died on Monday, January 15, 1883, and was buried in the Churchyard at Tattenhall "the rector officiating at the express wish of his family". A funeral sermon was preached ten days later in the Congregational Church and on the succeeding Sunday a service "in memoriam of Our Living Dead" was held, followed by the Sacrament.

After John Morris resigned there was no long vacancy. Indeed negotiations had already begun with William Currie, who was to be his successor. The resignation was tendered after "administration of ordinance", and immediately George Jackson, the deacon, read the acceptance of the invitation which had been sent to William Currie. That invitation had expressed the hope that "by God's blessing he might remain as long as Mr. Morris had done," but added prudently that he "was only engaged to come for one year".

The new ministry began on June 29, 1862, and when a year had passed and the terms of ministerial engagement had expired, Mr. Currie was unanimously requested to continue in the pastorate. But he only stayed eighteen months in all and removed in December, 1863. A Saturday afternoon class for children, a Bible Class, a Sabbath School, and a weekly prayer meeting were immediate innovations and regular church meetings were resumed.

The vacancy lasted exactly a year, that is the whole of 1864, but in October of that year a unanimous invitation was sent to Andrew Craig Todd, student of Rotherham College, who had preached on three successive Sundays. Before he accepted, Mr. Craig asked whether an endeavour would be made to build a new chapel. Mr. Jackson replied: "I have seen several of the members and they all agree with me that they would like to see a new chapel, but that the effort for raising the funds must be more apparent when we get the present chapel filled . . . I will give £200 to start the thing when the time arrives". Mr. Todd accepted the call and began on Sunday, January 1, 1865, a ministry which lasted twenty-five years. His ordination took place on Wednesday, May 31, 1865, when G. B. Kidd of Macclesfield gave the introductory discourse; G. B. Scott of Whitchurch proposed the questions; John Morris offered the ordination prayer; Dr. Falding of Rotherham delivered the charge (to the minister); and P. C. Barker of Chester gave a sermon to the people.

23 Powicke, p. 141, is unaware of the actual date (he says "before April, 1864"), but adds that William Currie removed to Ireland.

24 A copy of the handbill announcing the Ordination is preserved in the Church-Book together with the minutes of meetings to arrange the details of the service.
Eleven new members were received in the first year of the new ministry and one of them, Miss Lydia Jackson, was married to Mr. Todd on October 15, 1867. At the end of that first year it was reported that there had been a deficit of £77 14s. 1d. on the previous three and a half years; this a bazaar and the ordination had reduced to a little over £63. Mr. Jackson remarked that it was very encouraging to know that the interest was slowly working out its own independence. When he had taken upon himself to be guarantor for the minister's income he had quite made up his mind for a loss of £50 a year, but was very agreeably surprised to find it was about £14 a year. A management committee was formed and "it was unanimously resolved to bestir ourselves to make the interest self-supporting this year". The management committee "signally failed ... it is to be devoutly hoped it was neither from indifference or apathy", as Mr. Todd says in a letter which he copies into the Church-Book. (The Church-Book for the years of his ministry is, incidentally, beautifully kept and becomes a mine of information: throughout all the years it was nearly always entered up by the ministers and none is more faithful than this one.) Mr. Todd notified his intention in October, 1866, of resigning at the end of the year. Asked "to favour the church with his reasons," he wrote at great length pleading with the church to cast off its dependence ("Our position is just this, we are dependent Independents") and share the support among all the members, and reminding them that in the N.T. the office of pastor and deacon were very distinct. He challenged them to choose and appoint another deacon or reorganize another committee. It is clear from the correspondence that Mr. Todd had no animus against Mr. Jackson, his guarantor, but that he was concerned to encourage his people to "bestir themselves". This he did to such good purpose that on November 8, 1866, the Church members resolved to raise the minister's salary of £100 "without as hitherto calling on the guarantee" (though they prudently allowed Mr. George Jackson to continue to remain as security "in case of need") and appointed a new finance committee. Mr. Todd stayed on for a further twenty-four years.

One of the most interesting items of his ministry is concerned with the establishment of a British School in the village and its use of the chapel premises. Fortunately, minutes of the meetings which led to its establishment and of controversy with the Parish Church are recorded in the Church-Book and they throw a most interesting light on village education and on Anglican autocracy. There had been a National School in the village which had given way to a new school on a somewhat wider basis. A former rector of Tattenhall, the Rev. G. R. Moncrieff, was appointed one of
H.M. Inspectors for Schools and one day on the street met one of
the deacons of the Congregational Church. He proposed the taking
down of the old National Schools and, as his last legacy to the
parish, to build new schools, if the sanction of the Privy Council
on Education could be obtained, to be managed by six members,
chosen by the subscribers, and to omit the National School trust
deed clause which required the managers to be in communion with
the Church of England. New Schools were built at a cost of over
£1,600, to which the Congregational deacon became the largest
contributor, while both Wesleyans and Primitive Methodists also
subscribed handsomely. The Government omitted the test clause
for the managers who were two Congregationalists, one Wesleyan,
two "liberal" and one "strict" Churchman. This board of
managers worked harmoniously for many years and when the
Wesleyan manager left he was replaced by a Presbyterian. About
1860, the schoolmaster was dismissed after having been prosecuted
for embezzling over £500 of the funds of the Tattenhall Savings
Bank, and a Mr. and Mrs. McIvor, who were Presbyterians from
Glasgow, were appointed teachers. The Rector, as chairman,
obtained the sanction of the committee to do this and explained
that his views were so very liberal that he looked more to their
qualifications as teachers than to their religious persuasion as
Presbyterians. Mr. and Mrs. McIvor joined the Congregational
Church during the ministry of the Rev. W. Currie. It was then
discovered that the usual National School clause had been retained
in the new trust deed of the school, that the churchwardens were
ex officio members of the managing committee and that the Bishop
of the diocese, as patron of the living of Tattenhall, was sole referee
in case of dispute. The rector, the Rev. Fielding Ould, M.A.,
proposed that the teachers should be dismissed and others be
engaged who were members of the Church of England. This propo-
sition was modified to give them the option of becoming communi-
cants, and the teachers acceded.

In autumn, 1866, the schoolmaster accompanied one of his girl
scholars and her sister home after a Congregational tea meeting
when their father had failed to come for them. "Out of this little
attention a grave charge arose against the schoolmaster", and
although he was completely cleared, the Rector advised him to
resign and persisted in pressing it. Several stormy meetings
followed, the ex officio churchwardens were called in to obtain a
majority in favour of the Rector, and finally Mr. McIvor, faced
with dismissal, handed in his resignation which was to take effect
after the next examinations. These examinations should have
been deferred to the spring of 1877 because of a change in the
inspectorate, but the Rector made representations to the Council of
Education to keep the examinations in November and entered into correspondence with possible successors. When the schools closed at Christmas a testimonial was read and presented to Mr. McIvor, signed by 88 parents who had 203 children in the school, earnestly requesting him to withdraw his resignation. The Rector refused to allow this withdrawal and, when pressed for his reasons, and reminded that the investigating committee had acquitted the schoolmaster of the charges brought against him, replied: “I withdraw those charges”, “I think nothing of them”, “I will give Mr. and Mrs. McIvor an excellent character for a dissenting school, but they are not proper teachers for a Church of England school—they are Dissenters!”

At that time there were 22 children (belonging to 12 parents) who went to “Church”; 140 children (belonging to 73 parents) who were “Chapel”; and 17 children (of 10 parents) who were “neutral”. Steps were immediately taken to establish a British School and, at the instigation of Mr. Todd, a conference of Congregationalists, Wesleyans and Primitive Methodists came to a unanimous decision and resolved on December 29, 1868, to ask the Congregationalists for the use of their chapel for the purpose. A special Church Meeting on January 4 agreed to this by ten votes to six (four of the dissidents being of one family, and two being absentees who wrote letters against).

The outline of the subsequent history of the British School is soon told, though its influence must have been incalculable. When a new Church was built, the School continued to use the old premises (at a nominal rent of one shilling per annum, as the copy of an acknowledgment formally made in 1891 shows). In 1905, it was still in the old premises, and asking for permission to make certain alterations to meet the requirements of the Education authority. This was granted on condition that the managers of the school guaranteed that if the premises ceased to be used for school purposes they would be handed over to the Church in a reasonable state of repair. Finally, in 1912, a new Council School was built in the village, the Education Authority gave back the premises, which became a recreation room and gymnasium for the young people of the Church.

It was during the ministry of Mr. Todd, also, that the new church was built and opened in 1872. We have seen that this project was in the mind of Mr. Todd when he came as minister and in the mind of his deacon, Mr. George Jackson; stimulus was now given to it by the needs of the new British School. In 1869, Mr. Thomas Hill was appointed co-deacon with Mr. Jackson and it was he who, with Mr. Todd and Mr. Jackson, signed a circular appealing for contributions in 1870.
"The existing Chapel erected in 1808 is, owing to many changes, far behind the age... Four years ago our plans were nearly matured; but the Cattle Plague breaking out in this neighbourhood with great violence, we were compelled to lay them aside for a while. Other circumstances have, however, arisen which lay on us a still greater necessity to build at once a new Temple to the Lord. Early in the month of January, 1869, an opportunity presented itself for again establishing a Day School. We embraced it, and as no other suitable room could be secured we gave up our place of worship. The School is under Government inspection and now numbers over 150 children. The Council of Education requires the building to be 'fitted' up for a School by a certain time. It wants but a few months to the period named and, unless we have a new place of worship, we shall be compelled to forego the advantages already named. So interested are the Lancashire and Cheshire Chapel Building Society that they have promised the munificent sum of £700. A most desirable site in the centre of the Village, together with a manse, has been secured and approved of by the Committee. We have done our best and have raised £600, a large sum for a purely agricultural district. The estimated cost for the erection of a new Church, together with the purchase of a Minister’s house, as well as the adaptation of the existing Chapel and present house of the Pastor, to school purposes according to the Education Code, cannot be less than £2,200; towards this sum we have £1,300, leaving a deficit of £900. It is to raise this sum that we now appeal to the liberality of our more favoured friends at a distance."

Mr. Robert Barbour gave the land for the new building, and the foundation stone was laid on Wednesday, April 19, 1871, by Sir James Watts, High Sheriff of Lancashire, at a ceremony at which J. A. Macfadyen, of Manchester, gave an exposition of Congregational principles.

Before the new building was finished the Church suffered a heavy loss in the death of Mr. George Jackson, its faithful deacon, who died on September 26, 1871. He had been the deacon for nearly

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25 The Church-Book, in the voluminous record of the establishing of the British School, reports Mr. George Jackson as saying at one meeting: "It is a fact that during the ministry of the Rev. T. Hitchen and for many years after, during the pastorate of his successor, the Rev. J. Morris, a day school was held in connexion with the Independent Chapel and that during much of the time that the Rev. G. R. Moncrieff was rector of Tattenhall a free school was held in the School Room open to the Independent Chapel in this village".
fifteen years and the minutes speak of "his long and unwearied Christian labour of love". The new Church was opened for public worship on Thursday, April 18, 1872, the preachers being Alexander McLaren, of Manchester, and P. W. Darnton, of Chester, chairman of the Cheshire Union. A bazaar was held the same day before the afternoon and evening services. Then the first two Sundays in the new building, saw as special preachers H. Sturt, of Dewsbury, and Thomas Kent, of Chester. The registration certificate of the new Church certifying it as a place of public religious worship registered for the solemnization of marriages is pasted into the Church-Book.

The rest of the ministry of Mr. Todd is a story of alternating hope and fear. Mr. G. F. Jackson was chosen deacon in place of his father and Mr. Fred Hudson was chosen as a third deacon; Mr. and Mrs. Tolfree came from North Walsham as teachers of the British School; copies of A Manual of Congregational Principles were given to each family; help was given in the erection of a church at Barton; problems of finance continually engaged the attention of the deacons and the members; temperance meetings and children's meetings were introduced; the County Union was appealed to for help, funds being so low that some meetings were held in the Vestry to save fire and light; the Church found itself without a deacon when Mr. G. F. Jackson and Mr. Thomas Hill left in 1879 and 1880 respectively, and Mr. Thomas Lightfoot was elected in their place. The minister made a discovery reminiscent of the story of the finding of the Law Book in Josiah's reign. He found the original Church covenant and read it at the Lord's Supper on the first Sunday in February, 1879. Ten years later, there is a record that it was read again at the time of Communion. Unfortunately, however, no further trace remains of what must have been a most interesting document.

The end of Mr. Todd's long and faithful ministry was clouded. He fell into heavy financial difficulties and resigned the pastorate on November 9, 1890. Because of the circumstances of his financial failure, his name was removed from the roll of membership of the Church and he disappeared from Congregationalism when his name was omitted from the Year Book of 1892.

The Church-Book was now kept and entered up by Mr. Lightfoot,

26 Mr. Sturt had been very helpful to Mr. Thomas Hill, the deacon, in recommending him to the liberality of the Christian public in Dewsbury and other towns when he was busy soliciting subscriptions to wipe off the deficit on the new building.
27 cf. Powicke, p. 141.
28 cf. II Kings xxii.
who tells of the sympathy of the Church with Mr. Todd and yet of
its demand that he should resign his membership, and then records
the invitation to the next minister, the Rev. George Henry
Hancock. Trained at Nottingham Institute, he laboured in
Lincolnshire and Sussex before he was ordained at Hambledon,
Bucks., in 1879. Thence he went to Staithes in Yorkshire before
coming to Tattenhall, where his recognition service was held on
Thursday, November 19, 1891. Mr. Thomas Huxley, of Malpas,
presided, Mr. Lightfoot and the new minister gave statements, and
addresses were given by J. W. Paull, of Cheadle, who had recently
relinquished his secretarvship of the Cheshire Union, T. W. Pinn,
of Stockport, who had just passed the chair of the Union, and Mr.
J. A. Thompson. Mr. Hancock's ministry only lasted until
March, 1894, and the records are very scant indeed. They are kept
by the minister, but perhaps they reflect the difficulties which
confronted him. "The 'heritage of past trouble' which lay below
the smiling surface asserted itself, despite 'a most conciliatory
spirit' on the part of the minister." Mr. Hancock left for Leeds,
and the church and congregation put its affairs into the hands of
the Cheshire Union. A sub-committee of six with C. A. Mines, of
Rock Ferry, as chairman, and James W. Clark, district secretary,
as convener, was quickly at work, and in April the Union and the
Church sent an invitation to the Rev. Joseph Oddy, who had
retired from his pastorate in Windermere, removed to Sale, and
intended to take no other pastorate but only to supply pulpits in and
around Manchester as his health permitted. Mr. Oddy, who has
copied the correspondence into the Church-Book, replied accepting.
"The only conclusion I can arrive at is that God, in the course of
His Providence, and in a way I know not is showing forth my
duty—viz., to do my utmost in building up, as His instrument,
the Congregational cause at Tattenhall. I am conscious of many
difficulties—also of my own weakness: but my hope is in the
Divine Strength."

He commenced his ministry on Sunday, June 3, 1894, preaching
from I Cor. ix. 16 and Ps. cxxii. 9. At the Lord's Supper following

29 G. H. Hancock's obituary notice is given in C.Y.B., 1900, pp. 188-9.
There is a curious error of chronology in it. It is said that he was born
at Nottingham on December 2, 1839, appears to have shown great activity
in Sunday School and other religious work, and in 1844 entered the Institute
in Nottingham!

30 Powicke, p. 142, gives the date of invitation to Mr. Hancock wrongly
as September, 1892.

31 Probably the Church-Book means Alderman Joseph Thompson, J.P.,
of Wilmslow.

32 Powicke, p. 142, quoting from the Cheshire Union report of 1893.
the morning service there were only five communicants in addition to the minister and the deacon, and only eight members in communion at the beginning of the ministry. For the next three years the Church found him "a faithful pastor and a true friend" with an earnest desire for its true well-being, a disinterested devotion, and an upright and consistent walk bearing the best testimony to his public teaching and ministry. He died suddenly on Saturday night, March 6, 1897, the only one of the thirteen ministers who have served the Church who actually passed away while minister there.

The executive of the Cheshire Union re-appointed a committee to deal with the vacancy, but the Church itself immediately approached the Rev. JAMES WILLIAM CLARK, who had been pastor of Queen Street, Chester, since 1888, and sent him a call on April 4. The executive of the Union confirmed the invitation (as Mr. Clark reported to Tattenhall on April 20) and the new ministry began in May, 1897. The next five years were years of quiet prosperity. Mr. Walter Lee was chosen deacon; the chapel was cleaned and renovated; balance sheets began to balance. Mr. Thomas Lightfoot retired from the office of deacon and Mr. T. G. Lee was elected treasurer. Mr. Clark's health broke down in September, 1901, and he retired from the pastorate in March of the following year and lived out the remainder of his life at Walton, Liverpool, the scene of one of his earlier pastorates.

Three representatives of the executive, Messrs. J. G. Hope, T. Huxley, and the Rev. William Jones now met the Church Meeting and it was resolved to ask again for the Union's co-operation and help. But two years elapsed, years which are blank in the Church-Book, before the coming of another minister, the Rev. EBER DAVIES, of Griffithstown, Mon., who had been minister of Peny Memorial, Sebastopol, since leaving Hackney College in 1897. It was through the efforts of the County Union, with the willing consent of the Church, that the invitation was sent and the new minister began his ministry on Sunday, July 3, 1904. It lasted for exactly three years, years which began well but were crippled by financial

33 Quoted from a letter to Mrs. Oddy preserved in the Church-Book.
34 C.Y.B., 1898, pp. 194-5, for his obituary notice. He was born at Huddersfield in 1826, became a member of Highfield, Huddersfield, was minister at Dogley Lane (1858-62), Regent Street, Barnsley (1862-6), Whitworth, Lancs. (1866-75), Tintwistle, Ches. (1875-88), Windermere (Troutbeck Bridge) (1888-94).
difficulties. There was a large and increasing balance due to the treasurer. "The pastor mooted the advisability of collecting from pew to pew, but it was resolved to continue collecting at the doors of the Church at the close of the services". The Church had to watch every penny it spent: fifteen shillings to the Cheshire Congregational Union, five to the Chapel Building Society, to the Chester Congregational Association, and to the Congregational Union of England and Wales, the new constitution of which was explained by the minister to the Church at the end of 1904. The centenary lantern lecture, then touring the Churches of the county, was declined because "the expense of providing the lantern would fall on the Church, and proceeds would be for the Cheshire Union"!

The Church itself seems to have fallen back into the habit for which A. C. Todd had rebuked them of leaning too heavily upon the minister in matters of finance, and expecting him to organize its temporal affairs. Then appears the ominous entry—"Resolved: That balance of pastor's salary be paid as the money came in." The Church found itself unable to make any payment of its share of the stipend (the original arrangement was that the Union should pay £50, "in addition the Church at Tattenhall will do what it can so that there is little doubt about there being an assured income for the minister of £100"). It was not long then before the pastor of Mr. Evans had to close. He removed to Queenborough, Kent.

Arrangements for the vacancy were made with the Chester ministers, who sent D. Wynne Evans, of Queen Street, and W. H. Towers, of Northgate, to see Mr. Lightfoot. The Chester ministers promised to take the oversight of the Church for a month each, in turn, and to preach one Sunday a month and find supplies for the other Sundays (if the Church would arrange to entertain the preachers). Mr. Towers offered to furnish a portion of the Manse for the summer months so as to secure the temporary services of any minister.

In October, 1907, Mr. William Hamilton Rogers, who had been a member at New Barnet and was then living at Worthing, preached on two successive Sundays, commended by R. J. Wells, secretary of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, and by a committee which was helping the Church to find a pastor. A unanimous invitation was sent by the Church and accepted by Mr. Rogers, who was not unaware of the difficulties. "I am fully convinced," he wrote in his reply to the call, "that it is only by

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36 C.Y.B., 1914, p. 422, gives the Queenborough dates as 1907-1912 and Mr. Davies as then "out of charge." C.Y.B., 1915, p. 487, says that he left the Congregational ministry for the Church of England.
united, consistent effort and much waiting upon God that the work at Tattenhall can be revived, and I am influenced in my decision by the promise of your hearty co-operation and support to bring about this end to the glory of God." The ministry began in December, 1907. Recognition services were held on Wednesday, January 22, 1908, presided over by Mr. T. A. Rigby, chairman of the Chester Association of Congregational Churches, those taking part including D. Wynne Evans, secretary of the Chester Association, William Jones, of Handbridge (who offered the recognition prayer), J. Ll. Jones, of Great Boughton (exposition of Congregational principles), and Mr. Walter Lee, of Tattenhall, who welcomed Mr. Rogers on behalf of the members and in place of Mr. Lightfoot, who was ill. With Mr. Rogers, who quickly qualified for inclusion in the list of accredited ministers of the denomination, there came a ten-years period of reconstruction and prosperity. In his first year the centenary of the first building was celebrated at a meeting addressed by J. C. Neil, of Hoylake, chairman-elect of the Cheshire Union, and Luke Beaumont, of Rock Ferry, and presided over by Mr. T. A. Rigby. But a double loss came quickly in the death of Mr. Thomas Lightfoot, the secretary and treasurer of the Church, and of Mrs. Lightfoot, in the same year. For nearly fifty years they had been faithful members and supporters and the Church felt their loss deeply. Mr. J. Sumner was elected secretary and Mr. W. Lee treasurer.

Some of the chronicles of the Church are of small matters—the decision, in 1912, to sing "Amen" after the hymns; the transfer of the deeds to the Cheshire Union; the decision to reverse the old practice of taking the collection after the service (so strenuously fought for in Mr. Davies's ministry) and to take it during the service. The British School was given up and a recreation room and gymnasium was proposed in its place. Mr. Rogers in 1913 received a call to "a larger and more influential sphere of labour," but because of his recreation room scheme and the persuasion of his people he declined. Then came the 1914-1918 War and with it the enlistment of many of the young men, schemes for helping relief of war victims especially Belgian children, a War Savings Association in connection with the Church, the continuance of the Prayer meeting (in spite of the increase in the price of gas), and the cessation of the Whit-Monday tea. In 1917, the minister received two calls simultaneously, and decided to accept the one from Tranmere, Birkenhead. He had given ten years of solid work and gifted leadership and had rebuilt the fellowship: he left it in good heart and with excellent arrangements for continuing the work during the vacancy. Mr. Rogers remained at Tranmere until he retired in 1946 and was chairman of the Cheshire Union in 1944.
The Church was guided during the vacancy by Alfred Hills, then of Queen Street, Chester, and the minutes of meetings held have been copied into the Church-Book by the Rev. Stephen Williams, whose ministry began in June, 1918. Mr. Williams, who had preached "with a view" (or, as the Church-Book puts it, "on approval") on one of the Sundays, came with twenty years' experience of American pastorates. During his stay of four years he persuaded the Church to increase the diaconate to five, but no names are immediately given of the new members elected—the previous deacons were Mr. Sumner, Mr. Lee and Mr. George Cooke, who was elected just before Mr. Rogers's departure. The Church amalgamated with Malpas, and a new organ was purchased. The original chapel, which had become the British School, and then the recreation room-gymnasium, was sold and converted into a house. It is on this note that the Church-Book with its hundred years' record of the Church, from 1822 to February, 1921, closes. Mr. Sumner, the secretary, had entered the minutes of meeting for nearly eighteen months until his death in 1920: the minister entered the record of two meetings, including the election of new deacons (Messrs. George M. Corbett, F. Jackson and Ernest Brereton, who had just been transferred from Llandudno, and was immediately elected Church secretary). The last notes are in Mr. Brereton's hand.

The rest of the century-and-a-half story of Tattenhall is told in other, more recent, minute-books. It can be briefly summarized in terms of its ministers. Mr. Williams left for Rainford, Lancs., in 1922, then returned to Cheshire to successive pastorates at Frodsham and Runcorn until he retired in 1935. The Rev. Arthur Wakelin, who had been trained at Paton College and began his ministry in 1902, succeeded him in 1922, and stayed until 1928, when he left for London Road, Newark. He was immediately followed by the Rev. David Lloyd, a Bristol College student who had served in the south and south-west for over thirty years. His ministry lasted for eight good years, then he went to Adsborough in 1936. A vacancy of nearly two years, and then came the present minister, the Rev. Alfred Edward Bayley, who had already had experience in Cheshire rural pastorates (Farndon, Barton, Sandbach and Wheelock) and whose ministry still continues happily.

W. Gordon Robinson.
TATTENHALL CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH

1796. Thatched cottage opened for worship.
1808. First Chapel Building Erected.
1865-1890. Rev. Andrew Craig Todd.
1872. Present Church Erected and Opened.
1946. Triple Jubilee of the Church.
The Last of Salem (Cogan Street) Church in Hull: With Notes of the Sibree Family

One of the nobler characters of Scott's novels was not "Rob Roy", nor even "Jeanie Deans", but "Old Mortality", for his real nobility of heart and his Christian soul of honour. "Old Mortality" was a true Covenanter, whose love for the Covenant and Covenanters rose in him to a sublime passion. He was a poor stone mason who had dedicated his life and manual skill to re-lettering the names of Covenanters on their old tombstones in Scotch churchyards, where, by the attrition of time and nature, they had been faded and chipped so as to be indecipherable in many cases. Thus, all through that famous story, Scott comes across the old stone mason with his mallet and chisel, in all lonely parts of Scotland, busy at his self-imposed task of "keeping green" the memory of the noblest race of men, and women too, whom Scotland ever had produced in the greatest period of her heroic story. The people who so often observed the stone cutter had most appropriately nicknamed him "Old Mortality": the faithful man who sought to perpetuate the story of the great dead of his country. And hundreds of sacred names did he save from oblivion to inspire to this very day the faith and fidelity of free religion in its simplest and truest form and power.

Far below "Old Mortality" in my love and devotion, yet desiring to imitate his services for his departed brethren, I would seek to perform a similar act of love for our fathers who have begotten us in the "faith" in Hull.

