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Editorial

OUR Autumnal Meeting was held at Manchester on 16th October. The attendance was fairly numerous. Papers were read by Prof. G. L. Turner, M.A., and A. Peel Esq., M.A., B.Litt., both of which will be found in the present issue.

* *

Our Annual Meeting will be held at the Memorial Hall on Wednesday, 7th May, at *three* o'clock (not four, as on previous occasions). A numerous attendance is desired, as proposals will be made for the revision of our Constitution, and for some change in our arrangements as to publications.

* *

The document mentioned in our last issue, as brought to light by Dr. Longstaff, proves to be of greater importance than was at first perceived. It was found among the records of the old English Presbyterian Fund; and we are glad to announce that the trustees of the Fund are about to publish it *in extenso*, under the able editorship of Prof. A. Gordon. It will be carefully annotated, and will throw much light on the state of the Dissenting Interest in the years which immediately followed the Toleration Act.

* *

Mr. Champlin Burrage has just published the Original Records of Penry's Trial, with some related documents. Everything that can throw fresh light on the character and motives of the old Puritan and Separatist worthies is valuable, even though it may serve more completely to explode popular but mistaken beliefs. That Penry died as a martyr for Congregational principles, or for Freedom of Conscience, has long been known by all serious students to be a popular fallacy, but this in no wise detracts from his moral greatness. His capital crime, and that of his fellowsufferers, was that they dared contest the infallibility and impeccability of the ruling powers in Church and State. This Penry did, in language

characteristic of a prophet rather than a courtier, and thus rendered himself amenable to then existing laws. Accordingly, as Mr. Burrage clearly shews, his condemnation was strictly legal—as much so as the burning of Anne Askew or the stoning of Stephen. To such men, who felt that they had a message from God for which they willingly laid down their lives, we owe the possibility of the Puritan Revolution and the national freedom of which it was the spring.

* * *

The death of Professor E. Arber, F.S.A., as the result of a street accident on 23rd November, is nothing short of a calamity to the interest of historical literature. Dr. Arber's name first became familiar to the public in 1868, when he commenced with Milton's *Arcopagilica* a cheap series of notable books in facsimile reprints of early editions. Since then his pen has rarely been idle; and his *English Scholars' Library*, *English Garner*, and *Poetical Anthologies* have been an incalculable boon to students of limited means. To Congregationalists his most interesting productions are his *Introductory Sketch of the Marprelate Controversy*, and his *Story of the Pilgrim Fathers*. At the time of his death he was engaged in preparing a new and much enlarged edition of the last named work; but we understand it is not sufficiently advanced to afford much hope of its publication. Dr. Arber was a Puritan by conviction, and a Congregationalist by preference; and unless we are misinformed was a member of Offord Road church during the pastorate of the Rev. E. Paxton Hood.

* * *

The question is sometimes asked: "What manner of men were they who succeeded the ejected ministers?" In the case of those who were removed by the legislation of 1670—of whom there were at least 422 and possibly as many as 550—the successors were with few exceptions those who had been sequestered by the Long Parliament or the Commonwealth authorities and were now reinstated. Among these were men of almost every conceivable degree of goodness and badness; character counted for nothing if only the title was valid. Of the rest, we may learn something from an anonymous quarto of 56 pp., published in 1663, entitled *Ichabod, or Five Groans of the Church*. The writer was evidently an orthodox High Churchman, believing in the Apostolic Succession of the Priesthood and the Divine Right of Tithes, and hostile to Puritanism in every shape. Yet the aspect and prospects of the Restoration Church filled him with distress and alarm.

* * *

He apprehended that five things would "insensible undermine" the fabric of the Church, viz., Undue Ordination, Unconscionable Simony, Careless Nonresidence, Loose Profaneness, and Encroaching Pluralities. No Church reformer could more vigorously denounce the traffic in benefices, and the quibbles whereby the oath against simony was (and still is) constantly evaded; the scandal of pluralities, by reason of which, he says, 2717 parishes had nonresident incumbents, and the turning to private profit of income from more than 3,000 improper benefices. But he seems equally displeased that "1342 factious ministers had been lately ordained"—evidently such as had retained their benefices or curacies by submitting to the Act of Uniformity and accepting prelatic ordination. Amongst these, we must suppose, are to be counted "426 Tradesmen who, having in former years intruded into the sacred calling of a minister, are now ordained to it," of whom he insinuates that they were ignorant and incapable men. But few if any of these would replace the 1,820 or more who were ejected on Bartholomew's Day. For their successors we must look among the "Young Ministers, of whom I have a call of above 3,000"; concerning whom the writer says: "Every one that will is made a priest, that he may have bread to eat"; so that "those pulpits that were filled with ancient fathers are now desks for young children," from whom men "hear pedantic harangues and juvenile orations with scorn and laughter." It is to be hoped that these 3,000 are not additional to those whom the writer counts up "of Debauched Men ordained, 1,500"; respecting whom he supposes the Church to ask: "Am I a refuge for all licentiousness? Whom a strict College expels, whom the severe University discountenanceth, whom civil men note with a mark of hatred and abhorrence, must I admit to my Sacred Order?" These, it must be repeated, are not the statements of a sour-faced Puritan or a captious Nonconformist, but of a serious and uncompromising High Churchman.

* *

His representation finds some support from an anonymous treatise, ascribed to Dr. John Eachard, which appeared in 1670 under the title: *The Grounds and Occasions of the Contempt of the Clergy and Religion Enquired into*. This writer alleges that it had become usual to ordain men of little education, and with the slenderest abilities for preaching; and complains of "people posting into Orders before they know their message or business—never considering how they shall live, or what good they are likely to do in their office."

William White: an Elizabethan Puritan

IN these days when the minds of all Nonconformists are directed to 1662 and its heroes, it requires considerable boldness to invite your attention to matters concerned with our history in the previous century. For more than five years now, one has been continually troubled by the ghost of William White, a Puritan of Queen Elizabeth's time, and now one gives him a little of the publicity he deserves, in the hope that henceforth he may either rest in peace or win a complete resurrection.

Who was William White, then, and what do we know about him? As yet not much; but still perhaps sufficient to claim him as a Puritan stalwart: one who by pen and tongue fought and suffered for what he believed to be the right. The aim of this short paper is to state such facts as have come to light, facts which demand that White should have a place amongst the foremost controversialists of his time. Gilby and Cartwright, Field and Wilcox, Fenner and Wigginton, Browne and Barrowe—yes, all these, and the mysterious Martin too!—but as good as most and cleverer than some is William White.

Previously, all that had been known of our subject had come to us from scanty references in Neal¹ and Brook,² and from the examination of the leaders of the Plumbers' Hall congregation in 1567, reprinted in the "Remains"³ of Archbishop Grindal from "A parte of a register."⁴

¹ History of the Puritans (Ed. 1822) I. 197-203; 256-8n.

² Lives of the Puritans (Ed. 1813) I. 133-148.

³ pp. 201-216.

⁴ See below.

These, with one or two occurrences of White's name in lists of Separatists, have been our only sources of information, but now we can go behind all these to the manuscripts which Neal and Brook used: the "Seconde Parte of a Register" among the Morrice MSS., in Dr. Williams's Library, London.

A word as to these manuscripts first, before we put together their information concerning White.

The strict censorship of the press established after the publication of the *Admonition to the Parliament* in 1572, and more seriously enforced after the flood of Puritan literature in the years 1583-6, made it increasingly difficult for the Puritans to place their cause before the country. Foiled in Convocation, in the Propheesyings, and finally in Parliament, the supporters of a "true reformation" had only the Press and personal influence to fall back upon for the dissemination of their views; and that secret printing was not altogether impossible, Martin Marprelate and his lusty sons had well shewn. The Puritans therefore—and by these one may suppose the Puritan ministers gathered together in the "classes"—seemed to have determined to put before the country their apologia; and to this end treatises on Church government, confessions of faith, surveys of the clergy, supplications to Queen, Council, Parliament and Convocation, accounts of the examination of ministers before the High Commission and the bishops, and similar items were gathered together. The result may be seen from Bancroft⁵:

"They (our reformers in England) have renewed over again and applied to our Church Governors, Two or Three of the most bitter Treatises, that ever were made against the Popes, Cardinals, Popish Bishops, Monks, and Fryers, etc., in King

⁵ Bancroft, *Dangerous Positions* (1593) Bk. II. C. 3.

Henry the VIII.'s Days. They have Four or Five very devilish and infamous Dialogues: Likewise their Complaints and Petitions to her Majesty and Parliament, in the name of the Commonalty, their Appellation, their Exhortation, and divers other most lewd and scurrilous Epistles and Letters.

"When they are called before any Magistrate, and dealt withal for their factious Proceedings they usually afterward do take upon them to Write and Publish, under the Name of a Conference, what words and Arguments have passed, which they perform with all Reproach, Disdain, Untruth, and Vanity: And so do pester the Realm and their Favourers Closets, with infinite such shameless and slanderous Discourses, as is most intolerable.

"They have Five or Six Supplications to several Parliaments, penned altogether according to Knox his Stile and violent Spirit, in many places word for word: Besides Martin and his Two Sons, their holy Imitations of Beza his Passavantius (that all things might proceed Geneva-like) in their Six Books of Consistorian Gravity.

"And now, upon better Care being taken by her Majesty that no such libels should be hereafter Printed in England (at the least without some danger to the Parties, if it may be known) they have found such favour as to procure their chief Instrument and old Servant Walgrave to be the King of Scots' Printer; from whence their Wants in that behalf shall be fully supplied.

"For having obtained that Place (as he pretendeth in Print) they have published by hundreds certain spiteful and malicious Books against her Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council. Also their humble Motion to their LLs. with Three or Four very slanderous Treatises.

"And now it seemeth, for fear that any of all their said Libels and railing Pamphlets (that have been Written in her Highness's time) should perish (being many of them but Triobolar Chartals). They have taken upon them to make a Register, and to Print them altogether in Scotland, in Two or Three Volumes: As it appeareth by a Part of the said Register already come from thence and finished; Which containeth in it Three or Four and Forty of the said Libels."

The "Parte of a register" here mentioned has for its title:

"A parte of a register, contayning sundrie memorable matters written by divers godly and learned in our time, which stand for and desire the reformation of our Church, in Discipline and Ceremonies, according to the pure worde of God, and the Lawe of our Land."

The bulk of the issue seems to have been sent to London by ship, only to be destroyed there by order of the authorities.⁶ Fortunately, one or two copies escaped, and remain to the present day.⁷

It is quite certain that the Puritans intended to continue their work by printing the "Seconde Parte." Waldegrave had managed to print the first, but either its quick confiscation or other repressive measures deterred the ministers from carrying through their plan.

The task of collecting and editing the enormous mass of material in the printed "Parte of a register" and the manuscript "Seconde Parte" must have been a very difficult one, and the wonder is how the Puritans were able to succeed in it as far as they did, and get even one volume through the press.

Into the way in which the manuscripts comprising the "Seconde Parte" came into the possession of the Rev. Roger Morrice, M.A.,⁸ we cannot go here, neither can we tell how they came into Dr. Williams's Library. Suffice it for us to say that it is to these volumes in print and manuscript that we are indebted for the material for this paper. White himself was responsible for many articles in the manuscript volumes, and these give us almost all the information we have concerning his life and work.

And now for William White. We know nothing at all of his birth and parentage, or of his doings before 1567. Possibly he was abroad during the Marian persecution, but his name has not been met with in lists of the refugees. Neither does he appear in the accounts we have of congregations which met secretly in and about London between

⁶ Herbert's *Ames. Typographical Antiquities* III., 1514.

⁷ Brit. Mus.; Bodleian; Dr. Williams's Library; Congregational Library, Memorial Hall; Mansfield Coll. Library, Oxford—the late Dr. Dale's copy.

1550 and 1558. There seems to be no foundation at all for the statement—first made by Fuller and afterwards by many others—that he and other leaders of the Separatist congregation in 1567 were beneficed in London. Their names have no place in Newcourt,⁹ and in no contemporary reference are they spoken of as clergymen. In one of his controversies White says he is a baker; but his opponent seems to doubt this, saying that “this messe of unsavourie meat . . . cannot be eaten without salte.” Perhaps Neal’s description of him is most likely to be the correct one, and White was “a substantial citizen of London.”

The story of the Plumbers’ Hall congregation is well known, and we need not dwell on it here. The Christians who had been in Geneva and Frankfort, Zurich and Basle, during Mary’s reign, had heard the Gospel truly preached and seen the sacraments purely administered; and on the Continent Puritanism was born.

Elizabeth’s insistence on uniformity produced Nonconformity, and the memory of the blessings experienced in secret meetings in the time of persecution¹⁰ combined with what the exiles had seen and heard to produce gatherings for worship. The Plumbers’ Hall meeting was one of these, and on June 20th, 1567, seven members of the congregation were brought before the Lord Mayor, the Bishop of London and other Commissioners, and charged with absenting themselves from their parish churches and assembling for prayer, preaching, and administration of the Sacraments.¹¹

⁹ Roger Morrice was ejected from Duffield in Derbyshire in 1662. Strype, the famous ecclesiastical historian, says of him (in his edition of Stowe’s *Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster*, II, 57): “This gentleman was a very diligent collector of ecclesiastical MSS., relating to the later history of the English Church, whereof he left vast heaps behind him, and who favoured me with his correspondence.” A full account of Morrice and his MSS. will appear in the calendar of the “Seconde Parte of a Register,” which is almost ready for the press.

¹⁰ Nor in Hennessy’s *Novum Repertorium Ecc. Par. Londin.*

¹¹ “A parte of a register,” pp. 24-5. See also Dale, *Congregationalism*, p. 62, for an eloquent piece of writing on this point.

¹² “The true report of our Examination . . .” is in “A parte of a register,” pp. 23-37; reprinted Grindal’s Remains, *ut sup.*

White desires to answer for his fellows, but the bishop rebukes him, and calls on Smith, "the auncientest" of them, to speak first. Before long, however, White takes a prominent part in the discussion, and he is not content with standing on the defensive. He tells the bishop that there are many papists in the city "whom you doe alowe to be preachers and ministers, and thrust out the godly for your pleasures sake"; and he goes on to point out that his comrades do not resist, but suffer that which authority lays on them, being punished for seeking to serve God according to His Word. He makes a strong plea for discipline in the Church, and lays down the Puritan position in the words:

"We holde nothing that is not warraunted by the worde of God We wil be tried by the best reformed Churches. The church of Scotlande hath the worde truely preached, the Sacramentes truely ministered, and Discipline accordinge to the worde of God; & these be the notes by which the true church is known."

After this conference, White and his companions seem to have been imprisoned; but they must have been released very soon, for six of the seven names appear in a list¹² of "Persons fownde to gether within the parishe of St. martens in the felde in the howse of James Tynne goldsmythe the forthe daye of marche 1567,¹³ as here after Followethe etc." White appears here as "william whighte of St. Jones Strete."

On April 22nd, 1569, twenty-four men and seven women "wer dyschardged out of Brydewell" by Bishop Grindal,¹⁴ after an imprisonment lasting

¹² Dom. St. Pap. Eliz. xlvi., 46. Printed by Dr. Powicke in *Lists of the Early Separatists*. (Trans. of Cong. Hist. Soc. I., 141-153) and by Mr. Burrage in *Early English Dissenters*, II., 9-11.

¹³ *i.e.* 1567-8.

¹⁴ Brit. Mus. Lansdowne MSS. xii, 68: Powicke, Burrage, *ut sup.*

apparently thirteen months.¹⁵ The names of the women are not given, but the twelfth name among the men is that of "William Wight."

The first authoritative writing of White's we possess is a letter to Grindal, rebuking the latter for his extreme dealing with those called before him on December 19th, 1569. The letter, which is partly quoted by Neal, is subscribed :

"Yours in the lord to commaund, William White, who joineith with you in every speck of truth, but utterly detesteth whole Antichrist, head, body, and taile, never to joyne with you or any in the least joynt therof, nor in any ordinance of man contrary to the word of God by his grace unto the Church."

White pleads for discipline as necessary for the Church, and quotes Calvin and Beza in support. He asks the bishop, who had been "offended with a late exercise of prayer and fasting," held without the consent of public authority, to go before the magistrates in well-doing.

"And your self also by the authority of God's word ought rather to have commended and defended the zeale of such pastors and teachers, than at the complaint of a parasite to cast their pastor into prison without hearing his cause either before or after. No doubt you are abused by such flatterers, for ther was never yet any thing so evill commaunded by authority but ther have bene allway some flatterers to defend it, as I feare a sort of parasits and forked flattering clawbacks do you in these matters, without whose diligent calling upon these extremityes are not wrought."

Then turning to the question of the vestments, White says :

"You sayde you feared not to appeare before God for wearing this apparell, and that with a better conscience and more knowledge than we, and I have heard that you would never aske Gods mercy for using them, or like wordes in effect : Which is to lamentable for to heare. For if we doinge

¹⁵ That they were in Bridewell in December, 1568, is plain from a letter in the "Seconde Parte of a register," addressed to them there by Thomas Lever, December 5th. Evidently Lever has conferred with them, and he sends his judgement on the ecclesiastical situation. He is resolved not to wear the habits, but seeing the Church of England has the substance of true doctrine, he thinks men ought not to separate, but rather strive for reformation.

the commaundement of God as perfectly as we can, must yet appeale to mercy, how much more for offending and persecuting the brethren. And at the first yourself sayde in a sermon, as many can witness, that you were sory, for that you knew you should offend many godly consciences by wearing the apparell, requiring your auditory to have patience for a time for that you did but use them for a time, to thend you might the sooner abolish them. And now instead of abolishing them you not onelie have established them in your selves, but also in other, displacing, banishing, persecuting, and imprysoning such as will not weare nor consent therunto. . . ."

White tells the bishop that a terrible punishment is in store for those who cause God's children to stumble, but the fate of those who persecute Christians "for manifest corruptions" will be even worse.

"Better were it for you to leave your Lordly dignity not given you by Christ, to suffer afflictions with and for the syncerity and truth of the Gospell than by injoying therof to become a persecuter of your brethren."

