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

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

Thomas Collier and Gangraena Edwards

BOTH the earliest evidence which now survives of the evangelistic labours of Thomas Collier¹ and the earliest criticisms now known of his theological outlook are preserved, ironically enough, by one of his bitterest opponents, Thomas Edwards.² The source is Edwards' most famous book: *Gangraena: or a catalogue and discovery of many of the errors, heresies, blasphemies and pernicious practices of the sectaries of this time*, London 1646.

In his preface addressed to the members of the Long Parliament, Edwards warned them that the sects 'have been growing upon us ever since the first year of Your sitting, and have every year increased more and more; things have been bad a great while, but this last year they are grown intolerable'.³ In the composition of the three parts of *Gangraena* he used many sources, the pamphlets written by his opponents, reminiscences of his own or others' encounters with them, letters written to him and documents secured for him by many of his sympathisers both in London and the provinces. Not unnaturally he tended to place the worst construction on what he learned about the sectaries and tended to retail any story as long as it set them in a poor light. Nevertheless, he often printed his sources in full and generally had some factual basis for his abuse.

The purpose of this paper is to make Edwards' material concerning Collier more readily available, to examine how far his description of Collier's views was an accurate one and to link Collier's thought at this stage with the 1644 *Confession*.

Edwards' first reference to Collier's activities described him as 'a great Sectary in the West of England, a mechanicale fellow, and a great Emissary, a Dipper, who goes about Surrey, Hampshire, and those Counties thereabouts, preaching and dipping'. Only a fortnight before Edwards wrote, he claimed, Collier had preached to an Independent congregation in Guildford drawing crowds from the district round about to hear him. The Independents were led by an elderly minister named Close who had apparently gathered his own church by drawing away many 'well-meaning people from the ministry of those godly Ministers, whom before they much prized'. Such joint action between Baptists and Independents had elsewhere been noted by Edwards with regret.⁴

Among other places that Collier had visited had been Guernsey, from which he had been expelled for his 'opinions and turbulency'. A number of his followers were expelled with him. He was then imprisoned at Portsmouth and, presumably afterwards, was active in 'Limington', 'Hampton' and 'Waltham'. Edwards had even himself had a personal encounter with Collier when for five hours they had discussed 'the Morality of the Sabbath' and 'Baptisme'. Apparently it ended rather inconclusively with Edwards convinced that this was quite sufficient time 'for one to trouble himself with such a vain unruly tauker'. The minister in the West Country to whom Edwards was indebted for some of his information about Collier and who wrote in June 1646, described him as 'the first that sowed the seeds of Anabaptism, Anti-sabbatarianism, and some Arminianisme among the rest in these parts; hee hath had the boldnesse to publish two or three pamphlets full stuffed with erroneous principles, and savouring of an illiterate Carter, or an Husbandman,⁵ (for so he is by his calling, I heare) though now by usurpation a Preacher: The first time he preached amongst us (which was in time of publike exercise) some that heard him, said afterwards if that were true which Master Collier had taught them, they would never heare any of our Ministers more: You may guesse his doctrine by the use was made of it; doubtlesse 'twas stronge poison he gave them that wrought so strongly at first'.⁶

More direct information about both Collier's recent activities and his views was derived from a packet of letters found on one John Sims. Sims was a shoemaker from Southampton who was arrested while preaching without permission in the parish church at Middlesey, Bridgewater, Somerset on the last Sunday of May, 1646. When challenged with the recent 'Ordinance of Parliament' against lay preaching he replied, among other things, that 'he would allow of the Parliament, as far foth (*sic*) as they goe with his Doctrine'. When asked by two ministers 'whether he allowed of our Baptisme, answered no, that for his part he was baptized a year since, by one Master Sickmoore and his manner of Baptisings was, that the aforesaid Sickmoore went first into the water and he after him, so that he for his part would not allow of our Baptisme'.⁷

The first of the letters found on Sims and published by Edwards was addressed by Collier to 'the Saints in the Order and fellowship of the Gospel at Taunton' from Guildford, 20 April, 1646.⁸ In it he reported that he had planted a new church of fourteen members at Poole, had 'confirmed the Churches' in certain other unnamed places and commended Sims and another man from Southampton named Row. He closed with what must have been a welcome piece of political

news to his friends: that the 'unlimitted power of the Presbyterians is denied them, of which you shall heare more shortly'.

