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## EDITORIAL

OUR Annual Meeting was held at the Memorial Hall on 12th May, Rev. Dr. Nightingale presiding. The attendance was exceptionally numerous, being drawn by the prospect of a Lecture on "The Pilgrim Fathers," by Professor F. J. C. Hearnshaw, LL.D., of King's College. The business of the Society was quickly transacted, the officers being re-elected, and a message of cordial greeting being despatched to our venerable president, Rev. Dr. Brown. Dr. Hearnshaw's lecture was of great interest, not so much for any presentation of new facts as for the co-ordination of facts which are severally familiar, but of which the relations are commonly overlooked. Especial stress was laid on the widely different principles which actuated the original colonists of New England and those of Virginia; a diversity the outcome of which has been manifested not only in the old Colonial days, but in the War of Independence, the Civil War, and even in the relation of political parties at the present time. The lecture was highly instructive, and a hearty vote of thanks testified the appreciation of the audience.

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No more seasonable publication could have been offered in this Tercentenary Year than "John Robinson, the Pastor of the Pilgrim Fathers: a Study of his Life and Times," by Walter H. Burgess, B.A. The author "tells the story of the Pilgrims with Robinson as the central figure," claiming—and we think justly—that "in his Ministry at Leyden he moulded their opinions and guided their policy." Much interesting information is given as to the ancestry of the worthy pastor, their social standing, and their relation with others who were prominent in the Separatist movement. The controversies in which he was engaged at Leyden are sufficiently explained, as well as the entanglement of the Pilgrims with the London "Adventurers"; and many little-known documents are for the first time made generally accessible. The book deserves, and no doubt will obtain, an extensive circulation.

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Another seasonable publication is of somewhat complex authorship. It is entitled "New Light on the Pilgrim Story." The

inception, and much of the original research, is due to the late Mrs. Charlotte Skinner; on whose sudden death her papers came into the hands of her kinsman, Rev. T. W. Mason, whose diligence completed what she had well begun. The MS. was subjected to a careful review by Rev. Dr. Nightingale; and the result is to bring together a number of new facts relating to the *Mayflower's* Pilgrims, especially those who had local or family connections with the County of Essex. The book is well illustrated, and should find many readers in the Eastern Counties.

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Several other seasonable volumes deserve a passing notice, as especially suited to various classes of readers. The Religious Tract Society have republished Dr. Mackennal's "Homes and Haunts of the Pilgrim Fathers"; and also—in a cheap edition—Dr. Brown's classical volume on the same topic. In the "Every-Man" series has lately been included a volume of contemporary narratives, edited by John Masefield; it comprises Nathaniel Morton's "New England's Memorials"; R. Cushman's "Discourse on the State of the Colony"; Capt. John Smith's "New England's Trials"; and Ed. Winslow's "Brief Relation of the Present Estate of Virginia." Dr. Powicke has published "John Robinson, a Monograph"; and among volumes more especially suited to the young are "The Argonauts of Faith," by Basil Mathews; and "The Founders of New England," by W. Melville Harris. And a publication which the Pilgrims would scarcely have approved, but by the aid of which many will do honour to their memory, is "The Historical Pageant of the *Mayflower*," by Hugh Parry.

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To altogether a different category belong two recent publications by Dr. Peel. One is "A Treatise of the Church and the Kingdom of Christ," by R. H.—almost certainly Robert Harrison, printed for the first time from the MS. in Williams' Library; the other is "The First Congregational Churches," affording new lights on Separatist Congregations in London, 1567-81.

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The usual Autumnal Meeting of our Society will be held at Southampton on Wednesday, 29th September. Papers are expected from W. Dale, Esq., F.S.A., on "Southampton and the *Mayflower*"; and from the Rev. F. W. Camfield, M.A., on "Southampton and Nonconformity."

## Bibliography of the Pilgrim Fathers

(Continued from page 23.)

### C. BIOGRAPHIES.

- [The British Museum press-mark of each is appended.]
1857. THE LIFE OF ELDER BREWSTER, by Ashbel Steele, M.A.  
The author was a minister at Washington. He goes with patient thoroughness, and with much research, through the story of the famous elder at Scrooby, Leyden and Plymouth. The earlier part of his biography is the more directly useful for the general story of the Pilgrims. Steele's wife was a descendant of Brewster's. A book still worth reading. [Brit. Mus. 10880. ee. 19.]
1851. THE WORKS OF JOHN ROBINSON, edited by Robert Ashton.  
3 Vols. 8vo.  
The Memoir prefixed to Vol I., and the Appendix, Vol. III., on "The Church of the Exiles," contain matters necessary for a full comprehension of the Dutch section of the Pilgrim history. One point is worthy of special note. Ashton vigorously defends the authenticity of John Robinson's Sermon, or address, given at the departure of the *Mayflower* party from Delftshaven, in July, 1620, and recorded by Edward Winslow. Under circumstances briefly noted above, Winslow wrote *Hypocrisy Unmasked*, the last section of which is a "Briefe Narration of the true grounds or cause of the first Planting of New England." This contains the celebrated discourse, remembered and treasured even to-day by reason of its broad outlook and its liberal sentiments. In the course of his valedictory, Robinson finely says that "he was very confident the Lord had yet more truth and light yet to breake forth out of his holy Word."\* Now George Sumner, the American historian (in his "Memoir of the Pilgrims at Leyden," printed in the *Collections* of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 3rd Series, Vol. IX., 1846), greatly depreciates the historical value of Winslow's report of the sermon, given, he says, twenty-six years after the event. Ashton rightly stands up for its general reliability. A great

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\**Hyp. Unmasked* (1646), p. 97.

sermon, such as this clearly was, for the disputed sentence is by no means the only fine passage it contains, delivered on a very memorable occasion and by one whose word carried so great a weight of authority with Winslow and the Pilgrims, would be persistently recalled, its shining phrases endlessly repeated. Men's memories in those days were tenacious, and were specially trained to remember sermons. The writer of these lines has met men who could repeat great screeds of a sermon heard at some memorable cymanva thirty or forty years earlier; and evidently with great verbal accuracy. No doubt they had been rehearsed scores of times in the interval. Like enough, indeed it is more than probable, Winslow took notes, and these supplemented by a retentive memory, would enable him easily to make a full record of the famous discourse. Both as regards his trustworthiness and also his scholarly abilities, Winslow is an excellent witness. He does not actually give the report in the first person; the report in the first person comes from Cotton Mather, who recast and trimmed it. And in this form it was copied by Daniel Neal and others, who had not access to the original. Winslow introduces his account with the words "Hee used these expressions, or to the same purpose." But the sermon has all the internal marks of John Robinson's fine mind and magnanimous heart. [3755. b.]

1910. NEW FACTS CONCERNING JOHN ROBINSON, by Champlin Burrage.

An Oxford MS., already catalogued as a reply to a writing of John Robinson, prompted Mr. Burrage to follow up the clue, and on examining the document he has been able to settle one or two small but interesting points about Robinson and his residence at Norwich. When, however, he volunteers the reflection that Robinson, by being elected to preach in a church the right of presentation to which had been obtained by a simontacal transaction with the former patron, the election also being restricted to episcopally ordained priests and subject to the approval of the ordinary, is anticipating the Congregationalism of Robert Browne, it is very evident that Mr. Burrage has not wholly understood what Congregationalism is. [4806. ff. 10 (4).]

#### D. PILGRIM AND NEW PLYMOUTH HISTORY.

1830. AN HISTORICAL MEMOIR OF NEW PLYMOUTH, by Francis Baylies. 2. Vols.

1866. New Edition, edited by G. S. Drake. 2 Vols.

A substantial work which has not received due appreciation. The fault lies partly in the work itself. Mr. Drake has supplied

his edition with a copious Index ; but its value for the student is still greatly diminished by its lack of all references to authorities. This is much to be regretted, for the work contains a full and interesting account of the Pilgrims. [10408. f. 10.]

1853. THE PILGRIM FATHERS, OR THE FOUNDERS OF NEW ENGLAND, by W. H. Bartlett. Large 8vo.

Mr. Bartlett was a clever artist and all his numerous books are finely illustrated. In that respect the present is one of the best ; its illustrations have found their way into many subsequent publications, though in none are the reproductions quite so beautiful as in the original. The text is interestingly written, with picturesque details. Bartlett's written descriptions of places are almost as good as his drawings. [4745. e. 30.]

1854. THE FOUNDERS OF NEW PLYMOUTH, by Joseph Hunter, 8vo. 250 pp. This is also known as Hunter's *Collections* from the first sentence on the title-page.

The value of Hunter's work is not yet exhausted. On its first appearance—originally, in a briefer form as one of the author's series of *Critical and Historical Tracts* (1849 [9005. c. 35])—it straightway secured public attention as a fresh and valuable contribution to our knowledge of the Pilgrims. It supplied a key to Bradford's *History*. From the vague allusions of Bradford, Hunter, an assistant keeper at the Record Office and a skilled researcher, identified Scrooby and its Manor House as the original home of the Separatist Church ; traced the appointment of Brewster as " post " at Scrooby, and unearthed much information about Bernard Clyton and Bradford and kindred matters, now incorporated in all books on the subject. [4715. d. II.]

1856. THE SEVEN ARTICLES OF THE CHURCH AT LEYDEN, 1617. With an Introduction by George Bancroft, the historian. A small pamphlet of 10 pp. reprinted from the *Collections* of the Massachusetts Historical Society ; noteworthy as representing the peaceable disposition of the Robinsonian Church. The members accept the XXXIX. Articles ; acknowledge the Christian character of all children of the faith, conformist and nonconformist ; the jurisdiction of bishops so far as derived from the king (probably Robert Browne's theory). The jurisdiction of all synods, etc., they repudiate ; also of all merely ecclesiastical officers, except so far as they are acting under the authority of a magistrate. Bancroft's Introduction has an important statement on the comparative toleration of the Pilgrim rule ; he points out how Anderson, in his *History of the English Church in the Colonies*, makes a false accusation

- against the Pilgrims by confounding the Plymouth Colony with the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. It is a distinction, we have at last concluded, that Episcopalian writers have resolved not to remember. [3504. f. 10 (9).]
1896. NEW ENGLAND'S STRUGGLES FOR RELIGIOUS LIBERTY, by Rev. D. B. Ford. Philadelphia. 8vo.
- The volume is published by the American Baptist Publication Society. Mr. Ford tells, in moderate language, all that can be alleged against the Pilgrims on the score of intolerance. He recognizes clearly enough the distinction between Pilgrim and Puritan; but occasionally, mixing up in the same narrative the affairs of both Colonies, he rather overweights the responsibility of the Pilgrims. He is temperate in speaking of both, and recounts some of the vagaries of the early Quakers in the Colony, men and women dancing in a state of nudity; enough surely to move the stern old Pilgrims to banish them from their territory. Roger Williams himself spoke against them vigorously; and whatever he personally suffered for his somewhat turbulent propagandism, he speaks highly of the leading men of the Pilgrim community. [4744. dd. II.]
1870. PILGRIM MEMORANDA. H. M. Dexter, Boston, Mass., 8vo., 39 pp., contains a Chronology of events, with almost daily entries from 21st July, 1620, to 28th July, 1621. Also a series of interesting and pertinent extracts from a wide range of literature bearing upon "the Plymouth movement and men." [10413. h. 29.]
1874. THE GENESIS OF THE NEW ENGLAND CHURCHES, by Leonard Bacon. New York. 8vo.
- Retiring from his honoured pastorate at New Haven, Dr. Bacon set himself to study systematically the complete body of printed literature upon the subject of his book. He made no personal researches into any remaining unpublished sources of information, using only such documents as had been printed and edited by previous scholars. He thoroughly assimilated his material, and used his authors with a scholarly understanding and discrimination. The result is a solid informative volume, covering the whole ground. [4745. bbb. 38.]
1883. ANCIENT LANDMARKS OF PLYMOUTH, by Wm. T. Davis. 8vo. Boston (Mass.). [10413. k. II.]
1885. A HISTORY OF PLYMOUTH, by the same author. 4to. Philadelphia.
- Reference has already been made to the annotated edition of Bradford's *History* by Mr. Davis. He was a native of Plymouth, and no son was prouder of his birth-city. He devoted

much of his life to the study of its history, and was for some time president of the Pilgrim Society. *Ancient Landmarks* is a substantial volume in two parts, each with a separate pagination. The substance of the two parts is occupied with Titles of Estates and a Genealogical Register. But it contains a competent Historical Sketch and much out of the way, but valuable, information upon the civil and ecclesiastical organization of the town and Colony.