Seeing the Privy Council has promised to do all in its power towards reformation, the bishops are responsible for any delay, and they are asked to consider "whether you have bene or are more diligent in urging your owne traditions and have afflicted moe within these 3 or 4 yers for refusing therof then you have bene these xii years in calling upon the keeping of Gods commaundements and punishing the breakers thereof." They are therefore requested to labour that

"all remnants, badges, and marks of Antichrist, with all plants which our heavenly father hath not planted may at once be plucked up by the roots, that Gods holy word may be the only rule and line to measure his religion by, and that all mans wisdom, policy, and good intents may be so troden under thobediencie of Gods word."

White's name does not appear in the three famous papers relating to the Fitz Church, which are in the Record Office¹⁶ under the date 1571.

¹⁶ D. S. P. Eliz. Add. xx., 107; one in manuscript, and two printed in Black Letter.

Indeed, he seems to have been at liberty during this year, for we have two manuscripts, entitled respectively :

“ Certain griefes justly conceived of B. Jewells sermon with a brief awnswer to some parte therof, written by W. W. and drawne into forme by T. W. ¹⁷.”

“ An awnswer to such Arguments as B. Horne used in his sermon at Paules Crosse upon the 2d. Sondag after Easter Ao 1571, to mainteyne the remnants and reliques of Antichriste.”

The letter has no name, but there is little doubt who is the author, since parts of it are almost identical with the former. White's aim is to excite the bishops “ to an earnest and dilligent execution of your office in preching the gospell syncerely and purely,” even at the loss of their “ pompous livings and lordly titles.” They are as those who shut up the kingdom of heaven, neither entering themselves nor allowing others to do so. As White puts it :

“ You will neither reforme Gods church yourselves for feare of losing your pomp and honor, neither will you suffer those which would, even with the loss of liberty, living and life, that the beautiful face and purity of the Apostolicke Church might once shine in Englande, which God for his crucified Christe Jesus sake bring to passe at this parliament if it be his good pleasure.”

How can it be right for a Christian to use anti-Christian things, to believe :

“ that you may thrust out of Gods Church or vineyard for trifles the moste diligent labourers, that you may displace persecute, imprison, and banish such as will not alow or weare trifles and frivolous things in the service of our jelous God, . . . that you may place in their roumes and freight Gods church with licentious, wicked, doltish, and drunken mynisters, . . . that you may serve God with a mixture and corrupt religion, that you may deliver to Gods people, chaf with wheate, shells with kernells, clouts with Christe ?”

Jewell had done good work in the past in

¹⁷ No doubt Thomas Wilcox.

defending the Church against the Papists, but now he is to be condemned as an enemy to sincerity and purity.

The emphasis of the Puritan demand was now changing. Previously, the burden of their cry had been the removal of the habits, *i.e.*, for Puritanism so called; now they ask for the discipline, the establishment of the eldership, and the abolition of monarchical episcopacy.

With this aim, Field and Wilcox wrote their *Admonition to the Parliament* in 1572, and as a result they speedily found themselves in Newgate. The "Seconde Parte of a Register" contains not only four petitions for their release, but also their Confession of Faith (dated December 4th) and an account of an interview with the archbishop's chaplain on September 11th.

Of more concern to us, however, is a document entitled: "A preface or letter to have bene set before the Admonition to the Parliament by W. W." The history of this preface is unknown, and it is useless to conjecture why it did not appear before the printed *Admonition*. It is short, and sets forward the Puritan position very concisely. It reads:

"For as much as heretofore it hath bene thought good to beare with the weaknes of certaine for a time, who were to much addicted to ceremonies, thinking therby to winne them to doctryne; which sort of people for the most part, have so little profited therby this 12 or 13 yeers that from their weaknes they are growen to malicious willfullness, not onely craving, contending, and urging ceremonies, never caring for doctrine, but by conspiracy, rebellion, and open vilence have practised not onely utterly to displace doctrine but to overthrow the whole state to bring in Ceremonies and all other abhominations, for such as so intierly love a part do not hate the whole.

"For reformation wherof if our Bbs. now with other in authority will be as diligent to urge doctrine and provide that every parish have a preaching pastor, as heretofore they were in urging ceremonies, and appointing that every mynister should were a surplice with other pelf, ye shall within short time see

our God more glorified, his people better edified, our prince more dutyfully obeyed synne lesse frequented, godlines more exercised, and these willfull weaklings or rather rebels restrained and nearer sifted. Which thing we most humbly crave with a thorow reformation both of doctrine, ceremonies, and regiment, according to the admonition by the word of the lord hereunto annexed. Wherin by a brief comparison you may see how the state of our Church is and how it ought to be, both by the Word of God and example of the primitive Church, as also of Geneva, France, Scotland, and all other Churches rightly reformed. After which commaundement and examples we desire to have our Church reformed, both for the advancement of Gods glory, the edifying of his Church, and the safety of our prince, the preservation of our country and the salvation both of our bodies and our soules, all which, reformation being neglected, are in great daunger."

Our next dated document concerning White is his account of his "Examynation before the Commissioners" on January 18th, 1573-4. This is given almost in full and almost accurately by Brook, and so we only mention one or two important points. The Lord Chief Justice begins the examination by telling the Puritan that he is not White, but "as blacke as the diuel"; in the middle he describes White as "the wickedest and most contemptuous person that came before me since I sate in this commission"; and at the conclusion, he sends him to the Gatehouse and threatens him with the loss of his head.

We learn from this account that White was married, that he was set at liberty at Christmas at the instance of some privy councillors, and that it was his custom to attend, not his own parish church, but places where he was "better edified." He claims he is a true subject and no rebel, but he must obey God's word rather than man's. He acknowledges the queen's supremacy, and such of the Book of Common Prayer as agrees with the Scriptures, and he is ready to submit to the judgement of God's word and of the "other reformed

churches." White says he has been two years in prison and almost outlawed, and now he asks for justice; he pleads his cause boldly, and rebukes the Lord Chief Justice when the latter uses an oath.

Of White's life subsequent to this we know little, but no doubt he was as busy as his pen indicates. About this time we place one of writings entitled:

"A brief of such things as obscure Gods glory, stay the course of the Gospell, to the great grief of all the godly, and for which many suffers bandes and imprisonment."

One of White's characteristics is the boldness with which he speaks of the queen and others in authority, who fail to go forward with the reformation of the Church. He shews from the example of David that a godly prince may command wicked things and herein should not be obeyed,¹⁸ and in words curiously like those of Robert Browne in his *Treatise of Reformation without Tarying for Anie*, he claims that the people should lead the way in God's work when princes, preachers, and magistrates are backward. The great question should be, not what things are allowed and directed in the queen's injunctions, but what things are commanded and enjoined in the Word of God.

White quotes Gilby's words: "That the Clergy of England will be a Church alone, thei will neither folow Christ and his Apostles, nor yet will they folow the pope and prelats, but will be wiser than the one and worse than the other"; and he goes on to say that as none in the land "careth for sinceritie in religion so are all carelesse of a godly life, and walke on in wickednes, as though there were no God nor devill, nor heaven nor hell."

About this time too, we have a letter to Edward

¹⁸ "Our common error at this day is that sith by our godly prince (whom God preserve) and Bb. much good hath bene done to Christs Church in England, for which all true Christians are and ought to be thankfull, therefore we must alow and receive in the service of God whatsoever thei commaund."

Dering, in which White describes himself as "but a simple brother, yet wishing syncerity in religion with a thorow reformation." It has been reported that Dering is being urged to remain silent concerning the habits and other corruptions in the Church. White exhorts him to stand firm and be a true watchman of the Lord, for "how you or any may graunt not to speake againste them untill they cease to urge and use them by the worde of God, I see not."

Next we have a letter to a recusant, "Friend Dover," with whom White has had a conference. Evidently Dover had gone over to Rome either from the Church of England or from some Separatist congregation. White states the "jarrs betweene Christ and the Pope," and puts his position in the words:

"I do in the bowells and bloud of Jesus Christ require you that neyther yourself do obstinately hold, much lesse affirme for truth to others, that the Masse is available bothe for quicke and dead, that Christ his very flesh and bloud is in mouth and belly chewed and digested in the Sacrament; that it is lawfull to have, to kneele, to creepe to, and to worship Images, that we are saved by works and not by faith onely; that Christ hath delivered us but from originall sinne, that we have free will, that it is lawfull to pray to the dead and for the dead, that children dying without Bapt. be damned, that mariage is not lawfull among Mynisters, that the Pope and his priests must not be subjects to princes, that there is a purgatory, that the Pope can forgive sinnes that his Bulls, Pardons, Masses, Indulgences, with innumerable suchlike be meritorious meanes and helps to salvation. All which I say I require you as above neither to hold nor affirme for truth to others before you can approve the same by the warrant of Gods written word, and then I daresay you shall neither hold nor affirme them for truth to others while the world standeth; for I dare advouch upon no small danger that in the holy Canonically written word of God, rightly understood, there is not one chapter, text, word nor syllable for the warrant of anyone of these foresayde opynions."

He exhorts Dover to reconsider his position and

come to hear the preaching of God's Word, the only channel of salvation.

White's last writing is the account of a conference with an English Anabaptist. In 1575 nine Anabaptists were banished from England, and two were burnt in spite of John Foxe's eloquent protest to the queen. The Anabaptists have not yet had justice from historians; and their descendants, our Baptists, still hasten to disown them. They need not be so afraid, for the Anabaptists of the sixteenth century were the pioneers of religious liberty, and to them all honour is due. Their contemporaries, however, thought that Anabaptism and Munster atrocities were synonymous, and in every land the followers of this faith were hunted and tortured. And here William White was no better than his fellows, for in the conference before us he shews all the arrogance and intolerance of one persuaded that heresy is of the devil. As we read, our sympathies are all on the side of S. B., the despised Anabaptist, and White's position seems neither logical nor Christian.

If hard words could convert men, however, White might have convinced his adversary, of whom he says in summing up:

“first, in saying you will subscribe to all obedience, and yet disobey, you are a lyar.

“Secondlie, in that you dissent from the universall Church of Christ you are a Schismaticque.

“Thirdly, in joyning yourself to your divelish sect, you are, as I have saide, an hereticke.

“Fourthly, if you have felowship with them, and be not of their mynde, you are a dissembling hypocrite.”

In a concluding epistle dated April 11th, 1576, White encloses:

“a copy of a letter written to those of your secte in Newgate not many daies before 2 of them suffered touching the truth of Christ's incarnation according to the holy Scriptures, which those 9 that were banished, those 2 that suffered, and those 2

that lately were delivered, with all the rest of your sect, and therefore very likely yourself allso, do most ignorantly, impudently, and damnably deny."

The Anabaptist writes with moderation and good sense, and replies to White's gibes and sneers with Christian forbearance. He begins one letter: "Mr. White and brother in the Lord, I have received your great and plentiful letter, thanking you most humbly for your great courtesy you would vouchsafe to take so great pains to write to me, being so simple and rude in understanding as I am. But God make me to understand his truth." He says he means "to lean to a more sure pillar than Mr. Calvin," *viz.*, the Scriptures, and states: "I have no secte nor am of any secte, but of the religion of Christe."

Such are all the writings which we can with certainty claim for White. There are other anonymous writings in the "Register," which *may* be his, but we cannot mention these here.

Of White's subsequent life we know absolutely nothing. Several men with his name (clergy and lay) appear in London in various offices between 1580 and 1590, but there is nothing to connect them with the subject of this paper, neither does any writing of White's seem to have been published. And so for the present we must leave him. He was a typical Puritan, with the virtues and failings of his age and faith. Exceptionally bold and fearless, he speaks and writes without stopping to think of the consequences. His faith was strong and his language corresponds with his faith.

One remarkable thing about him is his versatility. He can write to a persecuting bishop or to a wavering Puritan with equal ease, and he attacks a Roman Catholic with as much assurance as an Anabaptist. Confident that he is right, certain

that he is one of the elect, he has little sympathy with heresy of any kind (the Papist and Arian, the Freewill man and the Familist are all alike damned), and so he has little idea of toleration. But he was a strong man, and stood for what he believed to be right in a time when strong men were needed because they were few. Such men as he helped to win for us our religious freedom, and so we owe a debt to William White. To him then we pay our tribute.

A. PEEL.

Early Nonconformist Academies

Bethnal Green, Highgate, and Clerkenwell

(The following is to be substituted, by way of correction, for the article on p. 155, vol. v.)

RESPECTING this Academy our information is very fragmentary. It seems to have been commenced by Rev. Thomas Brand. He was born at Leaden Rooding, Essex, in 1635, his father being "a dignitary of the Church of England." Having acquitted himself with credit at Merton College, Oxford, he entered as a law student in the Temple. But the bent of his mind was rather towards divinity; and being a man of considerable wealth, he became an itinerant preacher, only with some reluctance undertaking for a short time a pastorate in some unnamed town in Sussex. He travelled much and scattered his bounty on every side, his charities amounting to about £300 a year. He distributed thousands of Bibles, catechisms, and religious books of a non-controversial character; established many country schools, and contributed largely to the building of meeting-houses and supplying them with ministers. "He was a great encourager of young men for the ministry." So much says his friend and biographer, Dr. S. Annesley, who, however, strangely omits to state that he was also their instructor. From the records of the Presbyterian Fund, however, we learn that he presided over an academy at Bishop's Hall, Bethnal Green; the house was so called from having been the residence of Bishop Bonner. In 1690 he had nine students under his care, who had exhibitions from the Presbyterian Fund; four

more entered the following year, which was the last of Mr. Brand's life. He died in December, 1691. He is described as "a man of great moderation. His zeal was neither for nor against any party, but for promoting sound knowledge of those truths in which all were agreed."

Mr. Brand was assisted and succeeded by Dr. John Kerr. He was born in Ireland in 1639, and graduated at Edinburgh in 1664. He then became a successful tutor somewhere in Ireland, having many pupils, some of whom became ministers—but no names are recorded. In 1687 the persecution initiated by Tyrconnel induced him to quit Ireland; and he settled at Bethnal Green as colleague with Mr. Brand, continuing the academy after that gentleman's death. One of his students was Samuel Palmer, from whose *Defence of the Dissenters Education, etc.*, (against Samuel Wesley) we gather most of our knowledge concerning him. Palmer says he "met with equal encouragement for some years." The house was conducted on distinctly Puritan lines: prayer in the family was never omitted; the morning exercise in the schools began with public prayer, frequently in Latin, in which language Dr. Kerr was more fluent than in English; before the divinity lectures a senior student prayed. Strict moral order was maintained: none were allowed out after 9 p.m.; unbecoming levity was gravely rebuked; and it was understood that profane or obscene language would be visited with immediate expulsion. As was the custom in most universities, Latin seems to have been in more general use than the vulgar tongue.

Palmer furnishes a copious list of the text-books used, and the authors recommended for private study: In *Logic*, the System of Hereboord, with notes on the agreement or opposition of other

teachers; for private study, the *Ars Cogitandi*, Colbert, Derodon, Le Clerc, Smiglecius, to be followed by Goveani Elenctica. In *Metaphysics*, Fromenii Synopsis; for private study, Baronius, Suarez, Colbert. For *Ethics*, Hereboord, Cicero *De Officiis*, Marcus Aurelius, Epictetus, with the comments of Arrian and Simplicianus, Henry More, Puffendorf, and the Proverbs of Solomon. For *Natural Philosophy*, Le Clerc compared with Aristotle, Des Cartes, Colbert, and Staire. For *Rhetoric*, J. G. Vossius, Aristotle, and Cicero *De Oratore*. These topics furnished the mornings' work, with Buchanan's Psalms on Monday, disputations in Latin on philosophical topics on alternate days, and on Saturdays declamations in Latin on set topics.

After dinner the Greek and Latin classics were read, and on Mondays and Fridays the Greek Testament, six or seven chapters at a sitting, so that the whole was read through once a year. As aids, the Synopsis Criticorum and the Lexicons of Hesychius, Favorinus and Martinus. For the other divinity lecture the text-book was Synopsis Purioris Theologiae; while for private reading, Turretin, Theses Salmur, Baxter's Methodus, and Usher were recommended. On the controversies between Protestants and Papists, Ames's Bellarminus *Enervatus* was chiefly commended, with the series of treatises since collected in Gibson's Preservative against Popery. But on other controversies the best reputed authors on all sides were read; thus on Original Sin: Placaeus and Barlow de Natura Mali; on Grace and Freewill: Rutherford, Strangius and Amyraldus; on Episcopacy: Altar Damascenum, Hall and Baxter; on Church Government: Stillingfleet, Owen and Rutherford; and on Practical Divinity: Baxter, Charnock and Tillotson. The students were en-

couraged to think for themselves, the tutor never seeking to impose his own judgement.

In 1696 Kerr visited Leyden, where he graduated as doctor of medicine, March 5th, 1696-7. His Latin thesis was printed with the title *Disputatio de secretionis animalis efficiente causa et ordine*. His only other known publication was *Selectarum de lingua latina observationum, libri duo*.

At some unrecorded date Dr. Kerr removed his academy from Bethnal Green to Highgate, and subsequently (it is said) to Clerkenwell. From first to last 22 of his students for the ministry had exhibitions from the Presbyterian Board, some of whom attained to eminence. Others practised law. The academy continued at least till 1708; the time of its dissolution we have not been able to ascertain. Dr. Kerr died in 1723.

Only a few of the students at this academy have been identified; unfortunately, several referred to by Palmer are indicated only by single initials. The following are named:

Francis Freeman, Tooting	Dr. Samuel Clark, St. Alban's
John Foxon, Haberdashers' Hall	George Smyth, Hackney
Roger Griffiths, Abergavenny	Thomas Hall, London
Benjamin Pike	James Read, London
John (? Jabez) Earle	Henry Read, Southwark
Charles Owen, Warrington	Joseph Burroughs (Baptist)
William Holman	J. Southwell
Samuel Brookes	Samuel Rosewell, Silver Street
Samuel Bourn	Dr. John Ward, Prof. of Rhetoric
Samuel Palmer	in Gresham College

Rev. John Short, previously pastor at Lyme and Colyton, removed to London (Miles Lane Church) in 1698. W. Jeremy says: "He educated young men for the ministry at Lyme and Colyton, and afterwards in London at Bishop's Hall, Bethnal Green"; and also that in 1692-96 he had eight students on the foundation of the Presbyterian

Fund. There seems to be some confusion here, unless the fund students were at Colyton, and not, as Jeremy implies, in Middlesex. Whether there was any connection between Short and the academy conducted by Brand and Kerr is very doubtful.

