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EDITORIAL

The AUTUMNAL MEETING of the Society will be held at Wolverhampton, on Wednesday, 17th October, at 4.30 p.m., in the Wesleyan Lecture Hall, Darlington Street. Several short papers will be read on early Nonconformity in various towns of Staffordshire; and, *it is hoped*, a paper on the Evangelistic Labours of Captain Jonathan Scott.

*

Many of our subscribers have already seen Mr. Burrage's very valuable monograph, *The True Story of Robert Browne*; and to those who have not read it we warmly recommend its perusal. Nowhere else is to be found so full, complete, and sympathetic an account of the father of theoretical Congregationalism. Mr. Burrage not only makes legitimate use of Browne's easily accessible works—the *True and Short Declaration*, the *Treatise of Reformation*, the *Booke which Sheweth*, and the *New Years Guift*, as well as of Bredwell's *Rasing the Foundations of Brownism*, and the important papers contributed to our *Transactions* by Mr. Cater; but gives copious extracts from the extremely rare *Trealise upon the 23 of Mattheue*, and the autograph *Reproofe of certeine schismatical persons and their doctrine*, which he had the rare good fortune to discover, and which he hopes hereafter to publish in full. By these extracts new and unexpected light is thrown on the relations between Browne and Barrowe; and it is shewn that, although it is impossible to give Browne the praise of unvarying consistency, his submission to the established order—so far as it went—was the result neither of time-serving nor of cowardice, but of honest change of opinion. Nor can we much wonder at that change, when we recall the disastrous failure of the attempt at Middelburgh to realise the splendid ideal of the *Booke which sheweth*. In one place Mr. Burrage seems to have committed an oversight; he thinks Browne's early schoolmastership was "at some small place like Stamford;" which is hardly to be reconciled with his preaching, during this period, to irregular assemblies at Islington, which is distinctly affirmed by Baillie. On two or three other points we are not quite convinced, thinking it probable that further research may necessitate a revision of Mr. Burrage's conclusions. But none the less we heartily commend the monograph, and advise those of our

members who have not obtained it to secure the few copies which the Society has still in hand.

Our late lamented friend, the Rev. W. H. Summers, has left an interesting legacy in his posthumous volume *The Lollards of the Chiltern Hills*. It is well known that Buckinghamshire was one of the chief seats of Lollardy; and that several martyrs suffered about Amersham and Chesham, some of them being subjected to exceptional cruelty. But popular notions respecting the Lollards are generally vague, both as to their religious views and their political aims, and to the relations of the movement with the later Protestant Reformation. Foxe's narratives, though of inestimable value, are sometimes confused, and the dates not always reliable. Mr. Summers has in many cases investigated the original authorities used by Foxe, has examined episcopal registers, and carefully followed up local traditions. As a result he has produced not merely an interesting local history, but a popular account of Lollardy in general, which will give the reader a clearer view of the whole movement than any other book of similar size with which we are acquainted.

In two recent issues of *Transactions* (II, 3 and 4) attention was called to flaws in the evidence of historical continuity between the still existing Church of the Pilgrim Fathers and the churches organised by Jacobs in 1616 and Hubbard in 1621. Some light is cast on this matter by the licences granted to various meetings and teachers under the Indulgence in 1672. Stephen More, who was pastor of Hubbard's church till the Restoration, was then imprisoned, and the church "suppressed." But in spite of its suppression its members continued to meet in detached groups; and on 2nd May, 1672, Stephen More was licensed "to be an Indep. Teacher in the howse of Barnabas Bloxon in Winton Yard, Southwark." It is of course possible that a part of his former congregation in Deadman's Place may have come under the ministry of Wadsworth; but the successors of More are clearly set out in the Gould MS. (23), and we must therefore believe that Hubbard's church as a whole ceased to exist in 1705.

With Jessey's (Jacob's) church the case is different. In 1672 those of them who were Baptists associated under the ministry of H. Forty; but there were certainly others to be accounted for. Now we have licences granted to Andrew Parsons "to be a Pr. Teacher in Deadman's Place in Southwark or any other allowed place," and "to Mr. Andrew Parsons' house at Deadman's Place," both dated 2 April, 1672. There is no licence for Wadsworth in Southwark; but he seems usually to have lived at Theobalds, and Parsons is described as his "assistant" in his Southwark pastorate.

Moreover, he seems at this very time to have discontinued his occasional ministrations to his old parishioners at Newington Butts. There is therefore strong presumption—though not amounting to proof—that the congregation in the house of Andrew Parsons, ministered to by him and Wadsworth, was the Paedobaptist remnant of the 1616 church. If so, the subsequent history is fairly clear. But tradition tells of a wooden meeting-house in Globe Alley, Maid Lane, erected for Wadsworth about the time of the Indulgence. Maid Lane and Deadman's Place were a continuous though very crooked thoroughfare, and are now called Park Street. Now on 26 May, 1672, a licence was granted for "The Howse of George Ewer in Southwark, Pr. Meeting Place"; but the locality is not more definitely stated, and no teacher is named, although for this licence no less than three applications were made, one of them by the celebrated John Hickes. May not this house of Ewer's have been the place in Maid Lane specially built for Wadsworth? If so, the church may have had two meeting-places, Ewer's and Parsons's; and when they divided on the death of Lambert, Oldfield and his party may have occupied Ewer's meeting-house in Maid Lane, and Owen his friend Parsons's in Deadman's Place.

*

In *Transactions*, vol. I., p. 48, it is said that "Travers is understood to have been the principal author of *De Disciplina Ecclesiastica ex Dei Verbo descripta*, commonly called *The Book of Discipline*; printed in Latin at Geneva in 1574, and in English at Cambridge in 1584." It is added that a single copy of the English edition escaped destruction, and was reprinted in 1644 as *A Directory of Government anciently contended for*, &c. Is not this a mistake? Was there ever a Latin edition, printed either at Geneva or elsewhere, of the *Directory of Government*? Is not the Latin title given above a mistake for *Ecclesiastica Disciplina et Anglicanae Ecclesiae ab illa aberrationes*, &c., printed at Rochelle 1574; of which English editions are dated Geneva 1574, and Cambridge 1584? The statement queried is made on the authority of Benj. Brook; its confirmation or refutation is desirable.

W. PIERCE.

*

There were towards the end of the eighteenth and early in the nineteenth centuries a number of chapels, sometimes called "Calvinistic Methodist," and sometimes "Countess of Huntingdon's," which have long ago ceased to exist. One was at Pell Street, Mulberry Gardens; one at Gate Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields; one at Ewer Street, Southwark; and several in the country—as at Helmsley and elsewhere. Information is desired concerning all or any of these chapels, their origin, ministers, and the time when and circumstances under which they became extinct.

Information is earnestly desired about a chapel that formerly existed in or near Hoxton Square, of which a Mr. Toller or Towler was minister in 1762. It is thought that the congregation either removed to Bethnal Green, or amalgamated with one in that neighbourhood.

*

Information is also desired as to the history and management, since about 1800, of Berman's Almshouses, Basing Place, Kingsland Road. They are understood to have been founded by one of the ejected ministers.

*

The Editor hopes ere long to give photographic or other representations of several pieces of ancient Communion Plate, formerly or still in use in Congregational churches. He would be glad to hear of other pieces—cups, flagons, plates, baptismal bowls, &c., of earlier date than 1760.

*

The Secretary would be grateful to any member or members of the Society who would undertake the labour of transcribing a few small pamphlets in the British Museum; or of making excerpts from manuscripts in Williams's Library.

The Examinations of Giles Wiggenton :

Now first printed from his own autograph memoranda in the
Congregational Library

[See *Transactions*, Vol. II., p. 147]

I

The Arch Bishop of Cant. Maye. 28. anno 1584. at Lambeth.

1. In primis he sent for me by pursivant w^t this charge y^t

both wch thinges
I refused to doe. I should forbear to preache a sermō w^h I was
appointed & had promised to preach the same daye
& that I would enter bond to appeare before him the
next daye at Lambeth.

2. Itm. when I was come theth^r he examined me of my licence to
preach in London & concerning certaine speaches uttered by me
in christ churche late before in defence of certeyne worthy
preachers molested & against others unworthy psons advanced.

3. Itm. he surcharged me with these & such like reprochfull
termes (beside sundrye the like threatnings) y^t is to saye

1. Non resident
2. Prowde
3. Arrogant
4. Stubborne
5. Disobedient
6. Rebellious
7. Advancing my selfe above oth^{rs} w^t contempt of them
8. Most dysolute in life of all oth^{rs}
9. Hypocrit
10. A Babling in my preachinge
11. Unmeete to be a preacher in his Judgmente.
12. Lothsome to him in first exercises of devinitye or
commonplaces in Cambridge
13. Having some wit but no wisdome
14. Having a little Hebrewē to small purpose & little more
greeke to like effect.
15. Not regarding mine othe.
16. Not to be trusted by him w^tout an othe & soe to be trusted
noe waye
17. And finallye one whome these words and dealings he

never esteeme more then I wot not what, wheth^r it were a dog or noe, but sure I am some odious terme it was & that this opinion he conceaved of me ever since he first knew me w^h is about xvi yeares & would reteyne the same opinion still untill he should see I cannot tell what chang in me.

A nice Judge
over me.

4. Itm. he sent me to the gatehouse w^t much threatning to Schoole me there from my pride stobbornes & disobedience & w^t A very straight warrant to the keeper [or pursuivant] who did accordingly debarr me to sende my letter being written, to have pen & Inke wh I called for, & to tolke w^t my freinds wh came for that purpose unto me. &c.

and ye warrant
was and is to
keepe me close
prisoner.

5. Itm. shortly after he sent me word by divers yt for all others my faults towards him he was contented to forgive me, but for my contempt, neglect, or not yielding of his authoritie w^{ch} as he said the queene had given him I should make submissiō and that openly or else I should not be delivered, & threatned me rotting in prison & (as some reported) burning of me as If I were an hereticke.

6. I could never yet learne any speciall cause wherfore the Archb: did send for me by the pursuivant as aforesaid, nor any cause at all wherfore he did ymprison me, but only these 3 causes following: (as he hath alleadged to my freindes) wh 3 causes before they were scattered & before I gave him any Just advantage by them he gathered out of my mouth & behavio^r whilst I was p^{nt} w^t him, & not before, yt is to saye, ffirst because I had no licence to preache in london (as he imagined); Secondly because I would not aunswer him to his questions w^{ch} were against my selfe; Thirdly because I would not yeild unto him y^t authoritie w^{ch} he challengeth as aforesaid. & Indeed I was soe unmannerlye as to give him none of his loftye Titles appropriate to his Archbishop: And thus you maye se the causes of myne ymprisonment be for leaving undone some duties required by others of me, & not for committing any heynous & wicked crime Justlye either proved or suspected by them agaynst me. And yet I have continewd A daylye prayer these xii yeares or there abouts, in sundry shires of this commonwealth & congregacōns of this church of Englande, w^t what report & successe let them Judge w^{ch} have herd me, but w^ot any such ympeachment as this is hetherto, it may be trulye testified.

II

The Archbishop wth other commissioners at Lambeth the 21 of June 1584.

ffirst they went about to allure & pswade me to some kinde of submission, according to their liking, wherin when they sawe y^t they could not pryale w^t me, namlye the causes of my ymprisonment wh were these 3, 1, my

wherunto I would
have yeilded some
thinke they would
have released me.

licence to preache in london / 2. myne aunswers on oth to the archb: 3. my giving of titles unto him./

And first they dealt wth me concerning my licence to preache in London, wherin when I refrayned to give them any more advantage then before I had given, & when I told them y^e y^e matter was of noe great ymportance ;

Then they pceeded to deale w^t me for the Archb: titles, to wit in this order & manner following./

ffirst the Archb. sayd to me as ensueth. You called me of late Mr Whitgift. I wis I was Mr Doctor yet when yo^a were but a skervye boye. If I be but Mr Whitgift what are you then I praye you, you must then be noebode, or some suche like terme he used. Why maye you not give me my titles as well as I give you yo^a w^{ch} you have by the order of the universitie.

Hir ma^{ty} hath given me the office & titles, & therfore I require them, otherwise I care not for them./ My L. Chancelour hath his place & name by the princes patente graunte & seale, & soe have I to : There is difference, quoth I. Wherin, quoth he. I praye you pardon me there, quoth I.

You are bound by the colledg oth to a ppetuall obedience to me although I were the very begger & ct. that oth admitteth sundry condicions quoth I.

I ought to have yo^r kne quoth he. there it is quoth I, as I gave it you often before, & will give it, but not in such respect as some doe Imagine.

Moreover he called me rude & c & said I should rot in prison except I would yeild further, I wot not what dutye unto him./

Secondlye the Bishop of London said is not yo^r name Mr Wiggenton ? Yes sir quoth I. Why quoth *I what yf a man should take yo^r name or title frō you, as you doe my L.A. from him. what should he then call you ? surely I will tell you what he shall call you ; eaven m^r waggenton./ naye quoth the Archb: goodman Wiggenton./ naye quoth doctor Awberye, wiggenton, w^b theyr speaches & dealinges when I seemed not much to regard, I thincke quoth London, binding it w^t an oth or .2. he hath bene some vice (?) in a play. meaning by me, for what cause I know not except it were for my boldness./

Doctor walker enforced him selfe uppon me w^t such speaches & in suche manner as I liked not, namlye by asking often yf Haman or Mordecai were not honored after the princes pleasure, or commandment ; to the w^{ch} quoth I I bad him aunswer him selfe, & further said It was odious, & finallye wished that he might speake w^t reverence when he speaketh as in the presence of god, & get him better credit & doe more good in the church: wherat the Ar: was angrye, saying he was in commission, & I was knowne never to have had any good credit & c.

Some think
he ment kne
uppo the good
but I marked
not soe much

error for he

D^r Stanhop moved me a question or twoe, and I aunswered him w^t silence.

D^r Goodman called uppon me for submission, & he said furth^r.

Dr. Awberye said he never knewe any deale soe unorderlye & unreverentlye as I had done the daye of myne examinacō before.

And when they had al satisfied them selves in this matter

Thirdlye & last of all they offered unto me a booke as they had done before at the first examinacō, w^{ch} when I refrayned to doe craving a copy of the articles & knowledge of myne accusers The Archb. sayd. the articles or matter of myne oth to be taken was concerning serteyne sedicious sermons w^{ch} I had made in London./ and he or London or both said the said commissioners were myne accusers & the churche y^t heard me preach. To the w^{ch} whilst I annswered y^t none of thē being preasent there heard my sermon, & y^t the church or those y^t heard me were not there preasent, &ct.

They remised me to prison, one of them upbraiding me w^t Anna-baptisme &c./

Thus you maye se the 2 first advantages pretended concerning my licence and his titles to be as it were lefte out as not fully obteyned by them, And the 3^d advantage pretended concerning an oth by me to him, & that in a case against my selfe by his owne confession &c. to be sought for by him to Justifie his putting me into prison : after y^t I had remayned aboute 3 weekes there : & yet he sent for me not thus soone neither, but throughe some entreatye of my frendes as doth appeare.

Wiggenton./

III

A short Somme of my release out of prison.

D^r Stanhop, doc. Goodman, & doctor Awberye being set as commissioners, ffirst D^r Goodman sayd as followethe.

- 1 Imprimis y^t the Archb: pleasure was y^t I should consider of my undutifull behaviour passed toward him, & y^t I should beware of the like behaviour, & what speaches I should utter thenceforwarde ; is this all y^t you have to saye unto me, quoth I.
- 2 Itm. Y^t myne owne conscience must needs accuse me of some misdemeanour towards the Archb: You were not preasent at any my dealings w^t the Ar: before myne ymprisonment, quoth I.
- 3 Itm. Y^t I ought to use obediences, charitye, & humilitie. I praye you, quoth I, annswer me this question. whether is a greater signe of humillitye, for a mā to content him selfe wth a poore living & to take paines uppon it, or for a man to leve at ease uppon a great living and to doe small good w^t it.

These & such like are the common pointe of al his sermons & exhortations.

Secondlye D^r Awberye said

- 1 Imprimis. y^t I tooke vp D^r Goodman verye shortlye, who padventure was about my deliverance ; & he obiected unto me pride, disobedience to ma^{trats}, or suche like : wherunto I answered y^t he durst not undertake to charge me w^t any such things before a lawfull ma^{trats}, & y^t he ought not soe muche to abuse me being a prisoner, I am—or we are—qth he—lawfull ma^{trats}. And as you preachers studye devinitye soe doe we to and we knowe what &c./
- 2 Itm. y^t (to tell me plaine) the Archb: pleasure & charitye was to release me only upon myne owne bond not to preach in his pvince w^tout his licence or one of the universities licences, or the Bishops licence where I should preache : Y^e lawe qth I hath bound all ministers to these condiçons alreddie, w^{ch} if I offend let me be touched ; now I see noe cause why you should urge this bond upon me more then uppō any any oth^r subiect, neithe^r will I yeild unto it, noe nor to pmise nor be bound yt I will not preache at lambeth or in Paul his church or churchyarde.

Here they fumbled a litle togeth^r, as it were to terrifie me w^t sending me to prison agayne ; but qth one of them let him goe aside first ; and my keeper used all manner of xpressions to move me to this bond : but in vayne, yet after my retourne Auberye said further

- 3 Itm. y^t although they might lawfullye demand the bond of me, & the Arch: had charged them to take it, yet rather then his charitable deed & motion for my deliverance should thus cease, they would presume so much wth him as to let me goe w^tout any bond also, & thus we doe, qth he, discharge you : and soe he delivered to the keeper a warrant for my discharge ; but we give you an iniunction, qth he, not to preach in the pvince w^tout licences afore said. well, qth I, let me be delt w^tall by lawe, for I meane to live as a subiect in this realme by the grace of god ; and as for my obedience to my prince I meane to stand with you or any man in England.
- 4 Itm. he had charged me y^t I might not laughe before a ma^{trats} w^{ch} I denied & proved the contrarye ; praying god to give me such peace of conscience alwayes, y^t I might be redye soe to doe upon good occasion & in dutifull manner : & he had charged me further y^t I had behaved my selfe disobediently or unreverentlye toward his L. A. grace, & he would knowe of me in merines (as he said) how long I would staye in this countrye & whē I would retourne homeward &c.
- 5 Itm. Y^t I noted mens doinges in my Tables and derided them. will you not, qth I, give me leave to take notice howe I am handled. I have done it, & will doe it, & that in honest sorte I trust.