So, I take up my pen to revive once more, not a "father", but a whole church of them, of whom we are reminded in a recent number of the Hull Mail, in the announcement of the passing away finally of the Old Salem Independent Chapel in Cogan Street. In another column there is given our Town Clerk's list of names of those whose bodies still lie in the vaults under the Church building, which is about to be handed over to the "wreckers"; thus to clear away the last vestige of the old neighbourhood, making room for part of the new Hull.

In the year 1832 a young minister of Christ came to Hull, at the call of a small body of Nonconformists, who had been worshipping in a Nile Street Tabernacle, which was about to be swallowed up in like manner to its present successor. The little Church had also lost its temporary pastor. The young student from Hoxton Aca-
demey in London was commissioned to erect a new and larger chapel in Cogan Street for the increasing congregation, mostly made up of fishermen and sailors, their wives and their bairns. Very soon the building was in existence and filled with the flock of the young minister, and so it remained for 50 years of the young man's and later pastorate.

The Rev. James Sibree, a descendant of the Huguenot refugees in England, was a bright, eager student and religious worker of unusual vigour and faith. He soon had a happy and godly flock around him who gave themselves up to the evangelizing of the growing neighbourhood that overlooked the Humber. One of the Taylors of Ongar in Essex, who had removed from the South with her family to Hull, spoke of her delight in rising in the morning to gaze upon the magnificent scene "of our mighty river, which lay outspread before the eye", interrupted only by the present warehouses and rows of streets, which divide Nile Street from the Southern prospect.

"Salem" became a live Church, and James Sibree had many interests which he promoted for the well-being of the district. He was a favourite with the Hull whaling community, and when the whalers came ashore and cast their anchors in the roadstead he held special services of welcome for them and visited their ships. But, in Sibree's period fell the cholera visitation over Hull, and he was kept busy day and night conducting burial services for the hundreds of victims in the town of Hull. Here is one note in his journal:

I was summoned to leave my home at an early hour: buried 12 persons and then hurried off for public service with my flock at Salem. At noon, after a hasty meal, I drove back to my heavy work until nearly half-past six o'clock. I was met by another funeral cortège. The mourners entreated me to turn back with them. I promised to be with them after my ministerial labours were over. Again I preached. . . . I returned home weary, and sore broken in body and spirit, having preached twice, visited the graves thrice and interred 43 bodies of my fellow citizens.

This remarkable man concludes: "I was then and feel now to be a wonder to myself." And, remember, Sibree was like Mephibosheth, a man lame in both his feet.

I was greatly interested in the list given of the buried, in the Mail advertisement, and noted several family names still known in Hull. A pathetic touch in the Salem list is that of James Sibree's first young wife—"Lydia Jane, wife of James Sibree, 18th May, 1833". She died the year after her husband came as minister to Salem.
In one year she was gone and her infant son with her. She was only 28 years old.

So here, also, are—Farrs, Tophams, Bristows, Harkers, Medleys, Talls, Goulds: all of them well-known Hull families. Hardly a family escaped the plague in Hull. Sibree says—

The sun seldom shone brightly—a heavy pall of indescribable gloom resting over the town, as if Nature refused to witness the ravages of the direful pestilence. This was the opinion of my friend, James Oldham, Esq., M.I.C.E., who was the Engineer employed by the Hull Corporation in carrying out the increased public work of the City at that time.

It was to this engineer and architect that James Sibree articled his son, afterwards Dr. James Sibree, the famous Missionary of Madagascar, but more of him presently.

Salem Church greatly gave itself to promoting foreign missions and introduced piquant personalities from the missionary world to its pulpit, like the other famous Independent Church of Hull, Fish Street. But Fish Street had no sons in the mission field like the eldest son of Sibree. Being an architect, the younger James was selected by the London Missionary Society to go to Madagascar and draw and execute plans for many missionary chapels (over 100 buildings of all kinds) in the great African island. He became the leading missionary in Madagascar for over fifty years, and also did notable work as College Principal, and in conducting negotiations with General Gallieni, the French Governor when Madagascar became a French possession, many years ago. He was to the end a close friend of the liberal-minded Gallieni. Sibree Junr. became also one of the chief translators of the Bible into the Malagasy tongue. He visited Hull many times and always drew large congregations to hear him. He was, like his father, a very alert man. We once heard him deliver an address at the Cottingham Chapel (Zion) which lasted over an hour, to a delighted audience. He was then 93 years of age. His manner was the style and voice of a young man. In that address many years ago he referred to the sale of his father's church, Salem, in the following felicitous terms. He said:

It is a sad fact to find, on my return to England, that my father's pulpit and Church for 50 years have been sold for a Synagogue, to my friends the Jews of Hull. But I have gladly remembered that the name of "Jehovah" would be worshipped and glorified, as it still was in my father's day.

Alas, that that name will cease to be sung now, if Salem is to be no more.

And where are the other preachers of Salem, who followed Sibree?
The last minister still remains in the land of the living, in the Rev. Dr. Robert Fletcher, now well on in the eighties. He was at Salem for several years and fought nobly to keep the services going when the modern blight had fallen upon the congregation and people grew scarce and funds failed. Mr. Fletcher sought a revival of his ministry in the United States over thirty years ago, and, strangely, he found his renaissance there. He met the Registrar of the famous Yale University who persuaded him to enter Yale as a student. This he did and obtained his M.A. there, assisted by his splendid and devoted wife, who herself became an American country pastor, but who has recently died. Fletcher himself became a diligent collector of degrees in Science and Theology, has two or three doctorates, and his friends will be glad to know he has continued his ministry successfully at the First Church of Rindge in New Hampshire, though he is in very feeble physical health today.

* * * * * *

In referring to the great distinction as a missionary of Dr. James Sibree of the L.M.S., it would be incomplete as a story of family achievement if I did not refer also to Marie Hall and her celebrated book Andrew Marvell and his Friends.

This is the work of the elder daughter of old James Sibree. She was a young Hull writer who had a keen eye for bits of history that reflected any glory upon our city. Marie Sibree had married a Rev. Mr. Hall of the Wesleyan Church in Hull. She was greatly intrigued by the story of Andrew Marvell as everybody of intelligence is in Hull, for Andrew Marvell was the “incorruptible member” for the town of Hull in Parliament, and he was also Latin Secretary to Oliver Cromwell.

Our authoress began to write her work on Marvell and his Hull friends. She soon had gathered some interesting data. She was somewhat assisted by Mr. J. R. Boyle, a local historian and Swedenborgian minister, of some renown as a minister and author of a history of Durham.

The book appeared first as a serial story in the magazine of the Hull Congregational churches. Soon it was on sale in book form. It was first published by James Clarke of Fleet Street. From the first it succeeded in attracting the book world. Hodder & Stoughton bought the copyright and it became a best seller in this district. It is well over 40 years since it was launched. Mr. Bacon Jnr. tells me that some 10 editions have been issued in 40 years and that each edition is of 1,000 copies and that the demand has been steady all these years.

The book Andrew Marvell is not an outstanding example of a
history, or even of an historical novel. It is a work comparable to Miss Manning’s *The Household of Sir Thomas More*. It is modelled, too, on the style of Mary Powell’s intimate story of the *Home Life of John Milton*, though it does not reach the historical eminence of these works. Yet it is a good picture of the poet and his friends as they assembled with him in his Winestead home and in his public movements. Marie Hall, the daughter of Sibree, occupies a second place as imaginative historical writer of a lighter vein. She has painted a most interesting picture of Andrew Marvell, which has been popular for over 50 years, and the narrative will live for its truth, simplicity and loveliness. Marie Hall is in a secure succession and is not the least worthy of her kind, and she is worthy of their family traditions. She will remain a favourite writer with the youth of Hull.

One might have added a line or two of praise for her second sister, the late Miss Anna Sibree, who carried the paternal likeness in person and manner, even more than those already mentioned. Anna was distinctly a young woman full of keen public spirit and public gifts. I have never heard her father preach, but I had many times listened to a most talented mimic of prominent Hull characters—a Mr. Albert Larard, whose widowed mother and all her family had been diligent worshippers at Salem under the old man’s ministry for over 40 years. Mrs. Larard had been a girl (Miss Snelgrove) whose parents in London lived at Wimpole Street, and next door to the Browning and Barretts; they used to walk every Sunday morning to the ministry of the Rev. George Clayton at York Street Chapel, Lockfields, Walworth, where Mrs. Robert Browning kept, until within a few years of her death, a London Missionary Society box for contributions. Before her marriage to Browning’s father she had been an Anglican. He was a remarkable member of the congregation, but he could find little veneration for the Rev. George Clayton, whom Edward Dowden described as a rather “dour”, and whose prosy style he found it difficult to appreciate. Indeed he once received a rebuke in the presence of the congregation for his marked indifference to the dull ideas of the preacher; but the Rev. George Clayton was preaching, let us remember, to the greatest genius then living in Europe. Robert had his revenge in his poem “Christmas Day” (which see!). So much for the most wonderful face in the whole congregation—pale, somewhat mysterious, and shaded with black flowing hair; as Edward White vividly remembered it after sixty years.

But the whole story of the Sibree family is a long one. Suffice it to say that the family became entirely missionary and educational. The eldest grandson (Oswald) became a Public School master.
Dorothy Sibree was a missionary at Benares, and married another missionary named Murphy. Edna, eldest grand-daughter, married a Presbyterian minister, another grandson became a chief engineer in the merchant service; then a splendid great-grandson, David, gave himself up to soldiering, going about the world fighting for great causes. He went through all the first war, but was killed in the second. His father was Captain Leonard Sibree of the merchant service, who played a great part in recent wars. The forebear was John Sibree, Esq., Solicitor of Hull, who married a Miss Bremner, who became a noble Christian ideal of mother and grandmother. She died as a member of Albion Congregational Church, Hull—a splendid Christian family first and last. 

John George Patton.

Three Missing “Exhibits” at Penry’s Trial

Ellesmere MS 2146 in the Huntington Library (in Egerton’s hand) shows that at John Penry’s trial five books were put in as evidence. Two are identifiable, the printed Appellation and the MS. Notebook [EL 483, recently edited]. The copy of Reformation No Enemy used in preparing the indictment was probably the Huntington copy: the passages from the Preface quoted in the indictment are underlined. The presumption, therefore, is that the three other exhibits at one time formed part of Sir Thomas Egerton’s collection, and may still be found in one of its separated parts. So far, search at the Huntington Library has failed to disclose them. They may be in print or in manuscript, and are thus described:

(1) Begins: “In the assistance of hym who is the Redemer of all the electe. . . .”

Collected and written in Scotland “more than a year ago” (probably early 1592).

(2) Fifth leaf begins: “Gramer is an arte to speake well. . . .”

Written in Scotland three years ago.

(3) Intituled: “touching the sabath daye.”

They may be part of the Ellesmere Collection retained by the family when the bulk of the manuscripts were sold to the Huntington Library, but this seems unlikely. Help in discovery or identification will be welcome.
Touchinge the Lowe Countries

THREE MONE ThES OBSERVATION OF THE L OWE COUNTRIES, ESPECIALLY HOLLAND

By J. S. [John Selden?]

ELLESMERE MS 1181 is a beautifully written manuscript in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California, calendared as "An epigrammatic description (both witty and abusive)." It bears the initials "J.S.", and the Calendar has the pencilled note "John Selden?", though no evidence in support of the conjecture is forthcoming. The date, "Janu. 22", unfortunately carries no year, though clearly the item refers to the years between 1621 and 1647: possibly the interval can be narrowed to 1621, when the Queen of Bohemia arrived in Holland, and 1625, when Prince Maurice of Orange died.

If we could learn whether—and when—Selden spent three months in the Low Countries, we could speak with more confidence about the date and authorship of this "badd old peice", or even if we knew where "Aegigt" was!

Ben Jonson's poetical epistle on Selden implies that Selden never was abroad:

you that have beene
Ever at home: yet have all Countries seene:
And like a Compasse keeping one foot still
Upon your Center, doe your Circle fill
Of generall knowledge: watch'd men, manners too,
Heard what times past have said, seene what ours doe.

But that appeared in Under-woods in 1640, and Selden may have travelled afterwards: if the "peice" is his work, this would make the date after 1640.

The handwriting does not help identification. It is certainly not Selden's, to judge by the specimens in Lincoln's Inn Library. Vol. LXXXIV of Hale's MSS in the Library is said to be in Selden's own hand; it contains several hands, in ink and pencil, but certainly not this one: ff. 25-31, which are most like it, lack some of its most distinctive features. Vol. LXXXVI, also said to be in Selden's hand, has two distinct scripts. Vol. XII, a huge volume of Collectanea, is in many hands, much of it certainly in Selden's own, including a page of autobiography: though one or two of the hands are not unlike that of the Ellesmere manuscript, they are sufficiently distinctive to disprove identity with it.
Though evidence of authorship is so far indecisive, the "peice" stands in its own right as a racy account in the genre of Howell’s *Familiar Letters*, from which these passages are taken for comparison:¹

There is no part of Europe so haunted with all sorts of foreigners as the Netherlands, which makes the Inhabitants, as well Women as Men, so well vers’d in all sorts of Languages, so that in Exchange-time one may hear seven or eight sorts of Tongues spoken upon their Bourses: nor are the Men only expert herein, but the Women and Maids also in their common Hostries; and in Holland the Wives are so well vers’d in Bargaining, Cyphering, and Writing, that in the absence of their Husbands in long Sea-voyages they beat² the Trade at home, and their Words will pass in equal Credit. These Women are wonderfully sober, tho’ their Husbands make commonly their Bargains in drink, and then are they more cautelous. This confluence of Strangers makes them very populous, which was the cause that Charles the Emperor said, That all the Netherlands seem’d to him but as one continued Town. He and his Grandfather Maximilian, notwithstanding the choice of Kingdoms they had, kept their Courts most frequently in them, which shew’d how highly they esteem’d them; and I believe if Philip II had visited them sometimes, Matters had not gone so ill.

There is no part of the Earth, considering the small Circuit of Country, which is estimated to be but as big as the fifth part of Italy, where one may find more differing Customs, Tempers and Humours of People than in the Netherlands: The Walloon is quick and sprightly, accostable and full of Compliment, and gaudy in Apparel, like his next Neighbour the French: The Fleming and Brabanter, somewhat more slow and more sparing of Speech: The Hollander slower than he, more surly and respectless of Gentry and Strangers, homely in his clothing, of very few words, and heavy in action; which may be imputed to the quality of the Soil, which works so strongly upon the Humours, that when People of a more vivacious and nimble Temper come to mingle with them, their Children are observ’d to partake rather of the Soil than the Sire: and so it is in all other Animals besides.

¹ The whole letter ("A Survey of the seventeen Provinces") dated 1 May, 1623 (though dates mean little with Howell) should be read (Familiar Letters, 1890 ed., pp. 115-29), together with pp. 25-38, letters from Amsterdam.
² Query: "be at".
TOUCHINGE THE LOWE COUNTRIES

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Thus have I huddled up some observations of the Lowe-Countries.

For an undated letter from Howell to Selden, see Harleian MS 7003, f. 374 in the British Museum, in which he says, "Quod Seldenus nescit, nemo scit".

There seems to be nothing here that Selden could not have written, and no one who knows the Table-talk—or his portrait in the National Portrait Gallery—will deem it impossible for him to be author. But, Selden's or not, the "peice" is entertaining: it is witty and—not too abusive!

One possibility should not be overlooked—that the copy in the Huntington Library (it is wrongly bound, leaf 6 coming before leaf 5) was made for a commonplace book from some printed work. But none of the experts on the period I have consulted have ever seen it before.

ALBERT PEEL.

Elles. 1181. (Superior letters have been brought down, and the usual abbreviations for "per", "pro", "par" run out. The manuscript pages are added for convenience of reference.)

Touchinge the Lowe Countries.

Honoble Sr,

I should bee joyfull to heare how you faire. I am well in bodie nowe, but a relapse lately had almost killed me, and I looke like an Emblem soe ill drawne that you would scarce knowe me, but by the Concept; If drinkinge bee a cryme, I conclude myselfe faultie, for I have typled with such appetite, as I had bine composed of spunge and stockfish, and that recovered me, soe one evill hath expelled a worse. Heere I have sent you a badd old peice, newe drawne and composed in the furie of Lubecke beere, pray read it, as you like this, I'll fynde you a better, you that have the better part of me (my hart) may Comaund.

J. S.

Ægigt this
22 Janu.

2 right

Three monethes observatien of the Lowe Countries, especially Holland.

They are a generall Sea-land, there is not such a Marrish\(^1\) in the world thats flatt. They are an universall quagmire epitomiz\(^2\), A Greene Cheese in pickle, such an equilibrum of mudd water, A stronge earthquake would shake them into a Chaos. They are the ingredientes of a black pudding, and want onlie stirring together, else you will have more blood then groottes\(^3\), and then you have noe way to make it serve for any thinge, but spread it under zona torrída, and soe dry it for turves. Thus stiffened you may boyle it i'th Sea, otherwise all the sailes of the Countrie will not furnish you

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1 "Marish" or "marsh". See N.E.D.
2 N.E.D. has "groot" as obsolete for mud, soil, earth, but gives no example of its use in the plural. Clearly the reference is to crushed barley or oats, used in making porridge.
3 N.E.D. has an example from the Lonsdale Gloss, which exactly fits this reference: "Groats, always used with the blood in the composition of black puddings; hence the proverb current in Lonsdale, 'Blood without groats is nowt;' meaning that family without fortune is of no consequence".
with a Pooke bigg enough. It is excellent for dispayringe lovers, for each Corner affoordes them willowe, but yf Justice should condemne one to bee hanged on anie other tree, hee might live longe and Confident. It is the buttock of the world, full of veynes and bloud, but noe bones in it. Had St. Stephen beene condemned to have beene stoned to death heere, hee might have lived still; For (unlesse

End 2 right, then 3 left

it bee in their paved townes) gold is more plentiful then stones. It is a singular place to fart monkies in, for there are spiders as bigg as shrimpes, and (I thinke) as manie. You may travaile the Countrie without a guide, for you cannot baulke your road without hazard of drowninge. A Kinge that hates crowdinge may heere runn awaie without stayinge for his Usher, for hee can goe noe whether, but his way is made before him. Had they but Cities as long as there walles Rome were but a bable to them. Twentie myles are nothinge to bee hurried in one of their waggons, where yf yor foreman been sober, you travell in safetie, but descendinge from thence, you must have stronger faith then Peter had, or you sinke ymediaitie. If yor way bee not thus it hanges in the water, and at the approach of yor waggons shall shake as if it were ague stricken. The Duke D’Alva’s taxinge the tenth penney frighted it into a palsey, wch all the Mountebankes they have bredd since knowe not how to Cure. Somtimes they doe those thinges wch seeme wonders. For they fish for fyre in the waters, wch the(y) catch in

End 3 left, goes to 3 right

nettes, and after transport it to land in there boates, where they spread it smoothlie as a Mercer doth his velvet, when hee would hooke in an heire of eightene. This lyeing in a meadowe, you would suppose it a Cantele of greene Cheese spread over wth black butter. There ordinarie Packhorses are framed of wood, carriyng their bridles in there tayles, and there burthen in there bellies, a stronge tyde and a swift gaille are the spurs that make them speedy.

They dress their meate in aqua celesti for there water springes are not as ours from the earth, but comes [sic] to them (as Manna to the Israelites) from heaven. The Elementes are heere at variance, the subtile overflowinge the grosser, the fyre consumes the earth, and the ayer the waters, for they burne turfes, and draine the groundes wth windmylles, as yf the Chollique were a remedie for the stone. The land they have is Kept as neatlie as a Courtier’s beard, and they have a method in moweinge. It is soe interveyned wth waters and Rivers, as it is impossible to make a comon amonge

End 3 right, goes to 4 left

them. Even the Brownistes are heere at a stand. The poore are never compleyned of for breakyng of hedges. Surelie had the men of Gotham lived heere, they would have studied some other prison, for the Cuckowe. Their eith heere they frame as they list, and distinguish them into nookes as my Lord Maiors Cooke doth his Custardes. They clense them often (but it is as Phisitians give theirie potions) more to catch the fish then to cast out the mudd. Though there Country bee part of the mayne, yet every howe standes as it were in an Island, and that (though a Boare dwell in it) looks as smugg as a Ladie neve paynted. A gallantes maskinge suite sitts not more neatlie, then a thac3 Coate of many yeares wearinge. If you fynde it dry, it is imbraced by vynes, and yf lower seated, it is onlie a closest

3 Nothing corresponding to this in N.E.D. Can it be “thatched”, perhaps = “overcoat".
within a plumpt of willowes and Alders, pleasant enough while the dogstails last, but those past over, you must practise wadpinge,5 or remaine prisoner till the springe, onlie a hard frost wth the helpe of sledges will release you. The bridge to this, is an

End 4 left, goes to 4 right

4 right

outlandish planke, wth a box of stones to poyse it wth all like a Quintane, wch wth the leaste helpe turns round like a headsman that when the Maister is over standes drawne, and then hee is in his Castle. Tis sure his feare that renders him suspitious. That hee may certainlie see who enters you shall ever see his windowe made over his doore, but it may be, it is to shewe you his pedegree, for though his Ancestors were never knowne their Armes are there, wch in spite of Heraldrie shall bearie therei Achievements wth a helmett of a Baron at least, marrie the feild perhaps shall bee charged wth three baskettes, to shewe his Fathers trade portraied. When you are entered into one of their howses the first thinge you shall encounter is a lookeinge glasse, the next are the vessells marshalled about the howse like watchmen, all as neat as yf they were in a Ladies Cabbitet, for (unless it bee themselves) there is none of Godes Creatures loose any thinge of their native beautie. Their howses (especiallie in theire Cities) are the best eye-beauties in their Countrie, in

End 4 right, go to photostat 6 left

Photostat 6 left

sight they farr exceed our English, but want onlie their magnificence. Theire lyneinge is yet more rich then theirie outside, not in hanginges but in pictures, wch the poorest there are furnished wth. Not a sower but has his toyes for ornamt, were the knackes of all theirie howses set together there were not such another Bartholomeye fayre in Europe. Theiristes for these are as rare as thought for they can paint you a fat hen in her feathers. And yf you want theirie language, you may learn a great deal on theirie signe postes, for what they are they ever write under them. In that onlie they deale plainlie, and by this devise hang up more honestie then they keepe. Theirie roomes are but several sand-boxes, yf not soe, you must either swallow yor spittle, or blush when you see a mapp brought. Theirie beddes are noe other than land Cabbins, high enough to need a ladder or stayres, once upp you are walled in wth wainscott, and that is good discretion, to avoid the trouble of makeinge youl will everie night, for once fallinge out will breake yor neck perfectlie, but yf you dye in it, this Comfort you shall

End 6 left, goes to 5 right

5 right

leave yor frendes, that you dyed in cleane lynnen. Whatsoever their estates bee, their howses must bee fyne, therefore from Amsterdam they have banished Seacoale, least it spoyle theirie buildings, of wch the statelier sort are sometymes sententious, and in theirie frontes carry some concept of the Author. Theirie howses they keepe cleaner then theirie bodies, and theirie bodies then theirie soules. Goe to one you shall fynde the Andyrsons shut upp in networke, at a second the warminge pan musledd upp in Italian Cutworke, at a third the scummer cladd in Cambricke. For the voeman is ever the head of the man, and soe takes the horne to her owne charge, wch shee sometymes multiplies, bestoweinge the increase on her husband. For their propotion to venerie, it's true that theirie voemen are not soe readie at the sport, as our English, for neither are they soe generallie bred to it, nor

4 See N.E.D.; now obsolete, "clamp" or "cluster".
5 Is "wadpinge" an obsolete form?
are there men such lynnen lifters\(^6\). Idlenes and Courtshipp hath not banisht honestie, they talk more and doe lesse, yet theire blood burns high, and their veynes are full, wch argues stronglie, that ye ever the Court turne them gallantes, they will take upp the

7 left
Custom of entertayninge Ladies, and haveinge once done it, I beleive they wilbee notable, for I have heard they trade more for love, then money, but it is for the trick, not the man, and therefore when they like the labour they will reward the workeman, otherwise theire grosse feedinge and Clownish education hath spoyled them for beinge noble mynded. But I must give you this onlie one report, experience haveinge not made me wise. Theire people are generallie boorish, yet none but may bee bredd to bee a statesman, none of them haveinge the guifft to bee soe nice conscience but that they can turne out Religion to lett in policie. Theire Countrie is the God they worshipp, warr is theire heaven, peace theire hell, and the crosse Spaniard theire devil. Custome is theire lawe, and will theire reason, you may sooner Convert a Jewe, then make an ordinarie Dutchman yield to argumentes that crosse him. An old Bawd is sooner and more easilie turned Puritan then a waggoner perswaded not to bayte twice in nyne myle. His soule is composed of English beere, that makes him headstronge, and his

6 right
body of pickled herringe, they render him costive and testie, these two with a little butter are the ingredientes of a meere Dutchman, wch a voyage to the East Indies by the heate of the Equinocitiall consolidates. If you see him fatt, hee hath bine Coop in a Root-yard, and that has bladderd him. If you see him him [sic] naked, you will intreat him to put of his gloves or maske, or wish him to hide his face, that hee may appeare more lovelie. For theire Condition, they are Churlish, and without question vere ancient, for they were bredd before manners were in fashion, yet all that they have not, they accompt superfluitie, wch (they saie) mends some, and marrs more. They should make good Justiciars, for they neither respect person nor apparell. A Boore in his butter shoppes shalbee entertayned equallie wth a Courtier in his braverie. They are seldome deceived, for they trust noe bodie, sfe by consequence they are better to hold a Fort then to wynn it, yet they can do both. Trust them you must ye if you will travell, for to call to them for a Bill were to dice into a

End 6 right (clearly 5 left wasps nest follows)

5 left
waspes nest. Complemt is an Idlenes they are never trayned upp in, and it is theire happiness that Court vanities have not stolne awai theire myndes from business. Their beinge saylors and soldiers have marred two partes already. If they bath once in Court oyle, they are painted trapdoors, and shall then suffer the Jewes to build a Citie where Harlem Meere is and then cozen them out. They shall abuse a stranger for nothinge, and after a fewe base terms scorch one another into Carbonadoes as they doe fried Roches. Nothinge can quiet them but money and libertie, wch haveingeotten, they abuse both, but ye if you tell them noe, you awake theire furie, and you may sooner calme the Sea, then coniure that into Compassse againe. They are in a manner all Aquintells, and therefore the Spaniard calls them waterdogges. I agree not wth them, yet thinke wthall they can catch a duck a soone. They love none but such as doe for them, and when theire turne is served, neglect them. They have noe freindes but theire kindred, wch

End 5 left (to 7 right?)