A second letter from Collier, from London, 2 May 1646,⁹ enclosed two unnamed books and, though it was addressed to the whole church at Taunton, was to be delivered to 'William Heynton, buttler in the Castle'. In it he told the church that he hoped soon to be with them and warned them not to over-value outward acts and ordinances: 'these lower things, which are but instruments to conveigh light and love unto us . . . which indeed are but as a shell without the kernell, further then we enjoy Christ in it'. There were three other letters. One, dated 16 May 1646,¹⁰ from one William Hayward in Taunton,¹¹ commended a man named Reeves who was in membership there and who could tell of the difficulties experienced by the Baptists at the hands of the governor of the town. Evidently the latter thought them guilty less of 'tenderness of conscience' than of 'damnable pride'. Another letter, undated, but signed by Nicholas Bodis,¹² was evidently intended to encourage the Taunton congregation under its afflictions. The last letter, written by John Pool to the same purpose, Edwards did not trouble to print since he considered it 'weake, and having only generall things' in it.¹³

It was obviously the information which came into Edwards' hands as a result of Sims' arrest rather than any other source that led him to judge that Collier was 'a Master Sectarie, a man of great power among them, and hath Emissaries under him, whom he sends abroad and commands to go into several parts, as Sims, Row &c, and supply his place in his absence'.¹⁴ Although Edwards intended to make his readers' flesh creep with this example of sectarian growth, organisation and conspiracy it is probable that Thomas Collier exerted a less authoritarian influence among the churches he had a share in founding than Edwards might be taken to imply.

It happens that it is possible to discover Collier's views on certain doctrinal matters in 1645 and 1646 from three early tracts which came out before *Gangraena* was wholly published.¹⁵

The widespread view that Baptist opinions and Arminianism went together at this time, as believed by Edwards and the correspondent quoted earlier, seems to have been due to two causes. The first, and perhaps the less powerful, was that the earliest English Baptists *were* Arminians. Secondly, all Baptists tended to repudiate the contemporary covenant theology of Puritanism with its special pleading (as they considered) for infant baptism. To attack this covenant theology, which Baptists — including Collier — had continually to do in order to defend their position, looked to many of their opponents like an attack on Calvinism generally. This meant that Edwards and others,

while delighted in any case to smear the Baptists with the taint of heresy, could genuinely believe their own allegations.

In his tract, *Three great queries now in controversie, cleared from the word of truth*, Collier deliberately set out to refute those who held Arminian views, especially their opinions about 'generall Redemption, Free will, and falling from Grace'.¹⁶ While he said he believed that the Gospel should be offered to all he also believed that 'none will, nor can, come to Christ unlesse the Father draw them'.¹⁷ Furthermore, God's election is not made upon the basis that he 'foresaw who would believe, and who accept of Christ, and therefore Elected them'¹⁸ because man has no power, of himself, to believe savingly. Hence, those who will be saved are those to whom God in his free mercy gives the gift of faith, these 'have power to beleeve & none else, and those who thus beleeve shall certainly be saved'.¹⁹ He then made it quite plain that he believed, and believed that Scripture taught, 'that man, that woman, that hath once attained Union with God through Jesus Christ shall not fall totally and finally from him, that man once owned in the Covenant of Grace shall never fall out of it'.²⁰

While Edwards appears to have been quite unaware of this last tract he did know Collier's *Certaine queries: or points now in controvercy examined and answered by Scripture*, also published in 1645, in which he was concerned to deal with two major subjects, the doctrine of the Church and the part to be played by the state in church affairs.²¹

