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EDITORIAL

THE Spring Meeting of the Society was held at the Memorial Hall on Thursday, May 15th. The attendance was not large, but the keen discussion showed that those present were greatly interested in the Society's work. Affectionate messages were sent to the President, Dr. Nightingale, who was unable to be present through illness, and to the Rev. W. Pierce, for many years the Society's Secretary.

Principal Wheeler Robinson read a most interesting paper on "The Value of Denominational History," illustrating from an unpublished Church book of the 17th and 18th centuries. Those present will look forward to reading the paper, though Principal Robinson thinks the proper place for it—as the Church book is that of a Baptist Church—is in the *Baptist Quarterly* rather than in our own *Transactions*. It appears in the July number of that journal.

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The Autumnal Meeting of the Society is to be held in the Berkley Street Congregational Church, Liverpool, on Wednesday, October 15th, at 3 p.m. The President, Dr. Nightingale, will be in the chair, and an address will be given by Professor G. S. Veitch, of Liverpool University, on "Raffles of Great George Street." Dr. Veitch will be warmly welcomed to the Society, not only for his own contributions to historical study, but for the sake of his father, whose services to Congregationalism in the Midlands still bear fruit. We hope all members of the Society will be present, and that Liverpool Congregationalists will appear in good numbers to hear about Liverpool's most famous Congregational minister.

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We offer our hearty congratulations to the Rev. William Pierce, for so long Secretary to the Society, on the conferment of the degree of Master of Arts by the University of Wales. Year after year Mr. Pierce has pursued his researches in the life of Penry and the Marprelate problem, and it is fitting that Wales should have recognized the labours of her distinguished son.

We warmly welcome Mr. B. L. Manning's *This Latter House (The Life of Emmanuel Congregational Church, Cambridge, from 1874 to 1924)*. It is a model for local historians—clear and concise, well written and well proportioned. A Church in a University town naturally plays an important part in a denomination's life, and Emmanuel, Cambridge, has not only stimulated the spiritual life of thousands of undergraduates, men and women, but its influence has been felt in University and town alike. Mr. Manning summarizes the history of the Church in Downing Place, and then passes on to the fifty years' work under Dr. Robertson, Mr. Houghton, Dr. Forsyth, Dr. Selbie and Mr. Carter. The Church has been fortunate in its ministers—some of them men who lacked neither courage nor humour; witness Joseph Hussey, who preached on "I saw a great wonder in Heaven—a woman," and G. B. Bubier, who held that "an Independent minister who is timid is the most unhappy man on earth." We have been glad to enrol Mr. Manning as one of the members of our Society.

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A good many other new members have recently been enrolled, and among them we give a special welcome to Dr. Sidney Berry, the Secretary of the Union. We count Dr. Berry's association with the Society as a good augury for the future: the Historical Society has been somewhat of a Cinderella among denominational organizations, but now we may begin to hope that it will take its appropriate place in denominational consciousness and activity. If members will only do a little judicious advertising, and inform likely people of the Society's existence and aims, prosperity will be secured.

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An increased membership, which means increased interest, is, of course, the Society's greatest need. There is, however, one other requisite if the work we ought to do is to be done in the near future—the advent of a fairy prince who would subsidise the Society to the extent of two or three thousand pounds, so that the works of the pioneers of Congregational life in this country might be reprinted. Our present income will enable us to continue the publication of two rather slight numbers of the *Transactions* each year, but it will not do more than that. Will not some Congregationalist, whose generosity is not exhausted by the Forward Movement, step into the breach?

We are looking forward with eagerness to two publications which will no doubt be of great service to students of the history of Nonconformity. The Rev. Dr. A. F. Scott Pearson, of the Church of Scotland, has in the press a life of Thomas Cartwright, the leader of the Presbytero-Puritans in Elizabeth's reign. From personal knowledge of the amount of work Dr. Pearson has put into this volume, we believe that it will become the authoritative life of one who played a prominent part in the ecclesiastical controversies of the time. Dr. F. J. Powicke's *Richard Baxter* is also promised in the immediate future. In recent years some of the first-fruits of Dr. Powicke's Baxter researches have appeared in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands' Library*, and we are glad that now what will assuredly be a careful and thorough study of the great 17th century divine is to be available.

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It would be of service if readers would keep us informed of any research work they themselves have in hand or with which they are acquainted. The Rev. A. G. Matthew's volume on Staffordshire Congregationalism will soon be ready, and we hear that work is being done on similar lines in Shropshire, Essex, Hampshire, and other counties. Meanwhile it would be well, too, if Congregational communities in places of historic interest should prepare short histories which would be of public service. Recently we suggested to the minister of Chalfont St. Giles that it would be well that our church there should be kept open, and a little summary of the church's history and a list of its ministers should be visible. The Milton house, in which Milton lived during the Plague of London, and in which *Paradise Lost* was finished, is just across the way, and many visitors from the other side of the Atlantic, as well as our own countrymen, would like to step into the building which represents the community with whom Milton would frequently worship during his stay in Chalfont. We understand that while there was no meeting-house erected then, there was a "gathered church," and the people worshipping in the Congregational Chapel to-day are descended from it.

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It was suggested at the Annual Meeting of the Society that occasionally articles that were not strictly historical might appear in our pages. It should be possible to print such articles, though, of course care must be taken not to

trespass on the province of *The Congregational Quarterly*. There is a good deal of historic significance in our own times, and, if readers will co-operate, this need not be overlooked. We are glad to include in our present issue a paper by Mr. H. F. Keep, the Treasurer of Carrs Lane, Birmingham, which brings the story of the Church right down to our own times. Meanwhile we are drawing on the vast stores of manuscripts which the industry of our veteran and beloved editor, the Rev. T. G. Crippen, has gathered together.

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The tercentenary of George Fox has revived interest in the beginnings of the Quaker movement. We hope it has stimulated some scholar to investigate the debt owed by the Quakers to the Anabaptists and the Independents: here is a wide field for research which is, as yet, largely unworked.

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If any reader of this journal is endeavouring to complete his collection of the portraits of Congregational ministers that appeared in the *Evangelical Magazine*, Miss Rudd, 57 West Hill, Wandsworth, S.W. 18, daughter of the one-time headmaster of Caterham, will be happy to supply copies in her possession free of cost.