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\(^6\) I.e., given to adultery.
7 right

meete at every weddinge feast amongst themselves like Tribes. All that helpe them not, they hold popish and think it an argumt of greate honestie to rayle against the Kinge of Spaine. Theire shippinge is the Babell wch they boast in for the glorie of theire Nation. It is indeed a wonder, and they will have it soe, but wee may well hope they will never bee so potent by land, least they shewe us how doggedlie they can insult, when once they gett the masterie. Theire Navies, are the scourge of Spaine, and pills wherewith they purge the Indies. Nature hath not bredd them soe active for land, as some others, but at Sea they are water devills and attempt thinges incredible. Their shippes lye like high woodes in winter, and yf you viewe them on the North side, you freeze without helpe⁷, for they ride soe thick that thorowe them you can see noe sunn to warme you wth. Saylors amongst them are as Comon as beggers wth us. They can drinke, rayle, sweare, iuggle, steale, and bee bouzie⁸ alike, but examine the rest a Gleekes⁹ of their Knaves are

End 7 right

8 left

worth a Monruivall⁰ of ours. All amonge them are Sea-men borne, and like frogges, can live both on land and water. Not a Freister¹⁰ amonge them but can handle an oure, steere a boate, rayse a mast, and beare you over the roughest passage you come in. Theire governmt is a democracie and there had need bee many rulers over such a rable of Rudenes¹¹. Tell them of a Kinge, they will cutt yor throate in earnest, the verie name implyes servitude, they hate it more then a Jewe Images, or a woeman old age. None amonge them hath authoritie by inheritance, that were the way to parcell out the Countrie into families. They are all chosen as wee choose Aldermen, more for theire wealth than for theire wit, wch they soo over affect, that Myn-heere shall pace the streete like an old Ape without a tayle after him. And (yf they may bee had cheap) hee shall dawbe his faced Cloake wth a stiver worth of pickled herringes, wch himself shall carrrie home in a stringe. Theire Common voyce hath given him preheminence, and hee looses it by liveinge as hee did when hee was a Boore. But yf pardon bee granted for whatts past

8 right

they are about thinkinge it tyme to learne more Civilitie. Theire Justice is strict yf it crosse not policie, but rather then hinder traffique, theile tolerate anie thinges. There is not under heaven such a den of severall serpentes as Amsterdam is, you may there bee what divell you please, soe you push not the State wth yor horns, It is an Universitie of all opinions wch growe in it confusedlie as stockes in a nursery, without either order or pruninge. If you bee unsettled in your Religion, you may heere try all and at last take what you like. If you fancie none, you have a pattern to folowe of two who wilbee a Church by themselves. The Papist must not masse it publiquely, not because hee is most hated, but because the Spaniard abridgeth

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⁷ "fayle" crossed out.
⁸ I.e., boozie.
⁹ Gleek is a card game played by three persons. A mournival (all the aces, kings, queens or knaves) counted for 8 points, a gleek (three of each) for 1 point. Gleek is therefore used for a trio or set of three. See N.E.D., which gives the following quotation from Gayton, Pleas, Notes. III. V. 96:

"He was not able to stirre his jaws, nor could he be paraker of any of the good cheer, except it were the liquid part of it, which they call Dutch gleek, where he plaide his cards so well, and vied and revied so often that he has scarce an eye to see withall." (I may translate "Frисian", or is it Dutch truster unidster, a sweetheart?)

ⁱ⁰ Apparently one word, but no doubt "Rude ones".
Touching the Lowe Countries

the Protestant, and they had rather shewe a little spleene, then not cry quittes wth the enemie. His act is theire warrant, wch they retaliate iustlie; And for this reason rather then the Dunkirkers they take, shall want hanginge, Amsterdam who hath none of their owne, will borrowe hangmen at Harlam. In theire families they are all

Then to 9 left

9 left

equalis, and you have noe waie to knowe the Master and Mistres, unlesse you fynde them in bedd together. It may bee those are they, otherwise Maulkin will prate as much, laugh as lowd, and sit on her tayle as well as her Mistris. Had Logitians lived heere first Fathr and sonne had never passed soe long for Relatives, they are heere wholie individuals; For noe demonstration of dutie or authoritie can distinguish them, as yf they were created together, and not borne successivelie. For your Mother, biddinghe her goodnight, and kissinghe her is punctuall blessing, yor men shalbee inconvenientlie sawcie, and yor must not strike him, yf you doe, he shall complaine to the Schoote and have recompence. It is a daintree place to please Boyes in, for the Father shall bargaine wth the schoolemaster not to whip him, yf hee doe hee shall revenge it wth his knyfe and have lawe for it. Theire apparell is Civill enough, and good enough but verie unconmely, usuallie it hath more stuffe then shape, onlie the woemens Hukes\(^{13}\) are Comendious in winter, but it is pittie they have not the wit to leave them off

9 right

when sumer comes. Theire woemen would have some good faces, yf they did not marr them in the makeinge. Men and woemen are starcth soe blewe, that when they are growne old, you would verilie beleive, you sawe some winter站着inge upp to the neck in a barrell of blewe starch. The men amongst them are cladd tollerable, unlesse they inclyne to the Sea fashion, and then are theire slopps yawninge at the knee, as yf they were about to devoure their shankes unmercifullie. They are farre from goeinge naked, for of a whole woeman you can see but a peice of her face, as for her handes they shewe her to bee a shrewd labourer, wch you shall allwaies fynde (as it were in recompence) loaden with rings, to the crackinge of her fingers, and shee will rather want meate then a Cartrope of silver about her hunge wth Keyes. Theire gownes are fit to hide greate bellies, but they make them shewe soc unhansome that men doe not care to get them, marrie this you shall funde to their Comedation, their smockes are ever whiter than their skinnes, much cleaner, and farr sweeter.

10 left

They rayle at us for our various change of habit, but plead for theire owne more earnestlie, then lay Catholiques for theire faith, wch they are resolued to keepe, because their Ancestors lyved and dyed in it. For their dyet they eate much and spend litle. When they sett out a Fleece to the East Indies, they live three monethes on the offall wch wee fere would surfett our swyne. In theire howses rootes and stockfish are staple Comodities. When to theire feastes they add flesh, they have the art to keep it hot, as long as our Fleetlane Cookies meazelled\(^{14}\) Porke. To a feast they come readilie, but beinge once set, you must have patience, for they are longer in eatinge meate, then wee are dressinge it. If it bee a supper, you conclude tymelie yf you get away by day breake. It is a point of good manners (yf there bee anie) to carrie away a peice of Applepye in yer pocket.

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\(^{13}\) See N.E.D. A kind of cape or cloak, with a hood.

\(^{14}\) N.E.D. has many examples of "meazelled" applied to pork, bacon, etc. From "infected with measles"; it seems to have become equal to "poor", "scurvy".
TOUCHINGE THE LOWE COUNTRIES

The tyme they spend is in eating well, in drinkinge much, in prateinge most. For the truth is, ye compleat drunkerd is your English gallant, his healthes turn

10 right
liquor into a Consumption, marrie the tyme was the Dutch had the upper hand, but they have nowe lost it by prateinge too much over their pottes, they drinke as ye they were short wynded, and as it were eate theire drinke by morselles, the English swallowe it whole, as ye theire lvert were on fyre, and they strove to quench them, the one is drunke sooner, the other longer, as ye striveinge to recover the wager the Dutch would bee the noblest soker. In this progresse you have scene somewhat of theire evills.

Nowe observe them.
Salomon tells us of 4 things very small, but full of wisdome, the Pismire, the Conie, the Spyder, and the Grashopper, they are all for providence. These are the Pismires of the world, who haveinge nothinge of themselves but what the grasse yeildes them, are yet (for all provision) become the storehose of all Christendome. They are fruitfull to the saveinge of egg-shells, and maintaine it for a maxime That many an old thinge mended will last longer than a newe. Theire Cities are theire Molehills, theire

11 left
shippes and flyboates creepe and returne laden wth store for winter.
For dwellinge in Rockes they are Conies, where have you under heaven such impregnable fortifications, where art beautifies nature, and nature makes art invincible? Indeed, heerein they differ, the Conies fynde Rockes, and they make them, as ye they would invert Moses his miracle, they rayse them in the bosome of the waves, where whthin these 13 yeares Shippes furrowed the pathles Ocean, the peacefull plowe unbowedell the fertile earth, wch at night is carried home to the fayrest mansions in Holland.
For warr they are Grashoppers, and goe without Kingses in bandes to conquer Kingses. There is not upon earth such a schoole of martilll discipline. It is the Christian worldes Academie for Armes, unto wch all Nations resort to bee instructed, where you may observe how unresistable a blowe manie small graynes of powder heaped together will give, wch ye you seperate can doe nothinge but sparkle and dye.

11 right
For industrie they are Spiders, and live in the Pallaces of Kingses, there are none have the like intelligence. Theire Marchantes at this daie are the greatest of the Universe. What nation is it into wch they have not insinuated themselves? nay wch they have not annonomized and even discovered the intricated veynes of it? All they doe is wth such labour, as it seemes extracted out of theire owne bowells, and by them wee may learne. That noe rayne fructifies like the dewe of sweate.

You would thinke (beinge wth them) that you were in old Israel, for you fynde not a beggar amongst them. Yf hee will depart, hee shall have money for his Convoy, yf hee stayes, hee hath worke, yf hee bee unable hee fyndes an Hospitall. Theire Care extendes even from the Prince to the Flycatcher. And least you should loose an afternoone in fruitlesse mourninge by two of the Clock all burialls must end. Even theire Bedlam is a place soe curious, that a Lord might live in it. Theire Hospitall might lodge a Ladie, their Bridewell a gentle woeman, and their prison a rich Citizen, but for a poore man it is his best refuge; for hee that castes him in must maintaine him.
They are (in some sort) Godes, for they set boundes
to the sea, and when they list let them passe. Even their dwellinge is a miracle. They live lower than the fishes in the verie lapps of the floodes, and incircled in theirie watrie armes, they seeme like the Isreallites passinge the redd Sea. Theirie waves wall them in, and yf they let open their sluces, drowne theirie enemies. They are Gedeons Armie upon the march. Againe they are the Indian Ratt gnawinge the bowells of the Spanish Crocodile to wch they gott when hee gaped to swallowe them. They are the serpent wreathed about the legges of that Elephant wch groanes under the power of his almost innumerable Kinglie tyltes. They are the sword fish under the whale. They are the waine of that Empire wch increased in Isabella and in Charles 5 was at full. They are a glasse wherein Kinges may see.

That an extreeme taxation, is to steale awaie the honey, while the Bees keepe the hive.
That their owne tyrannie is the greatest enemie to their Estates.
That a desire of beinge too absolute, is to press a thorne, that will pricke you.
That nothinge makes a more desperate Rebell then a Prerogative too farr urged.

That oppression is to heate an yron till you burne yor hand.
That to debarr a State of ancient priviledges, is to make a streame more violent by stoppinge it.
That unius politicke, is to shoot (as they did at Ostend) into the mouth of a charged Cannon, and to have two bullettes returned for one.
That admonitions from a dyeinge man are too serious to bee neglected.
That there is nothinge certaine that is not impossible.
That a Cobler of Flushinge was one of the greatest enemies that ever the Kinge of Spaine had.
To conclude, the Countrie it self, is a moated Castle, keepinge two of the richest Jewells in the world in it, the Queen of Bohemia, and the Prince of Orange. The people in it are all Jewes of the newe Testamt, and have exchanged nothing but the lawe for the Gospell. They are a man of warr rydeinge in the downes of Germanie. For forreigne Princes to help them, it is wise, yea self wise policie to doe soe, when they have made them able to defend themselves against Spaine, they are at the Pale, yf they ayde them to offend others they goe beyond

it. If anie man wonder at these contraries, let him looke into his owne bodie for as manie severall humors, into his own hart, for as manie various passions, and from these hee may learne. That there is not in all the whole world such another Beast as Man.
Newport, Isle of Wight Congregational Church (St. James's)

Extracts from the Church Book.

John Bruce, of Homerton College, was ordained 25th May, 1808.

"As the Church had hitherto recognized no particular form of government or mode of discipline, Mr. Bruce drew up the following resolutions which were passed at a Special Church Meeting as

The Views of the Church of Christ Assembling at St. James's Street, Newport, Isle of Wight.

Relating to the nature and discipline of a Christian Church.

"No Society can in the least subsist or hold together but will presently dissolve and break to pieces, unless it be regulated by some laws, and the members all consent to observe some order: place and time of meeting must be agreed on, rules for admitting and excluding members must be established; distinction of Officers, and putting things into regular course cannot be omitted." Locke.

1. A Church of Jesus Christ is a society of men and women, renewed [?] by divine grace, separate from the world, and walking in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless. I Cor. i, 2. I Thess. i, 1. I Cor. iii, 9-17.

2. The members of this society acknowledge Jesus Christ as their only and supreme Head, and take his word as the rule of their faith and practice. Matt. xxiii, 8-10; xxviii, 20.

3. According to the constitution of the primitive churches, this society feel it their duty to elect one of their members as their spiritual guide;—to conduct their worship— to break to them the bread of life, and to administer the ordinances of the New Testament. The person sustaining this character is called in the scriptures a Pastor, an Elder, or Presbyter, and sometimes a Bishop. Eph. iv, 11. Acts xiv, 23. I Tim. iii, 1-2.

4. To free the Pastor from all secular and pecuniary concerns, we resolve to set apart two or more of our members, of approved qualifications to the office of Deacons,—"to collect, arrange, and appropriately expend the pecuniary resources of the house of God". I Tim. iii, 1-10, 12, 13. Acts vi, 1-6.
5. The society consider that the power of transacting church business, of judging and receiving, or excommunicating their own members, is not lodged in the hands of the Pastor, or any individual member but with themselves as a collective body. I Cor. v, 7, 11-13.

6. As members of this Christian society we resolve to be tenderly watchful over one another, and shall feel it our duty to give and receive reproof, in the spirit of meekness. Heb. x, 24, 25. I Thess. v, 14. Gal. vi, 1.

7. Should an offending brother, having thus been reproved in the spirit of meekness, manifest no signs of genuine contrition, we resolve to visit him with two or three of our brethren, and endeavour to convince and restore him. Matt. xviii, 15, 16.

8. If our offending brother still continues incorrigible and will not listen to our admonition, we resolve, through the medium of our pastor, to report his offence to the church. Matt. xviii, 17.

9. If the offender, having been waited upon by deputies from the church, persist in his disregard of the word and ordinances of God, we resolve to suspend him from the benefits of our communion, and employ every means during his suspension to restore him. Luke xiii, 6-9.

10. If after all this forbearance, and the use of proper means to restore him, he continue in his faults, he shall be excluded from all communion with our Christian society. I Cor. v, 4, 5. Matt. xvi, 19.

11. We engage affectionately to receive into full communion approved members from other churches on their regular dismission. Rom. xvi, 1, 2.

12. We think it expedient and reasonable to prohibit, that members of other churches, who are only approved occasional communicants, should have any vote in the affairs of our society.

13. We resolve that one evening in the week preceding the Lord's Supper should be set apart for the purpose of prayer, exhortation, and the transaction of church business, on which occasion we shall always feel it our duty to attend.

14. We resolve that every person desiring to be a member of our society shall make known his wishes to the Pastor—that the pastor at the next church meeting shall report his name to the church—that the church shall then nominate two of its members to converse with the person proposed—and that the pastor and the deputies, at the church meeting following, shall make
their report to the church, and if approved, that he shall be admitted into full communion.

15. We think it proper that each of our concerns as are secular and pecuniary, and relate merely to ourselves, should be solely at our own disposal: but, if connected with those of the congregation, that the subscribers be admitted to the privilege of a vote: and in either of these cases we consider the majority as the society.

Newport, April 18th, 1808.

[Thomas Binney's summary of his pastorate]:

The Rev. Thomas Binney, educated at Wymondley College, Herts., and afterwards for about 12 months minister of the New Meeting House, Bedford, came to supply the congregation assembling in the Independent Chapel, Saint James' Street, Newport, I.W., on the first Sabbath of August, 1824. He was requested to remain another two months, during which time he preached also at Node Hill Chapel, as that church was also without a Pastor, and some thoughts were entertained of a union of the two. This was found to be impracticable. Mr. Binney received and accepted a call to settle over the church assembling in St. James' Street. He was publicly set apart or ordained to this work, on the 29th day of December, 1824. His esteemed friend and Tutor, the Rev. T. Morell, of Wymondley College, delivered an affectionate and impressive charge from the Apostolic admonition to Timothy, "Study to shew thyself approved unto God."

In the month of March, 1829, Mr. Binney received an invitation from the church assembling at the Weigh House, London, to visit them with a view to the pastoral office. This, on consideration, he declined. It was followed, in April, by another accompanied by a personal visit from one of the deacons, deputed by the rest to this business. He consented, with much hesitation, to spend three Sabbaths in London, the last two in April and the first in May.

Immediately on coming to this decision, Mr. Binney called a special Church Meeting and communicated his intention, stating—that, whatever might be the result of the journey—whatever his ultimate decision—or whatever the consequence of disclosure—he could only go with conscientious satisfaction by the church knowing the nature of his visit. He wrote, to the same import, to the Congregational Committee, who met the same evening.

From the Weigh House he received a unanimous and urgent call—expressed in terms peculiarly strong. He entertained the subject, when first proposed, reluctantly—he went to London with repugnance—but he felt a gradual conviction grow upon him of what it seemed
his duty to do—he concluded that it became him to accept the call, and he did so.

Immediately after this he called another special Church Meeting, and wrote again, at the same time, to the Congregational Committee, communicating to both this final result. He fixed the first Sabbath in July as the last on which he should officiate. He was thus, including the period of his probationary service, five years all but one month, over the Society.

During this period there were no deacons to co-operate with the Pastor in the business of the Church. The attendance was in general good. Some were added to the church whose names will follow. But, strictly speaking, it cannot be said that the Society was very prosperous. For this, reasons might be assigned and furnished both by the Pastor and the People—but may the Lord pardon the imperfections of both—and now! “Oh! Lord—send now prosperity.” Amen and Amen.

T. B.

Names of 9 who had died and of the 19 who had been received are given. These are followed immediately by the following, in Binney’s hand:
James Reeder, in consequence of his conduct becoming the subject of church investigation, withdrew himself.

At a special Church Meeting held on the evening of Thursday, 25th June, 1829, the cases of Mrs. Lawrence and Mr. Crook were considered and disposed of. The Church decided that Mrs. Lawrence should be publicly reproved for her conduct, and be suspended six months—and, in consideration that her conduct for a year past had been free from former inconsistencies, if it continued so, that she should then be restored.

The Church also decided that Mr. Crook should be publicly rebuked—be suspended 12 months—and seeing that his habit of tipling [sic] had been of long standing, and continued up to the very period of investigation, that then—at the end of the 12 months—the Church should require satisfactory proofs of reformation—and according as they were offered or not the suspension should be taken off or renewed.

Both Mr. Crook and Mrs. Lawrence expressed contrition, and both submitted to the public rebuke of the Pastor, at the regular Church Meeting held on the evening of Friday, 3rd July, 1829.

That no difficulty may be experienced by the Church, or by my successor, at the termination of the above period, by doubts as to
the precise nature of the discipline inflicted, I subjoin the language in which it was communicated, in writing, to Mr. Crook himself—my letter contained much expression both of sorrow and hope, but the following extract is the sentence in which the decision of the Church was conveyed:

"It is expected that you will attend at the Church Meeting next Friday evening, to be admonished by the minister of your unbecoming conduct, and to be suspended for 12 months from the Lord’s table, at the termination of which period the suspension will be either removed or renewed, according to the evidence you afford of repentance and reformation".

THOS. BINNEY.
Newport, 4th July, 1829.

Our Contemporaries

The Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society of England for May, 1946, contains a lecture by Professor R. D. Whitehorn on "The Westminster Assembly and the Spirit of its Age". Mr. R. S. Robson continues the story of "Presbytery in Newcastle-on-Tyne".

"The Baptists of Hatch Beauchamp", near Taunton, who trace their church from pre-1662 days, have their story told by Mr. W. Fisher in the Baptist Quarterly for Jan.-April, 1946; and "The Story of Pottergate and Ber Street Churches, Norwich" from 1774 is told by the Rev. M. F. Hewett in the July-Oct. number.

Early Methodism in Northampton, Ambleside and Manchester are studied in the 1946 Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, which also include an article on "Methodism and the Torrington Diaries" by the Rev. George Lawton, and one on "Early Methodist Octagons" by the Rev. C. Deane Little.

The leading article in the 1946 Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society is a detailed study of John Thomson, M.D., of Halifax (1782-1818); letters between Job Orton and Benjamin Davies are printed, and the Platt Chapel Account Books are described.

G. F. N.
Reviews

Dr. Irvonwy Morgan’s *The Nonconformity of Richard Baxter* (Epworth Press, 12s. 6d.) gained a D.Phil. from London, but is not a scholarly production. The style is slack—‘C. of E. and a good thing’ is a chapter-title, the bibliography is confusingly arranged; names mentioned are left unidentified—Th.(omas) Bedford (*D.N.B.*) appears as ‘Mr. T. H. Bedford’—and in the earlier chapters, apart from the *Reliquiae* (in the Everyman abridgement) the authorities followed are largely secondary, though Alexander Gordon is not among them. Dr. Morgan says definitely, “Baxter never mentions John Bunyan”. Is he sure? F. J. Powicke said the same, but with a “so far as I know”. The voluminous nature of Baxter’s writings makes it hard to know whether one has read all the relevant material. In the treatment of Infant Baptism, for instance, it would have been well to allow that for ten years or more Baxter’s uncertainty was so great that he says (not in the *Reliquiae*) he refrained from baptizing altogether. Nor was it only “in his young days” that he “thought that ministers ought not to marry”; he still held the same general principle when a widower.

Baxter’s Nonconformity is a strange side of his behaviour on which to centre. Dr. Morgan draws attention to his application in 1672 for a licence to preach as a “Mere Nonconformist” (Baxter’s own phrase is “only as a Nonconformist” and the licence was granted him as “a Nonconforming Minister”). This refusal to accept “the Title of Independent, Presbyterian, or any other Party” arose, it is true, from his life-long passion for a Church unity in which all might join as “meer Catholicks”; it arose also from an inability to agree wholly with anyone, which left him, paradoxically, in this sense the Separatist of his age. Santayana might have had him in mind when he wrote: “A moral nature burdened and over-strung, and a critical faculty fearless but helplessly subjective—isn’t that the true tragedy of your ultimate Puritan?”. Baxter was further “unwilling to set up a Church and become the Pastor of any”, and at Kidderminster, where his influence remained strong, the formation of a Nonconformist congregation was set back by a generation. These negative aspects of his Nonconformity made it in effect so anarchic as to have small positive significance either for his own day or for ours.

Nevertheless, the book has much careful analysis of Baxter’s conception of the Church, with chapters entitled “The Ministry”, “The Word of God”, “The Sacraments”, “Baxter and the Hierarchical Conception” and “Things Indifferent”. Baxter’s views on these subjects would have been better related to those of his contemporaries than to those of Aquinas at one end and of Newton Flew, C. H. Dodd and C. S. Lewis at the other; but they reward study without relation either to modern authors or to his own Nonconformity. And ever and again we have a flash such as this, so characteristic of the man who “always took the Faults of the Common Prayer to be chiefly Disorder and Defectiveness”: “It is better that men be disorderly saved than orderly damned”.

*Hugh Peters, A Study in Puritanism*, the work of Mr. J. Max Patrick, was published in *The University of Buffalo Studies*, xvii. 4 (March, 1946), pp. 137-207. It contains sixteen brief chapters, under three main sections: “The Career of Hugh Peters”, “Peters as Preacher and Propagandist” and “Political and Religious Views”. There is no preface, but the title page
describes the study as of "The life and opinions of a major propagandist, popular preacher, and social reformer of the Cromwellian period, with particular reference to his career in America, his political, religious, and social views, and his influence on the Puritan Revolution". There are about 300 notes by way of documentation, but there is no index; *Taussern for Tauffern* is not reassuring. The author notes Peters' willingness "to intercommuniate with the Brownists" in Holland.

Recent histories of Congregational churches include: *These Three Hundred Years*, being the story of Congregational Work and Witness in Bury St. Edmunds, 1646-1946, by A. J. Grieve, M.A., D.D., and W. Marshall Jones (Independent Press, 5s.). This is of especial interest on account of the full use of the Bury St. Edmunds Church Book (beginning with the covenant of 1646), made by our President, and of his pithy, judicious comments. Dr. Peel contributes an introductory chapter on "Early Congregationalism in Bury St. Edmunds".


*Pleasant Pastures*, The History of the Wilmislow Congregational Church, 1844-1946, by Walter Lazenby (Independent Press, 5s.).


As we go to press, two books by members of the Society have come in:—*The History of a Little Town* (Billericay), by the Rev. George Walker (Chelmsford: J. H. Clarke, 8s. 6d.); and *Castle Hill Meeting*, by Mr. B. S. Godfrey, B.Sc. (author, 46 Baring Road, Northampton, 2s. 6d.). Roman remains, Domesday Book, the Peasants' Revolt, the Lollards, the Marian Martyrs, the Pilgrim Fathers all come into Mr. Walker's story, which is told lovingly and carefully (though without documentation). Mr. Godfrey has not only brought the earlier histories of Castle Hill, Northampton, up to date, but has resolved their contradictions into a consistent account, which is especially valuable for the origins of the church. For this, he has gone beyond the records of his own church to those of the churches at College Street, Northampton and at Rothwell, and has also examined the "Decrees of the Court of Judicature for rebuilding Northampton after the Great Fire". He is to be congratulated on a thorough piece of work, carefully timed to appear for the Congregational Union Council's meetings at Northampton.