The *History* of the town is taken from the larger history of Plymouth Colony. It covers the whole period from Scrooby to modern times in eight chapters. Added is an Appendix full of interesting details of the ancient institutions and occupations of the Colonists. [10411. h. 26.]

1888. THE PILGRIM REPUBLIC, by John A Goodwin. Large 8vo. 662 pp. Boston.

Of the larger single volumes this is probably the best complete history of the Pilgrims to the year 1692. The Introduction is an excellent survey of the literature of the subject; with references, by the way, to one book or more, presumably important, not to be found in English libraries. To many writers in this country Mr. Goodwin's volume may be commended for its clear and authoritative discrimination of Puritan and Separatist. We might then hope to have heard the last of the Pilgrim Colony burning witches. The narrative is documented, and has a good index. [9605. ff. 1.]

1891. THE PILGRIM FATHERS NEITHER PURITANS NOR PERSECUTORS, by Benjamin Scott, Chamberlain of the City of London. 8vo. 52 pp. London.

Mr. Scott was an enthusiastic vindicator of the Pilgrims, especially directing his defence against those who confounded Plymouth with the adjoining Puritan Colony of Massachusetts. Plymouth was distinctly the most tolerant of all the American Colonies, and much in advance of the mother country. [4535. c. 10 (6).]

1894. THE STORY OF THE PILGRIMS, by Morton Dexter, small 8vo. 363 pp. Issued by the Congregational Sunday School and Publications Society (Boston and Chicago). Excellent for its purpose as a handbook for Bible Classes; a straightforward, unencumbered, and attractive narrative, with illustrations; notes and references gathered into an appendix; last, not least, a good index. [9602. aaa. 33.]

1896. "MAYFLOWER" ESSAYS, by G. Cuthbert Blaxland. The notable feature in these interesting essays, based upon a close study of the text of Bradford's *History*, is their authorship.



Mr. Blaxland was the Keeper of the MS. when it was in the Bishop of London's library, and was also the Bishop's domestic chaplain. He shows much sympathy with the sufferings of the Pilgrims in their efforts to obtain religious liberty. [955r. bb. 29.]

1897. THE PILGRIM FATHERS OF NEW ENGLAND, by John Brown, B.A., D.D. (1st Edition, 1895). (R.T.S. 3s. 6d.)

Dr. Brown's book is the result of considerable personal research. It excels most of the works under our survey in its literary qualities. The venerable author has planned his work well, and his skilful pen enables him to tell his story with unflinching interest and vivacity. His book is embellished with some excellent illustrations of the English scenes. For general usefulness, for cheapness, and as a single volume of scholarly character and moderate dimensions, this remains the best book on the subject. [443o. f. 5.]

1897. THE STORY OF THE PILGRIM FATHERS, by Edward Arber. 8vo. 634 pp.

Professor Arber's story covers the years 1606 to 1623. His sub-title describes it as "told by themselves, their Friends, and their Enemies." He felt that the recovery and the publication of Bradford's MS. called for a fresh presentation of the Pilgrim narrative, and with characteristic thoroughness set himself to the task, as an act of piety to the memory of men who suffered for the Protestant faith. The work has all his excellencies as a dealer with the primary sources and authorities for history, and these excellencies were many. It also has some of his defects. We get a little uncertain now and then whether we are listening to Arber or his authorities. But we know that he deals everywhere with the originals, and we are thankful for his liberal and useful extracts. He supplies us with a wide range of interesting and unexpected information; but the manner of his presentation is not architectural and we are apt to lose our consciousness of the wholeness and continuity of the story. He has rendered good service by reprinting *Mourt's Relation*. [2398. b. 12.]

1899. HOMES AND HAUNTS OF THE PILGRIM FATHERS, by Alex. Mackennal, D.D. 4to.

The title will indicate to most readers that this is one of the series of finely-illustrated and popularly-written volumes issued by the Religious Tract Society. Dr. Mackennal was an authority on early Congregational History, and in the preparation of this volume extended his personal enquiries to Holland. The artist, also, Mr. Charles Whymper, with a little help from one or two photographs, has done his work well. He, more-

over, supplies the reading-matter for two of the shorter chapters; and the editor of the series, the late Mr. Richard Lovett, presumably, has written the accounts of Boston and Cambridge in old England. As we close this Bibliography a new and revised edition of the above is being issued for the R.T.S. by the Rev. H. Elvet Lewis. [1035I. h. 15.]

1901. THE "MAYFLOWER" AND HER LOG.—July 15, 1620, to May 6, 1621. By Azel Ames, M.D. Large 8vo. 375 pp. Boston, 1901. A handsomely produced volume, giving the results of a minute research into everything relating to the famous ship, illustrated by maps, charts, and prints of ships of the age and type of the *Mayflower*. The volume is supplied with a Bibliography and an Index. Dr. Ames has chapters on the Name of the Ship (which is not mentioned by Bradford), on the *Speedwell*, her equipment and her voyage from Delftshaven, on the Charter of the *Mayflower*, a description of the ship, and her outfit, her officers and crew, passengers, quarters, food and clothing, her freight, and a Sailing-Log, from her departure from the Thames, to her departure from New England, on her return voyage. [2398. h. 1.]

1905. THE ENGLAND AND HOLLAND OF THE PILGRIMS, begun by Dr. H. M. Dexter and revised and edited by his son Mr. Morton Dexter. Large 8vo. 673 pp. Boston.

The volume is fully documented and has an excellent Index. Dr. Dexter, we are told, had, at the time of his death, almost finished his book. It was given to Prof. Franklin Dexter of Yale to complete. It was then rewritten with some additions by Morton Dexter, who, following the example of his father in writing history, visited the English and Dutch scenes and made further researches in the libraries of this country and Holland. So that we have before us a new work, the fruit of fresh study and research; the bulk of it from the pen of our greatest Congregational historian. For an account of the Pilgrims up to the departure of the first *Mayflower* contingent from Holland this work must rank as a first-class authority. [4715. f. II.]

1909. THE PILGRIM FATHERS: THEIR CHURCH AND COLONY, by Winifred Cockshott. 8vo. 348 pp. Illustrated.

Miss Cockshott's book does her credit as an Oxford scholar. It is not a compilation of the scissors and paste-pot order. She has driven an intellectual plough through this particular field of history, and the serious student will find that with the familiar chapter-heading and the more or less customary references to authorities, this is a new book. But things are moving in this department of history, and a work completed in 1908

is not quite up to date. The author's point of view is tolerant and sufficiently sympathetic to give an attractive interest to her writing. Her statement (p. 21) on the persecuting proclivities of Puritans and Separatists is only partly true. I am satisfied that Miss Cockshott could not produce definite authority for her statement so far as it concerns the Separatists. But her competence to discuss the matters concerned in her historical survey may be seen in her acute comparison of Browne and Barrowe. Her study of the Dutch section of the Pilgrim story is also worthy of particular attention. [4744. gg. 6.]

1911. THE ROMANTIC STORY OF THE "MAYFLOWER" PILGRIMS, by Albert Christ. Addison. Large 8vo. London.

A volume produced with much artistic taste. The story is brightly told in six chapters, occupying 200 pages of large type, each page set in a tinted framework. The illustrations are an attractive feature and consist of photographic reproductions of the Pilgrim scenes and memorials in England and America, and of a number of the historic pictures and portraits issued by Mr. Burbank, the publisher of Plymouth (N.E.) [9555. s. 5.]

The local Guide supplied by Mr. Burbank at Plymouth is well-written and beautifully illustrated.

1910. THE STORY OF THE PILGRIM FATHERS, by F. J. C. Hearnshaw, M.A., LL.D. Southampton. 4to. Illustrated. 32 pp.

In a series of short chapters, originally contributed to a Southampton journal, Professor Hearnshaw succeeds in telling the whole story of the Pilgrims, omitting nothing essential to the full understanding of the great enterprise. The special chapter on Southampton in 1620 is excellent reading. (In the Congregational Library, London.)

1918. THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF RELIGION AND ETHICS (Dr. James Hastings), Vol. X., contains an article on the "Pilgrim Fathers," by Rev. D. Macfadyen, M.A. For busy students Mr. Macfadyen's article has many recommendations. It embraces the whole subject and leaves nothing vital out of account. Without being literary "pennicican" it is necessarily condensed. We are spared all rhetorical garnishings and homiletical expansions. The plan of the article traces the immediate origin of the movement; gives a brief account of the "Leading Personalities," particularly of Francis Johnson, Henry Ainsworth, John Robinson and William Bradford; describes shortly the sojourn at Leyden, the Migration, and the Settlement at Plymouth. A final section deals with the "Survivals of Puritan Influence." Appended to the article is a classified bibliography. [2002. c.]

1894. A volume second in interest to none of the works inserted in this list is *THE RISE OF MODERN DEMOCRACY IN OLD AND NEW ENGLAND*, by Charles Borgeaud. Translated by Mrs. Birbeck Hill; with a Preface by Professor Firth of Oxford. London and N. York. 8vo. 168 pp.

Coming from the pen of a great student of political constitutions and governments this is a remarkable work. Mr. Borgeaud, who was a member of the Faculty of Law at Geneva, had already published his studies on the foundation and growth of American and European constitutions. His present thesis is, that the derivation of modern democracies is to be found in the history of England: First, in the political influences springing out of the Reformation, and secondly and more definitely, in the political theories and experiments of the seventeenth century. Moreover, that the type or model was first crystalized in the Congregational Church, formed in the reign of Elizabeth, suppressed by the Queen and Whitgift, but again realized and transported to New England to be the prototype of the great American Democracy, which itself became the working model for subsequent democratic and republican movements in Europe. Truly a prophet is not without honour save in his own country. It needed the detachment as well as the historic imagination of this learned foreigner to see the significance of Robert Browne and his principles. [08276. e. 60.]

As aids in tracing works published in America the following books of reference are useful:

Sabin, J. *A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BIBLIOGRAPHY*. New York. 1877. [BBG. b. 24.]

Rich, O. *BIBLIOTHECA AMERICAN NOVA*. London. 1846. [2035. b.]

Larned, J. N. *THE LITERATURE OF AMERICAN HISTORY*. London. 1902. Suppl. Vol. 1901. Valuable brief notes. [2035. d.]

Evans, Charles. *AMERICAN BIBLIOGRAPHY*. 8 Vols. An exhaustive work, from the earliest press (1639) to the nineteenth century. [2035. g.]

The curious reader will perhaps notice that the second thing printed on an American press was "An Almanack calculated for New England," by William Pierce.