Thirdlye and lastlye D^r Stanhop said
stoutly and statelye.//

- 1 Imprimis y^t they were sent theth^r to knowe wheth^r I would obey her ma^{ties} commissioners in causes ecclesiasticall, yea or noe: against whome I had behaved my selfe obstinatlye; wherunto I annswered y^t yf any would come and accuse me of disobedience I would by lawe annswer them; and as for him he could not prove any obstinacie by me, neith^r have I used anye, sayd I, except not giving of titles be obstinacye. soe I minde to be obstinate still. Pish, qth Awberye, y^t is not the matter, as yf they were ashamed to pursue this matter any further. And when I said I having beene m^r of Arte and preacher xii yeares what needed they aske for my licence? naye qth Auberye, we aske not for yo^r licence (thoughe we demand this bound) as thoughe they were ashamed to pursue that matter alsoe./
- 2 Itm. y^t I shewed my selfe obstinate and contentious, or disobediente, in holding my hat before my mouth. Speake noe more of y^t reason qth I, least it be reported herafter to haive come out of yo^r mouth. I maye & will hold my hand or hat before my mouth, either to hide my laughter or to take breath, or for oth^r reasons as of infirmity, yea, I will blowe before you to.
- 3 Itm. y^t yf a stranger came in and sawe my Ieringe he would coumpt me a proud sawcye boye; wherunto I annswered y^t It became not him so to terme me, & y^t I had knowne his bringing up & he myne; & when it was full unlikelye for him to become a Judge in Spūal causes of* over me: & y^t (as he knewe) many had sought to defame me, but could never find any just cause; and I bad him consider y^t I was a preacher &c. Neverthelesse he like a brabling boye would needes give me his words in wrighting bidding me to make my worst of them.
I restored them to him agayne for avoyding of contention as then I told him./
- 4 Itm. Y^t if I had good cause to alleadge for myselfe, I was bound to showe it; w^{ch} I denied, saying y^t that good cause might be a secret cause, & soe follye to declare it.
finally they were verye Inquisitive to knowe whoe gave me licence to preache, & the cause of my comming to london this yeare and last yeare, as greatly suspecting y^t I came of set purpose to Entermedle with these controversyes, & howe long I ment to abide in this citey and when I would retourne home-wards into the north, exhorting me there to remayne, where qth they you may preache at yo^r libertye, we forbid you not; talking muche of their authorityes, asyf they had bene most lawfull ma^{trats} and renowned Justiceares, talking one of

As I had puffed
a little before by
occasion of myne
infirmitye.

*? if error for or.

on Sophister

Not as the crane
for pulling w^t her
neck a bone out of
the wolfe's mouth

another (ut solet mulus mulum & manus manum &c) and [?] p^rysing the Archb. sayeng I was bound to him for his goodness in delivering me.

I tould them to be playne the Archb. had bene myne heavy friend : I thancked them for nothing or rather I thanked them not for anything (I prayed god in myne heart for my deliverance) and once in worde., wheruppon Awberye sayd : you ought to be thanckfull to the Instruments of yo^r deliverance alsoe.

And wheras they willed me to praye for them & they would praye for me : I annswered y^t I did and would praye this prayer for them—That god woulde guide them a right course or else send them to the place y^t he hath prepared for them.

Here they paused a whyle, & then he sayd we will praye the same prayer for you : doe so qth I, & let truth prevayle. & morover I added this charg unto them./

Take heede how you laye yo^r hande vppon the Lord his annoynted : for it is commonly reported throughout al England, y^t her ma^{ties} best subiectes and preachers are oppressed for their conscience and vile persons escape for briberie.

Here Goodman pulled downe his hat, as thynking him selfe to be in better case for that matter then th'other (2) ; whoe held downe their heads & kept silence. so I depted prayeing them for my farewell to commend me to the Archb: and tell him y^t I looked for more kindness at his hands, w^{ch} message Awberye told me he would doe for me./ And thus yo^a see A traytor & an Anabaptist for soe I was called, whoe was sundry tymes threatened to rot in pryson &c To be dismissed w^{out} any punishmente, after y^t he had layne in prison nine weekes save one day, for not yeilding canonical & antichristian obedience to the Archb: touching licence to preach, touching giving of titles, & touching swearing and annswering him in Judiciall sorte./ And yet the said trayterous Annabaptist had bene a stone of offence to the said Arch: eaven by his owne confession. 16 yeares before, or there abouts, & had smalle acquaintance w^t any of her ma^{ties} most honnorable counsaile, & finally never sued to any creature for his deliverance, for certeyne causes him w^t holding soe to doe.

God be prayed for his comfortable & assured blessing toward the lovers of his sincere truthe. Amen.

Theise (4) pointcs following are not to be forgotten./

1 ffirst y^t when the Arch: officers sent to me for fees, I bad y^e messengers bid them aske them themselves, & then I would give them their annswer, y^t is to saye—

When I give their master his Titles then I will paye them their fees.

2 Secondly y^t the Arch: w^t other his commissioners, as I am enformed by learned counsaile, have done me flat wrong by the

lawes of this realme ymprisoning me w^tout A judiciall cause &c. And therfore by Justice I ought to take an accōn of false ymprisonment against them: but I had rather they would make confession of their falts, and restitucōn of my losses by them susteyned; And soe I would willinglie for my pte forgive them this iniury; though for manye oth^{rs} I knowe god hath to reckon w^t them./

3 Thirdlye, y^b when the poursuivant came for me at the first in the Archb. name, I denyed to goe w^t him. And when theruppon he threatened to charge the constable w^t me, I told him y^t I would rather obey the constable then either him or his m^r; howbeit when he charged me in the queenes name to goe, I went w^t him prstlye: for that he was the queenes officer & not the Archb^t: as he told me, and as appeared.

^a Wherein now I think I did offend, for yt his messag was for supporto of the Arch: Authoritie (? the last word is so faded as to be nearly illegible.)

4 ffourthlye and lastlye y^b I had used sundry verve round speaches w^t the arch: at my first being w^t him. namelye these & such like following.

1 When he would needes knowe why I reproved certeyne openlye for dombe dogges, Asses, and such like as could not understand the old nor newe Testament, I said w^tout the hebrewe & greeke none could soundlye understand them.

the bishop of norwich being by gave me one dant (?) for this speache

2 When he semed ymportunate in his owne pceedinge I brought him to confesse, y^b it might be he hath commended M^r Cartwright for an honest man & wished to have him as an helpe in his diocese at worcester

3 When he Threatened me I told him y^t though the word were strong in his mouth or at the least had bene yet the sworde was weake in his hande./

Yet was it never very strong in his mouth. (? : much faded.)

4 When he prayed him selfe his integritye & dealings, I prayed him to let oth^{rs} speake for him, wherat all the companye laughed w^t open mouth

but I said not (?) you look good neighbours when you are faine to speake for yorselve.

5 When he Reviled me & others, I annswered he should thinck better of us when his faith should encrease. faith encrease, qth he, what an arrogant speach is that? then, said I, paule was Arrogant, for he useth the same speache to the Corinthians in his defence against the false pphets.

2 Cor 10.

These & such like were y^e most Arrogant & rebellious speaches w^{ch} at that tyme I used against him; wheruppon as seemeth in his pride, melancholye, or gall of bitterness, he sent me to ward as aforesaid.

Witnesses
Dns Wing (?)
& others.

Finis./

[There is a transcript of Part I. of this paper in the *Morrice MS.* in Williams's Library.—T.G.C.]

The Experiences of Mary Franklin

IN *Transactions*, vol. I., p. 345 are given, under the title "Prison Correspondence of an Ejected Minister," some interesting letters of Robert and Mary Franklin, written while the former was imprisoned at Aylesbury in 1670. Mention is there made of certain autograph reminiscences of Mrs. Franklin, from which extracts were published in her funeral sermon, preached by Dr. B. Grosvenor in 1713. The original MS. is now in the Congregational Library; having passed from the youngest and last surviving daughter of the writer to *her* daughter, Hannah Burton, who seems to have been the last representative of the family. It occupies 28 pp. of a small volume $5\frac{1}{2}$ by $3\frac{3}{8}$ in., and about $\frac{1}{2}$ in. thick; of which the blank pages were mostly filled with pious reflections and extracts written by Mrs. Burton in 1782. There is no date attached to the reminiscences; but from an allusion near the end they were *probably* written during widowhood. We know nothing *certainly* of Mr. Franklin after the persecution he endured "when the troubles were about the Duke of Monmouth." But according to the List of London Ministers, 1695, in *Transactions*, vol. II., p. 45, a Robert Frankland was then ministering at Plasterers' Hall. Of him we have no further information; but he may probably have been the same person. The MS. is now for the first time printed in full, except that several long Scripture quotations are merely indicated, capitals and

punctuation are supplied, and faulty spelling and grammar are corrected.

Some grounds I have to hope that God hath begun that good work in my soul which, as the apostle saith he is confident, he will carry on to the day of Christ (Phil. i. 6). As for the time of my conversion, I cannot give account, being from my childhood instructed by my parents in the concerns of my soul. They took great care of me and the rest of their children, teaching us catechisms and the holy Scriptures; as the wise man's council is to train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it (Prov. xxii. 6). And for this I have great cause to bless God, who gave me such good helps; yet here I do not rest, for I see by daily sad experience that many that have had good education have yet come short of saving grace. Therefore I do not rest upon my education.

The Lord was pleased early to speak kindly to my soul, and did draw me with the cords of his love when I could hardly express or tell the meaning of it. I have often thought that it was with me as with Samuel, whom the Lord called and he knew not who it was (1 Sam. iii. 7). How I would stand and admire all the rich and wonderful love and mercy of the great and glorious God to me a poor, weak, and unworthy worm, who am unlikely to be any way serviceable to him, or to bring any glory to his name. But who can give an account of the reason of God's grace? which is free grace, and bestowed upon whom he will, (Rom. ix. 11, 13, 15, 16, 18) "that the purpose of God, &c." [*quoted at length to* "whom he will he hardeneth"]. And our blessed Lord admireth and blesseth God for it, Matt. xi. 25, 26, I thank thee, O Father, &c. [*quoted at length*]. Here we see it is not in learning and great gifts, but only in the free will and dispose of God, to bestow his grace. Oh, it is good to begin early, to serve God betimes in the days of our youth. God calls for this time, and it is fit he should have it who most deserves it from us, and hath most right to it. Oh, I can remember the loving visits that God gave to my soul in those days, which I would not have lost for the gain of the whole world. In my meditations of the love of Christ and of heaven I have had such raptures of joy that I could have been glad I might have expired and left the body; I thought I could have undergone any pain to have been in the enjoyment of the Lord Jesus Christ and heavenly glory. But this I have observed, when I have been in this condition I have been apt to grow too confident, and to think my mountain stood so strong that it should never be moved, as David, Psalm xxx; and I have been apt to grow conceited of my own strength, and to think I have attained to it by my own pains and industry. And then the Lord hath been pleased to withdraw thes_e

comforts for a time, to let me see where my strength lay, and that without him I could do nothing; John xv. 4, 5 [*quoted at length*].

The most remarkable time of the work of God's grace discovered to my soul was after that dreadful judgment of the great and dreadful Fire of London; of which I was an eye-witness, dwelling so near that we were forced to remove our goods on the Lord's day, and as it was in itself a very dreadful judgment, so it had a very deep impression on my spirits. And though we were removed somewhat remote from the city [*note in margin "Battersea"*], yet the sense of the judgment had as great if not greater impression on my spirits than before, and any company that was vain or light was a very great burden to me. Some while after my father removed into the suburbs of the city; and the Lord by that sad judgment made way for his people to have some opportunity to serve him more publicly. I was by his good providence cast upon Mr. Franklin's ministry in Blew Anchor Alley in Old Street; which time I hope I shall never forget so long as God shall please to continue my memory, for the great enjoyments of God that I had then, which I can better think than express. My soul was for some considerable time carried on with full sail towards God, and Christ, and the things above; and the word of God was then so sweet to me that most sentences were exceeding delightful to me; and then I could experience what it was to pray without ceasing (1 Thes. v. 17); for at that time my heart was always in a frame ready for prayer, and as I went about I could be lifting up ejaculatory prayers to God. And at this time any worldly business was a great burden to me, and any company, unless such as would be discoursing of the things of God. I rejoiced when the Sabbath came because then I could be wholly taken up with the concerns of my soul. I was at this time afraid of every word I spake about the world, lest I should sin against God, and lose my present comfort I did enjoy. And then I began to have desires after that great Ordinance of the Lord's Supper; but I, being of a reserved temper, could not speak my mind but when I had great freedom, (though my parents were ready and very willing to be helpful to me in my soul's concerns). They discerned me to be more than ordinary troubled in my mind, enquired of me about it, and put me upon seeking after the enjoyment of it. And I, hoping by that enjoyment to get more strength for the supply of my wants, and the strengthening of my weak graces, and having been for some time a hearer of Mr. Francklin, my desire was to join with that society in all ordinances. And, declaring my mind to some of the congregation, I had encouragement, and way was made for my admittance among them; where I partook of that great Ordinance, and in it the Lord was pleased to visit me with great measures of love to my soul: and I never durst for a small occasion omit [*?: word doubtful*] partaking of it when I might have opportunity.

Thus for the former part of my life was the Lord pleased to cause His banner over me to be love, and to draw me with the cords of love ; though I were not without my fears whether I might not be mistaken. I remember a great fit of sickness I had ; as near as I can remember I was about 17 years old ; I had a violent fever, and when it first seized upon me I was in a great agony and fear what would become of me if I should die then. Some while after it pleased the Lord so to clear up my interest in himself that I had so comfortable hopes of my condition that I did long to depart hence and to be with Christ, which (as the apostle saith) is far better. Phil. i. 23. I did so earnestly desire to depart this life that I was unwilling to use means for my recovery, fearing I might live to sin against that good God, who had manifested so much love to me : and discovering something of it to my parents, they told me I should be willing to live to do God service in my generation. Blessed be God for religious education ; the Lord help me to follow their good counsels and examples.

From my childhood I had a love to good people, but especially ministers ; my father's and grandmother's houses being much frequented by such good company ; and when any troubles arose, and they were threatened imprisonment for preaching, I thought if I might suffer with them I did not so much care, so I might not be deprived of their company. My mother's counsel would often be to us to improve our time while we were young and single ; she told us when we came to a married condition, and to have the cares of the world, we would find it harder to serve God, and to improve time for our souls, than now we did : whose counsel I bless God he did enable me in some measure to follow. Former experiences have been a great comfort to me in the later part of my life ; these are but some short hints, or little sherds, which for want of time to recollect my thoughts, and skill to put them in order, I could not do as I would. I know my own heart ; my desire herein is to encourage my relations, but especially my children, to make no delays or put-offs when they have any good motions to serve God ; for this, I can speak from my own experience, is of bad consequence. I remember when I was young, and among my play-fellows, I have had some good motions in my mind to leave off, and to go and serve God ; but I have put them off, and purposed in myself I would begin tomorrow ; but when that time came I should be as backward as before, and still be ready to put it off ; until it pleased God to convince me that it was a temptation from the devil. O, my dear children, God is too good a master to be put off at any time, for none gives so good wages. As the wise man speaks, Prov. iii. 17, 18, "her ways are ways of pleasantness," &c. [*quoted in full*].

But since my married condition the Lord hath been pleased to exercise me in another manner ; which calls for the exercise of the

great graces of faith and patience, mortification and self-denial. As for my private troubles, I shall not mention them, though I found them worse to bear than the troubles I met with upon account of the gospel, because they carry supports with them. The first year after we were married my husband was taken at Col[n]brook for preaching, which was 15 miles from London, and was carried to Aylesbury jail, which was 15 miles further ; which was 30 miles from me, and I was big with child. It pleased God I went out my full time, and after very sore and hard labour I was delivered of a large man-child ; but it was stillborn, which was judged by most to be occasioned by my grief that I had upon me by reason of my husband's being so far from me in my conditions. It being new work for me to be exercised in the school of affliction, it was more difficult for me to bear. But the Lord was graciously pleased to support me both in soul and body ; and as soon as my month was up, my father and mother and I rode to the prison where my husband was. It being the assizes, some friend moved the judges to consider his condition, he being illegally committed ; but they would not meddle with it. But it pleased God to grant him favour in the eyes of the Sheriff ; who being informed by wise counsel that, as he was his prisoner, he might remove him to what place he pleased, and appoint whom he would to be his jailer, God did by the importunity of friends move his heart to grant him his own house for his jail, and to appoint my father for his keeper, to continue till the other half of his time was expired, he being committed for half-a-year. And at the same time our house was guarded by soldiers for a considerable time ; every Lords day they came by 7 o'clock in the morning, and continued till 7 at night. And though it was all the time of my lying-in, yet the Lord was pleased to support me that I got no harm nor fright. He made good his word, "As thy day is, so shall thy strength be."

When this storm was over, we enjoyed peace again for a little season. It hath been the usual lot of the church and people of God to enjoy but short uninterrupted visits from God, either with respect to the inward presence of his Spirit or his outward presence in his ordinances. For while there is a devil and wicked men his instruments, there being such an enmity in their natures one against another, the people of God must expect trouble. Our blessed Lord, that was our example and pattern in suffering of affliction, he hath told us that in the world we must expect trouble, Matt. v.; John xvi. 33, "In the world ye shall have tribulation"; but for our comfort he hath likewise told us that in Him we shall have peace. Our blessed Lord hath likewise said (Matt. x. 34-5) "Think not that I am come to send peace on earth, &c." [*quoted in full*].