Newbury

John Southwell (nephew of Richard Southwell, ejected from Baswick, Leicestershire) was for some time assistant to Woodhouse at Sheriff Hales. In 1688 he succeeded B. Woodbridge, the deprived rector of Newbury, as pastor of a Presbyterian church in that town, where he died in 1694. He is said to have instructed eight students who were exhibitioners of the Presbyterian Fund. This may possibly explain the tradition mentioned by Toulmin, and referred to in *C.H.S. Trans.*, vol. iii., p. 394.

Whitehaven and Bolton

Thomas Dixon, M.A., M.D., was born in 1679. His father was an adherent of the Established Church. Having studied under Coningham and Chorlton at Manchester, he became pastor of the dissenting church at Whitehaven in 1711. There he gave private instruction to several students, one of whom was Caleb Rotheram, afterwards of Kendal. In 1723 he removed to Bolton, where he not only ministered to a congregation (Bank Street, now Unitarian), and practised as a physician, but also conducted a small academy. Among his students were Dr. John Taylor of Norwich, Dr. Henry Winder of Liverpool, and Dr. George Benson of London—all inclined to Arianism or Unitarianism. Four of them were aided by the Presbyterian Fund. He died on August 14th, 1729.

Congregationalists and the "Great Ejection"

IN the controversy which has arisen over Mr. Millard's booklet entitled *The Great Ejection of 1662*, the statements made about the place and number of Congregationalists in those days have been startlingly various. The author, in one sentence, appears to concede that there were such persons as "Congregationalists of the Restoration"; but he adds—"they hardly come into our story"; and he goes on to say—"The men whose struggles we are to follow, and whose valorous fight for truth and conscience we are to commemorate with thankful admiration, were certainly not Congregationalists." This clearly implies that, in Mr. Millard's view, *none* of those ejected on St. Bartholomew's Day, 1662, were Congregationalists. Wherever the "Congregationalists of the Restoration" were, they were not in the State Church; and therefore they were not ejected from it. He does not tell us where they were, nor what they were doing. That was no part of the story he had to tell to young Congregationalists on the 250th anniversary of the Great Ejection. But none of them held livings in the Establishment, and so none of them suffered ejection for conscience' sake. This is one extreme.

The opposite extreme would be to claim that *the great majority* of the ejected were Congregationalists; but I never met with any serious student of the history of the period who would maintain such a position. It is admitted on all sides that the great majority called themselves, and were called by others, Presbyterians; though it is not easy to ascertain in what particulars the Presbyterianism of many of them differed from the Congregationalism of those who avowed themselves Congregationalists.

Between these two extremes there seem to be several shades of opinion as to the proper place and real numbers of these "Restoration Congregationalists." Certainly they fall into two classes: (1) Some had "gathered churches" in Commonwealth times, and in the act of forming them had withdrawn from the Establishment, and so "remained outside" when Episcopacy was re-established, and could not be ejected from within. Such, it is alleged, were the Congregational pastors who assembled at the Savoy Conference in 1658. (2) Others, while ministering to gathered churches, became or remained rectors, vicars, city lecturers, and preachers in cathedrals in connection with parishes. The former class are represented as genuine Congregationalists, "bright and shining examples of Congregationalism"; the latter are deemed to occupy an anomalous position, and, it is said, should be set aside as unworthy of any

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place in the story of the Great Ejectment, because "they tried to face both ways."

But this reading of history many cannot accept. They affirm that many "men of the Congregational way," who held livings all over the country, were as really Congregationalists as those who ministered as Separatists to gathered churches outside the pale of the Establishment. They were doing honest and effective spiritual work when, at the Restoration, many of them were ejected from their benefices to make way for men who had been sequestered by the Commonwealth authorities, and were still living to claim reinstatement. The rest, not being thus challenged, retained their positions in honour and spiritual efficiency, till the Act of Uniformity ejected them in 1662. The boldest exponent of this view estimates the number of these as at least 500. And I gladly rank myself among these "non-contents."

I hold strongly that any fair reading of the facts of Commonwealth history shews that many "congregated" or "gathered" churches were gathered in the parishes of which their pastors were rectors, vicars or lecturers; not as outside the established order, but as an allowed or recognized part of it.

It is true that some good Independents, like John Goodwin, of St. Katherine's, Coleman Street, were ejected by the Parliamentary authorities quite early in their period of power, because they would not admit that all baptized persons who had been confirmed were fit to receive the communion, or to have their children baptized. These, if (like John Goodwin) after their ejectment they gathered a church within the parish area, were outside the Establishment when they gathered their churches, remained outside at the Restoration, and, of course, could not be ejected in 1662.

But others form a class, of which Hezekiah Woodward, of Bray in Berkshire, may be taken as typical. I happen to be familiar with the facts of this case, because his predecessor and successor in the incumbency was a lineal ancestor of mine. Woodward had espoused the Presbyterian cause in 1641, when a minister in the city, but later adopted Congregationalism as the more excellent way. In the latter part of the Civil War he acted as chaplain to Oliver's forces, when the Lord General and his officers were quartered at Bray. In 1649 Oliver appointed him to the vicarage of Bray, and there he remained till the Restoration. With the knowledge and approval of the Commonwealth authorities he gathered there a Congregational church. As Anthony à Wood puts it: "He had a select congregation out of his parish of those that were to be saved"—that is the sarcastic description of the High Anglican historian—"who frequently met to pray in the vicaridge house"; and with great glee Wood adds: "which, if he had staid a year or two more would have destroyed all that were to be saved by falling on them." In short, Woodward was vicar of a parish and

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pastor of a Congregational church, which held prayer meetings and church meetings in the vicarage house, right up to the Restoration. He then had to surrender the living to one who quite early in the interregnum had been deprived of it, *viz.*, Edward Fulham, who had received it from Charles I. at the time he was examining chaplain to the Bishop of Oxford. Had the sequestered vicar died during the interregnum, Woodward—like many others in similar cases—might have continued to hold the living (though of the Congregational way) until the Act of Uniformity. This, however, made a choice imperative between accepting the Prayer Book religion, with "unfeigned assent and consent," and of course abjuring his Congregationalism, or becoming a Nonconformist ejected minister "of the Independent judgement."

This being so, we surely have no just ground for refusing to believe that incumbents—there were many of them—who on the accession of Charles II. in 1660, or after Bartholomew's Day, 1662, described themselves, or were described by others, as Congregationalists or Independents, were really such; that they deserved the name, and had retained it honourably in the years preceding the Restoration; and that they call for recognition and honour by us, as sufferers for conscience' sake in this Commemoration year of 1912.

Indeed, it should always be borne in mind that "congregated" or Congregational churches were of two kinds. (1) Some were formed wholly outside the State Church, because by pastors and members alike the alliance between Church and State was considered an unholy and sinful thing. These were not only "gathered," but also "separated" churches, wholly separate from the Church of England as by law established; and the men who formed them were properly called Separatists as well as Congregationalists. (2) Others were formed within the State Church, the conception of which was, at this time, almost universally accepted as quite legitimate, if not normal; these were self-governed communities within the parish—Independent churches formed after the Congregational way. And is it not a fact that Robert Browne, the father of English Congregationalism, illustrated both these types at different stages of his career? In his early days he formed, in England and in Holland, "gathered" or "congregated" churches on the basis of Separatism; and later, when he had accepted the State Church incumbency of Achurch, he formed and fostered a little "gathered" or "Independent" church within his parish.

Now it is rather remarkable that as yet no serious attempt has been made to ascertain the number of such Congregationalists as were ejected from the Church of England in 1660-62. And in what follows, I wish to present to the members of the Society the results of such an attempt. The first and most obvious step would be to extract from Calamy the names of those whom he describes in so

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many words as "Congregationalists," or "of the Congregational way," or "Independents," or "of the Independent judgement." The result of this process has surprised me. Any careful reader of Calamy must have noticed how very seldom he specifies the denomination of his heroes. His book is a "Nonconformists' Memorial," and his main object is to record the sufferings, the character, and the abilities of those who were unable to conform in all things to the ritual and discipline of the Established Church. The particular shade or type of their nonconformity did not much concern him; and as the cases where he notes the denomination as Congregational or Independent are comparatively few, and his own sympathies are known to have been strongly Presbyterian, it seems natural to infer that wherever no denomination is mentioned, the sufferer was Presbyterian. But natural as such an inference is, we shall see strong reasons for questioning its accuracy.

Extracting from Calamy, then, the names directly described as Congregationalists, I find in the Northern counties (Northumberland, Cumberland, Yorkshire, and Lancashire) 12; in the North-Midland group (Cheshire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, Nottinghamshire, and Lincolnshire) 10; in the South-Midlands (Northants, Bucks, Oxford, Warwick, Worcester, and Gloucestershire) 9; in the Eastern counties (Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex) 22; in the South-Eastern district (Berks, Middlesex, including London, Kent, Sussex, and Hants) also 22; while strangely enough in the whole South-West only 6 names appear. In fourteen English counties not a single ejected minister is directly accredited with Congregationalism, *viz.*, Durham, Westmoreland, Derby, Rutland, Leicestershire, Hunts, Beds, Herts, Surrey, Somerset, Hereford, Dorset, or Cornwall; nor is one reported from the whole of Wales. Three others are named in Calamy's Appendix, so that if we were dependent on the *direct* statements of Calamy alone, we could only reckon up 85 "Restoration Congregationalists," scattered over 26 counties of England. But even in Calamy's text we are not wholly dependent on his *direct* statements, though casual readers are usually content with these. He uses phrases in a technical sense, which might easily be passed over as of no special significance, but which rightly understood afford us, indirectly, just the information of which we are in search. Wherever the term "congregation" is used, we shall find it has a special ecclesiastical meaning. With us nowadays "a congregation" generally means those who regularly attend a particular place of worship, whether they are church members or not. Thus, by a singular irony of fate, even among Congregationalists the word "congregation" is used in contradistinction to the word "church," instead of as its synonym. As Calamy uses it, however, the "congregation" is the "church congregated" or gathered out of a parish or neighbourhood in the Congregational way; formally cemented together by the adoption

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of a covenant, which (usually) each member signed when he was admitted into the fellowship. When, therefore, Calamy tells us that an ejected minister was "pastor of a congregation" or of "a congregation of dissenters" in a particular place, it really means that he was the pastor of a Congregational church; and the same is still more clearly indicated when the phrase is "pastor of a gathered church."

Again, when Calamy tells us that an ejected minister was closely associated, either in the active ministry or in very intimate friendship, with some noted Congregationalist, we cannot often be far wrong in concluding that he also was of the same judgement.

There are other statements, too, which on a first reading might be passed over, which are sure, though indirect, indications of Congregationalist proclivities. Men whose fathers had emigrated to New England, and who themselves were educated at Harvard University, may all be set down as Congregationalists, as well as those who were the personal chaplains and specially intimate-religious friends of Oliver and Henry Cromwell.

Carefully noting each of these, we may add 48 to the 85 about whom Calamy affords direct testimony; so that altogether, directly or indirectly, he furnishes us with the names of 133 "Restoration Congregationalists" who were ejected either in 1660 or 1662.

This, of course, is but a small fraction of the total number of ejected Nonconformists. But fortunately we are not shut up to the information we can gather from Calamy. The Episcopal Returns of 1669 give us some independent information, and the Indulgence documents give us a great deal more. Sifting these, as they are presented in the text of my "Original Records" and analysed in the Classified Summary, we arrive at this interesting result: In the Northern counties 29 additional names; in the Northern Midlands 31; in the Southern Midlands 34; in the Eastern counties 58; in the South-Eastern counties, including London, 40; in the South-Western 34; in Wales, including Monmouth, 29; while in Calamy's additional list we have still one more. We thus have 256 names to be added to Calamy's contingent of 133, making a total of 389.

Thus far, however, we have not distinguished between those who were ejected before "Black Bartholomew" and those who were actually ejected by the Act of Uniformity. To make this distinction is no easy task. Again, we naturally turn first to Calamy; but as his immediate object was only to make his book a complete Memorial of the sufferings of Nonconformists, whether due directly to the Act of Uniformity or to the change in the ecclesiastical position which took place automatically in 1660, when Episcopacy as well as the Monarchy was restored, he has not made a point of always stating distinctly the date at which each man was "outed." It is true in many cases he says that it

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was in 1660 or 1661 that it happened, either through the action of the Royal Commissioners appointed to reinstate the Universities on their former lines, or through the reinstatement of surviving clergy who had been sequestered in the Commonwealth period. In other cases he distinctly refers to "Bartholomew's Day," or "24th August, 1662," or simply to the year 1662, as the date up to which individuals retained their livings, or after which they had to undergo their privations, losses, persecutions, and imprisonments.

But there is a large number of cases in which the phrases are simply "up to" or "after his ejection." In all these the natural inference is that 1662 was the date of such ejection, and on that inference I have acted in the sifting which follows. There is also a number of cases, much larger than I had imagined until I actually counted them, where Calamy has been unable to give more information than barely this: A person of such a name was ejected from such a place. The significance of this toward the solution of our problem I shall refer to later.

But first let us see what we can learn from Calamy as to the dates when our 389 suffered ejection. I find that 10 were deprived by the Royal Commissioners of positions in the University of Oxford; 5 suffered in the same way in the colleges at Cambridge; 7 were outed in London before August 1662, and 38 in various counties of England and Wales: total 60. Deducting these from 389, we have 329 as the probable number of those who suffered under the Act of Uniformity. But 22 of these were not *technically* ejected, because they were in no fixed place, though they were "silenced" from all "public preaching," and as effectually deprived of any chance of public ministry, as if they had been ejected from livings of which they were in actual possession.

Still, this would reduce the number of Congregational ministers actually ejected from benefices in 1662 to 307. Now there are only 97 of these of whom Calamy says, *in so many words*, that 1662 was the date of their ejection. Of 210 we can only say by inference or natural assumption that they were "ejected on Black Bartholomew." But until, by documentary evidence—of parochial archives, vestry books, churchwardens' accounts, or registers—it is proved that some of them were ejected earlier, it is reasonable to speak of the whole 307 as ejected in 1662.

This, no doubt, is a small figure as compared with the total number ejected on that fatal day: not more than one-seventh on the lowest computation of that total, or one-eighth on the highest. But it is not so inconsiderable as that in any serious review of the issues of that day it should be ignored, especially when we turn from the question of mere numbers to the character, ability, and influence of the men who formed this three hundred.

Before we do this, however, it will be of some interest to notice exactly how the total was distributed over the various counties of

England and Wales. The two Eastern counties head the list : Norfolk with 29, Suffolk with 27. Yorkshire comes next with 19, and London with 16, while Essex and Devon give 13 each. Lancashire contributed 12 ; Northants, Sussex, and Hants each 11 ; Gloucester gave 10 ; Lincoln and Kent each 9 ; Wilts and Dorset each 8 ; Leicester, Cambridge and Monmouth each 7 ; Staffs and Somerset each 6 ; Notts, Salop, Herts and Middlesex each furnished 5 ; Northumberland, Derby, Warwick, Worcester, Oxford and Glamorgan each gave 4 ; Denbigh 3 ; Cheshire, Hunts, Bedford, Cardigan, Carmarthen and Pembroke each 2 ; Hereford, Berks, Bucks, Surrey, Montgomery and Radnor each 1. In Cumberland alone, of all the counties in which Congregationalists were ejected, though 4 were outed at the Restoration, not one was ejected in 1662. Of the English counties only four furnished none either in 1660 or 1662, *viz.*, Durham, Westmoreland, Rutland and Cornwall ; and of the Welsh only three : Anglesey, Flint and Brecknock.

But it would be unwise to think of these 307, who we are almost sure were ejected in 1662, as representing the full strength of the Congregationalist contingent. There are no fewer than 666 cases in which Calamy was able to furnish nothing beyond the name of the incumbent and the place whence he was ejected, with occasional notes of character which set one wondering how he knew so much if he knew no more. Yet of these 666 the Episcopal Returns enable us to identify 37 as certainly Congregationalists. Nor is it to be supposed that if others had been like minded, they *must* either have appeared in the Episcopal Returns of 1669, or have been licensed under the Indulgence in 1672 ; for I find that of the 307 ejected in 1662, whom we know to have been Congregationalists, 49—almost one-sixth of the whole—are not named in the "Original Records." So we are quite sure that the actual number of Congregationalists who suffered by the Act of Uniformity was much greater than those of whom we have definite knowledge, and may well amount to the 500 which has been ventured as a challenge claim by one of our most strenuous workers in this field.

But (need I say it here, and to such an audience as that I now address ?) we are not accustomed merely to count heads when we attempt an estimate of the value or efficiency of spiritual forces. And in turning for a few moments from this tedious and comparatively thankless task of estimating numbers, when we glance at some of the personalities who go to form this band of ejected Congregationalists (from 320 to 500 strong), we may be pardoned if we say that we strongly sympathize with the "indignant amazement" of the "Independent" whose letter started that discussion in the *Christian World*, which is the occasion of my paper : that in an *official Congregational manual* on "The Great Ejection of 1662" Congregationalists should be quietly waved aside and wholly ruled out.

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Of course, we must not forget that some of our brightest luminaries were outed at the Restoration. All conspicuous Independents who held appointments in the two great Universities, with many fellows and students, were ejected by the Royal Commissioners. Such at Oxford were Theophilus Gale and Humphrey Gunter, fellows of Magdalen, together with Dr. Thomas Goodwin, their distinguished president; Thankful Owen, president of St. John's; Francis Johnson, of University, and Thomas Cole, of St. Mary's Hall; Dr. Ralph Button and Dr. Singleton, of Christ Church; and—shall I say above all?—Dr. John Owen, Dean of Christchurch and Vice-Chancellor of the University.* At Cambridge, Francis Holcroft and Mr. Wildbore, of Clare Hall, were evicted, the former the founder of many "gathered churches" in Cambridgeshire and adjoining counties; Robert Brinsley and James Day, of Emmanuel, and Dr. Hutcheson, of Trinity. Inevitably Nicholas Lockyer, provost of Eton College, and Jeremy White, who had been preacher to the Council of State, lost their positions at the accession of Charles. The Puritan clergy of all the cathedrals, such as Comfort Star, at Carlisle; James Forbes and Increase Mather, at Gloucester; John Durant, at Canterbury; and Lewis Stuckley and Thomas Mall, at Exeter, were at once displaced on the restoration of Episcopacy; and John Rowe, of Westminster Abbey, and William Hook, Master of the Savoy, shared their fate. A great number of Congregationalists had to give place to sequestered clergymen, who still lived to reclaim the benefices they had lost. Of these, special mention is due, for their prominence and ability, to Philip Nye, of Bartholomew Exchange; Samuel Dyer, of All Hallows on the Wall; and William Greenhill, of Stepney; the first of whom shared with John Milton and John Goodwin the honour of having their political writings burned by the hangman in public places in the city. Others in the provinces worthy of remembrance are George Larkham, of Cocker mouth; John Spilsbury, of Bromsgrove; Hezekiah Woodward, of Bray; William Troughton, of St. Martin's, Salisbury; John Eaton, of Bridport; and Theophilus Polwheile, of Tiverton. To these may be added Charles Price, of Cardigan; John Powell, of St. Lythan; and Peregrine Phillips, of Llangon. Doubtless these were among the very best of the Great Ejected, and there are others scarcely less honourable. Circumstances precluded their joining the noble host who went out on "Black Bartholomew"; but their consciences were as tender, and on exactly the same points, while their spirits were as resolute as any of their brethren who were then ejected; so that we should link them in our thought with those whom we delight to honour as actually cast out by the Act of Uniformity.