Collier asserted that a true visible church should be composed of members 'gathered out of the world by the preaching of the Gospel'²² who would be 'united together in the Order and fellowship of the Gospel'.²³ This union would involve a commitment of the members to each other to 'becom one, and walk together in love, communicating to the necessities each of other in all Spiritualls and Temporalls, according to the Rule of God'.²⁴ By means of the ministry of the word God 'diggs men, living stones, out of the dead quarry of mankind'²⁵ who, after manifesting repentance and faith, must be baptized for baptism 'gives admition into the Church of Christ'.²⁶ He firmly insisted that 'none are to be admitted before Baptisme'²⁷ and that ordinances are not to be administered upon the basis of 'God's election, but from faith's manifestation'.²⁸ When he had restated the standard arguments against infant baptism he pointed out that once convinced that it was wrong it was the duty of true believers to 'renounce it, to be ashamed of it, and to submit to the Rule of Christ', that is, to baptism as believers.²⁹ Every congregation so gathered, by preaching and by baptism, was entrusted by Christ with 'full power' to elect and ordain officers, 'to receive in such as they conceive the Lord hath added, to cast

forth such as walke disorderly'.³⁰ To no congregation, of course, did Christ entrust any power over another congregation.³¹

Thomas Edwards did not trouble to bring Collier's contribution on these subjects under criticism and contented himself with noting that in his tract Collier 'makes Baptizing the Children of the faithfull not only to be vaine, but evill and sinfull'³² before turning to what he had said about the part to be played by the government, 'the Civill Magistrate', in the life of the Church. Here too, as Edwards probably knew perfectly well, Collier did not say anything particularly novel although what he did say he said rather well.

The civil power, Collier had asserted in words which echoed those of Robert Browne two generations earlier, should have no power over the true church: 'the people of God are a willing people: hee will have none but those that come willingly'.³³ Nor did he fear that the consequences of men studying the Scriptures and coming to widely differing conclusions for he believed that all 'the Saints will in the end meet in one glorious Truth, and so by this meanes, light shall breake forth, and for any humane person to supperse these opinions, they set themselves in the roome of God; nay, they exalt themselves above God . . . I should look upon that opinion that goes about to subject all other opinions to itselfe, as the most desperate wicked opinion of all'.³⁴ He allowed, however, that toleration could not be extended to Papists, because he believed that they were 'proved enemies to the Civill State',³⁵ and that, in line with this, the magistrates should have power to restrain *all* wrongdoers, including delinquent saints, who should 'transgresse the Civill law'.³⁶ At the end of his tract he summarised the case, as he saw it, against the compulsion of men's conscience in matters of religion:

' . . . suppose you should set up a forme of Discipline, and it were never so neere to the Rule of God, 1. You cannot compell wicked men to it, they have no right to Church Ordinances, by the Rule of God's Word, and for godly men, if you misse never so little of the marke, the Rule; nay, if you do not misse one jot of the Rule, if it were possible it might be so: if a gracious tender Spirit scruple never so little, O how hardly dare he submit unto it, and suppose he should not dare submit out of tendernesse of conscience, O how hardly could you inflict any penalty upon such a one, fearing lest in wronging him, you should wrong Christ, Christ taking every wrong done to his little ones, as done to himselfe; when they goe to Prison hee goes to prison with them'.³⁷ This type of argument can be easily paralleled in the writings of Collier's contemporaries among the Independents³⁸ and, while noble in both intention and expression, only sharpened the dilemma of the Governor

of Taunton faced with that 'tenderness of conscience' which can so easily be taken for 'damnable pride'.

Thomas Edwards, however, always sensitive to the dangers to be anticipated from the sectaries, seized upon a rather different issue raised only in passing by Collier in a slightly different context. In answer to a question about the present duties of the civil powers he gave three pieces of advice. The first was straightforward enough: the Westminster Assembly should be dismissed on two grounds, that it could not be justified by Scripture³⁹ and that some of its members were known to favour the persecution of any who differed with them over matters of religion.⁴⁰ The other two were less clear and coloured, quite evidently, by certain eschatological presuppositions. First, on the basis of his belief that the city in Rev. 11.13 was 'England, and those Dominions belonging to it, Scotland and Ireland' and that the tenth to be destroyed were the 'Antichristian enemies' (of the Parliamentary cause?) he thought their suppression should continue.⁴¹ Secondly, and far more ominously to the ears of Edwards and his friends, Collier suggested that the authorities should :