Some little time after there came forth new warrants to seize our

goods, and the informers with some of the officers endeavoured often to get into our house, which occasioned much disturbance to us. At this time I was [*illegible*] having a young child hanging on my breast, and I was forced to wean the child; my milk being disturbed, it did both me and the child hurt. This being new work to me—I having not been much used to this kind of work—I was not so well able to bear it as, I bless the Lord, I have been since. A little after this God was pleased to exercise us with afflictions in our family. Our child Betty was taken ill of a sudden in the night, her teeth set in her head, which we were forced to open with a spoon to get something down. We feared she had been struck with death; and after she came to herself she was very ill a fortnight of a violent fever, of which it pleased the Lord to recover her. The Lord grant she may live to his glory.

Upon her coming down, it being upon the Lord's day at evening, a very sad providence befel our family, upon our eldest child Mary, which was of the age of 4 years and a half. The maid having taken from the fire a skillet of milk with bread in it, ran against the child, and spilt it upon her; the bread stuck upon her face and breast. We immediately stript off her dress and sent for a surgeon our uncle Smith; who, when he saw it, despaired of a cure, because he perceived the flesh was mortified and scalded as deep as her windpipe; of which, after 9 days' illness of fever and convulsion fits, she died. But that which supported us under this great affliction was the wonderful patience God gave her under her great pains, to the admiration of all that were about her. For all the while her wounds were dressing she never cried out, but squeezed her fingers and bit in her pain; and would call to all about her to pray for her, and would ask her friends if they would love her, for she was a child of a very loving temper in the time of her health. The surgeon said he had never drest a patienter creature. In all the time of her illness she never expressed any desire to live, but said at first that God would not make her well, but she must die [and go] in the pit hole. She took no delight in anything we brought to her, as if she had been wholly weaned from the world; but if we asked her if she would die and go to God, she would answer "Yes." That morning she departed my mother and I sat each side by the bed, my husband having been at prayer in the room to resign her up to the Lord; she seemed to be in an agony, striking with her hand and crying "No, no," when none of us spake to her; and immediately after she lifted up both her arms, as if she beheld an angel come to receive her up, and so departed. She was a child that was desirable to all that knew her, being of a very loving disposition, and at her death was very much lamented. It was a child that gave us great reason to hope well of her; for I can say of her that I never knew her unwilling to say her catechism or

verses ; but she would be often asking questions of God and heaven, and of some that she knew who were dead, what they were doing in heaven, and when she was enquiring of these things she would be very intent about it. The death of this child went very near to me, not only for the loss of so dear a child, but also fearing that it was for some great sin that I had committed, it falling on the Lord's day—whether I had kept the Sabbath as I ought. But after some time the Lord was pleased to speak peace to my soul, which was a comfort and support to me under this great stroke.

One time I remember, when I was in bed with this child, meditating on eternity. I was in a kind of agony in my thoughts ; how could I bear that this child should miscarry to eternity ! But the Lord, I trust, hath taken her up to inherit everlasting glory, and the rest of them—being 4 more—that died in their infancy. I have rejoiced, sometimes, when I have been thinking of them, that any of my children should be so advanced as to be made heirs and inheritors of God's kingdom ; which I hope I have no reason to doubt of, they being children in the covenant, and I can say the Lord did enable me truly to give them up to him in their baptism. I earnestly desire the Lord to give his grace to those that are yet living, that they may live to his glory here, and be made vessels of his glory hereafter.

A little after the death of this child, the Lord was pleased to bring me very low by a violent fever, almost to the gates of death. I bless the Lord I hope I can say "It was good for me that I have been afflicted," for I found God's word and ordinances much sweeter and pleasanter than before. The Lord brought me to be willing to be at his disposal, either for life or death. The Lord was pleased to restore me again to life ; I earnestly beg of him that it may be for his glory, and the good of my own and my children's souls.

Some little time after there arose more troubles in the churches of Christ, by reason of informers who got warrants to seize on our goods ; who, getting some officers to attend them, did several times watch for an opportunity to get into our house. But one day my husband had appointed to preach a sermon, having given notice of it, on the Lord's day ; we suppose they might hear of it, for they came some time before we begun ; and a friend of ours, perceiving of them, came to the window to give me notice of it. I opened the window to hear what he said ; the informer, being behind, flew up to the window, snatched it out of my hand, and got up into it presently. He was a glazier by trade, which made him so expert at the work. But my husband, being in the room, thrust him back again, and got our friend who was without to lift up the shutter ; and so they were at that time prevented, and we lost our opportunity of hearing. At this time I gave suck to my fourth

child, Joanna, but these frights did so disturb my milk that I was forced to wean her ; and after she was weaned, I bless the Lord, she did thrive better than before, and was bigger and stronger than any of the rest.

After this storm was over we did enjoy peace in the churches for some time, and we did enjoy our sabbaths and other opportunities without disturbance. But I have cause to fear that I did not make so good an improvement as I ought to do. The Lord pardon what is past, and give me grace to improve what is to come.

It pleased the Lord afterwards to exercise me with afflictions in my family by the sickness and death of my children. I buried 3, my 5th, 6th, and 7th children. They died young, and had hard and painful death ; which was very grievous to me to behold, I having—I fear—too much screwed them into my affections. The Lord, I hope, hath taught me more weanedness to the things and persons of the world by these exercises. Oh that I could love Him very much, whom I can never love too much. Afterwards I was delivered of my 8th child, Robert, who seemed to be a likely child when it was first born ; but afterwards it proved a very sickly and weakly child, and continued so till he was about 3 years old, hardly having a month's health together, being bursten on both sides his body. After my month was up of lying in with this child, upon the Lord's day in the morning, I was sent for to my dear father's house by the sad tidings of his death ; which was very sudden, he being dead before I could get to see him. When his pains first took him he expressed a great deal of trouble that he [should] be hindered from hearing God's word, which was his great delight ; but the Lord took him to himself to enjoy an everlasting Sabbath. He was one that did always keep the Sabbath day very strictly, and also took care that all in his family did the like. This was a very sudden and sore stroke, not only to his own family relations, but also to the church of God ; he being a man of a publique spirit, and very useful in his generation. Ps. cxiii. 6 ; "The righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance." The Lord grant that we may follow his counsels and example. He used often to tell me that I had a great privilege above many others, that I might plead God's covenant, he being the God of my father, and my father's father's God to several generations ; and that he was informed that some of his ancestors were martyrs for Jesus Christ. I bless the Lord that he was pleased to comfort me with a promise immediately after my dear father's departure : it was brought to my mind as if it had been spoken to me, and I did not know where to find it at first, till after some while searching I found it in Psalms lxxxix, 30-34, "If his children forsake my law," &c. [quoted in full]. This promise hath often been a great refreshing to me in times of trouble and affliction. I hope the

Lord will make good this promise to me ; and though by my sins I often provoke him to chastise me, yet that he will not take from me his loving kindness, nor suffer his faithfulness to fail. For I hope I can say by experience that my afflictions have been a means to make me more out of love with the things and persons of the world, and more in love with himself. Blessed be God that when he hath brought me into the wilderness, then hath he spoke most comfortably to me ; and when he hath enabled me to go to him as my father through Christ, I have had experience of his hearing and answering my prayer in things that I have sought to him for.

A little after my dear father's death I had a great and signal deliverance from fire. My child Robert being a very sickly forward child, would not lie in bed ; I laid him in a cradle by my bed side ; and used to have a candle hang in my bed to see to give him something when he waked, which candle I used to put out when he was laid down. But being more than ordinary heavy, by reason of grief and want of rest, I forget to put it out. I suppose it fell down, for when I awaked I found it had burned a great hole through the pillow to the feathers, and my waistcoat had a great hole burnt on that arm next the pillow. It pleased the Lord to awake me by the crying of the child ; and when I beheld the great deliverance which God had wrought for me and the whole family, I was struck with great astonishment and admiration, what I should render to the Lord for so great mercy and wonderful deliverance. For beside the child in the cradle, I had another in bed with me, and one in bed with the maid by my bedside ; and the curtains of my bed were white calico, which would soon have taken fire. The Lord grant that this mercy may be remembered by my children ; and that they may record this mercy and loving kindness of the Lord in their deliverance at the time, and that they may live to his glory.

About 10 months after the death of my dear father there arose new troubles by reason of informers, that went about to inform against ministers for their preaching, and got warrants from justices to seize upon their persons and goods ; and amongst the rest God was pleased to count us worthy to suffer for his sake. But we, having some warning before, did remove some of our goods out of the house. The manner of their coming was this : Novr. 1684, being Saturday about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, the door being some way or other carelessly left open, they got into the meeting-place, which joined near to our house, and I being in the kitchen, with only my 3 children, one of them knocked at the kitchen door gently, and pretended to have brought me a letter. But I, looking through a hole made for the purpose, did suspect him ; and I went and looked through a place which looks into the meeting-place, where I saw more of them. Then I knew we were beset. I

immediately laid up the bars of the doors, and ran up to my husband—who was in his study—and told him that they were come. The mean while they did knock and thunder at the door, as if they would have broke it down, but not getting entrance that way, they got the window off the hinges and quickly got in, there being nobody to resist them, only a poor sickly child in the cradle. The other two children, being in a great fright, followed me up stairs ; and when they were got in they quickly came up to us. The informer had his drawn sword in his hand, he set his foot against the chamber door where we were, broke out a board of the door, thrust back the lock with his hand, and came in in a great fury, and laid hold of my husband, told him he was the king's prisoner, and would not suffer him to stir from them. Then they laid hold of all the keys of the doors, and kept possession of the goods. One of the informers, with a constable and other officers, had my husband away to a justice, who committed him to New Prison [? Newgate] for half a year for refusing the Corporation Oath. And when they had left him in prison, they returned to our house, where they had left the other informer with a constable, it being 10 of the clock at night ; and Saturday night, which aggravated the trouble, we being used to be employed in making some preparation for the Sabbath. As soon as they came in they first went to our cupboard and ate up our victuals ; and when they had done that they went into every room in the house and set down the goods, in order to their taking of them away on the Monday. And all the while they kept a watch in the house, who kept a great fire night and day, and ate up our victuals, and drank up our drink. I doubt not but the Lord will call them to an account for their unrighteous dealings, for he is a righteous judge, and will plead the cause of his people. On the Monday morning they sent for appraisers to appraise the goods ; which when they had done, they offered me to buy my own goods, and pressed me very hard to it, but I, having advised with friends about it, refused to pay down any money ; and when they saw they could not prevail for money, they fell in a great rage, to pulling and knocking down the things, and sent for two carts, which they filled that night ; and they were in such a rage that they would not suffer anybody to speak to them, but threatened to carry them before the justice if they did. The next morning they brought another cart, and took away the rest, not leaving so much as a chair to sit in or a cup to drink in. It is true, as the Word hath spoken, "the tender mercies of the wicked are cruel." I cannot forget what a rage and fury they were in while they were taking away our goods, as if they were not satisfied with what they had got, but did aim at something more. As a good man once said, it is not our goods only they aim at, but they grudge us our lives. My chief end in declaring these things is to acquaint my friends and relations, especially my

children, and also that I may not forget myself, how greatly the Lord supported me in this time of trouble : to the end that my children may have their faith and hope in God, and serve him in the days of their youth, as the wise man's counsel is, Eccles. xii. i. ; and then the Lord will not forsake them in their age, and when trouble is upon them. Oh, to have an ark to go to when there is a storm. What a comfort is this ; to have a God to go to in a day of trouble. Psal. l. 15, "call upon me in the day of trouble, I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me." God calls upon his people, and gives them many invitations, in his word, to come and hide themselves in him in times of trouble. Isai. xxvi. 20 [quoted]. Oh, it is an unspeakable comfort to have peace within, and a God to go to in times of outward trouble and calamity ; the Lord grant I may never forget his great loving kindness, and supporting consolations which I have received in times of need.

And, as I said before, I would call to mind the goodness of God in supporting me at this time, both in my soul and body. First with respect to my soul, many scriptures were brought to my mind, which were as so many cordials to me, and did greatly refresh my spirits : as that in Heb. x. 34, the primitive Christians took joyfully the spoiling of their goods, knowing in themselves that in heaven they had a better and enduring substance. I bless the Lord I was not at all moved with trouble or fear to think what should become of my children, or how we should do for supply. I durst not consult with flesh and blood, having read of Spira's sad condition [who] by that way was overcome. I hope I can say through grace that it was by faith, looking to those things that are invisible, that did enable me to bear up cheerfully and comfortably ; I looked upon it as an honour that the Lord should count me worthy to suffer anything for his sake, who thought not much to lay down his life for me ; and that I should have the honour to be one of those that should help to fill up the measure of Christ's sufferings. The Lord grant that if it should come to the loss of life I may not count my life dear to me, out of love to the Lord Jesus Christ. The precious promises were a great comfort to me in this time of trouble ; some of them were these :—Matt. v. 10-12 ; 1 Peter iv. 12-14, 16, 19 [quoted at length]. The example of Daniel came often into my mind, (when some friends were speaking of our forbearing for a while, and omitting our duty of meeting together), that when there was a decree made, though it was but for 30 days, yet Daniel would not omit his duty in praying to God, but did it as often and as publique as before, though he knew he must be cast into the lion's den if he did it. Dan. vi. 10 [quoted]. And that notable example of the three children, that though they were to be cast into the fiery furnace if they did not bow down to the image the king had set up, with what courage did they answer the king, and refused to obey his commands. Dan. iii.

16-18. We read in both these stories how wonderfully God did deliver them ; and the word of God doth abound with encouragement and consolations to his people in their sufferings. And his consolations are not small ; they are better felt than expressed. I bless the Lord I can say by experience there is a great deal of difference in sufferings ; for those sufferings that are upon the account of the gospel, they bring consolation with them, but worldly sorrow causeth death. For I met with some unkindness from some that had been pretended friends before ; and this was harder to bear than all my other troubles. The Lord grant I may make this use of it ; to seek more his love and friendship, whom I have found by experience to be a present help in time of need.

2. I experienced the Lord's goodness to me in the time of my trouble with respect to my temporal concerns ; for he did, according to his word, "stay his rough wind in the day of the east wind." My Robert, who from the time he was born had been very sickly and weakly, and not a fortnight together well from the time he had been born till this time, now by reason of my business I was forced to leave him with those that were strangers to him as to the manner of ordering him, and was fain to be from him early in the morning and late at night, yet it pleased the Lord to give him more health than ever he had before, and he did grow and thrive better. And though I was with child when this disturbance was, and being but 6 weeks gone, yet by reason of the noise and rudeness of the informers, in carrying my husband to prison and taking away our goods, I had no sign of miscarrying ; but went out my full time, and was delivered of a large man-child.

In this time of my husband's imprisonment it pleased the Lord to exercise me with another great affliction by the death of my dear brother, who did entertain me and two of my children when I was (by the informers seizing of my goods) turned out of doors. He entertained me with a great deal of love and kindness. He was a person lovely and desirable to all that knew him ; the Lord having endowed him with good natural parts and a sweet disposition, and grace which was the crown of all the rest. That which did mitigate our trouble was the comfortable hope that our loss was his gain.

Some while after my husband came out of prison I was delivered of that child. . . [a few words omitted]. I lay in of him at Clapham at my Sister Tanner's house. The child being large was bruised in the birth, and fell very dangerously ill of a strong distemper. Some thought it was planet-struck, others called it St. Anthony's fire ; we all thought it past recovery : but the Lord wrought a great deliverance in preserving his life. The Lord grant he may live to be an instrument of His glory in his generation.

When my month was up of my lying in, I came to London ; and

the first Lord's day after, we being met at Glovers' Hall, the City Marshall with several other officers came and took my husband again, and carried him before the Lord Mayor ; when he had the oath tendered to him as before ; and he, refusing it, was sent to Newgate for half a year. And there he met with other good company, who were put in upon the same account : there were 8 ministers beside himself. In this time of his confinement we had some privilege of meeting when most were disturbed, and had great numbers of people ; yet not without some trouble, for the justices and officers would sometimes come and break us up and threaten us. But after my husband came home again they grew more violent, searching our house often for ministers, and breaking through doors that were locked, and threatened to break down our meeting-place : which accordingly some little time after one of the justices, with some of his attendants, did one Lord's day in the morning pull down some part of it ; though at that time we had had no meeting. But about a month after the Lord called him to account ; he died very miserably. He did threaten to take a house near Bunhill, that he might prevent meetings there.

Our lease being expired, and our landlord having a mind to build upon the ground, we were forced to leave that house ; and removed a little further up Bunhill, in Goat Alley : where, after a while, there came constables and several other officers, about 10 o'clock at night, and brought a warrant to take my husband. They carried him immediately to New Prison, in order to his appearing at the Sessions, it being Sessions time. When he came before the justices they, having nothing to lay to his charge, required bail for his appearance at the next Sessions ; and so they continued him for a year, that he was forced to appear every Sessions, and find bail. And yet they did in this time search our house for him, though he did appear every Sessions before them. But it was at the time when they put several into prisons and halls, when the troubles were about the Duke of Monmouth. Here was another instance of God's great goodness to me ; that though I was with child all this time, and had but a fortnight to go, yet it pleased the Lord that I got no harm by the fright, nor the child neither ; for it was as large a child and as healthy as ever I had. It was my tenth child : but in the time of my lying in, by reason of some private troubles I had, and meeting with a melancholy humour which I used to be troubled with in my lying in, my spirits were extremely burdened, which did very much disorder my body, and hindered my rest for several nights. I endeavoured to seek help by making my complaint to a relation, where I hoped to have had some relief ; but all to no purpose, my trouble was rather aggravated. Then I resolved to go to the Lord, and cast my burden upon him who hath in his word given encouragement to his [people] so to do. Psalm lv. 22, Prov. xvi. 3, Psalm l. 15 [*all quoted in full*]. When

the Lord hath enabled me this to do, in one night's time all my trouble was scattered and gone, and I was greatly composed and quieted. The Lord grant I may never forget this time, for it was very remarkable.