But honour we Congregationalists certainly must the noble

* Owen ceased to hold these offices before the Restoration; but he was *disabled* by the Act of Uniformity.—*Editor*.

band of Independents and "men of the Congregational way," who suffered in that Great Ejection, and whose influence remains to this day in 35 counties of England and in 10 of Wales! It would be tedious to recount them all, or even all those whose memory survives in the churches which they gathered.* But we must hold in highest honour men like William Durant, of Newcastle; *Yorkshire* Congregationalists like the Marsden brothers (Jeremiah of Ardesley, and Gamaliel of Halifax); Christopher Nesse, of Leeds; and Christopher Marshall, of Topcliffe; and *Lancashire* worthies like Thomas Jollie, of Altham; Richard Astley, of Blackrode; and Cuthbert Harrison, of Singleton. Should we not remember such men as Thomas Harrison, once of Chester Cathedral; John Cromwell, of Claworth; Robert Durant, of Crowle; and Edward Reyner, of Lincoln? Have we nothing to say of Rowland Nevett and Thomas Quarrell, of Oswestry; William Fincher, of Wednesbury; Simon Moore, of Worcester Cathedral; Strickland Negus, of Burton Latimer; John Maidwell, of Kettering; Vincent Alsop, of Wilby; and Camshaw Helmes, of Winchcombe?

Should not the Congregationalists of *Cambridgeshire*, *Bedfordshire*, *Hunts* and *Herts*, hold in grateful remembrance Francis Holcroft, Joseph Oddy, Samuel Corbyn and Thomas Lock, not wholly forgetting James Bedford, of Bluntisham; and Nathaniel Partridge, of St. Albans? And what shall we say of that noble band of 75 or 76 who were thrust out in the *Eastern counties*? The brothers Amyrault, Paul of Mundesley, and Christopher of Buckenham; the brothers Worts, of Burningham and Guestwick; Thomas Allen and Enoch Woodward, of Norwich; and William Bridge, of Yarmouth? What of Robert Ottie, of Beccles; the three brothers Manning, in villages around Southwold; William Ames, of Wrentham; and Thomas Taylor, of Bury St. Edmunds, who became Bunyan's chief agent in obtaining licences for himself and his friends under the Indulgence? What of the *Essex* worthies: John Sammes, of Coggeshall; Owen Stockton, of Colchester; John Cole, of Wethersfield, and others like minded? Surely the *London* clergy who were outed in 1662 deserve special mention: Nicholas Lockyer, of St. Bene't Sherehog; George Griffith, of the Charterhouse; Richard Kentish and John Hodges, of St. Katherine's by the Tower, Matthew Barker, of St. Leonard's, Eastcheap; Joseph Caryl, of St. Magnus; Thomas Brooks, of St. Margaret's, New Fish Street, and George Cockayne, of St. Pancras, Sopers Lane.

The Congregationalists of *Kent* should hold in grateful remembrance the great evangelist, Charles Nichols, of Adisham; Thomas Ventress, of St. Margaret's, Canterbury; and Joseph Osborne, of Benenden. *Surrey* should not forget David Clarkson, of Mortlake; or James Fisher, of Fetcham, who settled at Dorking. *Sussex* owes

* Many other names were recited in the paper, for which see the full list annexed.—*Ed.*

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something to the memory of Walter Postlethwaite and John Crouch, of Lewes ; Christopher Snell, of East Grinstead ; and John Willis, of Wool Lavington, afterwards of Chichester. *Hampshire* counts among her worthies Nathaniel Robinson, of Southampton ; George Whitmarsh, of Rowner, who settled at Gosport ; and John Hook, of Kingsworthy, son of William Hook, of the Savoy, and founder of Congregationalism in Basingstoke. In *Wills* and *Somerset*, John Frayling, of Compton, who did so much at Devizes ; William Hughes, of Marlborough ; Philip Hunton, of Westbury ; and Henry Butler, of Yeovil, have special claims on any historian of Nonconformity in these counties. In *Dorset*, William Benn, of Dorchester ; Joseph Churchill, of Fordington ; and Benjamin Way, of West Stafford, were worthy successors to John White, who did so much in organizing the Puritan Colonies in the previous generation ; while Philip Lamb, of Beer Regis ; Robert Bartlett, of Over Compton, and George Thorne, of Weymouth, did work, the effects of which are seen to the present day. Then, when we turn to *Devon*, the Congregationalists who were ejected there made for themselves a reputation which it would be criminal to allow to die. How can we be silent about the "bright particular star" of Congregationalism, John Howe, of Torrington, Oliver's favourite and faithful chaplain, author of *The Living Temple* ? Can we say nothing of Bartholomew Ashwood, of Axminster ; Nathaniel Mather, of Barnstaple ; John Bartlett, of Fremington, who did so much at Bideford ; Theophilus Polwhele, of Tiverton ; John Powell, of St. Sidwell's, Exeter ; Thomas Martyn, of Plymouth ; and the saintly John Flavel, of Dartmouth ? And shall we forget those who in *Wales* were destined, after their ejection, to do so great a work as Congregationalists for the spiritual welfare of their countrymen ? To name but a few of many : there are in the north William Jones, of Denbigh ; Jonathan Roberts, of Llanfair ; Hugh Owen, of Brony Clydwr ; in the south, James Davies, of Merthyr ; Stephen Hughes, of Mydrym ; Henry Williams, of Llantrissant ; Daniel Higgs, of Rhosilly ; Marmaduke Matthews, of Swansea ; Thomas Barnes, of Magor ; Walter Prosser, of Tredonock.

The limits of time and space make it impossible, in such a paper as this, to dilate on the work of any ; but in a company of experts in Nonconformist history, no doubt the mere names suggest their record to those whose special interest lies in the counties where they wrought and suffered. And these are a mere fraction of the noble band who on Bartholomew's Day, 1662, suffered ejection rather than do violence to their conscience. Surely it would be a sin and shame, in this year of commemoration, not to recall the life and labours of this great company of Congregational worthies, whose courageous testimony to their convictions was not one whit behind that of the noblest and best of their ejected brethren.

G. LYON TURNER.

Particulars of Congregationalist Ministers ejected in 1660 and 1662

[SOURCES: Cal., Calamy (or Palmer)—*direct* statement in Non-conformist Memorial. Cal*—*indirect* statement in the same. Pal.—Palmer's additions to Calamy. E.R.—Episcopal Returns, 1665 and 1669. L—Licence Documents, 1672 (For both E.R. and L. see "Original Records").]

I.—NORTHERN GROUP.

1. NORTHUMBERLAND (6).

1660	Ralph Ward, Hartborn	Lic. York City, 1672 L
	John Lomax, Wooler	Lic. genl. in Bprie. of Durham, '72 L
1662	John Darnton, Bedlington	Lic. W. Tanfield, Yorks, '72 L
"	John Thompson, Bothall	'A moderate Congregationalist.' Cal.
"	John Davis, Bywell St. Peter's	'Of the Congregational judgement.' Cal.
"	William Durant, Newcastle	Congregational in his principles.' Cal.

2. DURHAM, *none*.

3. CUMBERLAND (6)

1660	Comfort Starr, Carlisle	Some time fellow of Harwards Cal' Lic. Sandwich '72 L
"	George Larkham, Cockermouth	Conv. at Bridekirk, '69. E.R. Lic. Bridekirk, '72. L
"	Simon Atkinson, Lazonby	Conv. at Heskett, '69. E.R. Lic. Heskett, '72. L
1661?	Gawen Eaglesfield, Plumbland	Lic. Deerham, '72. L
1662	George Nicholson, <i>silenced</i>	'A gathered church'; 'took lic. as a Congl. Minr.' Cal.
"	? Daniel King, <i>silenced</i>	Lic. Derby, '72. L (But ? if same man).

4. WESTMORLAND, *none*

5. YORKSHIRE (18)

1660	Josiah Houldsworth, Sutton	Lic. Heckmondwike '72 L
1662	Jeremiah Marsden, Ardesley	'Inclined to the notions of the Fifth-Monarchists.' Cal.
"	Gamaliel Marsden, Chapel-le-Brears	A moderate Congregationalist.' Cal.
"	Thomas Smallwood, Idle	'A moderate Congregationalist.' Cal.
"	Christopher Nesse, Leeds	Conv. at Cross Stones, '69. E.R. lic. Leeds, '72. L

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1662	Richard Whitehurst, Laughton-en-le-Morthen	Lic. West Hall, Hatfield, '72. L.
"	Richard Taylor, Long Houghton	Lic. Swath Hall, '72. L.
"	John Izott (Issett or Isott), Nun Monkton	Lic. Horbury, '73 L.
"	Henry Swift, Penistone	Conv. in Parish Church '69. E.R.
"	Jeremiah Milner, Rothwell	Lic. Houghton '72. L.
"	Timothy Wood, Sandall Magna	Conv. at Wantlip, Leic. '69. E.R.
"	John Hobson, Sandall Parva	Lic. Kirk Sandall '72. L.
"	John Bonn or Boon, Settrington	Lic. his house at Coventry '73. L.
"	Henry Root, Sowerby Bridge	'He gathered a Congregational Church.' Cal.
"	Christopher Marshall, Whitkirk	'Was a Congregationalist.' Cal.
"	John Gunter, Bedale	Lic. Helauhan Manor '73. L.
"	?Matthew Hill, Thirsk	Lic. Rivington, Lanc. '72. L. (<i>Doubtful</i>)
"	?William Ashley, Rastrick, <i>silenced</i>	Lic. at Hull '72 L. (<i>Doubtful</i>)

6. LANCASHIRE (13)

1662	Thomas Jollie, Altham	Conv. at Darwen '69 E.R.; Lic. Blackburn '72 L.
"	Robert Birch, Birch Chapel	Lic. Wilmeslow '72 L.
"	Richard Astley, Blackrode	'Pastor of a Dissenting Cong. in Hull' Cal.
"	Samuel Mather, Burton Wood	Educated at Harvard Col. Cal. 'A Congl. man.' Wood
"	Gabriel Camelford, Cartmel	Lic. Furness Fell and Cartmel '72 L.
"	Samuel Eaton, Duckenfield	'Gathered a Congregational Church.' Cal.
"	James White, Melling	Lic. Monk's Coppenhall, Ches. '72 L.
"	Cuthbert Harrison, Singleton	'Had licence for Elswick Lees as Congl.' Cal.
"	William Lampitt, Ulverston	Lic. Ulverston '73 L.
"	Michael Briscoe, Walmsley	'Pastor of a Congl. Church.' Cal.
"	John Parre, Preston, <i>silenced</i>	Lic. Warrington, nr. Preston, '72 L.
"	Thomas Key or Kay, <i>silenced</i>	Lic. Entwistle, Lanc. '72 L.
"	Nicholas Smith, Tatham	Lic. Long Parish, Hants. '72 L.

II.—NORTH MIDLAND GROUP.

I. CHESHIRE (4)

1659-60	John Jones, Marple	'Of the Congl. Persuasion' Cal.
1660	George Moxon, Astbury	'Pastor of a Congl. Church in A' Cal.
1662	Thomas Harrison, Chester Cathedral	Chaplain to Henry Cromwell Cal. Lic. Chester (Ind.) '72 L.
"	John Wilson, Backford	Lic. Chester '72 L.

2. DERBYSHIRE (4)

?	Samuel Nowell, Ault-Hucknall	Lic. Ashfield, Notts. '72 L.
1662	Samuel Wright, Heynor	Lic. Castle Donnington, Leic. '73 L.
"	Samuel Charles, Mickleover	Conv. at Fildern '69 E.R.; Lic. Chesterfield '72 L.
"	Daniel Shelmerdine, Barrow-on-Trent	Conv. at Little Ireton '69 E.R. Lic. Twyford '72 L.

3. NOTTINGHAMSHIRE (6)

1661-2	John James, Flintham and Sutton	Conv. at Flintham '69 E.R.; Lic. Flintham and Notting- ham '72 L
1662	John Jackson, Bleaseby	Lic. Morton, Notts. '72 L
"	John Cromwell, Claworth	'Congl. in his judgement' Cal.
"	John Clark, Codgrave	Conv. at Basford '69 E.R.
"	John Trueman, Crumwell	Conv. at Burton Joyce '69 E.R.; Appl. for Lic. at Burton Joyce '72 L
"	Thomas Ogle, Roulston	'Congl. in his judgement' Cal.

4. LINCOLNSHIRE (9)

1660	Edward Reyner, Lincoln	'His judgement was for the Congregational way' Cal.
"	George Scortwreth, Lincoln	'Mr. Reyner's colleague' Cal*
1662	Mr. Anderson, Boston	'His principles were Congl.' Cal.
"	Robert Durant, Crowle	Lic. Sheffield '72 L
"	James Ryther, Frodingham and Bromby	Lic. Thornton, Bradford, '72 L
"	Mark Trickett, Gate Burton	Lic. Kirk Sandall Hall, Yorks '72 L
"	Robert Alford, Ludborough	Lic. Walsoken, Norf. '72 L
"	Robert Cramlinton, Manby	Lic. Tetney '72 L
"	Martyn Finch, Totney	'Pastor of a congregation in the City of Norwich' Cal.

5. RUTLAND, none

6. LEICESTERSHIRE (8)

1660	John Yaxley, Kibworth	Lic. Holborn, London, '72 L
1662	Thomas Longdale, Bowden Magna	Lic. Caldecott '72 L
"	Joseph Lee, Cottesbach	Conv. at Calthorpe '69 E.R.
"	Thomas Smith, Castle Donnington	Lic. Wanlip Grange '72 L
"	Nicholas Kestyn, Gumley	'Pastor of a Congregation in Leicester' Cal*
"	Thomas Lowrey, Harborough	Conv. at Coggeshall, Essex, '69 E.R.; Lic. at Coggeshall, '72 L
"	Richard Adams, Humberstone	Lic. Mount Sorrell '72 L
"	William Smith, Packington	Conv. at Hucklesote '69 E.R. Lic. at Castle Donnington '72 L

7. STAFFORDSHIRE (6)

1662?	Thomas Buxton, Tattenhall	Conv. at Shutlington '69 E.R.; Lic. Tamworth and Coventry '72 L
"	Thomas Bakewell, Burton-on-Trent	Conv. Burton-on-Trent '69 E.R. Lic. Burton-on-Trent and Londgon '72 L
"	Henry Bee, Hanbury	Conv. at Burton-on-Trent '69 E.R. Lic. Stapenhill, Dorset '72 L
"	William Turton, Rowley	Conv. at Wednesbury '69 E.R.
"	Richard Hinks, Tipton	Lic. Darlaston and Stafford '72 L
"	William Fincher, Wednesbury	'A moderate Independent' Cal. Conv. at Wednesbury '69 E.R.

8. SALOP (7)

1660	Rowland Nevet, Oswestry	Conv. at Oswestry '69 E.R.; Lic. Weston and Oswestry '72 L
"	Samuel Campion, Hodnet	Conv. at Nuneaton and Brainton, Warwick '69 E.R.

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1662	Titus Thomas, Aston	'Fixed pastor of a Congl. Church at Salop' Pal.
"	Timothy Thomas, Morton	Lic. Sweeney '73 L
"	Henry Maurice, Stretton	Lic. Acton Round '73 L
"	Thomas Quarrell, Oswestry, <i>not fixed</i>	'First pastor at the Cong Church at Shrewsbury' Pal.
"	William Phipps, <i>silenced</i>	Lic. Marton '72 L

III.—SOUTH-MIDLAND GROUP.

1. HEREFORDSHIRE (1)

1662	John Skinner, Weston Panyard	Lic. Clearwell, Glos. '72 L
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2. WORCESTERSHIRE (6)

1660	John Spilsbury, Bromsgrove	Lic. Bromsgrove '72 L
?	Simon Moor, Worcester Cathedral	'Baxter says he was an old Independent' Pal.
1662	John [<i>Cal.</i> William] Westmacote, Crophorne	Lic. Broadway '72 L
"	Richard Fincher, Worcester All Saints and St. Nicholas	'Pastor of a Congregation in London' Cal*
"	Thomas Juice, Worcester St. Martin's	'Pastor of a Congregation at Reading' Cal*
"	John Ward, Harrington	Lic. Eekington '72 L

3. WARWICKSHIRE (4)

1660	Josiah Basset, Exhall	'Pastor of a congregation at Woolwich' Cal*
1662	Jonathan Grew, Caldecote	'Pastor of a congregation at St. Albans, Herts' Cal*
"	Samuel Basnet, Coventry St. Michaels	'A small number of people here, being Congregational, chose him for their pastor' Cal.
"	Anthony Collier, Whitacre	(? Abel C., Lic. Coventry '72) L

4. NORTHANTS (11)

1660	John Baynard, Burton Latimer	Lic. Isham '72 L
1662	Nathaniel Whiting, Aldwinkle	Lic. at Cranford and Tichmarsh '73 L
"	Strickland Negus, Chester (? Irchester)	Lic. Wellingborough '72 L
"	Richard Hook, Creaton	Lic. Northampton '72 L
"	Thomas Browning, Desborough	Member of Congl. Church at Coggeshall; aft. pastor at Rothwell Pal. Lic. Rothwell '72 L
"	John Maidwell, Kettering	Lic. Kettering '72 L
"	Richard Resbury, Oundle	Lic. Oundle '72 L
"	John Courtman, Thorp Malzover	Lic. Thorpe Malzover '73 L
"	Vincent Alsop, Wilby	Lic. Geddington '72 L
"	William Lloyd, Woodford	Lic. Ipswich '72 L
"	John Fido, Whittlebury	'Was strictly Congregational in his judgement' Cal.

