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A table of contents for the *Transactions of Congregational Historical Society* can be found here:

https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_congregational-historical-society-1.php

Congregational Historical Society

Annual Meeting

The Annual Meeting was held in the Council Chamber of the National Temperance Federation, Memorial Hall, on Wednesday, 9th May, 1906, at 4 p.m., Rev. J. Brown, D.D., presiding.

After prayer by Rev. T. Gasquoine, Minutes of last Annual and Autumnal Meetings were read and confirmed.

Resolved on the motion of Rev. B. DALE, seconded by Rev. G. L. TURNER, "That this Society expresses its deep regret at the death of Rev. W. H. Summers, and offers sincere condolence to his kindred and friends."

The SECRETARY read the Annual Report, setting forth the work of the year, and specifying contributions which are still in hand for publication, including further extracts from the *Wiggenton MS.*, and the *Gould MS.*, and a paper from Rev. G. Eyre Evans on "Early Nonconformity in Yarmouth." Notice was taken of the research work done by Mr. C. Burrage, M.A., and Rev. F. I. Cater; and of the valuable fruits of research left by Rev. W. H. Summers, most of which it is hoped will be available for posthumous publication in some form or other.

The TREASURER'S Financial Statement shewed a balance in the bank of £94 3s.

The Chairman, Treasurer, and Secretaries were re-elected; and Mr. J. Minshull was again appointed Auditor.

A communication from Rev. J. H. Shakespeare, proposing an extension of the Society's operations so as to include matters of especial Baptist interest, was discussed at some length. Resolved "That the matter be referred to the Committee, with instructions to confer with Mr. Shakespeare on the whole subject."

Officers and Committee

The Committee was then constituted (as below).

It was arranged that two papers be prepared with a view to the Autumnal Meeting at Wolverhampton: One by Mr. Lovell of Leek, and friends, on "The Seventeenth Century Congregational Churches in Staffordshire;" and one by Rev. D. Macfadyen, M.A., on "The Evangelistic Work of Capt. Jonathan Scott."

Officers and Committee

Chairman—Rev. JOHN BROWN, D.D.

Treasurer—Rev. G. LYON TURNER, M.A.

Secretaries— { Rev. T. G. CRIPPEN.
 { Mr. HENRY THACKER.

Auditor—Mr. JOHN MINSHULL.

Committee—

S. B. ATKINSON, Esq., M.A., M.B.	Rev. H. ELVET LEWIS.
J. AVERY, Esq.	J. D. McCLURE, Esq., LL.D.
Rev. BRYAN DALE, M.A.	Rev. D. MACFADYEN, M.A.
H. N. DIXON, Esq., M.A., F.L.S.	Rev. B. NIGHTINGALE.
Rev. T. GASQUOINE, B.A.	Rev. W. PIERCE.
W. A. HOUNSOM, Esq., J.P.	W. H. STANIER, Esq.

EDITORIAL

Members of the Society will learn with regret that our esteemed contributor, Rev. W. H. Summers, of Hungerford, died on 30th April, after a painful illness of several months' duration. After studying at Hackney College he held pastorates at Beaconsfield (1883-95), Mortimer West (1898-1901), and Hungerford (1901-6); and was for many years secretary of the Berks Association, an office which he only resigned last year. He was an indefatigable investigator of the original sources of Lollard and Puritan history, at the British Museum, the Public Record Office, the Bodleian, and elsewhere. His *Jordans and the Chalfonts and the early Friends of the Chiltern Hundreds* (1895) has been widely read; as also his *Rise and Spread of Christianity in Europe* (R.T.S., 1897). But probably his most valuable work is *Our Lollard Ancestors* in the "Eras of Nonconformity" series; while his *History of the Berks, South Oxon., and South Bucks County Association*, published last year, will certainly be regarded as the standard work on Congregational Church history for that district. He left a considerable quantity of unfinished MS. in the hands of his literary executors; part of which, it is hoped, will be utilized by this Society. A small treatise on *The Lollards in the Chiltern Hills* was left ready for the press, and its publication may be expected at an early date. It contains some new facts, the fruits of original research.

*

Mr. Burrage is about to publish a strictly limited edition of an essay on the life and character of Robert Browne, embodying copious extracts from the recently discovered MS. The Society has arranged with Mr. Burrage for a few copies, which the secretary will be able to supply at a reduced price *to members only*. These will in no case be sold to the general public.

*

Rev. Ira Boseley has in a forward state of preparation a *History of the Independent Church in Westminster Abbey, i.e., the church that met there during the Commonwealth under the successive pastorates of Strong and Rowe, which a century later was presided over by Gibbons at Haberdashers' Hall, and was finally disbanded*

about 1825. He will be glad to hear of any records or documents relating to this church ; such may possibly be in the hands of descendants of those who held office during its latest years.

*

A member of the Congregational Historical Society is preparing a history of the Bury Street church, founded by Jos. Caryl, and presided over by Owen, Clarkson, Chauncey, Watts, Savage, etc. He would be glad to hear of any documents relating to that church, or to the "Bury Street Trust," or to Berman's Almshouses. Please communicate with the Secretary.

*

The present issue contains the Greenwood letters from the Wiggenton MS., described in the *Transactions* of last September. These will also be shortly issued, together with Barrowe's *Four Causes of Separation*, under the title, *Relics of the Puritan Martyrs, 1593*; price one shilling net. It is hoped that these lately identified and hitherto unprinted documents will be of interest to others beside members of the Society.

*

We hope to give, in our next issue, a *verbatim* reproduction of Giles Wiggenton's account of his conferences with Whitgift, etc., from his own autograph. Subsequently we may be able to give his very racy satire on slothful clerics, in the form of Mock Visitation Articles ; never yet printed.

*

Mr. W. Tuck has just printed *Notes on the History of Argyle Chapel, Bath*. The earlier chapters deal with the rise of Non-conformity in that city, and contain interesting notices of Lady Huntingdon.

The History of Early Congregationalism in Leeds

II

IV The First Congregational Church, 1674

We must now return to Christopher Nesse and the Congregational church which was formed by him. It has been already stated that Presbyterians and Independents had become substantially one. This is true with respect to their relation to the Episcopal Church, their self government and their harmonious co-operation.* But those congregations which were really Congregational differed from those which were more properly (though still incorrectly) designated Presbyterian in two respects, viz.: the formation within the congregation of a voluntary, select spiritual body, each member of which made a personal profession of his faith in Christ; and the exercise by its members at their church meetings of supreme control over its affairs. This will appear more clearly by an account of the formation of the Congregational church at the Main-riding House.†

It was written apparently in 1674, and is as follows:—

It was in the heart of God's people in this place to embody themselves according to the Gospel nigh twelve years ago [1662], amongst which were some persons who have become

* "Both the Independent man, and the Presbyterian man, do equally exclude the civil power, though after a different manner."—John Selden's *Table Talk*, page 85.

† It is copied from an imperfect Register of Baptisms at the Main-riding House and Call Lane chapel, Leeds, now in the custody of the Registrar General, Somerset House, London; and was probably written by a ruling elder or some other member of the church.

useful now in its accomplishment. But troublesome times coming on, with the temptation of inability to manage the work, they forebore at the time. Till the year 1672 little or nothing was thought upon as to the carrying out of the same. In that year, about August, we had an appointed meeting, at which appeared . . . or . . . persons, among whom after seeking of God, the case was propounded as a duty, with some motives by Mr. Christopher Nesse, which done, he left it to the persuasions of God through our own hearts. The result of that day was that upon examination and not without serious thought, everyone particularly answered that though they found themselves very unfit to be church-members, especially for the foundation, yet they judged it a duty pressed by God's word, and that which they ought to press after. They appointed to meet every Friday for prayer, numbering twenty-four or thereabout. They held meetings for certain questions as to their sincerity, the marks and signs of a soul that hath the SPIRIT OF CHRIST, etc.

They did not proceed further, however, without consulting other Congregational churches. Whilst deeming themselves independent of external control, they considered it their duty to act in harmony with these churches.

After about two years [1674] they signified their intention to the Church of Christ at Woodchurch and the Church of Christ in Bradford-dale. One of their elders, George Wade [Ward, of Bradford-dale] came over to help us with his advice, who did express his great joy to see us so desirous to know the right way to walk in. Among other material questions this was propounded to him, viz. : whether it was their practice at the embodying of their church for every individual to give in his experience in the presence of the Messengers of their churches, who came to see their order and give them the right hand of fellowship ; requiring him likewise to give us an account of his judgement therein. His answer was that as to their practice it was this : they gave an account of their mutual satisfaction in each other with so long an experience, with a declaration of the principles of religion, viz. : a Confession of Faith, containing both their tenets in doctrine and discipline ; spent the day in fasting and prayer ; and solemnly covenanted in the presence of God and His people to be found in those practices that are set forth in their declaration. As for his judgement in that spirit he saw not Scripture, nor any clearness from

Scripture, for a people embodying to give their experience to the messengers of other sister churches ; nay, that it looked too much like superintending [on the part of another church]. After this we endeavoured to make all clear as to the prosecuting of the business. About two months after we wrote to Woodchurch to the like effect. They answered by word of mouth, Robert Gledall [Gledhill] and Richard Hargreaves being the messengers, who acquainted us with the sense of the church [disclaiming all authority or jurisdiction over them]. A letter much to the same purpose was written to Bradford-dale, and the answer we had from them was very candid and had much of a Christian spirit in it, though in effect agreeable to that we had from Woodchurch.

No further particulars of the formation of the church are afforded. But it undoubtedly took place according to these preparations for it, and probably about the end of the year 1674. But Christopher Nesse did not continue long. Persecution was renewed. Nonconformists were prosecuted in the ecclesiastical as well as the civil courts. The parish church register contains the following entry in June 1675, "Mr. Stretton, Nesse and Armitage, with their schismatical assemblies, was convicted by the oaths of Lawson and Halliwell apparatories (the 15th day the first time, the second time July 19th)." Nesse himself says: "I was excommunicated three times, and the fourth time a writ *De Excommunicato capiendo* was issued out to take me, and another to take Mr. Awkland (born at Leeds), who was taken and died of fever in prison ; but my Lord (having more work for me in this world) moved one of the Spiritual Court to give me timely notice ; so that I made my escape to London, where I have laboured in God's vineyard ever since the year 1675." According to the imperfect notes above mentioned, it appears that some disagreement arose between Nesse and the members of the church ; he thought that they did not stand by

him in his troubles as they should have done; they, on the other hand, said that he had left the church in its "infancy" without adequate reason; and in a letter dated 16th April, 1676, they stated that they could not give him his "dismission," and "having withdrawn ourselves from you as our Pastor our prayers are nevertheless for you, that the Lord may continue to you His gracious Spirit." Nesse preached thirty years to a congregation in Salisbury Court, Fleet Street, London, sometimes amidst persecution that drove him into the country; published numerous books, died on his birthday, Dec. 26th, 1705, aged 84, and was interred in Bunhill Fields.

It was fortunate for the church at the Main-riding House that immediately after the removal of Mr. Nesse it obtained such a pastor as THOMAS WHITAKER, M.A., one of the ablest of the many able ministers who have laboured in Leeds.* He was son of Dr. Robert Whitaker, a physician who lived at Healey, near Burnley in Lancashire, where he was born in 1651. "He knew the Scriptures from his childhood, which Athanasius calls the *Food of the Soul*, and this did not a little conduce to render him mighty in the Scriptures." He became a member of the Congregational church at Wymond-houses under Thomas Jolly, ejected at Altham, Lancashire, whom he always esteemed as his spiritual father. He was one of the first students trained for the ministry by Richard Frankland, at Rathmell, near Settle; admitted July 6th, 1670; graduated M.A. at Glasgow University; and having preached occasionally in Lancashire, com-

* "His descent was from an ancient family of the Whitakers, a branch of which was the famous Dr. William Whitaker, whom his adversary Bellarmine styled *Ακαθολικων Doctissimus*: of whom another said that never man saw him without reverence or heard him without wonder." (Timothy Jolly). Dr. William Whitaker (1641-95) was master of St. John's College, Cambridge. Of the same family were Jeremiah Whitaker (1599-1654) a native of Wakefield and a notable member of the Westminster Assembly of Divines; and Dr. Thomas D. Whitaker (1759-1821) vicar of Whalley, and author of *Loidis and Elmete, or, a History of Leeds, &c.*

menced his ministry in 1676. At his coming the congregation was in a divided state, but by his prudence, diligence and self-devotion he speedily secured their unanimity, and ministered to them nearly 35 years with general acceptance and great success. The year after he came to the Main-riding house Stretton left Millhill chapel, and was succeeded by the "incomparable" Thomas Sharp, with whom Whitaker laboured in the greatest harmony. The times had now become more favourable in comparison with former years, and for a while the "churches had rest, and walking in the fear of God and the comfort of the Holy Ghost, were multiplied."

Here it may not be out of place to introduce a brief statement concerning Mr. Whitaker's views of doctrine and discipline, as it is furnished by two of his most intimate friends. One of these was Timothy Jolly (son of Thomas Jolly before mentioned), who was his fellow student at Rathmell, and commenced "Christ's College" at Attercliffe, Sheffield, when Frankland removed thence and returned to Rathmell. He was distinguished, says Jolly, by--

his clearness in the doctrine of the Gospel, both in reference to justification by Faith in the Lord our Righteousness, and to Sanctification also, pressing and practising the duties of holiness in all manner of conversation. I add to this his exact judgement in the laws of Christ's House, both as to admission of members *consentiente plebe* (as Cyprian expresseth it), and as to exclusion or excommunication; yet with a large extensive charity far from judging others. The principles of that persuasion he was an honour to, which (as the incomparable Dr. Goodwin saith) stretches out its arms to embrace all that are willing to embrace Christ, receiving the weak, but not to matters of doubtful disputation.

The other friend was Thomas Bradbury, a native of Wakefield, who was a student under Timothy Jolly, and who on leaving college spent a year or

two in Whitaker's house at Leeds and assisted him in his labours, and was afterwards a popular minister in London.

His way of understanding the great doctrines of election, redemption, justification, conversion and perseverance, were agreeable to the churches of England, Scotland, Holland and Geneva. His behaviour in the House of God was upon those rules that he and the people thought to be contained in the Holy Scriptures. Whatever could not be found there was thrown in among those prudentials that may be altered or continued at pleasure. The admission and exclusion of members was always by the vote of the whole church; for he supposed the minister, in this case, to put on a relative character, as the officer of the society, where the communion is desired. He was unwilling to baptize any child if one of the parents had not been a stated member of some church, taking it for an irregularity that a person should own the Covenant for his infant, who had neglected the proper way of doing it for himself. What he thought about the Ordination of Ministers I had many opportunities to know, both by conversation and letters. He did not suppose that the ministerial power was conveyed by the will of one man, or a society of persons in common public character, much less is the virtue depending upon any ceremony that may be then used. The things chiefly regarded on such an occasion are an aptness to teach in the minister and a concurring inclination in the people. But yet he approved of Imposition of Hands by the pastors of other churches, as very decent and agreeable to the examples we find in scripture, Acts xiii, 1, 2.