This day, Jan. 18, I met with some great trouble which did very much discompose my spirit, and also caused great illness upon my body. I had no rest until I went and laid open my case before the Lord; and then I found ease from that comfortable word in Isaiah liv. 5-8, "For thy maker is thy husband, the Lord of Hosts is his name, and thy Redeemer the Holy One of Israel, the God of the whole earth shall he be called"; &c. [*quoted at length*]. And I urged the Lord with his promise made to me upon the death of my dear father, Psalm lxxxix. 30-34. I have always found it good to take this course; to go to God in all my troubles, and first to be humbled for my sins that have been the moving cause of my troubles, and then to plead the merits of the Lord Jesus Christ for my acceptance with God; and the Lord hath seldom sent me away empty of comfort.

One other time when by reason of trouble my spirits had for several days together been very low and sad, I sought the Lord for help, which at last (being under great discomposure of spirit) the Lord was pleased to come in with comfort to me from that good word (Ps. xxxvii. 34; xxvii. 14), "Wait on the Lord and keep his way, and he shall strengthen thy heart; wait, I say, on the Lord," and also from that, Heb. xii. 5-8 [*quoted at length*]. And in reading of a good book this passage was very sweet to me: "While a Christian hath a God to go to his case can never be desperate; let him encourage himself in his God, and all will be well recovered." And another note of patience, what it is:—Patience is a submitting, sedate, and calm frame of spirit, whereby a Christian from Gospel grounds is borne up under all his troubles, and borne through all his duties." "He is a patient Christian that is as much a Christian in a storm as in a calm; that can pray, believe, love, bless God, follow God and keep his way, when he smites as when he smiles. The patient Christian sees the end of the Lord, that God intends his good by all that comes upon him; he knows that all things, and therefore this which is now come upon him—whatever it be—shall work to his good.....He feels the hand of the Lord; when the hand of the Lord is upon him, he feels also the hand of the Lord under him."

Another time when by reason of some trouble I met with, which did very much discompose my spirits, and also caused some illness upon my body, I having earnestly sought the Lord for his help, (I going forth to hear a sermon that day,) he was pleased to direct a very suitable and comfortable word to be spoken to me, which was a cordial that did revive both soul and body, for I came home and was no more sad. The sermon was preached by a worthy

servant of the Lord, Mr. Williams, out of the lxii. Psalm :—" My soul, wait thou only upon God, for my expectation is from him." Doct. That it is the duty of Christians in the midst of their greatest troubles patiently to wait upon God, and to expect deliverance from him out of those troubles in his time. Oh that my soul might not easily forget such great loving kindness from the Lord, but that I may be encouraged to follow on to seek the Lord, and that such experiences may be as food to my faith in the future.

(Added in another hand—perhaps Dr. Grosvenor's).

"She, being dead, yet speaketh."

Early Nonconformity in Yarmouth

DO we for our historical work make the use we might of the numerous volumes of the *State Papers, Domestic* (known as *S.P.D.*) now available to us? It would seem not, judging from one or two of the more recently published histories of nonconforming congregations. In the present case, the story of the years 1667-1669 in Yarmouth's struggle is of singular interest; and there is in the extracts and *précis* of letters from Richard Bower to Joseph Williamson, Lord Arlington's secretary, a wealth of minute detail about matters that cannot fail to be of service to us.

Browne, in his admirable *History of Congregationalism in Norfolk and Suffolk, 1877*, tells us much about Yarmouth, and we need not again go over the ground. It will suffice us here to say that Wm. Bridge was ordained to the pastor's office at Norwich on the 10th September, 1643; that in 1650, "a proposition was made that the great north aisle of the church should be fitted up 'for another meeting-place,' but in the end it was determined that the chancel should be 'closed in with main walls where needful, and fitted up for a church house,' and here Mr. Bridge and his congregation were 'suitably accommodated,' and here they worshipped till the 18th November, 1661, when the keys of the meeting-house were demanded, and they were ejected"; the keys being delivered to the Dean and Sir Thomas Meadows, and the vestry door nailed up. The Norwich and Yarmouth Independents were closely

connected with each other, and Mr. Bridge was frequently amongst his Yarmouth friends,—“our pastor” being the description of him in their church book on the occasion of his death in 1670.

The first mention we get of Yarmouth Nonconformists in *S.P.D.* is under date of the 16th December, 1667, when Bower tells Williamson that

meetings are so frequent.....200, or 300 met at the house of Thos. Raven, a common council-man, and present Chamberlain.

Two days later, on the 18th, he writes again, saying:

There were 400 or 500 at the conventicle named in my last; they flock together in other parts of the town, discouraging those who come to public worship, and who fear they may be secured at church.....They expect Mr. Bridges, a grandee of the Independent faction, shortly, and several outed ministers are supplying his place. Mr. Ottee, once a bodice maker, in the late times minister of Beccles, was one.

Keeping up his prompt reports, Williamson is informed, by Bower, on the 23rd December that

the magistrates do not put the least check on the conventicles, and the numbers flocking thither increase daily, they are so full that people can scarcely get in.

The references to Yarmouth are closed this year in *S.P.D.* with an undated paper of much import, being a *Narrative of the government of Great Yarmouth.*

Conventicles suppressed till 1666, when [Edm.] Thaxter and Mr. Huntingdon being bailiffs, the conventicles were re-established, Mr. Bridges, the former preacher, brought back, and the other party admitted to the corporation... the Act of Nonconformity is evaded in choosing officers of the town, so that of 12,000 estimated communicants, only 500 attend, and those chiefly the poor who receive collection money.

Such then is some idea of Yarmouth when on the 8th January, 1668, Bower says:

The people are high for liberty of conscience; blown

up by books scattered among them, one called *A Peace Offering*, another *A Discourse of the Religion of England*, and others. Conscience is made a cloak for ignorance, wilfulness, and treachery. One of these holders forth refused the Oath of Supremacy, but when it was read to him, thinking it was the Oath of Allegiance, he took it. These people are children in understanding, but men in malice.

Two years before Mr. Bridge's death he saw, according to Bower's letter of the 24th January, that

the Presbyterians and Independents are now in charity one with another, and jointly contribute to the relief of their ministers, and have gone from house to house, to stir up and receive the people's charity, which has formerly been done privately; each faction singly for its own, but this is like surveying their strength and numbers, and trying how every man stands affected, entering down their names and what they give. Bailiff England gave 5/-, he is well affected with the cause, but better with his money. Justice Thaxter, one of the ex-bailiffs, gave 30/-, and other persons 20/- and 30/- each.

On the 11th March Williamson hears that

Mr. Bridges, formerly teacher to the Independent congregation of Yarmouth, and one of the principal grandees of that party, is come down and preaches; the people flock in such numbers that by 7 a.m. there is no room to be got. They also meet in other parts of the town in great numbers, being supplied with teachers out of the country, who now resort here from all parts.

Poor Bower!—the Nonconformists almost touch his own person, for on the 19th June he says:

A conventicle meeting was held next door to me on Sunday: they met at 5 or 6 a.m. and broke up at 10; then at 11, and broke up at 3. At their breaking up I told out about 400 from one door, besides what went out at another. There were several other meetings in the north and south ends of the town at the same time.

Now comes a valuable bit of information, giving us an insight as to Mr. Bridge's position in the town. On the 9th October Bower says that

since Mr. Bridge's coming, the independent faction is grown so high, that the minister will be forced to lay

aside the performing of his duty in the burial of the dead, their rudeness being such that they not only jeer and laugh at him, but make a noise that he may not be heard. Some have been so impudent as to lay their hands upon his book. Others, more modest, have buried their dead by stealth. The prayers and the thanksgiving for his Majesty's restoration was torn out of the Common Prayer as it lay in church. Their ringleader Mr. Bridge is grown so high that he threatens his members with ex-communication if they go to hear our ministers. He has seduced several of late, and made them members of his congregation, and takes upon himself to baptize their children.

Again, on the 27th November, Bower says :

I repeat the contents of my letter of 9th October as to the proceedings of the Independent party, and Mr. Bridge. I find that my information was sent to Mr. Bridge by a friend at Court, and that James Johnson of Yarmouth has received an order to draw up some queries, and require our minister, Mr. Spendlow, to answer them, with strict charge to be very private in it. Spendlow asked me if I had written up anything concerning Bridge. I urged him to give me a reason for his asking, and was informed of the demand of Johnson, who stated that the king had letters concerning Bridge. I told him that there was a puzzle in it, and that the order to Johnson must come from some person that wished well to Bridge and his party. I therefore advised him to decline answering unless required by authority, or unless Johnson would let him see the hand that was set to the order ; which he refusing, Spendlow refused also, adding that if he gave any answer, it would be only confirming what had been stated. Johnson replied that then he should not desire it. I believe it was Sir Wm. Doyley that wrote to Johnson, as Johnson is his agent, and it is not denied by Bridge's son-in-law.

Not yet is the last heard of Bower's memorable letter of the 9th October. Writing to Williamson on the 9th December, he says :—

A copy of my letter of 9th October, has been sent from Lord Townshend, with an order to the bailiffs for the 2 ministers and Bridge to appear before his lordship tomorrow at Norwich. The bailiffs met to consult, and sent for the two ministers. While they were discoursing, Thomas Lucas, an eminent merchant and bailiff in Oliver's

time, entered and demanded what they were doing, saying "What! are you persecuting Paul, and will you do this now the King and Council are setting about a sufferance?" Upon which Spendlow asked if it were so; he replied he had heard so.

One of the most valuable of this series of Bower's letters is that of the 14th December, wherein he deals with the history of the Yarmouth Nonconformists.

.....Bridge resides at Yarmouth, and is daily teaching contrary to the Act which forbids his residing within five miles of the town. The 2 sects act as brethren, in trying to subvert the Government. After the house here was purged of all the Independent faction, in 1660-61, Sir Thos. Meadows and Arthur Bacon were chosen bailiffs: the Independents' meeting place was then in the chancel of the church, where some thousands of them met; Sir Thomas Meadows put them by and locked up the doors; they were much exasperated and sought all ways to defame him.....In 1665 and 1666 the Presbyterians, with the assistance of the others, got the government [of the town] into their hands, and have kept it. Then the Nonconformists forsook the church, and the turbulent spirits who left the town in the time of Sir Thomas Meadows, have returned; their meetings are public, their numbers increased, and no notice is taken of it. They next send Sam. Shipelham, a member of Bridge's congregation, to the Presbyterians interested in the government, for charity towards the relief of the ejected ministers, which gives the Independents, upon their so free and general contribution such satisfaction, that Bridge is immediately sent for to town, when they flock together in great numbers, and meet publicly, in the face of authority; they say such things are winked at under the King's nose. All who oppose them suffer in trade or reputation for it.....John Woodroff, the head bailiff, moved for omission from the bailiff's oath of the words:—"That you shall keep secret the King's Counsel," and "you shall govern by law and reason"; also "that All Saints' Day, Twelfth Day, and the Coronation Day, be left off from being Scarlet days." He is the grandee of the Presbyterian party, and has much influence, being the only one in the town that lets out money, not only of his own, but of others, so that he supplies all men's occasions, when they want, upon good security. I am threatened to be spoilt in my trade for

giving a knowledge of these things ; no interest can stand if the party complies not with them, so I must expect to suffer for what is done.

All these details go to shew us that the Non-conformists were then a powerful body in the town, with banker Woodroff as one of their chief men. No wonder that Bower was fearful he would have "to suffer." Here is an account of a funeral at which he was present ; he sends it to Williamson on the 18th December.

A deacon of Mr. Bridge's church was buried this afternoon. When they had brought him to the grave, the minister being there, they set down the corpse and fled, only one staying, which caused another to return, so that there were only those 2, and a friend of mine to put the corpse into the grave.

With a long communication of the 21st December, the series for 1668 comes to an end.

I was mistaken in my statement that the Presbyterians gained the government of this town, in the year 1665, it being in 1666. Edmond Thaxter, one of the party, was chosen bailiff by the townsmen, in 1665 ; but was laid aside, and Rob. Nicholson and Wm. Bateman took place by *mandamus*, but these will not be owned by the Presbyterian party to have been bailiffs, upon which account they have several times been affronted in taking their seats in church. There is a peculiar seat in the church for the bailiffs and the aldermen, the bailiffs sitting at the upper end, the justices next, and every alderman that has been bailiff in order ; those that never bore the office, according to the time they have been aldermen, sit next the lower end ; but if a junior alderman be chosen bailiff, he sits above his seniors, that never bore office. Wm. Bateman, coming to his place yesterday during divine service, James Johnson,—formerly an alderman but turned out—being in the aldermen's seat, set up his feet and would not let him pass, upon which Bateman forced away his leg, and had like to have passed by ; Alderman Thaxter perceiving this, caught hold of his gown behind, and pulled him back violently ; and Mr. Johnson struck him, so I fear it will not be long before they are all together by the ears.

On the 3rd March, 1669, come particulars of the Independent meeting-place.

The Independents have fitted up a place for publick meetings, with seats for the people, and a desk for the parson, where at least 1000 met. The fitting up was not taken notice of before they met, only by their own party, by which may be seen the secret intelligence they hold with one another.

On the 22nd March Bower has to write :

The new meeting place being found too little to contain the people that flock thither, they are erecting 3 fair galleries ; their minister is Mr. Barker, late minister of Aye [Eye?].

Still they grow ; on the 14th April Bower says :

.....Captain Thomas Ravens, Mr. Bridge's son in law, and one of our present chamberlains, who until Mr. Bridges was required to leave the town made his meeting-house a place for Nonconformists. He has now wholly deserted the church and goes to the Independents..... Their new meeting-place has become too little to receive them, and a member informed me that if this toleration continues, they shall erect a fair church in our south end.

On the 26th April we hear that

Captain [Ravens] yet goes to the meeting, where they now sing psalms, and may be heard at a great distance.

Of Bridge's death we hear nothing, and not until the 6th July, 1670, does the veil again lift for us. Then we find that

the Nonconformists' meetings being prevented in the town, they go to Lovingland, an island, where they are entertained and kept up by Alderman Thomas Ravens, who has a house there.....Cobham isle adjoining is said to be neither in Norfolk nor Suffolk, and might be inserted in the commission, which would take away all the Nonconformists' opportunities of meeting. The justices are at a loss how to levy the £20. for the meeting-house in the town, belonging to Major Burton, he being in Holland.

Here then, save for one mention of " Mr. Bridge's congregation," on the 24th October, when " Roger Waters is one of the principal members, who used to get into the pulpit to preach and pray," the

series of Bower's letters comes to end. We feel grateful to him for the light he quite unintentionally kindled in the seventeenth century for us of the twentieth.

We can however fill in the story of the congregation for two months prior to his last letter. There are particulars of two petitions to the king from William Clarke, churchwarden of Yarmouth. On the 7th August, 1670, he says :

I acquainted Jno. Woodroffe, Justice of the Peace, of the meeting of divers persons at a Conventicle, I granted a warrant for dispersing them. I took certain persons to assist, and found between 400 and 500 present listening to the preaching of Fras. English.

On the 16th August he prays for

an order to levy certain sums due by other inhabitants of Yarmouth, convicted before Mr. North, J.P., for being at a conventicle held at the house of Thomas Raven, Alderman of Yarmouth, at Burgh Castle, Suffolk.

GEO. EYRE EVANS.

History of a Church in Southwark

From the *Gould MS.*

NUMB : 23.

AN ACCOUNT OF A CHURCH that usually met in SOUTHWARK near St. Mary Overys Church, consisting partly of Pædobaptists, and partly of Antipædobaptists, from their first Constitution in y^e Reign of K. James 1, to their Dissolution in 1705. taken out of their Church Book, &c.

According to y^e best Account from Ancient Members therein, & such Notices as in Old Books we find ; That about y^e Year 1621 was this Church constituted in Gospel Order, & carried on by one M^r Hubbert ; who in that time of Trouble then all did pass to Ireland, where he for some time continued with them & dyed. He was a Man brought up in Learning, & was formerly an ordained Man of the Church of England, but renounc'd it & took his Ministry from that Church. This one thing is remarkable of him, That on his Death-bed he said, He thought there was some Spell in his first Ordination, Seing that tho he knew y^t Some of y^e Members had as good gifts as himselfe & more Grace Yet could not get over this, but think of himselfe aboue them & thought this did arise from y^e Imprefions in his mind made at that Ordination. This Church returned into England, & kept close their Comunion here about London, where one M^r Tho: Handcock, a member of this Church, preaching to them as a Brother for some Months. After w^{ch} y^e Church called M^r John Can, (who was since famous for filling up a Bible wth Marginal Notes, to this day much Vallued) whom y^e Church called & Chose their Pastor, who attended that Service for Some Time, & then wth Some of y^e Members left y^e Church & went to Amsterdam, & there continued wth y^e English Church many Years ; And tho he came into England after yet returned & there dyed. All w^{ch} time y^e Church planted by M^r Hubbard, wth Such other as Joyned wth them continued serving the Lord with Singlenefs of heart ; & in procefs of time had y^e Opportunity of enjoying as a Member Sam: How.

At w^{ch} time, they Solemly renewed & confirmed their antient

League & Covenant one wth another, & then did freely Elect, Choose, & Ordain y^e Said Sam^l How to be their Pastor, who faithfully & painfully served in this Ministration about the Space of Seven Years, till, according to y^e will of God he fell asleep [& died in Peace] in a troublesome Day, being much lamented.