5. GLOUCESTERSHIRE (16)

1660	James Forbes, Gloucester Cathedral	'In judgement a strict Calvinist and Congregational' Cal.
1660	John Dunce, Hasleton	Lic. Bourton-on-the-Water '72 L
"	Richard Flavel, Willersbury	Father of John Flavel, of Dartmouth. Cal*

1660-61	Increase Mather, Gloucester	'Student and afterwards president of Harvard's Col., N.E. Some time asst. to John Howe' Cal*
1661-2	Anthony Palmer, Bourton-on-the-Water	'Of the Congl. Persuasion' Cal. Lic. London Bridge '73 L
1662	Francis Harris, Deerhurst	Lic. Painswick '72 L
"	Jonathan Smith, Hempsted	Lic. Tetbury '73 L
"	William Becket, Compton	Lic. Winchcombe '73 L
"	Thomas Smith, Longhope	Lic. Longhope '73 L ? if Baptist
"	William Davison, Notgrave	Lic. Tewkesbury '73 L 'Pastor of a cong. in Camlden' Cal*
"	William Tray, Oddington	Lic. Oddington '73 L
"	William Beale, Stow-on-the-Wold	Lic. Cripplegate, London '73 L
"	Francis Haine, Thornbury	Lic. Dursley '72 L
"	Edward Rogers, Westcot	'Died pastor of a congregation at Chelmsford' Cal*
"	Camshaw Helmes, Winchcombe	Fifth Monarchy man: 'Hath a great influence upon the gathered churches' — Spy Book, Transactions V. 249
"	Joshua Head, Bishop's Cleeve	'Of the Baptist denomination' Cal. Lic. Bishop's Cleeve '73 L

6. OXFORDSHIRE (13)

1660	Dr. Ralph Button, Oxford, Canon of Christ Church	Conv. at Kingston '69 E.R.
"	Dr. George Porter, do. do.	'A sort of Independent' Cal.
"	Dr. John Singleton, Oxford, Student of Christ Church	'Pastor of Independent church at Coventry' Cal.
"	Thomas Sayer, Oxford, Corpus Christi College	Lic. Gracechurch Street, London '72 L
"	Thankful Owen, Oxford, President of St. John's College	Chosen to succeed Dr. Goodwin Cal*
"	Dr. Thomas Goodwin, Oxford, President of Magdalen College	'Formed a church on the Independent plan' Cal.
"	Thophilus Gale, Oxford, Fellow of Magdalen College	Successor of John Rowe Cal*
"	Humphrey Gunter, Oxford, Fellow of Magdalen College	Conv. at Pusey '69 E.R.
"	Thomas Cole, Oxford, St. Mary's Hall	Lic. at Henley '72 L 'Took charge of a large cong. in London' Cal.
"	Francis Johnson, Oxford, University College	'One of Oliver's chaplains' Cal* Lic. in Gray's Inn Lane, London '73 L
1662	Stephen Ford, Chipping Norton	'Pastor of Congl. church in Miles Lane, London' Cal. Lic. there '73 L
"	William Smith, Swinbrook	Lic. Child's Wickham, Glos. '72 L
"	Robert Rogers, Silsam	'Abettor of Conv. at Hungerford' '69 E.R. Lic. Oxford '72 L

7. BUCKS (1)

1660	Henry Goodeare or Goodyear, Hambledon	'Dr. W. says he was an Independent' Cal.
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40 Particulars of Congregationalist Ministers

IV.—EASTERN COUNTIES.

1. HUNTINGDONSHIRE (2)
- 1662 James Bedford, Bluntisham Son of James Bedford Inde. Cal.
 „ Oliver Scott, Cherry Orton Conv. at Toft '69 E.R. Lic. Ashwell '72 L
2. BEDFORDSHIRE (2)
- 1660 Samuel Fairclough, Houghton Conquest Lic. at Chippenham '72 L
 1662 John Donne, Pertenhall Lic. at Keysoe L
3. HERTFORDSHIRE (7)
- 1660 William Haworth, St. Albans, (St. Peter's) 'Lived with a congregation at Hertford' Cal.
 „ John Wilson, Kimpton Lic. Little Hallingbury '72 L
 „ Isaac Bedford, Willion Lic. Clifton, Beds. '72 L
 1661 Nathaniel Eeles, Harpenden Lic. Harpenden '73 L
 1662 Nathaniel Partridge, St. Albans, (St. Michael's) Conv. in Old Street, London '69 E.R. Lic. in Old Street '72 L
 „ William Sherwin, Baldock Conv. at Chipping Barnet 69 E.R.
 „ William Tutty, Totteridge Lic. Cheshunt '72 L
4. CAMBRIDGESHIRE (11)
- 1660 Francis Holcroft, Camb. Fellow of Clare Hall 'Of the Congregational judgement' Cal.
 „ — Wildbore, do. do. ? i.e. Mr. Wilborne Conv. Yarmouth '69 E.R.
 „ Robert Brinsley, Emmanuel College, Camb. Lic. Dedham '73 L
 „ James Day, do. do. 'Pastor to part of Holcroft's people' Cal. Lic. March '72 L
 1661 Dr. Hutcheson, Camb. Fellow of Trinity College 'Congregational in his judgement' Cal.
 1662 Joseph Oddy, do. 'Asst. to Mr. Holcroft' Cal. Conv. in var. places '69 E.R.
 „ Samuel Corbyn, do. 'Of the Congregational denomination' Cal.
 „ Robert Ekins, Camb. do. Lic. Twywell, Northants. '73 L
 „ Samuel Ponder, do. do. 'Concerned in Mr. Holcroft's ordination' Cal.
 „ Thomas Lock, do. do. Conv. at Meldreth '69 E.R. Lic. there '72 L
 „ Nathaniel Alcock, do. do. Lic. Ford End, Beds. '72 L
5. NORFOLK (30)
- 1660 William Sheldrake, Reepham Conv. Guestwick, etc. '69 E.R. Lic. Yarmouth '72 L
 1660? John Cory, Walcot Lic. Norwich '73 L
 1662 Robert Purt, Barford Conv. at Wood Norton '69 E.R. Lic. Barford '72 L
 „ John Lougher, Beconthorp 'Became minister of a Congl. Church' Cal.
 „ Christopher Amyrault, Buckenham 'Pastor of a Congl. Church' Cal.
 „ Thomas Worts, Burningham 'Pastor of a congregation at Guestwick' Cal.

1662	James Gedney, Carlton	Conv. at Bunwell '69 E.R.
"	Thomas Lawson, Denton	Conv. at Norton and Bury St. Edmunds '69 E.R. Lic. Norton '73 L
"	Richard More, Diss	Conv. at Diss '69 E.R.
"	Richard Vine or Vin, Drayton	Lic. Stratton St. Michael '72 L
"	Richard Worts, Foulsham and Guestwick	'Pastor of a Congl. Church' Pal.
"	John Hooker, Greatwich	Conv. at Wood Norton '69 E.R.
"	Thomas Newman, Heydon	Lic. Cawston '72 L
"	Paul Amyrault, Mundesley	Brother of Christopher A. (C)
"	Robert Bidbank, Mundesley	Conv. at Wood Norton '69 E.R.
"	Israel Shipdam, Nayton	Lic. Oxwick '73 L
"	Thomas Allen, Norwich (St. George)	'Pastor of the Cong. Church there' Pal.
"	Enoch Woodward do. do.	Conv. at Norwich '69 E.R. Lic. Norwich '72 L
"	John Hasbart, do. do.	
"	Thomas Benton, Pulham	Conv. Bury St. Edmunds '69 E.R. Lic. Wattisfield '72 L
"	William Bidbank, Scotto	'Pastor of a Cong. at Denton, Cal'
"	John Lucas, Stalham	Conv. Yarmouth '69 E.R. Lic. Norwich '72 L
"	Thomas Benton, junr., Stratton St. Michael	
"	John Green, senr., Tipton (? Tibenham)	Conv. at Trunch '69 E.R. Lic. Dickleboro' '72 L
"	Richard Lawrence, Trunch	'Assistant to M. Mead at Stepney' 'Solicited to succeed Dr. Owen' Cal'
"	John Green, junr., Tunstead	'Moderately Congregational in his judgement' Cal.
"	John Mony, Wymondham	Conv. at Beshorpe, etc. '69 E.R. Lic. Wymondham '72 L
"	William Bridge, Yarmouth	'He was strictly Congl.' Cal.
1662 or 3	John Horne, Lynn (All Hallows)	Conv. at Lynn '69 E.R. Lic. at Lynn '72 L
1663	Job Tookie, Yarmouth	'Gathered a Congl. Church' Cal.

6. SUFFOLK (28)

1661	Samuel Peyto, Sandcroft	'Pastor of a congregation at Sudbury' Cal'
1662	Thomas Waterhouse, Ash Bocking	Appl. for licence '72 L
"	Thomas Holborough, Battisford	Conv. at Battlesden '69 E.R. Lic. Battisford '72 L
"	Robert Ottie, Beccles	'Was Congl. in his judgement' Cal.
"	Robert Smith, Blythborough	Lic. Westleton '72 L
"	Thomas Taylor, Bury St. Edmunds	Succeeded Mr. Holcroft at Cambridge Cal'
"	John King, Debenham	'A Congregationalist' Cal.
"	Thomas Spatchett, Dunwich	Lic. Cookley '72 L
"	Edward Barker, Eye	'Receiving assistance from some Congregational ministers, he fell in with them' Cal. Lic. Yarmouth '72 L
"	Francis Crow, Hundon	Pastor at Clare, wh. was a Congregational Church Cal' Conv. at Bury St. Edmunds '69 E.R.
"	Benjamin Stoneham, Ipswich	'Became pastor of a Gathered Church' Cal'
"	Samuel Fairclough, Keddington	Lic. Chippenham, Camb. '72 L

42 Particulars of Congregationalist Ministers

1662	Edmund Whincop, Layston	'Pastor of a Congl. Church at Watisfield' Cal.
"	John Stronghler, St. Margarets	Lic. Cookley '73 L
"	William Manning, Middleton	Lic. Peasenhall '73 L
"	Thomas James, Needham Market	'Of the Congl. persuasion' Cal.
"	John Manning, Peasenhall	Lic. Peasenhall '72 L
"	Samuel Habergham, Syleham	'Of the Congregational way' Cal.
"	Joseph Waite†, Sprowton	Elder of Mr. Holcroft's church Cal*
"	Robert Asty, Stratford	Conv. var. pl. '69 E.R. Lic. Bury St. Edmunds '73 L
"	John Starke, Stradbrook	Lic. Syleham, Wingfield, etc. '72 L
"	William Folkes, Sudbury	Succeeded Owen Stockton at Colchester. Cal*
"	Samuel Manning, Walpole	'Founded the dissenting interest there' (which was always Congregational). Pal* Lic. there '73 L
"	Frederick Woodall, Woodbridge	'A strict Independent' Cal.
"	William Ames, Wrentham	'Of the Independent denomination' Cal.
"	Augustine Plumstead, Wrentham	'Pastor of a Congl. church' Cal.
"	Zephaniah Smith, Wickham Market	Lic. Stepney '73 L
"	? Nathaniel Fairfax, Willisham	Younger brother to John F. of Barking. Cal*

7. ESSEX (14)

1660	Geo. Moxon, junr., Radwinter	Son of G. Moxon of Cheshire. Cal*
"	John Cole, Wethersfield	In gaol for pr. at Wethersfield '69 E.R. Lic. there '72 L
1662	Samuel Brinsley, Althamston	Lic. at Dedham '72 L
"	John Samms, Coggeshall	Succeeded Dr. John Owen and 'Gathered a church' Cal* Conv. at Coggeshall '69 E.R. Lic. there '72 L.
"	Owen Stockton, Colchester (St. Andrew's)	Conv. Colchester, etc. '69 E.R. Lic. Colchester '72 L
"	William Sparrow, Halstead	'Early in declaring for the Congl. discipline' Cal.
"	John Warren, Hatfield Broad Oak	Conv. Hatfield '69 E.R. Lic. Hatfield Regis '73 L
"	Henry Havers, Stambourne	Conv. Stambourne '69 E.R. Lic. Ipswich '72 L
"	Thomas Clark, Stisted	Lic. Dunmow '72 L
"	Richard Rand, Mark's Tey	'Pastor of a congregation at Little Baddow' Cal* Lic. Hoxtead '72 L
"	John Stalham, Terling	'Of strict Congl. principles' Cal.
"	Dr. Leonard Hoar, Wanstead	Of Harvard College; afterwards-president there. Pal*
"	James Small, Yaxley	Chaplain to Lord Massarone in succession to Howe
"	Henry Lukin, <i>silenced</i>	Lic. Matching '72 L

V.—SOUTH-EASTERN GROUP.

I. BERKS. (3)

1660	Hezekiah Woodward, Bray	'Walker says he was a violent Independent' Cal.
"	Dr. James Baron, Hendred	'One of the publishers of Dr. Goodwin's works' Cal*
1662	? Daniel Reyner, Purley	(Probably some relation of Edward R.)

† John Browne, in his *History of Congregationalism in Norfolk and Suffolk*, p. 150, questions the accuracy of Calamy's statement as to his ejection.

2. MIDDLESEX (7)

1660	Thomas Elford, Acton	'A moderate Independent' Cal
"	Thomas Gilbert, Ealing	'The first of the ministers that suffered deprivation in the cause of Nonconformity'; see his epitaph Cal' Lic. Oxford '72 L
1662	Edward Swift, Edgware	'Was led away with the Fifth Monarchy notion' Cal
"	Edward Terry, Gt. Greenford	Conv. at Chalfont St. Giles '69 E.R. Lic. Chalfont '72 L. Assistant to Chauncey at Mark Lane.
"	Francis Wareham, Hendon	Lic. at Cheshunt '72 L
"	Matthew Mead, Shadwell	Assistant and successor to Greenhill at Stepney. Cal' Conv. at Stepney and Wapping '69 E.R.
"	William Greenhill, Stepney	One of the Dissenting Brethren at the Westminster Assembly Cal' Conv. at Stepney '69 E.R. Lic. Wapping '72 L

2A. LONDON (28)

1660	Samuel Dyer, All Hallows on the Wall	'Congregational in his judgment' Cal.
"	Henry Jessey, St. George's, Southwark	'Succeeded Lothrop as pastor of H. Jacob's church' Cal
"	Philip Nye, St. Bartholomew Exchange	'One of the dissenting brethren.' 'Had a principal hand in arranging the meeting at the Savoy (1658)' Cal
"	Nicholas Lockyer, St. Bene't Sherehog	Conv. Spitalfields, '69 E.R.
"	John Rowe, Westminster Abbey	'Pastor of the cong. which Mr Strong had gathered' Cal
"	William Hook, The Savoy	Lic. to pr. in Spital-Yard '72 L
"	Jeremiah White	'Household chaplain to Oliver Cromwell' Cal
"	George Griffith, Charter House	'An Independent in principle' Cal.
"	Thomas Brooks, St. Margaret, New Fish Street	'Gathered a church in the Cong. way' Cal.
"	William Bereman, St. Thomas, Southwark	Conv. in Mill Lane, Southwark '69 E.R. Lic. Leadenhall St. '72 L
"	Mr. Cobb, do. do.	Spy Book, see Trans., v. 247
1662	Robert Bragg, All Hallows the Great	'Gathered a church of wh. he contd. pastor, etc.' Cal
"	John Loder, St. Bartholomew Exchange	Lic. (asst. to Nye) in Cherry Tree Alley '72 L
"	Samuel Lee, St. Botolph, Bishopgate	'Min. of an indept. cong. at Newington Green, Cal.
"	John Biscoe, St. George, Southwark	Lic. West Wickham, Berks '72 L
"	Richard Kentish, St. Katharine, Tower	Conv. at Wapping '69 E.R. Lic. Wapping '72 L
"	John Hodges, do. do.	Lic. in Bethnal Green '72 L
"	Matthew Barker, St. Leonard's, Eastcheap	Lic. Duke's Place '72 L
"	Joseph Caryl, St. Magnus	'A moderate Independent' Cal.
"	Dr. Nathaniel Holmes, St. Mary Staining	Lic. Horseshoe Alley, Moorfields '72 L
"	Thomas Mallery, St. Michael's, Crooked Lane	Colleague with Carter
"	Mr. Carter, do. do.	Conv. Colnbrook '69 E.R. Lic. Southwark '72 L

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1662	Ralph Venning, St. Olave, Southwark	Lic. Eastcheap '72 L
"	George Cockayne, St. Pancras, Soper Lane	'Pastor of a Congl. church in the City' Cal.
"	Samuel King, <i>silenced</i>	Lic. 'genl. Congl. teacher' '73 L
"	Richard Wavel, <i>silenced</i>	'Of Congl. principles' Cal.
"	John Goodwin, (<i>disqualified</i>)	'An Independent' Pal.
"	Dr. John Owen, <i>silenced</i>	'Considered the Congl. plan most agreeable to the New Test.' Cal.

3. KENT (10)

1660	John Durant, Canterbury Cathedral	Conv. in Canterbury '69 E.R. Lic. for Almshouse Hall, C. '72 L
1662	Charles Nichols, Adisham and Barming	Conv. at Sandwich '69 E.R. Lic. Adisham '72 L
"	Joseph Osborne, Benenden	Lic. Brighton '72 L
"	Thomas Ventress, Canterbury, St. Margaret's	'Gathered a congregation' Cal* Lic. Canterbury '73 L
"	William Rolls, Folkestone	Lic. Pinner, Middlesex '72 L
"	Robert Ferguson, Godmersham	'Was asst. to Dr. Owen' Cal*
"	? Edward Rawson, Horsmonden	'Walker says he was a New England man and a violent Presbyterian; wh. if true is a little peculiar' Cal.
"	Thomas Hemmings, Lydd	Lic. Dalehurst '72 L
"	Joseph Whiston, Maidstone	'Congregational in his judge- ment' Cal.
"	Edward Alexander, Wickham	Lic. St. Martin Orgar's, Lond. '72 L

4. SURREY (2)

1660	James Fisher, Fetcham	Conv. at Dorking '69 E.R. Lic. Dorking '72 L
1662	David Clarkson, Mortlake	Co-pastor and successor of Dr. J. Owen Pal.