Whitcombe's *CHRONOLOGICAL OUTLINES OF AMERICAN LITERATURE* [11853 pp. 16], and

Tyler's *AMERICAN LITERATURE* [11850. m. 1], are shorter works, but useful.

Stevens, H. CATALOGUE OF AMERICAN BOOKS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM AT CHRISTMAS, 1856. A convenient list of older works. [2035. c.]

Professor Barrett Wendel's LITERARY HISTORY OF AMERICA, London, 1901, is interesting and informative. [2039. b.]

### **The Missionary Labours of the Pilgrims among the Indians.**

Most of the works dealing with the Plymouth Settlement refer to the efforts of the Pilgrims to evangelize the Aborigines. Goodwin's *Pilgrim Republic* contains useful information. See especially p. 531 and the following fifteen or sixteen pages. The remark (quoted p. 546) of Dr. S. G. Drake should be noted. He says of the Pilgrims that "their immense labour to Christianize [the Indians] prove their sincerity to benefit them." Dr. S. G. Drake is the defender of the Indians in and out of season.

The following works will be found useful :

1649. THE GLORIOUS PROGRESS OF THE GOSPEL AMONGST THE INDIANS OF NEW ENGLAND. Published by Edward Winslow. A letter from Thomas Mayhew, Jr., and three from John Eliot. [E. 557 (11).]
1651. THE LIGHT APPEARING, etc. A FURTHER DISCOVERY OF THE PRESENT STATE OF THE INDIANS IN NEW ENGLAND, by H. Whitfield. London. 4to. Whitfield visited Mayhew and saw his work in Martha's Vineyard. [E. 624 (3).]
1794. COLLECTIONS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Vol. III., contains John Cotton's letter to Robert Boyle. And Eliot's reports of the state of the Indian Missions in Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay. [Ac. 8400.]
1848. MISSIONS TO THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS. London (R.T.S.). 12mo. An excellent short account of mission work in New England. [4419. f. 48.]
1897. THE NEW ENGLAND COMPANY AND THEIR MISSIONARIES. ALSO THE JOURNALS OF EXPERIENCE MAYHEW IN 1713-14. [4766. dd. 20.] London. 8vo.

W. PIERCE.

### The Mate of the *Mayflower*

THE Pilgrim Fathers shed a radiance on all who were associated with them, even for one voyage only. The captain of the *Mayflower* was identified by Professor Arber as Christopher Jones, and his career has been worked out by Professor Rendel Harris. The owner has been shown by the latter scholar to be Thomas Horth of Yarmouth, who used the ship now to bring whale-oil from the Arctic for his soap works, now to bring bay-salt from Bayonne for his bloaters, with wines from Rochelle. Horth was apparently a Puritan with relations at Leyden, certainly was one of the Adventurers who financed the Pilgrims. The mate of the *Mayflower* is now identified by Miss Irene A. Wright, from the Spanish Archives at Seville and Simancas, whence she has produced two of his depositions, with kindred papers. These are printed with translations and notes in the *American Historical Review* for April, 1920. From them and other sources an interesting and important story unfolds.

This John Clark is not the Separatist examined on 5th April, 1593, who was then about fifty years old, a husbandman of Walsoken in Norfolk; but a Londoner born about 1573 or 1576. He took to the sea about 1605, visiting various parts of the world. In 1609 he became a pilot, and was in the harbour of Malaga when Don Luis Faxardo was captain-general of a great fleet about to start thence for Tunis, where it burned twenty-two ships of the Barbary corsairs. On one of these ships the pilot was an English Catholic

of Lisbon, Francis Lymbry, who had been a pilot on the Spanish Armada in 1588. Men of the old religion still felt as one, whatever the land of their birth. But Clark was of a younger generation, with the pride of race, and can hardly have esteemed Lymbry. Six years earlier, he himself could hardly have felt secure in a Spanish harbour where the Inquisition was established, but the treaty of London (1603) now secured that no English subjects should be molested for their religion unless they gave offence to Catholic feelings within Spanish dominions.

By Papal grant, and agreement between Spanish and Portuguese, all lands west of 50° west longitude belonged to Spain. The French were first to challenge this, but the Spanish exterminated a Huguenot colony at Beaufort "not as Frenchmen, but as Lutherans." The French avengers who hanged the Spanish garrison "not as Spaniards but as traitors, robbers and murderers" were equally silent as to the Papal award. The English had no restraint of religion, nationality or commerce, and in 1586 Drake almost destroyed the Spanish headquarters of San Augustine; but it was restored, and explorations were carried out as far north as Port Royal, especially by Captain Ecija, who noted the frequent failures of Gilbert and Raleigh to plant colonies. On the death of the latter, his plans were taken up by the London Company, who placed some colonists on the James River in 1607. The Spanish council of war in the Indies at once advised that this be forcibly suppressed, and asked for ten galleons building at Dunkirk. The home authorities, however, did nothing, but reinforcements at Jamestown in 1609 stirred deeper apprehensions. The governor of Florida was directed to make enquiries, and he sent Captain Ecija. Through a Frenchman of Havre, ransomed on purpose from the natives, a rather terrifying account of the military strength of the new settlement was obtained. So when in July Ecija descried off James-

town a ship far larger than his own, he remembered his country's maxim that "there was no peace beyond the line" of fifty west longitude. Hastily returning he drew up a report attributing to the English the intention of marching on New Mexico and launching a fleet on the Pacific. The council of war in the Indies kept this report for two years, then forwarded it home with a suggestion that two Jesuits should be chosen from the English seminaries at Valladolid and Seville, and should be sent to England to ship thence to Virginia, spy out everything, and report to Spain.

It is at this point that John Clark began unwittingly to play an important part. In 1611 Sir Thomas Dale equipped three ships to take out large reinforcements provided with mares, cows, pigs and goats. One of his pilots was Clark. They sailed towards the Canaries, then stretched across to Domenica and Nevis for water, past Port Rico and up the coast, reaching Point Comfort in May. This route through the Spanish Main shows an unbounded contempt for Spanish monopoly. But in their wake came a caravel from Spain itself, fully aware of their purpose, primed by the ambassador in London. Under guise of searching for the guns of a vessel of Florida supposed to have been wrecked, the intention was to reconnoitre and obtain details as to this audacious settlement. It was piloted by the Englishman of Lisbon, Lymbry; and at San Augustin took a pinnace as consort. The Spaniards arrived off James River six weeks later than the English, and it says something for their courage that they set ashore the commander of the expedition with an ensign, and Lymbry. Whatever chance they had was instantly destroyed when the lastnamed was recognized by Clark, and the three were disarmed. Clark in his turn took risks, and boarded the caravel, offering to pilot it up river. The master, however, would not bring it under the guns of the fort, and held Clark as hostage. Captain Davis would not exchange the three prisoners



for the one, and the master took Clark down to Havana. Here he was examined strictly, and his abundant nautical knowledge was duly recorded, together with what he chose to tell about Jamestown, an account that probably did not lose in the telling. And thus the Spaniards secured, in an unexpected way, exactly what they had desired. They also learned that the settlement, already too strong to be easily destroyed, was to be reinforced in August by another squadron under Sir Thomas Gates, who was to take over command from George Percy.

The Council in the Indies proposed to Philip that he should ask for the release of the three. London agreed to exchange the two Spaniards for Clark, and he was forwarded to Seville, thence to Madrid, being well treated. Here he was examined afresh in 1613, every possible detail as to English forts, settlements, and intentions, being enquired about. It does not increase our respect for Clark that whereas at Havana he had declared himself of the religion of his king, at Madrid he professed to be a Catholic. On his information, with more news from the Spanish ambassador in England, it was debated whether it were worth while sending an expedition to drive the English away. Finally it was agreed that as there were no gold or silver mines there, it would be good policy to let the English alone, for if they turned their attention to that worthless country, they would cease to annoy the Spanish settlements. The negotiations as to exchange of prisoners dragged slowly, and the unfortunate ensign died. In 1616, however, the matter was settled; Dale hanged Lymbry on a voyage homewards, and few will pity the Traitor-spy; Clark was handed over to the English ambassador in Madrid, on whose receipt the commander was delivered to the Spanish ambassador in London.

Clark at once re-entered the Virginian trade and made several voyages taking out many cattle from

Ireland in 1619. When, therefore, Robert Cushman next year was equipping an expedition in London to take the Pilgrims to Virginia, he was glad to hire Clark, which he did before he began negotiating for the *Mayflower*. Christopher Jones was not familiar with American waters, and probably he was willing to profit by Clark's knowledge of the routes. But they met such storms that for days together they "could not bear a knot of sail"; and when they made Cape Cod, they were unable to get further south. So Clark's Virginian experience was of no special value, and the pilgrims turned to the books and maps of Captain John Smith, which they had providently brought. These showed where they were, and indicated across the bay the mouth of a stream where Smith thought a town might be founded, on which he had conferred the name Plymouth. Without at once adopting his suggestion, they began to explore. Clark took a share in the "third discovery," and after a storm was the first to step on an island three miles north-east of the future Plymouth; this was named, in his honour, Clark's Island.

The modest isle of yonder bay,  
 Screened from the rougher blasts and spray,  
 There, long by storm and billow driven,  
 With mast and sail to fragments riven,  
 The wanderers sought its welcome shore,  
 And safe their struggling shallop moor;  
 There watchful met the earliest dawn,  
 Which first revealed the sabbath morn,  
 That prayer and praise might o'er the deep  
 Their swelling strains harmonious keep.

Clark was fortunate enough to escape the sickness that carried off many of the crew and officers, besides half the emigrants, and he set sail back in April, 1621, intending, according to Bradford, to return and fish for whale next winter.

Ten months later he was made a free Brother of the

Virginia Company, in consideration of his good service, and had some shares of land bestowed on him in July, 1622. It would be extremely interesting to know whether he took out Henry Jacob that year. The Puritans had been increasing their settlements, Blackwell going in 1618, Lawne in 1619, William Bennett in 1620, while Daniel Gookin transplanted others in 1621 to New Port-Newce, and Nathaniel Basse took more next year. Jacob had promised to go, was amicably released from his pastorate in London, and made his will in October, 1622, shortly before embarking, expecting his sons to follow in spring. Now Clark was engaged by Gookin to take out the *Providence*, which arrived in Virginia on 10th April. Jacob's will was proved in May, 1624, but search has not been made for Clark's will, though he died in Virginia about the same time.

His story reminds us that the Pilgrims were not the first successful colony of English, nor even of Puritans. Even more remarkable is it, that a project for a Spanish Armada to destroy these colonies had been abandoned, on the evidence given by Clark. Little did the Pilgrims know that but for the pilot of their *Mayflower*, Spain would have blotted out the English at Jamestown as she had the French at Fort Caroline. To his information that there was no gold or silver, that the only exports were timber and sassafras, was due the immunity from attack which allowed the foothold to be strengthened, and encouraged the Pilgrims to plan that emigration, whose success altered the destiny of the New World.

W. T. WHITLEY.

## The Psalmody of the Pilgrims

**E**VERYONE is familiar with the lines of the poet who, narrating the Landing of the Pilgrims on Plymouth Rock, declares that

“ They shook the depths of the forest gloom  
With their hymns of lofty cheer.”

Not so familiar is the testimony of Winslow that on the eve of their departure from Leyden, “ we refreshed ourselves, after tears, with singing of Psalms, making joyful melody with our hearts as well as with the voice, there being many of our congregation very expert in music ; and indeed it was the sweetest melody that ever mine ears heard.”