Before I go further take these remarks on this Sam^l How who lived about 1634 or 35, wth was a time of great trouble by the Bpp^s Courts in King Charles y^e 1st time, in many Vexatious Conditions by Pursevants &c, & Excommunications : & This Servant of Christ dyed under this Punishment, & therefore they would not let him have y^t wth they call Christian Burial, but wth a Constables gaurd secured y^e Parish ground at Shoreditch against them, who very quietly was buried at Anis-a Cleer†; where several Members desired & when dead was buried by him. This is y^t How so much talked of in latter years who wrote y^e little Book so often printed, called *Hows Sufficiency of y^e Spirils Teaching* &c. And as farr as I can find by them y^t were of y^e Church at y^t time (for I know many of them) he was famous for y^e Vindication of y^e Doctrines of Separation, & were for it much harrased up & down in Fields & Woods; but God was wth them, & they cheerfully pased along.

After these things, some considerable time after, finding y^e want of a Pastor, & desireing y^e Groth of y^e Church, & their Edification, they chose out among themselves, & pitched upon Stephen More, a gifted Brother, & a Deacon to y^e Church, & did freely Elect, Choose & Ordain him unto that Office about y^e Year 1641. He was a Cityzen of Good Worth, & pofessed of some Estate, & lived in good Reputation, yet did he willingly comply wth all y^e Providences of God in all their Afflictions & Sufferings to Serve our Lord Jesus, & purchased to himsele a good degree & great boldnefs in his Work &c. In his time Knowlidg did break out & y^e Light of y^e Gospel began to shine, in so much that these People, wth were in former times so represented to y^e World as such y^t were to be avoided, that they were hardly reckoned amongst Men, as I have heard some of them say, they thought we were some kind of Wild Creatures; & they were persecuted so, at that time by y^e Clergy & Bishops Courts as is almost Incredible; Yet it pleased y^e Lord to carry them through & own them: And this one Case was remarkable; That in y^e time of y^e Difference between y^e King & Parliament; This Church meeting on a Lords Day in Deadmans Place, in Southwark, they were taken & by S^r John Lenthall y^e Marshal of y^e Kings Bench committed to the Clink Prison, next morning were carried by order to y^e House of Lords,* setting in Parliament, about 5 or 6 men, & great were y^e Expectations of y^e Town w^t would be y^e Issue of it. They were strictly examined by y^e Lords of their Principles, and y^e Lords

* See Numbr.
20 of this
Collec:

† i.e. St. Agnes la Claire, a well near Shoreditch.

were civil to them, & asked where they mett y^e next Day, who said Some of them would come & hear him : And accordingly either 3 or 4 of the Lords did come : And in those it was a continued Meeting from y^e time they began till they had filled up all y^e Ordinances, two Sermons, And y^e liberty of y^e Brethren in Prophecys, & breaking of Bread, & Contribution to y^e poor : wherein y^e Lords were liberal ; y^e Subject matter of y^e Sermons were y^e 28th of Matt: All Power is given to me &c. The design was to show y^e Kingly Power & Authority of Christ in his Church, & they said, I mean y^e Lords, we will come again y^e next Day. But did not there being at that time so great a Crowd, they'd not venture. After these things I find little interruption given to this People, & they continued their meeting Peacably. The great cry of y^e People was for Reformation, & in Some time y^e Hiererchy of England begun to be nipped, & in a few Years was thrown down, & y^e better part of y^e Clergy sat in Afsembly at Westminster with a great design to establish Presbytery. But God enlightned some of them to stand up for y^e liberty of Gods People ; the Lord stirred up y^e hearts of Several, as Tho: Goodwin, Phil: Nye, Jer: Burrows, W^m Bridg & others, who did labour, & from Scripture shew y^t in Gospell Days there was no National Church, but Congregational, w^{ch} is no other but Independent, as y^e Word then was, & so called to this Day, w^{ch} was no other save in some small Matter, y^e Same y^t was witness'd to by this poor Church aboue said, as may appear to any y^t read in Burrow & Greenwood & Penry in y^e Days of Queen Elizabeth, some of w^{ch} Sealed y^e Truth wth their Blood, as also John Robifson in his *Justification of Seperation*, also Hery Ainsworth, a great & eminent man in y^t age, & divers others since. This was a Comfortable Day for those Saccloth Worshipers, & a time of Encouragement, only y^e Presbyterian Party could not speak well of them, & therefore when they could not carry it for that Interest, did on a time Remonstrate to y^e Parliament, & brought y^e City Mayor, Aldermen & Common Council to joyn them, in w^{ch} they did exprefs their grievence among others, that some effectual way be found out to suppress Brownism. That was than y^e Name of Christs Servants, & to this Day it is a reproach to that People. I find y^e Occation of this Name was, because there was a man of that Name, I think, an Elder, that afterwards renounced at Pauls Crops, after w^{ch} he dispaired & hanged himselfe. They might as well have called y^e Disciples of Christ, Judafses, for one of them fell._____

But notwithstanding, y^e Churches & this Church grew, & no place was to good for their encouragement to meet in.* thus farr I find some footsteps of y^e Providence of God to this Church, To about y^e Year 1648 & onwards. In these Matters also I find y^e Church not without their Troubles within by Schism, & some Excoṁunicated. And do find y^t in this Year 1648,

* Whitehall:
St. James.

there was a renewing of their Covenant In these words following
w^{ch} I think meet to transcrib, viz.

Memorandum. That we whose Names are Subscribed In consideration & sence of our many fould Sins & Miscariages in our personal & publick Relation, & our exceeding unworthy management of y^e Scepter of Jesus Christ comitted to us as His Church & People, much to his Dishonour & our own Grief of Spirit ; & for y^e gaining Ability for y^e future, to reforme y^e Evils amongst Us, did address ourselves to y^e Lord by Prayer And did in y^e Presence of him & each other, according to y^e measure of Grace afford'd renew & declare our visible Relation & Interest to & in him & each other, as a Church & Spouse of Christ Jesus, wth our Resolutions to Persevere accordingly as God shall afford Ability.

Signed y^e 23^d May, 1648.

Hen. Wallis
Rich. Prudnel, Deacon
Benajh. Pratt
Daniel Hitchings
Jn^o. Powell

Stephen More, Pasto^r
Peter Row
Charles Goodfellow
Griffith Jenkins
Gideon Rogers
John Freeman
John Groom
Henry Quintin

In the behalfe of the Rest

And accordingly God did blefs their endeavours, & carried them thro many Temptations on y^e right & on the left as they passed along : of whom I find but few things till such time as some now living, were actually acquainted wth them, w^{ch} was gratusly brought about by our Lord, by a Series of the Providence of God ; viz : The Year after King Charles II. returned to England & brought y^e Bishops again. They soon erected y^e Old State of things, & establish'd Episcopacy, & by an Act of Parliament provided for Uniformity, w^{ch} was to take place y^e 29th June 1662. & whosoever would not thereto conform, to be turned out : And also to punish y^e Meetings otherwise than y^e Law directed, so y^e I w^{ch} write this* wth some others that could not comply were at a great Lofs, & to get into any meeting was not only dangerous, but very difficult, nor could we get in anywhere for some time, nor had we any knowlidg more or less of this Church : for we were brought up to hear y^e best of Teachers, as we thought, to be found: But I remember we 3 or 4 were disposed to espouse Independency, and then we had time to bemoan our Selves for not giveing up our-Selves somewhere, but it was then to late : for all those things lay dormant by reason of y^e Violence used in prosecuting y^e Law : But to y^e Glory of God I now relate wth effect these things wrought on Some. It so fell out that two Friends that came out of y^e Country to London, & haveing Some of their Country Men & Friends coming to visfit them on y^e Lords Day, they all bemoaned themselves because they could find no

* Suppos'd
to be old Mr
Webb.

meeting : Saith one to y^e rest let us go to Sam^l Herbert, & he we believe doth know So away came they immediately, He was glad to se his Country Men, but when he understood their desire was not able to answer it : for unto that time he had never had that opertunity for himselfe. But he made this Motion y^t they would walk in y^e fields & so conferr together wth to do. And at last it came to this. That if they would go back wth this Friend he would give them Liberty further to conferr,* & this ^{In his house I suppose.} was most readily agreed, & after a great deal of Straining Courtisy who should perform y^e work of Prayer there was a man that could not read nor write, but such a Spirit of Prayer went forth as was exterordinary, which when done y^e friend in whose house we were, said pray let us meet again next Day & we will prove y^e Lord whether we may not be encouraged to go further. w^{ch} being come about we had y^e same Company where it was concluded that we might help our Selves So to work we went & found that encouragement by reason whereof we did continue it ; & grew till near about 30 men & so kept a Comfortable meeting w^{ch} by y^e blessing of God much refreshed Us ; & sometimes we gatt help from others, & so came, at last, to be acquainted wth a Preacher, that was turned out of Prison, from y^e White Lyon, Southwark, & hereing him accidentally, we desired his help, at last he came one p^t of y^e Lords day to us his Name was M^r Stephen More, & was as befor said the Pastor of this Church, but we knew it not, & after we came to be acquainted wth him, we then told him how we were convinced we were not in Order, & that we wanted Instruction in them Principles,* & desired he would ^{* relating to Church Fellowship.} in his Labours among us bend his Studys for us : who was faithfull, painfull, & made it his businefs to lead us in y^e whole Counsell of God in this matter, & proved very satisfactory to us : After this we came to understand there was a Church he was Pastor to, & then we encouraged them to come also, for they at this time were but few. We thought good to fall in with & joyn ourselves to them : And so we came together wth much Joy & Comfort. So here we began upon y^e Knowlidg of y^e State & Condition of this Church from y^e time expressed downwards. Only I think meet to hint y^e reason why I write this last matter ; w^{ch} is to shew to us & all his People how he will make his Providences serve his own : for thus it did work on us, for w^{ch} we have ever sence been under high obligation to blefs God, that hath done this great thing for us : That to this Day hath been y^e Sence of every of us to rejoyce in the Lot God gave us & to exprefs y^t y^e Lott of our Place & Stated Comunion hath pleased us well. Oh ! that we may walk in all well pleasing to our blefsed Lord & King. Thus was this house of y^e Lord raised up & Comforted even in Troublous times when others were at a Stand This Church grew most & had y^e enjoyment of Christ & comunion one wth another, & almost without interrup-

tion : & I cannot remember, y^t all y^t Severe time of Sufferings we ever lost one Day. We were so hid & delivered y^t when hunted from one Place we had another to repair to, & I think not above 3 times taken : & when So God delivered us : But as for Seizing our Goods we had our Share ; & God helped Such very comfortably to take y^e Spoiling of their Goods, & at last to endure Prison some Weeks, where also was many Comfortable meetings, & there that is, in y^e Marshalsey, our Dear & beloved Brother & Pastor finished his Testamony, died & was honourably buried in y^e Park, Southwark. & a poor desolate Church left behind him, tho yet it was Gods good pleasure to take care of them, & carry them thro all their Discouragements, to live on this provision his Majesty hath ben pleased to meet out for their Table. For God hath blessed Pulse & water to his Children, & their Countenance hath looked well. Thus they continued about 12 Years, at w^{ch} time God Stirred up their hearts to look out among themselves a Brother who had many Years walked as an Example in y^e Church ; Our Beloved Brother Parker who continued some Months a Pastor : In his time y^e Providence of God bro^t an opertunity in our hands for an Increase to our Number, w^{ch} was very small at that time, but was Sufficient to answer y^e rule of y^e Word, & in a measure to answer y^e end of Comunion, w^{ch} we wth comfort lived in y^e Enjoyment of. The Opertunity we had was thus. There was a Church* whose Foundation was fixed on y^e Doctrine of Baptism, & as they generally are. In about 3 Years time y^e Pastor of it was Convinced that y^e Ground of Comunion in y^e Church was only y^e Grace of God in y^e heart, tho such might be of Differing minds about Baptism & some other Principles as laying on of hands & Some other matters : Hereupon there followed a great Breach, & y^e Greater Part wth y^e Pastor came off as a Church ; The other party likewise would be the Church, & Controversy was about it. But we concluded y^e former was the Church. And this being y^e Principle* of this Old Church, they proposed to joyn themselves wth us, w^{ch} when we had debated on, we agreed to joyn together as One intire Church : in w^{ch} for a while we had two Pastors. The above named, Daniel Parker, & y^e Pastor y^t came wth them from White Street, (for y^e was y^e Place of their meeting) whose name was M^r Rich: Robins, a young man & much followed & admired, who had Accutenefs of Parts & Gifts & therein did excell Many :——— Thus we continued for about 11 months according to y^e said Agreement as neer as we could. But we were not in a Capacity to answer y^e Expectation of M^r Robins, who could not be satisfied wth such Provision for his Subsistance as he desired, therefore grew dissatisfyed &c. And we much grieved that notwithstanding all our endeavours to help him they were Ineffectual ; & he being a Young man had but a small share in those great Qualifications

*The Baptists Church in White St. Southwark.

* Fir. Mixt Comunion.

belonging to his office, only as aforesaid Eminent in Preaching, tho' in y^e also we did not all run with, in y^e hight of his Principles* but do weigh them. Under these Circumstances it pleased God to remove M^r Gammon, by Death ^{* he was reckoned an Anti-nomian} who was Pastor of a Church at White Chappell, w^{ch} were of y^e same Principles wth us as to y^e Foundation of Church Communion. They being left made themselves acquainted wth our Bro^r Robbins, & desired his help, the w^{ch} we readily complied with, & from this, they having considered, did resolve to send Mefengers to us, & accordingly did, to make a Motion to us to joyn to or with them; The w^{ch} we took time to consider of: & accordingly set a day apart, beging y^e Lord to lead us, w^{ch} haveing performed as y^e Lord was pleased to help us, we came to State our Present work, w^{ch} was reduced to two Questions, viz. Whether we should dismiss our Bro^r Robins from his Pastoral office, & Membership, or whether we should meet y^e about said Church in order to a Union. The former was immediately & Unanimously agreed to; y^e Old Members resolveing in y^e Strength of Christ to maintaine their Church State: And according hereto; Bro. Robins had his dismissal given him by Wrighting, & to be recommended to such Church as he should desire Comunion with: The week following were Messengers sent to us from White Chappel to desire our Commendations of our Said Bro^r might be to them w^{ch} was his desire. The Answer returned was that he was a Member in full Comunion wth us, thus they received him (& as we hear did afterwards Choose & Set apart to be their Pastor) here is y^e Issue of y^e matter as to this Bro^r. And whereas it was agreed that such of y^e Members as would go with him, should, giving Reasons first, have their Liberty, directing such to give in a list of their Names, w^{ch} they did, & afterwards y^e like was brought by Mefengers from y^e Church to w^{ch} we agreed & signed; w^{ch} Number was near 40 Persons. From this Account it follows by Demonstration, how God hath been pleased to secure to this Church her Indisputable State, nor Questioned by any; & by our Lord hath been owned with an Eminent Power & Presence of his helping hand among Us, altho' we most unworthy thereof, & therefore Cry Grace, Grace.

It remains now only for me give a Reason why I have thus wrote, & to remark a few things upon y^e whole.

First. It's not to make an Argument of a true Church from its Antiquity, y^e great boast of y^e Church of Rome, of w^{ch} read 2 Thes. 2. 4. 5. 6. 7, espically from being supported by y^e Power & Authority of Kings, Princes & Wise, Grave & honourable Men of this World.

Secondly. However, tho' in this Sence, there be no Argument for y^e Poor Church of whom I have thus wrote; It must be a great thing to consider of, for a poor, afflicted, persecuted People, snubb'd & ridiculed, punished & persecuted, & always by y^e Sons

of Ordination, falsly represented & brought into contempt as dangerous Persons & of no Account & reproached by calling the eminent Servants of God in y^e Days past : Billy y^e Bellows Mender, Tom y^e Taylor, Simon y^e Cobbler, Tinker, & I know not what names : I say notwithstanding all this, & such like treatment in y^e World, Yet that he should mentain this People from y^e time aforesaid, is very much to be taken notice & should be for Encouragement to Us in our Present State & Condition ; wth is farr better than it has been wth them at some other times.

Thirdly, that it might enable & stirr us up to follow on our noble Predecessors & elder Brethren, in looking after y^e Glory of God only, & the Edification & Continuance of y^e Church. It was observed concerning a Bro^r of this People formerly, by name M^r Hancock, who tho' a man of full Imployment, & kept fairs as at Bristol &c, Yet never forgat y^e Church whether abroad or at home, striveing for y^e Increase of it. Let us do likewise ; have our Brethren been Zealous to keep up y^e Church all their Days, & shall not we do so likewise all our Days, & so be an Example to them y^t shall follow us, that if it be y^e good pleasure of our Lord & King, our Law-giver & Judg, to carry his Children & those y^t Submitt themselves to y^e Scepter of Christ among us from age to age, & y^e Ages to come, even till he come y^t shall come : And let this Church always say & pray, Come Lord Jesus, Amen, for he hath said he will come.

Thus farr y^e Narrative written in their Church Book. After M^r Robins wth about 40 of y^e Members had left them they proceeded in y^e same Year 1699 to y^e election of another Elder. The persons nominated were Valentine Lindsey, Edward Scape, & Sam^l Herbert. The Choise fell on M^r Lindsey, who after some time for consideration, accepted of that office, & was set apart according to their form on y^e 20th of Jan^r 1699-1700. He continued to preach y^e Word & Administer y^e Sacraments to them for about 5 Years. But tho' he was a man of an Unblamable Conversation & Compitent Gifts for y^e Ministry, yet it did not pleas God to give much succes to his Labours. Whereupon he growing in Years & Infirmitys, & y^e Congregation declineing in Number & ability to support y^e Charges, they did agree to disolve there Church State ; & went some to one Church, & some to another, in y^e Year 1705.