5. SUSSEX (13)

1660	Henry Godman, Radmill	'Pastor to a congregation at Deptford' Cal*
1662	Richard Garrett, Bar Lavington	Conv. at Stedham, Midhurst, etc. '69 E.R. Lic. Midhurst '72 L
"	Richard Wilson, Billingshurst	Conv. Thakeham '69 E.R.
"	John Abbott, Fishbourn	Lic. West Stoke '73 L
"	John Ridge, Funtington	Lic. Hayling Island '73 L
"	Christopher Snell, East Grinstead	Conv. East Grinstead '69 E.R. Lic. there '72 L
"	John Lover, Hailsham	Conv. Hailsham and Brighton '69 E.R. Lic. Hailsham and Lewes '72 L
"	Robert Park, Lavant	'Congregational in his judge- ment' Cal.
"	Walter Postlethwaite, Lewes, St. Michael's	'Congregational in his judge- ment' Cal.
"	John Stonestreet, Lindfield	'One of the Congl. ministers who met at the Savoy' Cal.
"	? Henry Staples, South Stoke	
"	John Crouch, Lewes	Lic. Lewes and Whites Alley, Cripplegate '73 L
"	John Willis, Wool Lavington	Lic. Chichester '72 L

6. HAMPSHIRE (12)

1660	Henry Coxe, Bishopstoke	'Congregational in his judgement' Cal.
"	John Crofts, Mottistone	Chaplain to Lady Lisle at Moyle's Court '69 E.R. Lic. Newton Tony, Wilts '72 L
"	Urian (? Urijah) Oakes, Tichfield	'Of the Independent denomination' Pal.
1662	John Yates, Binstead (Alton)	Lic. Binstead '72 L
"	John Hook, Kingsworthy	'Pastor of a Dissenting Cong. at Basingstoke' Cal
"	Richard Upjohn, Ripley	Lic. Weston, Southampton '72 L
"	Nathaniel Robinson, Southampton	Lic. Southampton and Romsey '72 L
"	All Saints	'Pastor of a cong. of Dissenters. Cal'
"	Giles Say, Southampton, St. Michael's	Conv. at Southampton '69 E.R. Lic. at Southampton '72 L
"	Richard Symonds, South Week	'Colleague with U. Oakes Pal.
"	John Martin, Yarmouth, I. of Wight	Lic. Yarmouth, I.W. '72 L
"	Samuel Sprint, South Tidworth	Conv. at Andover '69 E.R. Lic. Lower Claford '72 L
"	George Whitemarsh, Rowner	Conv. Gosport '69 E.R. Lic. Gosport '72 L

VI.—SOUTH-WESTERN COUNTIES.

1. WILTSHIRE (10)

1660	Dr. Thomas Baylie, Mildenhall	'Had a private congregation: Dr. W. says he was a Fifth Monarchy man' Cal
"	William Troughton, Salisbury, St. Martin's	Lic. Bristol '72 L
"	John Barcroft, Broughton	'He was a warm Independent' Cal.
"	Thomas Taylor, Burbage	Conv. at Newton Tony, etc. '69 E.R.
1662	Obadiah Wills, Alton Priors	Lic. at Devizes '72 L
"	John Frayling, Compton	Conv. at Devizes '69 E.R. Lic. there '72 L
"	William Hughes, Marlborough	Gathered a church after ejection' Cal' Conv. there '69 E.R. Lic. there '72 L
"	John Oldham, Newton	'Pastor of a small congregation of Dissenters at Wotton-under-Edge' Cal'
"	William Eyre, Salisbury	'Schismatically inclined' Dr. W.
"	Phillip Hunton, Westbury	Conv. at Westbury '69 E.R. Lic. there '72 L

2. SOMERSET (6)

1662	Jeremiah Littlejohn, Bratton Seymour	Conv. at North Cheriton '69 E.R. Lic. North Cadbury '72 L
"	William Thomas, Bristol, <i>silenced</i>	
"	George Pearse, North Curry	Conv. at Stoke St. Mary and Bridgwater '69 E.R. Lic. North Cheriton '72 L
"	Thomas Willis, Heathfield	Lic. Pitney and Montacute '72 L
"	? Jeremiah French, South Parrett	Conv. at Crewkerne and Marriott '69 E.R. Appl. for lic. Bradford Abbas. '72 L
"	Henry Butler, Yeovil	Conv. Kingsbury, Yeovil, etc. '69 E.R. Lic. Yeovil and Maiden Bradley '72 L

46 Particulars of Congregationalist Ministers

3. DORSET (10)

1660	William Allein or Allen, Blandford	'Gathered a church here' 1658 Cal. Conv. at Horningham, etc. '69 E.R.
"	John Eaton, Bridport	Lic. Templecombe '72 L
1662	Philip Lamb, Bere Regis	'Invited by a congregation at Clapham' Cal. Lic. East Morden '73 L
"	William Benn, Dorchester	Conv. at Fordington '69 E.R. Lic. Dorchester '72 L
"	Joshua Churchill, Fordington	Conv. at Fordington '69 E.R. Lic. Dorchester '73 L
"	Richard Down, Tarrant Monkton	Lic. Bridport '72 L
"	Robert Bartlet, Over Compton	'Of the Congl. persuasion' Cal. Conv. at O. Compton '69 E.R. Lic. there '72 L
"	Benjamin Way, West Stafford	Lic. Dorchester '72 L
"	George Thorne, Weymouth and Radipole	Lic. Weymouth and Melcombe '72 L
"	John Wesley, Whitchurch	Conv. at North Cheriton, Som. '69 E.R.

4. DEVON (18)

1660	Lewis Stuckley, Exeter Cathedral	Gathered a church in the Congregational way' Cal.
"	Thomas Mall, do.	Conv. in Exeter '65, and at Cruwys Morchard '69 E.R. Lic. South Molton '72 L
"	William Bailey, Stoke Fleming	
"	Theophilus Polwheile, Tiverton	Conv. at Tiverton '65; conv. at Cruwys Morchard '69 E.R.; lic. Tiverton '72 L
"	Nathaniel Mather, Barnstaple	'Pastor of a Congl. church' Cal.
"	William Bartlett, Bideford	Author of <i>The Model of the Congregational way</i> . Cal.
"	John Bartlet, Fremington	'Contracted a most endearing intimacy with Mr. Howe' Cal. Lic. Bideford '73 L
1662	Bartholomew Ashwood, Axminster	Lic. Axminster '72 L
"	Oliver Peard, Barnstaple	Lic. Barnstaple '72 L
"	James Burdwood, Dartmouth, St. Petrock's	Conv. at Dartmouth '65 E.R. Lic. Bigbury '72 L
"	Allan Geare do. St. Saviour	Intimate friend of John Howe Cal.
"	John Flavel do. St. Clement's	Conv. at Dartmouth '65 E.R. Lic. there '72 L
"	Thomas Powell, Exeter, St. Sidwell's	'He was of the Congl. persuasion' Cal.
"	Thomas Down, do. St. Edmund's	(Died 1665)
"	John Howe, Great Torrington	Member of Goodwin's 'gathered church' while at Oxford. Cal.
"	Thomas Wellman, Luppitt	Lic. Stout, '72 L
"	Ralph Spragge (or Sprake)	Associated with L. Stuckley, etc. Cal.
"	Thomas Martyn, Plymouth	Lic. Plymouth '72 L

5. CORNWALL, none

VIIA.—WALES, NORTH.

1. ANGLESEY, none

2. CARNARVON (1)

1662	John Williams, <i>silenced</i>	Lic. Tynnycoed, Langlan '72 L
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3. DENBIGH (3)
- | | | |
|------|----------------------------|--|
| 1662 | William Jones, Denbigh | Lic. Plas Teg '72 L |
| " | Richard Taylor, Holt | 'Pastor of a congregation at Barking' Cal* |
| " | Jonathan Roberts, Llanfair | Lic. Llanfair '72 L |
4. FLINT, *none*
5. MERIONETH (1)
- | | | |
|------|----------------------------|----------------------|
| 1662 | Hugh Owen, <i>silenced</i> | Lic. Llanegryn '72 L |
|------|----------------------------|----------------------|
6. MONTGOMERY (1)
- | | | |
|------|----------------------|----------------------|
| 1662 | Hugh Rogers, Newtown | Lic. Welshpool '72 L |
|------|----------------------|----------------------|

VIII.—WALES, SOUTH.

7. CARDIGAN (5)
- | | | |
|------|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1660 | Charles Price, Cardigan | Lic. Hammersmith '72 L |
| 1662 | David Jones, Llanbadarnfawr | Lic. Pencarreg '72 L |
| " | Evan Hughes, Llandeiriog | Lic. Cellan '72 L |
| " | John Hanmer, <i>silenced</i> | 'Preached to a private cong.' Cal. |
| " | Morgan Howell, <i>silenced</i> | Lic. Llanbadarn Odwyn '72 L |
8. RADNOR (2)
- | | | |
|------|---------------------------------|---|
| 1662 | John Weaver, Knell | Minister of a small congregation at Hereford Cal* |
| " | Richard Swaine, <i>silenced</i> | Reported at Clyro '65 E.R. |
9. BRECKNOCK, *none*
10. PEMBROKE (3)
- | | | |
|------|--|------------------------------|
| 1660 | Peregrine Phillips,
Llangon and Fresthorp | Lic. Haverfordwest '72 L |
| 1662 | Adam Hawkins, St. Ismael's | Mentioned in E.R. '65 |
| " | John Luntley, Llanstadwell | 'Aest. to Mr. Phillips' Cal* |
- II. CARMARTHEN (2)
- | | | |
|------|------------------------|------------------------|
| 1662 | James Davies, Merthyr | Lic. Cardigan '72 L |
| " | Stephen Hughes, Mydrym | Lic. Llanstephan '72 L |

* Palmer says: 'Served the Congregation at Kellan.'

48 Particulars of Congregationalist Ministers

12. GLAMORGAN (7)

1660	John Powell, St. Lythan's	Conv. at Eglwysilan, etc. '69 E.R. Lic. Newport '73 L
1661	Daniel Higgs, Rhossilly	Pastor of a Dissenting Cong. at Swansea' Cal'
1662	Henry Williams, Llantrissant	Lic. Merthyr Tydvil '73 L
"	William Thomas, St. Mary Church	Conv. at Merthyr Tydvil, Llan- trissant, etc. '69 E.R.
"	Marmaduke Matthews, Swansea	Lic. Swansea '73 L
"	Robert Thomas, Baglan, <i>silenced</i>	Conv. at Baglan '69 E.R. Lic. there '73 L
"	Jacob Christopher, Maudlins, <i>silenced</i>	Lic. Kenfig '73 L

13. MONMOUTH (9)

1660	Mr. Rogers, Caerwent	Conv. at Newport '69 E.R.
"	Walter Prosser, Tredonock	Conv. at Newport and Llangibi '69 E.R.
1662	George Robinson, Caerleon	Lic. Llantrissant '73 L
"	Owen Morgan, Llanaferyn	Lic. Bagulldy '73 L
"	Walter Williams, Llanvapley	Conv. at Llangibi '69 E.R. Lic. there '73 L
"	Thomas Barnes, Magor	Conv. at Caerleon '69 E.R. Lic. Magor '73 L
"	Henry Walker, Newport	Conv. at Caerleon '69 E.R. Lic. Park-y-pll, Caerleon '73 L
"	William Milman, Trelech	Conv. at Llangwv '69 E.R. Lic. there '73 L
"	Watkin Jones, <i>not settled</i>	'Chosen pastor of a Dissenting Congregation' Cal.'

VIII.—ADDENDA.

1662	John Collins, Chaplain to Genl. Monk	'Pastor of a considerable Inde- pendent ch. in London' Cal.
"	John Faldo, Army Chaplain	'Pastor of a congregation in London' Cal'
"	Francis Mence, not settled	Lic. Fareham '73 L
"	John Evans, Itinerant in Wales	'Pastor of an Independent ch. at Wrexham' Cal.

SUMMARY.

NORTHERN COUNTIES :	Northumberland 6 ; Cumberland 6 ; Westmoreland 0 ; Durham 0 ; Yorkshire 18 ; Lan- cashire 13	- - - - -	43
NORTH MIDLANDS :	Cheshire 4 ; Derbyshire 4 ; Nottingham- shire 6 ; Lincolnshire 9 ; Leicestershire 8 ; Rutland 0 ; Staffordshire 6 ; Salop 7	- - - - -	44
SOUTH MIDLANDS :	Herefordshire 1 ; Worcestershire 6 ; Warwickshire 4 ; Northants 11 ; Gloucestershire 16 ; Oxfordshire* 13 ; Bucks 1	- - - - -	52

ejected in 1660 and 1662 49

EASTERN COUNTIES: Huntingdonshire 2; Bedfordshire 2; Herts 7; Cambridgeshire* 11; Norfolk 30; Suffolk 28; Essex 14	94
SOUTH-EASTERN COUNTIES: Berkshire 3; Middlesex 7; London (including Southwark) 28; Kent 10; Surrey 2; Sussex 13; Hants (including Isle of Wight) 12	75
SOUTH-WESTERN COUNTIES: Wilts 10; Somerset (including Bristol) 6; Dorset 10; Devon 18; Cornwall 0	44
WALES: Northern Counties 6; Southern Counties 19; Monmouthshire 9	34
CALAMY'S ADDENDA	4
	Total 360

Particulars obtained from Calamy—direct statements	77
" " " indirect, or implication	58
" " Palmer's additions to Calamy	16
" " Original Records	222
" " various and doubtful cases	17
	Total 390

As nearly as can be ascertained, 85 of these were ejected by the legislation of 1660, and the remaining 305 by the Act of Uniformity.

[The figures in the summary, since revised, differ very slightly from those in the paper. It seems likely that a considerable number of men of whom Calamy and Palmer give no particulars, and whose names do not appear in the Episcopal Returns or Licence Documents, were also Congregationalists.—*Ed.*]

* Including the Universities.

A Note on Penry's Last Years

IN Mr. Champlin Burrage's valuable volumes on *The Early English Dissenters*, he refers (vol. i, p. 151) to two so-called letters of Penry's, published by a later editor in the sixth edition (1661) of Ephraim Paget's *Heresiography*: the first "written from Edinburgh in Scotland Apr. 30 In 34th of the Queen," *i.e.*, in 1592; and the second "written also from Edinburgh in Scotland March 1 In 33th of the Queen," *i.e.*, in 1591*; and he remarks that these two dates "entirely invalidate" the opinion expressed in my article on "The Last Years of Penry," published in the *Transactions*, Sept., 1907. As it appears to me that Mr. Burrage does not fully bear in mind what those opinions are, as expressed in the article and repeated in somewhat more detail in my volume *John Penry and other Heroes*, I may perhaps be allowed succinctly to present them again.

1. I start with the definite entry in the Calendar of State Papers (Scotland): "Dec. 18, 1590, Penry departed," corroborated by the letter of Robert Bowes, preserved in our Record Office. With this letter a varied correspondence between England and Scotland, bearing on the pursuit and threatened seizure of Penry in Scotland, closes. The correspondence drops, Penry appears no more. I do not regard it as permissible that we should brush these statements aside, or leave them simply

* Queen Elizabeth's regnal year commences 17th November.

and conveniently unmentioned. I think we should accept them as historic statements of fact.

2. Doing this, the two questions as to how far the departure extended, and what length of time it lasted, are matters for surmise and argument. I suggested, for reasons which I gave, a first halt at Newcastle-on-Tyne, just over the border.

3. At this point there is one clear fact calling for special attention. In the tender letter written by Penry "from close prison—this 10th of 4th month of April 1593" to his four daughters, to be read "when they come to years of discretion," he reminds them: "Shew yourselves helpful and kind unto the people of Scotland, where I, your mother, and *a couple of you* lived as strangers," etc. "The eldest," he says, "is not yet four years old, the youngest not four months." The eldest, therefore, was born not earlier than April, 1589. The only reasonable conclusion in my view is that the children 1 and 2 were the two with their parents in Scotland. There is (*a*) the unnaturalness, otherwise, of their leaving behind a mere infant in arms, an only child, at the time of their flight from England. (*b*) The name given to the child: "Deliverance," has a full significance if it shared in the flight. (*c*) There is not the slightest suggestion in the letters to the daughters or the mother that one of the children had been separated from her parents during practically the whole of their married life. (*d*) On the other hand, Penry reminds his daughters that both their mother and himself had been witnesses "before them in the enduring of sufferings"; especially how their mother had for their comfort "taken bitter journeys *by sea and land*," and expresses a hope that their mother will still be able to keep them together. (*e*) And to the mother, speaking tenderly of the training of children and her past experience

in it, he says: "Especially smite not the elder wench over hard, because you know the least word will restrain her." It is surely more reasonable to suppose that the reference here is to what we should call the eldest of four, rather than the eldest of three out of the four.

4. All this, if accepted, lands us in the conclusion that wherever, at any particular time, Penry was to be found in his wanderings, there was some share of family life for him in England, after the crucial date, 18th December, 1590.

5. Mr. Burrage evidently forgets that I acknowledge this does not imply that Penry was never again in Scotland. I even give dates when such visits were either probably or certainly made; in my volume mentioning the approximate date of one of the "intercepted writings"—to use Penry's own expression for these two letters—mentioned in the Protestation, and as Mr. Burrage reminds us, preserved by the editor of Paget. I cannot doubt that Penry, in his special dangers, found safety in passing in and out between the two countries. There is the very significant sentence in Penry's letter to his wife: "Salute all ours in Scotland, upon the borders, and every way northward."

6. One pleasant consequence of this view of Penry's position, to which I still adhere, is that at once there is a removal of the almost insuperable difficulty of accounting for Penry's sudden plunge, according to the old view, at the close of 1592, from the organized Presbyterianism of Scotland into complete fellowship with the "Brethren of the Separation" in London. For this there had been preparation in his intercourse with not a few scattered brethren in various parts of England.

The questions suggested by Penry's last years are likely to be always somewhat perplexing; but for the reasons I have now given, I feel that the

dates of the two "intercepted writings," separated from one another by more than twelve months, so far from "entirely invalidating" my theories, may to a certain degree be appealed to as indirectly supporting them, and strengthening them by any suggested readjustment.

