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# The Congregational Historical Society

## Meeting in the Memorial Hall

The third Annual Meeting was held in the Board Room, Memorial Hall, on Wednesday afternoon, May 13th, 1903. There was a good attendance.

The chair was taken by Dr. J. D. McClure; prayer was offered by Rev. W. H. SUMMERS; and minutes of last meeting were read and confirmed.

The annual report shewed that two issues of *Transactions* had been published; the number of members was 165, being an increase of 40 during the year. Sympathetic reference was made to the loss the Society had sustained in the death of the Rev. W. J. Woods, B.A.

The Treasurer's statement shewed a balance in the bank of £94 7s. 4d.

Dr. McCLURE, feeling compelled to resign the presidency owing to pressure of other engagements, the Rev. John Brown, D.D., of Hampstead (author of *Life of Bunyan*, etc.), was unanimously elected president for the next year.

Rev. G. CURRIE MARTIN desired to be relieved of the secretaryship, in consequence of his removal to Bradford. A cordial vote of thanks was presented to Mr. Martin for his services from the formation of the Society. The Rev. T. G. Crippen and Mr. Henry Thacker were elected joint secretaries.

In a general conversation which followed several suggestions were made for consideration by the committee: amongst others

That Henry's *Aequity of an Humble Supplication*, and some other early Congregational writings, should be republished.

That a Prize should be offered to students in Congregational Colleges for the best essay on some subject connected with Congregational history.

That a careful catalogue of the portraits and other pictures in the Memorial Hall should be prepared.

\* \* \*

## Meeting at Bournemouth

The third autumnal meeting was held in Lansdown Baptist church, Bournemouth, on Tuesday, 13th October, 1903. Owing to several simultaneous meetings the attendance was small.

In the unavoidable absence of Dr. Brown the chair was taken by Rev. R. Lovett, M.A., and prayer was offered by Rev. H. ELVET LEWIS.

Mr. G. BROWNEN read a paper on "Hampshire Congregationalism," which was illustrated by means of a large map.

A hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Brownen ; and he was requested to place the paper in the hands of the committee for publication in the forthcoming *Transactions*.

- Places whence Ministers were ejected, 1660-62 X
- Corporate Towns affected by the Five Mile Act, 1665 O
- Conventicles reported 1669 ◇
- Meetings Licensed under the Indulgence, 1671-2 under lined.
- Existing Churches dating from the 17th Century:—
  - Congregational Δ
  - Baptist ----- ▽
- (Those after 1688 are dated)
- \* Doubtful Sites indicated by ?
- \*\* Baptist Meetings distinguished by a broken line.



One X in  
Guernsey

## Hampshire Congregationalism

**A**NY correct idea of the great cleavage that took place in England in 1662 must take into account the earlier and latent spiritual forces ever resisting, actively or passively, the partisan worldly politicians whose aims were selfish, and whose argument brute or legal force. Congregationalism in principle, however, dates from the apostolic age ; and here and there in past centuries, under assaults from its opponents, its protests become apparent, as was the case in the earlier Jewish Church. In a large area like Hampshire independent protest may be seen or heard in one part or church after it has been silenced or ejected from another. Yet it has been said that "Hampshire was a county which clung to the old ways and shewed no desire for change, quietly acquiescing in the changes Henry VIII. made, and glad that no further innovation in doctrine or usage had taken place." No doubt this was true of the political organization of the Church, and perhaps also of the greater number of its adherents in such dark and despotic times. It is, however, well to remember that struggles for freedom and sighings for lost apostolic thought and action may be found in Wessex from ancient, ay, very ancient times. Our Wessex hero, King Alfred, whose remains lie somewhere in Winchester, placed the Ten Commandments in the front of his code of dooms. And Alfred kept friendly intercourse with both Eastern and Western Churches, and such free thinkers as John Erigena and the Irish Culdees found in Alfred a protector and friend.

Narrowing our survey to this western district of Hampshire: In the eleventh century at Christchurch was the ancient monastery of Twynham. It was at that time an association of secular canons, and not regular Augustinian canons as in later times. At the head of this house was a man named Godric, who is described by a Norman opponent as a man of "exemplary manners," and the monastery as "harmonious and happy." Godric had a central church and nine mission chapelries between Lymington and Poole, in the next county of Dorset. It is expressly stated that neither Godric nor his monastery knew the value of the term "dean," or even "prior," for he was simply called "seniores vel patrona," which we may fairly translate elder or father. Against him comes the dean of Winchester and the King's justiciary—the notorious Ranulf Flambard. Flambard wants to remodel and rebuild the monastery by the use or misuse of its own funds. Elder Godric protests, resists, and is ejected and driven into exile. Much as we may admire Flambard's erection in the nave and transepts of Christchurch Priory church, our Free Church sympathies follow Father Godric—a protestant before Luther, and an ejected pastor 560 years before 1662. The cartulary of this Twynham monastery exists, in the form of two huge folio volumes, in the British Museum, and amid its records and charters, near the end, is this significant verse:—

Anno millesimo tricenteno duodeno  
 Et sexageno Domini dictamine pleno  
 Ad laudem Christi finis libro datur isti  
 Spe auctoris hinc gaudeat omnibus horis.

Our free rendering into modern verse is as follows:

It is thirteen centuries and two and seventy years  
 Since our controlling Lord on earth appears;  
 To Christ my fullest final song I pour  
 For joyous hope henceforth for evermore.

As Free Churchmen we may say Amen. But how is it that all reference to the Virgin Mother or the holy company of heaven is omitted, and the poet scribe directs his simple praise to Christ? The true answer may be found in Bishop William of Wykeham's *Registers*; for Lollardy or Wickliffite teaching has infected the monastery—there are records of sowing of tares, heresy, apostacy, sacrilege, “deliberaverit et spiritu diabolico insimul concordarunt.” Prior John de Wodenham and seven of his monks, viz., Roger Milton, John Andrews, John Manere, Thomas Portland, John Wymborne, Thos. Snake, and Thomas Corfe, are under episcopal wrath for denying the real presence in the Eucharist and other matters. Wykeham's Commissioners pay several visits to the monastery, and it is only the terrors of the Act *De Heretico* of 1401 that silences the (so-called) “blasphemous talk” in the monastery. Meanwhile an episcopal mandate of Wykeham is issued to the vicar of Odiham as county commissary, with others in Hants, to inhibit and arrest Nicholas Hereford, John Asshton, Robert Alyntone, and Laurence Bedamore, for teaching and preaching specified Wickliffite doctrine in the county, contrary to rule, etc. A few years ago there was discovered on the old outer priory gate lodge, then undergoing repairs, these lines in the characters of the fifteenth or early sixteenth centuries:

This world must end, all things away must fly;  
Nothing more sure than death, for all must die:  
See then that you improve the days you have,  
For there's no work or counsel in the grave.

We have modernised the spelling, but it no doubt is a relic of a secret conventicle, and so indicates the quiet factors at work within the Church preparing the way for the Reformation.

Out of this monastery came our local Protestant hero, Thomas Hancock, M.A., called by Mr. Roberts

"the Luther of the West." Hancock was born at Christchurch, educated and graduated at Oxford, became an Augustinian canon of Twynham monastery, then a Protestant in the reign of Henry VIII., married, like his German prototype Luther, and became, with the sanction of Cranmer, our local evangelist or gospeller for Hants, Wilts, and Dorset. He fled to Geneva from the Marian fury, and joined Knox, Gilby, and others. Hancock lived to return, but like many of the exiles died in obscurity. His partial autobiography while vicar of Amport, Hants, is among the Fox MSS. of the British Museum, and has been printed by the Camden Society.\* Other parts of the county, if the records were recoverable, would afford other and notable instances of independent protest and revolt from Romish supremacy and priestly corruptions; but these local facts must suffice now, and we bridge over the past back to him who wrote "be not conformed to this world," and to the Master Himself, who emphatically declared that His Kingdom was not as the kingdoms of this world, either in constitution, principle, or government.

In the Reformation struggle the Congregational idea is in evidence. In Tindal's (1526) translation of the Bible "congregation" stands for "church" (ecclesia), "repentance" for "penance," and "senior" instead of "priest," reminding us of our old friend Godric, already noticed. Assemblies or congregations such as Rough's were found and broken up in the Marian persecutions. Among the Lansdowne MSS. in the British Museum is an epistle and exhortation to the faithful congregation at South Molton, by William Ramsay, minister of the Gospel at Chard, 1562. The State papers shew that in 1575 Archbishop Parker visited Hampshire

\**Narratives of the Days of the Reformation*. Edited by John Gough Nichols. C. S. 1859.



and "found many dissenters and papists there"; and amongst the eminent divines of this period may be named Dr. Andrew Kingsmill, a native of Winchester, and a relation of the first dean; also Thomas Sampson, D.D., &c. At this time Hancock's autobiography ceases, and he loses his living at Amport; and to make matters worse the episcopal registers become obscure. The State papers for 1639 shew the state of things before the great civil war cleared the air. Thus, "the greater number of the Hants parsonages are improper, many vicars are non-resident, and the vicarages let to laymen, and assessed at nothing."

Of course we freely and frankly admit that Independency and Congregationalism have become permanent factors in English religious life since 1662, for it was "persecution dragged them into fame." Yet we must insist that the hostility to Tindal, Hooper, and Coverdale in Tudor times had proceeded from the same cause as procured other ejections from the State Church—for instance the ejections by Parker, Whitgift, and Bancroft. We may also admit that the Presbyterian ejection of 1642 was far too much political and partisan. But, with reference to the later examinations by "the Triers," we must affirm that their avowed aim was the removal of immoral and incapable men from the ministry, respecting some of whom Fuller writes that "offences were so foul that it is a shame to record them." That some innocent persons may have suffered is regrettedly possible; but the motive separates the action of the Triers from all other ejections, as being moral rather than doctrinal. If 1662 be pleaded as a retaliation, then at once we must face the Christianity of such action. But now to come to Hampshire in 1662. Calamy gives us a list of 59 names and places of ejected ministers. Of these only one, Mr. Humphrey Ellis, is said by

Calamy to have conformed subsequently.\* We have no reason to doubt the accuracy of the list as far as it goes; but a few additions may be made to Calamy's Hampshire list, as we shall presently see.

Dividing the county into districts as in the modern Union, and beginning with the northern division, the ejections were:

Mr. Humphry Weaver	ejected from	Crandall.
„ John Yates	„	Binsted.
„ Samuel Tutchin	„	Odibam.
„ Noah Webb, M.A.	„	Upton Grey.
„ — Goss	„	Heckfield.
„ John Jennings	„	Hartley Waspall
„ Thomas Kentish	„	Overton.
„ John Harmer, M.A.	„	Ewhurst.
„ Samuel Sprint	„	South Tidworth.
„ — Marryat	„	Wallop.
„ John Pinckney	„	Longstock.

Of these Mr. Weaver continued in or near his parish, and was often in trouble. He sometimes crossed the county boundary to avoid arrest. He is noted in the *Codex Tenisoniana* 1669 as ministering to “a numerous auditory.” He was licensed in 1672 and died 1696. Is John Yates the antagonist of Dr. Montague's *Appello Cesarem*?† Mr. Tutchin belonged to a remarkable family, which we will notice presently. Mr. Webb itinerated in Surrey, Berks, and Wilts, probably aiding the noteworthy fringe of churches on the county borders (see map). Mr. Jennings went to Leicestershire, where he and his sons engaged in scholastic work, and at Kibworth John Jennings was the tutor of Dr. Doddridge. To the Jennings, father and sons, the academies of Kibworth, Northampton, and Hoxton are greatly indebted; indeed they may be deemed indirectly the outcome of the Hants dispersal.

\* There is some evidence of the subsequent conformity of two others, Dr. F. Teate and George Jones.

† Probably not. According to Ant. Wood the Yates who replied to Montague was minister of St. Andrew's, Norwich. T. G. C.

Mr. Harmer also left the county, but Messrs. Sprint and Pinckney remained in Hants. They appear in the *Codex* of 1669, and among the licensed of 1672. Mr. Kentish went to London, and was occasionally in prison there. The churches in this district dating back to the reign of Charles II. are Alton, Basingstoke, Andover, Tadley, and Whitchurch. They are associated with the labours of Marshall, Hook, and Sprint, ejected in Hants, and Messrs. Chauncey, Pike, and Woodbridge, ejected from Berks. The *Codex* calls Isaac Chauncey "a seditious person." We also get a record of Messrs. Terry and Marryat as "violent, sequestered fellows." In Basingstoke was "a rich old fellow, formerly a soldier"; but "the great bulk were mean people of no account, anabaptist and quaker vagabonds and runabout fellows, &c."

From East Hants the ejected were :

Mr. Robert Leicester	ejected from	Farlington.
„ John Rowell (or Ruell)	„	Hayling.
„ William Bicknell, M.A.	„	Portsea.
„ Benjamin Burgess	„	Portsmouth.
„ George Whitmarsh	„	Rowner.
„ Urijah Oakes	„	Titchfield.
„ John Harrison	„	Wartlington.
„ Richard Symons	„	Southwick.
„ John Dyman	„	Clanfield.
„ John Ridge	„	Exton.
„ John Farrol, M.A.	„	Selborne.
„ George Upjohn	„	Ropley.
„ John Corbet	„	Bramshot.

Of Messrs. Leicester, Symons, and Dyman we can as yet find no further trace; but the *Codex* reports Burgess with Whitmarsh, and also "Tutchin, a pestilent fellow ejected from Odiham," as holding conventicles in Alverstoke malthouse, near Gosport, and frequented by hundreds of all sorts—sailors and tradesmen. Licences for Hayling were obtained in 1672 by Messrs. Ridge and Rowell; Mr. Bicknell went to Alton, and afterwards to Farnham;

Mr. Harrison to Havant. Mr. Oakes, a strong Independent, emigrated to New England. Mr. Farrol went to Guildford, and also to the county jail ; but later he came back, and died at Lymington, in our own county ; and lastly, Mr. Corbet went to London, and afterwards to Sussex. The church at Gosport, in this district, dates back to the reign of Charles II., and among its pastors are Messrs. Earle, Clifford, Hurriion Williams, Watson, Boyne, &c. Here again we must not overlook the later labours of such men as John Norman of Portsmouth, &c.

Turning now to the middle district of Hampshire we find a longer list, as follows :

Mr. Taylor	ejected from	Alresford.
„ Moreland	„	Wield
„ Robert Webb	„	Droxford.
„ Henry Coxe	„	Bishopstoke
„ Nathaniel Robinson	„	Southampton.
„ Giles Saye	„	„
„ — Lancaster	„	Baddesley.
„ John Warren,	„	Romsey.
„ Walter Marshall	„	Hursley. [stone, I.W.)
„ John Crofts	„	Mottisford (or Motte-
„ James Terry	„	Michelmersh.
„ Thomas Warren, M.A.	„	Houghton.
„ Jones	„	Somborne.
„ Samuel Tomlyne, M.A.	„	Crawley.
„ John Hook	„	Kings Worthy.
„ Thomas Newnham	„	Wyke.
„ Faithful Teate, D.D.	„	Winchester.
„ Theophilus Gale, M.A.	„	„
„ John Cook	„	„ (St. Cross).
„ Humphrey Ellis	„	„
(who afterwards conformed).		

Of these Messrs. Taylor, J. Warren, Jones\*, and Cook have disappeared from later times. Mr. Webb was supported near Hursley by Mrs. R. Cromwell until his death in 1675, aged 42. Mr. Cox appears

\* Query whether this is the George Jones who held "a vicarage in Hampshire of above £100 a year"; and who, after being for some years a Nonconformist, became rector of Heveningham in Suffolk, and died there in 1704. (T.G.C.).

as holding a conventicle in Southampton in 1669. Nathaniel Robinson was reported as connected with a Southampton conventicle in 1669, and is claimed as the founder of the Above Bar Congregational church, and the pastor of the Watts family. Besides Mr. Robinson's meeting of Independents we have a glimpse in 1669 of three Presbyterian meetings, three Baptists, one Quaker, and one of Fifth-Monarchy men, with Messrs. Saye, Coxe, Behaut, King, Nod, Harding, and Wise, as reported leaders. Mr. Saye was ordained by the County Association at Bishopstoke on 8th May, 1660, and is a licensed person in the lists of 1672. This ancient Association of Hants Nonconformists was not defunct in 1691, for the Rev. Samuel Chandler addressed the county gathering of Independent churches at Fareham in that year. Mr. Walter Marshall was the author of a long popular treatise on sanctification, and an able controversialist. He seems first to have gone to Winchester, and then to Gosport; the *Codex* calls him "a violent nonconformist." His licence in 1672 is for Southwick and elsewhere. John Crofts is probably the "one Crofts from Botley," mentioned in the reports of 1669 as holding services at Swanmore, near Droxford, but later on he appears in Wilts. James Terry we have already noticed as preaching at Basingstoke, and in 1672 is licensed for Odiham. Mr. Thomas Warren appears as a licence holder at Romsey in 1672. As for Samuel Tomlyne, he is reported in 1669 as that "intruder from Crawley," holding a meeting in Winchester, and later he appears at Andover. Mr. Hook seems to have followed Terry and Marryat at Basingstoke, and preached when old and blind. Messrs. Newnham and Gale's sphere of activity for the earlier time was the Isle of Wight; later, Mr. Gale, as well as Dr. F. Teate, removed to East Anglia.