Almost the only remaining notes of the doings of the church of this period are the following:—

1679, August 4. Brother John Crosland was publicly dismissed for the sin of drunkenness. 1680, July 6. Brother Jonathan Cloudesley ruling elder, was to our great loss removed out of this world. 1681, July 23. Mr. Samuel Ibberson accepted the church's call [to succeed him]. Whereupon notice being given to several sister churches about it, he was solemnly set apart by fasting and prayer and imposition of hands in the presence of messengers of the sister churches, who in testimony of their approbation gave him the right hand of fellowship.

Twenty years had now elapsed since the Restoration. During this period the persecution of

the Nonconformists by the civil laws and ecclesiastical courts had been, as we have seen, by no means equally severe or general. Much depended upon the spirit of the ruling authorities in different districts. But the last years of Charles II. and the first of James II. were the darkest in the annals of Nonconformity.

V Darkness before Dawn, 1681-7

We cannot here notice the causes of this change beyond remarking that it was largely due to the attempt of the king and his brother, the Duke of York, to make the Roman Catholic religion dominant over a Protestant people, and the uncompromising opposition offered to it by Protestant dissenters. The old laws against not coming to church were revived. Fresh orders for the suppression of conventicles were issued. Magistrates were "mad in persecuting, Bailiffs unweariedly diligent with warrants against us, to apprehend ministers and people." The infamous judge Jeffreys "comes to the assizes at York, with special instruction and commission from the king to prosecute all Protestant dissenters, besides Quakers; giving him, it is said, his ring off his finger [the bloodstone], and tells him he represents him; tells them the king's pleasure is to root out all fanatics through the land" (July 1684).^{*} Heavy fines were imposed and the gaols were full of prisoners for conscience' sake.

At Leeds, the officers got the key of Millhill chapel (July 5th, 1682), and the place was shut up for five years. At one time we find the owners of it consulting about turning it into a hospital or selling it for the benefit of the poor to prevent its

^{*} M.S. Notes by Dr. John Hall, of Kipping, Bradford.

being used as a "mass house." Sharp and his friends, nevertheless, held meetings in private houses, and on one occasion he narrowly escaped apprehension. Ralph Thoresby was indicted at the sessions for attending a conventicle in Hunslet, but was acquitted through the skilful defence set up by lawyers Atkinson and Witton (Dec. 3rd., 1683). Early in the same year (Jan. 14th), Whitaker was indicted for absenting himself from the church for six months, and was committed to York (July 16th) for having with several other persons to the number of seventy on the 25th May held a conventicle at Leeds.* In June 1684 "sixty-nine names were presented at Leeds, and many were fined, some in six times £20." Alderman Martin Headley, a bitter opponent of Nonconformists, prepared a paper containing the names of all the leading dissenters in the borough, "to be devoted to destruction." Whitaker was taken a second time in July 1684, and sent from the sessions to York, where he was imprisoned in the castle for about eighteen months. Here he was visited by Thoresby in September, and here he was found in the following January (1685) by Oliver Heywood, who was sent to share his confinement. The manner of their prison life is described by Heywood as follows :

Jan. 26th. 1685. The gaoler treated me very courteously, provided me a good lodging over Mr. Whitaker. Jan. 27th went to dinner, walkt with Mr. Whitaker after. At night sat in Mr. Whitaker's chamber. I have spiritual liberties, privileges, secret opportunities of communion with my God, liberty of studying and writing as if I had my own house, the sweet company of Mr. Whitaker and his wife that are in the

* Warrant of Commitment, printed in Wickstead's Lectures on Millhill Chapel, page 149. Jolly says :—"In the year 1683 on a *Qui tam* (as it is called) he became the Lord's prisoner." "One Kirkshaw lodged an information against him, and he was committed to the gaol in York, January 1683. Mr. Thomas Whitaker, jun., purchased the estate of Kirkshaw, the informer against his father, and actually relieved his posterity, reduced by the vices of their parent." Toumin's *Historical View of the State of the Protestant Dissenters*, 1814, p. 576.

next room to me, many precious servants of God out of the city to visit me, to discourse, to pray with ; and one Lord's day, viz. February 1, 1685, we have spent together from 10 till 4 very sweetly ; I preached in the forenoon, then we dined, Mr. Whitaker in the afternoon, we had near forty persons in Mr. Whitaker's chamber, yea, the gaoler's wife was with us in the forenoon, we were quiet all day. (Diar. iv. 114).

Their condition was by no means a hard one, very different from that of Ralph Ward, the Congregational minister of York, who was at the same time immured in the miserable Ousebridge gaol, and of many other Nonconformist prisoners. Mr. Whitaker found his chief delight in writing week by week and sending to his flock at Leeds the sermons which he would have preached to them had he been permitted. Towards the end of the year (Dec. 12th) Heywood writes :

My usual manner daily was this. 1. After our rising we kneeled down, I went to prayer with my wife. 2. She in her closet, I in my chamber, went to secret prayer alone. 3. Then I read a chapter in the Greek Testament *while I took a pipe*. 4. Then I read a chapter in the Old Testament with Pool's Annotations. 5. Then writ a little here or elsewhere. 6. At 10 o'clock I read a chapter in Proverbs, went to prayer with my wife at family prayer. 7. Then writ in some book or treatise I composed till dinner. 8. After dinner Mr. Whitaker and I read our turns in Fox's Acts and Monuments, last edition. 9. Then went to my chamber ; if my wife was absent I spent an hour in secret prayer. God helpt usually. 10. After supper we read in Book of Martyrs, study, go to prayer. We read in Baxter's Paraphrase on N.T. (*Yorkshire County Magazine*, I., 169.)

"Thus the two ministers," says Hunter, "lived like the martyrs in the Marian days, whose thoughts and sufferings were, we see, their daily theme, and with spirits, we cannot doubt, strung to the endurance of all which the martyrs suffered, had God called them to the last great conflict." Heywood was set at liberty on Saturday, December 19th, 1685 ; he spent several days in visiting his

friends at York, and on Friday, (Christmas Day) he called on Mr. Whitaker in the castle before returning home. A little later, about the beginning of February, 1686, Mr. Whitaker's wife, who had hitherto been his companion and solace, died. He must have obtained his liberty not long afterwards; for we find him in the following August spending a week with his fellow-prisoner, Oliver Heywood, at Northowram, in offering thanksgiving and holding religious services in various places. Heywood says:

We had many grounds for thankfulness, and though God had taken away Mr. Whitaker's wife, while he was prisoner, yet He hath wonderfully compensated that loss in his own spirit, in the savoury frame, humble, zealous desires, and large opportunities of doing good, for which he doth bless the Lord. Blessed be God that He hath not only set us at liberty, but given us the liberty of ordinances without threatenings or disturbance.

The prospects of Nonconformists had now become much brighter; and in the following year James II., having done his utmost to crush them, sought to conciliate them by issuing his Declaration of Liberty (April 4th, 1687.) "We accepted it with thankfulness," says Thoresby, "though we dread a snake in the grass." The Declaration came too late. The next year the last of the Stuarts left Whitehall never to return.

VI Under Toleration, 1689

The Act of Toleration required that every place of meeting should be certified to the justices of the peace at the general or quarter sessions; and under it many such places, mostly private dwellings, were doubtless certified and registered at Leeds; but unfortunately the record of them, which would have shewn to what extent Pro-

testant dissenters availed themselves of the toleration, has either been lost or is still hidden somewhere among the archives of the borough sessions. In Bradford and its vicinity, within the next ten years, about twenty-five such places were registered, and at Leeds the number was probably not much less. Whitaker and his friends forthwith set themselves to the erection of a new and larger place of worship. It was completed at the end of the year 1691, and described as "a stately meeting house in CALL LANE, with a turret upon the leaded roof," and at no great distance from the parish church. Thoresby has this note under December 22nd, 1691; "Morning. Mr. Sharp preached (at Millhill); afternoon Mr. Whitaker, whose congregation has now a second day been with us till their new meeting place be fit for their reception." About three months previously both Mr. Sharp and Mr. Whitaker were present at Alverthorpe, Wakefield, and took part in an assembly of twenty-four West Riding ministers, which was summoned for the purpose of promoting closer union among so called Presbyterians and Independents, who wished to be henceforth known as the "United Brethren." There was little difference between them; and meetings for fraternal intercourse and devotion continued to be held by them for many years. Whitaker was one of the most eminent of their number, and his congregation was one of the most flourishing in the county. On the death of Mr. Sharp in 1692, Heywood and Whitaker preached his funeral sermons at Millhill. "It was," says Thoresby, the greatest and saddest assembly that ever I beheld." Mr. Sharp's successors were Timothy Manlove, M.D. (1693-8), Peter Peters (1698-1705), William Pendlebury (1705-29), and Joseph Cappe (1730-46.)

As a further indication of the harmony that prevailed between the two ministers and congregations at Leeds, it may be mentioned that Dr. Manlove of Mill Hill preached at Call Lane, when Mr. Whitaker was taken ill (December 16th, 1694), and doubtless on other occasions. Shortly afterwards Whitaker found it necessary to obtain aid in his work and had several assistants in succession. The first was Thomas Bradbury, before mentioned (1696-7), of whom Thoresby says, "I ought to make one remark in his commendation, that when here he used once a week to instruct the youth to sing in their chapel, which succeeds so well that that congregation performs that part the best of most, if not any, in these parts . . . He was courted for his known moderation by a party at Millhill to succeed Mr. Manlove," (1698). *Diar.* i. 446. The next assistant was William Conder, son of Joseph Conder, of Leeds, merchant, and brother of John Conder, minister at Hackney, and ancestor of George William Conder and Dr. Eustace R. Conder, whose memory is still very precious in Leeds. The third assistant was Joseph Sutton, who removed to Hull. In 1701 we find Mr. Whitaker visiting his old friend Heywood, the year before that good man finished his course; and in 1704 he published a little book entitled *The Christian Sanctuary; or Room for Returning Sinners with a Compassionate Saviour, dedicated to my beloved friends the hearers of these sermons in and about Leeds*. In the closing years of his life he was often called upon to preach funeral sermons for his Nonconformist brethren in the district; and at length "having served the will of God in his generation," he also "fell on sleep," and his funeral sermons were preached by Heywood's successor, Thomas Dickenson, and his first assistant, Thomas Bradbury. He died on the

10th of November, 1710, and was interred in the parish church, where a brass plate in front of the communion rail with an inscription (in Latin) in glowing terms recorded his learning, piety, eloquence, liberality and indefatigable labours. "He was indeed," wrote Timothy Jolly, "what was said of the great Nazienzen, Magnes and Adamas, a loadstone to draw souls to Christ, and an adamant to bear the shock of persecution in his unwearied labours and sufferings for many years." *

The next minister at Call Lane was WILLIAM MOULT (1711-27), educated at Jolly's academy, who followed in the footsteps of his predecessor, and according to the List of Nonconformist Chapels in 1716, preserved in Dr. Williams's Library, had a congregation at Call Lane numbering 800. The number at Millhill was 600, and there was only one other chapel in Yorkshire where it was exceeded, *viz.*, Timothy Jolly's at Sheffield, where the congregation was set down as 1163. At his death, September 15th, 1727, William Moulton was referred to in the *Northowram Register* as "a very great loss to that congregation and the Church of God." He was succeeded by THOMAS WHITAKER (1727-76), son of the former minister, who was for a while assisted by his son William Whitaker (who died before him), and continued his labours for nearly 50 years, resigning in 1776, and dying August 4th, 1778, aged 80. But for a long period before his resignation the congregation had dwindled to a small number compared with what it had been in his father's time.

Before concluding something must be said concerning the declension of Congregationalism in

* Sermons by the Rev. Thomas Whitaker, A.M.; to which are added four sermons relating to his death (1712).

Leeds during the first half of the eighteenth century. Many influences contributed to such a declension ; but one of the principal of these was doubtless the lack of religious fervour and evangelical doctrine which prevailed among ministers and gradually affected their hearers. When Mr. Whitaker died in 1710 there was no difference among Protestant dissenters on the doctrine of the Trinity ; even at the famous Salters' Hall controversy in 1719, in which "bold Tom Bradbury" took so prominent a part, the question was not as to the acceptance or rejection of that doctrine, but simply as to subscription to a formal statement of it, or simply to the Bible as the rule of faith. Meanwhile, Dr. Samuel Clarke, rector of St. James's, Piccadilly, had published (1712) a work entitled *The Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*, (or rather of no Trinity), which exerted considerable influence not only in the Church of England, but also among Protestant dissenters. The younger ministers especially adopted semi-Arian or Arian views, but seldom openly avowed them. On the ground of avoiding controversy they confined themselves to "practical preaching," and rarely set forth what is known as evangelical truth. The result was that their preaching lost its hold on the people ; many of their hearers, who were attached to the old teaching, left their ministry ; and ultimately Arianism, which affords "no resting place for men who have loosened themselves from orthodoxy," gave place to Unitarianism.

It has been often said that the Congregational system, which places the government of the church in the members, and does not leave it (like so-called Presbyterianism) in the hands of the minister, trustees, or elders, ensures the continued orthodoxy of the pulpit. But the statement is hardly borne out by facts, except to a very limited

extent. Call Lane was a decidedly Congregational church; but it became at first Arian and then Unitarian, just like Millhill, in which the Presbyterian method of government was more fully observed. The preaching of both Mr. Whitaker at Call Lane, and of Mr. Cappe at Millhill, who were contemporaries and both of them very excellent men, was marked by the lack of evangelical doctrine. Whitaker was followed by JOSEPH BOWDEN, an avowed Arian, and by others who were Unitarians. The successor of Mr. Cappe was Thomas Walker, M.A., 1748-63, "one of the most heretical ministers in the neighbourhood"*; and he, after the brief ministry of Nathaniel White, was followed by the celebrated Dr. Joseph Priestley (1767-73), who, though brought up in connection with the old Independent church at Heckmondwike, became the foremost promoter and defender of Unitarianism in England.

But twenty years before Dr. Priestley settled at Leeds, Wesley and Whitefield had proclaimed the "Old Gospel" here, and in 1754 the first chapel (White or White Hall Chapel) connected with modern Congregationalism was erected, and John Edwards became its first minister. Congregationalism as it is now known at Leeds is entirely the offspring of the Evangelical Revival.