The History and Teaching of Carrs Lane, Birmingham

(An abridgement of a Paper read to the Carrs Lane Young Men's Sunday Morning Class.)

ON one of the plates used at our Communion services and on the silver chalice now kept in the vestry appears the following inscription :

“The Gift of John England. In trust for the use of the Calvinistical Independent Church assembling in Carrs Lane or elsewhere. 1771.”

Wrapped up in that dedication lies the story of the origin of Carrs Lane. For it was to enable John England and his seven friends to worship in the company of like-minded Calvinistical Independents that they dared to break away from the Church that had become untrue to its traditions and to build on the spot where we now meet an unpretentious house where their convictions would not be outraged by hearing false doctrines.

That was in 1748 and it is necessary to say something of the religious movements which were at that time sweeping England like a flowing tide.

At the beginning of the 18th century the Church, both Established and Nonconformist, had fallen on evil days. Cynicism, formality and unbelief were rife in pulpit and pew. Religion had little to do with the realities of men's lives. Sincerity and earnestness were relegated to men of ill-breeding and lack of culture. And then, into this hard, frigid world was born that great revival of religion associated with the names of the Wesleys and Whitefield, which is distinguished from all similar movements by the name of The Evangelical Revival. It breathed on the barren land like the coming of spring, and woke to a new and wonderful life the starved seeds that slumbered in men's souls. Whitefield's audiences of miners with the tears washing channels on their grimy cheeks were typical of the experiences through which men and women in all ranks of life were passing. Religion became a vital force and soon found itself cribbed, cabined and confined within the respectable forms of public worship

which the churches at that time provided. As new wine bursts old wine-skins, so in many places the starched and rigid formulæ of orthodoxy gave way before the fermenting zeal of the new life. Religion was striving to express itself in reformed lives and saved souls, instead of in repeating moral platitudes, and in theological hair-splitting. I will say something more about the Evangelical Revival in its general aspect a little later on, but now confine myself to mentioning its effect in Birmingham and particularly in relation to this Church.

In 1748 the provision made for the public worship of God in Birmingham was very meagre. There was a population of about 23,000 (to-day it is nearly 1,000,000) and there were three Anglican churches (St. Martin's, St. Philip's and St. John's). There were five Nonconformist churches, namely, two Baptist (Cannon Street and Freeman Street); two nominally Presbyterian, but by this time frankly Unitarian (the Old and the New Meetings); and the Quakers' Meeting House in Bull Street. Besides this, the Jews and Roman Catholics had their own places of worship, and probably other small groups of religious folk met in obscure rooms.

The first Presbyterian Chapel in Birmingham was built in 1688 on a site now covered by the Midland Railway Station. Twice was this building destroyed by fanatical mobs, in 1715 and 1791, probably with some connivance on the part of the better educated but equally intolerant leaders of orthodoxy. This was the "Old Meeting," so-called to distinguish it from the "New Meeting," which was a mean-looking building in Digbeth, almost on the very spot where our Institute now stands. In 1732 this building was closed and the congregation built a new chapel in Moor Street, which later on was bought by the Roman Catholics. This quaint old House of God still stands adjacent to our own chapel, and I was surprised to find on a recent visit how little the trappings of Catholicism have affected its austere and puritanical appearance.

The Old Meeting was pulled down in 1881 and its successor in Bristol Street is known to us all. The New Meeting migrated to the Church of the Messiah in Broad Street. Although these churches were originally Presbyterian in theology as well as in government (relics of the days when Scotland was called in to the aid of persecuted Puritanism in England in the time of the early Stuarts) they had become Arian (or as we now say Unitarian) by the middle of the 18th century. Under their utterly undemocratic form of government by

Trustees, the congregation had little or no voice in the appointment of ministers. Therefore, it seemed to John England, John Humphries, George Davis, Richard Jukes, Thomas Allen, Clement Fisher and Messrs. Kendall and Halford, whose souls were starved by the hard, cold doctrines preached at the Old and New Meetings, and who had seen a new vision of the Kingdom under the inspiration of the Evangelical Revival, that their only course was to break away and form a new church. Accordingly, in 1748, land was secured between Carrs Lane and New Meeting Street, and a chapel built at a cost of £700. There was a row of very poor cottages between it and Carrs Lane, and, perhaps, it is owing to this obscurity that the chapel survived the riots of 1791.

The chapel was twice rebuilt, in 1802 and 1821, but in this short paper I only want to indicate the history of the Church, which is recorded in the progression of thought expressed by its pulpit teaching and by the active Christian life of its members.

Too often in our Nonconformist churches we are inclined to measure our importance by the success of our ministers in attracting large audiences. While this is greatly to be desired, and enables such churches to be delivered from what Dr. Mackennal calls "the disabling influences of smallness" which narrow the outlook of Nonconformity, great congregations are no more successful than smaller ones unless the minister enthuses his listeners with a zeal for the things of God equal to his own. Such zeal may be shown in different ways—in some cases by evangelical work at home, through Sunday Schools, Mission work or lay preaching; in others sacrificial support of foreign Missions by the whole congregation, and in others, again, by the development of a strong sense of public duty and the sending forth of a succession of truly patriotic men and women who worthily fill the posts of civic government. I hope a properly qualified historian will some day adequately deal with the influence which Carrs Lane has had on the religious, social and political life of six generations in these respects.

The first minister was Mr. Gervas Wylde, who had been assistant minister at Castle Gate, Nottingham. It is recorded in the books of Carrs Lane that "for many years the place was crowded with hearers and his ministry was much owned," also that he was "singularly laborious in catechizing both young and old." He died in November, 1766.

His successor was Mr. Punfield, who had been for eleven years at Winburn (?Wimbourne), in Dorsetshire. John Angell James records that "he was a sound divine, but a very unpopular preacher": while he quotes from the old church records that "his sermons were sound, scriptural, savoury and solemn."

Of the organized work of the Church I can say even less, but we must remember that it had to build up a new cause amid many difficulties, and probably its work would be more intensive than external. That the congregation was devoted to the Church is evidenced by John England's benefactions, not only of a Silver Communion Service, but by a gift of £600. Another worthy Carrs Laner, Joseph Scott, presented to the Church some land through which part of Corporation Street now runs. In the course of 100 years this Trust became so valuable that the income increased to about £1,500 a year. Owing to the unexampled magnanimity of Dr. Dale, the Trustees only return to Carrs Lane £500, the rest being devoted to chapel extension and educational scholarships for Birmingham boys and girls—prizes which are eagerly competed for.