A New Portrait of Richard Baxter

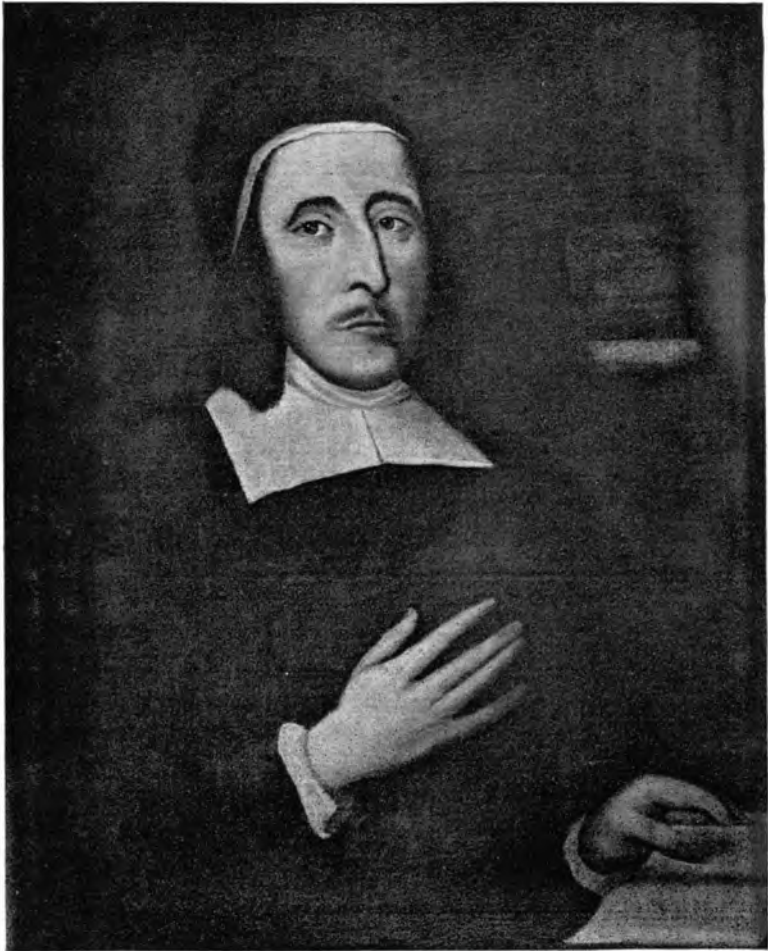
WE have pleasure in presenting to members of the Society a hitherto unpublished* portrait of Richard Baxter, the original of which is in the possession of J. W. Standerwick Esq. (secretary of the Wiclif Society), in whose family it has ever been a cherished heirloom. Mr. Standerwick contributes an outline of the family history, shewing the circumstances under which the portrait was painted.

THE family of Standerwick, of Broadway, co. Somerset, has been identified with the cause of Nonconformity in that neighbourhood uninterruptedly from the earliest date to the present.

In 1632, Richard Standerwick, a native of that place, and grandson of the first John Standerwick of Broadway, invested money in cattle; it is understood in the interest of the Puritan immigrants in New England; as appears from the records of the State House at Boston, Massachusetts. His family were well to the fore during the Commonwealth, the reign of Charles II, and in the Monmouth Rebellion. His grandnephew William Standerwick of Broadway was the intimate friend of Richard Baxter, and by his commission the portrait hereto annexed was executed.

There is no record of any particular thing Mr. Baxter did at either Broadway or the adjoining town of Ilminster; but it is stated that he was a more or less frequent visitor at the former place in the home of his friend. W. Standerwick upheld the Nonconformist banner during his life, but the state of things prior to the passing of the Toleration Act did not enable a regular chapel to be built at Ilminster until 1718, two years after his death. Nevertheless, there is every reason to believe that religious services had been carried on

* Since the portrait was placed in the printer's hands a professed copy has appeared in a weekly newspaper. That copy has, however, been manipulated with a view of making a more pleasing picture. Our readers may rely on the print given herewith as a faithful reproduction of the original.



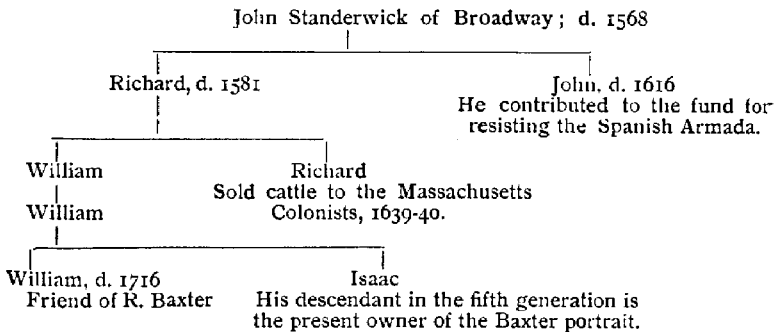
RICHARD BAXTER.

for a period long prior to that date; as certain Nonconformist families, including the Standerwick branch resident in Ilminster, are proved to have ceased to attend the parish church there. As the Ilminster congregation lapsed into Arianism before 1739, the Broadway section with their sympathisers withdrew, and founded in that year the present Broadway Meeting. The church assembling there has never received one penny of external help, although it has maintained auxiliaries to the Bible and London Missionary Societies, Cottage and afterwards Hamlet-chapel services (the latter at Domett, two miles away), Day and Sunday schools, and other church organizations.

In this connexion it may be mentioned that one Nathaniel Standerwick was transported to Barbadoes for participation in the Monmouth Rebellion, and that the Rev. William Standerwick (see *Congregational Year Book* 1877) was pastor of Broadway Meeting from 1837 to 1850.

JOHN WILLIAM STANDERWICK.

The Standerwick Pedigree



Extract from *Records of the Colony of New Plymouth*, vol. i., p.159-60.

“Richard Standerweck of Broadwaye in the county of Somsett in Old England, clothier,” did by a deed signed and sealed in the presence of five witnesses, on 20th Feby 1639, sell for the sum of twelve pounds to “Nicholas Murton of Waimouth in New England, all the catell, whether coves, steeres, or calves whatsoe^r I have with M^r Hull in New England.” The deed was verified by the oath of two of the witnesses, in the presence of T. Dudley, Governor of Massachusetts, 25 Aug. 1640.

An Interesting Monument

(Contributed by Rev. E. Watts, Westbury)

IN Densham and Ogle's *Congregational Churches of Dorset*, pp. 7, 8, is an account of the wonderful escape of James Daniel, of Beaminster, in the evil days after Sedgemoor. Daniel was a considerable landowner, and coroner for Dorset; and is said to have been connected by marriage with the Earl of Lauderdale. Having been an active partisan of Monmouth he was keenly sought after, Jeffreys declaring that "he would give a hundred pounds for his body, dead or alive." One night he dreamed that a voice bade him "go to the west"; whereupon he concealed himself under a heap of straw in his barn at Knowle, about a mile west of the town. Scarcely had he left the house when a party of soldiers entered it in search of him; and, following him to the barn, thrust swords and pikes into the straw, but providentially missed him. Subsequently he pulled down the barn, and enclosed the site as a

burial-place for himself and his family. He is commemorated by a marble tablet in Beaminster Congregational church, with the following inscription :—

Sacred to the Memory of
JAMES DANIEL, GENT.,

AN ANCIENT INHABITANT OF THIS TOWN, AND LONG DISTINGUISHED FOR
HIS CHRISTIAN CHARACTER, HIS PROTESTANT NONCONFORMITY,
AND HIS ZEALOUS DEVOTION TO THE CAUSE OF CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS FREEDOM.

UNDER THE TYRANNY OF KING JAMES THE SECOND
HE ENDURED MUCH DISQUIETUDE FOR CONSCIENCE' SAKE, AND ON ONE OCCASION
NARROWLY ESCAPED FALLING INTO THE HANDS OF THE GOVERNMENT
EMISSARIES WHO WERE APPOINTED TO APPREHEND HIM.
THE BURIAL GROUND, ON THE FAMILY ESTATE IN THIS NEIGHBOURHOOD
AND IN WHICH HIS REMAINS, AND THOSE OF HIS DESCENDANTS, ARE INTERRED,
WAS DESIGNED BY HIM TO INDICATE THE PLACE,
AND COMMEMORATE THE EVENT, OF HIS WONDERFUL CONCEALMENT.

He died in the year of our Lord 1711, aged 100 years.

HIS SURVIVING RELATIVES OF THE FOURTH, FIFTH, SIXTH, AND SEVENTH GENERATIONS
HAVE UNITED TO BEAR THIS TABLET
IN HONOUR OF THE PIETY AND PRINCIPLES OF THEIR PATRIARCHAL ANCESTOR.

1835

TEMPORA MUTANTUR.

Richard Frankland and his Academy

WE lately received from Rev. G. H. Brown, of Ilkley, a photograph of much historic interest, representing the house of Rev. Richard Frankland at Rathmell; and although the facts of his life are well known, it may be desirable to present them in a brief summary in connection with the accompanying view of this oldest Non-conformist seat of learning in the north of England.

Rathmell is a small hamlet in the parish of Giggleswick, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles south-south-west of Settle, in the West Riding of Yorkshire. There, in 1630, Richard Frankland was born. He received his early education at the grammar school of Giggleswick, and at the age of 17 matriculated in Christ's College, Cambridge. He graduated B.A. in 1651, and M.A. in 1655. At the university one of his fellow-students was the celebrated Oliver Heywood, with whom he formed a lifelong friendship. For a few years he seems to have led an unsettled life, ministering for short periods at Hexham, Houghton-le-Spring, Lanchester (where he appears to have received Presbyterian ordination), Ellinthorp, and Sedgfield. At length he was presented by Sir Arthur Haselrigg to the substantial benefice of Bishop's Auckland.

In 1657 Frankland was appointed to a tutorship in the college which Cromwell designed to establish at Durham, to the use of which "certain Church lands, the Castle, and some of the Cathedral Buildings" were appropriated. But the Restoration put an end to this incipient northern university,



RICHARD FRANKLAND'S HOUSE : RATHMELL.

and the Act of Uniformity terminated the tutor's parochial ministry. Bishop Cosins was especially desirous to bring him to conformity, offering him a better benefice and a private *conditional* re-ordination; but the offer was respectfully declined. He thereupon retired to his house at Rathmell, where he possessed a modest competency. To this period of his life may probably be referred a strange story told in one of the Thoresby MSS. in the British Museum. It is said that he was moved by an irresistible impulse to seek a personal interview with King Charles II; and, obtaining an introduction from the Earl of Manchester, said to him, "The eternal God, whose I am and whom I serve, commands you to reform your life, your family, your kingdom, and the Church. If you do not, then are such judgements of God impending as will destroy both you and the kingdom." Charles is said to have turned pale, and said "I will do what I can; I thank you, sir." "But," says the MS., "he said and did not." At the suggestion of his friend, Sir Thomas Liddell of Ravensworth Castle, Durham, Frankland now commenced a private academy in his own house at Rathmell. His first pupil was George Liddell, the son of Sir Thomas, who entered on 8th March, 1669/70. In four years he received 15 pupils, of whom at least six became Nonconformist ministers. During this time he was much harassed by legal proceedings, declared excommunicate, and at last compelled to leave his home. He accepted a call from a Christian society at Natland, about two miles south of Kendal, where he remained about nine years. In this time he instructed 77 students. Meanwhile he preached regularly in his own house, and occasionally at Kendal and other places. It is probable, though not certain, that the old Presbyterian (now Unitarian) church at Kendal originated in these

ministrations; it was certainly in existence four years after he left Natland.

During his residence at Natland, Frankland took part in what is believed to have been the second ordination service held among English dissenters. The first had been held as far back as 28th October, 1672; when Joseph Dawson, Samuel Angier, and John Jollie were privately ordained by Oliver Heywood and four other ministers, some Presbyterians and some Independents, in Mr. Eaton's study in Deansgate, Manchester. Nearly six years later, on 8th July, 1678, at the house of Richard Mitchell, near Winterburn in Craven, Frankland, Heywood, and Jos. Dawson solemnly ordained John Issot, one of Frankland's students, together with Messrs. Thorp and Darnton. Another ordination was solemnized in the same house in 1680.

At length, Kendal being a corporate town, the provisions of the Five Mile Act were utilized to drive Frankland from the neighbourhood. Accordingly, early in 1683, he removed to Calton in Craven, about seven miles south-east of Settle, and not far from Winterburn; where the dissenting interest enjoyed the support of Mrs. Lambert, daughter-in-law of the old Parliamentary major-general of that name. Hither some of his pupils accompanied him, and their number was increased by four in the course of the summer. But for some unexplained reason three other removals took place within the next three years. The first was to Dawsonfield, near Crosthwaite, in Westmoreland, at no great distance from Natland; the next to Hartleborough or Hallburrow, in Lancashire, the location of which is not indicated in the gazetteer. From May, 1684, to February, 1684/5, nine students were entered; but from that time to Michaelmas, 1686, not a single name

appears, suggesting that the academy was temporarily suspended.

By this time Frankland apparently intended to return to his birthplace. It is not clear whether, with this view, he merely enlarged and improved his former dwelling, or whether the existing house was then first erected. What is certain is that over a window at the back of the house, not seen in the photograph, are the initials R^FE (Richard and Elizabeth Frankland) and the date 1686. However, the projected return was postponed, and the academy was reconstituted at Attercliffe, about a mile east of Sheffield. There, from November, 1686, to July, 1689, no fewer than 51 students were enrolled. There, too, Frankland participated in the ordination of three of his students; Nathaniel Heywood, nephew of Oliver Heywood, on 1st June, 1687, and A. Dawson and J. Aldred on 11th September, 1688.

At length the Revolution and the Toleration Act opened a new era for Protestant dissenters, and in the summer of 1689 the academy and its tutor returned to Rathmell, to occupy the now venerable building that had lately been prepared for their reception. There 147 students received training which fitted many of them for the Christian ministry and others for success in learned professions, the entries averaging 16 a year during the remainder of the tutor's life. It is evident that in his tutorial labours Frankland must have had assistance, but on this point information is defective, and the only colleague of whom we have certain knowledge is his old pupil Mr. Issot.

Notwithstanding the cessation of legal persecution, Mr. Frankland was harassed by persistent hostility to the end of his days. The Whigs, with their projects of "Comprehension," were in general as unwilling as the most uncompromising Tories

to accept Nonconformity as a permanent fact. Even liberal-minded prelates like Tillotson looked with disfavour on dissenting academies; and, as they could not be destroyed, it was sought to cripple or discredit them by depriving them of their most reputed and capable tutors. All Oxford and Cambridge graduates had then, and for centuries before, been required to swear that they would not teach "as in a university" without the sanction of the university authorities. This oath had been devised to prevent the setting up of a rival university, such as had once been attempted at Stamford. It was now alleged that no graduate of either of the national universities could teach the classics in a private or unauthorised academy without violating his oath. On such pretences Frankland and other tutors were frequently molested. On one occasion he was cited to the bishop's court and excommunicated for non-appearance; but Lord Wharton and Sir Thomas Rokeby brought the matter to the notice of King William, who ordered his absolution to be read in Giggleswick church. Some time afterwards Archbishop Sharp sent for him to Skipton, told him of many complaints laid against him, and talked largely about the wickedness of perpetuating schism. Frankland replied that the Protestant interest would be better served by repressing scandalous and disloyal clerics, and promoting agreement among good men, than by striving after uniformity. The prelate seems to have been impressed by Frankland's arguments, and afterwards invited him to Bishopthorpe on a friendly visit. Still later, in 1697, proceedings against him in an ecclesiastical court were stopped, it is believed, by Sharp's intervention.

During these later years we read of two ordinations, conducted in the Presbyterian form at

Rathmell, whether publicly or otherwise is not stated. On 7th June, 1693, five students, Messrs. Anderton, J. Holland, Rothwell, J. Mitchell, and J. Dawson, were ordained by Frankland, Oliver Heywood, Mr. Carrington of Lancaster, and Mr. Puncheon of Rosendale. On 26th May, 1698, nine students were ordained, Messrs. John Jolly, John and James Taylor, J. Travis, J. Bowes, Isaac Worthington, T. Dickinson, J. Vaughs, and B. Peters, the officiating ministers being Frankland, Carrington, and J. Aldred of Monton.

Frankland is described by Calamy as "not a very popular but a substantial preacher. A man of great moderation, very liberal to the poor, studious to promote the Gospel in all places, and good in all relations in life." At Rathmell he had "a thriving congregation, whom he kept in peace by his candour and humility, gravity and piety, notwithstanding their different principles*"; he was generally beloved, and exceedingly useful." His only publication of which we have any knowledge is entitled *Reflections on a Letter Writ by a Nameless Author to the Rev. Clergy of both Universities, and on his Bold Reflection on the Trinity*. 4to., 8+54pp., London, 1697; preface by Oliver Heywood. It fully justifies the further praise of Calamy that he "was an eminent divine, and an acute metaphysician . . . very sagacious in discovering errors, and able in defending truth." During the last year or two of his life he suffered much from a complication of bodily infirmities, and died 1st October, 1698. He was buried in the churchyard at Giggleswick. His funeral sermon was preached by his old pupil, John Chorlton of Manchester, from the concluding verses of Matthew's Gospel.

We are fortunate in having two complete lists of Frankland's pupils; one appended to a funeral

* Probably some were Presbyterians and some Independents.

sermon preached for one of their number by Rev. E. Latham, M.D., in May, 1745; the other among the papers of Oliver Heywood, and printed in the third volume of his *Autobiography, Diaries, etc.*, edited by J. Horsfall Turner, 1885. They differ considerably in the spelling of names, and slightly in dates of admission, but otherwise are in perfect agreement. From these, and the biographical notes compiled by Dr. Toulmin and R. Slate, we learn that the entire number was 303, of whom at least 14 were sons of ejected ministers, and no fewer than 110 became Congregational or Presbyterian ministers, about half-a-dozen, or less, of them subsequently conforming to the Established Church. Several of them became medical practitioners, and a few achieved distinction in other walks of life, notably John Kay, a lawyer, who compiled a once famous *Abridgement of the Statutes*. About 180 of them received their training wholly or in part at Rathmell, and of these all but 15 certainly in the building that still remains. On Frankland's death the academy was discontinued. Of the students whose course was then unfinished, 13 were transferred to the similar institution at Manchester under the presidency of John Chorlton; others completed their education under Timothy Jollie at Attercliffe, and others elsewhere.