* Joseph Ryder, who was a member of the congregation at Call Lane and often attended Millhill chapel, left a diary, 1733-67, in which he wrote, after referring to the death of Mr. Cappe, 1748; "According to many people's observation, religion in the life and the power of it appears to be on the declining hand;" and again after hearing Mr. Walker in 1762, "I cannot deny but I am desirous of what I seldom meet with, even discourses of the depravity of our nature, and the healing remedies provided, the necessity of inward holiness and heart sanctification, as well as outward reformation." In 1772, William Graham of Halifax preached a sermon "before the dissenting clergy in Millhill chapel," entitled "Repentance; the only condition of final acceptance."

Memoir of Robert Mackenzie Beverley

The following brief memoir was written by Mary Stickney Rowntree, daughter of Edward Stickney of Beverley, and wife of William Rowntree of Scarborough. It is published by permission of her son, Allan Rowntree, Esq., of Westwood House, Scarborough.

ROBERT MACKENZIE BEVERLEY was the only son of William Beverley, of Beverley in East Yorkshire, and was born there near the end of the eighteenth century. R. M. Beverley's father, who I believe came from America, had not resided long at Beverley when he married Miss Midgley, whose family belonged to the old aristocracy of the place. William Beverley had the character of being an arbitrary and overbearing man, in fact a Tory of the old school. When R. M. Beverley left college he travelled for some time, visiting Egypt, etc. On his return he took considerable part in local matters, as well as in general politics, on the Liberal side. He also advocated the Roman Catholic claims with great warmth. In personal appearance he was tall and erect, with a most dignified yet gentle bearing. His complexion was fair, his hair light and waving. He looked so youthful on the hustings in the castle yard at York during the county election of 1826, that he was spoken of as "Miss Beverley with the long flaxen ringlets."

In 1831 he published his first *Letter to the Archbishop of York*. This was soon followed by the *Second*, also the *Tombs of the Prophets*, and a *Letter to Lord Henley on Church Reform*. Some other pamphlets appeared on the corruptions in the University of Cambridge. Not long after the publication of his letters to the archbishop he ceased to take part in politics, and devoted himself to religious and philanthropic work. He preached to large congregations in the Independent chapel at Beverley; the minister of which had been trained in the Countess of Huntingdon's college.* R. M. Beverley published a *Directory*, and *Asaph, for the lifting up of the hearts of God's people*. The *Directory* was chiefly taken from the prayer book; *Asaph* was a collection of hymns; both were used in the chapel when he took part in the service. He wore a surplice and college hood when he read the prayers, and preached in a black gown. He was a very warm advocate for the abolition of slavery, visiting several towns, and speaking on behalf of the oppressed slaves. I think it was in 1833 or -4 that his father lost his property. Much of the son's also went in the general crash. The home was broken up, and he and his unmarried sister both left Beverley. The latter came to reside in Scarborough, where she died some years afterwards. The elder sister had a good while before married William Beckett of Doncaster, who at this time took in addition the name of Dennison. She had a large family.

Robert Mackenzie Beverley was for some time in Birmingham, and was associated with many devoted philanthropists there and elsewhere. After leaving Birmingham he came to live at Scarborough, and preached at various times in the

* This was the Rev. John Mather who ministered at Beverley from 1807 to 1842.

Independent chapel in St. Sepulchre Street.* He afterwards attended the meetings of the "Brethren," and frequently took part in them. His sermons were eloquent, evangelical, and practical. He had a richly cultivated mind, an intimate acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures, and an appreciative sense of their great value. He was a beautiful reader, and reverence was a marked feature in all his ministrations; so that wherever he preached he was heard with acceptance by persons of various denominations. Subsequently divisions arose among the "Brethren," and he quietly withdrew, devoting himself to literary pursuits. He had a very strong sense of the ludicrous, and not infrequently printed a few racy words on passing events, as well as now and then a little poem, such as *The Redan*, *The Cemetery*, *The Storm*, etc. He wrote with righteous indignation on the Chinese War and the burning of the Emperor's palace. He also published *Spiritual Worship*, in which are some telling remarks shewing—as had been his wont—his unswerving contempt for whatever was pretentious and unreal. After he first became serious, and until his property was so greatly reduced, he was very benevolent, especially to those who were struggling to help themselves. Assistance was always given in the most delicate and unostentatious way; thus obeying the injunction that his "alms should be in secret." Great mildness and gentleness of demeanour characterised him to the last; often causing surprise in those who saw him for the first time, after having read some of the stinging irony which flowed from his pen against abuse and wrong. During the latter years of his life he took no active part in local affairs, nor in

* Now Eastborough Congregational church.

any particular religious community. He possessed a splendid library, and lived much as a literary recluse.* He died after a short and suffering illness on the 3rd November, 1868, and was interred in the cemetery at Scarborough.

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* The Congregational Library has a number of rare books and early editions which were given by him to Joshua Wilson, Esq., with whom he was long on terms of intimate friendship.

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- M. Robinson. *A Letter to Robert Mackenzie Beverley in answer to his address to the Archbishop of York on the present state of the Church of England.* 1831.
- W. B. Stonehouse. *A few observations on the "Rudiments of Ecclesiastical Knowledge," as stated in a Second Letter to the Archbishop of York, by Robert Mackenzie Beverley.* 1832.
- W. T. Wild. *A Reply to a Letter addressed by Robert Mackenzie Beverley to the Archbishop of York.* 1831.
- Observations intended as a Reply to a pamphlet by Robert Mackenzie Beverley, Esq., entitled a Letter to the Archbishop of York.* By a curate of the Church of England. 1831.

2. *In defence of the University of Cambridge.*

- Alumnus. *Letters to Robert Mackenzie Beverley in (ironical) defence of his strictures on the University of Cambridge.* 1834.
- Reginald Bell. *The Beverleid, an Epic; dedicated to the Members of the Cambridge University Union.* Cambridge, 1833. (In Hudibrastic verse).
- Βεφερλειος ἀποκαλυπτομενος. *Beverley unmaskt; a Canino-Greek poem written for the instruction of R. M. Beverley, Liar, by Mr. Anti-Reform, High-Church Orthodox.* Cambridge, 1833. (In Greek doggerel).
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- F. R. Hall. *Letter to Robert Mackenzie Beverley containing strictures on his Letter to the Duke of Gloucester.*
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- J. P. Russell. *Letter to the Right Hon. H. Goulbourn, with reference to a recent letter from Robert Mackenzie Beverley to the Duke of Gloucester.* 1833.
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The Bury St. Edmund's Church Covenants

THE early covenants of the Congregational church at Bury St. Edmund's are given by John Browne of Wrentham in his *History of Congregationalism in Norfolk and Suffolk*; but, as regards the longer and earlier document, only in part, and with some inaccuracies. By the kindness of Rev. A. J. Brown, the present pastor, we are able to give a strictly accurate representation of these interesting covenants, with all the signatures. The portions included in square brackets are omitted in Browne's *History*. It will be seen that the document exhibits the most exclusive Barrowist type of Independency. Its historical importance, however, consists in the identification it affords of Katherine Chidley, the "brazen-faced audacious old woman" who dared to write *A Justification of the Independent Churches of Christ* in reply to "Shallow Edwards" of the *Gangraena*. Edwards mentions "One Katharine Chidley, an old Brownist, and her son, a young Brownist, a pragmaticall fellow," who "have been this summer to Bury in Suffolke, to set up and gather a church there." The son is, no doubt, Samuel Chidley, the eminent Commonwealth lawyer, honourably remembered as the protagonist of Criminal Law reform; but this appears to be the only place where the Christian names of mother and son are collocated; and thus the early champion of Independency shewn to be the mother of the humanitarian law reformer. A list of Samuel Chidley's

works, from the British Museum catalogue, is appended.

1646.

Be it knowne unto all the Saints of Sion that wee whose names are underwritten knowing that there is but one eternall God [Creater and Governour of all things, distinguished into three w^{ch} beare record in heauen] The father y^e word and the holy spirite. and that the eternall son [of y^e eternall father tooke on him our nature and Suffered death for our Sinns, and rose from y^e dead the third day, and assended into the glorious heauens where he is at the right hand of God making intercession for us, who] gaue commission unto his disciples that they should teach his *disciples to do and obserue all things which he comanded, and * sent his holy Spirite [according to his promise] to asist them, and strengthen them, and to confirme their holy actions amongst which to erect particular churches of Saints hear upon earth was one. and [wee] being conuincid in conscience of the evill of y^e Church of England, and of all other states w^{ch} are contrary to Christs institution. And being [(according to Christes institutions and comandements)] fully separated, not only from them, but also from those who communicate with them either publickly or priuately, wee resolve by the grace of God, not to returne unto their vaine inuentions their human deuices, their abominable idolatries, or superstitious high places, which were built and dedicated to idolatry. And [wee] seing not only the necessity of this separation, but also the great need of continuing in Christian fellowship, and societie, [and that to be of y^e visible particular Church of Christ is most needfull for the saints edification in this life it being y^e exelentest kingdome of grace, whereby they may enjoy all the ordinances of God, according to their capabillity and seing that there is no such particular Church visible neer unto us but so remote that wee cannot without breach of the Saboth assemble with, unless (to the depriueing of our families of temporall prouision) we forsake the temporall places and employments wherein God hath set us, and in which estates wee are called, and considering that God allowes of particular Churches in one nation And wee his saints being possessed with the thoughts of y^e exelencies therof, and the sweete-closing-neer-comunion which the

*Browne: followers.
*Browne adds "that
he."

saints of God haue with Christ therin, wee, in the presence of y^e greate God, whose glorious fulnes the heauen, and y^e heauen of heauens canot containe.] Wee doe therefore, together with our posteritie, couenant, to become a peculiar Temple for the Holy Ghoste to dwell in, an entier spouse of Jesus Christ our Lord of glory, for y^e enioyment of all his holy ordinances, according to his owne institutions, and so to walke in all his waies So far as he hath reueiled unto us or shall reueile hereafter. [In testimony wherof (in the town of Edmonsbury in Suffolk this 16th day (of the moneth comonly called August) being the Lords day) wee doe now subscribe with our hands unto Jehouah and to his Christ.

John Barrow

Anne Barow

John Lanseter and his three children wth he brought in with himselfe whose names are

John Lanseter

Mary Lanseter

Sameuell Lanseter

William Wood and his sone which he brought in with himselfe, namely

William Wood

Sarah Tompson

Lucrase Potter & her two children which shee brought in wth herselfe whose names are

Robbert Potter

Lucrase Potter

John Thronser (? or Chrower)

John Renans

Witnesses of before signed

*Samuel Chidley } members of the
Catharine Chidley } Church of God
in London.]*

December 21, 1648

We whose names are hereto Subscribed do resolve and ingage by the helpe of the Spirit of God to walke

in al the wayes of God So far forth as he hath reuealled
or shall reueall them unto us by his word and in all
deuteys of Loue each to agree as become a Church of
Christ.

*John Lanseter
James Grundy
George Stannard
Edward Sikes
Robert Sargent his U marke
Robert Howton his R marke
*Will Woods his marke M
*John Thronser (? or Chrower)
Will Johnson
Henry Ffarrow,

The next document narrates the sad ending of
Lanseter's connection with the church, of which he
was the first pastor.

Anno Domⁱ 1654^o

John Lanseter a member of this Church, one of the
foundation, for diuers years an usefull instrument for
the good of the church, afterwards falling into the
hainous and beastly sins of drunkenness and [word
undecipherable] was at length wth greate sorrow and
lamentation when the whole church was met together
delivered over into the hands of Sathan & cut off
from the body about the 6th day of the 5th month
comonly called July in the yeare of grace 1654.

Works of Samuel Chidley

*Letter to Mr Goodwin, and sum of the Conferences that followed
therefrom.* 1650.

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Baptism* (addressed to J. Spilsbury). 1651.

? *Petition* [of D. Brown and his family] *for repairing certain wrongs
done unto them by Lt-col F. Lilburne.* 1651.

? *The Dissembling Scol set forth in his Colours; or a Vindication of
Lt-col. John Lilburn.* 1652.

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(Mortimer West is in Hampshire, on the borders of Berks. ; Potterspurty is in Northants ; both should be omitted on p. 125.)

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A Pastoral Letter from Prison

By John Greenwood

[Probably written about the end of 1586; see *Trans.* II., p. 149.]

The Lord hime self of all comforte
and truthe Replenish ou^r harts with
the knowledge and knowledging of his
truth; that wee may both see & taste
the heavenly word & salver of
o^r sowels in the world to
come a men.

But a lack my dear brethren so barren ar the soyls of o^r
harts, so ov^rgrowne with the noysom weds of this world,
Amo 6. 12 so unfrutfull or unfaythfull ar our husbandmen & laborers, &
so wachfull that our envious ansient enimey sathane; & as the
hardnes of our harts, with the neclygence of the prechers, and
meting with the mallyce of the third to witt sathane, it maks the
lords feld lye wast. The first canot Indever to have the stonye
fallowes of ther harts broken up & dewly plowed wth the shear of
trewe repentance that is to romysh docktrine; but they will have
the Gospell, ye sac^raments, & the p^rmisses of sallvation; they
2 Tim 2. 6 will have the harvist without Dew tyllag & labor, supposing
belyck that ther sowles will bring forthe of it owne accord
good frut. they have forgotten for whose sine it remaineth under
the curs: & thes tilsmen, thes husbandmen of ou^r Dayes, whose
sinne cannot be expressed by the pene of a writer, yet ar they
Ingarven with the poynt of a diomond. these Idell and desaytfull
laborars, these unsavery sault that neyther seaseone nor be seasoned,
these ether sow ye pretious & holye seed among briers and thornes,
or else sow such maslyne and unsownd seed in the lords feld
Jere 4. 4 that they ned not the offyce of the third, viz. Sattan, unlesse
its be to watter that they have planted. see howe evne the
best ground that cometh in ther hands yf it becóm not &
remain not unfrutfull; yee and if it wer not y^e the lord hath
Luk: 20. 10 p^rmissid to put out his vinard to other husbandmen it were
IIob 6. 6 next unto cursing. see ther xxviiij years labor; they have
hagg: 1. 6 sowen much and bring in letell, and he that erneth wages

Joel. 1 puteth it in a broken bagge. consider the senseritey of ther mylk by the grouthe and waxing of ther childrene ! behould the delygent faythfulnes of these builders, which this xxviii years have benne laing the foundatyon, & yeat is not on ston in orde^r. nay, in stead of zion, or rathe^r in dispite of Zion, they have all with on consent Reared up babel in the land of Shinar. Behould what a christ they pch ether in the habit of or in subiection to antichrist ! the gospell they preach is without lybertye joyned, and well agreing with Idollatry and all the synne of the land. what shall I saye of them, or rather what shall I leave unsayd ? I am mor weary & grevyd in reckning ther sinnes then they in comiting the^m. Mark for conclusion the good effects of ther preaching, preaching : as thes pfytt transfygur christ unto these tymes, so the people Imagine hime to them selves affter ther own lusts. the greter and polytyck frame hime to ther lawes, the worldlye to ther Insasiety & covetusnes, the carnall to ther bellye, all to ther apytitts. See hear lyke pfitte lyck people.