'give the Kingdome to the Saints, Dan. 7.27. And the kingdom and the Dominion, and the greatnesse of the Kingdome shall be given to the people of the Saints of the Most High. Who gives the Kingdome to the Saints? the Judgement, that pulls down the Power and the Kingdome of the one, gives it to the other? Whether it be the Lord Jesus immediatly, or Jesus by a Parliament, I shall not much dispute, but leave it to your Considerations: only thus much take notice, that by the Kingdom is not only meant an Externall Kingdome, for the Saints shall possesse that, but the spirituall Kingdome, and Government of the Church of Christ, to take it out of the hands and Power of evill men, and give it to the Saints, that is, to leave spirituall things to the Conscience of the Saints, and the power of the Lord Jesus ruling in them, & over them'.⁴² It is fair to say that Collier had his eye primarily upon the spiritual kingdom of the saints but it is hardly surprising that Edwards tended to stress the immediate political implications of the passage:

'Hence we may see by Master Collier's words, that his Saints, viz. those whom he hath described before in the former part of his Book, Separatists, Anabaptists, do look for from the Parliament, that they should give the Kingdome to them and all temporall power and rule, and take it out of the hands of all others; So that the King, the Parliament (unlesse there be some of Master Collier's Saints among them) the Judges, and all men who by the Lawes under the King and Parliament, have any Civill power of rule in the Kingdome, must have it taken from them and given to the Secretaries' Saints'.⁴³ This not

unreasonable deduction by Edwards from Collier's own words helps to justify the sense which some of the Presbyterian party certainly had of a cauldron of social revolution seething and bubbling just below the surface of contemporary English life. Such evidence would certainly help to harden Presbyterian attitudes against the sectaries and in support of traditional authorities.

The question as to how far Collier's own thought was significantly shaped at this time by eschatological and revolutionary hopes is not answered by the third tract which he published, *The exaltation of Christ in the dayes of the Gospel*.⁴⁴ 1646. This, his longest writing to date, was notable for several reasons. First, the 'Epistle to the Reader' was by Hanserd Knollys,⁴⁵ thus providing the first firm evidence of Collier's links with the London circle which produced the *Confession* of 1644 and its later editions. Secondly, its title page described Collier himself as 'som-times Teacher to the Church in Yorke' — presumably a Baptist church.⁴⁶ Thirdly, its devotional content and application seem to have made it very popular and it went into several editions (these were virtually reprints with corrections and a new index). Finally, since Thomason's copy was dated 27 April 1646, it seems to come from the period just before the letters were written which were found in the possession of Sims.

Nevertheless, whether or not Collier had changed his mind about eschatology and politics since publishing *Certaine queries*, he did not mention the subject in his new tract: it may well have been that what had been, from his point of view, a mere passing reference had already attracted unfavourable comment before *Gangraena* appeared.

The contents of *The exaltation of Christ* assume the positions taken in the two earlier writings on such subjects as Calvinism, the gathered Church, Baptism and the powers of the Magistrate.⁴⁷ The work of Christ as Priest, Prophet and King of his people is carefully expounded and it is especially, as would be expected, in the section on Christ the King that some of the details of his doctrine of the church are filled in — although there are few surprises. However, they all help to round out the picture of his ecclesiology at this early stage in Thomas Collier's life and work.

His consistent and reiterated devotional emphasis was upon the necessity for the believer to trust himself wholly and directly to Christ. It was not enough, he insisted, 'that you hear, profess, pray, or be members of Churches, unlesse Christ bee yours'⁴⁸ for Christ is 'the substance of all Ordinances, and professions, farther than you have Christ in them, they are dead'.⁴⁹ Hence, as in his second letter to Taunton, he warns more than once of

the danger of relying upon 'externall ordinances . . . the shell without the kernell'.⁵⁰ It is also worth noting that he was whole-heartedly opposed, as was the 1644 *Confession*, to the belief that men should be brought 'to the Law, and then to Christ' rather than they be 'brought to the Gospel, to Christ, and then to the duties of the Gospel . . . the preaching of qualifications and preparations before faith in sin'.⁵¹ In taking this view the Baptists of the time opposed a very fashionable emphasis among the Independents.⁵²