**Geoffrey F. Nuttall.**
## Congregational Historical Society
### Statement of Accounts for Year Ending 31st December 1946

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**Roland H. Muddiman, Hon. Treasurer.**

The Society holds 50 "B" Shares in the North-West Building Society as an Investment.
EDITORIAL

ONE disadvantage of visits from learned and distinguished scholars to our Society is that so often their papers are already promised for separate publication or as parts of books, and so we cannot print them in our pages. Prof. Norman Sykes's lecture, *The Church of England and Non-Episcopal Churches in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, duly expanded, has now been published (S.P.C.K., 1s. 6d.), and is causing considerable perturbation in some Anglican circles. Last year at the Annual Meeting, Dr. E. F. Jacob, of All Souls, Oxford, spoke on "Lollardy and the Reformation" to a goodly audience. The officers were re-elected, with thanks for their services, and Dr. Grieve was persuaded that members would not allow him to relinquish the office of President until the Society's jubilee in 1949.

* * * * *

This year at the Annual Meeting we shall have one of our own members, the Rev. K. L. Parry, an ex-Chairman of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, to speak on a subject he has made his own, Isaac Watts. By that time it will probably be possible to give more precise details of the various plans for commemorating the bicentenary of Watts's death. The Stoke Newington Library will probably arrange an exhibition, meetings are being arranged in Southampton and by the Hampshire Congregational Union, and it is hoped that there may be a national commemoration in Westminster Abbey. Watts belongs to all the Churches, and many besides Congregationalists hold his name in honour.

* * * * *

At the Annual Meeting we should be able to discuss fully the best manner of celebrating the Jubilee of the Society. One way is in anticipation—by the provision with this number of a Subject Index to the *Transactions* for the fifty years. This is the work of Miss Phyllis Brunsden, who has been trained in the way she should go by our Secretary, the Rev. C. E. Surman, and we are greatly in her debt. She has in hand too an even more colossal task, the preparation of a full Index. So much have Mr. Surman and Miss Brunsden done for the Society that it is right that they should have the lion's share of this issue. There will be great pressure on our pages until we can get back to the old two issues a year. Enough Elizabethan material has been unearthed in recent months to fill many pages.

* * * * *

These are days of frustration and discouragement for scholars. Everywhere we hear of fine pieces of work in various stages on the long road to publication. Too often they have not even passed the first stare, acceptance by a publisher. And even when a manuscript has been accepted, it has to wait its turn, and sometimes even when printed it has to wait months for binding. As yet there seems no prospect of improvement: labour and materials are still in short supply, and costs show no sign of diminishing.
EDITORIAL

It is hoped that by the end of the year there will be improvement in the paper situation at any rate. Meanwhile students can only continue their labours, make their work as perfect as may be, and hope for better days.

* * * * *

That the editorial staff has not been idle may be gathered from Mr. Surman’s forthcoming book, As Silver is Tried, and from the Editor’s The Noble Army of Congregational Martyrs and Alexander Stewart, reviewed within. The Congregational Two Hundred is at the binder’s, and Cartwrightiana at the printer’s. The latter is the first of seven volumes to be published with the aid of the Sir Halley Stewart Trust, and it is hoped that conditions will allow the rest to appear at regular intervals. They are:

The Writings of Robert Browne and Robert Harrison.
The Writings of Barrow and Greenwood (2 vols.).
The Writings of John Penry.
A parte of a register (2 vols.).

By the time these are out of the way it is hoped that Elizabethan Puritanism and Separatism will have taken shape; but in any case the other volumes will provide material for historians which has hitherto been difficult of access.

As usual, however, when intensive research begins, the number of points demanding investigation multiplies: the detective has to decide which clue to follow first, and sometimes the following, though exciting, takes a long time. At the moment many clues lead to Bury St. Edmunds: but that story must wait.

* * * * *

As these pages go through the press, the Rev. A. G. Matthews’s long-awaited Walker Revised (Clarendon Press, 40s.) sees the light of day. A review will appear in our next number, but those who have found Galamy Revised a help in many a time of trouble will not need to be assured that Mr. Matthews has made another fine contribution to learning. Meanwhile Prof. T. W. Manson, in the Manchester Guardian, after calling Dr. G. F. Nuttall’s The Holy Spirit and Ourselves (Blackwell, 5s.) a book “full of profit for the attentive reader”, goes on:

“Dr. Nuttall has written a larger and learned work on the Holy Spirit in Puritan faith and experience. In the present work he writes for Church members, teachers of religion in schools, students of theology. He offers simple and direct thinking about the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, basing himself on the Bible, and particularly the New Testament. The work is admirably done. It has the simplicity that comes from hard and honest thinking, and the reverent freedom that springs from a firmly grounded Christian faith. It is a book to have and to hold”.

For ourselves, we only wish the book had been one-fifth the price, to ensure a wide circulation among those for whom it is designed.

* * * * *

We offer apologies and regrets to readers for the size of type used in this issue. We have been driven to the expedient by the paper situation and the desire to give our readers as much matter as possible: they can be assured, however, that we shall be “easier on the eyes” as soon as conditions permit.

* * * * *

Members will have been glad to read in the Bulletin the names of those who have joined the Society since the issue of our last number, most of them through the efforts of our indefatigable Secretary. This trickle will perhaps
EDITORIAL

in our Jubilee year become a spate, and then our activities, already increasing, will become worthy of the Society.

In the Introduction to *A Hundred Eminent Congregationalists* we remarked how some years seemed to be prolific of genius and others amazingly barren. Major Brett-James sends some remarkable facts about the boys who were at Mill Hill from 1894 to 1898. Eight of the number have made contributions to literature in its various forms: they are Coningsby Dawson (20 books); Percival Gibbon; A. G. Matthews; A. J. R. Roberts; R. A. Scott-James; Martin S. Briggs; T. H. Robinson; N. G. Brett-James (14 books). All the eight are sons of the Manse, and seven of them came from Congregational Manse. Can any other school-generation, or college-generation for that matter, furnish a similar list? Among other contemporaries were such distinguished Congregationalists as the Rev. H. C. Carter and Sir C. C. Paterson, Sc.D., F.R.S.

We have referred more than once to the fortunate position in which American scholars have found themselves during the last decade, and our envy was not diminished by the arrival of the third and fourth volumes of Prof. W. C. Abbott's *Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* (Harvard University Press; London: Geoffrey Cumberlege. Vol. III, 27s. 6d.; Vol. IV, 42s.). Vols. I and II were reviewed when they appeared. Vol. III deals with the years 1653-5, and with Vol. IV—a stout volume of over 1,000 pages—Prof. Abbott brings his great task to a conclusion, a triumphant conclusion, for the volumes exemplify all that is best in American scholarship. In Vol. IV Prof. Abbott adds further bibliography to that which has already appeared, and the thoroughness with which he has gleaned the field is suggested by the appearance in it of articles from our own pages—such as those of F. J. Powicke and Dr. Nuttall. That kind of thoroughness marks the whole work: Prof. Abbott may have discovered few new Cromwell papers, but never before have all those extant been gathered together as they now are.

It is perhaps immersion in the mass of detail of Cromwell's day-to-day administration which leaves one with the impression that Prof. Abbott sees the warts rather than the man. He admits—he cannot but admit—Cromwell's greatness in his field and in that, and the might of his achievement—but: and there is almost always a but.

With full appreciation for the industry and competence of Prof. Abbott's work, which will long be indispensable for students of the period, we cannot but think his summing up suffers from two causes. The first is his reaction from Carlyle's hero-worship. While not going back to the pre-Carlylean abuse—"damned to everlasting fame", "lived a hypocrite and died a traitor", and all the rest—yet he wants us to see the back of the tapestry, the tired, ill, weary, irritable old man, compromising here, pulling strings there, intent on maintaining position and power, rather than a 'chief of men', champion of toleration, set on avenging God's slaughtered saints.

The second arises from the period in which this work has been done—a period in which the evils of dictatorship cry aloud to heaven. We cannot help but wonder whether the writing of history should be so much influenced by the history which is contemporary with the writer: would Prof. Abbott's judgment, we found ourselves asking, have been the same, with the same facts before him, had he reached it fifty years ago?

And of one thing we are sure: the power of religion in Cromwell's life
cannot be assessed by suggesting him as a suitable subject for William James's *Varieties of Religious Experience*. If a man believes he is an instrument in God's hands—and Cromwell did so believe—and gives himself wholeheartedly to doing God's will, he will only be understood when that fact is given due weight.

There are many interesting points raised in the two volumes; to some of them we shall no doubt return later. Meanwhile this criticism will, we hope, not be deemed captious: it is associated with immense admiration for the American scholar's work, work which our Cromwell panegyrist would do well to take into account before they deliver their next oration.

This issue should not appear without some reference to the death of Dr. W. T. Whitley, the historian of the Baptists, a keen and enthusiastic student, for long the mainstay of the Baptist Historical Society, and a not infrequent contributor to our own pages, Dr. Whitley's work will stand the test of time, and it was good that he retained his mental alertness to the end of his long life; he will be greatly missed, and not only in his own denomination.

Several enthusiastic members have suggested that our membership subscription should be increased. There is much to be said for this, for the present fee does not meet the present-day cost of printing the *Transactions*, and the matter should be discussed at the Annual Meeting; there is obvious justification for raising the price of the *Transactions* to non-members to 6/-, an increase which takes effect with this issue. Meanwhile we trust readers will do something to increase the number of corporate members: many churches, we find, are unaware that such a membership is possible.
Background to Reading Congregationalism*

READING, County, Assize and Quarter Sessions town, 38 miles from Hyde Park Corner according to the A.A., important junction on the Great Western Railway system, and standing at the confluence of the Kennet and the Thames, has a long, rich and varied political and ecclesiastical history.

The earliest known records tell of a Danish occupation of land ‘between the Thames and the Kennet at a point where their waters mingle’ in 871, and of an engagement between them and Ethelred and his brother, Alfred (The Great), at near-by Englefield. The ‘town’ was burnt by the Danes in 1006, and the early settlement, undoubtedly on the Kennet and not on the Thames, was evidently of some importance even at that period.

Tradition has it that Queen Elfilda (945-1000) founded a nunnery here in 979, on a site claimed to be that on which the parish church of St. Mary the Virgin now stands. In the Doomsday survey, 1086, the town, despite its double devastation by the Danes, was second in wealth to Wallingford among the Berkshire towns; a King’s manor, possessing four mills, and already a burgh. The Abbots of Battle (Sussex) held estate in Reading under grant from William the Conqueror, including a church, mills, and fisheries. Their association is preserved in the modern town in the names of Battle Farm, Battle School, and Battle Municipal Hospital.

The Benedictine Abbey, now in ruins, was founded by Henry I in 1121 and provided him sepulture in January 1136. For nearly 400 years the Abbots of Reading ruled the town, with some severity but with increasing celebrity, from the time of the first Abbot, Hugh de Boves, until Hugh Cook Faringdon, the last Abbot, was executed before his own gateway on a charge of high treason, on 15th November, 1539. The Abbey Church was ‘hallowed’ by Thomas à Becket, in the presence of Henry II supported by his nobles and ten suffragan bishops. The Abbey was visited by King John in 1216, by Henry III at Christmas 1227, and by Edward III at the same season of 1364; in 1359, John of Gaunt was married there to Blanche, daughter of the Duke of Lancaster, in whose right he later succeeded to the Lancaster estates; Richard II held council there in 1389, and Parliament was convened to meet there in 1451 and 1467. Some of the great walls of the Abbey buildings, indicating its former vastness, abut on the Forbury Gardens, residue of its grounds, where the burgesses of today stroll among the municipally-kept flower beds and listen to band concerts. A small restored chapelry in the precincts (St. James’s) is occupied by the Roman Catholic communion, and the Abbey Gateway, restored in 1861 by Sir Gilbert Scott, is now used as an extension to the municipal art gallery and as a lecture centre.

A religious house of the Grey Friars, established c.1233 on land east of the present Caversham-road, was subsequently removed on account of flooding to New-street (now Friar-Street),† and, after some religious and

* See Some Berkshire Notes and Queries, by the Rev. C. E. Surman, in C.H.S. Transactions, XIV, 35. To him the writer is indebted for valuable help and data for this article.

† This land suffered severely in the inundations of 1947!
political vicissitudes, and consecutive use as workhouse, orphanage, and 'place of correction', was eventually restored as Greyfriars Church in 1863.

The church of St. Mary the Virgin, in The Butts, with its conspicuous flint and ashlar chequered tower, goes back to before 1550, and was rebuilt from materials taken from the Abbey at its demolition: St. Laurence's, the Municipal church, in the Market-place, was probably part of the Abbey foundation (some retained sections of the building are 12th century), and St. Giles's, Southampton-street, another 12th century church (although almost all trace of the original building was obliterated in restoration of 1872/3) are the three "ancient parish churches." The Vicar of St. Mary's was created Bishop of Reading (Suffragan to Oxford) a few years ago, and there have been numerous parochial adjustments consequent on the growth of the Borough.

In temp. Henry VIII, Reading "stood by clothing", and for some four centuries this remained its most thriving occupation. Its distinctive modern products are biscuits (Huntley & Palmer, Ltd., founded 1826, and Serpells, Ltd., both have extensive factories), seeds (Sutton's Trial Grounds, still maintained by the family of the founder of 1806, provide one of the minor attractions for passengers from London to the West by G.W. Railway), breweries, foundries, and engineering works (including Thornycroft's marine shops). Development in roads and other communications, especially in the 18th century, gave it new strategic importance as a junction town and increasingly in the 20th century as a "dormitory" for professional and business men working in London. The G.W.R. first pushed its tentacles from London in mid-19th century and now links Reading with Bristol and the West, with Oxford, Birmingham, and the North, and with "London in 40 minutes": the Southern system gives good service to Waterloo, to Surrey, and to Basingstoke, Southampton, Portsmouth, and the South. The main Bath (Great West) Road, and the old highway from Oxford to Winchester and the sea, pass through, but the Kennet-and-Avon Canal is falling into desuetude.

Reading School, a pre-1486 monastic foundation, was revived in the time of Henry VIII, and flourishes; a Blue Coat School, whose scholars retain a "habit" similar to the Horsham one; a "Green Girls" Foundation of 1782, and, more recently, Leighton Park School of the Society of Friends; numerous elementary and secondary schools, provide a useful preparation for advanced study at Reading University, incorporated in 1926 but established as a University College in 1892. Closely associated with its specialized Faculty of Agriculture is the National Institute for Research in Dairying at Shinfield.

The earliest Nonconformist cause in Reading is the now King's-road Baptist Church, whose records exist from 1640 incl., but there are distinct traces of Lollardy in the area in the late 15th century†. Traditionally, Broad-street Congregational Church occupies the only site where Dissenting worship has been uninterruptedly maintained since the Ejection of 1662, though it is fair to observe that there is no proof that the original congregation met there and some grounds for believing that it did not (see below). Although the first deed of the building is dated 1707, extant records of the "Church" unfortunately go back no farther than 1796, when the Rev. Archibald Douglas became its minister.

† Eight cases of Lollard persecution in Reading, c. 1498, are quoted by W. H. Summers, Our Lollard Ancestors, 91; on p. 49 reference is made to a Lollard ordination (the first?) at adjacent Sonning in 1890.
CHRISTOPHER FOWLER, M.A. (1614?–1678), Vicar of St. Mary’s, Reading, from about 1643 until ejected in 1662, “a busy turbulent man,” according to his adversaries, was probably the founder of the Presbyterian-Independent Dissenting interest in the town. In December 1662, the Mayor of Reading notified the Lord-Lieut. of Berkshire that “numerous sectaries in the town meet every Sunday at Christopher Fowler’s, who instructs them . . . and by these meetings the audiences in the churches are made very thin,” from which it is apparent that some months after ejection he was still actively ministering in the town. He was imprisoned in Windsor Castle in November 1663, and released in February 1664 on promising to remove his dwelling “in a quarter of a year” and to hold no more such meetings. In 1669 he was reported as preaching at Ramsbury, Wilts, and at Aldbourne. (Mark Fowler, of Aldbourne, had presented him to his first Rectory at West Woodhay in 1610, and there was an evident family connection with the place). He was licensed as Presbyterian Teacher at his house in Kennington, Surrey, on 25th May, 1672, but a licence for Reading was apparently refused.

It seems possible that he was also granted a licence for Chesham, Bucks. A licence is calendared by Prof. Lyon Turner as issued to Chris. Towler for Chesham, which he locates at Cheshunt, Herts, but the Rev. C. E. Surman suggests that this was possibly for Fowler, and at Chesham, much nearer his old sphere of interest. It might, however, equally well have been issued to the Christopher Towler, son of Henry, of Settle, Yorks, reported by Calamy as ejected from a Fellowship at St. John’s, Cambridge (see Calamy Revised, 208). A son of Fowler’s became chaplain and tutor in the family of Lord Wharton, and “Christopher Fowler of Hackney” elected a Manager of the Common Fund in May 1692 (Gordon, 267), might have been another son, for he had four. A funeral sermon for him was preached by William Cooper, the ejected Rector of St. Olave’s, Southwark, in which parish he evidently spent his closing years.

In 1669, three conventicles were reported in Reading—the Anabaptist one in Pigney-lane; a meeting in the house of “one Burren, formerly Cromwell’s butler”; and one at the house of a Mrs. Farnham. Which, if either, of the last two represented the Presbyterian-Independent community is not apparent. One of the preachers was John Pordage (D.N.B.), the eccentric Rector of Bradford, Berks, ejected by Triers as “ignorant and insufficient”, and for Behmenism in 1654 (Richard Baxter called him the chief of the Behmenists), but restored in 1660. There would be something a little ironic in this connection, as Christopher Fowler had been particularly active in attacking and writing against Pordage’s astrological practices!

The records of Broad-street Church claim THOMAS JUICE, B.A., as first pastor of the church, from 1662, but this is manifestly incorrect. As suggested above, the initiator was more probably Fowler, possibly followed by Pordage, or more probably by the RICHARD KING who was licensed as Presbyterian Teacher in Reading in 1672, and one STUBBS, similarly registered, of neither of whom is anything ascertainable.

1 D.N.B. gives 1610-1678, but A. G. Matthews, Calamy Revised, 209, says he matriculated at Magdalen, Oxford, 14 Oct., 1631, aged 17, and also says he died 15 January, 1676/7, but notes that letters of administration were granted to his widow on 1 February, 1677/8, which probably supports D.N.B. and indicates a year’s error in the death-date ascribed.
Juice was ejected from the Rectory of St. Martin's, Worcester, in 1660, but was still keeping school in that city in 1664/5, when he was presented for non-attendance at church by the wardens of St. Nicholas's parish. The licence which apparently relates to him was that granted to Thos. Juice, or Jayce, in 1672 as Congregational teacher in Gracechurch-street, London. There is no reference to him in Reading up to this time, and he probably settled in the town about 1674, dying c. 1705/6, though reputed to have ceased his active ministry some years before his death. By 1690 he had between four and five hundred hearers, "considerably rich" people (Gordon. Freedom after Ejection, 6).

His successor was possibly JOHN MEADOWS, who in 1690 was preaching at Binfield, Berks, and who received grant for Reading from the Fund in 1702 (so Gordon, 7, 311). No more is known concerning him. "Officially," however, the next minister was SAMUEL DOOLITTLE, son of Thomas, the ejected minister of St. Alphage, London Wall. He was in Reading before 1707, when he was named in the earliest deed of the property, and W. H. Summers, Hist. Berks, S. Bucks & S. Oxon Congl. Churches, 161, says he settled in 1700, which is difficult to reconcile with other reports concerning him, or with the presence of Meadows, above. By 1715, according to the Evans MS, the congregation had grown to 800, including 10 "gentlemen," 47 County and 144 Borough voters—some indication of the rank and importance of the community.

Doolittle died 10th April, 1717, at the comparatively early age of 552, and was succeeded by GEORGE BURNET from Andover, from whom the Presbyterians seceded to form a separate congregation in Sun-lane in 1718, a cause which became extinct about 17758.

The subsequent history of Broad-street Church need not be traced in detail, being given by W. H. Summers, op. cit., by Mr. W. J. Brain, Broad-street Chapel, Reading, 1662-1912, as well as in the Historical Memorials by William Legg in 1851.

George Burnet died in 1740, having been may years afflicted with the gout and frequently forced to take crutches into the pulpit. His gravestone in the meeting-house, like that of Thomas Juice, has long since been lost. alas. JOHN BURNET, who succeeded his father, was charged with plagiarism, especially in preaching his father's (recognized) sermons, and removed to Rendham 1748-52 (Browne, Hist. Congregatm. in Norfolk and Suffolk, 483), then to Witham, Essex, in 1752 (not in 1746, as Summers states), and finally to Dagger-lane, Hull, 1767-1782. EVAN JONES, after a somewhat stormy pastorate, passed on in 1764 to Little Baddow, and was followed by THOMAS NOON, a convert of George Whitefield's, from Mile-End Academy, ordained on 15th Oct., 1764, by Dr. Thomas Gibbons, his tutor. During Jones's and Noon's pastorates the Sunday evening "lecture" was conducted at Broad-street alternately by the minister and by the pastor of the Baptist church in Hosier-lane. Noon's celebrated grandson, Sir Thomas Noon Talfourd, M.P. (1795-1854), educated at Reading and Mill

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2 A funeral sermon by Rev. Jas. Waters, of Uxbridge, referred to "his decayed and sickly constitution" and to "the unhappy and unreasonable feuds which arose among yourselves"—possibly leading up to the secession.

3 Their building, Salem Chapel, Minster-street, was subsequently occupied by a Congregational secession from Castle-street 1808-20, and then became Primitive Methodist and is now incorporated in the premises of Messrs. Heelas, Ltd.
Hill School, author, tragedian (Iom, 1835, etc.), and Justice, figures in D.N.B. A characteristically ‘judicial’ summing-up of his grandfather’s life and work is quoted in a letter which Mr. Legg published in his Memorials (pp. 32-36).

Many changes were now affecting the town. An interesting entry in the 11th edition, 1760, with ‘new descriptions of the several Market Towns in England and Wales,’ of the Rev. Thos. Dyche’s New General English Dictionary, says:—

REDDING, or READING, in Berkshire, is a very ancient town, and formerly very famous for its fine abbey; it is now a very large, wealthy and handsome-built town, situate on the river Kennet, but so near the Thames that the largest barges come up to the town-bridge, where are wharfs to load and unload all sorts of goods, by means whereof a great trade in malt and meal is carried on with London, and all sorts of commodities with the inland counties which are brought from London; the town has three large churches, and two meeting-houses; the Kennet is exceedingly stored with pike, eel, dace, and particularly trout; it was formerly very much inhabited by clothiers, but now there are but few... 

Against this may perhaps be set a description of Reading about 1830:

The old town of Reading, with its still quaint-looking houses, its ruined abbey and priory, its memories of mediaeval Congresses and Roundhead sieges, sleeps, as my memory paints it, in the summer sun. It is a very quiet place. The mail coaches travelling on the Bath road at the marvellous rate of twelve miles an hour change horses at the Crown and the Bear. So do the travelling carriages and post-chaises of the wealthier wayfarer. The watchman calls the hour of the night. From the tower of old St. Laurence’s Church the curfew is tolled. My nurse lights the fire with the tinder box. Over at Caversham a man is sitting in the stocks. The Quaker dress abounds. It is worn by Huntley and Palmer, who keep a little biscuit shop in London Street, where a little boy buys cakes... 

Reminiscences of Goldwin Smith, 612 (ed. 1910).

But before we leave this early background to consider what is our particular concern, the hundred years from 1846 to 1946 which saw the growth, and something of later decline in the history, of Trinity Congregational Church—another secession from Broad-street, strangely enough occasioned in large measure by a second charge of plagiarism, levelled and renewed against WILLIAM LEGG by the sermon-tasters in his congregation who not only heard but remembered sermons—we may glance at some interesting pages in the Borough SESSIONS DIARY, Anno Dm. 1681-1682-1683 which record proceedings against Conventicles in the town.

It is unfortunately impossible at this distance to identify the persons proceeded against, or to glean whether they were Anabaptists, Presbyterians, Independents, or even “Popish recusants”. The first relevant entry, with its hybrid Latin-English, records:

Burgos de Reading: Ad Generalem Quartorale Session Pacio in Regio tent in et pro Burgou pttd. vecimo tertio die January Anno dm. 1681. Present I, Mr. Michael Reading, Maior, I, Mr. Thomas Coates, I, Mr. Francis Terrell, Justices; Noia Grand-Jur.

The said Juros doe present a true Bill ayt Joshua Westwood, cloth-worker; Thomas Bull (or Hull?), mercer; John Wilder, apothecary; William Potter, barber; Thomas Chesterman, clothworker; and William Wilder, clothier, all of this Borough with many others to the number of 40ty prsons, p:ut indictat sunt.
Which said persons being called upon their Recognizance all of them appeared & heard the said Bill read, it being for a Riotous & Unlawfull assembly, and they being asked severally whether they are guilty or not [the persons previously named] answered they submitted to the Court, whereupon the Court fined each of them Twenty Nobles & bound them to be recogn. . . . and in the meantime to be of good behaviour, &c.

Abraham Ward de Read., maulster. Edward Clark, maulster. Johes Rowlands, yeom., were also fined 20£ each, with Johes Willmott, clother and Johes Bavington, cutler, both of Reading, in a like sum.