With the exception of Mr. Robinson's meeting in Southampton the *Codex* reports the numbers attending the conventicles as small, mean, and sometimes with "an unknown jesuit." Can this be possible? Mr. Avery, an ejected minister (not in Calamy's list for Hants)\* is reported at Hursley as "chaplain to Mrs. Dorothy Cromwell, wife of the late usurper." He was asked in 1669 for his authority to preach, and answered "Jesus Christ was his authority, and that Mrs. Cromwell would support his position if necessary. The results are not given. Of the churches in this district Southampton and Winchester date from the Restoration, and Romsey from the Act of Uniformity two years later.

The southern district is the Isle of Wight, which now includes the Channel Islands. The 1662 ejections from this district were :

Mr. Edward Buckler,	ejected from Calborne.
„ Simon Pole	„ West Cowes.
„ James Creswick, B.D.	„ Freshwater.
„ Thomas Clark	„ Godshill.
„ Le March	„ Guernsey.
„ Robert Tutchin	„ Newport.
„ John Crofts	„ Mottestone (?) per-
	[haps Mottisford (see Mid-Hants)
„ John Martyn	ejected from Yarmouth.
„ Martin Wells	„ Yaverland.

Mr. Buckler had been one of Oliver Cromwell's chaplains; after his ejection he moved to Dorset. Mr. Pole went to Somerset, and endured seven years' imprisonment. Calamy styles him a bold-spirited man, and an excellent preacher, with a large family, and very poor. Mr. Dunch, a Hampshire squire, and a great friend of the persecuted, often relieved his necessities. Mr. Creswick was ejected and locked out of his church, so that there was no service there on the following Sunday. How long the church remained closed is unknown.

\* Probably Richard Avery, ejected from some unnamed place in Berkshire. T. G. C.

but it was not an isolated case in those times. Later Mr. Creswick removed to Yorkshire. Mr. Clark for a time acted as chaplain to Sir Anthony Irby, but later removed to Portsmouth. M. Le March is at least one representative of the Channel Islands, where was a most interesting group of Puritan churches, dating back to the influence and visits of Cartwright and Snape in the reign of Elizabeth. Mr. Robert Tutchin was a notable Nonconformist, for he had three sons also ejected, viz., Samuel Tutchin from Odiham, Robert Tutchin from Brockenhurst (who was licensed at Lymington in 1672), and the eldest son, John Tutchin, ejected from Fowey, in Cornwall. Another John Tutchin, of Lymington, perhaps a son of Robert, jun., occurs in the western martyrology as coming under the brutal hand of Judge Jeffries for complicity in Monmouth's invasion, and shamefully flogged and imprisoned. Mr. Martyn itinerated awhile in the Isle of Wight, and then left for Wilts. Mr. Wells continued to minister privately; his son succeeded the famous Peter Ince as chaplain to Mr. Grove, of Fern Hall, Wilts. The name of Wells sounds familiar to modern Hants Congregationalists. Perhaps we ought add to this list the name of Robert Dingley, of Brixton, who escaped ejection simply by dying at the early age of 40. The church at Newport dates its history back to 1662.

We have now come to the western district of Hants. The ejections in this area were:

Mr. John Warner, M.A.,	ejected from	Christchurch.
„ Thomas Browne	„	Ellingham.
„ — Crossin	„	Fordingbridge. (?)
„ John Haddesley, M.A.	„	Rockborne.
„ Samuel Jefferson	„	Beaulieu (Bewley).
„ Robert Tutchin	„	Brockenhurst.

and also Robert Whittaker and Anthony Warton of Breamore. Mr. Tutchin we have already noticed. Mr. Jefferson has disappeared with the time. Mr.

Haddesley remained for a time in the district, and then went to Salisbury, and was sent to prison like many more ; but he lived to see the Toleration Act, and preached till within a week of his death. Calamy gives Mr. Crossin as ejected from Fordingbridge or some place near it. He afterwards ministered in Devon. We would associate Mr. Robert Whittaker (Magdalen College, Oxon.) with this particular living. Later, in 1672, he took a licence as chaplain to Mr. Bulkeley, of Burgate. Mr. Browne died shortly after ejection ; as also did Mr. Warton of Breamore, who is not recorded by Calamy.

John Warner, M.A., the Nonconformist father of the Christchurch and Bournemouth district is simply named by Calamy, but he deserves a little longer notice. He was born at Haresfield, Gloucester, and took his M.A. at Magdalen Hall, Oxford ; was first vicar of Bathford, but by the influence of John Lisle (the local Cromwellian, of Moyles Court, Ringwood) was obtained for Christchurch, and was its vicar from 1645 to 1660. He was an author, controversialist, and philanthropist, as local records and State papers prove. After ejection he held a conventicle on private property of a personal friend who became one of his elders, until persecution drove him from the town to Lymington, Ringwood, and Sopley, where he died at the age of 56. He left MSS., charities to the Christchurch poor, and "40 shillings for a tombstone to my late dear wife." One of his published works (*Diatriba Justificantis, etc.*), obtained favour with Drs. Kendall and Owen. The work is dated from Christchurch, 1647. Like many others of that stormy time the church was a united fellowship of Presbyterians and Independents. They met in a barn on a plot of land called Culverhays, and the exact spot is covered by the present Congregational church. The fellowship



and its trust were revised and remodelled during the pastorate of the Rev. William Henry in 1735, and from that date it became wholly Independent. A curious but unsuccessful attempt was made to capture the cause for Presbyterianism in 1796, during a time of depression; but it failed because of the explicit statements of the earlier trust. This curious document, long supposed lost, has quite recently been discovered by Mr. Paris, a solicitor of Southampton, and kindly sent to me as illustrating a futile event in the Nonconformist church history. As the mother church of the Bournemouth district, and dating from 1660, Christchurch forms a venerable link with the older and sterner times. Christchurch, with Ringwood and Fordingbridge, constitute a chain of testimony in West Hants going back to the days of Charles II.

Ringwood was the outcome of the labours of Compton South, B.D., ejected from Berwick St. John, Wilts; and Fordingbridge owes a debt to the memories of Warton of Breamore (whose work against Antinomianism we possess); and Joseph Swaffield, ejected from Odstock, Wilts, whose small work ΣΩΜΑ ΘΑΝΑΤΟΥ (or, *The Body of Death*) is also in existence.

On the extreme boundary of Hants and Wilts was another ejection unrecorded by Calamy, viz., that of Mr. Horn of Whitsbury. He was, however, sheltered in the time of evil by Sir William Doddington, of Breamore.\*

As regards Moyles Court it was the home of the martyred Lady Alice Lisle, murdered by Judge Jeffries and James II. for sheltering fugitive Nonconformists after Sedgemoor.

Of course the wave of Arianism which swept over the land in the earlier part of the eighteenth

\* There is mention of a Mr. Rogers of Dean, but nothing is known of him; nor is it clear which, of three parishes so called, is intended

century broke up many Union churches, and almost annihilated Presbyterianism for the time in Hampshire. As a result many churches became purely Independent; a few turned Baptist; many died out, but revived later as Methodists.

British Congregationalism is deeply indebted to Hampshire on two important accounts. First it was a native of Hants, and a son of a Nonconformist sufferer for conscientious convictions—Isaac Watts, born in Southampton—whom our British races have to thank, under God, for the revolution in hymnology, preparing

“Fresh honours to His name,  
And songs before unknown.”

We need not stay to sing Watts's praise; it is sufficient that no hymnal is complete without some of his productions.

The second matter is also an innovation, for at Gosport the London Missionary Society was practically born. Mr. George Welch, a member of the Kemp-Welch family of Hampshire, and well known to Congregationalists, in concert with Mr. David Bogue, pastor of Gosport Independent church, were amongst the nursing fathers—Mr. Welch as the financier and Dr. Bogue as the trainer of missionaries for their work. More than 150 missionaries were trained in the Gosport academy; some of them are still names of renown in heroic enterprise. We may also join to this fact the earlier record that Jennings, the ejected from Hartley, conceived the thought of a home seminary for Nonconformist outcasts, which is linked with Doddridge, Kibworth, Northampton, &c. Isaac Chauncey and Jeremiah Smith of Andover must not be forgotten in connection with the Hants seminary systems of the past times.

Dr. Evans's lists, and Mr. Joshua Wilson's MS. notes in the Memorial Hall Library (which by the

courtesy of Mr. Crippen we have been permitted to examine), shew that between 1717 and 1729 Hampshire nonconformity was represented by 14 Presbyterian,\* 12 Baptist, 9 Independent, and 8 Quaker causes or churches. The list given by Neal for 1715-6 is 41 causes and of these 9 were Baptist. In 1812 there are 2 Presbyterian, 26 Congregational, and 17 Baptist causes; later still, in 1827, Presbyterianism is reported as extinct, and 30 Congregational and 25 Baptist churches are recorded. But now, in 1903, the Hampshire Congregational Union Report enumerates 73 distinct churches, besides above 50 branches and missions; while our Baptist brethren have 55 churches, with about 23 branches and missions.

Looking backwards we may add that the licences under the Indulgence of 1671-2 are in S.P.D. Charles II. 321 and S.P.D. Charles II. Entry Book 38a, and the Hampshire records are:—

Persons : 24 Presbyterians, 13 Congregationalists, 5 Baptists; total, 42  
 Places : 36                   "                   23                   "                   7                   "                   56

The *Codex Tenisoniana* of 1669 names 53 persons and 41 places or conventicles. The Hampshire ejections recorded by Calamy number 61, but the real number is probably 67.

The diagrammatic map appended illustrates the extent of Hampshire nonconformity to the end of the 17th century. On this map the 17th century Parliamentary boroughs are marked with circles, † thus shewing the operation of the Five Mile Act in Hants. Ejections are marked with a cross; the conventicles mentioned in the 1669 reports with a

\*Of these fourteen churches eight are now Congregational; three (Portsmouth, Newport, and Ringwood), became Unitarian; and three (Crandall, Kingsclere, and Petersfield) are extinct. But in all these, except Kingsclere, are Congregational churches of later origin.—T.G.C.

†These boroughs were Andover, Christchurch, Lymington, Petersfield, Portsmouth, Southampton, Stockbridge, Whitechurch, Winchester, with Newport, Newtown, and Yarmouth, in the Isle of Wight. Other ancient corporate towns are Alresford, Alton, Basingstoke, Romsey, &c., but owing to ambiguous wording it is not clear whether the Five Mile Act applied to them.—T.G.C.

diamond shaped mark ; Congregational churches founded from 1660 to 1700, and still existent, with a small pyramid ; Baptist churches for the same period with an inverted pyramid for difference, those (7) originating after the Toleration Act of 1689 being dated ; while the licences of 1671-2 have the place names underlined.

It must, however, be clearly understood that the map does not profess to shew the later developments of either denomination, but merely the linkage with the 1662 ejections, and its subsequent time of trial and persecution. Thus only one Baptist church—that of Broughton—dates back to the reign of James II.

GEORGE BROWNEN.

## Recovery of a Lost Treatise by Robert Browne

IT is well known that Bancroft, in the memorable sermon at Paul's Cross in February, 1589, in which he first propounded the divine right of prelacy, quoted from Robert Browne a passage in depreciation of Presbyterianism, which quotation it has hitherto been impossible to verify. Recently, however, the source of the quotation has very unexpectedly come to light. An American student, Mr. Champlin Burrage, while examining—for a totally different purpose—a volume of MSS. in the British Museum, was impressed with the remarkable clearness and excellent preservation of a document signed "R. Browne." On reading it some passages appeared strangely familiar, and it soon became evident that he was reading words which were quoted by Dexter from Bancroft, and by Bancroft from Browne. The treatise, which occupies eleven closely written pages of foolscap, is in the form of a letter addressed to his uncle, Mr. Flower; and was written at the end of December, 1588—only a few weeks before it was used by Bancroft. It contains particulars of which little if any notice has been taken by historians; and throws much light on the mental process by which Browne had come to submit to the existing authorities. It supports Dexter's view that his mind had been enfeebled by suffering; and also proves the correctness of the opinion held by his contemporaries, that his conformity was only outward. Like many others he seems to have cherished the illusive dream of a pure and scriptural *ecclesia* within a State-Church

Establishment. In short, as Mr. Burrage happily expresses it, the treatise contains "a whole platform of church discipline." Unfortunately the MS. is defective, one or two leaves having been lost from near the middle; but to judge from what precedes and follows the missing portion is that which could best be spared. The treatise has no title in the MS., but may be fitly named, from a phrase near the end, *A New Years Gift*. It has been carefully edited by Mr. Burrage, with a useful and suggestive Introduction, and it has been thought best to publish it in a separate form. Members of the Society will receive copies with the present issue of *Transactions*.

Devonshire and the Indulgence  
of 1672

III

HATCH LEWIS, M.A., SATERLEIGH,

**A**LSO took out licence for house of Robert Hatch, Saterleigh. Ejected from the rectory of Saterleigh.

In the church at Saterleigh are monuments to members of this family, the name being spelt Hacche, viz: Robert Hacche Gent 1628; Lewis Hacche, 1637; Robert Hacche, Esquire, 1699.

HIERON SAMUEL, SCHOOL HOUSE, HONITON,

a grandson of Samuel Hieron, of Modbury, Devon, a very celebrated Puritan minister and writer; was M.A. of Merton College, Oxford, ejected from Fineton, Devon, and retired to Honiton, where he had been born. He suffered greatly for his nonconformity, and was imprisoned under the Five Mile Act at Exeter. A very good friend to the poor. He remained at Honiton till the Duke of Monmouth's landing, and then went to London, and died soon after at Newington. There was also a licence taken out for the meeting house adjoining the schoolroom, Honiton. A number of Non-conformists at the time of the Indulgence met in ye Back House of one Mr. William Clarke, chandler, which they fitted up as commodiously as their situation and circumstances would admit.

(*MSS. Account Nonconformist Churches*, Bristol, 1780).

At Midsummer Quarter Sessions for Devon, 1689, there is a memorandum "at this present General Sessions it was certified unto this courte that the house called Chapple in the Toune of Honiton" and others were "severally used for places of religious Worshippe" according to the Toleration Act. (Hamilton's *Quarter Sessions*, p. 251).

HERRING RICHARD, M.A., EXETER.

Ejected from the rectory of Drewsteignton, and died about 1675. He also took out a licence for Lew Down, Devon.

HICKS JOHN, NEW-BUILT MEETING HOUSE,  
KINGSBRIDGE.

Also took out licence for own house Kingsbridge. He was ejected from Saltash, Cornwall, 1662, and removed to Kingsbridge, Devon. Mr. Hicks seems to have been one of the most sorely persecuted of the Nonconformist ministers in Devon. As early as 1671 there was published *A true and faithful Narrative of the sufferings and oppressions of many Christians (injuriously and injudiciously called Fanatiques) since the 10th of May, 1670, etc. As also of the most malicious prosecution of nine innocent persons at the Assizes held at Exon in the county of Devon, April 1671.* 4to. Printed in the year 1671.

This rare and curious book was written by Mr. Hicks, and in Palmer's *Nonconformist Memorial* is a remarkable account of an interview which the author had with King Charles II., and of the conversation which passed on the subject of this book, with the results of it. (Palmer's *Nonconformist Memorial* 1775, vol. I., p. 288). At pages 31 and 32 of one



copy of this work twenty-one lines of the original text have been attempted to be cancelled by a substituted paragraph pasted over them (*Bibliothecae Devoniensis*, 1852, p. 96).