It was characteristic of Collier's position, as of his colleagues, to assert very firmly that Christ now teaches his people through the Scripture.⁵³ In consequence, he stressed the necessity of discerning between the churches and the ordinances of the Gospel and of the Jews. A failure, he explained, to distinguish between the two could lead to the error of holding to the concept of a national church in the days of the Gospel and so 'that it is the duty of the civill Magistrate, to compell all in the Nation to the Christian Religion'.⁵⁴ A further mistake to which this error could lead would be the view that the ordinance of baptism is 'one with that of circumcision'.⁵⁵ Bluntly, he affirmed, 'it is the will of men, and never the will of Christ, to give his Kingdome and Dominion to the will of men, to the will of the Magistrate'.⁵⁶ Even if the Church of England were a true Church, which Collier believed could never be proved, it would have no right to banish or kill the heretical or the schismatic — Is there not still hope while the creature is still alive; and above ground'.⁵⁷

It is interesting to notice that Collier looked beyond the individual gathered community of believing saints and recognised that 'many Churches may be in society'⁵⁸ and that 'the Kingdom of Christ, his Church, although gathered in many bodies, yet it is but one body, and every body hath the same power, the same priviledges, so that it ought to be a body compacted together, under the reign and rule of one Lord Jesus'.⁵⁹ The ministry of Christ's church was, he explained, of two sorts, elders (or bishops) and deacons with the elders discharging two different functions in relation to their particular gifts of 'ruling and teaching'. While he appears to envisage only one elder in each congregation it is clear that he believes the elder's authority to be itself somewhat circumscribed: 'all the body ought to watch over each other, and to judge the actions of each other, thus the Elder is to watch over the body . . . and thus may, nay, and ought, the whole Church to watch over (and if occasion be) reprove, admonish &c. the Elder. Thus is the Kingly office of Christ, carryed along sweetly in the Church of Christ . . . When all watch over each other, when all are subject to each other'.⁶⁰ As a consequence of this he believed it an important

duty for the churches 'to ordaine officers according to rule, the want whereof I conceive is one means of confusion in the Churches, and causeth some to breake from all order'. It would have been interesting if he had expanded this last comment but, unfortunately, he did not.

This review of *Gangraena* Edwards' comments upon Thomas Collier and of Collier's own early writings leads to certain clear conclusions. On the whole Edwards dealt fairly, if unsympathetically, with his opponents activities and writings and, it is clear that, in 1645-46, Collier's own teaching showed close sympathy with the Calvinism, the ecclesiology and the views of the Church and State taught in the 1644 *Confession*. At the same time Edwards justly drew attention to a hint that Collier believed that God shortly intended his 'saints' to take over the government of the land from those who had formerly ruled it.

It is hoped in further studies to provide some account of the later development of Thomas Collier's thought and activities.

NOTES

1. Collier has never yet been the subject of a full-scale study though there have been several minor treatments of his career and thought. There is an article in *D.N.B.*, by Thompson Cooper, which too easily accepts his identification with a man mentioned in *C.S.P.D.*, 1634-5 entry for 24 January 1634-5. W. K. Jordan, *The development of religious toleration in England . . . 1640-1660*, London 1938, has a section on him, 526-31. H. J. McLachlan, 'Thomas Collier, a seventeenth century religious liberal', *Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society*, X, 1-5, suggests links with later rationalist dissent. His share in the thinking of the chaplains to the New Model Army was discussed by L. F. Solt, *Saints in arms*, London 1959.
2. *D.N.B.*, article by Alexander Vian.
3. T. Edwards, *Gangraena*, I, London 1646, 'The epistle dedicatory to the right honourable the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament'.
5. Richard T. Vaun, *The social development of English Quakerism 1655-1755*, Cambridge, Mass., 1969, p.63-6 underlines the difficulty of definition of 'husbandman' in this period. It may, in many cases, have been interchangeable with 'yeoman', and can even indicate a substantial landowner.
6. *Gangraena*, III p.29,41.
7. *Ibid.*, 50f.
8. *Ibid.*, 51f.

To the Saints in the Order and fellowship of the Gospel in Taunton.