Mic. 1. 3 See how they ar wretched as the pfete sayeth together, & mak Nahu. 1. 9 a strong cauble of Iniquitie ; or rather as the pfytt Nahume sayeth, as thornes fouled on within another, fytt for the fier of the lords wrath. yeat bles they their selves in this fearfull estat, yea, & ar blesed by ther pfitts. they see not, and canot enduer to hear, that they ar naked and poor and miserable, and near unto distruction. they hatt them that rebukethe in the gatt, and abhorre hime that speaketh uprightly. Every on hopeth to be saved, yeat no on seketh the meanes. every on pmiseth unto hime self salvation, yeat no one beleveth the promises of god. every on takethe howld of the covenants of god unto them, but no man Remembreth his covenant to the lord. All wold have the gospell still, and hear of comferte stille ; but no man goeth to hear John Baptyste sermon in the willdernes, Repent, for the kingdom of god is at hand ; prepare yee the waye of the lord, mak his pathes straight. such a pfitte is not a pfitte for this peopell ; such a pfitte hath a devill, or is a sysmatick etc. but such a people as have such Iching eares as canot enduer sound doctrine, whose weack stomachs brouck not the howlsom fode of the gospell, which can not nor will not learn this lesion hear, to have Repentance goe befo[re] and Joyned with the gospell for ther fleshy plesuers. and other worldly respets, shall in ane other place rew this contempt, and for ever have Repentance Joyned to Judgment wher the worm dieth not & the fyre never goeth out. there no pharisycall wall nor hipocritycall mantell can hied them from his eies that are lyck a flamb of fyre, w^{ch} sercheth the raygnes and seeth the harts, from whom noe secretts are hid, & befor whom all boocks shalbe opened, even the consience of them that hear in this world lyved without consience. But I hoop, dear brethren, yea, I thanck god I

am pswaded better things of you, though I thus writ of thes evell tymes. I dowt not your names shalbe found written in the lambs book of lyfe to your unspeakabell Joy in that Day. But then, beloved, in the meane tyme you must not cast in your lott with the wicked, nor have felowship with the throngue of Iniquitie w^{ch} forgethe wrong for a lawe.* Yoⁿ must as virgines kepe your selves chast to christ your husband, and undefyled from the Idoll temples and false worship &c. You must walk worthie of yo^r hie calling, seing you ar bought from men, and that with a price, and ar becom as first fruts unto God and the lambe. only now lett yo^r cōversation be as becommeth the gospell of christ ; for ye ar a chosen generation, a royall presthood, a hollye nation, a people sett at libertye that you showld now shew forthe the vertus of hime which hath called you owt of darknes into this marvelous lyght. yo^r candell is not lyghted to be hid under a bushell, but now you ar to hould fothe the lyght & the word of lyf in the midst of this darck and croked generation : and this shall you doe yf you hould faste the profession of yo^r hoope wthout wav'ing. he thate wav'ethe is lyk a byllow on the sea, tosed of the wind & caried awaye ; such a on Resevethe not any thing of the lord. the lord above all things abhoreth a dubell minded man ; halt not, therfor, betwixt tow opinions ; be ether hott or cold ; Remember the warning geven to the church of laodicia. Geve no year to those haltynge hipocrits which will seek to quench your spirit, zeall, and love unto the lord, advisynge you to bear those burdens wth them for a season, till gods good plesuer be otherwyse ; in the mean tyme to use prayer and such libertye as you may. Thus cover they ther cowerdesse and covetyie with prayer and the word of god ; and betray yo^r lybertye for which christ dyed Into the hands of antichrist. thus defyll they you bothe sowle and bodie with Idolatry and treson doen to the crown and kyngdom of our soverain prince Christ Jesus ; thus take they away at on tyme the crown of your suffering, evene of your Reioysing befor him in that great daye. Yea, they tack away y^t most hollye, blessed, and bewtyfull order of Christ's goᵛment, by making it a thing not worthie the suffering. ah, be not bewiched, I ["pray" cancelled] besech you wth the vaien pswasion of these seducers ; Consider from whom they call you, even from christ, and from the swett sosiettey of hiz faithfull servants, from the benefitt of his suffering, deathe, & resu'ction, from his comfortable presenc, his lybertye, & hiz graces. Consider whether they call you : To Antchrist, falc worship, babylonishe bondag, egiptical darknes, &c. & whie is this? because they know not the truth, nay, but because they will not suffer for the truthe. whie do they thus to you? because they love you? nay, but because they wold

* Paul.
94. 16.
20.
2 Corinth
11. 2

Revela
14. 4

1 Peter.
2. 9

James. 1.

Reve.
8. 16

Mat.
23. 54

Mat.
28. 54

Heb.
13. 22

Galla.
6. 12

Reioyce in your flesh, and bring you into the sam suar of the devell with them, and mak you towfould mor the children of hell then them selves ar, by how much you ar Insnares with mor worldlye wealthe, mor earthlye pleasuers, mor fleshlye Delytes, then they who to mak a faier show in the fleshe and to kepe the owt syd of the platter cleane Refrayn from those things them selves wth they tolerat in you ; and so by this polysie they purchas peace with the world, good will with men, avoid psecution, yee, even the Reprof of any. By Reason of the beames wth by ther means Remaien in the ies of all. The lord for his christs sack anoynt yo^r eyes with that holye eysalve of his grace that you may bothe see and fle thos foulers & ther snares. Thes faier sta [*blank space*] wherwith they bewich you of the knowledg and comfort you gett by theme prove nothing as sonne as the lord on them [*sic*]. what know they y^r know not the lord ? Yf you say you know his will and do it not yo^r sinne Remayneth. Examyn your comfort by your estate & your estat by the lyght of gods word ; tack the Read in your hand ; measuer your temple, yo^r Alter, & yo^r worships, yf you have built upon the true foundation gould, silver, and psious stones, and that according to our saviours last will and testament, yo^r worcks will wittnes to you ; yo^r work will then abyed, & you have good cause to reioyce. but yf your building be uppon the sand, and may not enduer this trial, as you see yo^r best workmen cannot iustifie it to be according to the true pattron, then have you small cause of comfort, for dowltes you stand in a fearfull estate ; for all the powers, & principallitis in the world ar not able to uphold this ruinous sinagog you stand under ; all the daubers cannot sustain it, for the tempest of the lords wrath shall overthrowe it, to the destructyon of all them that stand under it : yea, our samson, Christ Jesus, doth already shak not onlye the pillers but the foundations of it. tack warning, therfor for Christs sack, & come out whilest you may ; nay, be warned for your own saks, at the least as manie as howld ther salvation dear. Remember what a fearfull thing it is to fall into the hands of the lyving god ; dispise not his gracce ofered in hope of mercie to com. prefer not the world to your heavenly byrthright, lest with Esau lyckwise after ward when you wold Inherit the blessing you be reiected ; you know he fownd no place to repentanc, thowghe he sowght it wth teares &c. by not yo^r worldlye ease at so dear aprice ; beleve him that have sayd, you canot together have peac wth the world and with god. cast not from you that rare example of the rich glotten in hell torments. I asuer you as the world goethe withe us at these dayes he had byn anonest man & a right god christian. he did no man wrong by violence or oppression ; he was a good nyghbor, a good

Mat:
28. 16Hose.
6. 12
6. 9

hagg. 19

Joh. 9. 41

Revela
. 11 .

Ezc. 18

Reve. 18. 4

Heb. 12. 17

Joh :
14. 27
& 15. 18, 19
& 18. 83

houskepe, a good felow ; he spent that god sent him, he kept the best company, he was a man of account & estimation, rich, honorable ; & what was then his fault ? he knew not god.

Luk. 16. after the comon ratt of christians he knew him to. he was of the seed of abrame, an I[s]ralytt, circumssised ; & what was then his fault ? Surlye he knew not god ; he could not brouck the simple plaine food of the gospell ; he cold not bear christ's cross. yeatt read we not that he psecuted christ's servants with bitternes & rigor. well, lose not the benifit of furder aplycation ; it was written for our Instruction & admonition. We se hime by that most righteous Judg condemned, tormented & so fothe. he had but moses and the pfitts, yeat no excuse could serve. we have christ, moses, the pfyts, & lime : lett us not deseave our Selves ; god is notte deceved ; yf in our sinnes we exced or equall hime in our plags we shall exced o^r equall hime. our god is a Juste god ; so is he a Jealous god ; we cannote serve hime and mamon ; we cannot serve hime after our own fantasies. we cannot geve christ our sowle and antchrist our body ; christ died for bothe, he will have bothe or nether of bothe. he hath no comunion with antichrist, nether

Esa. 53. can we have comunion with hime and christ. refuse not christ for his humillitie, Refuse him not for his sufferinges ; he was humbled for us, for us he suffered, for us he died, for us he is risen from the dead, and assended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of his ffather in all glory & power even for us—even for us if we cold but beleve, yf we cold but be faythfull, yf we cold but suffer hime that so graciously worketh in us and for us.

Mat. 16. 24. Surlye untill we be humbled to hime and with him, we can receive nothing from hime & thorow hime. we must be humbled, as new borne babes, even to the eie of an needle, or we cannot enter. flesh and bloud canot inheritte the kyngdome of heaven. and being thus humble & wained from the world, we must daylie tak up his crose & folowe hime, and Joyfully goo forthe to him owt of the camp, bering his reproche. We must obedientlye and uncowardlye folow the lambe whither soever he goethe ; we must without halting or excuse folow him that calleth us without Delaye, leaving all things, yea deniing (?) our selves ; and we canot love the world or any thing in the world and love the lord Jesus. lett not these false [*blank*] deceve you : he that denieth christ hear he will denie hime befor his heavenlie father ; he that witnesseth not unto

1 Jho. 2. 19. him hear for fear of psecution or other worldlye respects, he will openlye denie such befor his father & his holye angells. The kingdom of god now is lyckned unto a pearll & a feld of hidden tresuer, which must be purchased, and no pt of the pric may be deteyned. and what is that price that is demanded, & wherat we ar so offended & greved ? is it not evene all that we have ? and what hath any of us, I

Mat. 13. 44

pray you, that he hath not reseed, & that of christ Jesus, which hath geven him self for us, and with himself what not unto us? in hime ar all things blesed unto us: without hime all things that we have & so carfully kepe from hime is accursed, yea, & we accursed, & shalbe arayned befor him as unijst owners, violent Intruders & theves! O then our unthankfull dulnes, y^e grudge at this prise, as though we did give some notabell benefitt! What geve we that we have not Received from him? What geve we that is not his own by duple ryght, both by creation and Redemtion? lett us mark what we gev hime: sinfull wreched bodies, fallen from his excelent creation into a moste miserable forlorne estate; and our goods, what ar they but accused for our sinnes? those exelent Jewells we geve him, is it marvell we showld be so lothe to pt from them? is it not rather marvell that he should be so gracious to receive them, to Ingrafe them into his own bodye, to redem them with his own body, to purg them with his most p^recious bloud, to santifie them with his holly spirit, to cloth them with his righteunes, yea, to crown them with his glory, and for ever to possess the of his heavenly kyngdom? See now what we geve and what we Receive. See and receive (?) this happie exchaung, yf by o^r own inexcusable obstinacy and defaults we depriv not our selves of it, bie depriving our selves of christs sufferings. they are Irksom and bitter to flesh and blud in the tast, but most healthfull in digestion & comfortable in operation. therebie the ashes of worldly securitie & worldye & fleshlye vanitie wherein our faythe lay quenched & covered, are blowen away; our faythe kyndled, stired up, and revived. therby, we aprove our spiritual weapons and our armor. therby we exercise our love, our corage, & our strenghe. therby we overcom and ar mor then conquerers over all our enimes, principallities & powers. & What ar these momentarye sufferings wherat we ar so agast? Y^e apostell paul saieth not worthie that inestimable waight of that unspeakable glory that remainethe for us. agayn, yf we wer left unto our selves we had cause to be dismayd; but we have christs pmyses, w^{ch} ar not yea and nay, but yea & amen, that he will never leve us; that he will geve a mouth and wisdom against the which our adversaryes shall not be able to resist; that no temtation shall tak us above our strenghe, but that he will geve the ishew with the temtation. he hath pmysed us a comforter to guid us & to govern us; he hath pmysed us armor, weapons, & victory. lett not an unbeleving hart deprive us of these pmyses, yea, seclude us from these blessing^s. ther remayneth no mor but that we beleve. lett us not dayllye pray on for another and with another, that 'the lord wold Increase our faythe, and strengthen us to the ende.'

2 cor.
4. 16
psal.
81. 19

Mat.
24. 20

luk.
21. 15
1 Cor
10. 13
Job.
14. 15;
Ephe.
6. 11.

Rom.
8. 37
Reval.
12. 11
15. 2

Heb.
3. 12

Since I sawe you I was converted befo^r the pontyficall

corte of bishops, a sort of well feed & well arayed silken prests. ther found I nether equitie, charitie, nor conscience; the lord forgeve them & amend them yf they be his. Ther hard I what they can obiect agaynst me. they wold have had me accordding to ther ungodlye wits to tack an othe upon a boock to ansere truly to ther obiections. I answered that it wer mor meett that myne acusers should be produced & sworne then that I should be sworne to accuse myself; yeat this I offered by word to awnser trulye and drectlye. the archb. very pemtatorylye called for my keper, & because I would not swear comited me very Rigoruslye to straight and close prison; wher I remaine till god delyver me. the lord graunt me a holly use of this his loving visitation; for suerlye this good the enimie dothe me, to sepat me from this wicked world—from gods dear children they cañot, to whom thorowghe the ve^tue & mersies of christ Jesus I am Insepablye ioyned. pray for me, dear brethren, y^t I may not resist and hinder this gracious work of the lord, who begineth to sommone me owt of this world, yea, to prepa^r my Journye, & I hoope will shortlye ackomplyshe it; the rather yf the man of canterbury may have his will, who is pparing me a fyrye chariot to passe in. but this to the lord, and all to the lord, and you to the lord; pray for me, that the lord will strengthen me to seall that with my bloud to you that christ hath sealed with his bloud to me and you. I thanck the lord of his grace, & I thanck the lord for you alwayes, being mindfull of you all in my prayers, that the lord wold establysh yo^r harts in his truth & increase your ioye In the practyse therof; that whether I goe befor you or com affter you, whether we be severed or meett, we may have alwayes to reioyse befor god our ffather in christ; to whom be wthe the hollye spiryt inseparablye be all glory and prais for ever. amen.