The following are some extracts from this interesting work :—

“On the 29th of May, 1670, Mr. George Reynell of Malston, in the parish of Sherford, Devon, one of His Majesty’s justices of the peace (though a sufficient disturber thereof) being informed by some persons employed for that purpose that there was an assemblage of people at the house of Mr. John Hicks, a Nonconformist in the town of Kingsbridge, came there about eleven o’clock in the forenoon attended by several persons of indifferent character and stormed the street door with an iron bar ; but failing of his purpose, his brother, Arthur Reynell, went round to the back door, which finding open, and having obtained the key of the street door, he admitted the justice and his attendants, who directly went upstairs and made enquiries for Mr. Hicks the supposed preacher. His search, however, was fruitless, and in the rage of disappointment, abused his wife, Mrs. Hicks, in most ungentlemanly language, very unbecoming a justice of the peace, both here and at the tavern afterwards. Before they left Hicks’s house they endeavoured to take down the names of those present, but their agitation was so great from disappointment, malice, and perhaps guilty fear, that they could not or would not complete the task. Justice Reynell, however, was not dismayed by this. On the next day, May 30th, he determined to convict several persons on the statute against conventicles. In the first instance he levied a fine of twenty pounds on Mr. Hicks, although it could not be proved that Mr. Hicks or any other minister had ever preached or taught there, and issued his warrant accord-

ingly to the constables of Kingsbridge to take distress on his goods; but he, refusing to open his doors to them, Mr. Reynell (for we will no longer call him justice) transferred the penalty of the law to some of his supposed hearers by levying forty shillings on one Roger Bastard, who was not present at Hicks's house at the time of the supposed meeting; twenty shillings on Thomas Cole, of Kingsbridge, who refusing to pay it Mr. Reynell added to the former fine fifteen shillings more, and ordered the constables to distrain thirty sheep for it, quite contrary to the laws of England as by the 51 Henry III. 'Distresses shall be reasonable and not too great, and he that taketh great and unreasonable distresses shall be grievously amerced for the excess,' ditto 28 Edward I., etc. Forty shillings was levied on Crispin Collings, who, considering it an imposition, appealed to the law for relief, but could obtain no redress of grievance.

"The reader has already been informed that on the 12th of June, 1670, a number of persons stationed themselves around Mr. Hicks's house in Kingsbridge, in a hostile manner, among whom was John Lucas, armed with a pistol. This fellow the party in the house thought it most safe to seize and disarm. In the month of December following this Lucas was taken ill, and died in January, 1671, whereupon Mr. Bear and his colleagues determined to charge the cause of his death to the above circumstance, and Mr. Hicks was singled out by them to be arraigned for the alleged murder, although Lucas was in good health long since the affray happened, and never accused him of such an assault.

"However, Justice Bear, being now returned from the sessions, enquired into the affair; and the widow of Lucas made oath that her husband declared during his sickness that Mr. Hicks came

out of his house with a number of other persons, among whom were Mr. Bevil Bastard, Henry Luke, William and Richard Gilberd, — Merrigame, John Leech, Nicholas Huxome, and John Bowen, who seized and treated him (Lucas) in a very violent manner, so that he was never well afterwards, and to bear out this assertion her father, a man of the name of Kellond, swore there were marks of blows on his person at the time of his decease. With this evidence Justice Bear issued his warrants to apprehend all the persons accused with this alleged murder, who immediately surrendered themselves, excepting Mr. Hicks, who had been absent from the country since August, and was ignorant of the impeachment that was about to be brought against him. Bear refused bail to the accused party, and would have sent them to gaol had not two other justices interfered, and taken sureties for their appearance at the Assize. They had proceeded so far with the prosecution without having a coroner's inquest on the body of the deceased, and it seems they would much rather have dispensed with that excellent mode of enquiry ; but the persons who were to be charged with the deed, being well aware of their own innocence, demanded a coroner's inquest, and a jury being impanelled according to law the witnesses on each side were examined with impartiality ; first the evidence of the accusers (the widow of Lucas and her father) who swore to the same effect as they did before the justice. Then followed the evidence for the defendants. The natural parents of the deceased, who, it is well known, had the greatest affection for their late son, and whose tender feelings were renewed when the body was taken from the grave, after it had lain there nearly a fortnight, yet they could not in their conscience impeach any one person as being the cause of his death ; they declared he was strong

and healthful from the 12th of June until the time he was taken ill in December, and during his sickness they never heard any complaint of this nature ; they deposed that their belief was that the persons accused were not by any means accessory to the death of their son. The physician stated that *bona fide* he died of a putrid fever ; and several other witnesses confirmed the good health and activity of the deceased, long since the 12th of June. The evidence having been heard on both sides, the jury advised together, and declared their verdict to be that Lucas ‘died a natural death by the visitation of God.’ This declaration, as may be supposed, did not satisfy Justice Bear, whose malice towards the persecuted minister was relentless. He accordingly, in his ignorant and barbarous execution of the office he was charged with, issued his warrant to apprehend him. The persons to whom this was entrusted made it another pretext to disturb and abuse whomever they chose to suspect of secreting the object of their search. One Sunday morning they left Kingsbridge with the purpose of ransacking the country ; they came first to West Alvington, and so on to Milton, South Huish, and Salcombe. After having searched about thirty houses they came home at last disappointed. ‘How unwearied and implacable is malice ; how sweet is revenge !’

“ When the Assizes began at Exeter the persons spoken of before made their appearance, according to their recognizances. After a long discussion with the grand jury there was a bill found against them, although it was strongly opposed by some of them.

The cause assigned for this unadvised accusation from the grand jury was that they were very partially selected from the list by the under sheriff, in direct opposition to the strict charge sent with it by the

high sheriff, Sir John Davy, who had pointed out persons of honour and judgment to execute the office. The prisoners being put to the bar pleaded not guilty, whereon their trial began, and witnesses for the prosecution were called in. Justice Bear was the first evidence against the prisoners. So much has been said of this character already that it is needless to follow him through all his machinations. We have only to regret that so far we can find no one good quality belonging to him. Walter Champion was next called on, a fellow notorious for his perjury, and who duly deserves a precedency to all knights of the post. Thomas Ford, whose name has been mentioned already, deposed much to the same effect as Bear and Champion, and with just as little truth and grace to himself. In addition to the injury the defendants suffered from these impious characters, it was observed that the judge himself was prejudiced before he came into court by malicious insinuations from a certain quarter. He gave a too partial hearing to the accusing party, whilst the witnesses of the defendants were discouraged and perplexed with ambiguous questions. Mr. Bastard and the coroner each of them gave evidence in favour of the defendants.

“The judge in summing up the evidence reminded the jury of everything that was charged against the prisoners, but omitted the most material points that made for their defence. But the jury were not to be tampered with; they returned their verdict of not guilty. It appears the prosecutors were much confounded with this decision, and their real motives and disposition were now too glaring to be misunderstood. George Bear expended his rage in his usual coarse language, indeed of too low a description to be repeated here; and the widow of Lucas was disappointed in her expectation of obtaining a large sum

of money if the prisoners were condemned, as she said on returning home that 'rather than be hanged they would give her a good part of their property.' This is just the reflection that might come from an ignorant, unprincipled and unfeeling woman. Did she think that the long-established and impartial law of the land could be swerved from its upright course to suit her selfish and stupid ideas of it? But it is useless to speak of the impartiality of our constitution in relation of any of the forementioned party. Certainly a more despicable spirit never infested any age or neighbourhood than they were possessed with."

Mr. Hicks is said to have had an interview with Charles II., which to some extent caused the issue of the Indulgence of 1672 by this monarch. He afterwards removed to Portsmouth, and continued there till driven out. He joined the Duke of Monmouth in 1685 and suffered death for treason.

HILL JOHN, M.A., EXETER.

Ejected from North Molton, Devon. *The Joint Testimony of the Ministers of Devon*, 1648, contains the name of John Hill, minister of North Molton.

HODDER JOHN, OWN HOUSE, THORNCOMBE.

Ejected from Hankchurch rectory, Dorset. He was a strong loyalist and wrote an epistle before a sermon of Mr. Ames Short on the proclamation of King Charles II.

HOMES JOHN, HOUSE OF THOMAS PARSON, TOPSHAM.

HOOPER, RICHARD, OWN HOUSE, BAMPTON,  
(ANABAPTIST).

HOPPIN JOHN, B.D., CHRISTOW.

Ejected from a fellowship at Exeter College,

Oxford. Imprisoned for six months at Exeter, where he contracted so severe a rheumatism that he remained a cripple to his death and had to be carried in a chair to the pulpit where he preached. He died March 4th, 1705. Murch's *History of the Presbyterians*, 1835, mentions John Hoppin as one of the ministers of Bow Meeting, Exeter, 1662-1704.

#### HUGHES OBADIAH, PLYMOUTH,

was the son of George Hughes, an eminent Puritan divine and writer who was minister at Tavistock, then vicar of St. Andrew's, Plymouth, was ejected, imprisoned, and then allowed to settle in Kingsbridge, where he died; in the church there a monument to his memory is still to be seen. The son, Obadiah, was in 1662 ejected from his student's place in Christ Church, Oxford, just as he was ready to take his degree of M.A. He then came to Plymouth, and on October 6th, 1665, was imprisoned with his father for nonconformity. He was released on giving security that he would leave the town. March 9th, 1670, he was privately ordained, and preached for some time about Plymouth. Taking out a licence in 1672 he remained in Plymouth till April 1674, when he became pastor of a congregation in London. Once he was imprisoned in New Prison, and had to appear at the sessions and give security. He was afterwards at Enfield, and died January 24th, 1704.

#### HUNT EDWARD, EXETER.

Ejected from the rectory of Dun-chideock. He removed to Exeter, and ultimately died minister of a congregation at South Molton. He appears to have been a member of the family of William Hunt, mercer, of South Molton, who in 1642 gave for the poor £100, the churchwardens and overseers of

the poor to lend the same at interest. Edward Hunt was licensed with Digory Cole, Andrew Kent, Humphrey Tibbles, and Robert Square, as preachers.

HUTCHINSON EDWARD, SAMUEL PIERCE, EXETER.  
HUTCHINSON EDWARD, OWN HOUSE, BISHOPSCLIFFE.  
JACOB NATHAN, OWN HOUSE, UGBOROUGH.

Ejected from the living at Ugborough. Once he suffered six months' imprisonment at Exeter. He rode to Plymouth once a fortnight and conducted services, eventually becoming a permanent pastor there.

JELLINGER CHRISTOPHER, M.A., MARLDON.

*The Joint Testimony of the Ministers of Devon*, 1648, contains the name of Christopher Jellinger, minister of Brent. He was ejected from the living of South Brent.

In the early years of the seventeenth century was born in the Palatinate, "within a mile of that great imperial city, Worms," Christopher Jelinger, or Jelinger. He suffered much persecution in consequence of the Puritan views he held. He had joined the Calvinists' colony at Geneva, "being fled thither after he was persecuted from the famous University of Heydelberg by the bloddie Papists for Religions sake." From Geneva, where he was a student in divinity, and a preacher, he was called by that famous minister of Christ, Mr. White of Dorchester. Among his early patrons were the great Duke of Albemarle, John Lord Robartes, afterwards Earl of Radnor, John Pawlet, Marquis of Winchester.

Soon after he came to England he went to Exeter, where in a dedicatory letter to the mayor he writes: "Your Citie did not only entertain me but also



maintained me, till I had learned your language and could preach therein, whereas before I could preach in Dutch and French." Bishop Hall, the Puritan bishop of Exeter, preached a sermon on his behalf, and a collection was made for him. In the accounts of the corporation of Totnes is the entry made under date 1628-9 "paid to Mr. Jellinger—a Jermayne, 10s." This must have been about the time he came to England. Early in 1631 he obtained a licence to marry Agnes Hayne of West Allington, Kingsbridge, widow. In 1640 he was minister of God's Word in Stonehouse, Devon, and was on very friendly terms with George Hughes.

John Gandy, the vicar of South Brent, was sequestered in 1646-7, and a petition was presented to Parliament desiring that Jellinger might be appointed. This was done, and he remained there 17 years, giving at the same time his lectures on divinity at Plymouth, Plympton, and Kingsbridge. He was ejected on the return of Charles II. He then retired to Marldon, a village between Torquay and Totnes; leaving Marldon he settled at Kingsbridge. He died in 1685, and the entry of his burial in Kingsbridge registers reads in this wise: "Master Gillinger, A Minnester, was buried the 22nd of September in the yeare of ourr Lord God one thousand six hundred and eighty five."

He wrote several theological works, viz: *The Excellency of Christ or The Rose of Sharon*, 1641, dedicated to the mayor, &c., of Plymouth; *Christ and His Saints*, 1656, dedicated to the mayor, &c., of Plympton; *A Cluster of Sweetest Grapes*, 1664, dedicated to the worshipful Thomas Reynel, Esq.; *A New and Heavenly Canaan*, 1664, dedicated to Prince Rupert, Sir P. Leere, Commissioner for Foreign Plantations, Allen Penring, mayor and magistrates of Exeter, Anthony Reeve, mayor and magistrates of Totnes, and Lady Anne Seymour,

the wife of Sir Edward Seymour, of Berry Pomeroy, Totnes ; *Heaven won by Violence, together with a New and Living Way of Dying*, 1665, dedicated to the right worshipful Anthony Reeve, the mayor and his brethren the magistrates and to all the inhabitants of the populous town of Totnes—(Reeve must have been a misprint, as the mayor of Totnes, 1664-5, was Anthony Goodridge, and no Reeve appears among the list of mayors, which is complete, and there is no Anthony but Goodridge) ; *The Resolution Table*, 1676 ; *Three Treatises*, 1676 ; *Godliness Epitomised*, 1680 ; *Usury Stated Overthrown*. Prince, the learned author of *The Worthies of Devon*, mentions him as “one Jollinger a German ; who, although he had a smattering of learning, yet his outlandish tone and his own indiscretions together rendered his person and performances ridiculous to the whole congregation.” (Prince’s *Worthies of Devon*, 1810 Edition, p. 399.) It is to be feared that Prince was prejudiced against him because he was a Nonconformist, for Jellinger’s works give evidence of his learning (*Trans: Devonshire Association*, Vol XXXII., 1900).

EDWARD WINDEATT.

## Dr. Thomas Gibbons' Diary

THIS diary is in a large half-bound volume, folio size, and occupies 494 pages. On the fly-leaf are the words "The Diary of Dr. Thomas Gibbons, 1749 to 1785." The next leaf bears the inscription in larger text-hand, "From Novr. 29, 1749 to Feby. 17, 1785, The Day the Dear Author was struck with the Palsy."

Then follows this memorandum: "Thomas Gibbons, son of the Rev. Thomas Gibbons, D.D., Married the Aunt of my neighbour, Mrs. Hodges, Richardson St., Boro'. On the demise of Mr. T. Gibbons, his father's (Dr. Gibbons') library and MSS. came into Mrs. Hodge's hand, from whom I obtained, for Mr. Upcott, this original Diary in his own hand, by Rev. Thomas Gibbons, D.D.—(Signed) J. Mann, Pastor of ye Bapt. Church, in Maze Pond, Borough. London, May 9th, 1827."

Then come the words, "It was purchased from Mr. Upcott by its present owner. (Signed) Joshua Wilson."

The next entry, which has been partly defaced, must be of earlier date than the last given. It runs, "It is my particular request that this interesting Manuscript should eventually be placed in the Congregational Library, recently formed in Blomfield Street, Finsbury. (Signed) William Upcott, London Institution, January 3, 1832."

Finally, the stamp bears the words, "Congregational Library. Presented by Mrs. Wilson of Tunbridge Wells, from the Library of the late Joshua Wilson, Esq., 1876."

The history of the MS. since Dr. Gibbons' death is thus complete.

The first few days' entries include some copious extracts from Bishop Hopkins *On the Vanity of the World*, and under the earliest date (Nov. 29th, 1749), there are some original lines *On the Death of Miss Margaret Cook, daughter of Thomas Cook, Esq., at Stoke Newington*. But the writer did not long continue to combine a common-place book with his diary, and quotations are not given from any other book besides that of Bishop Hopkins. There is, however, under date of April 14th, 1751, a hymn, apparently of Mr. Gibbons' composition, which he mentions as having been sung during the afternoon service on that day. It consists of six common metre verses, and is entitled *The Sinner's Security*. Another, *To God the Preserver*, is given under May 17th of the same year.

In the earlier entries the number of hours "improved," or spent in study (and apparently in devotion) each day is carefully recorded. But after a while Mr. Gibbons contents himself with estimating the number of hours "improved" in his "review" of each week. He seems to have considered from 25 to 30 hours a fair proportion in the week. On the other hand, if he had thus employed less than twenty hours, there is generally some expression of regret, and sometimes of self-reproach.

A large number of the entries, as might be expected, refer to the ordinary routine of ministerial work—Sunday services, the texts of the sermons being given, burials, baptisms, week-day services, and pastoral visits. Monday and, at a later date, Wednesday, appear as "visiting day," shortened after a time to V.D. This must have been a sort of At Home, as on those days he speaks of receiving company. The number of

visits recorded is never very large. If the good man writes "no less than seven letters" in one day he records it as matter for surprise, as no doubt it was in those days of dear postage.

A frequent entry during the winter months is "Met the young men in the evening." This refers to a meeting which Mr. Gibbons was accustomed to hold for the young men of his church and congregation. Another constant entry, "Met the Gentlemen," seems to refer to what we should call the church meeting, from which the ladies were apparently excluded, at Haberdashers' Hall, or it may have been the church committee.

Other very frequent entries are "Catechised," "Met the ministers," "Heard my colleague at the evening exercise," and "Visited the Bartholomew-close School."

One entry towards the close of 1749 is of special interest:—

Wed. Dec. 13. Visited Mrs. Cromwel in her new habitation.  
May the Father of the Fatherless, and the Husband of the  
Widow, bless her home.