Thus early was manifested that personal attachment to the Church which is still so marked a feature of its life.

The next minister was a much more distinguished man, Dr. Edward Williams. He came from Oswestry, and was only at Carrs Lane for 3½ years. He was a theologian of great distinction, and although he fought his battles for causes which no longer excite us, they were of immense service to religious Truth in those days. "Antipædobaptism" is a forbidding word, and we may wonder why two bulky volumes were needed to confute it. But it was really a learned defence of infant baptism, a rite we still cherish and practise. Two editions of *An Essay on Equity and Sovereignty*, and a treatise on *Modern Calvinism* denote the profundity of his studies. But he was eminent in other directions, for it was largely owing to a letter of his to a meeting of ministers at Warwick in 1793 that the foundation of the L.M.S. is due, while he was also one of the founders of the Congregational Union. He left Carrs Lane to become Principal of the Yorkshire Independent College at Rotherham. His successor was the Rev. Jehoiada Brewer, who stayed at Carrs Lane for six rather tempestuous years. He was a man of fine presence and a first-class preacher, but subject to strong passions which

eventually involved him in some scandal and led to a considerable disruption of the Church. Mr. Brewer and his followers withdrew to a disused circus, or riding school, in Livery Street, which seems to have been the temporary home of more than one migrating Nonconformist church. His people built for their future home Ebenezer Chapel, but Mr. Brewer died a few days before it was opened for worship. At this time, fifty years after its formation, there were certainly Sunday Schools at Carrs Lane, for in 1793 new premises were built, and hired rooms in Shut Lane were used when these proved too small. A good deal of evangelistic lay-preaching was done, which later on became organized and led to the formation of most of the Congregational churches in the district.

And so we are brought to 1804 when a young student of 20, named James, was recommended by the Principal of the Academy at Gosport to the Church at Carrs Lane, and modern history may be said to have begun. Mr. James received an immediate invitation, but wisely insisted on going back to finish his training. The patience and wisdom of the Church in waiting for two years brought its own reward, but for Mr. James's first six years success was doubtful. Then, by his own admission, he pulled himself together, and from 1812 till his death on October 1st, 1859, the prosperity and prestige of both minister and church form an unbroken record of progress. To what, principally, was Mr. James's commanding position due? It is not quite easy for us to answer this. Dr. Dale, in his masterly and courageous biography of Mr. John Angell James, does not hesitate to criticize severely some of the great man's most sacrosanct achievements as, for instance, *The Anxious Enquirer*, and such a celebrated discourse as the historic sermon on behalf of the L.M.S., which was preached in the Surrey Chapel, London, in May, 1819.

One of our most respected members, Miss Jane Taylor, happily still with us, speaks from her own recollection and says his power could not be dissociated from his personality. Mr. James had what may be called the "grand pulpit manner." His snow-white bushy hair: his dignity: his exquisitely modulated voice: the simplicity and pathos of his prayers, and his tremendously solemn message ("as a dying man to dying men") magnetized his hearers. To our modern minds Mr. James's teaching presents few points of contact. I have studied with some care one of his well-known books, *The Christian Father's Present to his Children*, and the outstanding

impression left with me is one of ponderous dullness. There are no flashes of wit or humour: illustrations from secular history scarcely appear, nor do references to current literature, though Mr. James was a very wide student of books. Indeed, he expressly advises that young people should confine their reading to "moral and educative works." Poetry, in particular, was to be carefully selected. Mrs. Hemans, Jane Taylor, Cowper, and Montgomery combined "poetry and piety," but the latter element was declared to be entirely lacking in Scott, Southey, Wordsworth, Coleridge and Tennyson! "Wish not to know what can be said against the Bible," is his advice to young men, and if we get hold of all which that dictum implies it will help us to understand, I think, the main lines of his teaching. I can find no suggestion that he ever admitted that intelligent young people could honestly entertain any reasonable difficulties. The "Plan of Salvation" was clear and definite and must be accepted as it stands, or rejected at the peril of eternal torments. But to continue such criticism is uncongenial to me, and I would rather point out that the urgency and conviction with which Mr. James treated the great problems of Sin, Salvation and the Future Life marked an immense advance on the cynical and polite indifference to religion which was the note of the years preceding the Evangelical Revival. We must place his teaching in its proper historical setting and realize what it left behind and to what it was leading. How, indeed, can we translate our impartial judgment to a period when, according again to Miss Taylor, such a verse as the following was possible in a collection of children's hymns?

"There is a dreadful hell, And everlasting pains,
Where Sinners must with devils dwell, In darkness, fire and chains."

At this point I must say something more about the Evangelical Revival, which awoke the torpid and moribund religious emotions of masses of the people in all ranks of society. Its motive force is even now not fully spent, but can be traced in a good deal of the religious thought and church life of our own times.

I do not know of any complete history of the movement, but the following extract from a great sermon by Dr. Dale at Bath in 1881 contains an acute and succinct appreciation of it. He says:

"The characteristic doctrines of the Evangelical Revival

were : (1.) The death of Christ as the ground for the forgiveness of our Sins. (2.) Justification by Faith. (3.) The supernatural work of the Holy Spirit in Regeneration, and (4.) The Eternal suffering destined for those who rejected the Christian Gospel. The Evangelical Revival was the ally of individualism : it cared nothing for the idea of the Church as the one great Society of Saints. It had very little to say about the relation of the individual Christian to the general order of human society, or about the realization of the Kingdom of God in all the various regions of human activity. It was wanting in a disinterested love of Truth, and it had little of that passion of adventure which strives to find its way into regions where the thought of the Church has never penetrated. It loved Truth, not for its own sake, but as a necessary instrument for converting men to God. Its power and glory were this—that it cared supremely for men, for living men who were to be saved or lost, and on whom it had to press with tears and agony and prayers the gospel of Christ in order to save them. It cared little for any truth which had not a direct relation to Salvation. What it did care for was to save individual men from eternal death."