The grac of our lord Jesus christ & the love of god, & the comunion of the holly ghost be with you all. amen.

¹Joh.
2. 21

Beloved, kepe yo^r selves from Idolls. amen.

Fragment of a Letter

Presumably by John Greenwood

[See *Trans.* II., p. 149]

The peace of god w^{ch} passeth all understanding keepe y^r & o^r herts to Christ Jesus ; & I praye god we maye make straight steppes, least y^t w^{ch} is halting turne us out of the waye ; and gods grace make us able through the suffering and victorie of Jesus Christ to strive to enter in at the straight gate. Soe be it. soe be it./

I have received yo^r letters, & the mony therin conteyned, w^t my 4 letters, and likewise yo^r loving tokens (sent by my deare brother y^t brought you my letters). for all this yo^r love, not onlye nowe, but of long tyme heretofore alsoe, I give god herty thanks through Christ Jesus, and noe doubt of it, though there be some controversies betwixt you and me, in wrighting, yet this yo^r grace in ministring to a poore distressed lambe of Christs fold, cannot be w^out great recompense, for his sake ; for god is not un-
heb. 10. righteous (as sayeth the apostle) That he should forget yo^r worke and labor of love w^{ch} you shewed towardes his name, in that you have ministred to his saints, & yet minister : and it maye be you | Chide me Jn folye for my follye in y^t I sent those letters, & yo^r letter especiallye, soe openlye ; but it shalbe soe noe more, soe long as yo^u and I continewe in freindshipp to gether. but surelye my purpose was not y^t any shold have seene them but o^r Brethren at W.H. w^t you & whome you should thincke it good. for inded we had need be as wise as serpentes and as harmles as Doves. . I have considered yo^r letter thorough, and therby I pceive y^t you and I are at some controversye ; but I praye god for his sonnes sake y^t it breake not out into froward contention, & soe by y^t meanes breake y^t bound of love and peace w^{ch} is nowe, & soe to continewe betweene you and me. for though my povertye be very great, and you & my brethren w^t you the cheife suppliers therof y^t I have in this world concerning mans ayde, yet all this may not make me A dombe dogg, to hold my peace. but in many poynts of yo^r letter I am urged in conscience to speake against,

yet not in any reueng [?] of my owne pte, and that my God knoweth ; but I wishe from the bottome of my hearte, Bothe that

I and you and all Gods children to prease hard towards the marke for the price of the hye callinge of god in Christ Jesus.

phil. 3. 14 first you saye y^t you did not crosse me in alleadging y^t David was forbidden to build ; then I saye you must prove that god hath forbidden the queene to command the rearing up of this apparant Church here in England ; or else yo^r applicaçon is not good : besides y^t the rearing up of the churche is appertayning to the godlye pastors and ministers of gods worde, nowe in these last dayes, onlye wth the whole ; & the queene, yf she hath not denyed the fayth, have noe more to doe in the rearing upp of the same then an other faythfull christian bath, as she is a member of the same churche. but I confes and allwayes have sayd, as she is civill & cheife magistrate, she hath to give forthe her letters to maynteyne the builders therof, & to be their defence, from the enemye ; and, as you have well sayd in yo^r letter, she hath to punishe the faltings of the churche, & to have a good eye that all things maye be done agreeing wth the word of god. but all this shée must do civillye,

As you have very well proved. therefore the churche maye not tarye the rearing upp therof untill God send a salomon to doe it, for god hath commanded it to be done & not left undone ; & the charge to reare it upp is committed to those whome god giveth graces to preache his worde ; & god must be obeyed before man. & nowe you saye further in yo^r letter, y^t you are sorye & sore mislike my rashe Judgment of them y^t first made the booke to be Antichristes ; but you saye surelye I sciaunder them, for they were good men &c. You doe not well, to saye y^t I condemne for antichrists those good men that made the booke of common prayer, as namelye Craṃer ; for I never did thincke y^t Craṃer, Ridley, or latymer, to be Antychrists, but I reverence those good men as muche as I maye by the word of god. not wstanding I saye this, their great sin of Ignorance hath beene our great & deadlye plague, in that they translated out of the latin portues of the pope in to englishe theyre deadlye collects & prayers, & soe made a booke of them. not that they made the prayers & collects them selves, but Antichriste as I said made them ; & these good men their ignorance was suche, y^t they translated those his prayers & collects into englishe, & mended here & there places wth were to vitious, & put in some of their owne words in the romes of that vile stufte : soe then you cannot well denye but these prayers were first coyned in that latin shop of Antichrist, and after were drawne out of the Latin shopp into Englishe by craṃar, & patched up to gether by some of his owne coyning, & theirs wth his : soe by this yo^r common prayers are but patched prayers. but alas, let us consider y^t these men were

*The word seems unmeaning.

in the time of great darknes over* we are nowe, and by the reason therof they were greatlye blynded by the mist of

Antichrist. but I say in that they knew they shewed themselves faithfull unto the death ; therefore they [were] gatherers wth Christ & not antichrists. soe by this meanes I may Judge better of the men then I can Judge of that their wicked worke, in making and calling that vilde booke together, wth hath bene sence that tyme A deadlye poyson to manye thousands as you knowe. then take my Judgment is this of those men : I saye we must not condemne those whom god hath Justified, but he did never Justifie their wicked fact, but pardoned it. he hath done therfore, what can we saye ? thoughte god did pardon the drunckennes of noah, and Imputed unto Cham the skorning of his fathers nakednes, though God did pardon that wicked dissembling & mistrust of Isacke in consulting w^t rebecca, to bid her say thou art my sister, & that his untoward love to Esau to give to him the blessing, thoughte it was proper to Jacod [*sic*] by gods appoyntment ; & yet imputed to Ishmael his mocking : & thoughte god did pardon Jacobs having of 2 wives and of ii whores, and his lyeng to his ffather ; yet he ymputed unto Esau the selling of his birthright :/ thoughte god did pardō the wickednes of the patriarkes in despising poore Joseph, and afterward their posteritye thoughte they were murmurers & rayled upon Moyses, delivered through the red sea ; yet he ymputed to pharao and his host the psecuting of them : thoughte god pardoned the wickednes of Aron in making a false god, yet he imputed to his ij sons Nadab and abihu the taking of straung fire :/ though god did pardon Miriam against mozes, yet he ymputed to corah Dathā and abiram w^t their companie their rebellion Pride and disobedience : and to be short, thoughte god did Pardon all the faults of all the good princes unto David, yet he did ympute to the wicked their obscure darknes : thoughte god did pardon Davids sin, murther, whoredom, and the having of manye wives, yet he ymputed to Saule the saving of one kinge & fat cattell, alive, contrarye to gods commandmente : thoughte god did pardon peters denyall and blasphemye, yet he ymputed unto Judas his traiterous kisse ; and even soe thoughte god did pardon Cranmer for making that vile book, & his being metropolitane, yet he condemned francis Spira for denieng his m^r Christe and sinning agaynst the holye ghost. thus you may see god doth what it pleaseth his ma^{ty} to doe ; yet it is he that condemneth, & it is he that saveth, soe y^t it is not for me to Judg Cranmer to be an antichrist, because the true good and Christ in his members but was psecuted for them even to the death. And yet I saye his calling to be metropolitane was antichristian. and for yo^r pt you thincke me a lyer because I sayd reading prayers is a quenching of the spirit in them that have the gifte of prayeng. but I saye it is not soe, for if we would narrowlie examine o^r selves, we should find a great untowardnes in o^r selves or in o^r fleshe, wth striveth against the spirit, for o^r fleshe telleth like a white devill it is

This seems almost unmeaning.

dangerous going to God by o^r conceived manner of prayer ; for, saith it, thou mayest set downe thy words undiscretlye, & soe thy prayer [? may] be will tourne to be a curse unto the ; therefore make sure work, and take the to a booke prayer. but the spirit that striveth against the flesh saith unto us, why* yield not* unto the fleshye & mistrusting motion, for I will helpe the ; goe unto prayer, and I will guide thy words, & tell the how to praye, & what to saye, & to whome, & in whose name ; I will make the to be full of great sighes and grones, wth care not to be expressed ; but he that sent me to the to make the crye abba fath^r, he knoweth the meaning of the spirit in the. yet for all this yf the fleshe over commeth the working of the spirit, and make us take a reading prayer yt is conceived to o^r handes, wth is both undangerous and wthout payne as saith o^r fleshe.*

* One of these words is superfluous.

* This sentence seems incomplete.

Nowe yf I shall take a reading prayer in hand shall I quenche the former motion of the spirit, Judge ye. and [? by] lacke of exercise in conceiving prayers my giftes decrease, but the often exercise therof doth make my gift increase : then that wth maketh it increase is best, and that wth maketh it decrease is a quenching of the spirit. All this have I said unto you by only feeling in my selfe ; for true it is my fleshe is more willing to take a booke prayer to goe before my god w^t all, five tymes rather then I should goe once by conceiving prayer. Then yf it were but this one thing, y^t reading prayers are most pleasing to the fleshe, ye maye coniecture they are the lesse pleasing to god. besides, yf prayer be nothing but a powring o^r greife unto God in asking the thing y^t we knowe needfull, w^t a hungrye desire to obteyne them, wheth^r for o^rselves or for our brethren, or for common wealthe, or especiallye for the glorye of god and halowing of his name ; howe can we w^t peace of conscience take a booke of prayer of an oth^r man's greife to god to god [sic] w^t all, and not rather laye all things aside & fall downe at Christs feete, and poure forth y^t o^r greife unto him. for surelye yf the poor publican had taken a booke in his hād when he was stricken w^t a feeling of his miserye, and cried out god be mercifull unto me a sinner, he could not have powred out his owne greife so aptlye, nor yet w^t the like feelinge ; and likewise the holye women, falling often downe at Christs feete. but the scriptures are full of such examples in the newe testament ; but their is not any example to prove that they used booke prayers. but yf some weake brother for want of knowledge and good Instruction doe take A booke prayer we will not saye soe much to it, especiallye not y^t vile booke of comōn prayer, for you knowe y^t booke by authoritye hath set it selfe against all that is called god, and therefore an accursed enmye to god. & seing y^t it is an accursed thing, whoe dare bring an accursed thing into the preasence of the lorde to serve him

w^{all}. for let us carye an accursed or vile thing before*
 w^{ch} is her enemye, & she will hate it, & will she not reiect
 us & y^t o^r message; and shall we then be soe bolde to
 carye an accursed thing before a righteous god? but here, it maye
 be, you will replye, & saye yoⁿ take the best of those prayers. I
 annswer the best of them are accursed and blinde and
 lame prayers, & even like sacrifices a* rehersed mal. i.
 6, 7, 8, 9 vses: thoughte I grant this place is ceremoniall,
 wth a reproof of their prayers; yet it affordeth y^t doctryne
 w^{ob} reprooveth al false worshipping, & all false bringinge of cursed
 thinges before y^o lord. as the whole booke, the best in y^o same is
 accursed as well as the worst therof. therefore, saith the lord,
 cursed be the deceiver y^t hath in his flocke & voweth and sacrificeth
 unto y^o lord a corrupt thing. this doctryne wilbe afforded out of
 this place; they be accused that wilbe content to offer any of
 those uncleane or cursed prayers to god in sacrifice, especiallye
 when God hath given them the gifte to praye—wilbe content to use
 those vile prayers w^{ch} are accursed w^t the whole booke; and [? we]
 have better prayers than any of them, both of m^r calvines & of
 other good men, y^t yet were never urged, but left free to men to use
 them: thus you se y^t I utterly deny not but some man maye read
 a prayer and prayers; but yet I had rath^r he should read them as
 he doth oth^r good bookes, for his meditacōn and education in
 marking howe well it is framed, & the words therof placed in due
 order; & in beholding what abundance of feeling hath beene in
 other men more then I have, & therby condemne my blockishnes
 and drousynes, & soe stirre up my selfe to be the more earnest, &
 to goe the oftener to praye, & sighe & grone inwardly to god y^t I
 might more & more feele my miserye & dangerous estate y^t I stand
 in, & of him looke to have a remedye throughe Christe, & for his sake.
 thus we ought to doe either in reading prayers or other good bookes.
 but I saye this is rather the true use of reading prayers, than to
 make reading prayers to be as sacrifices & service unto god, to goe
 before him. but let us goe before him wth a broken & a contryte
 hearte & troubled spirit, for y^t god will never despise. & I for my
 pt carye such an hatred to that vilde booke y^t as neare as I can I
 leave the phrase & wordes therof out of my prayers
 (Jud. i. 23)*. And in that you saye other have told you
 y^t their harts have beene quickned to praye when they
 have read or heard reade wth Inwarde desier the godlye prayers y^t
 others have made & soe well set in order, this is noe more as I take
 it then I have said before, y^t reading of good prayers is rather a
 teacher as al other good books are, then the prayeng it selfe, for
 yoⁿ saye y^t their harts hath beene but quickned to praye, y^t is as I
 take it hath given thē to praye, ergo then he hath not prayed, but
 nowe is redye to goe & talk wth god in reverence & in
 feare, to poure out his greife to him, & aske those* w^{ch}o

*Evidently
 "ye quene"
 is omitted.

*? as; also
 the place is
 unmeaning.

*Error for
 Jude 23.

*"Things"
 omitted (?).

he seeth & feeleth the want therof. and agayne you say you are sorye to heare me saye there ought noe reading prayers to be used for publike service ; you saye it is agaynst y^o scriptures. Yf it be soe I praye you tell it me for my learninge, yf I maye take pit therby. Yō bring in those churches & men to
 * "Them" omitted (?).
 prove the matter ; although I reverence,* soe farr as they hold scripture, yet I appeale to the scripture, for y^t they are not scripture, but had & have their errours, & y^t foule ones, & yf yoⁿ list to knowe them, send me worde yf you doe not knowe. & you saye what is o^r church in comparyson of the church of Geneva. you seeme to reproch as you saye our church, but I saye not o^r church but christs church, & Christ the head, lord, and king therof. thus you put the poore psecuted church to great dishonour in sayeng what is o^r church in respecte of that. I praye you, let us see what difference is betweene them, y^t the church of Jeneva hath, y^t this w^{ch} you call o^r church hath not. they have one head to their lord & king together and one faith & Baptisme, one spirit, on [sic] god & father above all, w^{ch} is over all & in them all leaving out hipocrits. Yf that church hath sepated her selfe from knowne hipocrits, soe hathe this church. yf that have the word sincerely preached, soe hath this church ; yf y^t have the sacraments sincerely ministred by faithfull pastours, soe hath this. yf y^t have ecclesiasticall discipline trulye practised, soe hath this. Yf y^t hath a free place for prophecye, soe hathe this. Yf y^t hath her doctours, pastours, elders, deacons, & widowes soe hathe this./

But yf y^t church hath knowne hypocrits soe hath not this. yf y^t minister the lords supper soe doth not this.* Yf y^t observe their supstitious feasts in the yeare as eastor, whitsontyde, soe doe not this. Yf the pastor of y^t can psuade o^r englishe preachers, rath^r then to dispeare,* to be put out of the ministry, soe doe not this church. Yf y^t church is at ease, soe is not this. yf y^t have y^o name & prayse of all soe hath not this. but herein I agree wth you they are of longer continuance & moe in number then this church is. O poore church, howe thou art hated ! the lord & king take thy pte, & keepe the from evel, soe be it, soe be it.