It is natural to inquire what Psalms did the Pilgrims sing ? The familiar “ Old Version ” of Sternhold, Hopkins, and their collaborators is, of course, possible, but unlikely, unless there were no available version more nearly approaching the Puritan ideal of close conformity to the Hebrew text. And there was such a version ready to hand, which had the additional recommendation of a Non-conformist Origin. Longfellow is in all likelihood right in his word-picture of Priscilla Mullens at her spinning-wheel :—

“ Open wide on her lap lay the well-worn Psalm-book of Ainsworth,  
Printed in Amsterdam, the words and the music together,  
Rough-hewn, angular notes, like stones in the wall of a church-  
yard,  
Darkened and overhung by the running vine of the verses ;  
Such was the book from whose pages she sang the old Puritan  
anthem.”

Henry Ainsworth, probably descended from a Lancashire family, was born in Norfolk about 1570. Of his early life nothing is certainly known ; but soon after the judicial murders of Barrowe, Greenwood, and Penry we find him associated with the exiled church of Separatists at Amsterdam, in great poverty, but already in high repute for learning. He was chosen Teacher, and afterwards Pastor, of the Church, and beside numerous controversial writings he produced commentaries on several books of Holy Scripture, which continued to be much esteemed for quite two hundred years after his death. His Psalter appeared in 1612 ; and he died about 1623.

The full title of the Psalter is as follows :—

THE BOOK OF | PSALMS : | Englished both in  
Prose | and Metre | with Annotations, opening the  
words | and sentences, by conference | with other  
Scriptures | By H. A. | Ephe. 5. 18. 19. | Be ye  
filled with the Spirit : speaking to your- | selves in  
Psalms and hymns, and spi- | ritual Songs : singing  
and making | melodie in your hart | to the Lord. |  
Imprinted at Amsterdam | By Giles Thorp. | Ao.  
Di. 1612.||

There were impressions in 1617, 1626, and 1639, and a modern reprint in 1846. The original edition, a square quarto, is described as “ a curiosity in the way of printing, as every available type appears to have been used from Old English to italics, and as these are jumbled together indiscriminately, the printed page displays a remarkable and certainly very unusual appearance.”

About one third of the whole version is in ballad metre ; the remainder exhibits thirteen metrical forms, five of them being in ten-syllable lines. The verse is often very rugged ; the use of the divine name “ Jah ” is frequent ; and the Hebrew Musical Note “ Selah ” is always inserted (not as a parenthesis, but as part of the metre), and is often made to rhyme with “ obey.”

Another interesting feature is that occasionally two or three words are joined by hyphens, to show that they together represent one word of the Original.

The following extracts may serve as specimens of Ainsworth's versification :—

Ps. 23, 1-4.—“ Jehovah feedeth me, I shall not lack,  
 In grassy folds, he down dooth make me lye :  
     he gently-leads me, quiet Waters by,  
 He dooth return my soul : for his name sake,  
     in paths of justice leads-me-quietly.  
 Yea, though I walk, in dale of deadly shade,  
     ile fear none yll ; for with me thou wilt be :  
     thy rod thy staff eke, they shall comfort me.  
 Fore me, a table thou hast ready-made ;  
     in their presence that my distressers be.”

Ps. 24, 1-2—“ The earth, it is Jehovah's, and the plenteousness of it,  
 The habitable world, and they that in the same do sit ;  
 For he upon the watry seas hath founded it secure,  
 And on the flowing rivers hath the same established  
     Sure.”

In view of the dangers and uncertainties before them, we may well suppose that one Psalm sung at the gathering of which Winslow tells us would be No. 121 :—

“ I lift mine eyes up to the Mounts  
     from whence shal come mine aide ;  
 Mine ayde it comes from with the LORD,  
     Which heav'ns and earth hath made.  
 Let him not give thy foot to slide,  
     nor slumber that thee keeps.  
 Loe, he that keepeth Israel,  
     he slumbers not, nor sleeps.  
 The Lord thy keeper is ; the Lord  
     thy shade, at thy hand right.  
 The Sun shall not smite thee by day,  
     Neyther the Moon by night.  
 The Lord wil keep thee from all ev'l,  
     thy sowl he keeps-alway.  
 The Lord, thine outgate and th' income  
     keeps, henceforth and for aye.”

“Amid the storm they sang,” says our modern poet : and more than once on their voyage they would have occasion to give thanks for deliverance, probably in these identical words.

“ They that in ships unto the sea down goe  
 that in the many waters labour doe,  
 They see Jehovah's operations  
 and in the deep his wondrous-actiõn  
 For he sayth, and dooth rayse the wind stormy,  
 and it dooth lift the waves thereof on hye.  
 They mount to heav'ns, down to the deeps they goe,  
 their sowl, it melts away in evil-woe :  
 They reel and stagger like a drunken-wight,  
 and all their wisdom is upswallowed quight.  
 And to the LORD they cry in their distress  
 and he out-brings them from their anguishes.  
 The storm he to a silent-caulm dooth set ;  
 and then their waves alayèd-are-quièt ;  
 And they rejoyce because they are made-still,  
 and he them leads to haven of their will.  
 Confess they to Jehovah his mercý,  
 his marvels eke, to sonns of man-earthly.”

We may be sure that there was no ceremonial “Foundation” of New Plymouth ; but we may be almost equally sure that the builders of the original log-houses lightened their toll with song ; and what song could be more fitting to their circumstances and expectations than their own 127th ?

“ Unless the Lord doo build the house  
 her builders toyl in vayn ;  
 Unless the Lord the city keep  
 the keeper wakes in vayn  
 It's vayn for you to rise early,  
 to sit up late, to feed  
 on bread of sorrowes ; so will We  
 give sleep to his Lovèd.  
 Loe, sonns are the LORD's heritage,  
 fruit of the womb his wage,  
 As arrowes in a strong man's hand  
 are sonnes of yowthful age.

O blessed is the man that hath  
 his quiver fylld with those ;  
 they shal not blush, when in the gate  
 they speak shal with the foes."

With regard to the musical arrangement of the Pilgrim's Psalms, several of the tunes are those that were already familiar in the widely circulated "Day's Psalter," especially the Old 44th and 81st (D.C.M.), Old 51st and 100th (L.M.), Old 50, 112, 113, 124, and 148. There is also the C.M. "Windsor," from Este's Psalter of 1591; but the majority of the tunes are not found in the English Psalters of the time; they are "selected from the gravest and easiest tunes of the French and Dutch Psalters." And this, no doubt, in part accounts for the fact that Ainsworth's Psalms, notwithstanding their real merit, failed to gain extensive popularity; Englishmen are instinctively conservative, and by long usage were biased in favour of ballad metre, and against unfamiliar metrical forms imported from the Continent. Another reason was that, in spite of their all but idolatrous reverence for the letter of Scripture, those who objected to the use in worship of stringed instruments and organs as unmeaning sound could clearly perceive that Hebrew "Selah's" interjected into English Psalms were equally unmeaning. It thus came about that when "The Bay Psalm Book" appeared in 1640 it gradually supplanted the work of Ainsworth.

It is almost a misnomer to call this "Bay Psalm Book" (the first English book printed in America), one of the curiosities of *literature*; though a curiosity it certainly is, as it is doubtful whether more than about a dozen copies of it now exist.

This "Bay Psalm Book" was not the work of the Pilgrim Fathers, and it was only by degrees that it was accepted by their children. Its authors were Richard Mather, Thomas Weld, and John Eliot, members of the Massachusetts Colony, by which that of Plymouth



was ultimately absorbed. It was in ballad metre throughout, and literal enough to satisfy the most exacting Puritan; but from a literary point of view it is unmitigated doggerel.

Here are a couple of specimens of the Psalms which the men of the *Mayflower* did not sing:—

Ps. 50—"The Mighty God, the Lord hath spoke,  
and he the earth doth call  
from the uprising of the sun  
thereof until the fall.  
The Mighty God hath clearly shyn'd  
out of the Mount Siòn,  
which is of beauty excellent  
the full perfect-i-on, etc."

Ps. 137—"The rivers on of Babilon  
there when wee did sit downe  
Yea, even then wee mournèd when  
We remembred Siòn.  
Our harps we did hang it amid  
upon the willow tree,  
Because that they that us away  
led in captivitee  
Required, etc."

A third edition, with considerable revision, appeared in 1650; it is doubtful whether the revision effected much real improvement. However, it was frequently reprinted, both in England and America, under the name of "The New England Psalm Book"; and was much used by English Dissenters till far into the eighteenth century.

T. G. C.

### Some *Mayflower* Family Connections

IN the list of voyagers in the *Mayflower* (viii. 1, p. 8) there is an unfortunate omission in reference to Francis Cooke. He was the son of Richard Cooke of Gidea Hall, Essex, and grandson of Sir Anthony Cooke; nephew, therefore, of four ladies who were eminent both for learning and for the distinguished position they held in society. These were Lady Cecil, wife of William Cecil, Lord Burghley; Lady Bacon, wife of Sir Nicholas Bacon, and mother of Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam; Lady Killigrew, wife of Sir William Killigrew; and Lady Russell, wife of Sir John Russell. Whence it follows that our Pilgrim Francis Cooke was first cousin to the renowned author of the "Novum Organum" and the "Advancement of Learning." He has the further distinction of being an ancestor, on the spindle side, of Honourable W. H. Taft, who was president of the United States from 1909 to 1913.

Francis Cooke had three sons and four daughters. His eldest son John married Sarah Warren (of the *Anne*), and became a Baptist minister. His daughter Jane married Experience Mitchell of the *Anne*, from which marriage President Taft is descended.

Sir Ralph Warren, Lord Mayor in 1536 and 1543, had a son Richard and a daughter Joan. The latter married Sir Henry Williams *alias* Cromwell. His son Robert Cromwell married Elizabeth Stewart of Ely, said to have been related to the royal family of Scotland. This Robert and Elizabeth were the parents of the Lord Protector Oliver. It is *supposed* but *not certainly established* that Richard Warren, the brother

of Joan, who died in 1597, had a son of the same name, who was the Warren of the *Mayflower*. In that case the latter would be a second cousin of Oliver. This supposition is in some degree corroborated by the fact that the widow of Sir Ralph Warren married Sir Thomas White; and that the names of White and Warren are associated (Nos. 11 and 12) among the Signatories to the "Compact" signed on board the *Mayflower* at Cape Cod on 16th November, 1620.

T. W. MASON.

### Robert Browne's Wife—A Correction

**S**URELY Mr. Burrage makes a bad slip in his "True Story of Robert Browne," p. 28, where he says, concerning the question where Browne met his [first] wife, Alice Allen of Yorkshire:—

"This difficulty is easily removed by the view that Alice Allen was one of Browne's own company, even the "Sister Allens" whom he had at one time unjustly criticized, and whom he mentions once toward the end of "A True and Short Declaration."

It is difficult to see why Mr. Burrage did not correct this slip in his "Early English Dissenters"; for there (I. 108) he gives the persons named in the "Declaration" as Members of the Middleburg congregation as:

"Robert Browne (the pastor) and his wife; Robert Harrison, his sister, and probably his brother, William Harrison; Charles Munneman or Moneman (Moneyman?), John Chandler, and Tobie Henson."