Several of the aforementioned reappeared on 8th April, 1682, upon Traverse and were again bound over in "Twenty Nobles a peice." Recognizances were returned on 1st July, 1682, for three of the same. On 16th October, 1682, the Justices certified three several records "agt. divers persons convicted of being present at sevall Conventicles"—no names quoted.

At the adjourned Sessions on the same day, Mr. Justice Reading was sworne according to an Act of Parliament entituled, An act to prevent dangers wch may happen by Popish Recusants, and then delived (sic) his Certificate prooved by two Witnesses that have received the Sacramt, & that the Minister and Churchwarden signed the same.

On 12th January, 1682, the Justices certified "three sev.all Informacns agt sev.all psons for being present at sev.all seditious Conventicles in order to their Conviction(1) as by this Court file may appeare.

Richard Cowdry one of the Serjeants at Mace of this Borough makes a due Retourne of the writt of e tre fac. to him directed to warne and sumon Twelve free and lawfull men of this Borough who are not of affinity to William fferley Tailor and Margery Seymore spinster to ( ) for the King &c nor to Charles Calverley Mercer to make a certen Jury of the Country to try a certen appeale made by the said Charles Calverley at the same Sess. by virtue of a certen Act of Parliament made in the Two & Twentieth yeare of the Reigne of his now Ma'ty intituled an Act to prvent & suppress seditose conventicles.

Whereupon the said Charles Calverley did plead and put the matter upon Tryall by the said Jury and made a full defence and thereupon a verdict passed against him the said Charles Calverley the Appellant.

On 17th January Calverley is sentenced to pay the sum of Twelve Pounds "for Treble Costs for his unjust appeale" and the Court awards a sapie against the Appellant to satisfy the said costs.

On 6th April, 1683, Calverley is again before the Justices for having refused to pay the Twelve Pounds required, and this Court declared publiquely to the said Charles Calverley that hee stands remitted to the prison in and for this Borough (called the Counter) there to remaine untill hee should pay the same, or be from there delivered by due course of lawe.

There follows the order for his committal, to "Richard Cowdry, keeper of the said prison and to his sufficient deputy and deputies there," but there is no reference to his release.

The story is not dissimilar to those of many other towns, but the local details serve to remind us of the price of freedom even in such pleasant places as Reading.

(TO BE CONTINUED)

PHYLLIS V. BRUNS Den.
Presbyterianism Under The Commonwealth
The Wirksworth Classis Minutes, 1651-1658

CLASSICAL Presbyterianism, and still less Synodical Presbyterianism, was never fully developed in England, despite The Form of Presbyterial Church-Government and of Ordination of Ministers agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster as "A Part of the Covenanted Uniformity in Religion betwixt the Churches of Christ in the Kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland" in 1645. This section of the work of the Assembly, which also incubated A Directory for the Publique Worship of God, the "Westminster" Confession of Faith, and the two Catechisms (Larger and Shorter), did not receive the formal ratification of Parliament, although the Directory, their first work, together with an Ordinance for the taking away of the Book of Common Prayer and establishing the Directory in its place, was ordered to be printed and published, under the direction of Henry Roborough and †Adoniram Byfield, the Scribes of the Assembly of Divines, "by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, Die Jovis, 13 Martii 1644."

The Form of Presbyterial Church-Government declared that "there is one general church visible, held forth in the new testament", and "particular visible churches, members of the general church", also held forth in the N.T., made up of "visible saints, viz., of such as, being of age, professed faith in Christ, and obedience unto Christ, according to the rules of faith and life taught by Christ and his apostles; and of their children." The claim of this last clause was the matter of considerable polemic, as, for example, in †*Richard Baxter's controversy with †**John Tombes, Anabaptist vicar of Leominster, published as Plain Scripture Proof of Infants Church-membership and Baptism (1651), and it remains a point whereon in theory Congregationalists, as well as Baptists, differ from Presbyterians.

The Congregational theory "Of the Institution of Churches" in the Savoy Declaration of 1658 reads:

Besides these particular Churches, there is not instituted by Christ any Church more extensive or Catholique entrusted with power for the administration of his Ordinances, or the execution of any authority in his name.

Herein lies the fundamental ground of difference from which emerge, e.g., The Presbyterian Church of England, represented by "particular visible churches, members of the general church", and Congregational Churches, particular visible churches, independent and autonomous, Christocratic but not hierarchic.

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1 On earlier, incipient, Presbyterianism, see Dr. S. W. Carruthers's article The Presbytery at Wandsworth, 1572, in Trans., XII. 297ff; Usher, The Dedham Classis (1905); A. Peel, Seconde Parte of a Register, 1. 157 etc.; Browne, Congregationalism in Norfolk & Suffolk, 20; Knappen, Tudor Puritanism (1939).
2 Names marked † appear in D.N.B.; those marked * in A. G. Matthews, Calamy Revised, in loc.
The officers of the Church are then enumerated: some extraordinary (being apostles, evangelists and prophets, "which are ceased"); others ordinary and perpetual (as pastors, teachers and other church governors, and deacons), and there are set forth the duties belonging to each of these officers. Then, more particularly, are stated the reasons for, officers of, and ordinances in, each particular congregation, followed by an outline of the special Presbyterial structure and the "several sorts of Assemblies for the same".

THE ASSEMBLIES are (i) Congregational—the meeting of the Teaching and Ruling Elders of a particular congregation, for the government thereof (Scottice, kirk session or parochial consistory), (ii) Classical, and (iii) Synodical Assemblies, though in neither of these cases is the special function of the Assembly defined, the sections purporting merely to justify their scriptural basis and lawfulness. The powers and duties of the Classical Presbyteries are more fully dealt with hereafter. (i) Each congregation or parish had its own officers and was a spiritual republic, "a body politic for its own domestic government"9, the pastor and elders (preaching and ruling presbyters) being responsible for the oversight of the local church, the admission of members, the maintenance of discipline, and the administration of the "censures" (admonition, suspension, and excommunication). But in all matters pertaining to their joint and several offices the minister and elders were accountable to the higher Synods. To this, again, the Savoy Declaration of the Congregationists excepts (Sect. XXII):

The Power of Censures being seated by Christ in a particular Church, is to be exercised only towards particular Members of each Church respectively as such; and there is no power given by him unto any Synods or Ecclesiastical Assemblies to Excommunicate, or, by their publique Edicts to threaten Excommunication, or other Church-censures against Churches, Magistrates, or their people upon any account, no man being obnoxious to that Censure, but upon his personal miscarriage, as a Member of a particular Church4.

And again (Sect. XXVI): In cases of Difficulties or Differences, either in point of Doctrine or in Administrations ... it is according to the minde of Christ, that many Churches holding communion together, do by their Messengers meet in a Synod or Council, to consider and give their advice in, or about that matter in difference, to be reported to all the Churches concerned; Howbeit these Synods so assembled are not entrusted with any Church-Power, properly so called, or with any Jurisdiction over the Churches themselves, to exercise any Censures, either over any Churches or Persons, or to impose their determinations on the Churches or Officers.

This is clinched, to settle any dubiety, in Sect. XXVII:

Besides these occasional Synods or Councils, there are not instituted by Christ any stated Synods in a fixed Combination of Churches, nor their Officers in lesser or greater Assemblies nor are there any Synods appointed by Christ in a way of Subordination to one another5.

(ii) The Form of Presbyterial Church-Government sets alongside the congregational or parish presbytery, and superior to it, the Classical Assembly, formed of delegates from the parochial presbyteries in a defined area—in theory not more than four nor less than two elders from each congregation, in addition to the minister. These Classical Assemblies of "Classes"

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9 J. B. Marsden, Hist. of Puritans, II. 58.
4 See A. Peel, The Savoy Declaration ... ,1658 (1939), 74.
5 ib, 75.
(singular, Class or Classis) were: (a) To exercise general oversight in relation to the character and conduct of ministers and elders; (b) To examine candidates for the ministry and to ordain them; (c) To enquire into the state of congregations; (d) To decide cases (of discipline, etc.) too difficult for parochial settlement, or from which there was appeal, and (e) Generally to discharge such other legislative functions as did not clash with higher authority. They were to meet monthly.

(iii) The Superior Synods, which "may be lawfully of several sorts, as provincial, national and oecumenical", were to be courts of appeal from the decisions of the Classes, and of adjudication on matters concerning the welfare of churches in a whole province or county, or on a national basis. The Provincial Synods were to meet twice in each year, but only two are known to have been definitely and regularly constituted—those for London and Lancashire. It is more than probable that others were organized, although no Parliamentary legislation confirms their existence and no records survive. It seems fairly certain, for example, that there was a Provincial Synod of Devon, for †John Flavel was its Moderator about 1650, and an Ordinance was passed by Parliament, 29 January 1647/8, "for the speedy dividing and settling of the several counties of the Kingdom into distinct classical presbyteries and congregational elderships", and the Provincial Synods should logically have supervened. The Classical system operated in Berkshire, Cheshire, Dorset, Essex, Somerset, and as will be specially shewn, in Derbyshire, so well as in London and Lancashire. Specific mention is made in an ordination certificate, copied by Calamy, of a Provincial order in Derbyshire. "For as much as Samuel Ogden, B.A., hath Address'd himself to the Classical Presbytery of Wirksworth, in the Province of Derby, according to the Ordinance, etc."

The National Synod, or General Assembly, which should have been constituted of delegates from the Provincial Synods, but was only to meet when summoned by Parliament, never functioned.

This elaborate form of Church government was far more perfect on paper than in reality. There are only extant two Ordinances establishing Classes, but there is no perfect record of these Ordinances, and it may be remembered that numbers of the staunchest Presbyterians were all the better pleased if they could establish what they deemed a true theocracy and ecclesiastical system without the aid of the civil power. The known records of Presbyterian Assemblies are doubtless far from exhaustive, but include the Minutes of the London Provincial Assembly 1647-1660 (in Sion College Library, London); those of the Manchester Classis (belonging to the trustees of Cross Street Chapel, Manchester, with a copy in the Chetham Library);

6 It is noteworthy that the Form of Church-Government merely states that Ordination "is the act of a presbytery", not restricted to the Classes, though it is stressed that "no single congregation that can conveniently assemble do assume to itself all and sole power in ordination." Dr. Stoughton, Church of the Commonwealth, and other historians, erred in affirming that candidates for ordination had to appear before the Provincial Synods. Apart from the Parliamentary Ordinance of 1646, which definitely conferred on each Classis the power of examination and ordination, we find the Classes whose records have survived regularly exercising the power—as will be exemplified.

7 T. W. Davids, Annals of Evangelical Nonconformity in Essex, 255 ff. gives the full organization of the 14 Classes for that county. See also W. A. Shaw, History of the English Church 1640-1660, 2 Vols. (1900) and the same author's Manchester Classis (1890/1) and Bury Classis (1896/8).
a copy of the minute book of the Bolton Classis, the second of the nine in the Lancashire Province, is in the Walker MSS at the Bodleian, though the original is not extant; and the Minutes of the Exeter Assembly, 1655-1659 (transcribed by R. N. Worth for the Trans. of the Devonshire Association in 1877). These last records should be distinguished from the Minutes of the Exeter Assembly 1691—(Dr. Williams’s Library) which, like the Cheshire Classis Minutes 1691-1745 (published by Alex. Gordon in 1919 from the original belonging to the trustees of Brook Street Chapel, Knutsford), do not really refer to Classical Presbyterianism, but to the voluntary Ministerial Associations which arose in various parts after “The Happy Union” of 1690: these Associations included Independents as well as Presbyterians but excluded lay representatives, and had no formal powers or duties, although they sustained many of the traditions of the earlier Classes.

The failure to constitute a National Synod was no doubt largely due to political feeling. As Halley points out (Lancashire Puritanism & Nonconformity, I, 379):

there never was convened on the face of the earth an ecclesiastical assembly more thoroughly Erastian in its constitution. whatever may have been the opinions of its constituent parts, than was that which all orthodox Scotchmen regard with so much veneration and to whose authority they concede so great respect. Although the avowed Erastians in the assembly were very few, the assembly itself was the creature and the servant of the parliament.

Not only was the early work of the Assembly done with a view to enlisting Scottish support and the drawing together of the two kingdoms, to be united by the cement of the Solemn League & Covenant, but in the result

there was one point on which the house of commons was inexorable, and its firmness was fatal to the rigid presbyterian party. From the inferior courts there must be a last appeal, and the question was whether it should lie to a secular or a purely spiritual court. The presbyterians maintained that in spiritual things it was a dishonour to Christ himself, the church’s sole head and king, to permit a secular body to sit in final judgment on its own previous decisions. The parliament was of another mind: it contemplated with little satisfaction the setting up of a spiritual tribunal independent of itself. No arguments could move it here. If presbyterianism meant a supreme spiritual court, over which it could exercise no control, a pure presbyterian church in England it would tolerate no more than prelacy itself. An accommodation, a modified presbyterianism, was the consequence; and the mortification of the extreme presbyterians was undisguised.

In trying to trim on the other side the Westminster Assembly, and the Parliament, lost more ground. Attempting to enforce the “divine right of presbytery” as against the divine right of king or prelate, and to influence political support, it accepted The Solemn League and Covenant in September 1643.

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8 The first Cheshire Classis, 1653—(of which no records survive) seems also to have been a mixed and voluntary association. See Urwick, Nonconformity in Cheshire, xxxii, f., 423. Strictly no Classical Presbytery existed in England after 1660. The Exeter Assembly was revived in 1691 as The United Brethren of Exon and Devon.

9 Marsden, History of the Puritans, II. 58.
a disastrous measure. With unquiet spirits it became unpopular because it was enforced. A rigorous conformity, such as the prelates had been unable to command, was bound upon their necks with the additional torment of an oath.  

Presbyterianism was the only true and scriptural form of church government: it existed, they said, *jure divino*, asserting on its behalf the very dogma Bancroft had argued in support of prelacy, and "it was on this rock that presbyterianism split and foundered".  

The Assembly continued to sit until 1649, when it became merely a committee for the trial and examination of ministers: it was finally dissolved in 1653 by Cromwell, simultaneously with the Long Parliament.  

*The Confession of Faith* which it produced, rigidly ultra-calvinistic and confidently dogmatic, nevertheless had a far-reaching influence: the *Directory* of public worship provided careful and detailed rules for ministers: "So much good sense and deep piety, the results of great and diversified experience and of a knowledge so profound, have probably never been gathered into so small a space on the subject of ministerial teaching". The *Catechisms*, especially the Shorter, influenced later Dissent to a marked degree: "Not even a Congregational Declaration of Faith like that of Savoy could displace them among Congregationalists themselves".

**DERBYSHIRE PRESBYTERIANISM**: It has been apparent to the writer for some years that the Classical organization of Presbyterianism in Derbyshire was well-established during the Commonwealth period, but only recently has he secured a transcript of the *Minute Book of the Wirksworth Classis* in that county, covering the period from 16 December, 1651 to 17 November, 1658. This MS (of which details are given in an appendix to this article) was printed by Dr. J. Charles Cox in the *Journal* of the Derbyshire Archæological Society, Vol. II, January 1880, pp. 135-222, and an annotated edition, on the lines of Gordon's *Cheshire Classis Minutes* might very profitably be made available to students.

Theoretically, Derbyshire was organized with a Classical Assembly for each of the six Hundreds of the county—for the Hundred of the Low Peak (or Wapentake of Wirksworth), known as the Wirksworth Classis after the town in which it usually met; the Chesterfield Classis, for the Hundred of Scarsdale; for the Hundred of the High Peak, which met either at Bakewell or Glossop; for the Hundred of Morlestone and Litchurch, which met at Derby; for the Hundred of Repton and Gresley, meeting sometimes at Repton and sometimes at Melbourne; and for the Hundred of Appletree, a Hundred with no town of importance in it, which is believed to have met generally at Breadall. There are no known records of the operation of some of these Classes, but the Wirksworth Classis met consistently through the seven years covered by the book now under consideration, and there are external evidences that the Chesterfield and High Peak Classes also functioned. There is only, by implication from the reference given above, a belief that a Derbyshire *Provincial Assembly* also functioned, but that London and Lancashire were not, as is so frequently asserted, the only two areas in which *Classical* Presbyterianism was regularly established, is quite apparent.

Representation at the Classical Assembly, as evidenced by the Wirksworth Minutes, seems to have been fairly general on the part of ministers, but very unequal in respect of lay-elders. The livings in the area seem to have been closely controlled by the Classis, and ordinations performed by its

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10 *ib*, 59.

11 A. Peel, *Savoy Declaration*, 12.
appointed ministers. There are, however, references to ministers in the area who never seem to have attended Classis meetings, and it is implied that membership of the Classis was not an ex officio right, but subject to an approving vote of the Classis. On this point special cases will be quoted later.

The main concerns of the Classis were: (a) the examination and ordination of candidates for the ministry; (b) the arrangements for the “Classical fasts” or “monthly lectures”, representing one of the anomalies of the Directory system, which ridiculed the observance of special seasons and saints’ days as things of “man’s invention”, but, inconsistently, decreed the observance of a monthly fast, requiring total abstinence from all food “unless bodily weaknesse do manifestly disable of our holding out till the Fast be ended”, and from all bodily delights, rich apparel, ornaments and the like. Fasting was also rigidly observed by ordaining presbyters and candidates until the conclusion of ordination services: it was argued by some that break of this rule was sufficient to invalidate the ceremony. The Classical Fasts of the Wirksworth Presbytery were held on the second Tuesday of each month, for which the preachers of two long sermons or lectures were chosen at the previous meeting. These monthly fasts were held up and down the district, whereas the “Classical” meetings were almost invariably held at Wirksworth. There are three exceptions noted in the minutes out of nearly ninety meetings—one each at Ashbourne, Crich, and Kniveton, determined upon because an ordination was to be held in the church at those places on the same day.

The Classis further dealt with: (c) The defence of orthodox doctrine; (d) examination of complaints and matters of discipline and order from the Congregational presbyteries.

ORDINATION: The business of the Classis in relation to the examination and ordination of candidates was conducted in accord with the provisions of the Parliamentary Ordinance

... for the Ordination of Ministers of the Classicall Presbyters within their respective Bounds for the several Congregations in the Kingdom of England. Die Veneris, 28 August, 1646. London, printed for John Wright at the Kings Head in the Old Bayley, 31 Aug. 1646.

This Ordinance develops the relevant sections of the Form of Church Government, setting forth in its Preface that Presbyter, Elder, and Bishop are all equal. Each Presbyterian Classis is to examine, approve, and ordain “presbyters” within its bounds—but does not seem to have had any part in the ordaining of ruling presbyters (i.e., elders): only of the preaching presbyters.

Candidates for ordination must be at least 21 years of age, and must bring testimonials of (i) having taken the “Covenant of the Three Kingdoms”, (ii) diligence and proficiency in studies, (iii) his degrees at the university and time of residence there, and, especially (iv) of his pious life and conversation. The Presbytery is to enquire particularly of the grace of God in each candidate, of his holiness of life, his learning, the evidence of his vocation to the ministry, and concerning “his faire and direct calling to that place to which he is designed”. The candidate is

12 "a day above twenty-three was then called twenty-four current, and allowed sufficient for matter of age, if other things concurred for the admission of young scholars to ordination”—Life of Adam Martindale, iv, 6.

13 Halley, Lancashire Puritanism, II. Appendix, gives examples of these certificates.
to be examined "in a brotherly way" and with "mildness of spirit", in
his skill in the original tongues "by reading the Hebrew and Greek Testaments and rendering some portions of them into Latine", and in
"Logick, Philosophy, and other learning" 18a. He is to be asked what
authors in Divinity he has read, what knowledge he has of ecclesiastical
history, and what skill in the chronology of the scriptures. Trial is to be
made of his ability to defend orthodox doctrine against error, of his skill in
exposition of the scriptures, and of his "judgment in cases of Conscience".
He is to preach before the presbytery on a given text, provided he is not
already a proved preacher: he is to frame a thesis in Latin on some con-
troversial topic of theology fixed upon by the presbytery, and be prepared
to maintain a dispute on it. Finally, "the proportion of his gifts in relation
to the place unto which he is called" shall be considered.

Subject to his satisfactory emergence from this testing, the candidate is
to be sent to the place to which he is "called", there to preach three
several days, and to converse with the people. On the last of those days,
the Presbytery is to send a public instrument in writing to be read before
the people and then affixed to the church door, calling on the said congre-
gation (Si quis) to submit any exceptions they may have against him
(Scottice, "Serving the Edict"). No objection being raised, a day is
appointed for ordination, which must be performed in the church where
the candidate is to serve "if it may be done with safety and convenience".
A solemn fast is to be kept by the congregation, the ordinand, and the
Presbytery. At least five ministers of the word come to the place, a sermon
being preached by one of them on the ministerial office and duty, after
which the preacher catechises the candidate before the congregation on his
faith, calling, diligence, etc. Then the Presbytery, or the ministers
appointed by it, lay their hands on the head of the ordinand whilst a
"short prayer or blessing", solemnly setting him apart for the office and
work of the ministry, is said. Finally, an exhortation is addressed to the
new minister and his congregation, concluding with prayer, the singing of
a psalm, and blessing†.

Any man who had been ordained "according to the forme of Ordination
which hath been held in the Church of England" need not, if his testi-
monials were satisfactory, be further examined, but was to be tested in his
preaching and by further examination, "if necessary", before being
accredited to a particular congregation. There arises one such instance in
the Wirksworth Classis Minutes of a minister who had formerly been
ordained episcopally submitting himself for re-ordination by the Presbytery.

The Registrar or Scribe, elected by the Presbytery, was to keep careful
record of the names of persons ordained, with their testimonials, and of
the charges to which they were appointed. No money or gift must be paid
to the Presbytery except an entry fee to the Registrar for the record,
instrument, and testimonials of Ordination, for which the fee must not exceed ten shillings.

It is apparent that considerable care was bestowed by the Presbytery to

18a The Manchester Classis Book indicates that candidates were examined in
"logic, philosophy, ethics, physics, metaphysics, Greek or Latin", and
that "the call of the people and the consent of the patron (where there
is one)" were also requisite. It must be remembered that although the
Classis might ordain, the actual "living" was frequently controlled by
lay donors or by the sequestrators, over whom the Classis had no power.

† Cf. Trans. C.H.S., VII. 330, "Ordination, Primitive & Congregational",
by T. G. Crippen.
ensure that candidates were "sound" men, with an expectation of consider-
able learning, and that the act of ordination was carefully performed, with
the laying on of hands. While this carefulness doubtless drew to the
Presbyterians some measure of support from Episcopalians who shrank from
the seeming isolation of Independency, it also brought down on them the
railery of the extreme Independents, who declared themselves unable to
see any difference between episcopal and presbyterian ordination.

'Twixt milk and milk the likeness is not greater,
No egg from egg distinguished lesse in feature,

wrote an Independent pamphleteer in 1648, adapting Plautus to his pur-
purpose. The Wirksworth Minutes record the rejection of one "expectant" or
candidate, notwithstanding good birth and repeated application, on account
of scandalous life; two were referred back for insufficient learning, and one
(apparently) rejected for unsound doctrine.

Halley (Lancashire Puritanism, i. 446f.) accepts the position that

As the presbyterian discipline was regularly established only in these
two districts (i.e., Lancashire and London), the ordinations in them
were numerous. In London, the Westminster assembly as well as the
classical assemblies conferred ordination, and in Lancashire every
classis was authorized by parliament to ordain ministers for the counties
in which the presbyterian discipline was not organized. From all parts
of the north-west of England candidates for the ministry resorted for
ordination to the Lancashire classical assemblies.

But it is clearly manifest that the ordinations by the Wirksworth Classis
were also numerous, and a large proportion of them were of candidates who
were settled or settling in charges outside its area and jurisdiction, the range
being quite as wide as that quoted for ordinations by the Manchester Classis
(op. cit., 447). The practice of conducting "extra-territorial" ordinations
was covered by an appendix to The Form of Church-Government:

Thus far of ordinary Rules and Course of Ordination, in the ordinary
way; that which concerns the extraordinary Way, requisite to be now
practised, followeth.

This declares that in "these present exigences" presbyteries cannot be
formed up to their whole power and work, and there is demand for ordina-
tion of ministers to serve the armies and navy, as well as the numerous
destitute congregations. When, therefore, there "can be no presbytery near
unto them, to whom they may address themselves", then certain godly
ministers in or about the city of London were to be associated "by publick
authority" simply for the work of ordination, and like associations were
to be made "in great towns, and the neighbouring parishes in the several
counties". In practice the terms of reference seem to have been much
broadened, and the Wirksworth Classis is found ordaining ministers to
charges in the counties of Leicester, Notts, Stafford, Warwick and Worcester,
and as far north as Dewsbury, much as Halley quotes the Manchester Classis
ordaining for Lincolnshire, Shropshire and Yorkshire as well as for Black-
burn in the north of the county. In some cases the applications were from
men of Derbyshire birth, or personally acquainted with members of the
Presbytery, but it can only be presumed that this general extension of
function was due to the non-operation of Classes in the districts concerned.

Gordon (Cheshire Classis, 105) notes that Adam Martindale, appointed vicar
of Rostherne, Cheshire, in 1649, had to apply to the Manchester Classis for
ordination (although there was a Cheshire Classis then existent, apparently),
and was actually ordained by the Eighth London Classis. No strict analogy
can be pressed here, however, for the Cheshire Classes, both early and later,
were not strictly Presbyterian, but were voluntary associations of ministers,
both Presbyterian and Independent, possibly Episcopalian too, more on the
lines of Baxter’s Worcestershire Association. Nevertheless, at the first
ordination by the Cheshire Classis in 1692, four ejected ministers from
Lancashire were requested to render assistance, and did so; and the Classis
was attended by ministers from Derbyshire, Lancashire, Shropshire and
Staffordshire.

Full particulars of the ordinations by the Wirksworth Classis are given at
the end of this article.