I venture to think that this luminous description of the whole movement may also stand as a fair summary of Mr. James's teaching, for he was a typical child of the Revival. The dominant note of this teaching was "Salvation." I think it had already slightly receded from the extreme Calvinistic doctrines of predestination and election, which were certainly held by the seceders from the Old Meeting in 1748. Probably the Calvinism it still professed to believe in consisted principally in what Professor Allan Menzies describes as the great contribution of Calvin to the religion of his own and succeeding generations "—a profound sense of the Sovereignty of God." Such a message of Salvation, preached with authority and conviction, naturally produced willing evangelists among its hearers. Zeal for the salvation of others marked the Church at Carrs Lane, and it became a staunch and generous supporter of Foreign Missions. At home the same enthusiasm was evident. Writing in 1849, Mr. James records that Carrs Lane, entirely at its own cost, had built chapels at Lozells, Smethwick, Garrison Lane, Palmer Street, Yardley and Minworth, while Carrs Lane members were also active in forming other Congregational churches in the district.

In 1852, Mr. James secured the help of a young student

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at Spring Hill College, Robert William Dale by name, to conduct the services once a month. A year later he became assistant minister, and on Mr. James's death, in 1859, he was elected sole pastor. Carrs Lane was his only church; he declined invitations to Clapton Park, London, Cavendish Street, Manchester, and Australia. From 1806 to 1895 there were only two pastors at Carrs Lane. Both men were of outstanding personality and distinction, and it was inevitable that this remarkable continuity (so creditable both to ministers and church) should have had a great effect in welding together a powerful society, whose influence and reputation spread far beyond the confines of one city.

I picture Dale, when he became sole pastor at Carrs Lane at the age of thirty, as shrinking from much of the crude evangelicalism which formed the staple of so many sermons. Mr. James's own son tells us that the constant repetition of this theme did not appeal to the younger generation, and that comparatively few young men were found at Carrs Lane. Dale showed wisdom as well as courage in deciding to appeal to the intellect more than to the emotions. He struck a distinctive note both in regard to the theory of Congregationalism, and to those great theological doctrines which he saw required to be restated in terms of modern thought. The Evangelical Revival had led to a very large increase in the number of Independent churches, but so far as I can discover few of these churches cared little for Congregationalism as such. It was enough for them that they were independent of the Establishment, and independent of one another and of that Presbyterian ecclesiasticism which Milton had long ago said was "but old Priest writ large." Few Congregationalists troubled to find any more positive reason to justify their separate existence. Dale insisted on our scriptural ancestry. He contended that it was Christ's own authority that constituted the charter for Congregationalism. Two or three believers gathered in His name represented the Church. He was present and endorsed their decision giving them power to loose and to bind. The ideal Church was any body of people who tried to make Christ's will supreme, and so became the body to a Divine Head. It is a noble conception, and there have been historic occasions when the members of the Church here have thrilled to it, and in self-forgetfulness have come to great decisions in the spirit of their Master. But I think we do not press the claims of Congre-

gationalism quite as firmly and with as sincere conviction as Dr. Dale did. We admire the theory, but treat it too much as if it had little to do with us. Unlike Dr. Dale, we are not "willing to be hanged for Congregationalism"!

When I turn to Dr. Dale's theology, I recognize my utter inability to present an adequate estimate. Dr. Fairbairn supplied to Sir Alfred Dale's biography of his father a very wonderful appreciation of his place as a theologian. I can only attempt here some deductions drawn from Dr. Fairbairn's conclusions. Puritanism had led to a conflict between Calvinism (insisting on the supreme sovereignty of God) and Arminianism (which stood for the freedom of man to choose his own path), but into such academic disputes, Wesley and the Evangelical Revival burst like sunshine into fog. They proclaimed a Gospel of Free Salvation by the Grace of God. But many orthodox Nonconformist theologians did not accept this teaching entirely. They produced a modified theory which ran into barren wastes of verbiage and lost itself in refining definitions of Divine Justice. We read of Vindictive Justice, Distributive Justice, Commutative Justice, Public Justice, and many other academic varieties. Then a new school rose, led by such men as Maurice and F. W. Robertson, that insisted on the primary importance of the idea of God as Father, rather than Sovereign, and Christ as the Mediator between Him and man. Dale was beginning his theological life about this period, and he hammered out his own conceptions. His most reasoned contribution to the theology of his time is found in his book on the Atonement. He had to steer his way between rigid theories on the limitation of salvation to the elect and the innate depravity of man, and the school which preached an indiscriminate Universalism, with its tendency to minimize the fact of sin. "Dale's mind," says Fairbairn, "ever moved between two poles—the awful majesty of God; and his own unworthiness and sinfulness, not by original transmission, but by his own perverted will." If, from my own study of this great book, I dare put into one sentence the essential argument of Dale's doctrine of the Atonement—not the *fact* of the Atonement, which he insists is a very different matter—it is that God is the embodiment of the Eternal Law of Righteousness and to vindicate that law He himself, in the person of Christ, underwent the extreme penalty of sin, the loss of the sense of God's presence. Here again, I think, it is doubtful if this

great conception quite expresses the modern mind, which seems to me to take a less objective view of the death of Christ. But Dr. Dale's great work has had an amazing influence in forming the opinion of men of all Churches, and one feels that Dr. Fairbairn is right in saying that "our generation has had no abler interpretation of Evangelical thought in the high realms of speculative theology." But I suppose the note of Dale's teaching which most deeply affected the lives of his hearers is embodied in the title of one of his most famous books—*The Laws of Christ for Common Life*. Far more than abstract theology such practical preaching went home and sent Carrs Lane people out into the world of business, and politics, and education, and into the relationships of home and friendship filled with a passionate desire to translate God's Will as revealed in Christ into every department of life.

The effect of Dale's virile teaching was apparent. Carrs Lane responded to it and rose to a commanding place among the churches.