This lady was apparently Mary Cromwell, widow of Thomas the seventh son of Major Henry Cromwell, whose father Henry was the favourite son of the great Protector. Mr. J. Waylen, in his *House of Cromwell* (page 61), says that it is uncertain whether Thomas Cromwell died in 1748 or 1752. If the present entry is rightly interpreted it is decisive for the earlier date. Mrs. Cromwell lived to the great age of 104, and died Jan. 29th, 1813.

Coming now to the year 1750 the following entries are of interest:—

Wed Jan. 3. Visited Mr. Whitefield in the morning.

Fri Jan. 12. This morning, about 5 o'clock, the venerable Lady Abney had a dismission, soft and gentle, from the Bonds of Clay, and ascended up to the Regions of eternal Rest, as there is the utmost Reason to conclude from the bright Tract of Piety that shines after. I am losing one and

another Friend. May I be secure of an unchangeable & all-sufficient Friend, my God and Saviour.

This Lady Abney was the well-known friend and patroness of Dr. Isaac Watts, whose "thirty years' visit" to her family had come to an end just over a year before her decease, by his death in December, 1748.

On Monday, Jan. 15th, there is a shorthand note to which is appended by another hand (in pencil), "See Whitefield's Letters, ii. 318." On the 19th Mr. Gibbons goes to Newington, where he remains till the 27th. On Sunday, the 21st, he preaches to the Abney household twice, his texts being "Life is yours" (1 Cor. iii. 22), and "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord." On Thursday, the 25th, he attends Lady Abney's funeral, and on Sunday, the 28th, he preaches a funeral sermon for her at Haberdashers' Hall, on the words "Whose faith follow."

Fri. Feb. 2. Mr. Taverner & Mr. Willats were chosen deacons. I delivered a discourse on the occasion.

Thur. 8. Mem. This day, as I was sitting in my study with a Vollume of Mr. Baxter's before me, I felt a violent Concussion of the House, as if it would have tumbled instantly about my Head. The Motion was heavy, and universal; something so unusual that I immediately conjectured it, as I find it is generally believed, to be an Earthquake. How kind was that God who put forth his power so far, that he put it forth no further; had this been the case the whole City would have soon become a Sepulchre of it self, & of its inhabitants. I find the shock was felt throughout the Cities of London and Westminster, & many Proofs I have since learnt of its Violence and Terror. May it be sanctified to the Reformation of a dissolute & thoughtless Age, however as to my Self may I hence be excited to be more diligent in my Preparation for Death, that whether I meet it in a popular Ruin, or in a personal Disease, I may be ready to resign to its stroke, and be received into the everlasting Habitations.

A few days later his eldest boy is ill of the measles, and is "blooded" by the doctor. There are frequent references to illness in the family.

Mr. Gibbons himself appears to have had very poor health at this period of his life, and was frequently laid aside for several days at a time, "headache," "colds," and "feverish disorders," being the most frequent causes. A little later the good man was a sufferer from hernia, and possibly some of the many shorthand notes may refer to his "often infirmities." In after years, however, his work seems to have been much less often interrupted by bad health.

Fri. Feb. 16. Heard the melancholy news of the Death of the Revd. Mr. Mordecai Andrews, an excellent and useful Minister, and a great loss to the Church of Christ.

An attack of "feverish disorder" follows, and another little one has the measles, and is "blooded at the crisis." After their recovery there is a long meditation on the spiritual uses of affliction. These devotional aspirations are very numerous in the earlier part of the diary, but become much less so in the later years, when the entries are more curt and business-like.

Tu. Feb. 27. Attended an extraordinary meeting of the Fund.

Thur. Mar. 8. Awakened this morning in a shock of an Earthquake, but not till Part of it was over, though soon enough to find my windows, &c., clattering about me. I find that it is thought to be severer than that a month since. How awful are those Monitions of the Divine Anger. Lord, may I be safe in that Day when thou shalt send Death to me, whether in a Personal Disease or in a popular Destruction.

Thur. 15. Exercised at the Monthly Meeting of Prayer at Mr. Towle's. Heard a very good sermon from Mr. Price, from Heb. 12. 28. Discoursed in the evening agt. the notion that we are not to regard God in the late awful events because of natural causes.

There are many allusions to these two shocks of earthquake in contemporary writings. The panic they created was intensified by predictions of wider destruction, and was so great that many encamped in the parks, being afraid to continue in their houses. Mr. Price's text was certainly a very

appropriate one, being the passage referring to "a kingdom which cannot be moved;" and Mr. Gibbons himself, besides the discourse just referred to, preached on the 8th on the conversion of the Philippian jailor, and on the 18th from the words "Prepare to meet thy God."

Sat. 24. I have, I believe, employed myself in preaching too much, and studying too little. My weekly exercise, together with double preparation for the Lord's day, demand much of my time. My Constitution is but weak; many a day do I lose, or almost lose, through the Feebleness of Nature. I have therefore declined my Lecture on a Thursday Night, though a Lecture exceeding well attended, and a Lecture that I trust hath been made profitable to several souls.

Mon, Apr. 2. Breakfasted with Mr. Whitefield.

Mon., Apr. 16. Preached the Charity Sermon at Shakespeare Walk; Psa. 103, 2, Bless the Lord, &c. Dined with the Society. Wed. 18. Spent the day at Hornsey Wood with Mr. Furneaux, Mr. Savage, & Mr. Price. The business surveying over my Poems about going to Press.

These poems appear to have been dedicated to Lady Huntingdon.

Mon. Apr. 23. Heard a discourse at the Tabernacle. Visited Mr. Whitefield.

Thur. May 3. Heard a sermon from Mr. Whitefield at his Tabernacle.

There is a good number of references to sermons and "exercises" by various preachers, notably Dr. Guise, whose name, with that of Mr. Price, often appears in this part of the diary.

Wed. May 23. Went from Royston to Stanstead Mountfiggit (Mountfitchet). Gave the Charge at ye setting apart of Mr. Impey. Mr. Angus preached to the people from 2 Cor. 4. 7, But we have this Treasure, &c. Went in the Evening to Bishop-Stortford.

Wed. June 13. Attended the meeting of the Bartholomew-Close managers.

Thur. June 28. Called upon Miss Richmond Gardiner, Daughter of the late Col. Gardiner.

Mon. July 2. Attended the Passing the Trials of Mr. Hickman, Student with Dr. Jennings.

Sat. July 21. Visited Miss Otby and Miss Ann Cromwell in illness at Islington.



Anne Cromwell, afterwards Mrs. Field, was the daughter of Mr. Thomas Cromwell by his first wife Frances, and therefore was the stepdaughter of the Mary Cromwell before referred to.

On August 14th he sets out on a journey into the Midlands. He visits Dr. Clarke at St. Alban's, and sleeps that night at Dunstable and the next at Northampton. On the 16th he spends three hours with "the ingenious and pious Mr. James Hervey, Author of the *Meditations*, &c." (at Weston Favel?). He stays that night at Leicester, and the next night at Lady Huntingdon's seat near Ashby. On Sunday, the 18th, he preaches at Mr. Caleb Ashworth's at Daventry, and, after visiting Coventry and Warwick, reaches Birmingham. Then we read:—

Thur. Aug. 23. Attended the Ordination of the Revd. Mr. Wyde at Birmingham. Dr. Guise preached and Dr. Jennings gave the Charge.

Returning through Northampton, Olney, and Bedford, the traveller reaches London on the 30th, and on Sunday, Sept. 2nd, preaches a sermon "founded on his journey" from Psa. 39, 12, "For I am a sojourner with thee."

Mon. Sept. 17. Met the Church to consider whether we should let Mr. Pike have the Meeting for his Lecture. Carried in the affirmative.

Wed. Sept. 19. Visited . . . Mrs. Vallet in Bedlam.

Tu. Sept. 25. Dined with Mr. Nicklin. Examined the Bartholomew Close School with him.

Wed. Oct. 3. Saw the Prisoners go from Newgate to Execution. Maclean and Smith, Persons of good Education, and the latter an ingenious man. How dismal the spectacle! What thanks to Heaven for restraining Grace are due from me, an unworthy, sinful creature.

Mon. Oct. 29. Supped at the Lord Mayor's Feast.

Thur. Nov. 15. Visited Mr. Alexander, the Sheriff of the City, on a particular affair.

Wed. Nov. 21. Met the Society lately set up for distributing Bibles, &c. [This is often mentioned afterwards as "the Society for the Promotion of Religious Knowledge."]

Thur. Nov. 22. Attended the Ordination of Mr. Hitchin to the

Church lately under the Care of the Revd. Mr. Mord: Andrews, Deceased. Dined with the Company.

Tu. Nov. 27. Visited by Desire an unhappy man, Mr. Joshua West, confined in the Poultry Compter for defrauding the Bank. Spent half an hour with Mr. Williams of Kidderminster.

Wed. Dec. 5. Preached in the morning a Charity Sermon for the Bartholomew Close School, from Matt. 14, 44.

On the 10th Mr. West had been removed from the Compter to Newgate. The diarist paid almost daily visits to him and Mr. Baker, one of his fellow-prisoners, up till the end of the year. On Dec. 20th, "the Dead Warrant was signed for Mr. Baker, & West, with 14 other malefactors." On December 29th, Mr. Gibbons "took a mournful leave" of Baker (of whose case he afterwards drew up an account), but West received a month's reprieve on December 28th. He was "still in Uncertainty as to Life" on Jan. 16th, but his ultimate fate does not appear, though he seems to have been alive on Feb. 15th.

1751. Wed. Jan. 9. Began Catechising in my own place.

Mon. Jan. 21. A great crowd at my House to see the Fireworks in the Evening, played off on account of the Prince's Birthday in the Artillery-ground.

Wed. Feb. 6. Attended by his desire Mr. Parsons in Newgate. [Three other visits to him follow].

Thur. Feb. 7. Attended the trials of Mr. Noyes.

Sun. Feb. 10. Coll; for Fund. £66—£51 M., £15 Aft.

Tu. Feb. 12. Visited the Speaker of the House of Commons.

Mon. Mar. 4. Went in the evening with my Wife & Children to some new Lodgings at Hoxton. [They seem to have stayed there about five weeks, during which he pays them frequent visits.]

Sun. Mar. 24. Preached in the Morning from Eccl: 7. 14, In the Day of Adversity consider. On occasion of the Death of the Prince of Wales, who died Wed: 20 Instant.

Mon. Mar. 25. Attended the Trials of Mr. Philips at Plaisterers' Hall.

A sharp attack of a "feverish disorder" now lays the diarist aside for nearly a week. At its close he makes a long entry of regrets for the past and

resolutions for the future, covering more than a page of the diary. One passage is very pathetic:—

My Illness began on Tuesday, the 16th; at least this was the Day when I felt the Attack of Illness in a Degree of Violence. Can I forget how solitarily and sadly I spent part of the Tuesday Evening under great Indisposition of Body, and in the awful Apprehensions of the Calamities that might be at the Door. My Children innocently sporting about me filled my Spirit with Anguish, as I knew not but they might be soon stript of their Father, though the great God knows but a poor one, and might be left in Poverty and Affliction in a sinful and an unkind World. My Partner of Life also, that might perhaps soon know by experience the bitter Name of Widdow, added to my Burden of Distress. Nor was my Mind free from Anxiety in the views of that mighty Change I might soon undergo in passing out of Time into Eternity, and possibly into an Eternity of Misery and Despair. With these Thoughts my Soul was greatly oppressed, and one Hour of the above-mentioned Evening methinks was as uncomfortable and wretched as most I ever knew. But the cloud is now removed, for the present at least from my Tent, and the Return of Health has dissipated these Terrors.

In May he spends a week in a journey on horseback, travelling as far as Cambridge, and visiting friends and relatives, and "the Seat of the Lord Godolphin's on Hogmagog Hills." He returns to London on the 16th, safe and well in spite of "violent Showers," and composes the poem *To God the Preserver*, before alluded to. He mentions an interesting conversation with a young man whom he met on the road between Hadham and Bishop's Stortford, who received his advances very willingly, though he acknowledged that he was "sometimes addicted to drunkenness."

Tu. May 28. Dined at Hampstead. Called at Mr. Richd: Cromwel's.

This was Richard Cromwell, great-grandson of the Lord Protector, and brother of the Thomas Cromwell whose widow and daughter have been before referred to. He was an eminent solicitor.

May 31st was Mr. Gibbons' birthday, and is

generally marked in this part of the diary by devotional aspirations and resolves.

Aug. Frid. 9. Attended the Trials of Mr. Spencer at Dr. Marryat's.

Sat. 24. Heard Mr. Whitefield at the Tabernacle in the Evening.

From Sept. 3rd to Oct. 3rd the writer of the diary was on a holiday with his family, visiting Royston, Northampton, &c. There are two entries of interest. On Sept. 16th we read "at Sturbitch Fair." This was the great fair of Stourbridge (near Cambridge), which Dr. Brown has suggested as the possible original of the "Vanity Fair" of John Bunyan. And four days later we read of the baptism of a child who may have been a descendant of the great dreamer himself.

Sept. Frid. 20. At Northampton. Baptized Susanna, Daughter of Mr. Bunyan of Eaton.

On Oct. 15th he rides out, and spends two or three hours with the Rev. Mr. Hervey at Tottenham. On Sunday, the 20th, he preaches in the afternoon from Psa. ci., 1, "on the occasion of the death of the Prince of Orange" (husband of the Princess Anne, the daughter of George II). Soon after death enters his own household, and on Nov. 18th his little boy, Nathanael Shuttlewood, three years old, dies "after a day of terrible Convulsions, the Small-pox lying in great numbers in the Skin, but never coming out kindly." Deeply wounded by the death of this "most desirable child," he is further tried on the 21st by the fear that another child is sickening with the same disease, though it turns out to be whooping cough; and on the same day receives the news of the dangerous illness of his father. He compares his lot with that of Job, but blesses God that he was able to get through his work on the following Sunday "pretty comfortably." A brother minister took the morning service, but in the afternoon the bereaved father preached from the words of David

on the loss of his child, "I shall go to him, but he shall not return to me."

1751. Dec. Tuesd. 3. Wrote a Letter to Mr. Humphreys of Bradford near Bath, on the News of his Conformity to the Church of England.

Thursd. 26. By the desire of Miss Thompson, a Member of my Church, just come of age, some time was spent in Prayer this Morning at my House on her Account. Mr. Waller's [? Messrs. Waller] Mr. Pitts, & Self engaged. Afterwards dined together, and spent the greatest part of the Afternoon in Company.

1752. January. Lord's Day. 5. Gave away to my People a Pastoral Letter.

Mond. 18. Attended the Examination of the Fund Students under Dr. Marryat. Dined with the Ministers & Gentlemen assembled on that occasion.

March. Wed. 4. Attended the Meeting for the Ministers' Widows and Orphans.

Frid. 13. Went with the Revd. Mr. Hall and the Revd. Mr. Richardson to Stratford, to meet the Corpse of Mrs. Cromwel, late wife of Mr. Willm. Cromwel. Attended the Funeral at Bunhill. Spent the Evening with Mr. Cromwel.

Lord's Day. 15. In the Afternoon preached from 1 Thes. 4. 18, suited to the decease of Mrs. Cromwel.

Mond. 16. Attended at Plaisterers' Hall the Trials of Mr. Fisher & Mr. Tabor.

April. Tuesd. 14. Attended the General Body of Dissenting Ministers.

The concerts of prayer, a specimen of which was noticeable in the case of Miss Thompson, are often referred to in this part of the diary. One was on behalf of Mrs. Gibbons. A few weeks before, on April 22nd, she gave birth to another little boy, named Samuel, whom the father looked upon as given in the room of his lost Nathanael.

In May he goes several times to see a youthful cousin, Thomas Green, who was ill of small-pox at "Endfield," and who died on the 26th. With that robust disregard of infection so characteristic of the time, we find him going straight from this small-pox patient to dine with Lady Collett at Ponder's End. This lady was an aunt of Mrs. Mary Cromwell, and was the leading supporter of the

old Nonconformist cause in that village ; and Dr. Gibbons was a constant visitor at her house there.

Little Samuel is baptized on May 31st, his father's birthday, and his father reviews the experiences of the year and expresses his desire for the future at great length on this occasion.

June. Mond. 1. Met the Fund-Committee upon the Welsh Academy.

All through this spring there are constant complaints of ill health, and in June a severe sore throat not only seems to have brought the diarist very low physically, but to have had a most depressing effect upon his spirits. He even goes so far as to compose his epitaph, in the belief of his probable approaching dissolution :—

Here lies the Body of Thomas Gibbons, Minister of the Gospel, who after a Life of various Disorder of Body with some Intervals of Health, and of various Distempers of Soul with some good Signs of a Divine Cure begun in himself, & by his feeble Endeavours effected & promoted among others, resigned his Body to the Dust in Hopes of a joyful Resurrection, & his Soul to the Father of Spirits in Hopes of an Admission into his eternal Glory, depending for both these inestimable Blessings upon Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the CHIEF of Sinners.