The pertinent passages in "A True and Short Declaration" are:—

C. 3 recto. "There were sundrie meetings procured

against R. B. by R. H. and his Partkers for certaine tales and slanders were brought to R. H. which he straightway received and delt against R. B. the accusations in the first meettinge were that *R. B. condemned his Sister Allens as a reprobate.* Alsoe he saied, she had not repented of her abominations in England. Also that he saied, except she repented of her abominations that night, she would never enter into the Kingdom of God. To these it was answered and witnesses taken, first that he nether did call nor judge his sister for a reprobate, and that he had [too] hastlie harckned to tales in that matter, also witness came in that he saied not to his sister, she had not at all repented, of those abominations in England, But that neither she nor we all were sufficiently mortified for them."

It seems obvious from this that "his Sister Allens" is R. H.'s sister [and altogether distinct from the pastor's wife]. Any possible doubt, however, is removed on the next page:—

C. 4 recto (foot). "The faults they Laied Against him Were, For rebuking Robt. H. Sister of Want of Love AND off abhorring The Pastor; Which They Counted a Slander. Like Wise FOR REbuking her of Judgeing Wrong Fullie on the Printer, Which Was also made a slander."

Cf. also B. vers. B 2. "This R. H. confirmed saing that he found it true; because bie his meanes *certain sisters off his when he taught and exhorted them were called and wonne. But howe far thei and others were wonne it is afterward declared.*"

Evidently, therefore, "Sister Allens" is a sister of Robert Harrison; married or unmarried as Allens is surname or Christian name.

A. PEEL.

## The Staffordshire Covenanters

**W**E have lately met with a scarce pamphlet bearing the following title:—

“A Testimony of the Ministers of the County of Stafford to the Truth of Jesus Christ, and to the Solemn League and Covenant; as also against the Errours, Heresies, and Blasphemies of these times, and the Toleration of them: 1648.”

Documents of this character, differing in expression, but for the most part identical in substance, were published in each of the counties in which the Presbyterian settlement of 1646 took effect. Alike intolerant in principle, they varied in the degree—or perhaps in the frank avowal—of their intolerance. The Staffordshire testimony admits that “some of Eminent Worth and Piety” dissent from them in the particulars of Church Government; with whom they desire “a sweet accommodation,” if only the dissentients will “abate of their love to their yet unproved opinions,” and consider “how God hath blasted their Congregational Way with sects, schisms, separations, and sub-separations, to their shame, our grief, and the woful destruction of the whole kingdom.”

The following are the Signatories:—

JOHN TAYLOR, Checkley  
 NICHOLAS PASTON, Kingswinford  
 ITHIEL SMART, Wombourn  
 THOMAS BURDALL, Walsall  
 JOSEPH SOUNDE, Minister of God's Word  
 JOHN JACKSON, Madeley  
 ROBERT DOWLEY, Elford  
 GEORGE CROSSE, Clifton Camville  
 WILLIAM BROOKS, Assistant to Pastor of Cl. Ca.

**RICHARD BELL**, Stafford  
**SAMPSON NEWTON**, Chebsey  
**THOMAS LIGHTFOOT**, Uttoxeter  
**THOMAS ALLSOP**, Cheadle  
**WILLIAM LANGLEY**, Elaston  
**DELIVERANCE PHYNIHOUSE**, Leigh  
**JOHN SMITH**, Audley  
**ALEXAND. HOC**, Rector de Dreycott-en-le Moores  
**ZACHARIAH CROFTON**, Newcastle-under-Line  
**ISAAC KELLING**, Wolstanton  
**CHARLES WINNE**, Penne  
**EDWARD BARTON**, Wodnesbury  
**RICHARD BOURNE**, Cannock  
**JOHN BOULD**, Alrewas  
**PHILIP SHARP**, Bromley Regis  
**ROGER SMITH**, Norton juxta Cannock  
**EDWARD NEVILLE**, Standon  
**NATHANIEL HINDE**, Penkridge  
**JOHN DOLMAN**, Brewood  
**WILLIAM JENNINGS**, Church Eaton  
**HENRY STUBBE**, Bloore  
**FRANCIS BOWYER**, Leek  
**RO. WARD**, Horton  
**CHRIS. TURNOR DE GRINDON**  
**GARVIN HAMILTON**, Alstonfield  
**THOMAS MOUNTENEYS**, Ilon  
**JOHN BOWYER**, Biddulph  
**FRANCIS STONE**, School Mr., Walsall  
**SAML. FRANKLAND**, Sch. Mr., Lichfield

## The Presbyterian Paternoster, Etc.

(Continued from p. 33.)

THE case was heard by the Lord Mayor and the City Recorder. The Lord Mayor for 1680-81 was Sir Patience Ward, a considerable city Merchant, a member of the Merchant Taylors' Company; who had been married as a Friend with the homely Quaker rite to the daughter of Alderman William Hobson. He was elected Alderman for Farringdon Ward Within on 18th October, 1670, and Sheriff for the civic year 1670-71; he had been knighted 29th October, 1675, and was one of the leaders of the Whig party in the city. The Recorder was Sir George Treby, who had lately replaced the notorious Sir George Jeffries. The indictment runs as follows:—

“*Thomas Ashenden* of London, Clericus,

“*Nathaniel Thompson* of London, Printer,

“and *Joseph Hindmarsh* of London, Stationer,

“Being impious and profane persons with no fear of God in their hearts, on 19th February, 2 Car. 32, in St. Dunstons in the West, printed and published a certain impious and blasphemous libel intituled The Presbyterian Pater Noster, Creed, and Ten Commandments.”

The witnesses prepared to justify the description of it, by a knowledge of its contents were five, viz., *Daniel Watson*, *Bridget Bartholomew*, *Robert Ford*, *James Collins*, and *Ben Willis*. Of these Collins was a Bookseller; and we can well imagine that if he were a Tory (one of the Court Party), and had picked up a copy in the shop of his rival Hindmarsh, he would be eager so to use it as to compass that rival's ruin. His

shop was in Essex Buildings, behind the Temple; and he got a neighbour, Benjamin Willis, who carried on business as a tailor in the same buildings, to purchase a copy and bear witness against it. Two other of the witnesses were in the service of another bookseller, Ben Harris by name, viz., Bridget Bartholomew, his housemaid, and Robert Ford, perhaps his apprentice. His shop was in the Piazza in the Royal Exchange; and it looks as if he hoped, by sending these to purchase each a copy for him and to act under his instruction, to show his loyalty and penitence. For just a year before he had been fined £500 and set in the pillory for publishing seditious libels. But there was a yet more pungent personal motive; for Ashenden pillories him in the broadsheet as one of the four who "thrice a week the Kingdom scare" by their publications. The remaining witness, Watson, was servant to a Mr. Green, a glass-man in the Poultry, by whom he was sent to buy a copy and bear his testimony.

Evidently the bookseller, Joseph Hindmarsh, had warning of what was being done; for on 1st March he appeared at the Guildhall Court, and entered into recognizances in a sum of £100, with two sureties in £50 each, for his personal appearance at the next sessions to answer the charge of Printing and Publishing the impugned libel. His sureties were "William Palmer, of Ladbroke, Warwick County, Armiger, and John Barker of St. Mary Aldermanbury, Waxchandler." About the latter we have no information; the former belonged to the county family of Palmer, who for many generations owned the manor and park at Ladbroke, about two miles from Southam.

The next sessions were held at the Old Bailey from the 11th to the 14th of April. Hindmarsh pleaded guilty, and was ordered into custody—in other words, committed to Newgate. He seems to have been released soon afterwards, on promising to withdraw



from sale and destroy any copies of the broadsheet that he had in stock.

Whether or not the printer, Nathaniel Thompson, appeared at the same time and suffered a similar penalty I do not know. But I find that six months later he appeared before the Lord Mayor and Recorder, being indicted for printing and publishing three other scandalous and seditious pamphlets, viz. :—

- (1.) "A Dialogue between the Devil and Ignoramus Doctor Poore," *i.e.* Dr. Titus Oates.
- (2.) "The Prisoner's Complaints."
- (3.) "An Excellent New Ballad."

Of the Author, *Rev. Thomas Ashenden*, fortunately, we know more. The Sessions Roll does not tell us whether he appeared before the Lord Mayor and the Recorder—as did his Publisher (and probably his Printer), but we know that he was very promptly and drastically dealt with by his ecclesiastical superiors. However much tempted or inclined to condone his action—or even to rejoice at it—as a keen thrust at Dissenters, and as meant for a defence of the Church of England, they could not pass over such a scandal to "the cloth" as the publication by one of the Anglican clergy of such a blasphemous travesty of the most central, vital, and, therefore, most sacred parts of Divine Service as rendered in every Parish Church, as a caricature or Parody of the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, and the Decalogue.

He was doubtless "presented" at the Consistory Court in Peterboro', convicted of "profane abuse of all three," and sentenced to make a Public Recantation of his Offences. Only such a public penalty could save him from being unfrocked, and spare him to continue in Holy Orders. But this he eagerly consented to do.

The Public Recantation took place in Peterborough Cathedral on the 5th of June. The event made sufficient stir at the time to demand a mention of it in so

condensed a Chronicle of the bare facts of English History as Salmon's "Chronological Historian," published fifty years later, in August, 1732.

Under date 5th June, 1681, we find this:—

"Mr. *Thomas Ashenden*, having written a Libel against the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, made a publick Recantation of his Errors in the Cathedral Church of *Peterborough*."

And a full account of the incident was published in No. 1625 of the "London Gazette," for a transcript of which I am indebted to our friend Rev. Alex. Gordon. It reads as follows:—

"*Peterborough*. June 9 (Thursday).

Last Sunday, Mr. *Thomas Ashenden*, Rector of *Dingley*, in the County of Northampton, did publickly, as part of his Censures, make this Recantation in the Cathedral Church of *Peterborough* at the time of Divine Service, he being enjoyned thereunto by the Right Reverend *William*, Lord Bishop of *Peterborough*, who was present, together with the Reverend Dean, *Dr. Patrick*, some of the Prebends, with several Persons of Quality :

"I, *Thomas Ashenden*, being deeply sensible of the foul dishonour I have done to our most Holy Religion, and the great scandal I have given by a late profane abuse of the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, Which I wrote and caused to be Published, Do here, in the presence of God, and of his Ministers, and of this Congregation, most heartily bewail with unfeigned sorrow both that notorious offence, and also all my other sins which betrayed me unto it : most humbly begging forgiveness of God, and of His Church, whose heaviest Censures I have justly deserved. And I earnestly desire that none of my Brethren (*sic*) (much less our Holy Function, or the Church), may be the worse thought of by reason of my miscarriages : So I do faithfully promise by God's Grace, to endeavour to behave myself hereafter so Religiously in my Place and Calling, that I may not be any more a discredit to them. In which Resolution that I may persist, I beg and implore the assistance of your Prayers, and desire withal, that this my Retracting, and sincere profession of Repentance, may be made as publick as my Crimes have been, that none may be tempted hereafter, to do evil by my example."

*Thomas Ashenden* was naturally anxious to do what he could to rehabilitate himself in the good esteem of the Clergy and laity of his Church, and he hit upon the

expedient of writing and publishing a letter, addressed to his Publisher as from a member of the reading public who often frequented his shop, and who had casually lighted upon the broadsheet which had caused such scandal and brought its author into such disgrace; and who after carefully reading it had come to the conclusion that it and its author had been too severely handled—and that though there was culpable “gaucherie” in its form, the intentions of the author were good, and his representation of the positions and spirit of the Presbyterians were so true that such an *exposé* might be welcomed and its error of form forgiven by all genuine friends of the Established Church and convinced opponents of Nonconformity.