And now the nearer I get to our own days the more difficult it is to see the history and teaching of Carrs Lane in a true perspective. A few words must suffice. In Dr. Jowett a leader was sent who preached gloriously the old evangelical doctrines, but illuminated them with the light of his own peculiar genius. If his sermons had not the massive masculinity of Dr. Dale's they strove with success to bring home to the simplest understanding those great doctrinal themes which Dale clothed in sonorous phrases, or hammered into a logical system on the anvil of sheer intellectuality. Dr. Jowett extracted the essence of the evangelical gospel and presented it in the form of word pictures that had the advantages and limitations of such a medium of expression. Justification, for instance, became adjustment; the setting right of some physical dislocation illustrated the restoration of right relations between the soul and God. There are tremendous sermons by Dale on the illimitable possibilities of the redeemed life in Christ; but when these are forgotten, some of us will remember the picture of the little child, stooping to pick a sprig of heather by the roadside, who lifts her head to see the whole hillside blazing with purple glory. But Dr. Jowett was a great and resourceful organizer as well as a mighty preacher. He saw that our scattered missions meant diffusion of energy and loss of power. He felt, too, that drab and dreary mission rooms failed to give to drab and dreary

lives a worthy picture of what Christianity can do, and so he pondered, and at last produced Digbeth Institute as another picture in his great gallery. In its brightness and fine architecture, as well as in its manifold equipment, it was to appeal to all the highest senses and so help to lead men and women and children away from the common and sordid, and to associate religion in their minds with beauty and strength and joy. And he crowned his work at Digbeth by inspiring the host of workers who gathered round William Jones.

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Since the foregoing paper was written another chapter in the history of Carrs Lane has closed and a fresh one opened. Mr. Sidney Berry's ministry lies too near us to see it in its proper perspective, while that of Mr. Leyton Richards lies in the future. But this must be said, that the distinctive note of Carrs Lane preaching during nearly 180 years, namely, the Fact of Christ, is still the dominant note in the pulpit message of these latest days. I believe with all my heart that whilst rooted in the primary truths that lay at the heart of the Evangelical Revival the thought of Carrs Lane has been progressive and has been divinely guided by a succession of devout preachers. And I am equally sure that the old church is still moving forward catching fresh beams of light on many an ancient doctrine.

H. F. KEEP.

Nicholas Lockyer: ¹ A Half-forgotten Champion of Independency

IN the *Trans.* (IV. 98ff) was given some account of Nicholas Lockyer, with selections from his prayers, as reported in a MS. in the Congregational Library. As the author of a little known but vigorous defence of a somewhat idealized Congregationalism, it seems fitting to give some further details of his life, with a summary of his treatise of the subject.

He was the son of William Lockyer, of Glastonbury, born about 1612. At the age of 17 he was entered either as "Batler" or "Commoner" at New Inn, Oxford, and in due course commenced B.A., but the date is not recorded. In 1635 he seems to have been incorporated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge; and proceeded M.A. in 1642. He "took orders," and was appointed to the Rectory of St. Bennets Sherehog, sequestrated from Matthew Griffith. At a later date he was also appointed rector of St. Pancras, Soper Lane. There, on 15th October, 1641, Christopher Good had been chosen for Lecturer, the then rector, George or Gerard Eccop not consenting. The rectory was sequestrated in 1643, but Lockyer's appointment was somewhat later. At this time he inclined to Presbyterianism, and took the Covenant: but afterwards he became an uncompromising Independent. On 28th October, 1646, he preached a Fast sermon before the House of Commons. In 1652 he was in Edinburgh, and preached a sermon in defence of Congregationalism, which was intended to be the first in a series of three; but for unspecified (but easily guessed) reasons the others were not delivered. However, he lost no time in publishing the substance of the whole. On 29th July, 1652, the Council of

¹ See Wood, *Athene Oxoniensis*, pp. 738 and 777ff, and *Fasts* 107. The last-named passage is as follows:—"1654 June 5. It was ordered by the Delegates that Nicholas Lockyer, sometime of New Inn, might have the degree of B.D. conferred on him, which was conferred by the Doctors delegated by the Chancellor. Yet it doth not appear that he was created or diplomated." [The Chancellor at that date was Cromwell.]

State appointed Lockyer, with John Owen and Sidrach Simpson, to confer about sending able and godly persons to preach the gospel in Ireland. In December, 1653, it was intended that certain Commissioners should travel in threes on circuit, for the purpose of settling or removing ministers, and of these Commissioners Lockyer was to be one; but the project did not take effect, and a little later he was appointed one of the Commissioners for the Approbation of Ministers, commonly called "The Triers."

At this time Lockyer was Chaplain to Cromwell; and in that capacity, on 16th December, he delivered an "Exhortation" to the Court in the Banqueting House at Whitehall, immediately after Cromwell had taken the Oath as Lord Protector.

In June, 1654, he was constituted Fellow of Eton College, and on the 5th of that month it was "ordered by the delegates that Nicholas Lockyer, sometime of New Inn, might have the degree of B.D. conferred upon him; which was confirmed by the doctors delegated by the chancellor"; but there is no record of the diploma being actually issued. Toward the end of 1658, on the death of Francis Rous, Lockyer succeeded him as Provost of Eton; and on 3rd August, 1659, we find him once again preaching a Fast Sermon before the House of Commons.

Then came the Restoration, and as a matter of course, Lockyer was deprived of his provostship and, not long after, of his two benefices. Attempts were also made to implicate him and Philip Nye in an alleged plot for which some persons were put to death in November, 1662.

In 1669, it was reported that "Mr. Collins, Mr. Lockyer, and others were accustomed to preach in a conventicle in Bell Lane, Spitalfield." The following year he found it expedient to take refuge beyond sea; this may have been on account of a "seditious pamphlet"—so called, in which he had undertaken to prove that the Conventicle Act was void because unconstitutional. Afterwards we find him living at Woodford in Essex, and "attending" if not "keeping" Conventicles; *where* is not stated, and he does not appear among the holders of licences under the Indulgence. But his reported prayers, which range from January, 1671-2 to November, 1678, must have been spoken within the metropolitan area. He is believed to have possessed considerable wealth. He died on 13th March, 1684/5, and was buried in St. Mary

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Matfellow Church, Whitechapel. He left two daughters, Abigail and Elizabeth.