Your dear Brother, Thomas Collier, desireth the increase of grace and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ. Deare Brethren and Sisters I have not had an opportunity of writing unto you untill now, although my spirit hath been up to the Lord for your[s] continually: The Lord hath manifested his presence with me exceedingly in my journey; I desire the Lord to raise up your hearts in thankfulness, he hath gathered Saints in Poole by me, 14. took up the Ordinance at once, there is like to be great work, and confirmed the Churches in other places; I am not yet got so

far as London, but I shall, I expect, tomorrow: Dearely beloved my desire and prayer to our Father on your behalf is, that your soules may be satisfied with his fulnesse, that you may live above, and then your soules shall not want comfort. And my exhortation to you is to wait upon the Lord in his own way, and not to look forth into the world; there is bread enough in your Father's house; There he hath promised his presence; though you seem to want gifts, yet you shall not want the presence of your Father, your Jesus, if you wait upon him. There are two Brethren, I suppose, will visit you from Hampton, Brother Sims, and Brother Row, whom I desire you to receive as from the Lord. The unlimitted power of the Presbyterians is denyed them, of which you shall heare more shortly. I desire to be remembred to all my kind friends with you and at present resist.

Your deare Brother in the faith and fellowship of the Gospel
Gilford, April 20 1646. Thomas Collier.

I shall see you as speedily as possible I may.

9. *Gangraena*, III. 52.

To the saints in the order and fellowship of the Gospel. My deare ones in the Lord Jesus, I salute you, desireing him who is our head and husband, our life and liberty, our all and in all, to gather up our soules more abundantly into the glorious unity and fellowship of the Son of God, that you may not live upon these lower things, which are but instruments to conveigh light and love unto us, I meane even Ordinances or the like, which indeed are but as a shell without the kernell, further then wee enjoy Christ in it. My deare ones, you are in my heart continually, and my desire is to be with you as soon as possible I can, to impart some spiritual gifts unto you, and to enjoy fellowship with Jesus Christ in you; but what is this? your (*sic*) are upon the heart of Christ, nay, ingraven upon his hand, and shall be had in everlasting remembrance before him. I am much in haste at present, the Post being coming forth of Town, only I have sent you these few lines and two Books here inclosed, as a remembrance of my love; I desire to be remembred to all my deare friends with you, and at present rest and remaine

Your deare Brother in the faith
and fellowship of the Gospel
Tho. Collier

To his Friend, William Heynton Buttler in the
Castle at Taunton these.

10. *Gangraena*, III. 52f.

Deare Brother in the Lord Jesus Christ, with the rest of our deare friends with you, my kind love remembrd (*sic*); my desire to you is that you will receive this bearer Master Reeves as a deare friend, for he is a Member in the order and fellowship of the Gospel with the Saints in Taunton: I need not tell you of the oppositions here in Taunton; our Brother will tell you the particular passages; our Governour does labour to beat us down, and doth say, that any meeting in private, is meerly to crosse the publike meetings, and that it is not out of tendernesse of conscience, but damnable pride that we do; but this doth not any way cause us to draw back, or sadden our spirits, for our spirits are carried above the feare of men. All our friends are in good health, so I remaine

Your deare Brother
William Hayward

May 16. 1646.

11. It is, of course, possible that William Heynton and William Hayward were the same man and that the differences in the surnames were the result of an erratic transcript.

12. *Gangraena*, III.53f.

Most kind and loving Brethren and Sisters in the Lord Jesus, my indeared love remembered unto all the Saints; unto you I writ which are called unto the Lambes supper, who are arayed in pure fine linnen, and shining, which is the righteousnesse of Saints; grace be with you and peace from God our Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ; be ye also patient therefore, and settle your hearts for the coming of Christ is at hand, which are kept for an inheritance immortall and undefiled, and that withereth not, reserved in Heaven for you; and though if wee will have Christ, we must be tried, it shall be found unto our praise and honour and glory at the appearing of Jesus Christ. I rejoyce that the Saints of Taunton, do break forth and tell of the in-comings of God in Christ upon your souls, having gone through many trialls and persecutions; you may speak the more of the free love of God in Christ, preserving you, and giving you your life for a prey; I do desire Christ to declare more and more the hidden things of God by his free grace in Christ; yee have not chosen Christ, but I have chosen you, John 15.16. And I rejoyce that Christ is beginning to set up house-keeping, and his Saints shall not want while Christ have one penny; Come buy without mony, gold tried and white raiment, and anoint thine eies with eie-salve that thou maiest see: Christ hath made us set (*sic*) together in heavenly places; and in the third of the Galatians, Yee being baptized into Christ have put on Christ; and the Church, I meane the Saints, who are Christ's Temple, is still travelling in birth untill Christ be formed in them; and the spirit of God will not forsake you, untill your mortall bodies shall appeare before Christ to be glorified; then them that winne Saints to Christ are called Angels, Revel. 2 and Angels flie in haste, so I rest,

Yours, as you are Christ's,
Nicholas Bodis.