T. GASQUOINE.

Statistics of the Church of England, A.D. 1603

THE following, from MSS. in the British Museum, seem to be of some interest. The small bracketted figures in the first schedule are cancelled in the MS., and it will be seen that the actual totals (*italic*) do not agree with the summary in the MS. The Stowe MS. is not dated, but by comparison of figures appears to have been compiled about the same time as the Harleian MS.

Returns Anno 1603, from Harleian MS. 280:29, fol. 157

Diocese	Parishes	Of which im- propriate	Preachers	Of whom not graduates	Communi- cants	Recusants		
						M	W	Total
Chichester ...	250	120[112]	211[173]	38	48,325 [43,197]	109	153	262
Bristol ...	236	64	126	50	44,445	89	124	213
Sarum ...	248	109	200	—	76,630 [63,707]	—	—	171
Ely ...	141	75	112[167]	4	29,909 668]	—	—	19
Peterboro' ...	293	91	144	9	54,086	13	83	96
Exon ...	604	239	223	29	188,774	44	55	99
Gloucester ...	267	125	127	54	57,563	33	31	64
Hereford ...	313	166	81	—	62,954	152	279	431
Lichfd. & Cov.	561	259	86	23	117,256	231	419	650
Bangor ...	61	38	47	6	38,840	11	21	32
S. Asaph ...	121	19	41	5	53,188	100	150	250
Llandaff ...	177	98	50	12	37,100	—	—	381
S. Davids ...	305	100	84	15	83,322	—	—	145
Canterbury ...	262	140	201	52	52,753	18	20	38
„ Peculiars	54	17	58[56]	—	17,603	5	13	18
Rochester ...	98[90]	42[37]	76	13	18,956	11	7	18
London ...	613	189	503	—	146,857 1,572]	166	152	318
Norwich ...	1121	386	259	—	147,552	147	177	324
Oxford ...	194	88	85	13	33,527	93	141	234
Bath & Wells	412	160	163	50	84,088	50	52	102
Winton ...	362	132	220	34	58,707	149	249	398
Worcester ...	241	76	120	42	56,465	102	168	270
Lincoln ...	1255	577	920[663]	226	242,550	—	—	295
York ...	581[381]	336[267]	433	177	214,470	300	420	720
Durham ...	135	87	63	14	67,279	211	315	526
Chester ...	256	101	161	32	178,190	922	1520	2442
Carlisle ...	93	18	36	6	61,699	30	44	74
<i>Total</i>	<i>9254</i>	<i>3852</i>	<i>4830</i>	<i>904*</i>	<i>2,265,328</i>	<i>2986*</i>	<i>4593*</i>	<i>8590</i>

* These totals are incomplete.

Statistics of the Church of England, A.D. 1603 55

But the MS. summarizes this :

Prov. of Canterbury, Par.	8179	Improp.	3299
" " York, "	865	" "	542
Total	9044		3841
Prov. of Canterbury, Preachers	4100	Recusants	4750
" " York, "	693	" "	3762
	4793		8512

Of the Recusants 5087 are said to be women.

Elsewhere the results are summarized thus :

Parishes	8806
Doubled benefices	...	801
Preachers	...	4793
Recusants	...	87014, error for 8714

Churches in each Shire, from Stowe MS. 570, p. 91. No date

“The number of Churches in each Shire as they are in the book of first-fruits.”

Suffolk ...	420	London ...	99	Notts. (?) ...	179
Norfolk ...	674	Middlesex (?)	68	Northumbd. (?)	104
Cambridge ...	167	Essex ...	396	Carlisle ...	53
Hunts. (?) ...	80	Herts. ...	128	Westmoreland	24
Northants. ...	280	Southampton	253	Duresme ...	111
Leicester ...	202	<i>Illegible: looks</i>		Lancashire ...	36
Rutland ...	47	<i>like "Gerusty"</i>	12	Cheshire ...	67
Beds. (?) ...	120	Surrey ...	115	Staffdsh. ...	83
Bucks. (?) ...	240	Sussex ...	295	Derbysh. ...	109
Oxford ...	175	Devon ...	400	Salop ...	168
Lincoln ...	620	Cornwall ...	159	Herefordsh.	181
Wilts. ...	253	Kent ...	371	Menevia Dioc.	331
Berks. (?) ...	140	Gloucester ...	246	Llandaff Dioc.	165
Dorset ...	246	Warwick ...	162	Asaph Dioc.	165
Worcester ...	152	Somerset ...	384	Bangor Dioc.	92
Bristol (?) ...	17	York ...	459		

Total 9248.

But the total given in the MS. is 9210.

The names queried are my *conjectural* readings of the MS.

56 Statistics of the Church of England, A.D. 1603

"Net Revenues of the Bishoprics, the tenths being defalted."

Stowe MS. 570 p. 93. No date

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Canterbury ...	2,784	10	10 $\frac{1}{4}$	Gloucester ...	283	16	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
York...	1,448	19	2	Bangor ...	118	12	9
London ...	1,007	8	6	Carlisle ...	478	2	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
Winchester ...	2,242	6	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	Chichester ...	600	17	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Durham ...	1,638	19	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	Lincoln ...	828	4	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
Hereford ...	691	13	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	Exeter ...	450	0	0
Ely ...	1,921	8	7 $\frac{3}{4}$	Norwich ...	839	11	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
St. Davids ...	411	7	8 $\frac{1}{4}$	Asaph ...	168	16	4 $\frac{1}{4}$
Salisbury ...	1,230	16	6	Llandaff ...	139	5	0
Bath and Wells	480	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	Rochester ...	332	7	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
Coventry & Lich- field ...	632	18	8 $\frac{3}{4}$	Bristol ...	340	2	6
Peterborough ...	373	9	11	Oxford ...	319	6	8
Chester ...	378	1	8	Worcester ...	833	11	7 $\frac{1}{2}$

The balances differ a little from those derivable from a return of gross revenues and tenths on p. 92; which are in a different hand and notation.

White's "Century"

VERY soon after the meeting of the Long Parliament a large number of petitions were presented complaining of negligent, incompetent, and scandalous clergymen. Many of these, while sorely remiss in pastoral duty as it was understood by the Puritans, were zealous in practising and enforcing those ritual innovations which were favoured by Laud and his subordinates, in obstructing the lecturers who provided religious teaching which they were unwilling or unable to give, in maintaining doctrines not easily distinguishable from popery, and in promoting those Sunday sports and revels which the Puritans accounted sinful. Worse than this, not a few of them were men of evil life, drunken, profane, and even more seriously immoral. The parliament, in December 1640, met these complaints by appointing a committee to consider how an adequate number of preaching ministers might be provided and maintained, "and to consider of some way of removing scandalous ministers, and putting others in their place." John White, one of the members for Southwark, was chairman of this committee, which in a few months had, it is said, to deal with above two thousand petitions! Numerous benefices were sequestered from men who were proved by the testimony of witnesses—seldom less than six—to be negligent, incapable, or immoral; and men of approved character, if not always of the highest ability, were put in their places. After the outbreak of the Civil War the Scandalous Ministers Committee took cognizance of "malig-

nants," *i.e.*, ministers who shewed themselves actively hostile to the popular cause. Undoubtedly some men of blameless life suffered in this character, men who sincerely believed in the Divine Right of Absolute Monarchy. During the war, says Dr. Dale, their ejection "was a military as much as an ecclesiastical measure"; "it was as necessary to eject the Royalist clergy from their parishes as to eject the king's garrison from Colchester." Much less excusable, even as a military measure, was the attempt, in 1644, to compel the universal acceptance of the Solemn League and Covenant, and the ejection of many conscientious Episcopalians for whom such acceptance was impossible. Ejections on doctrinal grounds were not numerous; those which occurred were mostly for teaching of a high sacerdotal and Romanizing character.

How many episcopal clergymen were sequestered or deprived in the nineteen years and a half between the meeting of the Long Parliament and the fall of the Commonwealth can never be certainly known. Walker's wild guess of 8,000 or more is absurd; his own detailed statements make one fourth of that number a more reasonable estimate. But be the total more or less, the Long Parliament and Commonwealth ejections differed from that of 1662 in these important particulars: the former began in the interest of public morality, were continued in view of a supposed military necessity, and subsequently reverted to the original intention; there was no newly devised ritual or doctrinal test, and there was no thought of reprisals for the past. The motive of the latter was revenge for recent suffering; its aim to exterminate vanquished adversaries; and its method a test which it is hard to see how anyone could pass without mental reservation.

In November 1643, after the outbreak of the Civil War, but before the general imposition of the Covenant, it was thought advisable to publish a sample of the work done by the Scandalous Ministers Committee. They had already evicted several hundreds of immoral and incapable ministers; and now issued a quarto pamphlet of 59 closely printed pages, entitled :

THE
FIRST CENTURY
OF
Scandalous, Malignant
PRIESTS,
Made and admitted into Benefices by the
PRELATES, in whose hands the Ordination of
Ministers and government of the Church hath been.
OR
A Narration of the Causes for which the
PARLIAMENT hath ordered the
Sequestration of the Benefices of several Mi-
nisters complained of before them, for viciousnesse
of life, errors in Doctrine, contrary to the Articles of
our Religion, and for practising and pressing *su-
perseditious Innovations against Law, and*
for Malignancy against the
PARLIAMENT.

[T is Ordered this seventeenth day of *November*, 1643, by the Committee of the House of Commons in Parliament concerning Printing, that this Booke Intituled [*The first Century of Scandalous, Malignant Priests, &c.*] be printed by *George Miller*.

JOHN WHITE

LONDON

Printed by *George Miller*, dwelling in the *Black Friars*,
M.DC.XLIII.

To reprint the "Century" as a whole is as impossible as it is undesirable; it would be nothing less than an outrage on public decency. But it may be worth while to present the substance of it in a carefully condensed form, whereby it may be seen what manner of men the committee had to deal with. It may be added that most—nearly all—of them are charged with either open hostility or scurrilous speech against the Parliament.

These hundred men come from twelve counties, *viz.* :

Bedfordshire ...	1	Huntingdonshire	1
Buckinghamshire	1	Kent	16
Cambridgeshire	2	London & Middlesex	10
Essex	28	Surrey	4
Hampshire ...	1	Suffolk... ..	16
Hertfordshire ...	10	Sussex	10

Of the whole number, fifty-two are charged with drunkenness and profanity, and twenty-four with worse breaches of morality. Twelve of them at least, denoted by R, and including six drunkards and three more grossly immoral, were reinstated after the Restoration.

It is interesting to see how Walker treats these sufferers in his ponderous collection of *Sufferings of the Clergy*. For this purpose we may group them in five series: (a) In forty-one cases he openly or tacitly admits the charges, *viz.* : Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 25, 26, 27, 28, 31, 37, 39, 42, 43, 45, 51, 56, 57, 58, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 68, 73, 74, 89, 90, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99. (b) In twenty cases he admits the charges, but makes light of them or treats them with a sneer, *viz.* : Nos. 11, 12, 13, 14, 30, 32, 34, 41, 44, 46, 49, 50, 54, 59, 69, 72, 75, 77, 88, 91. (c) In eight cases the charges are either denied or doubted, *viz.* : Nos. 1, 9, 18, 20, 55, 67, 78, 100; two or three of these are met by counter-evidence, and one or two—the worst—are chal-

lenged by the remark that the men, if guilty, ought not to have been ejected but hanged. (*d*) In thirteen cases Walker suggests that drunkenness, etc., are imputed merely to discredit those who were loyal to Church and king, see Nos. 6, 16, 17, 33, 35, 47, 48, 52, 70, 71, 76, 81, 87. Finally, eighteen of the "Century" are justified or commended by the High Churchman for the conduct which was censured by the Puritan Committee, *viz.*: 15, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 29, 36, 38, 40, 53, 79, 80, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86. It will be seen that these include the teachers not only of ultra-royalism, but of doctrines very nearly approaching those of the Church of Rome.

The First Century of Scandalous and Lewd Ministers.

1. John Wilson, Arlington, Sussex.
Tavern-haunting; asserting unqualified obedience to the king to be a duty; abominable immorality which cannot be specified.
2. John Aymes, Lewis, Kent.
Tavern-haunting, drunkenness, and swearing; absent from his parish for 15 weeks.
3. Charles Forbench, Henney, Essex.
Habitual swearing and cursing; neglect of pastoral duties, etc.
4. Samuel Withers, Kelvedon, Essex.
Attempted seduction—several cases; encouraging Sunday sports, and forbidding a second sermon on Sundays.
5. Emmanuel Uty, D.D., Chigwell, Essex.
Popish doctrine; affirms that Holy Orders confer Inspiration, and [R] that the Authority of Bishops is superior to that of the Prince.
6. Edward Cherry, Much Holland, Essex.
Superstitious ritual; seldom preaches above once a month; drunkenness; deserted his parish for above a year, and gone to the royalist army. [R]
7. Thomas Thrall, St. Mary Mount Haw, London.
Tavern-haunting and drunkenness; encouraging Sunday sports; superstitious ritual.
8. John Gordon, Ockley, Sussex.
Habitual drunkenness; deserted his church for six months, and gone to the royalist army.
- 9.* Lawrence Washington, Purleigh, Essex.
Habitual tavern-haunting, tipping, and drunkenness; and encouraging others to the like.
10. Philip Leigh, Redbourn, Hertford.
Habitual tavern-haunting, drunkenness, swearing and quarrelling.

* Said to be great-great-grandfather of George Washington.

11. Francis Fotherby, St. Clement's, Sandwich, and Lingstead, Kent.
Habitual drunkenness, swearing, and cursing.
12. David Tuttival, Charterhouse, Middlesex.
Frequent drunkenness; neglect of duty.
13. John Gorsach, D.D., Walkerne, Hertford.
Tavern-haunting, drunkenness, and gambling; seldom preaching—scarcely once a quarter; exercising a capricious discipline as regards the Sacraments; using filthy language about the Parliament.
14. Edward Thurman, Hallingbury, Essex.
A common drunkard; boasted that he would drive all puritans out of the parish; deserted his cure for half a year last past.
15. Robert Snell, Matching, Essex.
Superstitious ritual; refusing to allow removal of a crucifix; teaching correspondent thereto.
16. Robert Hiliard, Ewell, Surrey.
Tavern-haunting, tipping, quarrelling, cursing, and swearing; profanity; threatening to kill those who proceeded against him.
17. Joseph Soane, Aldenham, Hertford.
[R] Tavern-haunting, drunkenness, gambling, and quarrelling.
18. William Fairfax, D.D., St. Peter, Cornhill, London, and East Ham, Middlesex.
Refusing for eight years to allow a week-day lecture for which there was an endowment; demanding £50 to allow a Sunday afternoon sermon; playing cards on Sunday; drunkenness, and seeking the company of loose women; general neglect of duty.
19. James Bradshaw, Chalfont S. Peters, Bucks.
Preaching up the late (Laudian) innovations; affirming that the use of other prayers than those authorized in the B.C.P. is sinful; wishing that all lecturers were hanged.
20. Robert Cotesford, D.D., Hadleigh and Monks Ely, Suffolk.
Strict observance of the late innovations; teaching of Romish doctrines; seldom preaching; desertion of his cures for five months; frequent drunkenness; attempted seduction.
21. Nicholas Andrews, D.D., Guildford and Godalming, Surrey.
Superstitious ritual; refusal to publish the order for removing idolatrous pictures and images; avowing himself an enemy to frequent preaching; refusing to allow the engagement of a lecturer; also he had persecuted parishioners who went to hear sermons in other churches.
22. Ephraim Udall, St. Austin's, London.
Affirming that the Church-reformers were hypocrites; charging the parliament with sacrilege in endeavouring to abolish Episcopacy; teaching that Tithes are by divine right.
23. — Jefferis, D.D., Feversham and Ticehurst, Kent.
Preaching the right of the king to impose taxes at his pleasure, and the divine original of episcopacy; hindering the lecturer appointed by Parliament from preaching; neglecting his church, so that for several weeks there was neither preaching nor prayers; deserting his parish for half a year.

24. James Mountford, Tewing, Hertford.
Publishing and commending the Book of Sports; reviling parishioners who would not kneel at Communion; preaching that laymen should not meddle with the scriptures, but must believe as the Church believes, and that, if the king should set up flat idolatry, we ought to submit.
25. John Peckham, Little Horstead, Sussex.
Neglecting his parish, absenting himself for a month together without providing a substitute; drunkenness, and notorious adulteries.
26. John Kidd, Egerton, Kent.
Seldom preaching; superstitious ritual, and reviling those who dissented; assaulting a communicant without just cause.
27. Griffith Roberts, Ridge, Hertford.
Practising "the late innovations"; drunkenness; denouncing the Parliament and all their adherents as traitors.
28. Peter Dansew, Camberwell, Surrey.
Habitual drunkenness; extorting unreasonable fees; has not preached for twelve years.
29. John Mountford, D.D., Anstey, Hertford.
Superstitious ritual; teaching a special presence of God at the "altar"; hindering preaching and exposition of the catechism; employing a scandalous curate, who preached that the people were "bound in conscience to believe whatever he and the Dr. did preach."
30. Edward Brewster, Lawshall, Suffolk.
Tavern-haunting and tippling; refusing to baptize children; compelling parishioners to do penance for not kneeling at the Sacrament.
31. Richard Hart, Hargrave, Suffolk.
Tavern-haunting, tippling and drunkenness, and inciting others to the like; strong suspicion of unchastity.
32. Edward Jenkinson, Panfield, Essex.
Superstitious ritual; encouraging Sunday sports; reviling neighbouring ministers; and (being a judge in the ecclesiastical court) boasting that he would suppress afternoon preaching.
33. Joseph Plumm, Black Notley, Essex.
Tavern-haunting and drunkenness; threatening those who would not bow at the Name of Jesus; absent from his parish for 18 weeks, having gone to the Royalist army.
34. William Graunt, Isleworth, Middlesex.
Preaching against the Parliament; advocating clerical celibacy and auricular confession; frequent drunkenness; encouraging tippling in his own house on Sundays after prayers.
35. Henry Hancocks, Fornax Pelham, Hertford.
Tippling; swearing; reviling Puritans and Roundheads; preaching that it is spiritual adultery to leave one's own parish church to hear another minister.
36. Alexander Clark, Bredfield, Suffolk.
Encouraging and participating in Sunday sports; teaching that he had absolute power to forgive sins; "and hath enveighed in his sermons against praying by the spirit."