Writings of Nicholas Lockyer ¹

- A Divine Discovery of Sincerity, according to its proper and peculiar nature, &c. Delivered in three sermons on 2 Cor. 11, 12, 8vo. Lond., 1643.
- Balm for bleeding England and Ireland; or seasonable Instructions for persecuted Christians, &c. Contained in the sum or substance of 20 sermons on Colos. I: 11, 12, 8vo L. 1643; 4to 1646.
- Fast Sermons before the House of Commons, 28th October, 1646, on Isaiah liii. 10. 4to, Lond., 1646.
- England faithfully watched with in her wounds: or Christ as a Father sitting up with her Children in their sowning (*sic*) state. Painfully preached on Colos. i. 4to, Lond., 1646.
- Christ's Communion with His Church Members: First preached and afterwards published for the good of God's Church in general. 8vo, Lond., 1647; 5th Edn., 8vo with portrait, 1672.
- An Olive Leaf; or, a Bud of the Spring, viz., Christ's Resurrection, and its End, viz., the Correction of Sinners, and a Christian's Compleat Relief. 8vo, Lond., 1650.
- Spiritual Inspection, or a Review of the Heart; needful for this loose and lascivious season. 8vo, Lond., 1650.
- A Little Stone out of the Mountain: A Lecture-Sermon, preached at Edinburgh, concerning the matter of the Visible Church. 12mo, Leith, 1652.
- § The Young Man's Call and Duty. 8vo.
- § Useful Instruction for the people of God in these evil Times: Delivered in 22 sermons. 8vo, Lond., 1656.
- § Fast Sermons before the House of Commons, 3rd August, 1659. (A. Wood remarks: "This I have not yet seen.")
- Some Seasonable Queries upon the late Act against Conventicles. Tending to discover how much it is against the express Word of God, the positive Law of the Nation, the Law and Light of Nature, and Principles of Prudence and Policy. And therefore adjudged by the Law of the

¹All, except those marked §, are in the Congregational Library.

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Land to be void and null, &c. 4to, 1670. (Anon., but assigned to Lockyer by A. Wood, who calls it "this Seditious Pamphlet.")

A Memorial of God's Judgments Spiritual and Temporal: or Sermons to call to remembrance, &c. 8vo, Lond., 1671.

The title page and summary of the treatise on Congregationalism follow:

A LITTLE STONE OUT OF THE MOUNTAIN.

CHURCH-ORDER

briefly opened by

Nicholas Lockyer, | Minister of the Gospel.

EZEK. 47.3. | —the waters were to the ancles. |

PSAL. 27.4. | One thing have I desired, &c. |

Printed at Leith by Evan. Tyler. | Anno Dom. 1652. |

The Epistle Dedicatory; (8pp.) begins

"To the LORD's afflicted People in SCOTLAND, Be tender mercy by JESUS CHRIST." [Signed 'From my Quarters in Edinburgh, April 20, 1652.']

"To The Reader" [6 pp. Same date]

"To all those of | SCOTLAND | That can read with a seeing | eye, grace, mercy, and peace." 8 pp. [Signed, 'Joseph Caryl, John Oxenbridge, Cuthbert Sidenham.' *Dalkeith*, April 22, 1652.]

"THE—ORDER—of the—GOSPEL,—In some more main parts thereof, briefly and plainly handled, (as such a Subject will permit.)"

The first portion of the treatise, pp 1-62, is the substance of a sermon on Acts 15th, from which the following extracts may suffice to present the argument:—"The principall things in this verse are these, *viz.*, a Church of the New Testament, described by its proper matter, and by a proper effect and operation which this hath, upon such who are indeed turned to the Lord, and able to discern spirituall beauty and glory, it causeth great joy to all such. . . . What the matter of this Church is, read the next words, and they will tell you:—*they declared the conversion of the Gentiles.* What conversion was this? A meer outside conversion? Surely if the Brethren had apprehended no more in them, they would have had little matter for great joy" (pp. 1, 2).

"The complexion of a visible Church under the Gospel is here said to be *conversion*: the constituting matter, *converted ones* . . .

Paul and Barnabas, who were master builders, and surely very seeing men, that they might not make a meer report, took of these converted ones with them . . . what they are, see for yourselves, here they are, discourse with them, see if they have not the same Soul-complexion with yourselves, whether they have not received the same Spirit of adoption, owning and experiencing the same grace of God as you do " (pp. 3, 4).

" In particular Churches, some competent judgement may be made of every particular Member, by able men, in a long tract of time ; and so are these Worthies elsewhere said, with the Church, to have had intimate communion, *Act 14^{27, 28}* . . . Add to this *Acts 15*, where you shall see what is solemnly asserted of these converts, . . . that they had like powerfull, spiritual purifying receptions with the best of them at Jerusalem. And indeed I think it dangerous for any to affirm, that all these expressions might not mean effectual grace, or else be spoken of some only, but not of the whole " (pp. 5, 6, 7).

" Having thus . . . laid the foundation by the Word,—I build thereupon this doctrine. That the proper and allowed matter of a visible Church now in the dayes of the Gospel, is persons truly converted, such as God, who knoweth the hearts of all men, can bear witness of, as indeed sealed for his, by his Holy Spirit. I say, this is the matter we ought now to take, to raise again the Tabernacle of David, and none other, not one other, no, not in a whole church, so far as men truly converted, and very spiritual, are able to discern and judge " (pp. 7, 8).

He urges, by way of illustration, that the church at Jerusalem did not receive Paul until Barnabas had testified that he had " ventured his life in the practice of his Profession." He maintains that if this principle of purity of communion be surrendered, the Lord " will cast such a Church wholly off, which thus suffers his institution to be corrupted ; and so indeed did he write *Lo Ammi* upon the first Christian churches, quickly after the Apostles time, for this thing " (p. 11).

Quoting *Matt. 16^{17, 19}*, he observes : " First, that Christ doth not speak here of the Invisible Church ; for he speaks of the power of the Keyes, binding and loosing on earth ; the invisible Church is the greatest part in heaven. . . . Then secondly observe, of what matter he saith this building should be ; to wit, of such as have a Faith which flesh and blood cannot reveal ; and to a body thus constituted is the power of the Keys given, and both these represented and personated to us in Peter " (pp. 12, 13).

An illustration is found in *Rev. 11^{1, 2}* : " By the Temple is meant the visible Church . . . What then is meant by the Court which is without the Temple ? Men which have only an outside religion and an outside worship and devotion, but destitute of the power

of Religion. What is meant by the not measuring of these ? . . . Do not embrace them to be matter in the Spiritual House ; they are without, and let them be cast out. . . . Such kind of Professors, and outside Christians, will soon in time of temptations conform themselves to the worst of men, Heathens, Turks, yea, and be worse than they " (pp. 14-16).