SPECIAL CASES: The following extracts are given in extenso†, as
shewing the procedure of the Classis in cases where the credentials of
candidates for ordination were not considered to be adequate:

17 Feb., 1656/7—Mr. Ffrancis Lowe, Bachelor of Arts, late Student of
Brasenose Colledge in Oxford, having desired to be ordained
a preaching Presbyter produced two certificates in order
thereto, gave an account of the worke of Grace uppon his
Soule, of his call to the Ministerie, of his skill in the
Original tongues & in the Arts Logicke & philosophie, like-
wise of his knowledge in divinitie; in all which he gave
satisfaction.

The said Mr. Ffrancis Lowe preached (this day) before
the Classis, and his sermon being orthodox was approved.

21 April, 1657—Mr. Ffrancis Lowe this day exhibited his Thesis which was
approved; but because there was a report to the Classis.
that the said Mr. Ffrancis Low was scandalous in his life and
conversacon, therefore it was ordered that intimacon should
be forthwith sent unto Marple Chappell in the Parish of
Stockport the place of his residence that if any person or
persons could object any thing against him, they might
exhibit the same unto the above-named Moderator.

19 May, 1657—This day Mr. Ffrancis Lowes business was taken into
consideracon, his intimacon brought in & William Hollin-
worth excepted agt him, whereupon it was resolved that
his ordinacon should be for the present suspended, that his
accusers may (if they can) make further proots of their
accusations otherwise he is to be proceeded with, the next
Ordinacon.

16 June, 1657—... it was ordered that the Scribe should bring... the
papers of Mr. Francis Lowe’s testimoniall that the said... Mr.
Lowe might have them.

17 Nov., 1657—This day Mr. Ffrancis Lowe made a further addresse to the
Classis for ordination; and was dismissed.

20 Jan., 1656/7—“Mr. Mathias Hill, bachelor of Arts and late Student
in Catherine Hall in Cambridge” applies for ordination, his
sermon being orthodox is approved, and he is given a Thesis
to defend, “vizt Utrum impetratio Christi consistere possit
cum omnium damnatione”.

21 April, 1657—Mr. Abraham Smith Student in Divinitie desiring ordina-
tion had this Thesis given him "uppon the producing of his
certificates) vizt Utrum successio ministrorum sit ecclesiæ
vere essentialis?"

† In quotations from the Minute Book the text is preserved: most abbre-
viation will be obvious, although it is not possible to reproduce superior
lettering. Marks of interrogation are frequently missing from Latin thesis
titles.
5 May, 1657—Mr. Matthias Hill and Mr. Thomas (sic) Smith being examined concerning their ministerial abilities were desired to give further satisfaction to the Classis the next Classical meeting.

19 May, 1657—Mr. Matthias Hill being examined the second time was not approved at present, but desired to endeavour after more sufficiency.

Also Mr. Tho. Smith exhibited his Thesis but was not approved.

16 June, 1657—Mr. Tho. Smith being suspended from ordination desired that his certificates might be delivered back again to him, whereupon it was ordered that the Scribe should bring them to Wirkesworth upon Tuesday next . . .

19 Oct., 1658—Ordered that Nov. 2 be kept as an extraordinary meeting of the Classis for the re-examining of Mr. Matthias Hill and Mr. Abraham Smith.

2 Nov., 1658—This day Mr. Matthias Hill and Mr. Abraham Smith were examined concerning their ministerial abilities and were ordered to give further account unto the Classis at the next Classical meeting. The said Mr. Matthias Hill had this Thesis given him, viz.: An roginitio (sic) gratia totaliter deficere possunt?

Mr. Abraham Smith had this thesis given him, viz., Utrum non obstante Christi merito justificatio nostra sit gratuita?

16 Nov., 1658—Mr. Matthias Hill exhibited his Thesis was examined but not approved.

Also Mr. John Sanders, Mr. Thomas Stanhope & Mr. Abraham Smith exhibited their theses maintained disputes upon the same & gave satisfaction.

17 Nov., 1658—Abraham Smith ordained at Wirkesworth14.

21 July, 1657—Mr. Thomas Gilliver, B.A., late Student of Maudlin Hall in Oxford, desiring ordination, was ordered to give an account to the Classis of his ministerial capabilities the next meeting of the Classis and to bring his Certificates.

16 Feb., 1657/8—Mr. Thomas Gilliver this day made further address to the classis for ordination, but was not examined because of the small appearance.

20 April, 1658—Mr. Thomas Gilliver having formerly made his addresses to the Classis for ordination and appearing again this day upon the same accounts gave an account of the worke of Grace upon his soule, of his skill in the Original Tongues, & in the Arts, Logicke & Philosophie, also of his knowledge in Divinitie & having likewise received a Thesis, vizt: An vocatio & missio sit necessaria ijs qui Evangelium docent—did exhibit the same and was in all these approved.

Whereupon the Classis went into the Parish Church at Wirkesworth where the Congregacon being gather (sic) Mr. Robert Porter preached the ordinacon Sermon which ended, the questions were demanded of the said Mr. John Kay & Mr. Thomas Gilliver required to be demanded by the

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14 No charge mentioned for either this man or Thos. Gilliver, infra. Mr. Smith, silenced in Warwickshire in 1662, might be this man, but doubtful (see Cal. Rev.). Despite the thrice repeated Thomas it seems apparent that these entries all refer to the same man.
ordinance of Parl: of the 20 of Aug 1646 who severally answered to all the said questions & then were ordained by praier & imposition of hands, then the said Mr. Robert Porter gave the exhortation, concluded with praier & the blessing.

After the congregacon dismissed the Lres of ordinalacon were signed by the ordainers & delivered to them by the Scribe.

**DISCIPLINE:** The following case of discipline is also quoted *in extenso*, as showing the work of the Classis in relation to a minister concerning whom complaints had been made.

20 April, 1652—Whereas complaint was made this day to the Classis of Mr. John Wiersdale\(^1\) a member of this Classis for administering the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper to some Parishioners of Wirkescworth not only to ye offence of the Minister and Godlie people there but also to the great hinderance of Reformacon &c. It is therefore ordered that the Scribe of this Classis give special notice to the said Mr. Wiersdale to make his appearance before the Classis at their next meeting &c.

18 May, 1652—This day Mr. John Wiersdale Ministr of Bradley upon summons according to formr Ordr appeared before the Classis; where it was Layd to his charge that he had (contrarie to the Forme of Government established) admitted not onlie only his owne people pr’miscouslie to the Sacrament of the Lords Supper but also some others of the Parish of Wirkescworth who were not thought fitt to be received in their own Congregacon. And also that he had spoken disgracefully of some private meetings of Godly & peaceable men & women who joyning with the publicke Congregacons in all Ordinances did yet desire to meet together in the weeke days for their mutuall edifications spending the time in fasting and prayr.

The said Mr. Wiersdale did ingenniouslie confesse yt the said charges were true. That being importuned by his people he had administered the Sacrament of the Lords Supper without tryall of the Communicants being destitute of Congregational Eldrs & having forgotten the form Ordr of the 20th of August, 1650. But that he was surprised by those of other Congregations who intruded into their Communion without making him at all acquainted before wth their desire so to doe; & that he being straitened in that exigent did too suddenly and inconsiderately admitt of them, for wch he was sorrie yt he had therein offended promissing for the future to be more carefull.

Likewise he (upon conviction of the lawfulness & usefulness of such private meetings) declared his mistake in the second offence pr’missing hereafter that he would both think and speake more charitable of such meetings, desiringe (as he said) that they would call him into their number; whereupon the Classis taking the promises into consideracon ordered (he being withdrawne) that Mr. Peter Watkinson

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\(^{1}\) John Wiersdale (or Wyersdale) was vicar of Bradley, Derbys, and seems to have held the living until 1669.
should, in the behalfe of the Classis in all Brotherlie manner
give him some gentle reproof for his form miscarriage in the
premises16, earnestlie exhort him accordingly to his prmise
to act more carefully and regularly in the administration
of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper & to have a more tendr
respect to Godly people in reference to their private meetings
being no waves in contempt of or prejudice to the publicke.
Which was done accordingly; and he was dismissed.

Mr. Wiersdale evidently accepted admonition with grace equal to his
candour in admitting his faults, and became a member of the Classis which
censured him and attended the next four meetings of it, though not again
in the period covered by the minutes.

His request, "that they would call him into their number", again draws
attention to the seemingly elective and not representative membership of
the Classis. In defining Classical Assemblies, The Form of Church-Govern-
ment lays down that

A presbytery consisteth of ministers of the word, and such other
publick officers as are agreeable to and warranted by the word of God,
to be church-governors, to join with the ministers in the government
of the church.

This somewhat vague delineation of Classical constitution, paralleled by
the following statement regarding Synodical Assemblies, namely that
Pastors and teachers, and other church governors (as also other fit
persons, when it shall be deemed expedient) are members of those
assemblies which we call synodical, where they have a lawful calling
thereunto,

nevertheless seems to imply that all ministers of the Word should have been
members of their appropriate Classes, ex officio. But not only do we find
special votes of admission of ministers to the Wirksworth Classis, but many
parishes never seem to have been represented thereon (as Atlow, Ballidon,
Brassington, Elton, Hognaston, Parwich, Tissington, Thorpe-by-Ashbourne,
Turnditch), although the Classis from time to time evidenced interest in
them17. Some of these parishes were possibly represented by holders of
pluralities (see Martin Topham, infra, for example), but others seem to have
had "Ministers of the Word", if not separately beneficed clergy. Moreover,
in practice, the Classis seems to have been very much the concern of about
half-a-dozen ministers and the same number of regularly attending Ruling
Elders. Was this due to refusal on the part of some incumbents to partici-
pate in the Presbyterian scheme, except in so far as its imprimatur was
necessary to letters of ordination? Or is there implicit an indication that
in this Hundred, as in many other parts of the country, there were "many
congregations where there is no minister at all"?18. Hognaston provides
a case in point, however, where ministers were ordained by the Classis who
do not appear to have taken a seat at its meetings.

The Wiersdale case also draws attention to the jealous concern of the
Presbyterians against the interference of the minister of one congregation
or presbytery with the members of another. Excommunication pronounced
by the minister and elders (Parish Presbytery) of any congregation held good

16 Words in italics are cancelled in the MS.
17 Classical Fasts were kept at Atlow (1), Ballidon (3), Brassington (3),
Elton (1), Fenny Bradley (1), Hognaston (6), Parwich (2), Thorpe (1),
Tissington (1), Turnditch (1).
18 Form of Church-Government, Appendix (The Extraordinary way,
requisite to be now practised, Sect. i).
for all other presbyteries unless the condemned person appealed successfully before the Classis or a higher Assembly. Moreover, before any person could communicate it was necessary for him or her to obtain a certificate of fitness from the local Presbytery, in the granting of which the minister required the assistance of at least two other presbyters, properly elders of his own congregation but, failing them, from another. Hence Wiersdale's fault lay in that, having no Congregational Elders, he had acted solus.

The complaint against Wiersdale seems to have called attention to a generally lax state, for on the same day as he was first charged, 20 April, 1652, we find:

It is this day voted that the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper (being long neglected in most Congregations within this Classis) be therefore seriously considered by the Classis, &c.

The Directory laid it down that the Lord's Supper was "frequently to be celebrated", after the morning sermon—"the Table being decently covered and so conveniently placed that the Communicants may orderly sit about it or at it . . . the Bread in comely and convenient vessels . . . the Wine also in large Cups."

Evidently arising from the minutes of the previous meeting, we get:

16 May, 1652—Upon the request of Mr. Thomas Shelmerdine pastor of the Church att Marlock Mr. Edw: Pole pastor of the Church att Bonteshall & Mr. John Otefield Pastor of Carsington That whereas they were not in a capacitie to adimitt to the Sacramt of the Lords Supper such of their Congregations as desired to communicate because they had no Congregatrationall Eldr (they & others of their said Congregations being desirous to enjoy that Ordinance in their respective Churches) & it being formally ordrd by the Classis August 20 1650 that the Classis should upon such request assigne two or more of their members to assist the ministrs of any such Congregation (being a man approved by the Classis) in that worke. It is this day ordrd that Mr. Martin Topham Pastor of the Congregacon or Church att Wirkesworth Mr. Henrie Buxton Eldr of the Church att Bradbourne & William Storer an Eldr of the Church att Wirkesworth shall assist Mr. Otefield aforesaid in tryall & examination of such of that Congregacon as desire to be received to the Sacrament. Also that Mr. Pole Pastor of Bonteshall & Mr. John Sclatr an Elder of the Church att Hognaston be assistants to Mr. Shelmerdine aforesaid, and the said Mr. Shelmerdine and Mr. Slater shall in like manner assist the said Mr. Pole in the said worke when they shall be thereunto called by the ministers of those Congregations respectively.

RULING ELDERS: According to the paper constitution, these (lay) Elders ought to have considerably outnumbered, if not doubled in number, the ministers at classical meetings. Failure to secure this lay participation and to keep up the numbers of "Ruling Elders" seems as much as anything to have militated against the working of the Presbyterian system in England. The minutes of the London Provincial Assembly contain numerous complaints of the absence of competent men to act in this capacity, some of the largest churches being "without anie"—a characteristic also of the Wirksworth Classis, as the foregoing "Wiersdale Case", and its seeming stab to other uneasy consciences, reveals. The ministers of this Classis generally outnumbered the "Others", and towards the end of the period the lay element was very small. The Classis ordered, 17 May, 1653, that
every congregation presbyterated within this Classis shalbe desired to send to every classical meeting two (or one at least) of their congregational elders to joyne with the Ministers in managing the affaires of the Classis but without noticeable response. Halley asserts that this was largely due to the influence of the Episcopalian ministers, to whom the admission of lay authority in spiritual matters was abhorrent: the concerns of the laity were strictly confined to the temporalities of the building and the benefice. He adds:

Complaints were made to the (Lancashire) Classes that on account of the contempt into which the elders had fallen through the disparagement of them by the episcopal clergy, they had lost their authority in exercising discipline, in reproving sin, in examining candidates for communion, and in discharging other duties of their office. A general neglect of religious ordinances was observed wherever the elders were obstructed in the discharge of their important duties. Congregations evidently inclined to the restoration of Episcopacy became, under the circumstances, practically Independents.10

Was not a measure of this lay reluctance, if not indifference, due to timidity in identifying themselves openly and officially with those upheld by an uncertain political party which was already making troubled headway against the Independent element, as well as to underlying loyalty to the older episcopal ways of their fathers? The lay element, “the right arm”, is essential to the working of the Presbyterian system, and this arm, never strong in England, became more and more enfeebled. The principle of eldership, with its exercise of discipline, was not too palatable to the generality of the people, nor sought after by those who might find censure of neighbours a sore trial and source of offence. In England, unlike Scotland, the laity held more and more aloof, and the Classical meetings dwindled into little more than clerical gatherings for prayer, consultation, and theological discussion—in short, to Ministers’ Fraternals—except where they wielded the power of admission to ordination.

(to be continued).  

Charles E. Surman.

10 Halley, Lancashire Puritanism & Nonconformity, II. 49 ff.
The Diary of a Deacon
at White Row Chapel, Spitalfields

By the kindness of the owner, Miss Annie Mottram, of Manchester, I have recently examined a manuscript diary of some hundreds of pages, bearing on the inner front cover the words, "A Book of Remembrance, April 1769", with two cures for rheumatism written underneath. There is no writer's name, but from internal evidence it appears that the writer became a deacon in 1778; the accounts (many of them for casks and barrels) and price-lists (they include the prices paid for hops in 1771 to 1773) suggest that he was a brewer. As he prospered in business he rose in the esteem of the church; towards the end of the diary he is evidently Treasurer, paying the minister quarterly and sending on the money collected for the Congregational Fund.

Before attempting to identify him, it may be best to identify White Row— and here, as so often, acknowledgment is due to the Rev. C. E. Surman Some account of it may be found in Wilson’s Dissenting Churches, IV, 425 and the Evangelical Magazine, 1836 (p. 509). The church originated, c.1700, in the work of Richard Paine, who preached in the Embroiderers' Hall, Gutter Lane. Once a Baptist, he became a Congregationalist in 1710, and before he "unhandsomely left" in 1734, the congregation met in three different Halls before settling in Petticoat Lane. After the short pastorate of John Hulme, and a seven years' vacancy, revival came under Mordecai Andrews in premises in Artillery Lane. On his death in 1750 at the age of 32, he was succeeded by Edward Hitchin, or Hitchen, minister when the diary begins, at a chapel erected in 1755 in White Row. When the lease expired in 1836, the church moved to the recently vacated Bury St. Meeting in St. Mary Axe until Bishopsgate Chapel was built and opened in 1838. There worship was continued until 1933 when the building was closed1.

It is easier to reconstruct the character of the writer than to discover his name. The book has been in Miss Mottram's family for some time. Her grandmother, a daughter of the Rev. Robert Harper, of Leeds, married James Mottram in 1837. She had a brother, Thomas Smithson Harper,

1 Subsequent ministers were: Nathaniel Trotman (1775-93).
John Goode (1794-1827).
Henry Townley (1828-49).
James Charles Galloway (1849-55)
Edward Mannering (1855-71).
Thomas Sissons (co-pastor, 1868-71).
Arthur Griffith (1871-73).
John Jones (1874-77).
Robert Stratten Holmes (1877-79).
Arthur Griffith (1879-81).
Andrew Mearns (1882).
Thomas Grear (1884-1922).
William Richard Harvey (1923-26).
Herbert Hooper (1926-30).
William Langdon Lee (1930-33).
who was born in 1812 at Northowram in Yorkshire, where his father was
then minister. This lends significance to the visits of Hitchin and the
writer of the diary to Yorkshire and Northowram (see below, pp. 180, 185).
Thomas Smithson Harper probably was the person who opened a school in
Hatherlow in 18312.

On 30th July, 1839, he was ordained (from Blackburn Academy) at
Ormskirk, those taking part being J. Kelly and Thomas Raffies, of Liver-
pool; R. Fletcher, of Manchester; and G. Wardlaw, of the Academy. In
the same year he married Ellen Jackson, and between 1841 and 1855 eight
children were born to them at Ormskirk.

The Smithson in Harper's name no doubt comes from Ann Smithson,
whose mother in 1799 gave her a copy of the Pilgrim's Progress now in
Miss Mottram's possession. A John Smithson, born in Yorkshire (n.d.)—
perhaps the student Smithson in Moorfields Academy in 1744—was minister
at High Wycombe from 1749 to his death in 1789; he several times shared
in ordinations with Thomas Gibbons. The possibility of the name of the
diarist being Smithson must not be ruled out, but the registers of White
Row (at Somerset House) and inquiries in Northowram (where there seem
to have been relatives) have so far failed to help. The writer's use of
"Brother" for fellow-members of the church—and probably for brothers-in-
law—may cause confusion. The entry of 17th December, 1779, about the
death of "Our Hond. Parent", with its references to Brothers Joseph and
Thomas suggest he was one of three brothers named Rust, but again he
might have married their sister: there are many references to Brother and
Sister Thomas Bentley.

Perhaps the ingenuity and industry of readers will prove whether the
diarist's name was Smithson, Bentley, Rust, Asquith, Harper, or none
of these.

The main body of the diary is a record of preachers and their texts,
generally with a prayer or aspiration added after the text has been written
out in full. These preachers are in the main easily identifiable, so notes

2 The printed prospectus reads:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HATHERLOW SCHOOL</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>T. S. Harper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having been appointed by the Trustees, Master of the above school,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>begs leave most respectfully, to inform his Friends and the Public,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that he intends opening his Seminary, on Monday, 28th March, 1831,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and hopes by unremitting attention to the morals, and general improve-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ment of his Pupils, to give perfect satisfaction to those parents and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guardians who may honor him with the care of their children.</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Terms per quarter</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s. d.</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>4 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto with Writing</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>6 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing, Arithmetic, and English Grammar</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>8 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Extra Charges</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Geography, with the use of Globes</td>
<td></td>
<td>5 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Composition and Elocution</td>
<td></td>
<td>5 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book-Keeping, &amp;c.</td>
<td></td>
<td>5 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short Hand</td>
<td></td>
<td>10 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics</td>
<td></td>
<td>10 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin and Greek Classics</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 5 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| DAY BOARDERS | ... | 1 5 0 |
are not added. There are many references to church business, and occasional entries relating to family matters, the weather, or national affairs. Here are the first entries:

April 16. Heard Mr. Hitchen from John 10 and 10 verse (quoted) Morning. And Afternoon Genesis 17 and 1. And at Night heard Mr. Davis Branth. From first Peter second and 9 Verse. . . .
Monday, 17 was at Mr. Asquith to eat Barbequed Pigg.
April 23, 1769. Heard a young man at Mr. Boothes from Exodus 14 and 15. . . . And afternoon Mr. Hitchen from Gen. 17 and 18. . . .
April 30. Heard Mr. Hitchen from John 10 and 10. . . . In Afternoon heard Mr. Hitchen from Gen. 17 and 1.

May 16. Went to take Leave of Father who set out for Yorkshire and see him in Coach about eight o'clock at Night and Mrs. Fawcet.
Friday 19. Went to Church Meeting, Mr. Rogers went to prayer and Mr. Stephens and two Persons was took in to our Church—Mrs. Chambers and Miss Pauson.
The good man was clearly very faithful to White Row, though when the weather is wet he goes to "Mr. Booth's." When he sets out on a journey, either to Yorkshire or to his brother's "Country house at Hammersmith," he invariably gives thanks for a safe return.
Sometimes domestic and national events strangely intermingle: thus on 22nd May, 1770, "Mr. and Mrs. Hitchen dined at our house and the Queen Brot. to Bed. Friday May 25. Sister Richard Brot. to Bed."
Hitchen preached many funeral sermons and "improved the occasion", the deceased or his relatives frequently having suggested the text.

The diary is now followed chronologically with necessary comment on the extracts selected.

Sabbath, 14th April 1771. Heard Mr. Hitchin from Romans 5 and 4 and 5 Verses. Afternoon from Psalm 102 and 14 Vers. For thy servants take pleasure in her stones and favour the dust thereof—it being the Annual Collection for the ministers in the country and bringing up young students for the Ministers (sic).
Monday, 15th April. Evening Prayer at Mr. Stafford's, the exercise carried on by Doctor Stennet, Doctor Gibbons and Mr. Stafford concluded.

Tuesday, May 3, 1771 being Church Meeting before the Sacrament, Mr. Rogers and Mr. Flower Prayed and Mr. Hitchen preached from Psalms 144 and 1 vers. Baptisms and reception of members seem to have taken place at the Church Meeting. On 17th May: "I think I never see Mr. Hitchen so affectionate as he was tonight in admitting his daughter". The minister often preaches at the Church Meeting and at the Communion Service. Burials are generally in "Bunyan Fields". Often after a service "the Church staid" for a Church Meeting; sometimes proposed new members are "set aside" for a time: thus, 13th March, 1772, "Mrs. Badcock was Recvd. into full Communion after haveing been 3 years set aside". Members are "transplanted" from one church to another.

May 14, 1772. Brother Tho. Married to Mrs. Norris at Sant Giles
Church and went to the Star & Garter to Richmond Hill to Dinner and Staid supper there and was Very Agreeable, there was Six Coaches and a Charrriott to carry us a Great Company.

May 22. At Church meeting Exterordnary when three Decons were Balloted for and the Lot fell upon Mr. Chapel, Mr. Chater, Mr. Jordan and four weeks was agreed upon to consider the charge afore they enter the Sollem work.

May 31, 1772. . . . A Funeral Sermon for a Man a Husband of a Sister of the Church who had Great Hopes in his Death. . . . Comments on sermons are:

"Very Excellent for I liked it much"

"It was a Choise Time". "A Most Sweet Opertunity it was to Me"

"A Heart Searching Discourse. Oh that I may be found at Last one of those whom Christ will own. Amen and Amen"

"A young man whose name is Jenkins, a Contry man. . . . A most Delyhtfull Discourse. I could have set all day to have heard for the Time was gone before I was aware. Oh that I may be. . . ."

There are frequent complaints of sleepiness, of heaviness of heart, and forgetfulness, but thanks for being "richly fed," such as, "Oh that I may be able to improve what I hear to the good of my Own Soul."

8th June, 1772. [A week's excursion described. (Cf. July 11—a day's excursion).]

5th July, 1772. Mr. Hitchen after the Ordinance took a Sollem Farewell of the Church for a Littel time as he and Mrs. Hitchen setts out for Yorkshire.

Friday, 7th Aug., 1772. Church meeting before the Breaking bread Day. Mr. Hitchen arived so tired that he could not Preach so Mr. Chater Praid and Mr. Crozer and then sung and Mr. Hitchen concluded with Praier.

Thursday, 13th Aug. I and my Hannah, Brot. and Sister Tho. Bentley and Jacky went to Renilaug and I think it is Vanity of Vannity.

18th Aug. . . . At Vauxhall, and had a Very Plesant Evening was carried out and Brt. in safe.

Thurs. 10th Sep. [The Monthly Meeting at White Row] and a Choise opportunity it was for I Liked much: afterwards I Din'd with the Parsons and Decons and Members as Many as Chose at White Hart, Bishopsgate Street.

16th Oct. [Minister reads Edward Mayick's "experience" before admission (this frequent). Bankruptcy of another member long considered. Some baptized before admission.]

21st Nov. [Fall from ladder, but hopes for blessing at home when can't go to church.]

1772. Dec. The warmest Winter so far I ever saw.

1773. 21st Mar. Nephew John Bentley was at our Meeting and came to let us know that his Sister was to be Baptis'd and desired our Company; we went and Drunk Tea and Dockter Gibbons Read his thoughts upon infant Baptisesm which was very good and sound words and then Baptised the Child. . . .

28th Mar. I was Pleas'd to see and hear the young ministers come forth so sound in the faith. I hope for much good in this our day.

1st June. The most awful Night for Thunder and Lightning that I can remember. [Hitchin preached on it the next Sunday..]
and two Good Discourses we had and at the Table I think I can say it was good for me to be hear for I was Greatly harrist by the Tempter in the Day but I hope I can say Jesu is My Saviour and was lovely to me in the Ordinance. Grant it may always be.