Reader, if thou has ever heard me,

Hear me now ;

If thou hast been my Auditor,

Regard my last Advice,

& let me speak once more.

DEATH, JUDGMENT, HEAVEN, or HELL, are before thee. Each is immensely interesting to thee ; the Connection is sure ; and DEATH, that leads the Van, may this Night require thy Soul of thee ; adjourn not, therefore the Concern of thy Salvation to an uncertain Hereafter.

He quickly recovers, however, and spends the very first day he is able to get out of doors "in travelling about from Place to Place to do a very important Act of Kindness to a Family of my Church." During June and July he undertakes three journeys ; the first to Cambridge, the second

to his father's house at Royston, and the third and longest to Oxford, Witney, and Cheltenham. During the course of this last he visits the academic buildings at Oxford, and the palace at Blenheim ; goes " a fishing " at Ducklington, and preaches on two consecutive Sundays for Mr. Blake, the minister at Witney, returning to London on the last day of July. Meanwhile his family were staying at Ponder's End. Here he visits them almost daily till their return to London on Sept. 25th. It is evident that the diary was not always posted up daily, for one entry runs, " Went, I suppose, to Ponder's End ; " and this is not the only one of the kind.

August. Mond. 17. Went to Uxbridge to see my Brother.  
Spent part of the Evening at Mrs. Collins.

Tuesd. 18. Dined at Mrs. Collins, to whose Daughter my Brother is making his addresses, and came to London in the evening.

Wednesday, Sept. 2nd, is immediately followed by Thursday, the 14th, with the memorandum, " Change of Stile this Year."

September. Frid. 15. Visited Mrs. Foster, Grand-daughter of the famous Mr. Milton.

Wed. 20. At Cheshunt at the Meeting of the Hertfordshire Ministers.

Frid. 29. My Brother Joseph cam with a Message early this morning that my Sister Ann, abt. 17 years of Age, died yesterday of a fever. Went to Royston.

Octr. Tuesda. 3. Preached together with Mr. Atkins my Bro.-in-Law upon the Account of my Sister's Death to a numerous and attentive Auditory. I hope it was not a lost Season either to the Family or the Congregation. Mr. Atkins' Text was 1 Thes. 4. 18, and mine 1 Cor. 3. 22, Death is yours.

Thursd. 12. Mr. Lleullin & my self began a weekly Conference.

Tuesd. 17. Met the Committee of the Dissenters at Dr.

Mond. 23. [An " extraordinary meeting of the church " to deal with a case of discipline].

Nov. Tuesd. 14. Went with my Father to Walden.

Wed. 15. Gave the Charge at the Ordination of my Bro : Mr. Atkins. Mr. Davison opened ye Work of the Day. Mr. Kemp prayed. My Father preached. Mr. Cornel of

Woodbridge prayed. I gave the Charge. Mr. Cornel Colchester prayed. And Mr. Atkins concluded.

Dec. Wed. 6. Spent some time in prayer at Mrs. Cromwell's upon the account of the dangerous Illness of her Son.

Decr. 25. Went to St. James, and saw great Part of the Royal Family, particularly the King & the Prince of Wales. What Thanks are due to God for a Protestant King and a Protestant Succession!

During this year he mentions having read Preston on *Mortification*, Burch's *Life of Tillotson*, Howe on *Self-dedication*, Tillotson's sermons, Voltaire's *Life of Louis XIV.*, and Bishop Berkeley's *Minute Philosopher*.

1753. Jany. Mond. 29. Attended the Examination of the Students at Dr. Marryat's Academy.

Feby. Mond. 12. Met my Brother Edward at Doctors' Commons, & performed the Part of Father at his Marriage with Mrs. Bethiah Collier of Uxbridge.

Lord's Day 18. Collected for the Fund, in the Morning, £56, in the Afternoon £22. In all £78 within one Shilling.

These collections were taken yearly, and generally realised £60 or £70, the much larger amount collected in the morning being always noticeable.

March. Mond. 12. At Uxbridge. Visited & prayed with one Mrs. Reynolds, a woman of 101 Years, & baptized by Mr. Richd. Baxter at Kederminster. Her Conversation very serious, and though poor, she is full of Thankfulness for the Divine Mercies.

Tuesd. 27. Met the Committee & the Ministers at the Coffee-House.

This is a frequent entry. The "Amsterdam Coffee-House" seems to have been the favourite place of ministerial resort. But the "New York" and "Cole's" are also mentioned. The latter seems to have been the favourite resort of the "Congregational brethren."

Owing to the change of style he henceforth observes his birthday on June 11th, instead of May 31st.

July. Lord's day 22. Visited Mrs. Cromwell on the death of her daughter Elizabeth.

Wed., Aug. 1. Met the Brethren of the Church at Canbury House, & dined there. Came Home in the Evening.



This seems to have become a pleasant annual reunion. The name is variously spelt, "Canbury," "Cambray," and "Canonbury," but it was evidently the well known place of the latter name at Islington.

Aug. Wed. 8. Set out early this Morning for Uxbridge. Attended the Ordination of my Bro. Edward. Mr. Denham ordained, Mr. Pope preached, & Mr. Mason gave the Charge. Messrs. Smithson, Atkins, & self prayed.

Lord's Day. 19. [At Northampton.] Heard a young Minister of Mr. Ashworth's Academy in the Morning. Heard Mr. Gilbert in the Afternoon. Preached in the Evening. from 2 Cor. 3. 18. Supped with Mrs. Doddridge.

Mond. 20. Visited Mr. Hervey at Weston Favell.

Sept. Wed. 12. Went to [Saffron] Walden to the Association of Ministers. Mr. Angus & self preached. My Text in Phil. 2. 18.

From Oct. 11th to the 25th he was laid aside from work by order of his medical adviser, Dr. Nesbitt, having been attacked while preaching on the former date with "great weakness, terror, and confusion," and sunk in "glooms and distress." Horse exercise, change of air, and cold bathing seem to have had a beneficial effect, and we do not read of any return of the attack.

Decr. Tuesd. 25. Went to see the King.

Wed. 26. Visited Mr. Tennent, & Mr. Davies, just arrived, the first from Philadelphia, the latter from Virginia.

Among books read this year he mentions Leland's *Answer to Bolingbroke*, Howe's *Delighting in God*, and Young's *Night Thoughts*. The two American brethren just referred to preached for him on January 13th, 1754, when he remarks, "They appear to be very worthy excellent men;" and on the 15th he meets them and Whitefield at a Mr. Jones's, where he dines and spends the evening.

1754. February. Lord's Day 3. The Revd. Mr. Gilbert Tennent of Philadelphia preached in the Afternoon.

April. Tuesd. 2. Removed with my Family this Day from my House at Number 2 in Bunhill-Row to Hoxton Square, after 9 years & 3 quarters Renting the House in Bunhill-Row. Lord, I humbly thank thee for the many mercies of

my Life, & especially of the above Period. May not the Sins of my former Habitation meet me in Punishment where I now dwell!

Tuesd. 2. Attended the Funeral of Mrs. Ann Clarke, the daughter of the Revd. Mr. Clarke, Author of the Annotations, & the Lives of Considerable Men. She died aged 88 years.

After the ascription to Mr. Clarke of the authorship of the two books another hand has written in pencil "not of both." (The latter was written by his father.) The identity of the divine referred to is made clear by the following entry:—

Lord's Day. 14. Preached in the Morning from Hos. 14. 2. In the Afternoon from 1 Pet. 4. 18, on the Account of the Death of Mrs. Ann Clarke, Daughter of the Revd. Saml. Clarke, an ejected Minister, & Author of Annotations on the Bible.

Thursd. 25. Set apart the Morning of this Day for Prayer & Exhortation on Account of our Removal to a new Habitation.

Frid. 26. Gave up great Part of this Day to Mr. Davies in soliciting Charity for his Errand into Great-Britain, to wit, that of founding a College in the New-Jerseys. Collected this Day 7 Guineas & Half. Collected for him in all about 40 Guineas from our Church & Congregation.

May. Tuesd. 21. Attended Pinners'-Hall. Met the Deputation from the Fund, viz: Dr. Guyse, Mr. Bradbury, Mr. King, & Mr. Hall, who were in Commission to notify the Choice of the 13th Instant of the Revd. Mr. Conder for the Province of Divinity, & Mr. Walker & my self, to have a share, according to what we should agree upon, in the Work of Academical Tuition.

Wed. 22. Met the Deputation from the Society, viz:; Dr. Guyse, Mr. Hall, Mr. Brewer, Mr. Will. Fuller, Mr. Wealthdale, & Mr. Eade, who were appointed to notify to the same Purpose as above the Choice of the King's Head Society of the same persons, on Tuesday the 14th Inst. Each of us delivered in, according to what we had settled among ourselves, a List of the Branches of Tuition we intended to undertake in Case we complied with the Request of the two Bodies.

My List stood as follows:—

Logick	Ethics	Stile in gener:
Metaphysics	Rhetorick	Pulpit Stile.

N.B. The choice of my Self was in both Bodies very unanimous; the like was Mr. Walker's Case. The Society quite so as to Mr. Conder, & the Fund generally.

June. Sat. 1. Went to Newgate, & discoursed with Eliz. Canning, of whom there has been such various Talk, &

jarring Opinions, but of whom I have Reason to think that she is an innocent and injured Person.

This case was the great sensation of the day. The girl Canning had accounted for her mysterious disappearance by a story of having been kidnapped; for which a gipsy woman was sentenced to death. She was found guilty of perjury, and awarded seven years' transportation.

Sat. 15 [at Royston]. Spent some Time in preparing Mr. Pearsall's Contemplations for the Press.

Frid. 21 & Sat. 22. [at Royston]. Made the rough Draughts of the Letters to the Fund & King's Head Society, concerning my Acceptance of a Share in Tuition.

July. Mond. 29. Met some Ministers, & engaged in Prayer at Mrs. Abney's, she being on the Point of a Journey.

August. Frid. 2. Met some Gentlemen of the King's Head Society in the Evening. Every Thing is settled as to the Tuition. Now for Strength of Body and Soul comfortably and usefully to perform the Work devolved upon me! May thy Grace, O God, be sufficient for me, and thy Strength perfected in my Weakness!

Tuesd. 20. At Ipswich. Visited two Malefactors under Sentence of Death. [He visited them again the two following days.]

September. Mond. 16. Introduced my work of Tuition among the Students at Plaisterers' Hall by delivering an Address to them relating to the Part of Education I had undertaken, and their Duty as Candidates for the Ministry.

October. Wed. 9 [at Ipswich]. Engaged in the Ordination of Mr. Gordon as Copastor with Mr. Notcutt, by preaching to the people from 1 Cor. 15. 58. Mr. King gave the Charge.

November. Frid. 1. Mr. Hurt & Mr. Fuller were chosen Deacons.

Thursd. 7. Prepared a Discourse as a Charge to the new Deacons.

December. Wed. 11. Spent the Day at Mr. Conder's at Mile End, where was Time spent in Prayer by Dr. Guyse, Mr. Hall, & Mr. Brewer on occasion of the Removal of the Academy there, &c.

Frid. 13. No Lectures to-Day, as the Students are busy in Removal from Plaisterers' Hall to Mile End.

Wed. 25. Went with my Child to the Chappel at St. James's, & saw the King & Royal Family.

W. H. SUMMERS.

[To be continued]

## Congregationalism in Birmingham

(From material supplied by J. Rutherford)

### I

THE earliest traces of Nonconformity in Birmingham appear about the year 1642; at which time, according to Clarendon, the town "was so generally wicked that it had risen upon small parties of the King's soldiers, and killed or taken them prisoners"; while Baxter speaks of the garrison of Coventry as then consisting in part of "the most religious men of the parts round about, especially from Birmingham, Sutton Coldfield, &c., . . . men of great sobriety and soundness of understanding." The royalist parson, Smith, and his curate, Orton, seem to have been unpopular; the people generally being attached to "their minister," one Mr. Roberts, certainly a Puritan, and almost certainly a Nonconformist. This Mr. Roberts narrowly escaped with his life after the battle of Edge Hill; the royalist soldiers who occupied the town designing to kill him, and actually by mistake killing a minister named Whitehall, who had long been a lunatic. Smith was succeeded in the rectory of St. Martin's by Samuel Wills, who was recommended by Simeon Ash. He had been educated at Christ's College, Cambridge; and had ministered at Croxal, Staffordshire, and Great St. Helen's, London, before coming to Birmingham. There he remained till the Restoration, when he was irregularly evicted; after which he preached in St. John's chapel at Deritend (a chapel of ease to Aston parish church), until he was driven away by persecution—apparently before the general ejection of 1662. For some time he ministered to a company of Nonconformists in Coventry, which was his birthplace; and after several removals, necessitated by the Corporation and Five-Mile Acts, he found refuge with his son, the conforming vicar of Leighton, Salop; at which place he died in 1684. Birmingham, not being then a corporate town, gave shelter to many of the ejected ministers. No less than eleven are named as residing there for a longer or shorter time, viz.:—Thos. Baldwin, vicar of Clent, Staff.; Mr. Bell, vicar of Polesworth, War.; Thos. Bladon, vicar of Alrewas, Staff.; W. Brookes, ejected from Hints, Staff.; S. Bryam, vicar of Allesley; War., who was imprisoned six months for preaching in Birmingham; S. Fisher, M.A., rector of Thornton-on-the-Moor, Ches.; W. Fincher, ejected from Wednesbury, Staff.; S. Hildersam, B.D., Fellow of Emanuel College, Cambridge, and rector of West Felton, Salop;

Geo. Long, M.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, ejected from Newcastle-under-Lyme; W. Turton, M.A., ejected from Rowley Regis, Staff.; and T. Wilsby, rector of Womborne, Staff.\* Of these, most were accustomed to minister as opportunity was afforded; and during the brief "Indulgence" of 1673 S. Fisher had a room in the town licensed as a place of worship for Presbyterians. It is most likely that all these worthies were of that denomination.

The first permanent dissenting congregation was organized in 1687, the pastor being Rev. W. Turton. The *Old Meeting-House*, described as "a quaint, many-gabled structure," was built in 1689 at the cost of £220; and was paid for by eleven £20 shares, thus becoming a proprietary chapel: it was registered in the names of Messrs. Fincher, Baldwin, and Turton. The meeting-house was wrecked and almost destroyed by the Jacobite riots in 1715, and totally destroyed in the "Church and King" riots (known as the Priestley riots) of 1791. It was promptly rebuilt; but in 1881 was sold to a railway company, and is now represented by the *Old Meeting-House Church* in Bristol Street, built in 1885.

During the eighteenth century the Old Meeting usually had two ministers; and from 1700—1770 they supplied the affiliated meeting at *Oldbury*. The succession of Evangelical ministers was as follows:—W. Turton, 1686—1716; Daniel Greenwood (educated by John Woodhouse at Sheriff-Hales), 1700—1730; Edward Brodhurst (educated by T. Hill at Findern), 1714—1730; Daniel Mattock, from Daventry, 1732—1746; Joseph Wilkinson (educated by Doddridge at Northampton), 1739—1756. Then came William Howell, previously at Wincanton, Somerset (educated under Mr. Perrott at Carmarthen), 1746—1770; he was an Arian, as were the next five ministers, bringing the succession down to 1821. The last of these five had two successive colleagues who were avowed Unitarians, and all the subsequent ministers have been of that persuasion.

It has been alleged, on somewhat questionable authority, that at the end of the seventeenth century most of the people in Birmingham were dissenters. The population at this time is very variously reported, estimates ranging from 4,000 to 10,000. However this may have been, in 1692 a second meeting-house was deemed necessary, and accordingly in that year *The Lower Meeting* was erected behind the houses now numbered 224 and 226, Deritend. It was private property, and the owner, by parleying with the mob, saved it from destruction in the riot of 1715, though the seats were taken out and burnt. The building proving inconvenient, the congregation migrated in 1732 to the *New Meeting* in Moor Street. This was demolished by the rioters in 1791, but speedily rebuilt. In 1861 it was sold to the Roman Catholics, the congregation removing

\* Josiah Basset, a Warwickshire ejected minister, is usually added to this list, but it was probably his son, who resided in Birmingham.

to the *Church of the Messiah* in Broad Street, which was opened 1st January, 1862.

The first pastor of the Lower Meeting was a Mr. Sillitoe, who ministered from 1692 to about 1704; nothing is known of him but that he was son-in-law of Rev. W. Fincher. His successors were Thomas Pickard, 1705—1747; Samuel Bourn (educated under Jas. Coningham, M.A., at Manchester), who since 1709 had held various pastorates in the north of England, 1732—1754; S. Blyth (educated by Dr. Latham at Findern), who since 1741 had ministered at Shrewsbury and Frome, 1747—1791. Mr. Bourn had become an Arian; and all the succeeding ministers were either Arians or Unitarians. From 1732 to 1761 the society at *Coseley* was affiliated to the New Meeting, and supplied by its ministers.