While there can be no doubt that it was written by *Thomas Ashenden* himself, it is so ingeniously conceived, and astutely carried out, that while it is manifestly intended to be taken as the verdict of an impartial stranger utterly ignorant of the authorship of the anonymous sheet, there is no single sentence, phrase, or word inconsistent with the fact that the writer of the letter was himself the author of the libel.

For the liberal extracts from it which follow, I am again indebted to Rev. Alex Gordon.

The letter is entitled :

“Some Reflections Upon A Late Pamphlet, In A Letter to J. H.”  
[expanded to *Jos. Hindmarsh* in a contemporary hand].

“Sir,

It is out of a particular respect to you that I write these few hasty Lines, I being a Frequenter of your Shop, where I always was sure to meet with things Ingenious and Loyal (I mean in the way of your Trade) without any appearance of those lewd and seditious *Pamphlets* which in these Licentious Times swarm from the Deplorable Liberty of the Press. [Sixteen-and-a-half lines against the liberty of the press.] But enough of Preamble.

“The Intent of these Lines is to make a few Reflections upon a Pamphlet which met me Yesterday: I am sorry to hear your Shop should Credit such a Scurrilous, if not Prophane Paper;

" However I am pleas'd to hear that you, by the immediate stifling  
 " it, have stopt the Mouths of those hot Zealots, who make  
 " Mountains of Molehills, and greedily snatch at any Occasions  
 " to expose the Failings of their Opposers, as they have done by  
 " this rash Author, whose Supereminent Zeal for Loyalty was  
 " perhaps the only Occasion of his Indiscretion in venturing upon  
 " such Irreligious Allusions, they themselves not thinking their  
 " Familiarity and Sawciness with God Almighty, hath been more  
 " directly and notoriously Profane, and thereby given occasion  
 " to this and many the like *Pamphlets*.

" Well then, it's my opinion upon the perusal of that Paper, that  
 " the Author the more strongly to express the vile Hypocrisy of our  
 " Dissenters, was resolved to expose them in their natural Colours ;  
 " and I imagin he thought of no better way than under this Title  
 " to make their Principles and Practices, diametrically opposite to  
 " the very Fundamentals of Christian Religion ; for in that Pamph-  
 " let he hath dislodged the several Petitions of the Holy Prayer,  
 " and Articles of the Creed, etc., and in their room hath planted  
 " his own sharp Reflections. This (I suppose) he did, as thinking  
 " the Dignity of their new place and seat would make them appear  
 " with greater lustre, and a more advantageous state and pomp of  
 " Satyr. Besides (I suppose) he thought that as the Novelty of  
 " this odd Allusion would make his Descriptions more remarkable,  
 " by bearing relation to those familiar parts of our Religion, so it  
 " would fix the designed Contumely and Scandal against Dis-  
 " senters so much the deeper in the mind of the Reader, the Matter  
 " of Fact being undeniable, though unhappily represented under a  
 " sacred Title.

" Sir, my general Charity obligeth me to think well of all men,  
 " and that the Sentiments of the Author were not designedly  
 " Atheisticall or Profane, though an indiscreet Tale hath laid him  
 " under the Censure of both. The Picture of the Persons he de-  
 " signed to draw, comes very near the Life, but his Prudence might  
 " have chosen a more sutable Frame to set it in, than that of the  
 " Sacred Word. For though 'tis true, that *Scandalum acceptum*  
 " is not always *Scandalum datum* ; yet it is ill playing with such  
 " edged Tools, especially in a Juncture when very ill consequences  
 " may happen by the weakness of some, and malice of others. I  
 " am not ignorant that things of this nature have been done with  
 " less noise and outcry, than was yesterday made about this ;  
 " yet it was ill timed now, when as our tottering Affairs are so  
 " unsteddy, that the Sentiments of the People are made the Test  
 " of Truth. For my own part, I blush at the Author's imprudent  
 " choice of his Title, but can't conceive the substance of the thing  
 " absolutely Profane ; for it is evident the Author's design was not  
 " at all to vilifie the Essentials of our Religion, but only by this

“ Ludicrous Allusion to render the Persons, there pointed at more  
“ familiarly and plainly detestable.

“ To conclude, I believe you (like me) thought that Pamphlet  
“ incapable of giving such distaste, or that from so slight  
“ occasion so great a noise should arise, which made it at first  
“ find a place on your Counter, but since it hath been an  
“ occasion of so much Discourse, I commend your discretion in  
“ denying it a place in your Shop; it being wisdom in all  
“ persons who desire the Peace of the Nation, not to engage  
“ themselves in anything which may increase or continue our  
“ Aminosities.

I am,  
Sir,  
Your servant,  
T.A.

Printed for *Joseph Hindmarsh* at the *Black Bull* in *Cornhill*, 1681.

There can be no question that this was meant to be an “apologia” alike for himself as the author and of *Joseph Hindmarsh* as the Publisher and Vendor of the *Presbyterian Paternoster, Creed, and Ten Commandments*.

In conclusion a few annotations may not be unacceptable as showing alike the animus, the ignorant unfairness, and the special timeliness of the publication.

I. *In the Title.* The use of the familiar Latin designation “Pater Noster” for the Lord’s Prayer may be intended to suggest the Roman Catholic usage; and so to link Presbyterianisms with Papistry, as if one were in league with the other in their common Recusancy.

The use here of the term *Presbyterian* convicts the author of great laxity. Properly it should have denoted the religion of the Directory, etc., issued by the *Westminster Assembly of Divines*; but much of what is here introduced belongs rather to *Congregationalism*.

II. *In the Paternoster.* The opening phrase, which at first strikes one as the very acme of blasphemy, is a close parallel to the words of our Lord to certain Pharisees of His day, “Ye are of your Father, the Devil.” [John viii. 44.]

III. *In the Creed.* (a) Among the sons of Calvin, described in the margin as "the only saints" recognized by the Presbyterians, only one was such avowedly and consistently; viz., William Jenkins, ejected from Christ Church, Newgate, whose licences under the Indulgence of 1672 are the very first in E.B. 27. Richard Baxter was perhaps nearer to Presbyterianism than to any other system; but he refused to be so described, or by any sectarian denomination, and insisted on being called simply a Nonconformist. "Owen" is, of course, Dr. John Owen, sometime Vice-chancellor of Oxford University, the great champion of Congregationalism. The fact is that Ashenden, like many State-Church parsons and laity through all the centuries since 1662, knew so little of Nonconformists that he lumped them all together, Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists, as if ignorant of the difference between them.

(b) "The Year of Toleration" is an inaccurate description of the year of *Indulgence*, 15th March, 1671-2 to 15 February, 1672-3; during which there was *no General Toleration*, but simply a permission to worship otherwise than according to the ritual of the Established Church, granted as of especial royal favour to those who sought and secured licences to do so under the signatures of the king and one of the Secretaries of State. This was a very different matter.

(c) "The Lord S. . . ." is of course Satan. [*Query if not rather Lord Shaftesbury, a prominent leader of the Whigs, and chief promoter of the Exclusion Bill; caricatured by Dryden as Achitophel.—ED.*].

(d) This last clause is rather unfortunate; for although, under the bitter persecution of the Clarendon code, they were driven to plead for Toleration, the Presbyterians when, in the heyday of their prosperity, they had the status of an Established Church, were strongly opposed to the Toleration of any form of worship or religion except what was formulated

in the Directory and the Westminster Confession of Faith.

IV. *In the Commandments.* (ii.) The exception of "S. Oliver" from the general unlawfulness of Image making or worship is most unfortunate; for Oliver Cromwell was a stern opponent of the bigoted exclusiveness of the Presbyterians, and espoused the greater freedom and openmindedness of the Independents.

(iv.) "Forty One" is of course 1641 the year immediately preceding the outbreak of the Civil War; the year which witnessed the Impeachment of Land and his committal to the Tower, the Attainder and Execution of Strafford, the abolition of the Star Chamber, the Commission of the North, and the High Commission, also of Ship Money; the abrogation of the king's authority to summon or dissolve Parliament at his pleasure; the passing of the Root-and-Branch Bill, threatening the extinction of the hierarchy and the Disestablishment of the Episcopal Church.

(vii.) This is particularly coarse, venomous, and malicious; for it is well known that the Presbyterians were especially strict in matters of sexual morality.

(ix.) An echo and endorsement of the insinuations of the Papist Dangerfield.

V. *In the Postscript.* (a) "The Plot" is that invented by Titus Oates; the line which follows is another attempt to foist on the Presbyterians the villainies of the "Meal-tub Plot."

(b) The reference is to the numerous petitions addressed to the king, between October, 1679, and October, 1680, to summon Parliament, which were practically refused by repeated Prorogations. These gained for the Whig or Country party the nickname of "Petitioners"; while the Tory or Court party were called "Abhorers," as professing abhorrence of such disrespectful pressure being put upon the king.

(c) Probably Shaftesbury is meant.

(d) Langley Curtis and Francis Smith were both con-

victed on 5th February, 1679-80 of publishing seditious libels; and Benjamin Harris, being the same day convicted on a similar charge, was fined £500 and set in the pillory. As to Carr, Evelyn in his Diary, under date 21st December, 1667, mentions seeing him in the pillory at Charing Cross for a libel. Pepys refers to him four times: (1) on the preceding day, saying that he was punished for a petition against Lord Gerrard, which he had printed before it was presented; (2) on 20th January, 1667-8, censuring Gerrard for the severity exercised against Carr; (3) on 7th February, 1667-8, that Gerrard "designs the ruin of this man" by a charge of "running from his colours"; (4) on the following day, that Carr had "cleared himself in open courts, gaining himself the pity of all the world."

It only needs to be added that on 21st March, 1680-1, just a month after the publications of the "Presbyterian Paternoster," Charles met his fourth and last Parliament. He found it no more compliant than the former, for it at once proceeded with a new Exclusion Bill, which the king frustrated by suddenly dissolving the Parliament when it had only sat a single week. From that date till his death on 6th February, 1684-5, his rule was a pure autocracy, unrestrained by Council or Parliament. But the four years next ensuing beheld in quick succession the ill-fated attempt of Monmouth, the Bloody Assize, the Second Declaration of Indulgence, the Trial of the Seven Bishops, and The Revolution—the Dawn of Religious Liberty.

G. L. TURNER.



THE  
FEMALES ADVOCATE:

OR, AN

ESSAY,

TO PROVE

That the Sisters in every Church of CHRIST,  
have a Right to CHURCH-GOVERNMENT as  
well as the BRETHERN.

Designed chiefly for the use of those of the *Congregational*  
and *Antipedobaptist* Persuasion; (who *Professedly* own, That  
*Church-Government* is wholly committed to every *Particular*  
*Church of Christ*) and may be of Use to all others, that own  
the Word of God to be the only *Rule*, and Directory for the  
*Right Order*, Discipline, and Government of the *Church of*  
*God*.

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Humbly Presented

By N.E. A Lover of the Just Liberty and Purity of  
the *Churches of Christ*, of every Denomination among  
us this Day.

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LONDON:

Printed for the Author, and Sold by S. POPPING, at the *Black*  
*Raven* in *Paternoster Row*, and the Booksellers in *London* and *West-*  
*minster*. (Price 4d.)

The present writer, when a schoolboy, learned from an old Latin Grammar that "The masculine gender is more worthy than the feminine, and the feminine than the neuter." This opinion was long held in regard to matters social and ecclesiastical as well as grammatical; and outside the Society of Friends the Nonconformists of the seventeenth century seem generally to have accepted it as a part of their creed. Accordingly the franchise of the Church, the right to share in the election of ministers, etc., was commonly restricted to the male members. Occasionally the contrary was the case; the Ordination of Hugh Peters at Rotterdam furnishes a notable exception; but the rule was that of the Latin Grammar.