He proceeds to review the several churches to which the New Testament Epistles are addressed, which " were all thus constituted, with Persons truly godly, so far as a godly man can make judgement of one like himself. Ergo, if these be denied as Precedents, then I would ask our Brethren of the Presbytery, according to what rule they walk ? But if these be confessed as precedents, then I have only to shew unto you that these Churches did all thus constitute, though I think did not long carefully keep and maintain this pure constitution, for which bore their judgement, and yet do. What the Church of the Romans was, read Paul, who surely was able to discern in Spiritual matters, and who surely durst not complement with Persons in things of Eternal concernment. Rom. 1^{6,9} " (pp. 19, 20).

" If it be objected, that there were wicked persons in those Churches . . . therefore we may constitute visible churches now in the dayes of the Gospel, with good and bad, with truly good and seemingly good, such as make only a profession, though we cannot discern the power of Religion in them : To this I answer, ' because such things are, therefore they ought to be ' will not hold. Because bad men were in the Churches, the general state of which in such a time of the world John speaks, *Rev.* 11^{1,2}, therefore they should be there, will not follow ; for then why is John bid to cast out that which is without, and not measure it, nor embrace it ? . . . If Churches do not mind diligently their rule, to look well who they add to them, and how congruous in weight to the balance of the Sanctuary, they may have evil persons amongst them enough, and yet not be able to maintain that it should be so. 'Tis like that the Asian Churches, and most of the first Churches, quickly after the Apostles' time, grew faulty in this kinde, opened the door wider than they had warrant for, by which they corrupted themselves, and for which God turned them all out of his house as defiling it " (pp. 25, 26). " We are . . . to use all care, as much as in us lies, to prevent by the first judgement of the Church all that are not godly from coming into a state to which they are not approved by God ; but if men by their subtilty creep in, as the serpent into the garden, where they should not be, we are to cast out that which is without, whilst within, by the after judgement of the Church, which is excommunication, when it doth evidently appear that men are hypocrites, though not drunkards and such kind of bodily sinners, as I may say, which is far less,

simply considered, than hypocrisy : which after-judgement is an ordinance to cleanse the house of God and keep it pure. . . . The matter of a visible Church . . . should be real saints ; the proper and approved complexion of a visible Church is sanctity, saving grace ; and not one known to be otherwise can justifiably enter or abide within God's Holy hill " (pp. 28, 29).

He proceeds to defend this thesis from 1 *Cor.* 3^{10,17}, and urges that otherwise the Church could not realize the description given in 1 *Tim.* 3¹⁵, nor fulfil the prediction in *Mal.* 1¹¹. He goes on to ask : " How else shall the Jews be provoked, and this particular house be swallowed up in that general, and be made a Pillar in that to go no more out ? It's said that God will provoke his ancient people by us Gentiles : and how will God provoke them ? By the glory and purity of his worship and worshippers. See for this *Isa.* 66^{18, 22} " (pp. 36-7).

Our author then expatiates on the ingathering of the Jews, and the descent from heaven of the New Jerusalem ; when " all Jews and Gentiles, that shall be formed into this House, shall be all one ; and the Lord shall be King over all the earth : in that day shall there be one Lord, and his Name one, one people, one faith, one love, one conversation, all in heaven : This Church will not be a speckled bird as they were for which [they were] cast off ; no, although we Gentiles [be] then joyed to them ; Consequently, the allowed matter of a visible Church, now in the days of the Gospel, is Persons truly holy. Take heed, then, of setting against a Church of such a complexion and constitution. Wilt thou oppose a thing because it is as it ought to be ? This is a meer spirit of contradiction, which borders upon malice and blasphemy " (p. 42).

He next deals with some objections :

(1) " But they gather Churches out of Churches, whom you plead for. Nay, 'tis but Churches out of a Church, Gospel Churches out of a Legal National Church ; and the one being abolished, there may be, yea, there ought to be a departing from it, and a gathering out of it into that Order which God hath instituted, So we find Churches gathered out of that one Church of the Jewes. *Gal.* 1²² " (pp. 46-7).

(2) " Those men are full of heresies and dangerous opinions who lean this way. Many monsters come out of your Independent Churches, therefore surely 'tis not of God. If it were a state congruous to the Word, surely it would not bring forth so many heresies, divisions, confusions. To this I answer, first, All is not true that is said of Congregational Churches, and of their friends ; it hath been an old wile of the Divell to calumniate much, and something will stick. . . . Nay, I know all is not true which is Printed of persons loving and honouring Churches, of such a constitution and complexion as I have mentioned. Witness Mr.

Edwards Gangren[a]. Nay, witness Mr. Rutherford's *Spiritual Antichrist*, pag 250, 251, etc. ; where you shall find the Lord Gen. Cromwell charged with public scandal and unsoundness in the faith, because of a Letter which he wrote to the Parliament ; which letter I here give the Reader, as taken out of Mr. Rutherford's book, that all the world may read and judge what unsound doctrine is in it, 'Presbyterians, Independents, all have here (i.e. in the army) the same spirit of faith and prayer, the same presence and answer ; they agree here, and know no names of difference ; pity it is it should be otherwise anywhere. All that believe have the real unity, which is most glorious, because inward and spiritual in the body, and to the Head. . . .' What heresy is in this letter I know not. . . . All that Mr. Rutherford hath inferred may be collected from the text ; as true, as kind, and as Christian is his construction of that letter, as humble, holy, and true is that assertion of his concerning all Independents in England, viz., 'To my knowledge there is not this day in England any that is a meer Independent, which maintaineth nothing but Independencie, with most of those of New England, and does not hold other unsound and corrupt tenets ?' . . . Surely there be many Independents in England that this good man is a stranger to ; and how he should then dare to speak so of them all as he does is fearful " (pp. 47-51). "Secondly, I would answer this, that there is a difference between a cause and an occasion. That we walk in any fundamental truth in the power of it, many take occasion from hence to scoff, break forth into much wickedness. What now ! Is it not therefore the Truth which we follow, or must we leave following it, because many take occasion from hence to run into all evil. . . . I think the things about which the Divell doth make such ado may rather be thought to have something in them, rather than from hence to conclude they have nothing of God in them ; because the Divell doth not usually set against his own ; doth not divide against the Divell " (pp. 52-4).