13. *Gangraena*, III. 54. 'There was another Letter also taken about this Sims, written from one John Pool, for the strenghtning (*sic*) of the Saints in Taunton to suffer persecution, comforting them, that seeing that Christ by as great a power as that which raised him up from the dead, had brought them into the way, they might bee assured that by that same power he would carry them through that way to the wayes end: But the Letter being but weake, and having only general things, I will not trouble the Reader with any more of it.'
14. *Gangraena*, III. 29.
15. Thomason's copy of *Gangraena I* is attributed to 26 February 1646, of *Gangraena II* to 28 May and of *Gangraena III* to 28 December.
16. T. Collier, *Three great queries*, London 1645, 'To the churches and all the saints who are or desire to be established in the truth'. This tract is not listed in W. T. Whitley, *Baptist Bibliography*, and was not known to Thomason. It is listed in Starr's *Bibliography* as CC 377. A copy is to be found in the Angus Library, Regent's Park College, 2.1.30(3).
17. *Three great queries*, *op. cit.* 2.
18. *Ibid.*, 15.

19. *Ibid.*, 17.
20. *Ibid.*, 28f.
21. Thomason's copy is attributed to 24 July 1645.
22. T. Collier, *Certaine queries*, London 1645, 1.
23. *Ibid.*, 6.
24. *Ibid.*, 9.
25. *Ibid.*,
26. *Ibid.*, 11.
27. *Ibid.*, 10.
28. *Ibid.*, 17.
29. *Ibid.*, 22.
30. *Ibid.*, 22f.
31. *Ibid.*, 23.
32. *Gangraena*, III. 27.
33. *Certaine queries*, 24.
34. *Ibid.*, 25f.
35. *Ibid.*, 26. Jordan, *op. cit.*, 529 thought it curious that Collier excepted Papists from toleration but this and the reason given, would have been readily accepted at the time.
36. *Certaine queries*, *ibid.*
37. *Ibid.*, 29.
38. Cf. the various materials cited in G. F. Nuttall, *Congregationalists and Creeds*, London 1967, *passim*.
39. *Certaine queries*, *op. cit.* 27.
40. It is, perhaps, interesting that Thomas Edwards mentioned Collier's objection to the Assembly on the grounds of lack of Scripture support (*Gangraena* III, 28) and omits (or suppresses?) the reference to persecuting views.
41. *Certaine queries*, *op. cit.* 28.
42. *Ibid.*, 28f.
43. *Gangraena*, III. 28.
44. Published by Giles Calvert, new editions were printed in 1647, 1649, 1651.
45. Hanserd Knollys signed the 1646 *Confession*. He was the subject of an article by Alexander Gordon in *D.N.B.*, and, more recently, a monograph by Pope A. Duncan, *Hanserd Knollys: Seventeenth Century Baptist*, Nashville, Tenn. 1965.
46. There was a Baptist church in York in 1646, *Baptist Quarterly*, VI, 217.
47. *Exaltation of Christ*, 93-100, 162, 226-35, 51.
48. *Ibid.*, 56.
49. *Ibid.*, 57. Cf. 256 — the passage ending 'Christ is the Christian's life'.
50. *Ibid.*, 173.
51. *Ibid.*, 253. Cf. 1644 *Confession*, article XXV.
52. Cf. e.g. Norman Pettit, *The heart prepared: grace and conversion in Puritan spiritual life*, Yale 1966, *passim*.
53. *Exaltation of Christ*, *op. cit.* 87.
54. *Ibid.*, 94.
55. *Ibid.*, 96.
56. *Ibid.*, 143f.
57. *Ibid.*, 225.
58. *Ibid.*, 223.
59. *Ibid.*, 228. Cf. 1644 *Confession* XLVII.
60. *Ibid.*, 234. Cf. 1644 *Confession* XLII, XLIII.