37. Zachary Tutsham, Dallington, Sussex.
Drunkness; quarrelling; neglect of his parish for two months together; attempted seduction.
38. Nicholas Wright, D.D., Theydon Garnon, Essex.
Superstitious ritual; capricious discipline; advocating Sunday sports; has not preached above twice or thrice in a year, yet troubled parishioners in the ecclesiastical court for hearing other ministers; has deserted his parish, leaving as a substitute a lewd and drunken curate, and has gone to the Royalist army.
39. John Woodcock, Eltham, Kent.
Drunkness, habitual swearing and cursing; desertion of his cure.
40. John Manby, D.D., Cottenham, Cambridge.
[R] Superstitious ritual; teaching that God was "more peculiarly present" at the "altar" than elsewhere; that he "had undoubted power to forgive sins," given to him by the bishop's laying-on of hands; that as the king had power to make laws for things temporal, so the bishops had power to make laws ecclesiastical; and that he ought not to be judged by a temporal magistrate; also cursing, swearing and gambling.
41. William Muffet, Edmonton, Middlesex.
[R] Drunkness, swearing, cursing and blaspheming; quarrelling and fighting; rarely sober except when he lacks money for drink.
42. John Denn, Dartford, Kent.
Habitual drunkness, often on Sundays.
43. Richard Tanton, Ardingley, Sussex.
A common drunkard; said in a sermon "he wished every knee might rot that would not bow at the Name of Jesus."
44. Thomas King, Cheshill Magna, Essex.
Tavern-haunting; frequently drunk, even on Sundays; refusing to minister the Sacrament except at the altar rails; deserting his cure for above three months.
45. Edward Alston, Pentloe, Essex.
[R] Gross immorality; refused to administer the Sacrament because the surplice was not there.
46. Christopher Webb, Sawbridgeworth and Geddleston, Herts.
[R] Common drunkard; negligent of his cure, not suffering others to preach when he would not.
47. John Reynolds, Haughton and Witton, Huntingdonshire.
Common tippler and swearer; read and commended the canons of 1640; affirmed the synod of bishops to be of more authority than the parliament.
48. Edward Ashburnham, Tonbridge, Kent.
Tavern-haunting and drunkness even on the Lord's Day; has driven divers families from their dwellings by pursuing them for not coming to the rails for the Sacrament.
49. Nicholas Bloxam, Gt. Waldingfield, Sussex.
Common drunkard and swearer; negligent of his cure, seldom preaching above once a month; has behaved ill towards divers women, etc.

50. John Man, Strood, Kent.
Common drunkard and tempter of others thereto; given to swearing, cursing, quarrelling and fighting.
51. Nicholas Lowes, Much Bentley, Essex.
Often drunk; "tippling in alehouses seven or eight hours together even on the Lord's Day"; and by his example leading others to do the same.
52. William Evans, Sandcroft, Suffolk.
Tavern-haunting and notorious drunkenness; will neither preach nor suffer others to do so on Sunday afternoons; has driven divers out of the parish by prosecuting them in ecclesiastical courts; has preached "that those who did give or lend to the Parliament were accursed."
53. John Squire, Shoreditch, Middlesex.
Has publicly in his sermons praised Papists as the king's best subjects, and affirmed "that the subjects and all they have are at the king's command."
54. John Clark, S. Ethelburga, London.
[R] Preaching Popish doctrine—transubstantiation, and "that the Virgin Mary was the window of heaven"; also tavern-haunting, tippling and drunkenness.
55. Richard Nicholson, Stapleford Tawney, Essex.
Common drunkard and swearer; hath sung a ballad against the Parliament in an alehouse.
56. Francis Wright, Witham, Essex.
[R] Attempted seduction—several cases; common swearer and user of corrupt speech; common drunkard—has performed public worship when drunken; has not officiated for twelve months past.
57. Cuthbert Dale, Kettleborough, Suffolk.
A constant observer of "the late illegal innovations in the worship of God," and has troubled parishioners in the ecclesiastical courts for not observing them; has preached "that it is not the blood of Christ that takes away sin, but repentance and tears," and that angels are mediators for the children of God; has read the Book of Sports, and encouraged excessive drinking; has reviled his parishioners in the pulpit, calling them ill names; has absented himself from his cure for weeks together, leaving it to very scandalous curates, and for above nine weeks has entirely deserted it.
58. Thomas Goade, East Hatley, Cambridgeshire.
Was deprived of a benefice 20 years ago for his scandalous life and misdemeanours, and has not since reformed, but is an habitual drunkard, swearer and curser; has been often unable through drunkenness to perform his duties.
59. Nicholas King, Friston and Snape, Suffolk.
A companion of men of evil fame; often drunk; charged also with attempted rape.
60. Edward Turner, St. Lawrence, Essex.
Tippling whole days and nights together, and sometimes drunk; a common practiser of the late illegal innovations; has deserted his cure for a year past.
61. John Wells, Shimplyn[g], Suffolk.
A common drunkard and swearer; found with a loose woman in suspicious circumstances; has attempted to corrupt other women.

62. Thomas Geary, Beddingfield, Suffolk.
Drunkness, swearing and cursing; reviling parishioners and calling foul names in his sermons; did not preach for many Sundays together; claimed absolute power to forgive sins.
63. Thomas Darnell, Thorpe, Essex.
Reading the Book of Sports; usually profaning the Lord's Day by sports and servile work; swearing, cursing, drunkness and gambling; convicted of adultery.
64. John Wood, Marden, Kent.
"Notoriously infamous for sundry adulteries"; often drunk; swearing, gambling and quarrelling; read the Book of Sports and preached the maintenance thereof.
65. Thomas Heny, Arundel, Sussex.
Tippling and swearing; procuring alehouses to be set up in despite of the magistrates; rarely preaches, and refuses to allow others to do so.
66. Erasmus Land, Little Tey, Essex.
A common drunkard and swearer; seldom preaches; church sometimes through his neglect shut up the whole of Sunday.
67. Anthony Hugget, Cliff, Sussex.
He sued two parishioners and put them to penance for going to other churches to hear sermons when there was none at home; read the New Canons instead of preaching; refused the Sacrament to one who was lame and could not kneel; strongly suspected of incontinence; illtreated his wife; deserted his cure for six months together.
68. John Sydall, Kensworth, Hertford.
Tavern-haunting and drunkness; reviling those who went to hear sermons in other churches; neglecting his cure and not providing supply.
69. John Rannev, Kettlebaston, Suffolk.
Tippling and drunkness; reading and commending the Book of Sports; preaching that "original sin is washed away in baptism"; promoting the late innovations; deserting his cure for above half a year.
70. Jeffrey Amherst, D.D., Horsemunden, Kent.
A diligent practiser of the late innovations; swearing, tavern-haunting and drunkness; has deserted his cure for seven months.
71. Miles Goultie, Walton, Suffolk.
Zealous for the late innovations; dismissed a curate for too frequent preaching, and engaged instead one who was idle, drunken and scandalous.
72. Samuel Alsop, Acton, Suffolk.
Seduction, and divers attempts at the like.
73. Robert Senior, Feering, Essex.
Drunkness, continued after admonition by his Ordinary; commonly marrying without licence.
74. Henry Kyberts (or Kibuts), St. Katharine Coleman, London.
Procuring the benefice by fraud; commonly frequenting the company of a woman of ill fame; seldom preaching, and in his absence committing the cure "to drunken, lewd, and lascivious curates."

75. **Walter Maltock, Storrington, Sussex.**
Zealously practising the late innovations; swearing, cursing, gambling, and "tippling with loose and lewd companions"; has not preached above once or twice in four years.
76. **Clement Vincent, Danbury, Essex.**
Encouraging and sharing in Sunday sports; practising illegal innovations; swearing, cursing, and drunkenness.
77. **Matthew Clay, Chelsworth, Suffolk.**
Letting the parsonage-house to one who turned it into an ale-house; deserting his cure for four months, leaving in charge a scandalous
[R] curate who sat in the stocks for drunkenness, so that on several Sundays the church was shut up.
78. **Daniel Horsmanden, D.D., Ulcombe, Kent.**
Has been for eleven years a common tavern-haunter and drunkard; said that Strafford "was sacrificed as Christ was, to give the people content."
79. **Joseph Davis,† St. Thomas' Hospital, Southwark.**
Tavern-haunting, drunkenness, and swearing; saying that "all who went forth in the service of Parliament were Rogues and Rascals, and those of them who died at Edge Hill went to the Devil."
80. **Henry Osbaldiston, D.D., Much Parndon, Essex.**
Preaching against frequent sermons and in favour of Sunday sports; teaching that Baptism washes away original sin; reviling those who went to hear sermons in other churches.
81. **Humphrey Dawes, Mount Nessing, Essex.**
Drunkenness in church on Sunday, so that he knew not what he said; affirming that they who lent money to the Parliament are damned.
82. **Richard Taylor, Buntingford etc., Herts.**
Enforcing innovations in ritual; recommending Auricular Confession, and claiming power to forgive sin; declaring the fourth Commandment to be "merely ceremonial," and accordingly doing business on the Lord's Day.
83. **Thomas Baily, Brasted, Kent.**
Teaching of Romish doctrine about confession, absolution, etc.; teaching that no prayer should be used, even in private, that had not been seen and allowed by a priest, &c., &c.
84. **Richard Duxon (or Dukeson), D.D., St. Clement Danes, London.**
Preaching strange doctrine; practising superstitious ritual; speaking contemptuously of extempore prayer; forcibly preventing the lecturer from preaching; taking extortionate fees; gambling, forsaking his parish for six weeks last past.
85. **Edward Marten, D.D., Houghton Conquest, Bedfordshire and Dunnington, Cambridgeshire.**
Praying openly for souls in Purgatory; saying that preaching is profaned when it is in a place not hallowed by the bishop; enforcing superstitious ritual; rarely preaching at Houghton, but substituting scandalous and malignant curates.
86. **James Buck, Stradbroom, Suffolk.**
Preaching downright Popery.

† Walker calls him Draper.

87. Thomas Vaughan, Chatham, Kent.
Practising and enforcing the late illegal innovations; rarely preaching, and endeavouring to hinder parishioners from hearing sermons elsewhere—telling them it was just as lawful as adultery; tavern-haunting, tipping, and inciting others to the like.
88. Richard Goffe (Gough), East Greenstead, Sussex.
Tavern-haunting, swearing, and singing lewd songs; keeping company with papists and scandalous persons; preaching Transubstantiation and Regeneration in Baptism; hoping "to see the time again that there should be no Bible in men's houses."
89. Thomas Staple, Mundon, Essex.
Drunkenness, singing profane songs "with hollowing and roaring," and enticing others to do the like; teaching that "it is not for laymen to search the Scriptures," and that "children dying without baptism are all damned."
90. Peter Allen, Tollesbury, Essex.
Incontinence, paternity of several bastards, negligence of his cure, absenting himself for a month together.
91. John Hurt, Horndon, Essex.
Drunkenness, gambling, cursing and swearing, and a reputation for incontinence.
92. Paul Clapham, Farnham, Surrey, and Martin-Worthy, Hampshire.
Adultery, and paternity of at least two bastards.
93. John Amnes, Charleton, Kent.
A common drunkard, hath kept a common alehouse; hath attempted the chastity of several women.
94. Robert Shepherd, Hepworth, Suffolk.
Frequent drunkenness; strongly suspected of incontinence; using foul language in his preaching and catechising; endeavouring to induce poor men to forswear themselves.
95. John Woolhouse, West Mersea, Essex.
Tipping, gambling, cursing and swearing; attempted seduction.
96. Henry Hannington, Hougham, Kent.
Habitual drunkenness continued above twenty years; singing lewd songs in the alehouse; encouraging of Sunday sports; neglect of his cure.
97. Samuel Sowthen, Mallendine, Essex.
Drunkenness, and inciting others thereto; swearing and cursing; diligent practice of the late innovations; contemptuous speech concerning "painfull Preachers and their hearers"; has been presented in the ecclesiastical court for adultery.
98. Thomas Heard, West Tukeley, Essex.
Habitual drunkenness—in a drunken fit threatening to burn his wife and children; saying "he hoped to live to see all the Puritans hanged."
99. Samuel Scrivener, Westhropp, Suffolk.
Teaching that there is an inherent holiness in the communion table; adultery and frequent drunkenness.
100. Ambrose Westrope, Much Totham, Essex.
Such speech and behaviour, in the pulpit and elsewhere, as warrants the charitable hope that the man was insane.

Old Gravel Lane Meeting

REV. EDWARD VEAL, of Christ Church, Oxford, afterwards of Trinity College, Dublin, was ordained at Winwick, Lancashire, 14th August, 1657, for a charge in Ireland. He was deprived of his fellowship in T.C.D. by the Acts for Uniformity; and came to London with a testimonial of his learning, piety, orthodoxy, and ministerial usefulness, signed by Stephen Charnock and six other respectable ministers. (*See Nonconformists' Memorial*, i., 210.) He became chaplain to Sir William Waller; and afterwards settled as pastor of a Nonconformist church in Wapping. The meeting place is not certainly known; though there was a tradition that it was in Brewhouse Lane. He had several pupils, to whom he read University learning: amongst whom were Revs. Nathaniel Taylor and John Shower. He has four sermons in the "Morning Exercise." He died 6th June, 1708, aged 76; and was succeeded in his pastorate by Rev. THOS. SYMONDS, who preached his funeral sermon.

There is no record of the actual formation of the church; but the first entry in the church book which existed when a brief narrative was drawn up early in the 19th century was dated 1704.

The following are extracts from the church book of Stepney Meeting, of which the originals are in the handwriting of Rev. Matthew Mead.

"Mr. Thomas Simmons, Minister, was received by recommendation from the Church of Sheffield, Yorkshire, 20th October, 1698 . . .

Mr. Thos. Simmons was by majority of votes of the Brethren chosen to be my assistant in the work of preaching the gospel to this Church."

This is the last entry that occurs in the hand of Mr. Mead, who died 16th October, 1699. He was succeeded as pastor by Mr. Galpine; and Mr. Simmons (or Symonds) retained his post as Assistant, or "Teaching Elder" as he is called in some of the minutes. In 1703 there seems to have been some dispute between Messrs. Galpine and Simmons as to their respective functions, which was amicably adjusted. But at a church meeting, 7th September, 1704, it was resolved that:

"Mr. Simmons having received an invitation from Mr. Veal's people in Wapping to be their pastor, and desiring the Church's consent to his removal, was dismissed accordingly. . . ."

As the new pastor was elected nearly four years before the death of Mr. Veal, it would seem that the latter must have retired, perhaps from the infirmities of age. Mr. Simmons's first entry in the church book was dated 28th September, 1704. He retained the pastorate till 1718.

He was followed by the Rev. DAVID JENNINGS, D.D.; in whose time the meeting-house in Old Gravel Lane was built. He was the son of the Rev. John Jennings, ejected from the rectory of Hartley Wasphill, Hampshire; and was born at Kibworth, Leicestershire, in 1691. He was instructed in grammar learning at the free school of his native place; and about 1709 was sent to London to pursue a course of academical studies under Dr. Isaac Chauncey. He completed his studies under Dr. Ridgeley and the learned Mr. John Eames; and preached his first sermon in 1714. In the following year he was appointed one of the preachers at the Evening Lecture then carried on in Rotherhithe; and in 1716 was chosen

assistant to the Rev. Foxon, pastor of the congregation at Haberdashers' Hall. Two years after, that is in 1718, he accepted an invitation to become pastor of the Congregational or Independent church in Old Gravel Lane; with which he maintained that relation during 44 years, equally useful and respected. He was the author of many learned works. In 1743 he was appointed trustee of Mr. Coward's charities, and one of the lecturers at Little St. Helen's. In 1744 he entered on a new and important sphere of usefulness as divinity tutor in the academy then chiefly supported by Mr. Coward's fund. To this he was appointed on the death of Mr. Eames, and filled it to the end of his life, with great reputation to himself, and no less advantage to the interests of literature and religion. In 1749 he received his degree of D.D. from the University of St. Andrew's. He died 16th September, 1762, at the age of 71 years. A monument to his memory was placed in front of the chapel.

Of the next minister all that is locally recorded is furnished by two entries in the church book :

"1764. Two years after the Death of Dr. Jennings, the Rev. WM. GORDON, by dismission from the Church of Christ, Tankard Street, Ipswich, Suffolk. July 19. Rev. Willm. Gordon was set apart to the Pastoral Office; he continued his relation about 5 years."

As a matter of fact Mr. Gordon had been pastor of Tacket Street Church, Ipswich, for nearly ten years; having been ordained 9th October, 1754. On leaving Gravel Lane he went to America; and according to Browne (*Hist. Congregationalism in Norfolk and Suffolk*) was private secretary to General Washington during the War of Independence. About 1786 or earlier he returned to England; was pastor at St. Neots from 1789 to

1802 ; and died at Ipswich 19th October, 1807, aged 87. On his gravestone in Tacket Street churchyard he is described as D.D. ; his diploma was probably American, but from what institution does not appear.

His successor at Gravel Lane was the REV. NOAH HILL, who was dismissed from the church at Cradley in Worcestershire, under the pastoral care of the Rev. Wm. Jones, 1771 ; and on 18th December in that year was ordained to the pastoral charge in this place. He was educated for the ministry at Daventry under Dr. Caleb Ashworth ; and after finishing his studies was appointed assistant tutor, and so continued for ten years. His pastorate at Gravel Lane was extended to 44 years, ending with his life in 1815.

The subsequent ministers were :

John Hooper, M.A. ; for several years classical tutor at the Hoxton Academy ; died 1825.

Ebenezer Miller, M.A.

He removed about 1831 to become Master of Silcoates School, Yorks ; and was afterwards minister of an English Church in Rotterdam.

John Kelly.

Matthew Jenla, formerly at Bury St. Edmund's ; 1840 until his death in 1852.

J. R. Cooper, from Willesden, 1853 ; removed to Hastings 1858.

Alex. Graham, previously connected with the Wesleyans, 1858.

After 1860 the name of the church is followed by a *blank* in the year book for several years : then "Vacant," and "Supplied," until 1874.

John Benn, minister from 1874 to 1883 ; his pastorate had a tragic ending, he being killed by a lunatic. His son is Sir John Benn, M.P.

After the death of Mr. Benn in 1883, the chapel was temporarily closed, and the interior reconstructed. In 1885 it was re-opened as a mission hall under the direction and support of the London Congregational Union.