And nowe you deale but somewhat unkindly wth me, in sayeng I begin to come somewhat neare unto the opinion of those y^t hath denied all publike places & soe all publike prayers. but this is not so, for my letters doth give you noe suche matter agaynst me ; for I hold it to be certeyne that the godlye pastor ought to praye in the bodye of the godlye church, publiqueleye : w^t suche prayers and service as god hath in his church, & for his church, even as the ould church of the Jewes used their prayers & manner of service, wherof David and Salomon were good fore-runners. even soe would I we did use these sacrifices & service w^{ch} Christ and his apostles hath appoynted. & y^t reading prayers you would

* Surely some error or omission!

* Meaning doubtful.

beare me in hand is one parte of o^r publique worship nowe in the church, & for yo^r prooffe you bring in the Institucō of Paule to the corinthians. I thisell [*sic*] 14. Therefore let us searche y^t chapter: yf there be any suche matter, I will yeild, yf not yeild you, & give glorye to god. first therefore in this chapter he willeth them to follow after love, wthout the w^{ch} all their gifts were to noe pft.



[Here the writing breaks off abruptly, at about one third from the bottom of the page.]

History of the Church in Southwark, founded 1616

THE following history has been kindly furnished by Rev. Principal Gould, of Regent's Park Baptist College. It is the first of a large number of documents contained in what is called *The Gould MS.*, compiled about 1858 under the direction of Rev. Geo. Gould of Norwich. The earlier part of the codex is transcribed from a collection made by Benjamin Stinton, son-in-law and successor of Benjamin Keach, the well-known Baptist pastor of Horseley Down; and was used by Crosby in the compilation of his *Baptist History*, 1738-40. Mr. Stinton's title is as follows:—

“A REPOSITORY of Divers Historical Matters relating to the English Antipedobaptists. Collected from Original Papers or Faithfull Extracts.

ANNO 1712.

I began to make this Collection in Jan: 1710-11.

The Records of An Ancient Congregation of Dissenters | from wth many of y^e Independant & Baptist Churches in London took their first rise : | ex MSS of M^r H. Jessey, wth I rec^d of M^r Rich. Adams.

Of M^r Jacob the Cheif beginner of this Church his Works & proceeds about this Way.

Henry Jacob a Preacher, an eminent man for Learning, haveing wth others, often & many ways, sought for

Reformation, & shewed the Necessity thereof in regard of the Church of England's so farr remoteness from y^e Apostolical Churches in his 4 Assertion dedicated to King James, & he made an offer of Disputation therein 1604.

A Humble Supplication to his Majesty (viz) King James for permission to enjoy y^e Government of Christ in lieu of humane Institutions, & abolishing that of the Antichristian Prelacy, as more opposite to Monarchy & to his Royal Prerogative : And having set forth 1609.

An Attestation of y^e most famous & approved Authors witnessing wth one Mouth y^t each Church of Christ should be so independent as it should have y^e full Power of all y^e Church affairs entire within itselfe : And Published 1610.

The Divine Beginning & Institution of a Visible Church, proveing y^e same by many Arguments, opening Matth: xviii. 15 wth a declaration & fuller evidence of some things therein : And having published 1612.

An Exposition of y^e Second Co^mandement, shewing that therein now is required a right visible Church State & Government independent. 1610.

He having had much conference about these things here ; after y^t in y^e low Countries he had converse & discoursed much wth M^r Jn^o Robinson late Pastor to y^e Church in Leyden & wth others about them : & returning to England In London he held many several meetings wth the most famous Men for Godliness and Learning (viz) M^r Throgmorton, M^r Travers, M^r Wing, M^r Rich Mansell, M^r Jn^o Dod. (to whom D^r Bladwell was brought y^t by his opposition y^e Truth might y^e More appeare) these wth others having seriously weighed all things & Circumstances M^r Jacob & Some others sought y^e Lord about them in fasting & Prayer together : at last it was concluded by y^e Most of them, that it ware a very warrantable & commendable way to set upon that Course here as well as in Holland or elsewhere, whatsoever Troubles should ensue. H. Jacob was willing to adventure himselfe for this Kingdom of Christs sake ; y^e rest encouraged him.

The Church Anno 1616 was gathered

Hereupon y^e said Henry Jacob wth Sabine Staismore, Rich Browne, David Prior, Andrew Almey, W^m Throughton, Jn^o Allen, M^r Gibs, Edw^d Farre, Hen Goodall, & divers others well-informed Saints having

appointed a day to seek y^e Face of y^e Lord in fasting & Prayer, wherein that perticular of their Union together as a Church was mainly comended to y^e Lord : in y^e ending of y^e Day they ware United, Thus, Those who minded this present Union & so joyning together joyned both hands each wth other Brother and stood in a Ringwise : their intent being declared, H Jacob and each of the Rest made some confession or Profession of their Faith & Repentance, some ware longer some ware briefer, Then they Covenanted together to walk in all Gods Ways as he had revealed or should make known to them

Thus was the begining of that Church of which proceed, they within a few Days gave notice to the Brethren here of the Antient Church.

After this Hen Jacob was Chosen & Ordained Pastor to that Church, & many Saints ware joyned to them.

The same Year y^e Said Hen Jacob wth y^e advice & consent of the Church, & of some of those Reverend Preachers beforesaid published to y^e World

A CONFESSION & PROTESTATION in the Name of certain Christians, therein showing wherein they consent in Doctrine wth y^e Church of England, & wherein they ware bound to dissent, with their evidences from y^e Holy Scriptures for their dissent in about 28 perticulars viz

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Christs offices. | 15. Mixt Multitude. |
| 2. Scriptures all Suffic: | 16. Humane Traditions. |
| 3. Churches Distinction. | 17. Traditions Apostolick. |
| 4. Visible Church. | 18. Of Prophecy. |
| 5. Synods & Counsels. | 19. Reading Homilies. |
| 6. Cathol. Church Politick. | 20. Christs descent to Hell. |
| 7. Provinciall Church. | 21. Of Prayer. |
| 8. Parish Chu. Bondage. | 22. Holy Days so called. |
| 9. L. Arch. Bp ^s L. Bp ^s . | 23. Marriage, Burying, Churching, &c. |
| 10. Makeing Ministers. | 24. Ministers being Magistrates. |
| 11. what Comunion w th them. | 25. Lords Days Offerings. |
| 12. Pluralists. No Residents | 26. Tiths Church Dues. |
| 13. Discipline Censures. | 27. Magistrates Power. |
| 14. Pastors Number & Power. | 28. Necessity on us to obey Christ rather than Man herein. |

With a Petition to y^e King in y^e Conclusion for Tolleration to such Christians.

At y^o same time also he published a Collection of Sundery Reasons. 20 & 4 Conclusions proveing how necessary it is for all Christians to Walk in all y^o Ways & Ordinances of God in purity, in a right Church way. part of them were made by M^r Wring the Preacher.

About eight Years H. Jacob was Pastor of y^o Said Church & when upon his importunity to go to Virginia, to wth he had been engaged before by their consent, he was remitted from his said office, & dismissed y^o Congregation to go thither, wherein after Years he ended his Dayes. In the time of his Service much trouble attended that State & People, within & without. 1624

After his Departure hence y^o Congregation remained a Year or two edifying one another in y^o best manner they could according to their Gifts received from above, And then at lenght John Lathorp sometimes a Preacher in Kent, joyned to y^o Said Congregation; And was afterwards chosen and Ordained a Pastor to them, a Man of a tender heart and a humble and meek Spirit serveing the Lord in the ministry about 9 Years to their great Comfort.

1632. the 2^d Month (called Aprill) y^o 29th Day being y^o Lords Day, the Church was seized upon by Tomlinson, y^o Bps Pursevant, they ware mett in y^o House of Hump: Bernet, Brewers Clark in Black: Fryers, he being no member or hearing abroad, At wth time 18 were not comitted but scaped or ware not then present. 1632

About 42 ware all taken & their names given up. Some ware not comitted, as M^{rs} Bernet, M^r Lathorp, W. Parker, M^{rs} Allen &c Several were comitted to the Bps Prison called then the New Prison in Crow a merchants house again) & thence some to y^o Clink, some to y^o Gathouse, & some that thought to have escaped he joyned to them, being in Prison together viz

John Lathorp M^r Sargent Widd Ferne Sam Hon Sam House Sister House Bro^r Arnold M^r Wilson John Woddin John Milburn Marke Lucar M^r Crafton M^r Granger Henry Parker M^r Jones H. Dod, deceased, a Prisoner M^r Barbone M^r Jacob M^r Lemar,

1632 Elizab. Milburn, about 26 comited y^o 12th of y^o 2nd Month (called May 12th) being y^o Lords Day. Just a fortnight after was y^o Antient Church so seized upon & two of them comitted to be fellow Prisoners with these. The Lord thus tryed & experienced them &

their Friends & foes y^e space of some two Years, some only under Baill, some in Hold : in w^{ch} time y^e Lord Wonderfully magnified his Name & refreshed their Spirits abundantly, for

1. In that time y^e Lord opened their mouths so to speak at y^e High Comission & Pauls & in private even y^e weake Women as their Subtill & malicious Adversarys ware not able to resist but ware afshamed.
2. In this Space y^e Lord gave them So great faviour in y^e Eyes of their Keepers y^t they suffered any friends to come to them and they edifyed & comforted one another on y^e Lords Days breaking bread &c.
3. By their Holy & Gracious carriage in their Sufferings, he so convinced others y^t they obtained much more faviour in the Eyes of all Such generally as feared God then formerly, so that many ware very kind & helpfull to them, contributing to their Neecessities, some weekly sending Meat &c, to them.
4. Their Keepers found so sure in their promises that they had freedom to go home, or about their Trades, or buisness whensoever they desired, & set their time, & say they would then returne it was enough without the charges of one to attend them.
5. In this very time of their restraint y^e Word was so farr from bound, & y^e Saints so farr from being scared from the Ways of God that even then many ware in Prison added to y^e Church, viz

Jo. Ravenscroft	Sarah.....	Willm	Widd.	White
Widd Harvey	Hump: Bernard	Thos	{ Harris	Ailce
Mary Atkin	G. Wiffield	Jane	{	Eliz
Tho ^s Wilson				Rebec }
				Wincop.
6. Not one of those that ware taken did recant or turne back from the truth, through fear or through flattery, or cunning slights but all ware y^e more strengthened thereby.
7. When in y^e time of their Sufferings, M^r Davenport had so preached that some brought the Notes of his Sermon to these, as if it ware to condem their practice, & would have them answer them if they could : they sent a letter to him desireing he would Send them his own Notes to avoid mistakes hoping that either he might inform them or they him in some things discover to him w^t was made known to them, He lovingly performed it, they having perused his Notes, wrote back to him a large answer ; after his receipt thereof he never did communicate with them any more, but went away when y^e Sacrament day came, and afterward preached, publicly & privately

for y^o truth, & soon afterward went to Holland, where he sufferd somewhat for y^o truths sake, & then went to New England where he now preacheth the same Truth that these do here, 'though there without such Persecution.

8. The Answers of M^{rs} Jones & Some others in y^t time of their Sufferings are not Yet Extent for y^o Comfort and Encouragement of others against taking that Oath ex officio against false Accusers. Their Petitions to his Maj^{ty}

Sarah Jones her Grievances given in & read openly at y^o Comission Court.

Her Cronicle of Gods remarkable Judgments & dealings that Year &c wonderfull are the Lords works its meet he should have all y^o Praise.

After y^o Space of about 2 Years of the Sufferings & Patience of these Saints they ware all released upon Bail (some remaining so to this day as M^r Jones &c, though never called on) only to M^r Lathorp & M^r Grafton they refused to shew such favour, they ware to remain in Prison without release.

At last there being no hopes y^t M^r Lathorp should do them further Service in y^o Church, he having many motives to go to new England if it might be granted After the Death of his Wife he earnestly desiring y^o Church would release him of y^t office w^{ch} (to his grief) he could no way performe, & that he might have their consent to goe to new England, after serious consideration had about it it was freely granted to him

Then Petition being made that he might have Liberty to depart out of y^o Land he was released from Prison 1634, about y^o 4th Month called June, & about 30 of the members who desired leave & permission from y^o Congregation to go along with him, had it granted to them, namely, M^r Jo: Lathorp, Sam. House, John Wodwin, Goodwife Woodwin, Elder & Younger, Widd: Norton, & afterwards Rob^t Linel & his Wife, M^r & M^{rs} Laberton, M^{rs} Hamond, M^{rs} Swinerton

1620 joyned those wth M^r Jacob, these inhabiting in Coulchester (though an old Church of y^o Separation was there) viz Joshua Warren, Henry January, St Puckle a Manafes Kenton, Lemuel Tuke &c who afterwards by concert became a Church. Tuke left them & is a Preacher at Dry.

1630 M^r Dupper had been of this Congregation he wth Tho: Dyer y^t was one of them & Daniel Chidley y^o

Elder these
 joyned together to be a Church, M^r Boy joyned him-
 self to them & M^r Stanmore Benj: Wilkins, Hugh
 Vefse, John Flower, Bro: Morton, & his Wife, John
 Jerrow.

1633. There haveing been much discufing these denying 1633
 Truth of y^e Parish Churches, & y^e Church being now
 become so large y^t it might be prejudicial, these
 following desired dismiffion that they might become
 an Entire Church, & further y^e Comunion of those
 Churches in Order amongst themselves, w^{ch} at last
 was granted to them & performed Sep^r 12. 1633 viz
 Henry Parker & Wife

Widd: Fearne	Marke Luker	.....Hatmaker
M ^r : Wilson	Mary Milburn	Tho ^s Allen
	Jo: Milburn	
	Arnold	

To These Joyned Rich: Blunt, Tho: Hubert, Rich:
 Tredwell & his Wife Kath:, John Trimber, W^m 1633
 Jennings & Sam Eaton Mary Greenway—M^r
 Eaton with Some others receiving a further Baptism.