It may be interesting to name the most distinguished of Frankland's students, those who were not at Rathmell being indicated thus †.

Thomas Whitaker, M.A., entered 6th July, 1670; 35 years minister at Leeds.

Timothy Jollie, entered 27th August, 1673; pastor and tutor at Attercliffe.

John Issot, entered 20th February, 1673/4; Frankland's assistant.

†Joseph Boyse, entered 16th April, 1675; eminent Baptist minister in Dublin.

†Peter Finch, entered 3rd May, 1678; pastor at Norwich; almost the last survivor of Frankland's students; died 1754, aged 93.

- †Jeremiah Aldred, entered 18th June, 1680; friend of Matt. Henry, invited to succeed him at Chester.
- †William Tong, entered 2nd March, 1680/1; friend and biographer of Matt. Henry.
- †Nathaniel Priestley, entered 2nd February, 1681/2; first dissenting pastor in Halifax.
- †John Chorlton, entered 4th April, 1682; pastor and tutor at Manchester.
- †John Piggott, entered 21st January, 1686/7; first pastor of the Baptist church in Little Wild Street, London.
- John Ashe, entered 7th May, 1688; a laborious minister in the Peak.
- Thomas Dickinson, entered 3rd July, 1689, or 8th February, 1691/2; successor of Oliver Heywood at Northowram.
- James Wood, entered 22nd April, 1691; minister of Chowbent. In 1715 he raised a company of irregular volunteers who did good service against the Pretender.
- Eli Dawson, entered 13th May, 1692; had six sons, all educated for the dissenting ministry, but four of them conformed.
- James Clegg, M.D., entered 26th February, 1695/6; eminent for his labours in Derbyshire.
- William Pendlebury, entered 7th January, 1696/7; many years pastor at Mill Hill, Leeds.
- John Evans, D.D., entered 26th May, 1697; minister at New Broad Street, London; author of *The Christian Temper*, collector of much material used by Neal in his *History of the Puritans*.
- Thomas Benyon, M.D., entered 22nd March, 1697/8; tutor at Shrewsbury.
- David Some, entered 4th July, 1698; distinguished pastor at Market Harborough.

It only needs to be added, in conclusion, that Frankland's house is now divided into several tenements, and that the portion towards the right hand side of the print has been considerably modernized. But the larger part of the building, towards the left, is, in the opinion of Mr. Brown—who lived above 30 years in the neighbourhood—not very unlike what it must have been when Frankland made it a centre of light and spiritual influence for the north of England.

Undescribed Edition of a Work of Penry

SIR JOHN WILLIAMS, Bart., M.D., writes to Rev. Alex. J. Grieve, M.A., B.D., the editor of Penry's *Aequity*, as follows:—

PLAS LLANSTEPHAN,
CARMARTHENSHIRE,
29th August, 1906.

DEAR SIR,

It may interest you to know of an edition of John Penri's *An Exhortation*, etc., which is not mentioned in your "Bibliographical List of the Writings of John Penry."

The copy of the *Exhortation* which I had when you wrote to me is dated 1588 (so that it cannot be No. 2* in your list). It is also paged 1-65. It ends in the lower half of page 65, and is signed John Penri. It is followed by the following:—"To the Reader. I have read master D Somes booke," etc. On the title page is found the following:—"There is in the ende something that was not in the former impression."

With regard to the edition which I bring

* Note—"2" in the list of editions in Sir John's possession (*Aequity*, p. xiv, line 5 from bottom) seems to be an error for "3."

to your notice now, the title page is the same as that of the above. It is dated 1588. It ends, like the above, in the lower half of page 65, and is *not* signed here. It is paged. Then follows on page 65, "To the Ll. of the Counsel." This ends in the middle of page 66 (? : MS. has 110) and is signed John Penri.

Then follows "To the Reader. Master D
Somes booke was published this day. I have
read it," etc.

Yours sincerely,

JOHN WILLIAMS.

Early Nonconformist Bibliography

VIII

(Continued from Vol. II., p. 229)

THE following, on the prelatical side, should have been mentioned among the writers named in Vol. I., pp. 252-4 :—
JOHN HALES of Eton, called the "ever-memorable" : born 1584, Greek Professor at Oxford, died 1656. Among his works are :—

Præpocivii Samueli Dissertatio de Pace et Concordia Ecclesiae, per Iraeneum Philalethen. 8vo., 1628, reprinted 1630, and in English 1653. In the Bodleian, &c. The English reprinted in the "Phoenix" Tracts, 1707-8.

The Way towards the finding of a decision of the Chief Controversie debated concerning Church Government ; fol. 1641. In the Bodleian and elsewhere.

A Tract concerning Schisme and Schismaticques, wherein is briefly discovered the original causes of all Schisme. 3 editions in 1642, and several times reprinted. Original edition in the Bodleian, reprint in Congregational Library and elsewhere.

Golden Remains of the ever-memorable Mr. John Hales of Eaton Colledge, &c. 4to., 1659, reprinted 1673 and 1688. Third edition in Congregational Library.

SAMUEL HOW, said to have been a cobbler, was pastor of a Separatist congregation in Southwark. He is remembered as the author of :—

The Sufficiency of the Spirit's Teaching, without Human Learning. 1639. The copy in the Congregational Library is 4to., 8+30 pp. Fifth edition, n.d.

The following were omitted by oversight in our last paper, Vol. II., pp. 219-229.

JOHN VICARS (1582-1652), an ardent Presbyterian, was the author of :

God in the Mount, or England's Remembrancer. 4to., 1641. In the Congregational Library and elsewhere.

A Looking-Glasse for Malignants ; or God's hand against God-haters. 4to., 4 + 40 pp. 1643. In the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Library.

The Picture of Independency, lively (yet lovingly) delineated. 4to., 16 pp., 1644, in the British Museum. Second edition, 1645. In the Bodleian and Congregational Library. Reprinted by the Spencer Society, 1873.

Letter to J. Goodwin, concerning Innocence and Truth triumphing, with a Letter to Mr. D. T. 4to., 8 pp., 1644. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

A Looking-Glasse for Malignants : Second part. 4to., 1645.

Jehovah Fireh : God in the Mount ; or England's Parliamentary Chronicle. 4to., 1644. In the Congregational Library.

The Schismatic Sifted : or the Picture of Independency, Freshly and Fairly washt over again. 4to., 8 + 44 pp., 1646. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

A Just Correction and Enlargement of a Scandalous Bill of the Morality of the Malignant Clergie. 4to., 1647. In the Congregational Library.

Coleman Street Conclave visited : and that Grand Impostor the Schismaticks Cheater in Chief.....truly and duly discovered. Against John Goodwin. 4to., 12 + 40 pp., 1648. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

We have next a Congregationalist, J. SPENCER, nicknamed "the Coachman," "the Horse-rubber," &c. See Vol. I., pp. 417-18. To him we owe :

A Short Treatise concerning the lawfulness of every man's exercising his gift as God shall call him thereunto. 4to., 8 pp., 1641. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

The remainder are Prelatist.

HERBERT THORNDIKE, a much esteemed champion of High Church pretensions ; died 1672. Among his most important works are :

Of the Government of Churches, a Discourse pointing at the Primitive Form. 12mo., 1641. In the Bodleian, British Museum, and Congregational Library.

A Discourse of the Right of the Church in a Christian State. 12mo., 339 + 117 pp., 1649. In the Bodleian, Williams's, and Congregational Library.

Two Discourses. The one of the Primitive Government of Churches ; the other of the Service of God at the assembling of the Church. 8vo., 1650. In Williams's Library.

G. AGLIONBY. *A Modest Advertisement concerning the present Controversie about Church Government, &c.* 4to., 24 pp., 1641. A Reply to A. Henderson's *Unlawfulness and Danger of Limited Prelacie.* In the Bodleian.

T. COOKE. *Episcopacy Asserted, as it now stands established in our*

Church and Commonwealth. 4to., 1641. This we know only by the title.

Sir ROBT. COTTON. *A Treatise against Recusants, in defence of the Oath of Allegiance.* 4to., 1641. In the British Museum and Bodleian.

R. HARRIS. *Concio ad Clerum. Oxoniae jam dudum habita, dein posthabita, et repudiata, nunc demum in lucem edita.* 4to., 4 + 26 pp., 1641. In the Bodleian. Reprinted fol. 1653.

E. HARRIS. *A True Relation of a Company of Brownists, Separatists, and Non-Conformists in Monmouthshire in Wales, with the manner of their Doctrines, Christenings, Weddings, and Burials, &c.* 4to., 8 pp., 1641. In the British Museum.

L. WOMOCKE. *Beaten Oyle for the Lamps of the Sanctuarie, or the great controversie concerning set Prayers, and our Liturgie examined.* 4to., 74 pp., 1641. In the Bodleian, British Museum, and Congregational Library.

The Examination of Tilenus before the Triers; in order to his intended settlement as a Preacher in the Commonwealth of Utopia. 12mo., 30 + 284pp., 1658. In the Bodleian and Congregational Library. Reprint, 1719, in the British Museum and elsewhere.

We proceed to the known writers who first appear in controversy in 1642, beginning with the foremost Presbyterian author,

SAMUEL RUTHERFORD (1600-1661); best remembered by the 352 *Religious Letters* which do not come within the scope of our review.

A Peaceable and Temperate Plea for Pauls Presbytery in Scotland . . . Wherein . . . the Grounds of Separation and the Independencie of particular Congregations . . . are examined and tryed. 4to., 16 + 326pp., 1642. In the Congregational Library and elsewhere.

The Due Right of Presbyteries, or a Peaceable Plea for the Government of the Church of Scotland. 4to., 18 + 468pp., 1644. This is chiefly against Congregationalism. In the Bodleian, British Museum, and Congregational Library.

The Divine Right of Church Government and Excommunication. 4to., 28 + 656pp.; with which is usually bound *A Dispute touching Scandall and Christian Libertie.* 4to., 104pp., 1646. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

A Survey of the Spiritual Antichrist, opening the secrets of Familisme and Antinomianisme in the Antichristian Doctrine of John Saltmarsh and Will. Del. . . and of Robert Town, Tob. Crisp, Denne, Eaton, and others. 4to., 6 + 18 + 174 + 18pp., 1648. In the Bodleian, British Museum, and Congregational Library.

Preeminence of the Election of Kings, or a Plea for the People's Rights. 4to., 40 + 468pp., 1648. We know of no original copy except at Harvard College.

A Free Disputation against pretended Liberty of Conscience. 4to., 22 + 412pp., 1649. In the British Museum, Bodleian, Williams's and Congregational libraries.

A Survey of the Survey of the Summe of Church Discipline, penned by Mr. Thomas Hooker, &c. 4to., 8+522pp., 1658. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

Examen Arminianismi, Recensitum et editum a M Netheno. 8vo., 761pp. Published posthumously at Utrecht, 1668. At Bowdoin College, Maine. We know of no accessible copy in England.

Rutherford's expository, practical and devotional works are sufficiently known and valued, and need not be here enumerated.

W. CASTLE. *The Jesuits undermining of Parliaments and Protestants, with their foolish phaucy of a toleration, discovered and censured.* 4to., 1642. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

R. CUDWORTH. *The Union of Christ and the Church in a Shadow.* 4to., 2+35pp., 1642. In the Bodleian. Reprinted, 1743.

A Discourse concerning the True Notion of the Lord's Supper. 4to., 4+74pp., 1642. In the Bodleian and British Museum. Reproduced in his *True Intellectual System of the Universe*.

P. BAKEWELL. *A Discourse tending to prove the Baptisme in, or under, the Defection of Antichrist to be the Ordinance of Jesus Christ; as also That the Baptisme of Infants or Children is warrantable, and agreeable to the Word of God.* 4to., 8+32pp., 1642. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

R. COACHMAN. *The Cry of a Stone; or a Treatise shewing what is the right Matter, Forme, and Government of the Visible Church of Christ &c.* 4to., 16+64pp., 1642. Partly against Brownists. In the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Library.

W. FENWICK. *Zion's Rights and Babel's Ruine; or the Church restored to her Primitive Lustre.* 4to., 12+60pp., 1642. In the British Museum and Congregational Library.

T. HARBIE. *Divi Arminii Maclatorum renata et renovata petitio; or the Arminian Priests last petition for their former formalitie and ancient innovation both in Church and Commonwealth.* In verse. 4to., 1642. In the British Museum.

G. LAURENCE. *Laurentius Lutherizans; or the protestation of G.L. against certain calumniationes asperged on him by the corrupt clergie and their lay proselytes &c.* 4to., 1642. In the Bodleian, British Museum, and Congregational Library.

Peplum Olivarii; or A Good Prince bewailed by a Good People. 4to., 4+36pp., 1658. In the Congregational Library.

T. LETCHFORD. *Plain Dealing; or Newes from New England.* Several times reprinted, sometimes as *New England's Advice to Old England*; see 3 *Mass. Hist.* col. iii. 55-128, 1833.

A. STREATER. *A Letter sent to My Lord Mayor and his venerable brethren by . . . an honest believing Protestant.* 4to., 2+6pp., 1642. In the British Museum. Against some who said "that Separatist otherwise called Brownist was . . . worse than Papist."

M. WALTHERUS. *Spongia Mosaica; sive abstersis turpissimorum abusuum, quibus praecipua Pentateuchi Auraala depravant Judaei, Anabaptistae, &c.* 1642. In the Bodleian.

R. OVERTON. *Articles of High Treason exhibited against Cheapside Cross, with the last will and testament of the said Crosse, and certain epitaphs upon her tomb.* 4to., 1642. In the British Museum.

An Arrow against all Tyrants and Tyranny. 4to., 20pp., 1646.

An Appeale from the degenerate Representative Body the Commons of England assembled at Westminster, To the Body Represented, the free people in general &c. 4to., 2+38pp., 1647. Both in the Congregational Library. These tracts were written while the author was a prisoner in the Tower. He seems to have been a man of a similar type to Lilburne.

SIMEON ASHE'S publications are mostly sermons. Noteworthy are

A Support for the Sinking Heart : preached before Parliament. 1642.

The Best Refuge for the Most Oppressed. 1642.

Narrative of the Battle of Marston Moor [at which he was present]. 1644.

Funeral Sermon for Jeremiah Whitaker. 1654.

All these, and several other sermons, are in the Congregational Library.

On the Prelatic side we have :—

JEREMY TAYLOR. *Of the Sacred Order and Offices of Episcopacy, by Divine institution, Apostolical tradition, and Catholike practice.* 1642. Original edition in the Bodleian, repr. 1647, and in collected works.

A Discourse concerning prayer extempore, or by preience of the Spirit, in justification of authorized and set forms of Lyturgie &c. 4to., 1646. In the Bodleian and British Museum. Reprint, 1647. Enlarged as *An Apology for Authorized and set forms of Liturgy.* 4to., 1649. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

Theologia Eklektike. A Discourse of the Liberty of Prophesying ; shewing the Unreasonableness of prescribing to other men's Faith, and the Iniquity of persecuting different opinions. 4to., 1647. In the Bodleian, British Museum, and Congregational Library. Reprints, 1817, 1837, and in collected works.

A Discourse on Baptism, its Institutions, and Efficacy upon All Believers. 4to., 1652. In Williams's Library.

R. WATSON. *A Sermon touching Schisms, on Eph. 4 : 2, 3.* 1642. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

G. SPINOLA. *Rules to get . . . or precepts for the extemporary sectaries which preach, and pray, etc.* (The title is too filthy to quote in full, and is referred to only as a specimen of the controversial style favoured by the baser sort of prelatists.) 4to., 1642. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

The following year, 1643, we meet with—

D. FEATLEY, D.D., who had already distinguished himself in controversy against Arminianism and Roman Catholicism ; he now produced an

Answer to the Seven Articles exhibited against him to the Committee of Plundered Ministers by three Mechanic Brownists in July 1643. 4to., 12+31pp.; reprinted the next year. In the British Museum.

Sacra Nemesis; the Levites Scourge etc. Episcopacy asserted. 4to., 1644. In the Bodleian and Congregational Library.

The Dippers Dipt, or the Anabaptists duck'd and plung'd over Head and Eares at a Disputation in Southwark &c. 4to., 18+227pp., 1644. In the British Museum. Second edition, 22+192pp., 1645, in the Bodleian; sixth edition, 1651, in the Congregational Library.

W. SCLATER. *The Remedy of Schism, a Sermon on 1 Cor. II : 18,* 19. 4to., 1643. In the Bodleian.

J. THEYER. *Aerio-Mastix; or a Vindication of the Apostolical and generally received Government of the Church of Christ by Bishops, against the Schismatic Aerians of our Time.* 4to., 1643. Reprint, 1661. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

THOS. FULLER. *A Sermon of Reformation, on Heb. ix. 10, at the Savoy 27 July 1643.* 4to. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

Truth Maintained; or positions delivered in a Sermon at the Savoy: since traduced for dangerous; now asserted for sound and safe. With several letters to clear the occasion of this book. 4to., 1643. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

Fuller's numerous historical and expository works are sufficiently well known.

On the Presbyterian side now first appear

ADAM STEUART—the "mere A.S." of Milton's rebuke. *Some Observations and Annotations upon the Apologetical Narration &c.* 4to., 6+72pp., 1643; reprinted 1644. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

Zerubbabel to Sanballat and Tobiah: or the First Part of the Duply to M. S. alias Two Brethren &c. 4to., 8+112pp., 1644; reprinted 1645. In the British Museum and Congregational Library.

The Second Part of the Duply to M. S. alias Two Brethren. Wherein are maintained the Kings, Parliaments, and all Civil Magistrates Authority about the Church . . . with a Brief Epitome and Refutation of all the whole Independent government &c. 4to., 8+194pp., 1644. In the Bodleian, British Museum, and Congregational Library.

An Answer to a Libell Intituled 'A coole conference between the cleered reformation and the apologeticall narraton,' brought together by a wel-wisher to both. 4to., 1644. In the Bodleian, British Museum, and Congregational Library.