22nd Aug. [At Mr. Booth's. . . . Hopper from Nottingham . . . .]: I think I could have set till Midnight to have heard him. I did not see one Nodling head there. O that I may have that good thing in me [I Kings, 14-13] that I may be found at last safe for Eternity. Amen and amen.

7th Sept. . . . both couples married in the old of the moon; I wish them the greatest of happiness.

21st Sep., 1773. . . . Mr. Hitchen desired the Church to stay when he related a very Affecting Case of a Bad Member being in the Poultry Counter for Sodomy and was cut off from being a Member with us. 1774. 9th Jan. [Hitchen still very ill. Mr. Ryland from Northampton.] 11th Jan. [Hitchen dies.]

14th Jan., Friday. At our Church Meeting we sung then Mr. Wheatly and Mr. Eming and another Brother Praised and wee sung and another Brother Praised and concluded the Exercise and a Precious Opportunity it was to me—and then Mr. Flowers told us about the Church Buring our once dear Pastare Mr. Hitchin for we shall see him no more.

20th. 20 mourning coaches.

23rd. [Aft. Funeral Sermon by Brewer. Almost a riot as they tried to keep out all but "the Church," others to shoe tops in mud—he got in, "but not my Hanne nor brother Joseph nor John nor hundreds more"—uproar, many women fainted—"a very Zealouso Discourse he gave and we had a Pleasant afternoon".]

30th Jan. Sketch of Edward Hitchin, copied from a paper: "He was a Scriptural Christian, he maintained the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, viz. the divinity of Christ, Original Sin, Justification by Faith in a bleeding Lord, and he invariably insisted on the necessity of personal holiness. He was Modrate in his principles. Never Rashly condemning any for being of a different Opinion to him; he was of a Cathlick Spirit; he loved to think and let think. He deplored the unhappy devisions amongst the professors of Christianity, and lamented the raped and alarming progress of antinomianism which he saw was subverting the grand design of the Manifestation of Christ which was to "destroy the works of the devil". As a Minister, a Husband, a Father and a Master he was a pattern to all his Mournfull Survivors".

1774. 7th Feb. Mr. Fisher . . . "a very good discourse but delivered in a heavy way". Aft., A young man, "Mr. Tappin, that Preaches at Portsmouth Common . . . and a most lively free grace sermon we had I think I could have liked to have heard him Longer".

18th Feb. Church Meeting. Member re-admitted to full Communion after 3 years' suspension.

6th Mar. A young man from the Country, Briant—to me a very dry Sermon.

20th Mar. Mr. Winter. "Houlding from Deptford" (Ex. 33.14): "two very good sermons being richly fed today with the finest of the wheat—Oh that I may chew the Cud and be enabled to Injoy Thy Presence thro this Wilderness. Grant it dear Lord. Amen".

5th June. "We went to hear Mr. Trotman at Mr. Webb's meeting, Fetter Lane".

14th June. Pulls down storehouse in 2 days.

26th June. Trotman at White Row—for several Sundays.

16th Sep. Church Meeting, "when Mr. Trotman was to be desired to
Preach to us for Two Months in Order to Give him a call to be Our Pastur . . . as with one heart . . ." 61 Men Members.

16th Oct. "We dined at Mr. Pattison's with Mr. Trotman and we was much pleased with his conversation but he has got a bad cold and as he is to go through his Examination tomorrow he gave Mr. Pattison and me an invitation to go to hear it".

27th Nov. Trotman on 1 Cor. 2:2: "two very good Sermons, but I cannot say that I was so much edified as I could wish for. Mr. Trotman was very much pleased upon what Ministers Ought to say and Preach from the pulpit and out of it to the hearers but I in myself was rather heavy so that it might be in my Case that I was not more alive in hearing".

4th Dec. Funeral Sermon for . . . one "who got his death by going on the water to see Lord Mayer show when John Wilks was" (As Ms.).

16th Dec. Church Meeting. After 2 Members Prayed then Mr. Flowers Proposed to give Mr. Trotman an Immedeat Call to the Pastoral Charge over as and after some time spent in pro and con the Question was put up, and it was Carried 62 for 6 Not for. Mr. Rogers Praid and Mr. Flower read the Order of the call and all the members that were for set their Names to it and the Business was concluded and a glad night it was and now I hope wee shall be soon settled with a Minister. Grant it, dear Lord. Amen and amen.

21st Dec. At Parsons Green My Horse Fly Laid Down with me in a Pond and I was very wet but through the goodness of my God I got no cold.

1776. 13th Jan. Church Meeting. Letter from Trotman . . . taking time to consider.

26th Feb. Church "was desired to stay". Acceptance read.

12th Mar. Trotman’s letter of dismissal from Webb’s church in Fetter Lane read; he retires while received as a member, then called in, "and Mr. Flowers told him that the Church was willing to receive him into our Church when he had signed the Following Covinant—we do, etc." (Covenant is not given). Two deacons pray, he again retires, and call is ratified. Invited back, given right hand of fellowship and the call, which he accepts, and Mr. Flowers exhorts him "in a very Pretty Manner". Meeting adjourned until Sunday, when arrangements for ordination agree upon.

31st. Church Meeting. Trotman reads a letter for "all the Congregational Churches in London for to send their Pasture and a Messenger on the day of Ordination to behould Our faith and Order in calling Our Minister"

7th. Church Meeting. Flowers reads to Church what he is to read at ordination.

12th. Ordination. Prayer: Dr. Conder; Singing; then

"Mr. Towl opened the work of the day and examined the Church Concerning the Steps they took" in calling Mr. T. . Flower replies. Towl asks Church to renew call then he examines Trotman concerning his faith. Singing, then Mr. Barber "went to Prayer." Webb gives Charge to Trotman, Prayer by Holden. Brewer preached. Singing. Gibbons concluding prayer.

May 3rd. Hottest weather ever known at this time of year.

5th. Church Meeting discusses whether to give all collections to the Fund, or use some to pay debt! Decided . . . all to the Fund.

1776. 7th Jan. Sometimes Trotman deeply moved; "at the Ordinance. . . Mr. Trotman was much Carried Out".

15th Jan. Frost and snow, bad walking and riding—fell at bottom Ludgate Hill.
18th Feb. A nephew disobedient to parents and sullen under Trotman’s exhortation.

27th Feb. Trotman to lodge with them in 3 weeks’ time (See 19th March). Is in poor state of health; the writer hopes air will do him good, and that they will benefit by his conversation.

24th Mar. Hottest weather ever known in March.

29th Mar. Church Meeting. Messengers reported that Uffington, long suspended, is still hardened, and said he would do same again. Cut off.

31st Mar. Mr. Martin’s Lecture: “I can say but very little to this sermon because the preacher left out our Lord Jesus Christ and likewise the Spirit work in the heart. There was a very full house and was very attentive”.

20th May. I and Mr. Trotman took a ride Round My Estate and to Stamford Hill where I left Mr. Trotman and the country looks Pleasant and delightful.

Monday, 3rd June. I and Mr. Trotman took a ride in the Chaise as far as the Roe Buck on the forrist. Mr. Trotman not being well the Air refresht him and we was returned better. Matter for thankfulness. [Often takes Trotman for a ride.]

18th July. Excursion to Hampton Court (re the Maze) and Windsor, includes Mr. Walker, minister from Northowram.

25th July. A wedding, 74 went to Roe Buck to dine.


18th Oct. Church Meeting. Mr. Arnold was withdrawn from as a member with us for professing contrary Principles to what he did when he first entered a member with us, viz. in Baptism—afterwards it came out by Mr. Chater of one woman that had a Basterd child two and 3 quarters since and known to 3 of our members at the time, and not discovered to the church, so there is two Brethren deputed to go and convers with the woman, viz. Mr. Chater and Mr. Bell by what I can hear she greatly Laments her folly and has not set down with us since. O that it may be so and O Lord grant her true repentance for Christ sake. Amen and amen.

Friday, 13th Dec., 1776, being a publick Fast to beg of God a spirit of repentance for all Our Sins as a Nation and that Our American Colonies may return which at this time is in rebellion and that we may be once [more] a happy and an United people.

1778. Monday, 9th Feb. Died Mr. Johnson Bumboat Man which was a Very Good Customer of Mine and a very honest man and has left a Wife and 4 Children helpless.

Likewise died Mr. Crozer a Tobaconist in the Minories. Many years a Deacon of the Meeting in White Row, Spittelfields. Aged above 80 years.

13th. Died Mr. Flowers. Stationer in Cannon-st.—many years a Deacon.

Friday, 27th Feb. A Generell fast to beg of Our God that the unnatural Rebellion of our American Colonies may return to Love and Unity with this Country and to invert (sic) deserved judgments.

12th April. Annual Collection for poor Ministers in the Country and for bringing up Young Men for that important work.

Morning we gathered 58-16-0
Afternoon 28- 5-6

[The next Sunday brings up to 104- 2-0]

Mon. 27th Apl. I have been packing and carring Mr. Trotman Book
etc. to his New house at No. 3 Beach Row, Hoxton and see Miss Hainsworth that is to be Mrs. Trotman.

28th Apl. Mr. Trotman and Nancy Hainsworth was married at Hackney Church and Dined at Long room at Hamstead. Drank Tea. Returned to No. 3 Beach Row and Consumated the Marriage Nuptials. O grant them Happy.

18th May. I and my Hanne and Mr. Waldegrave [preacher from Bury St. Edmunds] Dined at Mr. Hanesworth at Clapton and was agreeably disapointed in Mr. Hainsworth had heard that he was a very morose ill natured man but is Quite Otherwise and very Sociable and Affable. 7th Aug. At our Church meeting Exterordinary there was four Members Ballotted for and Sett apace for Deacons the Lott fell on Mr. Bell, Mr. Dell, Mr. Griffith and Unworthy Mee who am the Least of all why Me O Lord O prepare me for thy whole will. Amen.

1779. 25th Mar. Mrs. Trotman is not brought to bed as yet.

1st Apl. I then went to deliver a Sad Messag to a Mr. Owen who was a Member at White Row Meeting but Cutt off for his disorderly walk and not filling up his place in the Church and when I told him he seemed not to be much affected but said it was what he looked for but thought it would not have took place as yet. His wife who is a Member with us Cryed most bitterly it was a most affecting seen. O Lord grant that I may never be the Messenger of such another. . . .

8th Apl. Mrs. Trotman Brought to bed and has got a Lass and Matter for Praise and thankfulness.

11th Apl. Yearly Collection for the Fund—£94-14-9—'which is very Great'. (Lifted the next Sunday to £108-17-9).

21st June. "My Hannah" has been ill—and it is arranged for her to board and lodge in Homerton to see if the air will be any help: payment to be 16/- a week.

17th Dec. The Church was staied to take into consideration the Expences of a dinner that has been a Great burden to allmost all the Churches in this Great Metropolis for a long time, and as Our Church is poor and the Expence of that dinner Great and comes to Our Church once in 14 months we thought proper to alter the Moad of it not to take it entirely away—that is not to have it at a Tavern as usual [when sometimes 90 to 50 people] but to confine it to ministers taking part in the exercise at expense of Church in deacons' houses.

17th Dec. Read a Letter which Brother Joseph sent to Brother Tho. to Lett us know that Our Hond. Parent was fallen asleep and Departed this life. Monday, 13th Dec. . . .

1780. 9th April. Collection £102-12-1. I hope it was a freewill offering wholey acceptable to the Lord and done with a single eye to his Glory.

14th Apl. Samuel Bull, Homerton student, received.

1781. 5th Feb. Lord George Gordon acquited.

[Now long intervals between the entries].

1782. 22nd Mar. Brot. Chater was cut off from the Church for Disorderly walk in borrowing mony and in not paying according to Promise in many aggravated instances.

1783. Jan. 17th. At Church Meeting. ‘Mr. Trotman baptised his son his name Nathaniel. Oh may he be a Nathanel in deed without Guile’.

1784. July 29th. A Thanksgiving day for the General peace. . . . Sep. 15th. . . . there was an Arc Balloon went up from the artillery Ground with a man in it.

1786. [Writing becomes shaky at times.]

Dec. 13th. High wind causes devastation on river—boats break away.
1787. June 4th: paid to Mr. David Rogers £138-1-6, the fund mony collected at White Row, 1787.

June 4th. Tower guns not fired: because Prince of Wales very ill with fever.

June 20th: Recvd. a parcel of Testaments from Book Society which I gave to Brot. Asquith for use of Sunday Schools in Yorkshire.

June 24th. Mr. Trotman preached at New Meeting, Latonstone.

Nov. 25th (or later). Hannah died—after 33 years married life.


Dec. 2nd: Mr. Trotman improved the death of my Hann from Ezekel 28, 24.

Dec. 5th. Supened to Tryal of Sist. Susan against Cook at Westminster Hall when Cook were cast for 4 Hundred with interest amounting to 580 pound—there remains 400 moor to be tryed next year.

Dec. 6th. Met at Vestry and paid Mr. Trotman the Michaelmas Quarter Money.

1788. Jan. 13th. … "when I came home A—- and B—- at the gate and staid super so it was a lost evening to me—as the man said of the theves I was glad when they was gone". [A number of similar entries.]

Feb. 20th. Bought Dr. Hunter’s Lecturs from Volants 1-10-0 )

Sauriens five Vollums 1-12-6 ) 4-19-6

Books of Gardner 1-17-0 )

Feb. 26th. Sister Susan cald and tould us News—that sister Bentleys Illness is Breeding.

Mar. 6th. … after I called to see Mrs. Stroud a member of White Row Meeting a Widow and who gave me a kind invitation to come as often as I pleased. [So far as one can see the net was spread in vain.]


July 22nd. Leaves for Yorkshire in Leeds Coach from Saracen’s Head, Snow Hill, 8 a.m. Hears preachers at “Kippen”; Halifax; Northowram, where Mr. Cockin had "a very full hous and very great attention was given"; Newcastle; Northowram again; Keighley (ordination); Bingley; Northowram.

Nov. Mentions Pinners’ Hall Lectures, and Brewer preaching there on Centenary of William III’s landing.

Nov. 23rd. Collection of £46 for “the Bible Society” [? the Naval and Military Bible Society, founded in 1780.]

1789. Fund Collection. £139.

8th Oct. "The wettest day I ever saw."

1790. No entry.

1791. Trotman preaches funeral sermon for "Bro. Joseph Rust".

1792. 16th Jan. The last entry concerns a wedding.

Albert Peel.
Sidmouth Congregational Church
The First Minute Book

The original building, known as Marsh Chapel, was erected in 1810. Rowland Hill preaching at the opening services. The Church was formed in 1811: after a period of supplying by Matthew and Mark Wilkes, a pastor was found in Arthur Tidman, of Hackney College, who was ordained in 1813.

The first minute book was kept by D. S. Ward, who became minister in 1816. Opposite its first page is a "List of Books for the use of the Minister" as follows:

Watts' works 3 vol.
Leighton's works 4 vol.
Gurnall's works 4 vol.
Cases of Conscience 1 vol.
Townsend on prayer 1 vol.
Henry's Customs, etc. 1 vol.
Law's Call 1 vol.
Owen on 130 Ps. 1 vol.
— Grace and Duty 1 vol.
— Meditations 1 vol.
Two copies of Common Pray. Quarto.
Bible and Apocrypha.

The book itself though headed "Minutes" is really a summary history. It begins:

The Rev. D. S. Ward after spending nearly nine months in Sidmouth in the exercise of ministerial duties received from the Church and Congregation of Protestant Dissenters in the above-mentioned place an almost unanimous call to the Pastoral office, there being but one dissentient voice among the then existing members. The following is a correct copy of the Letter of Invitation and the signatures sent to Mr. Ward.

Rev. Sir,

Sidmouth, June 8th, 1816.

We whose names are undersigned after prayer to the Great Head of the Church for direction do most heartily concur in inviting you to take the charge of the Church and Congregation meeting for divine worship at Sidmouth Chapel, and as we deem it of great importance to our mutual advancement in the divine life do further request that your ordination should take place as early as possible in order that as a Church of Christ we may be privilged [sic] in participating [in] all the ordinances of his house which we trust under his blessing will be productive of our growth in grace and love one to another in maintaining the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace—and it is our earnest prayer to the Great Shepherd and Bishop of souls that you as an under Shepherd may be useful in feeding the flock with spiritual provisions and that you will have the happiness at the great day of final accounts to present a numerous train to our glorious Redeemer and say "Here am I Lord and the children thou hast given me."

[There follow the names of 13 members (5 men and 8 women) and 16 "subscribers" (3 men and 7 women.)]
After prayer for divine direction this invitation was complied with and Mr. Ward was publicly ordained to the pastoral office on Wednesday, the 18th of September, 1816, the following ministers being engaged upon the occasion—the Rev. J. Turnbull of Ottery St. Mary opened the service of the Day by prayer and reading, the Rev. R. P. Allen of Exeter delivered the introductory discourse and asked the questions, the Rev. J. Small of Axminster offered the ordination prayer, the Rev. G. Collison of Hackney delivered the charge, the Rev. T. Jackson of Stockwell preached to the people, and the Rev. J. Burder of Stroud concluded the solemnities of the day by addressing the Congregation in the Evening.

March 5th, 1824.

After spending more than eight years in the exercise of the pastoral office Mr. Ward appearing to be called by Providence to resign his present charge and to enter upon another field of labor, gave notice of his intention to quit Sidmouth and earnestly commended the Church and Congregation to God to send them a man after his own heart who shd. feed them with wisdom and knowledge.

Here the entry in Mr. Ward's hand ends; another hand adds:

The Revd. D. S. Ward resigned his Pastorate Charge at Sidmouth, May 3rd, 1824. And Sailed from Liverpool, May 14th, for St. John's, Newfoundland, and for whom the ardent Prayers of the Church were offered, that the Divine protection and Blessing might attend him, in that part of our Lord's Vinyard, to which, in Providence he was call'd.

After a list of members' names, 34 in number, the narrative resumes:

Revd. A. Good immediately followed on the removal of the Revd. D. S. Ward, after preaching several sabbaths was earnestly and unanimously invited to take the pastoral charge, which was accepted by him; his labours were continued to Dec. 25, 1826, when he retired, after having sent in his resignation at the close of the preceding quarter: during his ministry some accessions have been made to the Church, and the stated Congregation improved.

The list of members which follows (in Mr. Good's writing?) contains, however, only 21 names, with an additional "Occasional communicant of the Baptist Denomination". There is no further entry until a fresh scribe takes up the pen. The interest of John Angell James in the church was due to the fact that he married Miss Anna Maria Baker, one of the foundation members. There is a memorial tablet to Mrs. James in the present building, which was opened in 1846, James preaching on Rom. 15:29.

At a Meeting of the members of the Church, convened by special summons in the vestry on March the 16th, 1827, the Revd. J. A. James of Birmingham occupying by request the chair, the following rules for the future regulation of the church were unanimously agreed to, and signed by the members present.

We the undersigned members of the Church of Christ assembling in the Marsh Chapel, Sidmouth, being of opinion that a scriptural system of Church Order and discipline should be maintained by us; and being at the same time aware that such a system, though partially acted upon, has never been formally adopted, have deemed it important at a Meeting called for that purpose, to invite the Revd. J. A. James of Birmingham, during his visit to this town, to assist us in "setting in order things that are wanting", and in whose presence we agree to the following resolutions for the future government of our church, believing them to be conformable to the principles of the New Testament.

I. The Church, as to the management of its internal affairs, shall be governed upon the principles of the Calvinistic Congregationalists.
II. None are to be admitted as members but such as, in the opinion of the church, have been renewed in the spirit of their mind by the Holy Ghost—have received by faith the Lord Jesus as God-man Mediator, and the sinner's only justifying righteousness—are walking in all holy conversation and godliness—admit the validity of infant baptism—and are willing to submit to the rules of the church.

III. The Lord's Supper shall be administered according to the usage of Dissenting Churches, on the first Sabbath of each Month.

IV. A Church Meeting shall be held in the vestry on the Friday evening in every month preceding the Sabbath on which the Lord's Supper is administered, at which, in addition to devotional exercises, such business shall be attended to, as may from time to time transpire.

V. Every Church Meeting shall be publicly called on the preceding Sabbath by notice from the pulpit.

VI. All business transacted at the Church Meetings shall be introduced by the Pastor.

VII. When the church is settled with a Pastor, no Church Meeting shall be held without his presence, except by his appointment or consent, and whatever business may be done at Meetings called without his consent and held in his absence shall be invalid.

VIII. A majority of two-thirds of the members present shall be necessary for the adoption of any measure whatever.

IX. Persons wishing to become members shall be proposed at one Church Meeting and admitted the next. The candidates shall, on the evening proposed for their admission or rejection, appear personally before the Church to state verbally their views and experience, or shall send in a written account of it to be read by the Pastor, or shall state it through the medium of the Pastor.

X. Persons visiting the Town who are members of other churches may be admitted as occasional Communicants by the Pastor, without consulting the Church.

XI. Baptists, although not allowed to become members of the Church, may by consent of the Church be admitted to the table of the Lord: and the same rule shall be observed with respect to pious members of the Establishment.

XII. If any members should be guilty of immoral conduct, such as adultery, fornication, drunkenness, falsehood, dishonesty, evil speaking, malice, or any other thing that is contrary to godliness—or should be in the opinion of the Church troublers of its peace, by holding and propagating false doctrine, by exciting discontent against the minister, or indulging a factious spirit, they shall become the subject of discipline, their conduct shall be enquired into, and the accusation brought against them being proved to be true, they shall be dealt with as the Church shall determine, and be either expelled at once from the Church, or be suspended from the table till they bring forth fruits meet for repentance.

In cases of private offence, i.e. where unkindness, insult, or injury has been offered from one member to another, it is the bounden duty of the injured party to adopt the scriptural method and see the offender alone, to expostulate with him in a spirit of love, and not to mention the affair to any third person, or bring it before the Pastor and the Church until private means have been tried in vain.

1 Members absent from the Lord's supper six successive months without such a reason as shall be deemed satisfactory to the Church shall be no longer members.

1 This sentence written in later.
XIII. A collection shall be made after every administration of the Lord's Supper, which after defraying the expense incurred for the bread and wine, shall be distributed by the pastor among the poor members of the Church: and the Pastor's account of the distribution shall be examined once a year by two members appointed by the Church.

XIV. Every person who becomes a member shall sign his name to these rules at the time of joining the church.

44 signatures follow, two of them by mark. The "minutes" are then resumed: W. Crowe, after preaching seven Sundays, was invited to the pastorate, and began his ministry in June 1827. Copies of the letters of invitation and acceptance are recorded. The following year, however, Crowe resigned, and the remaining entries, apart from another list of members, concern the coming and going of ministers. The names are:

David Parker. 1st Jan., 1829— to his death, 15th March, 1832.
G. Hunter. 1832—Michaelmas, 1834.
James Dean. 17th May, 1835—Michaelmas, 1838.
Thomas Sturgess. 1839—24th March, 1840.

Sturgess's letter of acceptance is recorded. After the reference to his resignation there is the entry, "See New Church Book," three-quarters of the pages in the present book remaining blank.

The full list of ministers to date reads:

1811 Matthew Wilks and Mark Wilks (supplied)
1813-14 Arthur Tidman, D.D.
1816-24 D. S. Ward
1824-26 Alexander Good
1827-28 William Crowe
1829-32 David Parker, M.A.
1832-34 George B. Hunter
1835-38 James Dean
1839-40 Thomas Sturgess
1840-42? J. Wood(s)
1842-45 Frederick Smith
1846-68 James Lucas
1868-72 John Chetwode Postans
1872-78 E. H. Palmer
1878-83 James Deighton
1884-90 Donald MacDonald
1891-1910 Charles Rhodes
1893-94 Edward Bernstein, A.T.S., co-pastor
1901-03 Edward John Hawkins, B.A., co-pastor
1910-15 Humphrey Davies
1915-23 Arthur Lamb
1924-31 Joseph William Dickson
1935-37 Harold Frederick Cornish, B.A.
1938-44 Jeremiah Peill Cooper
1945- John Edward Lynn, B.D.

2 There are several of these audited statements at the end of the book.

A. P.
The First English Congregational Church, Neath:
Wind Street (1846—1886), Gnoll Road 1886———).

"A Mosaic of Memories, the result of team work of people bound together in love."

In order to appreciate the growth of English Congregationalism in the town of Neath, and the position today of Gnoll Road Church, it is necessary to go back to the day of small beginnings. Welsh Independency in the town traces its origin back to the days of Oliver Cromwell, but English Independency did not find a church till 1846. Wind Street and Gnoll Road Chapels represent a period of one hundred years. While we are chiefly concerned with the last sixty years we cannot be unmindful of the sowing that took place during the preceding forty. English Independents of marked personality founded the first church in 1846, but there were several people of our persuasion in the town who longed for facilities to worship God in their own language many years before that date.

In 1842 people belonging to the Independent, Baptist, and Countess of Huntingdon denominations, feeling the severe grievance of being without any place of worship of their own in which the service was conducted in the English language, and considering that many English residents absented themselves from the house of God who would attend if such a facility were afforded them, agreed to meet in a room for preaching and prayer. The neighbouring ministers co-operated most cordially in the arrangement, and the blessing of God appeared to attend it. The room was soon found to be too small, and the Mayor of Neath allowed the free use of the Town Hall for several months. Finding the congregation still increasing, it was resolved to build a chapel to accommodate 350 persons at an estimated cost of £770. Early in 1843 about two-thirds of the amount had been collected in various sums from sixpence to one hundred pounds, chiefly from persons residing in the neighbourhood. One of the largest subscribers was a churchman, who also gave a piece of land in an eligible situation for the erection of the chapel. While the building was in progress the English friends were allowed to use the Welsh Baptist Chapel, not without inconvenience to the Baptists, who altered the time of their own service in order to allow two English sermons each Sunday.