During the rebuilding of the Old and New Meeting-Houses, from 1791 to 1795, the two congregations worshipped together in a disused circus in Livery Street, thenceforth called *Union Meeting-House*, their ministers officiating alternately.

As is well known, the Presbyterian Church Order initiated under the Long Parliament was never completed, and entirely collapsed at the Restoration. The Presbyterian churches afterwards constituted were absolutely Independent, though not Congregational; vesting the power of government in their church officers, or in a body of trustees. Many of them, during the 18th century, became first Arian, and finally Unitarian; and those which escaped this blight, almost without exception, adopted the Congregational polity. From many Arianized societies there were Evangelical secessions, and these were usually formed into Congregational churches. This is what happened in Birmingham in 1747. An Evangelical minority, being outvoted in the election of Rev. W. Howell, constituted a church on Congregational principles. The leaders in this movement were John England, Messrs. Kendal and Halford, John Humphries, Geo. Davies, Rich. Jukes, Thos. Allen, and Clem. Fisher. Several of these were wealthy men. Messrs. England and Kendal were the first deacons; and Mr. England presented a silver communion service which is still in use.

A meeting-house was built on a plot of land behind cottages in *Carr's Lane*, to which access was by a narrow passage.\* £40 was paid for the land, and the total cost was £700. There was accommodation for 450 worshippers. The building was opened in the summer of 1748, when Rev. J. Sloss, of Nottingham, preached from Ps. cxxii, 1. One of the original trustees was William Hutton, the historian of Birmingham. The population of the town at this time was 23,000; for whose use there were available the parish church of St. Martin, St. Philip's church, Deritend

\*The name "Carr's Lane" is said to be a corruption of "God's Cart Lane"; derived from the shed in which, before the Reformation, a car was kept that was used in Corpus Christi processions.

chapel of ease, the Old and New Meetings, two Baptist meetings—General and Particular, a Friend's meeting, and a room occupied by the Methodists. Roman Catholics met in a private house; and there was probably, but not certainly, a Jews' synagogue.

The first pastor at Carr's Lane was Rev. Gervas Wylde, elected in November, 1748, at which time he was assistant to Mr. Sloss. His ordination was deferred till August, 1750; the use of the New Meeting being courteously granted for the occasion. Mr. Wylde was a popular and successful preacher, especially to the young. He died 14th November, 1766. His successor was Mr. Punfield, from Wimborne, Dorset; who was a sound divine and faithful pastor, but a very unattractive preacher. One of his hearers was Mr. Joseph Scott, who in 1779 conveyed to Carr's Lane meeting certain lands in trust—partly for a burial-ground, and partly for founding a charity school, repairing the meeting-house, the support of the minister, and other charitable uses. The value of the foundation was then only about £40 a year; it is now about £1,200. Mr. Scott died 29th March, 1781, aged 94. For a few years a Mr. Bass was engaged as assistant minister; who on the death of Mr. Punfield averted a threatened disruption by declining to be put in nomination as his successor. Mr. Punfield died 29th January, 1791, aged 63. He was succeeded by Dr. Edward Williams, who had been educated in the academy at Abergavenny, held a brief pastorate at Ross, and for fourteen years had been gaining distinction as pastor and tutor at Oswestry. He was one of the most eminent theologians of his day; and his works on *Baptism* and on *The Equity of Divine Sovereignty* were long accepted as authoritative. His ministry in Birmingham lasted less than four years, but was abundantly fruitful. In 1785 and 1792 the cottages surrounding the meeting-house were bought and demolished; the site being utilised for the accommodation of the Sunday school, which had been commenced about 1790. In 1793 the Warwickshire Association for Home and Foreign Missions was formed; and at its request Dr. Williams wrote a circular letter which proposed "the revival of religion in the churches at home, the more perfect evangelization of our own country, and the spread of the Gospel abroad by sending well qualified missionaries to the heathen." There can be little doubt that this letter contributed, as well as the better known appeal of Dr. Bogue in the following year, to the formation of the London Missionary Society in 1795. Dr. Williams removed in that year to Masbro'; where he presided until his death over the institution afterwards known as Rotherham College, now merged in the Yorkshire United College. He died in 1813.

Dr. Williams was succeeded in Birmingham by Rev. Jehoiada Brewer; who, after gaining eminence as a lay preacher in and about Monmouthshire, had held pastorates at Rodborough and Sheffield. He was known to readers of the *Gospel Magazine* by the name of

"Sylvestris," over which signature appeared the still popular hymn "Hail, Sovereign Love, which first began." Otherwise he only published three or four sermons. He was an attractive and popular preacher, and in 1801 increasing congregations necessitated an enlarged or reconstructed building. A new chapel, fronting the lane, was resolved on, which was opened in 1802. But meanwhile dissensions arose, the cause of which is now forgotten. Mr. Brewer had only preached one Sunday in the new sanctuary when a division took place. Of 99 members 50 left with Mr. Brewer, and 49 remained. The seceders removed to the disused building in Livery Street.

The condition of the town at this time demands a passing reference. Birmingham parish is that portion which lies west of the river Rea; Deritend, Bordesley, and Duddeston being within the parish of Aston, which also included the outlying villages of Aston, Castle Bromwich, Erdington, Nechells, and Salfley. The population of the two parishes, as given by the census of 1801, was 73,670,\* but the place was a mere overgrown village, with no municipal life, and, of course, until 1832, no Parliamentary representation. Old prints represent New Street, Bennett's Hill, and St. Philip's church as comparatively in the country: Edgbaston, Handsworth, Harborne, King's Norton, Smethwick, and Yardley were distant villages. The borough was only incorporated in 1838; about fifty years later it received the designation of a city; and only in 1897 its chief magistrate attained the dignity of Lord Mayor. It may be noted here that in 1800 there were less than forty Congregational churches in the three counties of Warwick, Worcester, and Stafford; there are now, including branches, about 170.

The pulpit of Carr's Lane was vacant about three years after the removal of Mr. Brewer. Mr. Bennett of Romsey (afterwards Dr. Bennett of Rotherham College and Falcon Square), having declined an invitation, recommended a student from the academy at Gosport. Accordingly, in September 1805, Rev. John Angell James commenced one of the most remarkable ministries of the century. It continued no less than 54 years; and was attended, from first to last, with unbroken prosperity. In 1812 the meeting-house was improved by the erection of galleries, increasing the accommodation to 800. During the progress of this work the congregation were courteously granted the use of the Old Meeting-House during part of the Lord's Day. In the same year a Home Mission committee was formed, which promoted house-to-house visitation, founded Sunday schools and mission stations, and provided both lay-preachers and financial aid. At least a dozen churches and missions owe their origin to the enterprise of this committee.

Until 1813 Mr. James, like all his predecessors, preached three times each Sunday; in that year he was relieved by the appointment

\*The population of the borough was not stated separately till 1851.



of an assistant; but in 1822 both assistant and afternoon service were discontinued. Before this time, however, the increasing congregation exceeded the capacity of the building. An entirely new structure was resolved on, a sum of £4,000 being promised within an hour for that purpose. The present *Carr's Lane chapel*, the third edifice on the same site, was commenced 13th July, 1819, and dedicated 30th August, 1820. The cost was about £11,000. The first organ, costing £400, was placed in 1825. Subsequent improvements and renovations, in 1863, 1865, 1876, 1884, and 1897, involved an aggregate expenditure of above £20,000.

Mr. James was neither a theologian nor an ecclesiastical statesman; but as an efficient and successful pastor he has rarely been equalled and never surpassed. His sympathies went far beyond his own congregation; and he had much to do with the formation of the Congregational Union, of which he was chairman in 1838. The Union, it may here be noted, held its first autumnal meeting in Birmingham in 1839, and subsequent meetings in 1861, 1880, and 1897. To the London Missionary Society Mr. James gave some of his best energies; the congregation during his ministry contributed to its funds no less than £20,900; and at least nine of its missionaries and missionaries' wives were members of Carr's Lane under his pastorate. The Evangelical Alliance owes much to his ardent advocacy; he took active interest in Spring Hill College; the Pastors' Retiring Fund was really of his creation. His various publications number about 50 titles and together make 17 stout 8vo. volumes. Most of them are now accounted out of date; but in their day they exercised an incalculable influence for good. As far back as 1849 *The Anxious Enquirer* had been circulated to the extent of 400,000 copies, and translated into eight languages, and it is not yet obsolete. *The Church Member's Guide* is of permanent interest; and other works ran to five, eight, and even sixteen editions. A conscientious scruple led him to decline the degree of D.D. which was offered him by the University of Glasgow and by two American universities.

In 1853 Mr. James felt the need of an assistant. He selected Rev. R. W. Dale, then a student at Spring Hill; who became co-pastor in 1854, and on the death of the senior pastor, 1st October, 1859, assumed the sole charge. His praise is in all the churches. Amidst many vicissitudes—the constant migration from the centre to the suburbs, the transfer of members to form new churches, the political and ecclesiastical controversies which engrossed public attention, the relations of pastor and church remained unchanged. He gave the church of his best, but also served the town and the nation. In 1869 he was chairman of the Congregational Union. His Congregational Lecture on *The Atonement*, delivered and published in 1875, is acknowledged as a theological classic, and gained for him the honorary degree of D.D. from Yale College—

which, like his predecessor, he declined to use, though he accepted a diploma of LL.D. from Glasgow in 1883. In 1878 he visited America, and delivered the well known *Yale Lectures on Preaching*; in 1887-8 he visited the Australian churches; and in 1891 presided over the first International Council of Congregational Churches, in London. For nearly 30 years he was chairman of the Board of Education of Spring Hill College; and mainly through his efforts it was transferred to Oxford. In Birmingham his leadership was universally recognised, not only in religious effort, but in education, politics, and social enterprises. On the School Board, as a governor of the grammar school, and on the Royal Commission on Education he rendered valuable service. His contributions to literature were numerous, and many of them of permanent value. Latterly impaired health constrained him to employ an assistant; and Rev. G. Barber, from Lancashire College (since of Bolton), served the church in that capacity for between two and three years. Dr. Dale's death, 13th March, 1895, was felt as a public loss, not only to the town but to the churches in general. But once again the Divine Head reproved the men of little faith, and shewed that His resources were inexhaustible. The church was speedily led to give a call to Rev. J. H. Jowett, of Newcastle, whose ministry has fulfilled their highest expectations. The present membership (including branches) exceeds a thousand; while the Sunday schools have 150 teachers and 2,700 scholars.

The seceders from Carr's Lane in 1802 found a temporary home in the disused *Union Chapel* in Livery Street. On 18th January, 1803, an informal call was addressed to Mr. Brewer by 48 church members (18 men and 30 women) and 161 "subscribers to the church assembling in Carr's Lane"; which was followed by a regular "church act," dated 16th June, 1803, signed by 45 persons, including 39 of the former signatories, and Mr. and Mrs. Brewer. The document is remarkable for its liberality of spirit, and its emphatic assertion of the equal rights of all church members, both men and women. The new fellowship increased year by year, and, the building in Livery Street being inconvenient, it was decided in 1813 to take steps toward the provision of a more suitable meeting place. The next year land in Steelhouse Lane, traditionally said to have been consecrated by the preaching of Whitefield, was bought for £2,100; and on 4th June, 1816, Mr. Brewer laid the foundation of *Ebenezer Chapel*. He never occupied its pulpit, but died 24th August, 1817; the chapel not being opened for worship till 9th December, 1818. It cost about £5,700, and was the first public building in the town lighted with gas.

The first minister of Ebenezer chapel was Rev. Timothy East, from Frome†; whose pastorate commenced 22nd February, 1818,

† A sermon preached by Mr. East at Frome led to the spiritual awakening of John Williams, the martyr of Erromanga.

and continued 25 years. He was an able and popular preacher, and an enthusiast in Evangelistic enterprise. From 1824 to 1826 he conducted a serial entitled *The Evangelical Rambler*; and subsequently published *The Sheepfold and the Common*, *The proper Deity of the Son of God*, a hymn book, and other works. One of the most notable features of his pastorate is the large number of persons eminent in education, philanthropy, and social leadership who became church members or regular attendants at Ebenezer. Foremost among them is the Mansfield family, of whose good works there is much to be told hereafter. Samuel Stanley was leader of the choir at the time of the secession, and held that post until his death in 1822; his tunes *Calvary*, *Shirland*, *Montgomery*, and a few others, are still popular. Rev. Benjamin Brook, formerly of Tutbury, author of the *Lives of the Puritans*, was a member from 1834 till his death in 1848. Henry Manton, who superintended the girls' Sunday school for fifty years, originated the Birmingham Sunday School Union, and was its president from its foundation in 1843 till his death. He was mayor of Birmingham in 1861, and died in 1903 at the venerable age of 94.

During the rebuilding of Carr's Lane chapel in 1819-20, that congregation worshipped at Ebenezer; the times of service being varied to suit their convenience. For one year, 1820-21, Rev. T. Williams assisted Mr. East as afternoon preacher; but the arrangement was not made permanent. Afterwards, in 1841, Rev. John Raven, from Hadleigh, was elected as co-pastor; and on Mr. East's retirement in 1843 he succeeded to the sole pastorate. Mr. East attained the great age of 88, and died at Deddington in 1871.

In 1823 efforts were made by the Birmingham pastors and others to introduce Nonconformist worship at *Solihull*, a small town seven miles south-east from Birmingham; but it was fully two years before a site could be obtained and a chapel built. Opposition was exceptionally violent; and a paper was circulated—said to have been written by an Anglican clergyman—in which the promoters, especially Mr. James and Mr. East, were reviled in terms equally scurrilous and mendacious. However, a church was formed, and a faithful minister located; and the cause has had a varying measure of prosperity. An offshoot from Solihull was the chapel at *Knowle*, a village three miles off, which was opened in 1835. Here, after twelve or fourteen years, the interest declined. But in 1876 a small church was constituted, which continues to minister to the spiritual needs of the village.

In 1834 a chapel was built at *Coleshill*, a small town about nine miles east of Birmingham. Towards the cost of this, £1,200, Miss Elizabeth Mansfield and her sister, Mrs. Glover, contributed the greater part. A church of eight members was formed in 1835, and except for a brief interval—1845-1850—has continued until now.

In 1837 a chapel was built at *Marston Green*, about three miles north of Coleshill, where a preaching station and a Sunday school had been carried on for some time with assistance from Ebenezer. But this enterprise had little success, and after long efforts the chapel was sold in 1862 to the vicar of Coleshill—the visitation of the cottages in the surrounding villages being still undertaken by the pastor of Coleshill church.

During the joint pastorate of Messrs. East and Raven the first marriage in the chapel took place, 23rd September, 1842. A "Young Men's Fraternal Association," really a literary and debating society, was commenced in 1841, and lasted about ten years. Its rules afford an amusing example of the limitations which in those days it was thought necessary to place on intellectual freedom. Mr. Raven removed to Dudley in March, 1844; and after a brief interval was succeeded by Rev. Jas. Roberts, from Melton Mowbray. His pastorate was troubled, and he removed to Truro early in 1848. Nearly two years elapsed before his successor was appointed. At length an invitation was given to, and declined by, Rev. Robert Vaughan, D.D., principal of Lancashire College. This led to the introducing of his son, Rev. Robert Alfred Vaughan, lately co-pastor with Rev. W. Jay at Bath. Mr. Vaughan, junr., entered on the charge in the summer of 1850, but was compelled by failing health to retire in June, 1855, and died in October, 1857. He "was a scholar of culture, and a writer of great ability." The well-known *Hours with the Mystics* is his chief literary monument.

Three more short pastorates followed: Rev. John Knox Stallybrass, from Bridport, September, 1856 to August, 1858, when ill-health compelled his retirement; Rev. R. D. Wilson, from Wolverhampton, November, 1858, who removed to London early in 1865; Rev. Samuel Pearson, from London, January, 1866, who removed to Liverpool, December, 1868. There had thus been six pastors in 25 years. The number of church members at this time was 480.

The succeeding pastors were:—Rev. Frederick Stephens, from Croydon, July, 1869. "His preaching was too solid to be popular, but was earnest, sympathetic, and essentially spiritual." He retired November, 1875. Rev. Eric A. Lawrence, from Spring Hill College (whither he went from Carr's Lane church), July, 1876; he removed to Square church, Halifax, toward the end of 1882. Rev. J. Nicholas Knight, formerly in the Wesleyan ministry at Small Heath and Nottingham, June, 1884; in April, 1902, he removed to Wycliffe church, Hull. The church, like most mid-town churches, has suffered much through migration to the suburbs. Its present membership is 232; the Sunday schools have 45 teachers and 456 scholars.