It is interesting therefore to meet with such a treatise as that of which the title-page is given opposite. It is a 32pp. pamphlet, anonymous, and apparently unknown to Dexter. There is a copy in the British Museum (701. f. 23), and one in the Congregational Library, but we cannot hear of any others. It is stated by its author to have been written several years before publication, in reply to "a then eminent Congregational Minister"; and only to have been printed at the urgent request of some who had seen it in MS.

The author begins by discussing "those two noted texts, I. Cor. xiv. 34-5 and I. Tim. ii. 12." These, he insists, can only refer to "Public and Authoritative Preaching, etc." They cannot be more binding than I. Tim. ii. 9 (about dress and adornment), "which the Ministers and Brethren at this day are willing to dispense with them in." If "all manner of speaking in the Church" is forbidden, what about singing the praises of God? or the custom which requires the sisters "to give an account of their faith, and of all work of Grace in them, in Order to their Admission into the Church"? If this be done in writing "it is; really speaking, as much as God speaks to us by His written Word."

The passages quoted must surely be understood in a sense consistent with Matt. xxviii. 7-10, Mark xvi. 7, John xx. 17, 18, where women are commanded by an angel, and by Our Lord Himself, to proclaim to the Apostles the fact of His Resurrection. Luke also (xxiv. 9, 10) narrates their obedience, though not the command.

In Matt. xviii. 17 are instructions how to deal with an offending brother; if he be obstinate, "tell it to the Church." This surely applies equally to men and women, both being equally liable to be sinned against.

It is a fair presumption that it was in a meeting of the church that Sapphira was questioned by Peter, and returned an untruthful answer (Acts v. 8). Still more to the point is the case of Rhoda in Acts xii. 13-15, who comes into an unmistakable Church Meeting, "useth her Christian liberty, and is not blamed for it." A number of supposed examples are then quoted from both the Old and New Testaments, which tend rather to weaken than strengthen the argument. A reference to Acts i. 14, ii. 1, 17, 18 is more to the point.

The next refers to I. Cor. xi. 5, 6, 10, 13, 15. "There's something I conceive in those four verses that these times will not bear to speak much to; but there is nothing at all in them, unless they prove that women did speak *to* God, and *from* God in that Church."

Numerous duties are enjoined on Christians, that is Church members, in general, without distinction of sex. Moreover, II. John, v. 10 was written to a woman, and she is enjoined "to be active in opposing false teachers and false preaching, which cannot be done without speaking in, or to, the Church." And "I am apt to think that those brethren that are so much against the sisters speaking in the Church, would willingly dispense with it, were they themselves accused of a crime which none but a sister was able to prove them innocent of."

That it is the "duty, and undeniable privilege [of

Church Members] to choose their own officers," is taken as axiomatic. Acts i. 14 with 23-4-6, and vi. 1, 2 with 5 suggest no barrier of sex. To forbid speech to any, is a real depriving them of their right of election, "which is an Act of Church Tyranny."

I. Tim. v. 9, 10, shews that women held certain official positions in the Church. Surely the right to be elected implies the right to elect. "And if one in office has it, every sister has the same right; for it is not the office, but membership that gives both sisters and brethren a right to government."

"Another reason for the sisters' rights to Church Government may be taken from that great freedom and liberty Our Lord Christ Himself gave to women of free access to Him." "And it becomes not us men, under the name of the Church (which I am satisfied is abused as well in this as in many other respects) to deny those that liberty which Our Saviour so often gave them." There are references to Matt. xv. 23-8, Matt. xxvi. 7-13 with Luke vii. 37-50, Mark v. 25-34, Luke viii. 43-8, Luke xiii. 11-16, John iv. 9-26, viii. 3-11, xi. passion.

The author seeks to strengthen his position by references to Old Testament examples of women honoured by God as His messengers; as Deborah, Hannah, Huldah, King Samuel's Mother; some of whom "knew more of the Mind of God than the whole Church—more than the king, priests, Levites, and Governors." There are also references to Abigail, Esther, Elizabeth, the Mother of Our Lord, and Priscilla the teacher of Apollos.

He next reminds objectors that they enjoy their just rights and liberties, of which for many years they were deprived by Church Tyrants, rights which they have strenuously asserted and honourably maintained; yet they practically allow that evil in themselves which they justly condemned in others. Further, in every free community the minority are ruled by the majority. But in many Congregational and Baptist Churches this

order is reversed—where of the entire membership perhaps a hundred are women, and only fifty, forty, or thirty are men. It would be more reasonable if the majority were received on the understanding that “they are to come into the Church only as hewers of wood and drawers of water for the brethren”; or if “the brethren of the Churches had such a power over the sisters as parents have over their children; or did they pretend to such a right over them as the conqueror has over the conquered.” But no such pretence is alleged. Finally, is not the claim of men to exercise authority over women in religious matters closely analogous to the claim of the Pope to exercise a like power over the laity?

He goes on to deal with sundry objections:

(1) To allow women to speak in or to the Church is to allow them to usurp authority, contrary to I. Tim. ii. 12. This is nothing to the point, unless it be usurpation for a servant maid to speak to her master.

(2) Women have not capacity or judgment to manage Church Affairs as they ought to be managed. This is not true: many women have more knowledge and capacity than some men.

(3) “If sisters should be admitted to intermeddle in the Government of a Church it would bring confusion, etc.” As much may be said against the brethren’s governing, for they also are subject to manifold weaknesses and infirmities in respect to judgment. Let them not then deprive others of their right “on any imaginary objection, without so much as to make a trial.”

(4) What is demanded would bring us under petticoat government, which is contrary to the light and law of Nature. “This shows much pride, as well as want of due consideration of what is pleaded,” which is “not that women should serve the men as the men do now serve the women,” but that there should be an equality.

(5) The only other objection our author can think of is that in Rev. ii. 20 the Church is blamed for allowing "that woman Jezebel to teach and to seduce, etc." But her fault was falsely calling herself a prophetess, and teaching contrary to sound faith and good morals. He concluded with an earnest appeal to Christian women to strive, with all due earnestness and modesty, for the restoration of those rights which are now unjustly withheld; meanwhile to "make conscience of doing all you can in a more private way for your mutual edification"; and when those rights are restored, "beg of God that you may be made able, through His Grace, to carry it so that the brethren may be convinced that they have erred, and been mistaken in their judgments of your unfitness and inability to manage Church work; . . . and that they have for many years, been unfaithful to Christ and His Churches, in denying Him such servants, and His Church such helpers, that He hath appointed to be in His Church until the time of the Restoration of all things."

It is somewhat remarkable that our author makes no mention of Rom. xvi. 1 or Gal. iii. 28.

## Religious Liberty under the Regency

(Continued from p. 56.)

IV. The Act of 1812 seems to have put an end to the penalization of Nonconformists under the Conventicle Act; but the spirit that prompted such persecution was far from being exorcised. Lord Barham, of Barham Court, Kent, founded a Sunday School in the village where he resided, and was accustomed to attend the evening worship carried on therein. On his lordship's death the Honourable Charles Noel came to reside in the same mansion, and carried on the Sunday School; but the state of his health making it imprudent for him to go abroad on winter evenings, he removed the evening service to his own house. This was no case of Nonconformity; Mr. Noel was an adherent of the Established Church, and his action had the approval of the vicar and the curate of a neighbouring parish. But the service was open to the neighbours, who attended to the number of twenty or thirty; and the house was not certified and registered as a dissenter's meeting under the Toleration Act. Whereupon the Earl of Romney laid an information against Mr. Noel for knowingly permitting two unlawful assemblies "for religious worship of Protestants," on 31st December, 1815, and 7th January, 1816. The case was heard on 1st April, 1816 (surely the most fitting day in the calender); Mr. Noel admitted the facts, simply pleading ignorance of the law; Lord Romney "thought it necessary to observe that, as *complainant and informer*, he took the whole matter upon himself." The full penalty of £20 for each offence was imposed, which was immediately paid by Mr. Noel's steward; in reply to whom

the chairman answered that after payment of expenses half the remainder *went to the informer*, and half to the poor of the parish.

V. On Sunday, 7th April, 1816, Mr. Robert Newstead, a Methodist preacher, preached in a field at Doddington, Cambridgeshire. Among his hearers was a servant of Rev. Augustus Peyton, rector of Doddington; on whose evidence Mr. Peyton and another magistrate convicted Mr. Newstead of "collecting together a congregation or assembly of persons, and preaching to them otherwise than according to the liturgy and practice of the Church of England, in a field which had not been licensed." The servant admitted that "he did not know what he preached, whether it were a prayer or a sermon . . . but he knew that it was contrary to the liturgy of the Church of England because he had not a prayer book in his hand!" Mr. Newstead appealed to Quarter Sessions, held at Wisbeach on 17th July following; the conviction was confirmed, and the preacher sentenced to a fine of £30 or three months' imprisonment. But a case was demanded for the Court of King's Bench; whereupon the prosecutors abandoned the prosecution, and engaged not to enforce the penalty.

VI. On Sunday, 17th June, 1821, Mr. Samuel Waller, a respectable manufacturer at Ashton-under-Line, and a member of the Primitive Methodist Society, committed the serious offence of preaching on the steps of a friend's house, opposite one of the widest streets in the town. The audience was vaguely estimated at "200 or 300"; the time, five in the afternoon; the place "within about twenty yards of the churchyard gate." For this crime he was, on 23rd July, convicted at the Salford Quarter Sessions of "a Misdemeanour and Nuisance," committed to prison for three months, and required to give security to keep the peace for two years. It was afterwards stated, on the authority of some persons then present, that "on



the same day the same punishment was inflicted for selling songs so grossly obscene that counsel for the prosecution thought it improper they should be read in Court."

Few will be disposed to say, in view of the above extracts, that "The former days were better than these."

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### In Memoriam

**W**E have to place on record, with deep regret, the death of our late esteemed Treasurer, Rev. Geo. Lyon Turner, M.A., which took place at Bramblecot, Hayling Island, on 13th August, in his 76th year. Professor Turner was a Cheshunt student, and took high honours in London University, gaining the gold medal in philosophy. After a short pastorate at Long Melford (1868-1870) he was called to a tutorship in Hackney College (1870-80), and thence to a similar post in Lancashire College (1881-89). He then resumed pastoral work at Lewisham, retiring from active service in 1903. His later years were devoted mainly to historical research; and students of Puritan History can never dispense with his monumental work, "Original Records of Early Nonconformity under Persecution and Indulgence," in which the Official Documents, 1665-1672, are reproduced with the minutest accuracy, and carefully classified and annotated. Three of his children are engaged in missionary service: a daughter in India, a son in Central Africa, and another in China. To them, and to Mrs. Turner, we offer our heartiest sympathy.

## Review

VENTURERS FOR THE KINGDOM: A STUDY IN THE HISTORY OF THE PILGRIM FATHERS. By Henry G. Wood, M.A. [Hodder and Stoughton, 8vo., xiv.: 254 pp.]