It might have been apprehended that some difficulty would arise from the union of the three denominations, but it was quite otherwise. All felt the painful position in which they were placed, and were convinced that not one of the three could separately overcome the obstacle. Mutual deprivation led to ready co-operation, and everyone was pleased to forget that he belonged to a party, when the recollection might have frustrated the benevolent plan. The exercise of Christian charity, concord, and union, and the exhibition of forbearance without any compromise of principle or of sentiment, proved productive of delight and benefit which party spirit cannot feel or communicate.

It was readily conceded that the pastor of the church should be a minister of the same denomination as the majority of those hearers who were mem-
bers of some Christian Church, and were desirous of connecting themselves with the new English cause. The Baptists were found to predominate, but the triumph of a denomination was not coveted by a society which originated in mutual want, and sought only the general good. The supporters of the united English cause desired to open the chapel free of debt, and therefore appealed for subscriptions far and wide. The case was peculiar, and presented more than an ordinary claim on the assistance of those who loved Christ and desired to cultivate Christian union. Twelve notable ministers of the three denominations strongly recommended the appeal. The treasurer of this united effort was W. H. Buckland, Cadoxton Place, Neath.

This chapel was opened on Thursday, 20th July, 1843, and was known as Dwyfelin Chapel. Later, the vicar of the parish, Cadoxton-Juxta-Neath, purchased the building and converted it into an Episcopal Chapel, and services were conducted there for many years. It was dismantled before 1803, and the site is now part of the lawn at "Westfield". The Independent section separated from Dwyfelin Chapel, and the need for an English congregational church was felt more than ever when the first experiment failed. The old Town Hall was taken for the holding of English services and the Rev. W. Jones, Castle Street, Swansea, officiated. The chief founders were Mr. W. T. Morgan and family, and Mr. Thomas Sims and Mr. David Davies, members of the Welsh Independent Church, Maesyrhaf. Others from outside joined them, and the handful of people began to build a Chapel at Wind Street, 42 feet by 32 feet: the opening services were held in October, 1849.

The first minister was the Rev. E. S. Hart, M.A., whose ordination took place, 29th June, 1850. In April, 1851, he moved to St. Ives, and for two years neighbouring ministers supplied the pulpit. In September, 1853, David Davies, B.A., a student of Carmarthen College, began a ministry during which the £400 debt remaining on the new chapel was extinguished. In August, 1856, he removed to Therfield, Herts, where he laboured for many years. Without loss of time the church extended a call to Benj. B. Williams, B.A., a student of Brecon College, who remained till May 1858, when he removed to Pembroke Dock.

In July 1859, John Evans, B.A., also of Brecon, undertook the pastorate. He removed to Milford in April 1864.

In March, 1865, the Rev. David S. Jones, Hope Chapel, Cardigan, settled. He migrated to America in April 1869. His successor, Thomas P. Lyke, a Brecon student, had a very short ministry owing to ill-health.

The Rev. J. L. Phillips came to Neath from Tredegar, January 1871, and at that time the congregation was extremely small. He set about building up the church, and gave of his best. Mr. Phillips proposed at a special church meeting held 23rd May, 1871, that the chapel be altered, and that the existing gallery be removed, and the lower floor re-seated and side galleries constructed. This was agreed to and a committee consisting of the minister and Messrs. E. Gorvin, J. Williams, C. Abbott, T. R. Price, Henry Allen, William Dove, and J. L. Swash, was entrusted with the work of effecting the alterations. A Welsh Congregational minister, the Rev. T. Thomas, of Landore, Swansea, was appointed architect, and the contract was let to Mr. Joseph Rees at £198 8s. 0d. The chapel was reopened in October 1871, when the following eminent ministers officiated: Joseph Halsey, of Anerley; T. Thomas, Landore; J. Baldwin Brown, London; Llewellyn Bevan, London; and Thomas Jones (the "Poet Preacher"), Morriston.

An interesting leaflet then published has these words: "The Church is a Congregational Paedo—Baptist Church. At the same time its fellowship is open to all who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity and in truth."
The Rev. J. L. Phillips closed his ministry in April 1875, having accepted a call to Market Hill Chapel, Haverhill.

In December 1875, D. Foulkes Roberts of Brecon College began his ministry, the church then numbering 47. Dr. D. Roberts preached at the ordination service a memorable charge to the minister on "The pastor's fitness for his office", basing his discourse upon John 21:18, "Lovest thou me? . . . Feed my sheep". Its points were:

1. Love for the Master is the best preparation for His work.
2. The chief manifestation of love is work.
3. The strongest impulse to work is love.
4. The highest reward of love is more work, "Feed my lambs".

During the following year one hundred members were added to the Church. In September 1876, Mr. Roberts married Miss Mary Ann Morgan, of Orchard Place, Neath, daughter of W. Thomas Morgan. A long vacancy followed Mr. Roberts's departure for Beaufort in 1880, but the Rev. F. R. Skyrme, of Cardiff, was pastor from 1882 to 1883, during which time complaints were made that announcements upon matters not religious were made from the pulpit.

The Rev. T. Rhondda Williams, of Dowlais, was unanimously invited, and began his ministry in August 1884. From the start congregations improved, and soon the chapel became too small and the church began to talk about a new chapel. The old members did not relish the idea of giving up Wind Street Chapel, of which they were legitimately proud, but a plot of ground, part of an orchard, offered by Mr. Richard Bartlett, was accepted. Bartletts Road was the original name, then Gnoll Road. Despite need for money the church resolved to subscribe £5 a year for three years towards the British Schools. From 1886 Wind Street Chapel was let to the Salvation Army for £30 per annum. Later the building was sold to them.

The church at Wind Street secured the service of Jos. Ll. Matthews, the son of the Rev. John Matthews, Zoar, Welsh Independent Church, Neath, as precentor, about the year 1857, and he continued to do great work till 1887, when he retired in order to make room for a younger man. The Matthews family were gifted musicians, also the Mills, Morgan, Evans, Williams, and James families. Wind Street Choir made a name for itself in the Town.

A notable worker in the Church was T. R. Price who became Sir Thomas R. Price, K.C.B. (1846-1916). His father served as deacon at Zoar Church, and young Price assisted enthusiastically in renovation work in 1871. He emigrated to Grahamstown, South Africa, about 1880 to take up an important railway appointment. He succeeded step by step and became the chief Commissioner of the South Africa Railway System. Such an important part was played by him in the development of railways that when the Railway policy or management is spoken of, the name of Price as pioneer is also mentioned.

Dr. Rhondda Williams, the last minister at Wind Street, the first at Gnoll Road, wrote this of his ministry for the Jubilee celebrations: "The material is meagre. If my ministry at Neath had been noteworthy, it would not be for me to say so. I can, however, very definitely say it was not. I held during that period (1884-1888) the orthodox evangelical position, and preached what other men preached. I went from Bethania, Dowlais, with its 700 members, to the little chapel in Wind Street, where the membership was 92, and the congregation not much more. I could not have left my congregation but for the fact that I had decided to enter the English ministry; and thought it best to begin in a small way.

"We soon grew sufficiently in numbers and daring to embark upon the
building of the present church in Gnoll Road, and that perhaps was the main achievement of the four years. It has conditioned the work that has been done since; it provided a worthy building in a good position for my successors, Edward Morgan and Mardy Rees, to conduct their more significant ministries. It was stated when I left that the membership was doubled and the congregation trebled in the four years, which, I am sure, was as much success as we deserved, perhaps more.

"We had a band of devoted men, among whom J. L. Matthews, Thomas Williams, and David James stand out prominently. Among the younger men I remember with special interest Harry Williams, B. W. Davies, David Henry, and Fred Williams. I was keen in those days on Logic, and I took a class of young men and women, to whom the subject was unfamiliar, through Jevons's Primer. It was great fun. I recall an occasion when I was dealing with the fallacy of "Post hoc, ergo propter hoc", and took as an illustration the belief that putting a poker against the bars of a grate would cause the fire to draw. To doubt the soundness of this sacred belief drew from Fred Williams a fierce declaration that he had seen the phenomenon, and there was no doubt about it, logic or no logic. Fred's fire burned up all right in defence of the poker, and while he appeared almost willing to die at the stake for his conviction, the class roared with laughter. I think the logic class sharpened wits, and won a larger place for reasoned thought.

"An institution which, I am sure, did good was our Mutual Improvement Society. It is absurd that the House of Lords is still in existence, for we abolished it in that Society long ago. We gave Ireland Home Rule in Gladstone's day; if others had been as wise, we should never have heard of the Black and Tans. Once in Paris I sat on one of Cook's coaches for a round of sight-seeing. A young couple, evidently newly-married, sat opposite. I noticed they looked at me a good deal, and presently the young man asked: "Are you not Mr. Rhondda Williams?" He told me his name was Nicholas, and that he was solicitor to the Rhondda miners, and much engaged in public work. He was glad of an opportunity to testify his great indebtedness to the Gnoll Road M. I. Society for having given him his first impulses to a public career, and his first practice in public speaking.

"On the whole, I had a happy time at Neath, but there is a deep sense in which my real ministry did not begin until after I left, and I am glad that the Gnoll Road pulpit has dealt in stronger stuff since that time".

Ministers—

David Davies, B.A., 1853-56. Removed to Therfield, Herts.
John Evans, B.A., 1859-64—Removed to Milford; opened Academy.
D. S. Jones, 1865-69. Removed to America.
T. P. Lyke, 1869-70. Retired owing to ill-health.
J. L. Phillips, 1871-75. Removed to Haverhill.
D. Foulkes Roberts, 1875-80. Removed to Beaufort.
F. R. Skyrme, 1882-83. Removed to Tonystrad.
T. Rhondda Williams, 1884-88. Removed to Bradford.
M. Duffill, 1889-90. Removed to London.
D. Glanant Davies, 1890-93. Removed to Bristol.
Edward Morgan, 1894-1910. Literary work and peripatetic ministry.
T. Mardy Rees, 1912-46. Retired after 50 years in the ministry.

T. Mardy Rees.
Old Time Criticism

RICHARD WINTER HAMILTON (1794-1848), a student of Hoxton, settled at Albion Chapel, Leeds. He was a strong Calvinist, and of the Westminster Confession and the Shorter Catechism said:

"From these rudiments of speculative and practical theology we have never diverged. These have been our solace and our song when persecution raged: these have been our stay and anchor in the more dangerous period of the calm. They were the watch towers by day; they kept our forefathers secure when all around them frowned, and can only keep us spiritually minded now that all around us smile; they made our dungeon sweet, and can only make our palace safe."

Hamilton knew little of either dungeons or palaces, and the quotation shows the dangers to which he succumbed. Stoughton says that he "employed a rare combination of logical and imaginative faculties in the defence and illustration of his opinions. He was as daring as Augustine, and in some respects vehement like Martin Luther, only he expressed his thoughts in a more artificial form than the latter was wont to employ. He was fond of classical allusions, had keen wit, could pun with dexterity, and a story never lost by his way of telling it."

This verdict is the more interesting after reading in the Eclectic Review (Sept. 1815) the review of a sermon preached on 16th April by Hamilton, a young man of 21, at "the Execution of Mr. Joseph Blackburn, Attorney-at-Law, for Forgery: with Details of Conversations with him during his Imprisonment". This is the 4th edition of the sermon, and we wonder if Macaulay read the review before he set to work to pulverize Nares's Burleigh! Here it is:

"If this Sermon can be the means of doing any good, it will be, we suspect, in a manner very different from that which the Author intended. As a beacon to guide young preachers against a rock upon which Mr. Hamilton seems unfortunately to have split, it may, perhaps, prove a very useful discourse, and its Author may ultimately have rendered essential service to the religious public for having preached and published it; but in no other conceivable way can either reviewers or readers contract a debt of gratitude to the preacher. In this respect, indeed, the Sermon before us has no contemptible chance for immortality; for the English language certainly cannot afford so admirable a specimen of almost all the qualities which a sermon ought not to possess, in combination with so lamentable a dearth of all that it should. It is not characterized either by depth of reasoning, or by originality or beauty of illustration. It is not distinguished by the evangelical tone of its sentiment, nor by the fervour, or simplicity, or correctness, of its composition. It is essentially deficient in a display of that melting compassion for the souls of men, in those close and pungent addresses to their consciences, without which it may rationally be expected that all sermons will be preached in vain. It exhibits no sparklings of genius, in the best sense of the term; no taste but of the lowest and most vitiated kind; and no talent but an astonishing adroitness in crowding together a multitude of hard words, which many of his audience had never previously heard, and which the far greater proportion could not understand."
"The grand fault in the composition of this singular production is obscenity; arising, we conceive, from two causes; viz. the miserable and despicable pedantry to which we have just alluded, and the writer's own indistinctness of conception. He is too aspiring to tread in the common and every day track of thought, and too feeble to clear out a new path for himself, so that he loses himself, and his readers also. There are innumerable passages in the Sermon, which, even if rendered into plain English, would convey no distinct ideas to the reader's mind, and for the very best reason in the world, because the writer had no distinct ideas to convey. He has aimed at being original, and by pouring out obscurity and absurdity, has, unfortunately for himself in every sense of the word, adopted the worst method he could have devised for becoming so; for we beg leave to hint to Mr. H. that these qualities are by far too common in the present day to confer upon him any prescriptive claim to originality. But the characteristic defect [sic] of this discourse, are the barbarous and pedantic expressions with which it abounds. The Author has used such an unparalleled license in this respect, that we could almost imagine his sole aim in writing some of the inimitable paragraphs with which he has favoured us, was to see how many uncouth terms and phrases he could crowd together in a given space, for the amusement of his readers.

"The text of this Sermon is James i. 15. "When lust hath conceived it bringeth forth sin, &c.'" and to substantiate our preceding charge, we shall lay before our readers the following single extract, only premising, that if it be not thought sufficient, they may turn to almost any part of the Sermon itself, and read till they are convinced, which will certainly be the case before they shall have proceeded through many pages. To illustrate the progressive nature of sin, Mr. H. says,

If the character throws itself in any particular attitude, it is difficult to recover the natural posture; and though the singularity might arise merely from an accidental cause, yet it may require some lengthened process to rectify. Through the influence of habit, feeling may strain it from its native scope, and the powers of the constitution be wrenched from their original sockets. The machinery of the mind, as it is first thrown into action, works through a roughness of wheel and stubborn-ness of spring, with jarring and confounding attrition; but when the action is continued, the philosophic chimera of perpetual motion is realized and confirmed. And when habits are formed upon evil passions and principles, it is impossible to calculate on their mischievous extent. We have then to grapple, not merely with the strength of our depravity, but with the disadvantages of a prepared barrier and circumvallation. We have then to resist, not an enemy conscious of its injustice, but a commonwealth that relies upon precedent and is regulated by law. Ah! the will is always volatile to sin, why should we then fan its heats and accelerate its impulse? The mind always gravitates to evil, why then should we multiply its tendency by additional weight and bias? Who would add momentum to an avalanche from the Andes, or wing with more cruel speed the bolt that hisses from the secret place of thunder?

"We will not disguise that we have read the whole of this Sermon with extreme dissatisfaction, and some passages in it with strong feelings of indignation; nor that the preceding remarks were written in all the bitterness of disappointed hope. Perhaps some of our readers may think we should have treated Mr. H. with more gentleness on account of his youth and inexperience. To this we reply, that there are peculiarities connected with this case, which justify, and even require, the utmost severity of
criticism. It is not the exuberance of genius of which we complain, nor
the flight of a warm and vivid imagination, which a youth of one and
twenty could scarcely be expected to restrain: these faults would have
much more easily admitted of palliation and excuse. But it is a wretched
and pedantic attempt to appear a man of talent, by the complete sacrifice
of every pretension to taste, and of every prospect of doing good to the
souls of men. 1 had the Sermon been preached on an ordinary occasion,
we might have been disposed to treat it rather more leniently; but it was
delivered, as we have understood, in the presence of 10,000 persons.
Surrounded by a multitude much larger in all probability than the preacher
will ever be called to address again, a multitude who, in the affecting
tragedy they had just witnessed, had seen the evil of sin exhibited in the
most vivid colours—possessed of the finest opportunity that could offer
for arousing their slumbering consciences, and directing them to the Saviour,
with impression and effect—it was in these circumstances that Mr. H.
chose to pronounce a discourse, unintelligible to most of his hearers, and
to which the remaining few must have listened, if they could listen to it
at all, with anguished feelings for the folly and deep culpability of the
speaker.

"This, however, is not the whole amount of Mr. H.'s indiscretion. It
might be supposed that ignorance and inconsideration had led to the
preaching of this discourse; that being himself a young man of reading
and information, he might not have been aware that the terms of art and
science would place him above the comprehensions of his hearers. But
we are grieved that he cannot have the benefit of this excuse. In that
respectable seminary from which he so lately emerged, he must have been
followed with remonstrance upon remonstrance; and he has no doubt
received from estimable and venerable friends, to whose judgment he was
bound to pay deference, many faithful and solemn assurances of the
absolute necessity of a total change in his style of preaching. But it
augurs very unfavourably of Mr. H.'s modesty and spirit, that not content
with preaching, he has proceeded to publish and to issue, notwithstanding
the remonstrances he must have received, edition after edition of the
Sermon upon which we have thus animadverted.

"We have dwelt upon this unworthy production longer than we should
have done, for the benefit of young preachers. How unaccountable soever
the fact may be, we hear that Mr. H. is very popular in the neighbourhood
of Leeds; and as popularity is a dangerous snare even to a well regulated
mind, we have felt some little apprehension lest even his manner of
preaching should produce imitators.

"We have no apology to offer Mr. H. for what he may deem the severity
of our remarks. A sense of duty has impelled the whole of them. We wish
he may profit by the general castigation he has received, and have only
to add, in parting, "Go and sin no more, lest a worse thing come to thee."

It is not without amusement that after this we turned to the same
Review for April 1850 (XXVII. 455-70) where sixteen pages are written
round—we cannot say "about"—Dr. W. H. Stowell's unsatisfactory Memoir
of Hamilton. The reviewer tells us that genius sparkles in every page of
Hamilton's writings, that he was a man of noble qualities and commanding
powers, whose life, character, and preaching must not be judged by ordinary
standards. He admits that in him was a precocity calling loudly for
restraint, which was pampered by the excitements of the crowded chapel;
the student character was lost in that of the youthful preacher, on whose
eloquent lips enraptured congregations hung'. But "with all its ex-
crescences, its redundancy, its violations of the rules and punctilios of that
very arbitrary something called taste, what a grand, stately, in all senses
massive style was his! . . . [It] won for him . . . a position in the world of Nonconformity in all senses commensurate with the affluent genius which kind Heaven had committed to his care”.

Hamilton in his youth, this reviewer tells us, was exposed “to much hypercriticism which for a time endangered his success”. One wonders whether he had in mind the strictures the Eclectic itself had printed thirty-five years, before, and whether he was expressing contrition, or alternatively, claiming that the Eclectic had some part in Hamilton’s success!

A. P.

Reviews

The Noble Army of Congregational Martyrs. By Albert Peel (International Congregational Council Publications: No. 1. Independent Press, London, and Pilgrim Press, Boston, 6s.). This is not a eulogy of underpaid ministers and their heroic wives, nor propaganda for the Home Churches Fund. It is a record of those of our way, who, in England, U.S.A., and the mission field, from Randall Partridge and his three companions who died in prison 1567-71 to Herbert Brokenshire and Robert Kennedy of the American Navy who were drowned in 1944, sealed their witness with their lives. Altogether here are over 160 names of those who were faithful unto death—“stoned, sawn asunder, slain with the sword”, while “others had trial of mockings and scourings, yea, moreover of blows and imprisonment.” There are names that are familiar from Barrow to Alfred Sadd, many more, especially the long roll of the Malagasy, that will be new, but all alike are to be honoured. It was a happy thought of Dr. Peel’s to inaugurate the literature of the forthcoming International Council with this tribute of piety. He has classified his register into appropriate groups, and wherever it is possible, by dint of research, supplied concise biographical notes. A little book to be cherished and to inspire.

The Life of Alexander Stewart. Printed for private circulation. And who was Alexander Stewart? To quote the title page, he was a “prisoner of Napoleon and preacher of the Gospel”. And who wrote his life? Himself. And now his grandson, Sir Malcolm Stewart (son of Halley Stewart), has, with the collaboration of Dr. Peel, published it (for private circulation) and furnished it with a preface. Alexander’s own journal has been given in full up to 1815 (he was born in 1790 in Kirkcaldy), and an abridgment of his story to his death in 1874. Readers of our Transactions will recall the story of his college years at Hoxton, as told by Dr. Peel, and then there was his long and distinguished ministry at Barnet. It is, however, the earlier narrative, of the lad who ran away to sea when he was 15 and at once fell into French hands, remaining a prisoner for ten years, that captivates the reader. The story of his wanderings from one place of incarceration to another, and of his varied adventures might have been written by Robert Louis Stevenson. Throughout the story we can read also the growth of a great soul. We can understand Sir Malcolm’s pride in his grandfather’s “patience, endurance, and determination, in his great physical and moral courage, and in his fight for freedom whether in prison or in the ministry”, and we share his hope that “his example may be an inspiration and give heart to some fighting an uphill battle”. We are glad to learn that the Sir Halley Stewart Trust is to send copies to Congregational ministers.

A. J. Grieve.
Reviews

Mr. Vergilius Ferm, whose name always sounds too good to be true, has edited yet another composite book—Religion in the 20th Century (New York: Philosophical Library, $5.00), in which twenty-seven writers describe "religion" from Hinduism and Jainism to "Ethical Culture" and "Reconstructionism": how many English readers, we wonder, will know that "Reconstructionism" is "dedicated to serve as a unifying force within Judaism according to its own naturalistic orientation"? We have to confess that most of the names were quite unknown to us, even that of Prof. Conrad Moehlman, whose selection "to represent the cause of liberal Protestantism was inevitable".

We have found it quite impossible to discover why certain "religions" were chosen, and on what basis space was allotted. We have Conservative Protestantism", "Liberal Protestantism", and the Society of Friends, but no mention of Baptists and Disciples, Congregationalists and Presbyterians. If you want to know about Mormonism or Baha'ism, Christian Science or Jehovah's Witnesses, these pages may help you, and the bibliographies suggest further reading. For Christianity, however, whatever be the truth about the other religions treated, space is given to the peripheral rather than the central.

Editor.

A Church of the Ejectment. In 1912 the Rev. Alexander Barber, then minister of the Stratford-on-Avon Church, published a serviceable account of the Presbyterian-Independent congregation in that historically-conscious town. The book has just been reissued by the church with a supplementary chapter on "The Early Days" in which Mr. Barber adds the result of a further 35 years' research and develops a thesis that the Stratford Dissenting Academy, perhaps begun by Joseph Porter of Alcester (who had oversight of the Stratford church from 1690), was sustained as a local "institution" over a period of some forty years. McLachlan, English Education under the Test Acts, says that at Porter's death (1721) his Alcester students went to Stratford, but p. 13 dates the Stratford academy from 1715, with John Alexander and John Fleming as tutors. But Alexander did not become minister at Stratford until 1724. The argument is, therefore, that his predecessor, John Letherland, must also have been a tutor. The dates for Fleming's pastorate do not square with the Bridgnorth records, where he is said to have ministered from 1726-40, and it seems more likely to be coincidental that three or four successive ministers were tutors than that anything in the sense of a continuing collegiate institution ever existed at Stratford. We have failed to find any record of students for the debatable period.

There are one or two unfortunate literals in the supplementary chapter—O.D.M. for V.D.M., Rothwell for Rathwell, etc., but the work is well done and makes an interestingly readable story.

Dr. W. H. Chaloner's Crewe Congregational Church, 1847-1947, a 24 pp. brochure in commemoration of the opening of its first chapel a century ago, provides a useful chronicle of the work begun by Rev. William Silvester, one of the stalwarts of the early Cheshire Union, who accepted the challenge of the new railway centre created by the transference of workers of the Grand Junction Railway Company to a rural village. The church does not go back into the dark days of persecution and controversy, but faces the challenge and common ups and downs of the 19th and 20th centuries. The expedient (1881-2) of fixing a minimum charge of one penny per Sunday for each regularly occupied seat (discount terms, one shilling per quarter of 13 Sundays), is fresh, but the plaint that while the Brotherhood numbered
REVIEWS

1,400 adherents, the Church membership was only 208 can be frequently paralleled elsewhere.

The Rev. William Stanyon’s *Furthergate Congregational Sunday School, Blackburn, 1846-1947*, produced on paper that makes us envious, and with eight full-page illustrations to 24 pp. of type, is well set out, and the record makes a useful trilogy with Mr. T. Kilner’s *Brief History of Furthergate, 1924*, and the Rev. F. L. Buxton’s *These Ten Years, 1924-1934*.

*The Triple Jubilee of Congregationalism in Warrington*, by Mr. Joseph Hawthorn, deacon of Wycliffe Church and formerly sub-editor of the *Liverpool Daily Post*, a pamphlet in *pam memoriam*, recalls the story of Stepney (or Flag-lane) Chapel, long since disappeared, but the home 150 years ago of Warrington Congregationalists who seceded from Cairo-street Presbyterian Chapel on its movement into Unitarianism, and traces the history of the community now worshipping in Wycliffe chapel.

The *Transactions* of the Unitarian Historical Society (Oct., 1947), now edited by Dr. H. McLachlan, tell the story of Walmsley Unitarian Chapel, by the Rev. F. Kenworthy, and of Dr. Thomas Nettleton, by the Editor, and an interesting commentary on early Presbyterian-Congregational differences in ‘The Gesture of the Minister at the Lord’s Supper’ by Rev. H. Lismer Short, together with a valuable Record Section.

The four quarterly issues of the *Proceedings* of the Wesley Historical Society for 1947 tell, *inter alia*, the story of Methodism in Manchester by the Rev. C. Deane Little. Methodist Statistics for 1838 claimed a total adherence of 377,315, said to represent a proportion of 1 in 35 of the population of *England*. The proportion in 1948 is...?


C. E. SURMAN.
### Congregational Historical Society

**Accounts for Year Ending 31st December 1947**

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**Roland H. Muddiman, Hon. Treasurer.**

The Society holds two shares of £25 each in North-West Building Society.