Others joyned to them,
 1638. These also being of y^e same Judgment wth Sam. Eaton
 & desireing to depart & not to be censured our intrest
 in them was remitted wth Prayer made in their behalfe
 June 8th 1638. They haveing first forsaken Us & Joyned
 wth M^r Spilsburg, viz

M ^r : Peti. Fener	W ^m Batty
Hen. Pen	M ^{rs} : Allen (died 1639)
Tho. Wilson	M ^{rs} : Norwood

OTHER PERSECUTIONS besides the Persecu-
 tions before^d

The Good Lord Jesus gave, (Satan still envying y^e Pro-
 sperity of Zion, stirred up against this Church) several
 Tryalls afterwards wherein still y^e Lord gave occation
 of Triumphiing in him ; It's good to record & bring to
 remembrance our Straights, & y^e Lords Enlargements,
 experience works Hope, & Hope maketh not asshamed
 because y^e Love of God is shed abroad in our hearts,
 to instance in

John Trash was taken by Rag at M^r Digbeys & not 1636
 Yelding to Rags general warrant, was had to y^e L.
 Mayor & was comitted to y^e Poultrej
 Counter for ten days & then was released upon Bail,
 wanted his health & was shortly after translated.

11th Month (vulgarly January) y^e 21 day at Queen-hith (where M^r Glover, M^r Eaton, M^r Eldred & others ware wth us) after Exercise was done, by means M^r the overthwart Neighbour, Officers & others came, at last both y^e Sheriffs, & then Veasy y^e Pursevant who took y^e Names ; the Lord gave such Wisdom in their Carriage y^t some of their opposers afterwards did much favour them & bail'd them. The next Day Veasy the Pursevant got Money of some of them, & so they ware dismissed, 4 were comitted to y^e Poultry Counter viz

R. Smith M^{rs} Jacob. S. Dry

3 Month 8th Day At M^{rs} De Lamars Veasy wth others came upon them in Barnaby Street by Male all taken 4 bound to answer at High Comission. viz Br. Rufsell & Cradock

11th Month at Lambeth M^{rs} Lovel & M^{rs} Chitwood by Doctor Featly were sent to King's Bench, & by Doct^r Lauds direction bound to y^e Afsizes

2 Month Vulgo April 21. At Tower Hill at M^{rs} Wilsons where some ware seeking y^e Lord wth fasting for y^e Parliament (like to be dissolved unless they would grant Subsidies for Warrs against y^e Scottish) by procurement of Male y^e Arch Prelates Pursevant, S^r W^m Balford Leivetenant of y^e Tower sent theither H Jese (who he found praying for y^e King as he told his Mag^{ty}) M^{rs} Jones, M^r Brown wth others about 20. Then S^r W^m asked his Magesties Pleasure concerning them who would have them Released but D^r Laud y^e Arch Bishop being Present desired the men might be bound to y^e Sefsions w^{ch} was perform & no Enditement being there against them at their appearance they were freed.

Also 6 Month 21. at our Brother Goldings by y^e Constables Means, Alderman Somes came who took y^e Names of M^r Puckle & John Stoneard, y^e Constables carried them with M^r Golding, M^r Shambrook & some others to y^e Mayor who bound them to y^e Sefsions, from whence their Accusers being called then to take y^e Protestation wth their Parishioners none appearing against them they were freed.

Also 6 Month 22^d day at the L. Nowels house, y^e same L. Mayor S^r John Wright came Violently on them, beat, thrust, pinched & kicked such men or Women as fled not his handling, among others M^{rs} Berry who miscarryed & dyed the same week & her Child. He comitted to y^e Counter H. Jessey, M^r

Nowel, M^r Ghofton, & that night bound them to answer at y^e House of Comons where they appearing he let it fall.

COVENANT RENEWED.

1630 Whilst M^r Lathorp was an Elder here some being greived against one that had his Child then Baptized in y^e Common Afsemblies, & desireing & urging a Renouncing of them, as Comunion wth them, M^r Can also then walking Saints where he left M^r How (he going wth Some to Holland) He desiring that y^e Church wth M^r Lathorp would renew their Covenant in such a Way, & then he with Others would have Comunion wth them: M^r Dupper would have them therein to DETEST & PROTEST against y^e Parish Churches, Some ware Unwilling in their Covenanting either to be tyed either to protest against y^e truth of them, or to affirm it of them, not knowing w^h in time to come God might further manifest to them thereabout Yet for peace Sake all Yelded to renew their Covenant in these Words

To Walke togeather in all y^e Ways of God So farr as he hath made known to Us, or shall make known to us, & to forsake all false Ways, & to this the several Members subscribed their hands.

After this followed several Sheets containing y^e Names of y^e Members of y^e said Congregation & y^e time of their admifsion.

List of Persons Burned for Heresy in England

Communicated by the late REV. W. H. SUMMERS

- 1210 An Albigensian was burned in London, and others in other parts of the country (Knyghton, fol. 2418)
- 1222 An apostate deacon who had become a Jew was burned at Oxford.
- About 1330, according to the French *Chronicle of Meaux* (a very doubtful authority) fifty-five men and eight women were burned alive for heresy, "*in quadam silva.*"
(see Arnold, Select Works of Wycliffe, page 10)
- After the passing of the Statute of Heretics in 1401, the following cases occur :—
- 1401 William Sawtre, *alias* Chatrys, in Smithfield, February 26th, (Claus. 2, Henry IV., i. 6; Walsingham, Wilkins, Conc. iii. 254-263; Foxe iii., 221-229)
- 1410 March 5th., John Badby, of Evesham, in Smithfield. (Claus. 2, Henry IV., i. 6; Wilkins, Conc. iii., 324-329; Foxe, iii., 321)
- 1414 January; Sir Roger Acton, John Browne, John Beverley, William Murle of Dunstable, Richard Silbek, William Turnour, Walter Yonge, John Hazelwode, these three of Amersham, John Fynche of Great Missenden, and thirty others, half-hanged and burned in St. Giles's Fields. (Fabyan, Walden, Pat. 1, Henry V., v. 24; Foxe)
- 1415 August 20th, John Claydon and Richard Turming (Wilkins, iii., 371-375; Gregory; Fabyan; Foxe)
- 1418 February; Sir John Oldcastle. Hanged and burned in St. Giles's Fields. (Wilkins, Bale, Foxe)
- 1423 March 1st, William Tailour, in Smithfield. (Wilkins, Conc. iii., 407-412; Gregory, 149; Fasc. Ziz., 412)
- 1428 "Father Abraham," apparently at Colchester. (Foxy iii., 587)
- 1428 September; William White, *alias* Quytt; John (or William) Waddon, and Hugh Pye, burned at Norwich (Norwich Corporation Records; Foxy, Fasc., Ziz., 432)
- 1430 Richard Hoveden, burned on Tower Hill. (Fabyan; Foxy; Gregory, 171)
- 1431 Thomas Bagley of Manewden, in Smithfield. (Fabyan; Wilkins, Conc. iii., 515-517; Foxy, iii., 600; Gregory, 171)

- 1438 May 14th, John Gardyner, burned in Smithfield. (Gregory, 181)
- 1440 June 17th, Richard Wyche, of Harmondsworth (?) and "another secular man," his man servant, burned on Tower Hill. (Fabyan, 613; Gregory, 183; Foxe)
- 1447 "A Heretyk" burned at Tower Hill. (Chronicle published by the Camden Society, xxviii., n.s. 66)
At some date before 1462, James Wylly was burned in London. (Chedworth Register, Lincoln, 62 a.t.)
- 1466 William Barlow of Saffron Walden, on Tower Hill. (Gregory, 233)
- 1473 August; John Goose. (Fabyan; Foxe)
- 1485 Just after Christmas "a heretic" was burned in London. (See Pratt's note, Foxe iii. 863)
- 1494 April 28th, Joan Boughton, in Smithfield. (Foxe, iv. 7)
- 1498 A priest burned at Canterbury. (Foxe, iv. 7)
- A man named Babram, in Norfolk in 1500. (Foxe, iv. 8)
- 1501 An old man burned in Smithfield, July 20th. (Foxe, iv. 122)
- 1503 Richard Smart, Salisbury. (Foxe, iv. 207)
- 1506 William Tylsworth, Amersham. (iv. 123)
Robert Cosin of Missenden, Buckingham. (iv. 124, 214)
About this time Lady Young was burned. (iv. 175)
- 1507 March 31st, Thomas Noris, Norwich. (iv. 126)
Lawrence Guest, Salisbury. (iv. 126)
A woman at Chipping Sodbury. (iv. 127)
- 1510 Thomas, a priest of Norwich, at Eccles. (iv. 772)
- 1511 Thomas of Bungay, at Norwich. (iv. 772)
John Browne, Ashford. (iv. 181)
William Carder of Tenterden, Agnes Grebil of Tenterden, and Robert Harrison of Halden, at Canterbury? (v. 651)
Edward Walker (at Maidstone?) (v. 651)
William Sweeting of Chelsea, formerly of St. Osyth, and James Brewster of Colchester, at Smithfield. (iv. 180, 214, 215)
- 1512 Pope, at Eye. (iv. 772)
Peake, at Ipswich. (iv. 772; but see below, 1538)
- 1518 October 25th, John Stilman, Smithfield. (iv. 207)
Christopher Shoemaker of Great Missenden, Newbury. (iv. 217)
- 1519 Widow Smith, Robert Hatchetts, Archer, Hawkins, Wrigham, Landsdale, and Thomas Bond, Coventry. (iv. 557)
- 1521 Robert Silkeb, Coventry. (iv. 558)
Thomas Morden and James Bernard, Amersham. (iv. 124, 245; v. 454)
Robert Rave of Dorney, John Scrivener, and probably Thomas Holmes and Joan Norman, Amersham. (iv. 245)
- 1530 Thomas Hitten, of Martham, Maidstone. (iv. 619; viii. 713)

- 1531 January 15th, Thomas Benet, Exeter. (v. 25)
 August 19th, Thomas Bilney, Norwich. (iv. 655)
 November 27th, Richard Bayfield, Smithfield. (iv. 688)
 December 20th, John Tewkesbury, Smithfield. (iv. 694)
 "An old man of Buckinghamshire." (iv. 770)
 Davy Foster (I have lost the reference).
- 1532 Thomas Harding, Chesham. (iv. 581)
 John Bent of Urchfont, Devizes. (iv. 706)
 Trapnel, Bradford-on-Avon. (iv. 706)
- 1533 July 4th, John Frith and Andrew Hewitt, Smithfield. (v. 18)
 Valentine Freese and wife, York. (iv. 695 ; v. 16)
- 1535 Ten Dutch Anabaptists ; Segor, Derick, Simon, Runa,
 Derick, Dominick, David, Cornelius, Elken and Milo (v. 44)
 ? Four others (v. 813)
- 1536 Cowbridge, of Wantage, Oxford. (v. 251, 818)
- 1537 William Leiten, of Eye, Norwich. (v. 254)
- 1538 Puttedew, Suffolk. (v. 253)
 N. Peke of Earlstontham, Ipswich. (v. 254)
 Friar Forrest, Smithfield. (v. 180)
- 1538 November 29th ; two Anabaptists, a man and a woman.
 (Stow)
- 1539 Giles Germane, John, and Lancelot, St. Giles. (v. 654)
 Stile, Smithfield. (v. 655)
 April 29th, Mandeville, Collins and another (Anabaptists),
 Newington Causeway. (Stow)
- 1540 May 16th, Collins, Smithfield. (v. 251, 852)
 July 30th, Robert Barnes, Thomas Garret, and William
 Jerome, Smithfield. (v. 438)
- 1541 Richard Mekins, Smithfield. (v. 442)
 Ramsey, Hewet, and Richard Spencer, Salisbury. (v. 443)
- 1543 Robert Testwood, Henry Filmer, and Anthony Peerson,
 Windsor. (v. 483)
- 1544 A poor man at Calais. (v. 523)
- 1545 Todd, Calais. (v. 524)
 "One Henry and his servant," Colchester. (v. 530)
 Kerby, Ipswich. (v. 531)
 Roger Clarke of Mendlesham, Bury. (v. 531)
- 1546 Anne Askew, Nicholas Belenian, John Lacels, and John
 Adams, Smithfield, July 16. (v. 551, 838)
 Rogers (Norwich?) (v. 553)
- 1546 Oliver Richardine, Haverfordwest. (vii. 402)
- 1550 Joan Bocher, Smithfield.
- 1551 Henry Van Paris.
- 1555 February 4th, John Rogers, of London, Smithfield. (vi. 611)
 February 8th, Lawrence Saunders of Church Langton,
 Coventry. (vi. 628)
 February 9th, John Hooper, Gloucester. (vi. 658)

- 1555 Rowland Taylor, Hadleigh. (vi. 700)
- March 16th, Thomas Tomkins, of Shoreditch, Smithfield. (vi. 721)
- March 26, William Hunter, Brentwood. (vi. 729)
- Thomas Causton, of Thundersby, Rayleigh. (vi. 737)
- Thomas Higbed, Horndon-on-the-Hill. (vi. 737)
- March 28th, William Pygot, Braintree. (vi. 740)
- Stephen Knight, Maldon. (vi. 740)
- March 29th, John Laurence, Colchester. (vi. 740)
- March 30th, Robert Ferrar, Caermarthen. (vii. 26)
- March — Rawlins White, of Cardiff. (vii. 38)
- April 24th, George March, of Dean, at Chester. (vii. 53)
- William Flower, Westminster. (vii. 53)
- May 30th, John Cardmaker, and John Warne, Smithfield. (vii. 82)
- June 9th, Thomas Wats, of Billericay, at Chelmsford. (123, 759)
- June 10th, Thomas Haukes, at Coggeshall. (vii. 115)
- June 11th, John Ardley, of Great Wigboro', at Rayleigh. (vii. 90, 765)
- John Simson, of Great Wigboro', at Rochford. (vii. 90, 765)
- June 14th, Thomas Osmond, of Coggeshall, at Manningtree. (vii. 142)
- Nicholas Chamberlain, of Coggeshall, at Colchester. (vii. 142)
- William Bamford, of Coggeshall, at Harwich. (vii. 142)
- July John Bradford and John Leaf, Smithfield. (vii. 194)
- July 12th, Johu Frankesh of Rolvenden, John Bland of Adisham, Nicholas Sheterden, and Humphrey Middleton, of Ashford, at Canterbury. (vii. 312)
- July 12th (?) Elizabeth Warne, of London, at Stratford. (vii. 343)
- July 19th, Nicholas Hall, at Rochester. (vii. 319)
- Christopher Wade, of Dartford, burned there. (vii. 320)
- July 22nd, Dirick Carver, of Brighton, at Lewes. (vii. 326)
- July 23rd, John Launder, of Godstone, at Steyning. (vii. 321)
- July Thomas Iveson, of Godstone, at Chichester. (vii. 327)
- August 8th, John Denley, of Maidstone, and Robert Smith, of Windsor, at Uxbridge. (vii. 334, 367)
- August 2nd, James Abbes, of Stoke Nayland, at Bury (vii. 328, 382)
- August 26th, George Tankerfield, of London, at St. Alban's. (vii. 346)