It was a happy inspiration, for which the *Mayflower* Tercentenary Celebration Committee deserves credit, to select Mr. Herbert Wood to write this small but authoritative work to meet the demands of the many who desire to know more of the great "Venturers for the Kingdom," who sailed away to the mysterious West in 1620, and whose venture has proved so powerful a factor in the history of a continent, and, indeed, in the history of Christian civilization. Many books on the topic already existed; good books, too, among them. But another book, *this* book, as we easily recognize on reading it, was wanted. The study of the great Fathers, who were so profoundly unsuspecting of their greatness, had to be levelled up to the progress of historic research. Our knowledge of the events has advanced proportionately as the country involved in this story realized its greatness. Moreover, a book was wanted which would homologize our fresh conceptions of the character of the men, and of their ideals, and their deeds. The stores of fresh knowledge which have rewarded the labours of many diligent researches, have refurnished our imagination, and given us, as they are ably handled in Mr. Wood's pages, a better understanding of the great enterprise and the chief actors in it. And there is another justification for the writing of Mr. Wood's book. We were grieved a little while since at Mr. Roland G. Usher's *Story of the Pilgrim Fathers*, seeing there was a spice of malice about a book which libels the memory of the Pilgrims, timed to

mislead the public mind in regard to the Tercentary Celebrations. Mr. Wood, with the patience and the competence of a fine scholar, has answered Mr. Usher's slanders. From the standpoint of the admirers of the Pilgrims there is nothing more to be said. Chapter and verse are given, and the jaundiced view of the ecclesiastical partisan is unpleasantly obvious. If anything further were needed, it is given in Dr. Rendel Harris's brief appendix on "The Legal Processes Against the Pilgrims." But we warn Mr. Wood—Dr. Rendel Harris is a veteran and needs no warning—that the American Episcopalians, who regard the pre-eminence of the Pilgrims with such unconcealed jealousy, and the High Church historians of this country, will repeat the old fables for generations to come. They will still say that these unsociable and bigoted Separatists were never really persecuted; on the contrary, when they were comfortably settled in New England, they burnt witches, and flogged Quakeresses, while a quorum of their elders stood around chanting the imprecatory psalms.

Mr. Wood's book will serve its purpose admirably in giving instruction to those who seek it. It will supply them with a complete and lucid historic narrative, and even more importantly, it will present them with a fine statement and defence of the democratic and tolerant principles which, if falling short of ideal perfection, were admirable and pre-eminent for their time, and held by the Pilgrims and their successors with such tenacity. If Mr. Wood's study has any defect it is perhaps in the modified praise which is all he can accord to the Pilgrims and their descendants for their small effort to evangelize the natives. We think they were more active in their missionary efforts than Mr. Wood would indicate; as he would perceive if he would be good enough to glance at the authorities given in the last section of the Bibliography printed in the present issue of our *Transactions*.

W. PIERCE.

## The Fourth International Congregational Council

Boston, Mass., June 29th–July 6th, 1920.

OUR *Transactions* do not normally deal with current events; but an exception may be made in this case, especially as the Council had among its objects a celebration of the Tercentenary of 1620. Most of the English delegates voyaged by the *Adriatic*. Like the *Mayflower*, the ship sailed from Southampton; and as was written of the Scrooby Church in its migration to Holland, so it might be written of us, "they were obliged to bribe and fee the mariners and give extraordinary rates for their passage." There the outward resemblances end. No one was washed overboard, no one died on the voyage, no little Oceanus was born. We were only one Sunday at sea, and in the morning listened to the Purser reading Matins; but in the evening, led by Dr. Horton, we had a service more congenial to our Pilgrim spirit.

We found the country more thickly populated than our forefathers did in 1620, but somehow or other it was not till we reached Boston, and, indeed, the Congregational House there, that we got into sympathetic touch with our spiritual kinsmen. The time of year was not the best, many Boston citizens being out of town, and the place of Meeting left much to be desired. The Mechanics' Hall is suited for exhibitions, but not for speaking and hearing. It was, therefore, an agreeable experience to get through the opening proceedings with a fair measure of comfort and satisfaction.

Now the Chronicles of the Council are, or will be, written elsewhere, and I have only to touch on a few matters particularly relevant to our journey. The

action of the *Adriatic* Company in sending a Marconigram of congratulations to Dr. John Brown on his ninetieth birthday was warmly endorsed by the Council under the able moderatorship of Dr. James L. Barton. Here let me note with mingled feelings the splendid way in which for months past *The Boston Congregationalist* has supplied its readers with Pilgrim information, and evoked new interest in the men of Scrooby and the *Mayflower*. Alas for our own poverty in this respect.

Some of us were greatly interested in a visit to Marblehead and Salem, with their many survivals and memories of olden days; and the present writer, with Rev. Sidney Berry, had a most enjoyable experience as the guests of the Essex Congregational Club at Gloucester. But naturally the excursion *par excellence* was to Plymouth. Most of the British delegates were taken there and back in motor cars, and so were enabled to see at least the externals of rural life in New England. The day itself was superb; unhappily the organization of the proceedings left much to be desired; what should have been a pilgrimage became a picnic, and of the five chosen speakers only one or two seemed to have anything like a fitting conception of the time and place. Where we should have had dignity and a call to new consecration we had persiflage, platitudes, or irrelevances. Some of us were glad to steal away to the quiet peace of Burial Hill, and to find there in communion with the spirits of William Bradford and his Pilgrim Company that for which our hearts were athirst.

It is surprising that amid the myriad names of English towns and villages that have been transplanted to America there is no Scrooby or Austerfield. I hope that, through the efforts of our friend Dr. Dunning, who has much to do with the forthcoming celebrations at Plymouth, these honoured names may be perpetuated in some Avenue or Square in that City.

I feel I am trespassing on space, but I must say how well one of our members, Dr. Peel, acquitted himself in presenting the Report of the Commission on our Polity, both in masterly handling of the past and in sagacious counsel for the future. I must also mention two very helpful exhibitions; one, at the Boston Public Library (where there is a noble statue of Sir Harry Vane), included a valuable collection of original editions of early Pilgrim and Puritan literature, many ancient and modern pictures, crude maps, facsimiles of autograph letters and documents. The other, at the Museum of Fine Arts, comprised loans of furniture, silver-ware, pewter, prints, etc. There was also an interesting exhibit at the new Widener Library in Harvard College, but this I did not see. But I did not fail to have a look at William Bradford's priceless manuscript, "History of Plymouth Plantation," in the Massachusetts State House; and in the Congregational Library at Beacon Street they show with pride a piece of an oak beam from Scrooby Manor House, and a piece of a carved pew from Scrooby Parish Church. They also rejoice in the possession of Bishop Stubbs's Library, which they bought a day ahead of an offer from Harvards, and keep as a separate collection.

Some of us, venturing through a torrential rain, made our way to the new Andover Seminary at Harvard, and had a delightful time with Dean Plattner. The new buildings are very worthy, and the Chapel and Library especially won our admiration.

We are glad to think that the Council has done much to strengthen old ties, and even more in forming new ones between ourselves and our American kinsfolk. Many of us feel that ten years is too long an interval; and that 1928, the Tercentenary of Bunyan's birth, would be a most fitting occasion for the next International.

A. J. GRIEVE.

## A Puritan Publisher

JOHN BELLAMY.

**I**T is generally understood that, with the exception of an Almanack, The Bay Psalm Book (1640) was the first English book printed in America. It is, therefore, not without interest to enquire by what agency was the earliest American literature introduced to English readers.

The answer is furnished by the title-page of "A Sermon preached at Plimouth in New England, December 9th, 1621. Together with a Preface shewing the state of the contrie, and condicon of the inhabitants. Printed by I. D. for John Bellamie, and are to be sold at his shop at the two greyhounds in Corne-hill neere the Royal Exchange." The date of entry is 22nd March, 1621-2.

This John Bellamy was born at Oundle, Northants; was apprenticed to Nicholas Bourne, bookseller, "at the South Entrance of the Royal Exchange," and took up his freedom on 17th February, 1620. His name first appears on the Stationers' Register on 10th October in that year. He was a true-blue Presbyterian, and his earliest—indeed most numerous—publications were sermons, though he did not disdain poetry, philosophy, or general literature. "Virginia's God be thanked, or a sermon of thanksgiving for the happie successe of the affayres in Virginia this last yeare"; preached by P. Copeland before the Honble. Virginia Company in Bow Church, on Thursday, 18th April, 1622, was published by Bellamy in conjunction with Wm. Sheffard. But of greater interest is the fact that a "Relation or Journal of the Beginning and Proceedings of the English Plantation settled at Plymouth in New England" was entered by Bellamy on 29th June, 1622. This was the pamphlet well known as "Mourt's Relation"; it seems to have been re-entered on the

15th July next following, by Mistress Griffin and John Haviland, printers, as "A Brief Relation of the Discovery and Plantation of New England"; on sale by Bellamy, and also by Wm. Bladen.

On 14th November, 1623, we find entered "A True Relation of Things very remarkable." This seems to indicate "Good Newes from New England; or a true relation of things very remarkable at the Plantation of Plymouth in New England. Written by E. W. [*i.e.* Edward Winslow.] London, Printed by I. D., for Wm. Bladen and John Bellamie, and are to be sold at their shops, at the Bible in Pauls Church Yard, and at the three golden Lyons in Cornehill, neere the Royal Exchange, 1624."

John Robinson's "Observations Divine and Moral" was entered by Bellamy on 18th October, 1626; but no copy of that year's date is known. It is conjectured that Bellamy may have imported part of the Leyden edition of 1625, and prefixed a title-page of his own. He re-issued the book in 1628, calling it a 2nd edition.

The following, having special relation to the New England Colonists, were also published by Bellamy:—

"God's Promise to His Plantation," by John Cotton: 1634.

"The Humble Request of His Maiesties [Loyall Subjects, the Governour and the Company, late gone to New England," &c. Drawn up by John Winthrop, 1630. (This, of course, relates to the Bay Colony, not that of New Plymouth.)

"New England's Prospect. A true, lively, and experimentall description of that part of America, commonly called New England, &c." By Wm. Wood, 1634; 2nd Edn., 1635; 3rd Edn., 1639.

"A True relation of the late Battell fought in New England between the English and the Pequot Salvages, &c." By P. Vincent, 1637. This was published by Bellamy in association with Nathaniel Butler.

On the outbreak of the Civil War, Bellamy (who by



this time was Common Council-man for the Ward of Cornhill), took up arms for the Parliament and attained the rank of Colonel in the trained bands. When the rupture occurred between the Presbyterians and the Independents, he adhered strongly to the former. He it was who published the "Remonstrance and Petition" sent to the Parliament by a section of the Common Council, which demanded the suppression of private and separate congregations of Brownists and Anabaptists, and the immediate opening of negotiations for peace. This publication was followed by "A Vindication of the Humble Remonstrance," and "A Justification of the City Remonstrance and its Vindication."

In 1646 Bellamy published Winslow's "Hypocrisie Unmasked; By a true Relation of the Proceedings of the Governour and Company of the Masachusetts against Samuel Gorton, &c.": and the following year a remainder of the same pamphlet was issued with a new title, viz., "The Danger of Tolerating Levellers in a Civil State," &c.

But "business is business"; and, however strong the antipathy of Bellamy to the Independents may have been, it did not extend to the legitimate gains that might accrue from the sale of their writings. At various times we find him acquiring the copyright of Amsworth's Psalms, and of his Annotations on the Pentateuch. In 1648 he published "A Survey of the Summe of Church Discipline, by Thomas Hooker, late Pastor of the Church at Hartford upon Connecticut."

"The Way of Congregational Churches Cleared," by Rev. John Cotton of Boston.

"The Clear Sunshine of the Gospel," by Thomas Sheppard, of Cambridge, N.E.

Bellamy seems to have acquired considerable wealth, and to have retired from business some time before his death. This occurred at Cotterstock, a couple of miles from his birthplace, about the 20th January, 1653-4.