JOHN BRINSLEY, of Yarmouth (1600-1665). His devotional, mystical, and practical works were much valued. His controversial pieces are:—

The Sacred and Sovereigne Church remedie, or the primitive and apostolical way of composing the ecclesiasticall Differences and establishing the Churches of Christ. 4to., 4+66pp., 1643; reprint, 1645. In the British Museum, Bodleian and Williams's Library.

The Doctrine and Practice of Paedo Baptisme asserted and vindicated. 4to., 2+34pp., 1645. In the British Museum, Bodleian and Williams's Library.

The Arraignment of the present Schism of new Separation in Old England. Together with a serious recommendation of Church unity and Uniformity. 4to., 1646. In the British Museum, Bodleian, Williams's and Congregational Library.

An Antidote against the Poysonous Weeds of Heretical Blasphemie. 4to., 6+52pp., 1650.

The Sacred Ordinance of Ordination by Imposition of the Hands of the Presbytery. 8vo., 4+94pp., 1656. Both in the Congregational Library.

OBADIAH SEDGWICK. *Haman's Vanity, or a Sermon Displaying the birthless Issues of Church-Destroying Adversaries.* 4to., 6+32pp., 1643. In the Bodleian, British Museum, and Congregational Library.

The Nature and Danger of heresies, opened in a Sermon before the House of Commons (on Rev. xii : 15, 16). 4to., 1647. In the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Library.

WILLIAM SE(D)GWICK. *Scripture a Perfect Rule for Church-Government, a Sermon.* 4to., 2+38pp., 1643. In the British Museum, Bodleian, &c.

The Leaves of the Tree of Life for the Healing of the Nation. 4to., 8+124pp., 1648.

Justice upon the Armie Remonstrance. 4to., 8+52pp., 1649.

A Second View of the Armie Remonstrance. 4to., 4+36pp., 1649.

Inquisition for the Blood of our Late Sovereign. † (This we have not seen ; it was published anonymously.)

Animadversions on a Book entitled Inquisition for etc. 12mo., 14+296pp., 1661.

All these, except †, are in the Congregational Library.

J. SALTMARSH. *A Peace but no Pacification ; or an answer to that new designe of the oath of pacification and accommodation lately printed.* 4to., 1643. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

Examinations ; or a Discovery of some Dangerous Positions delivered in a Sermon of Reformation preached . . . by T. Fuller. 4to., 1643. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

Dawnings of Light, Wherein the true interest of Religion is opened in generall, and in particular in this Kingdom. 24mo., 22+104pp., 1644 ; reprint, 1646. In the British Museum and Bodleian.

Free Grace ; or the Flowings of Christ's Blood freely to Sinners. 4to., 1645. Many editions in 12mo., tenth in 1700. In the Congregational Library, &c.

A New Quaere at this time seriously to be considered . . . whether it be fit to settle any church government hastily. 4to., 2+4pp., 1645. In the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Library.

The Opening of Master Prynne's New Book called A Vindication etc. 4to., 6+39pp., 1645. In the Congregational Library.

The Smoke in the Temple; wherein is a Design for Peace and Reconciliation of Believers With one argument for Liberty of Conscience &c. 4to., 16+32+70pp., 1646. In the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Library.

Groanes for Liberty presented from the Presbyterian brethren, in some treatises called Smectynnuus to Parliament in 1641, now awakened: Also some Quaeres for the better understanding of Mr. Edwards' Gangraena. 4to., 10+32pp., 1646. In the British Museum, Bodleian, Williams's and Congregational Library.

An End of one Controversie; being an answer to Mr. Lay's Light for Smoke, &c. 4to., 1646. In the British Museum and Congregational Library.

Perfume against Novello-Mastix &c. 4to., 1646. In the British Museum.

Reasons for Unitie, Peace, and Love, in answer to Mr. T. Edwards his Gangraena: With an answer (called Shadows flying Away) to a Book of Mr. Gataker &c. 4to., 4+121+149 pp., 1646. In the British Museum, Williams's, and the Congregational Library.

The Divine Right of Presbytery, asserted by the present Assembly . . . with Reasons Discussing this pretended Divine Right. 4to., 6+12 pp., 1646. In the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Library.

Sparkles of Glory; or Some Beams of the Morning Star. 16mo., 1647. In the Congregational Library.

CHARLES HERLE, of Winwick, already favourably known by *Contemplations and Devotions on the Several Passages of the Blessed Saviour's Death* (1631), now entered the field of controversy with

The Independency on Scriptures of the Independency of Churches. 4to., 6+44pp., 1643. In the British Museum, Bodleian, Williams's, and Congregational libraries.

He subsequently issued a practical work entitled *Wisdom's Tripos . . . in Three Treatises*, 12mo., 1655, which passed through several editions.

The next three cannot be claimed either as distinctly Presbyterian or Independent:—

JOHN WHITE. *The First Century of Scandalous Malignant Priests Made and admitted into Benefices by the Prelates &c.* Printed by order of Parliament; but so frightful are its exposures of clerical immorality that it would be impossible to republish it without expurgation. 4to., 8+52pp., 1643. In the Bodleian, British Museum, and Congregational Library.

PETER SMART. *Canterburies Cruellie conworking with his Prelatical brethren in the persecution of Peter Smart and others for withstanding their superstitious proceedings of innovation into the Church, etc.* With

a short treatise on Altars, Altar-furniture, Altar-cringing, &c. 4to., 1643. In the Bodleian.

THOMAS BAKEWELL; minister at Burton-on-Trent. *A Short View of the Antinomian Errors, with a Briefe and Plaine Answer thereto.* 4to., 4+35pp., 1643.

A Faithful Message sent after the Antinomians. 4to., 4+38pp., 1644.

The Antinomians' Christ Confounded and the Lord's Christ Exalted. 4to., 4+67pp., 1644.

A Confutation of the Anabaptists and all others who affect not Civil Government. Unpaged. 86pp., about 1645.

All in the Congregational Library.

Among the champions of Congregationalism who now come into prominence the foremost is JOHN OWEN, D.D., 1616-1683, "the prince of Puritan theologians." Of his numerous works, occupying 28 large 8vo. vols., we need only notice:—

The Duty of Pastors and People Distinguished . . . together with the severall wayes of extraordinary calling to the office of publike teaching. 4to., 1643, in the British Museum; 1644, in the Bodleian; 1649, in the Congregational Library.

A Short Defensative about Church Government, with a countrey essay &c. 4to., 38pp., 1646. In the British Museum.

Eshcol; a cluster of the Fruit of Canaan . . . or Rules of direction for the walking of the Saints in Fellowship according to the order of the Gospel. 4to., 1648, in the British Museum. Second edition, 1655; third edition, 1684; and often since.

A Fast Sermon, 31 Jany. [after the execution of King Charles] on *Jer. xv. 19, 20; with a Discourse about Toleration.* 4to., 1649. In the Bodleian.

Of Schisme. The True Nature of it Discovered and Considered with Reference to the present Differences in Religion. 16mo., 1657. In the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Library.

A Review of the true nature of Schisme, with a Vindication of the Congregational Churches in England from the imputation thereof &c. 16mo., 6+182pp., 1657. In the British Museum, Bodleian, and Williams's Library.

A Defence of Mr. John Collon from the Imputation of Self-contradiction charged on him by Mr. D. Cawdrey; written by himselfe not long before his death. Whereunto is prefixed an Answer to a late Treatise of the said Mr. C[awdrey] about the Nature of Schisme. 4to., 100+83pp., 1658. In the Bodleian, British Museum, Williams's, etc.

An Essay toward Settlement on a Sure Foundation; being an Humble Testimony for God in this Perilous Time. Broadsheet, 1659. In the British Museum. [This is not in Owen's collected works: it is understood to have been by "J.O. and others."]

Two Questions concerning the Power of the Supreme Magistrate about

Religion and the worship of God, with one about Tithes . . . Resolved. 1659. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

A Discourse concerning Liturgies, and their Imposition. 4to., 1662. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

A Brief Instruction in the Worship of God, and Discipline of the Churches of the New Testament; by way of question and answer. 12mo., 1667. In the British Museum and Congregational Library.

A Letter concerning the Matter of the present Excommunications. 1667.

Indulgence and Toleration Considered, in a Letter to a Person of Honour. With a Peace Offering &c. 4to., 31+37pp., 1667. In the Bodleian, British Museum, Williams's, etc.

Truth and Innocence Vindicated: in a Survey of a Discourse [S. Parker's] concerning Ecclesiastical Polity. 8vo., 2+410pp., 1669; reprint, 1670. In the Bodleian, Williams's, and Congregational Library.

The State of the Kingdom with respect to the present Bill against Conventicles. 1670.

The Ground and Reasons on which Protestant Dissenters desire their Liberty. 1670.

The Case of Present Distresses on Nonconformists Examined &c. 1670. We have no knowledge as to the whereabouts of original editions of these tracts.

A Word of Advice to the Citizens of London. 1673.

A Brief Vindication of the Nonconformists from the Charge of Schism, as it was managed against them in a Sermon by Dr. Stillingfleet. 4to., 1680. In many libraries.

An Answer to the 'Unreasonableness of Separation'; and a Defence of the Vindication of the Nonconformists from the Guilt of Schism. 4to., 1681.

An Enquiry into the Original, Nature, Institution, Power, Order, and Communion of Evangelical Churches. 4to., 1681. In many libraries.

The True Nature of a Gospel Church and its Government. 4to., 20+268pp. Sequel to the foregoing. Posthumous, 1689. In many libraries.

An Answer unto Two Questions; with Twelve Arguments against any Conformity of Worship not of Divine Institution. Posthumous; with a collection of Owen's sermons in two volumes, 8vo., 1720.

A Discourse concerning the Administration of Church Censures. No earlier copy known than the folio collection of sermons, etc. 1721.

RICHARD MATHER, of Dorchester, New England. *Church Government and Church Covenant Discussed, in an Answer of the Elders of the severall churches in N.E. to two and thirty Questions &c.* 4to., 4+78+2+84pp., 1643; but written four years earlier. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

A Modest and Brotherly Answer to Mr. C. Herle his Book against

the Independency of Churches &c. 4to., 4+58pp., 1644.* In the Bodleian, British Museum, and Congregational Library.

A Reply to Mr. Rutherford; or a Defence of the Answer to Rev. Mr. Herles Book against the Independency of Churches. 4to., 12+119pp., 1647. In the Bodleian, British Museum, and Congregational Library.

An Heartmelling Exhortation, together with a Cordial Consolation presented in a letter from New England to their dear countrey men of Lancashire. 12mo., 2+84+6pp., 1650. In the Bodleian. Of this, as also of * above, R. Mather is joint author with W. Tompson.

A Farewell Exhortation to the Church and People of Dorchester, in New England. 4to., 4+28pp., 1657. The only copies we know of are in American libraries.

A Defence of the Answer and Arguments of the Synod met at Boston in the year 1662, Concerning the subject of Baptism and the Convocation of Churches &c. 4to., 2+46+102pp., 1664. R. Mather and J. Mitchell joint authors. In the British Museum.

ROGER WILLIAMS—founder of the colony of Rhode Island. His first publication of importance was *A Key into the Language of America; or An help to the Language of the Natives of that part of America called New England. Together with briefe Observations of the Customes, Manners, and Worships, &c., of the aforesaid Natives. On all which are added Spirituall Observations.* 12mo., 16+197+3pp., 1643. In the Bodleian and British Museum. Reprinted in the *Massachusetts Historical Collection*, 1794; and by other American historical societies.

Of the name Heathen &c. A publication (1643) under this title is quoted by Baylie, but no copy is known to exist.

The Bloudy Tenent [sic] of Persecution, for cause of Conscience, discussed, in a Conference between Truth and Peace. 4to., 24+248pp., 1644. In the British Museum, Bodleian, Congregational Library, etc. Reprinted, 1848, by the Hanserd Knollys Society.

Queries of highest Consideration, proposed to Mr. T. Goodwin, P. Nye, W. Bridges, J. Burroughs, S. Sympson, and to the Commissioners of the Gen. Assembly (so called) of the Church of Scotland. 4to., 14pp., 1644. In the British Museum. An American reprint, 1867.

A Paraenelick, or Humble Address to the Parliament and Assembly for (not loose but) Christian Libertie. 4to., 2+14pp., 1644. Authorship disputed. The only known copy is in a private collection in America.

The Fourth Paper, Presented by Maior Butler to the Honourable Committee of Parliament, for the Propagating the Gospel of Christ Jesus, etc. Also a Letter from Mr. Goad to Maj. Butler upon occasion of the said Paper and Proposals. Together with a Testimony to the said Fourth Paper, by way of Explanation upon the Four Proposals of it, by R.W. 4to., 5+23pp., 1652. In a private collection in America.

The Hireling Ministry None of Christ's, or a Discourse touching the Propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ, etc. 4to., 8+36pp., 1652. In the British Museum, Congregational, and several American libraries.

George Fox Digg'd out of his Burrowes; or an offer of Disputation on 14 Proposals made unto G.F. . . . by R.W.; as also how (G.F. slyly departing) the Disputation went on three days at Newport etc. 4to., 58+10+503pp., 1676. In the British Museum and several American libraries. An American reprint, 1872.

A few anonymous publications of the year 1643:—

A Letter of many Ministers in Old England, requesting The judgement of their Reverend Brethren in New England concerning Nine Positions, written Anno 1637. Together with their Answer thereunto returned, Anno 1639. And the Reply made by J. Ball unto the said Answer and sent over unto them, Anno 1640. Now published by Simeon Ash and William Rathband. 4to., 12+90pp., 1643. In the British Museum, Bodleian, and Congregational Library. Another edition was printed with the title *A Tryall of the New Church Way in New England and in Old.*

A New Discovery of Old Pontificall Practises for the Maintenance of the Prelates authority and Hierarchy. Evinced by their Tyrannicall persecution of that Rev. learned, pious, and worthy minister of Jesus Christ, Mr. John Udall, in the raigne of Queene Elizabeth &c. 4to., 8+44pp., 1643. In the British Museum and Bodleian.

The Bramble Berry; or A briefe discourse . . . wherein is . . . resolved these three maine Questions . . . 1 Whether the Congregational Assemblies in England be true Churches of Jesus Christ . . . 2 Whether it be lawfull to participate at the . . . Lord's Supper among carnall and prophane men: 3 Whether the admitting of ungodly men to the Table of the Lord be sufficient Warrant for Ministers to desist the publike administration etc. By W.L. 4to., 6+54+4pp., 1643. In the Bodleian, British Museum, and Congregational Library.

A quære concerning the Church covenant practised in the Separate Congregations sent with a letter thereto annexed &c. 4to., 1643. In the Bodleian.

Satisfaction concerning Mixt Communion, in answer to the doubts of some, who abstain from the Sacrament of the Lords Supper because Wicked persons are present. 4to., 1643. In the British Museum.

Satisfaction concerning Mixt Communion Unsatisfactory, or some short Animadversions upon [the above]. 4to., 2+14pp., 1643. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

Certaine Considerations to dissuade men from further gathering of Churches in this present juncture of time, subscribed by diverse Divines of the Assembly etc. 4to., 8pp., 1643. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

An Apologecall Narration, Humbly Submitted to the Hon. Houses of Parliament. [The authors are T. Goodwin, Ph. Nye, W. Bridges,

S. Simpson, and Jer. Burroughs.] 4to., 4+32pp., 1643. In the Bodleian, British Museum, and Congregational Library.

Liberly of Conscience, or the sole means to obtain Peace and Truth, not onely reconciling His Majesty with His subjects, but all Christian States and Princes to one another. 4to., (n.pl.), 1643. In the Bodleian, British Museum, and Congregational Library.

The Clergyes Bill of Complaints . . . against Brownists, Anabaptists, and other Schismaticks. 4to., 1643. In the Bodleian.

Automachia; or the selfcontradiction of some that contend about Church Government; dialogue-wise . . . between religion, reason, prejudice, and partiality. By Irenaeus Philalethes. 1643. In the Bodleian and British Museum.

Prospheonesis Classium et Ecclesiarum Zelandicarum ad Ecclesias Anglicanas intestino bello perturbatas. 4to., 16pp., 1643. In the Bodleian.

A Remonstrance presented to the high and mighty Lords the States of Zealand, by the Deputies of the foure Classes of Zealand, concerning the welfare of the Church of England. Sent over by Walter Strickland, Esqr. 4to., 1643. In the Bodleian.

New England's First Fruits; In Respect, First of the Indians. 2. *Of the progresse of Learning in the Colledge at Cambridge.* 4to., 2+26+1pp., 1643. In the British Museum. Reprinted in *Mass. Hist. Coll.* 1792; and again in New York, 1865.

Curious Relic of Early Wiltshire Nonconformity

THE first Nonconformist meeting-place at Westbury was a barn, situated at the west end of the town, which was fitted up with galleries and seats. It was already used for public worship when, on 26th March, 1693, it was leased to the church. The price was £40, with a rent of £2 per annum, the church to keep the floor and thatch in repair. Either party might terminate the lease on payment of £6 as compensation, the church having the right to remove the internal fittings.

On 18th July, 1711, this barn was burned to the ground by a Sacheverell mob. About 1900, the road being widened, a bank of soil was cut down ; whereupon a line of charred wood became visible, the pathway to the meeting-house door was laid bare, and part of the flooring was discovered. This is of "lime-grist," about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick. A fragment of it has been preserved by J. Scamell, Esq., by whom the above particulars are communicated.

CONGREGATIONAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FINANCIAL STATEMENT from May 6th, 1905, to May 7th, 1906.

RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Balance in hand	57	3	4	Printing <i>Transactions</i>	71	11	3
Subscriptions	104	18	0	Memorial Hall—Hire of Room ...	1	1	0
Sales (<i>Transactions</i>)	8	2	1	Subscription : Friends Historical Society	0	5	0
				Sundry expenses	2	2	11
				Balance at Bank	95	3	3