It is an interesting fact that the first lectures of the Birmingham Mechanics' Institute—which in after years developed into the Midland Institute—were delivered, in 1826, in Ebenezer school-room.

A minority of the members at Livery Street declined to accompany their brethren to Steelhouse Lane, and formed the nucleus of a new church. In 1819 they invited as their pastor Rev. John Eagleton, of Coventry, a self-educated man of considerable ability. He gathered a large congregation, and a large sum was spent in altering and improving the building. However, in 1826 Mr. Eagleton removed to Huddersfield. Troublous times ensued upon his removal, five pastors—Messrs. Mathers, Simon Binks, W. Bean, Thongar, and J. Griffiths—following each other in thirteen years. In 1839 Rev. Jas. Alsop, formerly a Wesleyan minister, became pastor; and, finding the place hopelessly encumbered with rent and debt, resolved on a new chapel. A site was obtained in Graham Street, where *Highbury Chapel* was built in 1845. Mr. Alsop resigned in 1848 and was succeeded by Rev. Brewin Grant, from Prescott. His ministry had lasted only about four years when he resigned in order to itinerate as a lecturer in defence of the Christian Revelation against the advocates of infidelity. Mr. Grant was a keen and effective controversialist, and encountered most of the leading secularists of the day. He afterwards held a pastorate in Sheffield, and finally conformed to the State Church, against which he had written vigorously while in Birmingham; but in his later years became its uncompromising apologist. A succession of brief pastorates followed his removal from Highbury; Rev. J. Cowper Gray, remembered for his valuable *Biblical Museum* and other books for Sunday school teachers (15 months), Rev. J. R. Jones (2 years), Rev. R. Hall (3 years). In 1861 Mr. W. F. Callaway, then living in Birmingham as a representative of the Liberation Society, was induced by Dr. Dale to supply the pulpit. After a short time he was invited to the pastorate, which he sustained with ever increasing efficiency for twenty-five years. In July, 1879, the pastor and congregation removed to a new and larger edifice on *Soho Hill*. Mr. Callaway died in 1886, at the early age of 53 years, after a long period of suffering heroically borne. His pastorate left an indelible mark, not only on his own church, but on the life of other churches in town and country. His genial and unassuming manner, the simple and lucid style in which he was accustomed to expound great principles of faith and life, have rarely been surpassed. He was an enthusiastic lover of children, who loved him in return. His successors were Rev. W. Pierce, from Leytonstone, 1887-1889, removed to London; Rev. C. Lemoine, from London, 1890-93, removed to Leeds; Rev. A. Seys Howell, from Southampton, 1894-1902. The church, which seats above 1,200, the spacious schools, etc., cost £17,000, and were freed from debt in 1901. The church members are about 500; the schools have 59 teachers and 635 scholars. Rev. J. Wylie, of Belfast, became pastor in 1903.

Notwithstanding the heavy burden of its own debt the church kept up its interest in the Brookfields districts, and mission

work was begun at *Norton Street* Board school in 1883; which 12 years later was removed to the Institute premises built for the purpose in *Lodge Road*, Soho, where a zealous band of workers has been gathered.

On the removal of Mr. Callaway's congregation to Soho Hill, the chapel in Graham Street was offered for sale. It was bought by Sir Richard Tangye, on behalf of a committee, with a view to being speedily re-opened. The committee offered the charge to Rev. C. Leach, who for four years had ministered in the Methodist New Connexion at Ladywood, and whose removal thence by Conference was greatly regretted by many. A church of 127 members was formed, and Mr. Leach elected pastor. He attracted large congregations, and maintained a successful ministry for seven years, 1879-1886, after which he removed to London. Rev. C. L. Allen, from Daventry, followed, and ministered for twelve years, latterly with some discouragement. He removed to Broadway in 1899; and the following year Rev. F. J. Gould, from Steeple Bumpstead, assumed the pastorate. There are at present about 220 members, 28 teachers, and 280 scholars.

We now proceed to notice those churches which originated, directly or indirectly, in the efforts of workers at Carr's Lane.

In May, 1810, some members of the mother church commenced a Sunday school and preaching services in *Smethwick*—near the "Cape of Good Hope." In three years' time the need of larger accommodation was met by removing to the house of Mr. Newland, at the junction of Bearwood Hill and Bearwood Road. Ten years later a chapel became necessary; which was built at the corner of Crockett's Lane, and opened by Rev. J. A. James in 1824. All this time teachers and preachers journeyed from Carr's Lane to Smethwick; communicants walked from Smethwick to Carr's Lane for the sacrament; and yearly, on Easter Tuesday, the village scholars walked to the town church to hear an address from Mr. James. In 1837 a separate church was organized; which for some time received from Carr's Lane a grant of £40 a year towards the support of a minister. The first pastor was Rev. D. A. Owen, 1837—1844. Smethwick is outside the limits of Birmingham, and is now a distinct municipality. Of the several pastors who have ministered there the most distinguished was Rev. Thos. Arnold, 1851—1858, in whose time the present church in High Street was built. He is widely and gratefully remembered for his beneficent labours on behalf of the deaf and dumb.

In 1873 the Smethwick church united with that at Oldbury to found a mission at *West Smethwick*, which has grown to be a flourishing branch with a resident minister.

In 1820 the Home Mission Committee commenced a Sunday school and preaching station in the village of *Yardley*; but two years later, when Rev. Henry Gwyther became vicar, the work was

handed over to him. Attention was then directed to *Tyseley*, where a cottager lent a room for preaching. This soon became too small, and in 1827 a small chapel was built in Rushall Lane, at a cost of about £400. The mission was carried on until 1859, when the foundation of *Acock's Green* church was laid. The church was organized the next year, Rev. Dr. Alliott—president of Spring Hill College—becoming pastor. He died in 1863, and was succeeded by Professor Bubier (4 years), Rev. A. Cook (1 year), and Rev. R. Riccardo, (6 years), during whose ministry the gallery and organ were erected. In 1879 Rev. Jos. Bainton, from Ilfracombe, entered on an 8 years' pastorate; and on his removal to East Grinstead was succeeded by the present pastor, Rev. Edgar Todd, from Marsden, Yorks. In 1895 the church was greatly enlarged, and new schools erected. There are 212 church members, 25 teachers, and about 400 scholars. Since 1875 mission services had been resumed in Yardley, under the direction of Mr. Josiah Dearington and his family. A hall was built in 1878, and a branch church formed in 1882, which became independent in 1899. There are 90 church members, and over 200 scholars.

As early as 1862 the deacons at Acock's Green initiated preaching-services at the Old Manor House, Beggarly Green, now known as *Olton*. They were conducted for about sixteen years by students from Spring Hill College; and in 1878 a shop was transformed into a chapel. The same year a church was constituted, with Rev. H. Rudge as pastor. On his retirement, in 1893, the church was re-organized: two years later Rev. H. Stowell, from Mansfield College, assumed the pastorate; and a new and handsome church was opened 1st January, 1901.

In 1821 two members of Carr's Lane visited Great Barr Street "to try to get a few boys together for instruction." They soon had seventy promises; and the next year "the shell of four houses" in *Watery Lane* was leased for seven years, and converted into two good schoolrooms. In a few months Sunday services were commenced for adults. In 1829 the mission was transferred to a chapel built in *Garrison Lane*, at a cost of £400. In 1843 this was converted into schoolrooms, and a larger chapel built in *Palmer Street*, at a cost of £1,200. In 1837 a salaried missionary was employed. A separate church was constituted in 1860, when Mr. E. Derrington was chosen pastor. After five years he was succeeded by Mr. B. Worton, who laboured assiduously for no less than 25 years, being at the same time engaged in business. Under his able leadership the church became independent in 1872. The chapel was sold, and new school premises erected in *St. Andrew's Road*. In 1892 Rev. H. W. Watson, who had been an evangelist in Holy Trinity parish (Episcopal), became minister, but left after two years. In 1895 Rev. T. Lee Hutson, formerly in the Methodist New Connexion, was invited to the pastorate. In a short time the building

debt was cleared; and in June, 1902, the foundation was laid of a permanent church which has since been opened at a cost of £2,850. There are 226 church members, 35 teachers, and 632 scholars.

In 1833 Mr. Benjamin Millichamp, a deacon of Carr's Lane, commenced a Sunday school in his own farm house in Lozell's Lane. In 1838 the foundation stone of a chapel in *Whceler Street* was laid by Rev. J. A. James; two years later a church of 29 members was constituted, and Rev. A. E. Pearce chosen as pastor. In 1844 he was succeeded by Rev. John Baker, who remained eight years. After an interval of two years the chapel was enlarged by the generous aid of friends at Carr's Lane. There were then two short pastorates; Rev. Henry Cuttle, one year, and Rev. E. Miller, two years. The last named has left his memorial in a work of great value, *Singers and Songs of the Church*. In 1859 commenced the memorable pastorate of Rev. J. T. Feaston, formerly at Wotton-under-Edge and Guernsey; whose remarkable power of leadership, and enthusiasm in the cause of Congregational psalmody, caused Lozell's chapel to be celebrated far and wide. At his coming the members numbered 60. He virtually organized the whole congregation into a great choir of nearly 400 voices, all grouped in their several parts. The practice meetings on week-days were largely attended; tunes being taught by the figured notation, from Dr. Waite's *Hallelujah* tune-book, which is still in use. There was no organ or other instrument, simply a tuning fork or pitch pipe to give the key note. Rev. John Curwen and other enthusiasts in Church psalmody came to hear, and wrote delightedly about the grandeur and harmony of this purely vocal music. The memory of this unique contribution to Congregational worship is still perpetuated in a singular column of small-type advertisement in *The Christian World*, which appears on the anniversary of Mr. Feaston's death. He was equally ardent in the cause of education; the Gower Street day school, built by him and his wife, was opened in January, 1862, and when he left the town it was given to the church. The present spacious church edifice was built in 1863; Mr. Millichamp survived its opening only a few months. Failure of health frequently disabled Mr. Feaston from preaching in so large a building; for a while he employed an assistant; but as this arrangement was not quite satisfactory he introduced Rev. R. W. McAll, D.D., who he hoped would be acceptable as his successor, and retired in 1867. For some years ill-health compelled him to lead a migratory life, but he lived to the age of 75, and died at Bristol in 1893. Dr. McAll only held the pastorate for six months, and then went to Paris; where he and his gifted wife commenced the Protestant Mission services which were known all over France as *Œuvre McAll*. After his departure the church was for two years without a pastor, during which time the old chapel was converted into a lecture hall, with vestries, class-rooms, and a chapel-house. At the beginning of



1870 Rev. Jos. Shillito, from Liverpool, began a ministry of thirteen years' duration; and about 1875 the church attained its greatest popularity, being crowded with worshippers, many of whom came long distances. Mr. Shillito resigned in 1883; his successors were Revs. P. Colborne, 1884—1891, and W. G. Percival, 1892—the present minister. An organ was introduced in 1886. There are at present about 340 church members, 50 teachers, and 620 scholars.

About 1840 a small chapel was built in the village of *Minworth*, five or six miles from Birmingham; which is still supplied by lay preachers, mostly from Carr's Lane.

In 1837 a mission was commenced in a hired room in *Allison Street*, Digbeth, and a town missionary employed in house-to-house visitation. Mr. Simon Carter became missionary in 1855, and the work was transferred to an old chapel in *Bordesley Street*, originally built for the Primitive Methodists. In 1860 a church was organized, with Mr. Carter as pastor. Another building, in *Gooch Street*, was purchased from the trustees of Lady Huntingdon's Connexion, and worked for some years as a mission station by Messrs. A. Arculus, W. Hudson, and others. In 1875 it was decided, at the request of the Carr's Lane Town Mission committee, to remove the work from Bordesley Street thither. At the same time seventy members were transferred from the Carr's Lane roll to Mr. Carter's pastorate; and for some years the work went on prosperously. Meanwhile Bordesley Street chapel was continued for a few years as a mission station by Rev. Micaiah Hill, secretary to the Birmingham Town Mission, with grants from the County Union; but in 1880 it was sold to the Salvation Army. Mr. Carter retired in 1887, after which the interest in Gooch Street declined. The church was disbanded in 1894; services were continued for some time, but in 1897 the building was sold to the Society of Friends.

In 1854 a Church Extension committee was formed of members of Carr's Lane and Ebenezer residing in *Edgbaston*. They secured a site in Francis Road, where on 11th September, 1855, Mr. James laid the foundation stone of a church; that day being the jubilee of his ministry. The church was opened 8th October, 1856, and organized the following month with 49 members. Schools were subsequently built, and in 1871 a mission hall was erected in *Sherborne Street*. The first pastor was Rev. G. B. Johnson, formerly at Doncaster and Darwen, who ministered from 1858 to 1877, when he removed to Torquay. He was the beloved and honoured friend not only of his own church, but of all the churches in the county; as it was on his own initiative, jointly with his brother-in-law, Rev. E. H. Delf, of Coventry, that the Warwickshire Congregational Union was formed in 1860, and they served as joint secretaries during the remainder of Mr. Johnson's residence in Edgbaston. One of the deacons of this church, Mr. J. Bickerton Williams, who had removed from Lozells to Edgbaston, was secretary of the local

Auxiliary of the London Missionary Society for 33 years, 1859—1892. Mr. Johnson retired from the stated ministry in 1887, and died in 1902. He was succeeded at Edgbaston by Rev. W. F. Clarkson, from Lincoln, in 1878; who resigned in 1890 on becoming secretary to the Church Aid Society. The present pastor, Rev. W. S. Houghton, removed from Cambridge in 1891. The membership is above 600, with 64 teachers and 800 scholars.

In 1870 the Carr's Lane Mission committee appointed Mr. Coleman as house-to-house missionary in the Fazeley Street district; which work he continued for 24 years until his death. In 1897 this mission was united with another which had been carried on in Rea Street, when *Moseley Street Hall* was purchased, and a vigorous attack made on one of the Birmingham slums. In 1900 Rev. A. J. Naylor, from Hexham, was appointed minister. *Cattell Road Hall* was built in 1892, to which a mission commenced some years before in Greenway Street, Small Heath, was transferred. Carr's Lane also maintains missions to young people in Sherborne Road and Dartmouth Street Board schools.

In November, 1898, the church at Carr's Lane celebrated its 150th anniversary by a thank-offering of about £600. With this they purchased a moveable iron building, to be set up in new districts for a term of years to enable new congregations to be gathered. It was erected at *Sparkhill*; where public worship was commenced in June, 1901, and conducted for twelve months by local ministers and lay preachers. A church of 30 members was then formed, and a minister located.

We have thus far merely told in brief the story of those churches and missions which are, directly or indirectly, offshoots from Carr's Lane. At the time of the disruption in 1802 this mother church had 99 members. It is now represented by thirteen churches and five missions; with an aggregate, at the end of 1902, of 3,663 church members, 562 teachers, 7,714 Sunday scholars, and 58 lay preachers.

[To be continued]

## Prison Correspondence of an Ejected Minister

THE following letters, hitherto unpublished, passed between the Rev. Robert Franklin and his wife in 1670. From a notice in Palmer's *Nonconformist Memorial* it appears that Franklin was born in 1630; educated at Jesus College, Cambridge; from 1651 ministered successively at Kirton near Ipswich, Bramfield, and Blythburgh; and in 1658 became vicar of Westhall—all in East Suffolk. Being ejected by the Act of Uniformity he came to London, ministering as opportunity was afforded. In 1670, shortly after his marriage, he was imprisoned in Aylesbury gaol for preaching at "Colebrook," presumably Colnbrook. Subsequently he endured at least three other imprisonments for the crime of preaching the Gospel. The time and place of his death are unknown. His wife died in 1713; her funeral sermon, preached by Dr. Grosvenor, contains an interesting account of her spiritual life and persecutions, from her own autograph reminiscences. This document, as well as a narrative in the handwriting of Mr. Franklin, was in the hands of the Rev. S. Palmer in 1803. The letters remained in the possession of Mrs. Bailey of Windsor—a descendant of the Franklins—till her death in 1814. They subsequently passed into the hands of Joshua Wilson, Esq., as did also the "Reminiscences," and came, with many of his papers, to the Congregational Library. Mrs. Bailey also held the MS. of an unpublished catechism in Mr. Franklin's hand, entitled *Two*

and fifty questions for the benefit of little children. It is uncertain whether this MS. is still in existence. If so, it is highly desirable that it should be discovered and placed in security.

Mr. Franklin is not known to have published anything ; but he is said to have addressed a letter to Charles II., congratulating him on the Restoration, and urging him to improve it by promoting religious reform.

The letters are given *literatim*, but some necessary punctuation is supplied. The words interlined are indicated † thus †.

(1)

London July y<sup>e</sup> 4. 1667.