- 1555 August 28th, Patrick Pachingham, at Uxbridge. (vii. 334)
 August 31st, John Newman, of Maidstone, at Saffron
 Waldron. (vii. 335)
 August Richard Hook, at Chichester. (vii. 339)
 William Coker, William Hopper of Cran-
 brook, Henry Laurence, Richard Colliar,
 Richard Wright of Ashford, and William
 Stere of Ashford, at Canterbury. (vii. 318, 341)
 August Stephen Harwood, at Stratford. (vii. 370)
 Thomas Fust, at Ware. (vii. 370)
 William Hale of Thorpe-le-soken, at Barnet.
 (vii. 370)
 August 31st, Robert Samuel of Bergholt, at Norwich.
 (vii. 374)
 September William Allen of Somerton, at Walsingham.
 (vii. 381)
 Roger Coe of Long Melford, at Yoxford.
 (vii. 382)
 Thomas Cob of Haverhill, at Thetford.
 (vii. 383)
 September 6th, George Catmer of Hythe, Robert Streater
 of Hythe, Anthony Burwood of Calete (Calais?), George
 Brodbridge of Bromfield, and James Tutty of Brenchley,
 at Canterbury (vii. 383)
 September Thomas Hayward and John Goreway, at
 Lichfield. (vii. 384)
 September 20th, Robert Glover of Mancetter, and
 Cornelius Bungay at Coventry. (vii. 399)
 October 9th, William Wolsey and Robert Pygot, both of
 Wisbech, at Ely. (vii. 402)
 October 16th, Nicholas Ridley and Hugh Latimer, at
 Oxford. (vii. 548)
 October William Dighel, at Banbury. (vii. 583)
 November 30th, John Webbe, George Roper and Gregory
 Parke, at Canterbury. (vii. 604)
 December 18th, John Philpot, Smithfield. (vii. 685)
 1556 January 27th, Bartlet Green, John Tudson, Thomas Browne,
 Isabel Foster, and Joan Lashwood, all of London; Thomas
 Whittle, of Essex, and John Went, of Langham, at
 Smithfield. (vii. 715)
 January 31st, John Lomas of Tenterden, Agnes Snoth of
 Smarden, Joan Sole of Horton, Joan Catmer of Hythe, and
 Anne Allbright, at Canterbury. (vii. 750)
 March 14th, Anne Potten and Joan Trunchfield, of Ipswich,
 burned there. (viii. 101, 762)
 March 21st, Thomas Cranmer, at Oxford. (viii. 90)
 John Maundrel, William Coberley, and John
 Spicer, of Keevil, at Salisbury. (viii. 104)

- 1556 April 1st, John Harpole, of Rochester, and Joan Beach, of Tunbridge, at Rochester. (viii. 130)
 April 2nd, John Hullier of Cambridge, burned there. (viii. 131)
 April 24th, Robert Drakes of Thundersley, William Tyms of Hockley, Richard Spurge, Thomas Spurge, John Cavel, and George Ambrose, all of Bocking; at Smithfield. (viii. 105)
 April 28th, John Mace, John Spencer, Simon Joyce, Richard Nichols, and John Hamond, all of Colchester, and Christopher Lyster of Dagenham, at Colchester. (viii. 138)
 May 5th, Thomas Drowry and Thomas Croker, at Gloucester. (viii. 145)
 1556 May 15th, Hugh Laverock of Barking, and John Apprice, at Stratford. (viii. 141)
 May 16th, Katherine Hut of Bocking, Elizabeth Thackvel of Great Burstead, and Joan Horns of Billericay, in Smithfield. (viii. 144)
 May 21st, Thomas Spicer of Winston, John Denny, and Edmund Poole, at Beccles. (viii. 149)
 June 6th, Thomas Harland and John Oswald, both of Woodmancott; Thomas Avington of Ardingley, and Thomas Read, at Lewes. (viii. 151)
 June 20th, Thomas Whood and Thomas Milles, at Lewes (viii. 151)
 June 26th, A man-servant, at Leicester. (viii. 151)
 June 27th, Henry Adlington of East Grinstead, Lawrence Parnam of Hoddesdon, Henry Wye of Stanford-le-Hope, William Halliwell of Waltham Cross, Thomas Bowyer of Great Dunmow, George Searles of White Notley, Edmund Hurst of Colchester, Lyon Cawch (a Fleming), Ralph Jackson of Ongar, John Derifall of Rettendon, John Routh of Wicks, Elizabeth Pepper of Colchester, and Agnes George of Bardfield, at Stratford. (viii. 154)
 July , Roger Bernard of Framsdan, Adam Foster of Mendlesham, and Robert Lawson (of Eye?), at Bury (viii. 160)
 July 16th, Julius Palmer of Reading, Thomas Askin, and John Gwin, at Newbury. (viii. 218)
 July 18th, Catherine Cauches, Guillemine Gilbert, Perotine Massey, and a little child, at Guernsey (viii. 231)
 July 18th, Thomas Dungate, John Foreman, and Mother Tree, at East Grinstead (all of that town.) (viii. 241, 430)
 June 26th, Thomas Moor, at Leicester. (viii. 242)
 August 1st, Joan Waste of Derby, burned there. (viii. 250)
 September , Edward Sharp, at Bristol. (viii. 250)
 1556 September 18th, William Saxton, of Bristol, burned there. (viii. 737)

- 1556 September 24th, John Hart of Withyham, Thomas Ravensdale of Rye, and two others. (viii. 251, 430)
 September 25th, A carpenter, at Bristol. (viii. 251)
 September 27th, A woman, at Wotton-under-Edge (?). (viii. 251, addenda)
 Hooke, at Chester. (viii. 253)
- 1557 January 15th, Stephen Kempe of Norgate, William Waterer of Biddenden, William Prowing of Thornham, William Lowick of Cranbrook, Thomas Hudson of Selling, and William Hay of Hythe, at Canterbury. (viii. 300)
 January , Thomas Stephens of Biddenden, and John Philpot of Tenterden, at Wye. (viii. 300)
 January 16th, Nicholas Final of Tenterden and Matthew Bradbridge of Tenterden, at Ashford. (viii. 300)
 April 27th, Thomas Loseby, Henry Ramsey, Thomas Thirtel, Margaret Hide, and Agnes Stanley, in Smithfield. (viii. 310)
- 1557 May 7th, Richard Sharp and Thomas Hale of Bristol, burned there. (viii. 503)
 May , William Morant, Stephen Gratwick of Brighton, and King, at Southwark. (viii. 320)
 June 18th, Joan Bradbridge of Staplehurst, Walter Appleby of Maidstone, Petronil his wife, Edmund and Katherine Allin of Frittenden, Mrs. Manning of Maidstone, and blind Elizabeth, at Maidstone. (viii. 321)
 June 19th, Alice Benden of Staplehurst, John Fishcock, Nicholas White, Nicholas Pardue, Barbara Final of Tenterden, Mrs. Bradbridge of Tenterden, and Mrs. Wilson, at Canterbury. (viii. 326)
 June 22nd, Richard Woodman of Warbleton, George Stevens, William Mainard, Alexander Hosman, Thomasine Wood, Margery Moris of Heathfield, James Moris of Heathfield, Dennis Burgis of Buxted, Mrs. Ashdon, Mrs. Grove, at Lewes. (viii. 377, 430)
 July , Simon Miller of Lynn, and Elizabeth Cooper of Norwich, at Norwich. (viii. 381)
 August 2nd, William Bongeor of Colchester, William Purcas of Bocking, Thomas Benold of Colchester, Agnes Silver-side of Colchester, Helen Ewring of Colchester, Elizabeth Folkes of Colchester, William Mount of Much Bentley, John Johnson of Thorpe, Alice Mount and Rose Allin of Much Bentley, at Colchester. (viii. 392)
 August 5th, Richard Crashfield of Wymondham, at Norwich. (viii. 400)
 August 27th, Thomas Benion, at Bristol. (viii. 504)
 August , A man and woman, at Rochester. (viii. 401)
 August , Joyce Lewis of Manchester, at Lichfield (viii. 404)

- 1557 September , John Kurde of Syresham, at Northampton. (viii. 423)
 September 12th, John Noyes, of Laxfield, burned there. (viii. 424)
 September 17th, Ralph Allerton of Bentley, James and Margery Austoo of London, and Richard Roth, at Islington. (viii. 405)
 September 17th, Agnes Bongeor and Margaret Thurston, at Colchester. (viii. 453)
 September 23rd, Cicely Ormes, of Norwich, burned there. (viii. 427)
 John Warner of Bourne, Christian Grover of Lewes archdeaconry, (?) Thomas Athoth, John Milles of Hellingley, Nicholas Holden of Withyham (two or three of these may have been given before anonymously), in Sussex. (viii. 430)
 November , Thomas Spurdance, of Coddendam, at Bury. (viii. 433)
 November 13th, John Hallingdale, William Sparrow, and Richard Gibson, at Smithfield. (viii. 440, 780)
 December 22nd, John Rough and Margaret Mearing, of London, at Smithfield. (viii. 450)
 1558 March 28th, Cuthbert Sympson, Hugh Foxe, and John Devenish, in Smithfield. (viii. 461)
 April 9th, William Nichol, Haverfordwest. (viii. 462)
 May 19th, William Seaman of Mendlesham, Thomas Carman of Hingham, and Thomas Hudson of Aylsham, at Norwich. (viii. 462)
 May 26th, William Harris, Richard Day, and Christian George, at Colchester. (viii. 467)
 June 27th, Henry Pond, Reinald Eastland, Robert Southam, Matthew Ricarby, John Floyd, John Holiday, and Roger Holland, all of London, in Smithfield. (viii. 469)
 July 14th, William Pikes of Ipswich, Robert Milles, Stephen Cotton, Robert Dynes, Stephen White, and John Slade, at Brentford. (viii. 479)
 July 10th, Richard Yeoman of Hadleigh, at Norwich. (viii. 486)
 July 29th, Thomas Benbridge, Winchester. (viii. 491)
 August , John Cooke, Robert Miles, Alexander Lane, and James Ashley, at Bury. (viii. 492)
 September 25th, Edward Horne at Newent. (viii. addenda)
 November 4th, Saunder Gouch of Woodbridge, and Alice Driver of Grundisburgh, at Ipswich. (viii. 493)
 November , Philip Humfrey of Onehouse, John David of Stradeshull, and Henry David of Stradeshull, at Bury. (viii. 497, 784)
 , Mrs. Prest of Launceston, at Exeter. (viii. 497)

1558	November 10th, John Corneford of Rotham, Christopher Brown of Maidstone, John Herst of Ashford, Alice Snoth (or Smith) of Smarden, and Katherine Tynley, at Canterbury	(viii. 504)
1558	John Snel, at Bedale.	(viii. 739)
1575	July 22nd, Jan Wielmacker and Hendrik Terwoordt, in Smithfield.	(Brook i. 335)
1579	May 20th, Matthew Hament of Hethersett, at Norwich.	(Brook, i. 43)
1583	September 17th, John Lewis, at Norwich.	(Brook, i. 45)
1591	Francis Kett, at Norwich.	(Brook, i. 56)
1611	March 18th, Bartholomew Legate, Smithfield	(Brook, i. 66)
	April 11th, Edward Wightman, of Burton-on-Trent.	(Brook i. 66)

Summary

From the first Statute of Heresy, 1400, to the Renunciation of Papal Supremacy, 1534	...	...	111
Remainder under Henry VIII. to 1547	...	...	51
Under Edward VI., 1547-1553	...	...	2
Under Philip and Mary, 1553-1558	...	...	284
Under Elizabeth and James I., 1558-1611	...	...	7
			455

List of Persons Burned for Heresy in Scotland

1407	John Resby, Perth.	
1433	Paul Crow or Crawler, St. Andrew's.	
1521	March 1st, Patrick Hamilton, St. Andrew's.	(Foxye, iv. 561)
	Henry Forest, do.	(iv. 578)
	Norman Gurley and David Straton, Leith.	(iv. 579)
1539	Dean Forret, Friar Beverage, Friar Kelow, Duncan Sympson, Robert Foster, and three or four others, Edinburgh	(v. 623)
1544	January 26th, Robert Lamb, William Anderson, James Hunter, James Reveleson, James Finlason, Perth	(v. 625)
	[Helen Stirke was drowned at Perth in 1544.	(v. 625)]
1547	March 1st, George Wishart, St. Andrew's.	(v. 636)
1550	Adam Wallace, Edinburgh.	(v. 641)
1558	Walter Mill, St. Andrew's.	(v. 647)

NOTE.—“Conc.” refers to Wilkins's *Concilia*; “Fasc. Ziz.” to a treatise against the Lollards, called *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*. The references to Foxye are to the edition in 8 vols. 8vo., 1846. The cases at Calais are entered, inasmuch as Calais was an English possession until 1558.

The Indulgence (1672) in East Anglia

IN Browne's *History of Congregationalism in Norfolk and Suffolk* (p. 601) a list is given of ministers and houses licensed in 1672. In this list are some omissions and some inaccuracies, of which the corrections are as follow :—

Norfolk.

PLACE	MINISTER	HOUSE
DUNHAM	<i>Sam^t Manning</i> , C E (90) May 8/72	Stephen Hamblin E (90) May 8/72
	[Spelled 'Durham'; Browne erroneously gives Pulham.]	
DICKLEBURGH	<i>John Green</i> C B (34) May 10/72	Will ^m Newson C B (34) May 10/72
RUSHALL		Temperance Hill C B (34) May 10/72
THWAITE ALL SAINTS	<i>John Lougher</i> P. Appl only 321 (355)	
YARMOUTH (additional)	<i>Wm Sheldrake</i> C B (33) Apl 23/72	Wm Burton C B (33) Apl 23/72

Suffolk.

BURY ST. EDMUND'S	John Parrish P.
GREAT CORNARD near Sudbury	<i>William Folkes</i> P. [Browne incorrectly locates him at Sudbury.]
WETHERINGSETT	John Primrose P. [Ovington, though in the licence memoranda assigned to Suffolk, is really in Essex, south of Clare; see map.]

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