My Dear Love,

I am not willing to let any opportunity slip; I therefore was willing to take this, only to present you with a few lines at this Time, intending to be more Larg when my cosen Dale returns. After my kind Love to thee, this is to acquaint you that through †y<sup>e</sup>† great goodness and mercy of our gracious God I am in health at present, and the rest of our friends ; only my brother Matthew is †sick† of a fever. he was taken the Last friday, and yesterday there came a Letter with news that he was very bad. my mother went to him, and is still with him, so that I am now more alone ; but I hope the Lord is with me, and so Long I cannot say that I am alone, for he is the best company, as I believe you do find by experience. while I was writeing my Letter, m<sup>r</sup> CusLack came in, and according to his promise brought me the †book† cal'd a wellcome to the plague. he remembered his love to you. his kindness to me hath been very great ; I desire if you have any occation [to] write to him, or see †him†, that you would take notice of it. I have Lookt a little into the book, wherein I see there is counle that doth concern me in the Lords present dealling with me, that I long to be Looking further into it. I desire your praiers to the Lord, for his blessing in y<sup>e</sup> reading of it. thus I rest (being in hast at this time as you see by my writeing,) rejoycing to hear of your health and prosperity in soul and body, †and† praying for a continuance of it ; thy Loveing dutyfull and obeydent wife

Mary franklin.

Since I write my Letter I hear that our friends do not

†goe↓ till next weck, because they have set apart tewsdays to seek y<sup>e</sup> Lord [in] thy behalf. I fear my body cannot be with them, but my heart will ; y<sup>e</sup> good Lord heare in heaven and answer their requests for thee : it is kept at m<sup>r</sup> coopers. the friends that intended to have visited thee was m<sup>r</sup> willkinson and m<sup>r</sup> taylor & an other whom we did not hear his name. I had write my letter and therefore was willing to send it, to send you ye sad news that my sister tanner coming from [*two words illegible*] night, & brought [*illegible*] of poor brother Matthew, who Lies very weak, and it is much feared he will hardly recover. through the goodness of God wee have injoyed another sabath in peace, though we had '3' sermons. y<sup>e</sup> old minister that preacht for M<sup>r</sup> Dolittle preacht on at '7' a clock in y<sup>e</sup> morning, & another at '12' and m<sup>r</sup> pack preacht [*word obliterated*] at '2' in y<sup>e</sup> after noone. but m<sup>r</sup> parthridg was disturbed by y<sup>e</sup> soldiers who were very rude they shot bulets to shut open his door and killed his mayd and carried severall of his people to prison. excuse y<sup>e</sup> bad writing and spelling for I am in great hast it b... [*torn and illegible*] my sister Tanner remembers her most hearty love to you.

(Address :—) These  
 ffor m<sup>r</sup> Robert francklin  
 Leave this with m<sup>r</sup>  
 Burch keeper of  
 Alisbury Goale  
 Alisbury.

(II)

London July y<sup>e</sup>. 6. 1670.

My Dear Love,

I received your Loveing Letters, for which I give you many thanks, and do rejoyce to hear of your health; which mercy †through↓ the goodness of God I also injoy, only I have now and then some pains upon me, that I must not while I am in this condition expect to [be] without. I wish I could say that my soul prospered and were in health as my body is. I desire to bless †y<sup>e</sup> Lord↓ that hath heard praiers for me, and hath blest Counsell to me, that my mind is much more calmed and quieted with his will and wise dispose of things then it was. I desire to eye the providence of god in this dispensation, which I believe will work for the best for us, though we cannot †at present↓ see how or which way. I thank you for the remembrance of me in your praiers. (I hope I do and †shall↓ reap the benifit of them.) I desire

a continuance of them for me, for I do greatly stand in need of your help in seeking the Lord for me, that he would inable me to follow your good and seasonable advice, that I may be found exercising those excellent graces faith and patience which I do greatly stand in need of ; and that I may cast my burden upon the Lord, that he may sustain me, and that I may be so assured of gods being with me that though I should goe down to the valley of the shadow of death I may fear noe evill. I can, through the infinit goodness of god to my poor soul, say from my own experience that †a↓ glimps of the Light of gods countenance will sweeten the bitterest cup. o that I could so Love the Lord Jesus and keep his commandements that so †he might.↓ make good those precious promises to me, John 14 : 21 · 23 ; to manifest himself to me, and to come and make his abode with me. thy heart cannot be more with me than mine is with thee ; I never so much experenced a longing condition as now by reason of thy absence. I received this day a Letter from uncle Troughton, who gives me good counle in it I desire the Lord to †bless.↓ [*over a partly obliterated word which looks like "sanctifie"*] it to me. he also remembers himself kindly to you, and so do many more of our friends and relations as I have occation to see or meet with. my brother Matthew continues very weak still, it is thought more Likely to die than live. he hath many symtomes of death upon him, a routhling in his throat, and he is very much dis-tempreed in his head and talks Idly (?). I went yesterday to see him, he askt me as well as he could how you did. y<sup>e</sup> news that I sent you about m<sup>r</sup> partridge is true, only that y<sup>e</sup> maid was dead is not trew ; she was nigh death, but is recovered. Here was a woman which brought me 2s. ; she saith you Lent her 5, she will bring y<sup>e</sup> rest as soon as she can get it. her name is taylor. M<sup>r</sup> Vincents wifes Leg it is thought must be cut of they kept a fast †to seeke y<sup>e</sup> lord.↓ an her behalf Yesterday. m<sup>r</sup> bates was married Lords day was sevensnight, very privetly, only his own relation were their. Here was one m<sup>r</sup> prat came to see me that came from you on Munday. my father had a Letter from Uncle Smith ; cosen Caleb and he are reconciled again ; he hath sent you 20s. my sister Tanner remembers her Love to you ; her kindness is very great in bearing me company now my mother is absent. This being all at present, with my kind love to thee, I rest, desiring to be till death your Loveing dutyfull and obeydent wife, to y<sup>e</sup> utmost of my power

Mary ffrancklin.

pray remember my respects to Mr. burch.

(Address :—) These  
 for Her Dear and  
 Loveing Husband M<sup>r</sup>  
 Robert Francklin.  
 In Alisbury.

(III)

Alisbury Goale July y<sup>e</sup>. 9. 1670.

My Dearly Beloved

Grace mercy & peace be abundantly multiplied vnto thee. I doe thankfully acknowledge thy reall kindnesse in thy loveing letters. thou didst plead excuse for thy bad writing, w<sup>ch</sup> I could easily doe were thy defects many more ; but, my Dear, I cannot excuse thy defects in Arithmetick, in that thy last by the mark was dated 1667—nigh two years before we could call Husband & Wife : this Antedating is an errata y<sup>t</sup> requires amendment. Thy last, w<sup>th</sup> my Dear ffathers by Cosen Dale, Did greatly delight : if thou didst but know the content I take to see thy handwriting, now I cannot see thy deare face, thou wouldst not let me goe a weeke long w<sup>th</sup>out a letter, but now I expect the time is at hand w<sup>n</sup> for a while thou wilt not be in a condition to give me those paper visits. thy excuse will y<sup>n</sup> be made : the God of Heaven draw nigh vnto thee stand by thee, p<sup>r</sup>serve thee, & deliver thee. Spare no needfull thing for thy goode ; our God will pvide, his providence is our inheritance.

My Deare I pray let there be care taken the first coach after thy delivery that I may heare of thee. I blesse the Lord for that spirituall mind I discerne more & more to be in thee, & that the least glimpse of y<sup>e</sup> light of y<sup>e</sup> Lords countenance is so sweete & p<sup>r</sup>tious vnto thee. if a glimpse, what will then his full glory bee !

I reioice in y<sup>e</sup> later tydings of my Deare Brother Mathews hopefull recovery That my ffather did hint ; y<sup>e</sup> Good Lord graciously hasten it. I lament y<sup>e</sup> condition of Deare Sister Vincent ; the Lord spare & save her from that stroke. Much happynes I desire May attend M<sup>r</sup> Bates in his married condition ; My respects to him & wife. Acknowledgment of great kindnes of Dear Sister Tanner w<sup>th</sup> my endeared (?) affections to her and Good Brother. I intend as soone as I can to send to my Grandmother Nixson & Uncle Smith. Many Thanks I pray to my Honoured ffather for his letter & news ; we are here very barren of any ; no Gazett ever (?) in towne, no narative. I must still blame my Brother Thomas,

yet cordiall affection ; I did thinke Clarks were more ready writers. I earnestly entreat a weeke may be longest my ffather forbears writing ; I cannot well beare any longer delay ; thou wouldest wonder what lookings & longings I have for letters. Its hope (?) to see but y<sup>e</sup> handwriting of my Dear relations ; my cordiall affections to all as occasion offered. My Reverend & Worthy Brother Wells w<sup>th</sup> his good wife & sonne were in towne last night ; sent for mee to their Inn, did condole at my sufferings, And did w<sup>th</sup> all congratulate my health & welfare, & further expressed their kindnesse in ministering to my necessities almost enough to defray a weeks charge of my imprisonment. They intend to visit thee ; have a grateful acknowledgement of their kindnesse.

Let my ffather Ware of a Trepanner, 5 mile of us, that went to a meeting of Anabap : p<sup>t</sup>ended a gifted Brother, exercised among them, after betrayed them to penalty of law ; p<sup>t</sup>ended treason agst one ; shews warrant from Sir Edward Morten for so doing : played the hipocrite most abominably in whole manage (?). not further to tyre thee, but my most endeared affections to thee, earnestly praying for thee that I may yet heare further of thy safety and prosperity in soule & body. I am thy Loving & ffaithfull Husband  
Robert Francklin.

I greatly rejoyce in the forethoughts of seeing my Deare ffather, Brother Tanner & uncle Aunt Sheems (?) Vale.

I pray let not my Deare Mother take exception that no sooner mentioned for I have endeared affection & duty for her ; I am [*three words unintelligible*] owne.

(Address :—)

These

For m<sup>rs</sup> Mary Franklin in  
ancor ally by Bunhill feilds agst  
Artillery ground  
Criplegate London

(In another hand) C (or 6) Letter

(IV)

Alesbury Goale

Aug : 10.70

Note their is a coach also from  
Alesbury y<sup>t</sup> Inns at Bull  
Holborne.

My Dearly Beloved,

Grace mercy & peace be abundantly multiplied vnto you from the fountain of all, your own p<sup>t</sup>ious Lord Jesus. I



am greatly refreshed to see againe thy handwriting. & to heare of thy recovery, and at the hope to see & enjoy thee y<sup>e</sup> next weeke by Divine p<sup>r</sup>mission. I beg the Lord to strengthen thee, and graciously to p<sup>s</sup>per thy journeying with my Deare ffather & mother: I greatly delight in those seasonable & suitable notes thou did'st take, as to Divine dealeing with us. vndoubtedly it is much better to have at the hands of God what is good for us then what we desire ourselves. Gods dispensations are the results of the highest wisdome. I have notice Lord Auchrim (?) was lately at Colebrooke, much troubled at my imprisonment : intends to be at Assize & to doe his utmost for my relase. Acquaint my ffather we need not doubt of hireing horses to Oxford if we have liberty ; I have not time yet to enquire at what rate. I have no mind Hester should be at my house, & much more unwilling in that she is out of a place. I know much of her disposition ; she is not so grateful a person as thou maiest imagine ; &, being afflicted with a very troublesom disease, thou dost not know what ill consequence may be of such a kindnesse. if M<sup>rs</sup> Pierce's (?) occasion would permit I think it might doe well. Howbeit if my ffather & you judge meet, I will not absolutely oppose it. You need not trouble your selfe to bring any considerable some of money w<sup>th</sup> you ; I think I have to defray prison charges, what at Assize, and if released to bring us home. I am thine cordially Loving  
Robert Francklin.

Love duty & service to all friends & relations as respectively due.

(Address :—) :

These

For his Loveing wife M<sup>rs</sup>

Mary ffrancklin in

Anchor ally by Artillery  
grounds

Criplegate parish  
London

(In another hand) II Letter

#### NOTES.

The references to bad writing in letters I and III are a connubial joke. Mrs Franklin's hand is, in most places, as clear as print ; while her husband's is often very difficult to decipher.

I. *A Wellcome to the Plague* is by Samuel Shaw, the ejected rector of Long Whatton, Leicestershire. In 1665 he was living near Loughborough, when he and his whole family suffered from the plague, and two of his children died. The book mentioned was published in 1668, reprinted 1674, and again

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1825. It is usually included with two other tracts under the general title, *A voice crying in the Wilderness*. In 1666 Shaw became master of the free school at Ashby de la Zouch. He licensed the school-house for worship after the Toleration Act, and died 1696.

"Mr. Cooper" is perhaps William Cooper, ejected from St. Olave's, Southwark, and formerly chaplain to the Queen of Bohemia.

"Mr. Wilkinson" may be Dr. H. Wilkinson. After his ejection from his professorship at Oxford he lived in London. When the Indulgence was granted he kept open meeting at Clapham, and died there 1676.

"Mr. Taylor" may be *either* Thomas Taylor, the ejected master of a grammar school at Swaffham, Norfolk, who afterwards preached in London and Croydon, and died 1700; or Richard Taylor, ejected from Flint, North Wales, afterwards pastor at Barking, died 1697.

"Mr. Doolittle" is Thomas Doolittle, ejected minister of St. Alphage, London Wall. Almost immediately after the ejection he commenced an academy in Islington, and before the Indulgence he built a meeting-house in Monkwell Street. He was the last survivor of the ejected ministers in London, and died 1707 aged 77.

"Mr. Pack" does not appear among the ejected ministers. He was probably "Samuel Pack, preacher of the Gospel," who in 1672 and -3 published three small treatises on election, sanctification, &c., without note of place or printer's name.

"Mr. Partridge" is, no doubt, Nathaniel Partridge, the ejected minister of St. Michael's church, St. Alban's. He ministered to a society in Old Street, which afterwards removed to Plaisterers' Hall, and to which Mr. Franklin occasionally preached. He died 1684.

II. "Uncle Troughton" may possibly be William Troughton, the ejected minister of St. Martin's, Salisbury. He ministered for some time privately, there and in Bristol; and removed to London in or after 1674. Or the person intended may be John Troughton, who, though blind from childhood, gained a fellowship in St. John's College, Oxford. Being ejected he taught a school at Bicester, preaching occasionally both there and in Oxford. He was the author of several works of importance, and died 1681.

"Mr. Vincent" is *probably* Thomas Vincent, ejected from St. Mary Magdalene's, Milk Street. He remained in London throughout the Great Plague, ministering to the sufferers. Afterwards he was assistant to Mr. Doolittle, and died 1678, aged 44. Or the reference *may* be to his brother, Nathaniel Vincent, ejected from Langley Marsh, Berks. He also ministered in London during the Plague, and died 1697, aged 58.

"Mr. Bates" may be Dr. William Bates. No available records give any information about his marriage or family.

"Mr. Prat" may possibly be John Prat, M.D., who was deprived of a fellowship in Trinity College, Cambridge. But this is a mere guess.

The remembrance to Mr. Burtch—the gaoler—indicates kindly relations between that official and his prisoner, similar to those which subsisted between Bunyan and the gaoler at Bedford. This is confirmed by the incident mentioned in the next letter.

III. "Brother Wells" must be either John Wells, ejected minister of St. Olave's, Jewry, or Samuel Wells of Banbury. Both were wealthy men. There seems to be no clue to the other names mentioned.

The news expected by the "first coach" was disappointing; the expected child being stillborn.

## NOTES AND QUERIES

About 1780 some disagreement arose between Rev. Rowland Hill and the Countess of Huntingdon; in consequence of which the Countess wrote in 1782 "I have seen sufficient cause to exclude him from serving in my chapels for the present." Rev. Torial Joss and some others are understood to have been in like manner excluded. Can anyone give particulars of *the letter which the Countess wrote to the managers of her various chapels* on the subject?

W. TUCK.

\*

Can anyone indicate the author or source of a hymn, No. 166 in Williams and Boden's Hymnbook (1801 fig.), commencing "The righteous souls that take their flight"? In the edition of 1812 it is assigned to "D—." It certainly is not by Doddridge, and is not found among the accessible hymns of Davis of Rothwell or Dunthorne. It is in the main a loose paraphrase on Wisd. Sol. iii, 1 fig. There is no mention of it in Julian.

JAS. MEARNS.

\*

The newly discovered treatise of Robert Browne, mentioned elsewhere, is addressed to a Mr. Flower, whom the writer calls "Uncle." If taken literally this would indicate that the person so called was either a brother of Browne's mother or had married a sister of one or other parent. But no such name appears in the genealogy of the Brownes of Tolethorpe, or in that of Sir Philip Boteler of Hertfordshire, who was R. Browne's maternal grandfather. Unless, therefore, "Uncle" is a mere complimentary appellation, the relationship must have been through Browne's wife, Alice Allen of Yorkshire, whose family has not hitherto been identified. Yorkshire genealogists may settle this matter if they can discover a "Mr Flower" living in 1588-9, who had a niece Alice Allen, marriageable about ten years earlier.

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