(3) "But till Independencie, no such sharp and bloody stirs and dissensions." (Reply) "Presbyterians began it, and their bitterness and baseness hath heightened it to that to which otherwise in likelihood it could not have come. . . . If God had not been more gracious than they ingenious, they had undone themselves and others too " (pp. 54-5).

(4) "Simon Magus was a man in the Gall of bitterness and in the bonds of iniquity : yet upon his Profession of Faith in Christ he was received into Church Fellowship." (Reply) "Surely it was not shows but substance which was lookt at, and conceived to be in this man, so far as man can judge. There were surely outward signs of Repentance, and such as Peter, who received him into fellowship, was satisfied in. . . . That Simon did deceive the

Apostle, just as Demas did Paul, and give such outward appearance of real inward grace that the Apostle thought him to be suitable to the Rule of Church-triall before mentioned, is evident by what is said of him . . . otherwise the Apostles had not received him : and when that his hypocrisie did appear the Apostles rejected him as one not in Christ, and as one who had no share in real grace ; and upon that ground rejected communion with such a hypocrite " (pp 55-60).

(5) " The Apostle saith that in a great house there are not only vessels of Gold and of Silver, but also of Wood and of Earth, and some to honour, and some to dishonour : By house he meaneth the Visible Church ; therefore the visible church may consist of good and bad."

(Reply) " That there may be bad men in a Church hath not been denied in all this discourse. . . . But he saith not that these vessels of earth and wood are there allowedly ; but they are there to dishonour ; that is, being crept in where they should not be . . . they are to be cast out of the Church as dishonourable ; and so indeed was Hymenaes and Philetus . . . which shews that when men put away that which they seemed to have, Faith coupled with a good Conscience, they are to be put away to their master, as vessels of dishonour and appointed to wrath " (pp. 60-1).

It was the intention of Lockyer to follow up this discourse with others " upon other points of Church-Order." But this being impracticable, he added an " Appendix " (occupying pp. 62-138 of the volume) of which the following is a condensed summary :—

PROPOSITION I. " That the Eldership which is within the particular Congregation is not in most weighty things to exert power without the consent and approbation of the Church whereof they are. By things most weighty I mean those things which are most essential to the state of a visible Church, as Admission of Members, Ordination of Officers, and Excommunication of either."

In defence of this position he urges :—

1. That the " power of the Keys " was not at first given to Peter as an Apostle or as an Elder, but as a Believer ; therefore to the Church of Believers was this authority primarily given, and afterwards to the Elders.

2. That Elders are set over the Church by the voluntary choice of the Church, who choose them to be their ministers in the Lord, and may depose them if they prove unworthy.

3. That otherwise the Elders cannot but offend the little ones of the Church, yea, the tender consciences of stronger brethren ; because acts of discipline may be performed concerning which they can have no sufficient knowledge.

4. The Spirit of discerning, both in respect of persons and

things, is not confined as a peculiar to the Presbytery or Eldership of the Church ; when business of great weight is in debate, the greatest cannot say to the least " I have no need of thee."

5. In weighty matters, such as Censures, Ordinations, &c., the Scripture is express that the whole Church should be jointly authoritative. " Tell it to the Church " means the Church, and not merely the Elders.

In the Jerusalem Synod (*Acts 15*) the Whole Church, not merely the Apostles and Elders, decided the question that was put before them. Even in so subordinate a matter as the appointment of deacons " to attend Tables " the Apostles would not act by their own authority," but only confirmed the choice of the Church. And *Acts 14²³* is explained in the sense that Paul and Barnabas ordained such Elders as the several Churches elected.

Even Whitgift, who " wanted not wit nor learning," was yet constrained to confess that " in the Apostles' time the state of the Church was Democratical, or popular ; the people or multitude having a hand almost in every thing."

To the objection that Timothy was ordained by imposition of the hands of the Presbytery, it is replied that his ordination was not to an ordinary Eldership, but to the extraordinary office of an Evangelist. To the plea that Timothy and Titus were instructed what manner of Elders, &c., they were to ordain, it is replied that there is no evidence that they ordained any except by the suffrage of the people.

To the assertion that " if the eldership cannot act without the consent of the Church, then church government is a Democratic, all are Elders, and Officers, and Pastors, and Teachers, and Rulers alike," and it is " confusion for all to have a hand in these great things " ; the reply is that we must distinguish between " an essential or fundamental power . . . in which the being of the Church consists, and is a right, not in one individual, but in many individuals as united in one Brotherhood," and " an organical power . . . which is that by which everyone keeps his place and rank . . . some to judge, others to declare, act, and exercise that Judgment in the name of the rest." This is illustrated by the relation of soul and body : " the senses are radically and potentially in all the soul, and the soul radically and potentially in all the body ; and yet . . . the soul acts all its works by such organs as are proper to each work." Finally, to the argument that " the Elders of the Church are called Overseers, Stewards, Shepherds, Fathers, all which in their analogie hold forth a peculiar and sole power to do things " ; our author replies that the Scripture " doth not intend by these terms Lord Bishops, or Lording Presbyters, or Lordly Overlookers : Elders are so Rulers, and so Overseers, and so Shepherds, that they are also Fathers, and so Fathers as also

Brethren . . . linked in bonds of mutual and equal power fundamentally together ; which no organical power doth destroy and pluck up, but teach men rather more exemplarily to fulfil ; as we see in Christ, by washing his disciples' feet, although He was the Great Bishop of our Souls, and sole Ruler indeed, and Lawgiver " (pp. 62 and 64-92).

PROPOSITION 2. "That Presbyteries or Elderships which are without the particular congregation, exercising authoritative and coercive power over it, are an invention of man. By Presbyteries or Elderships without the Congregation I mean such an Eldership as is chosen out of several particular Congregations, assuming to themselves superior and decisive power over them." This he defends as follows :—

1. A coercive Eldership out of each particular Church is "without foundation in the Word." The precedent of *Acts 1st, 2^d*, &c., does not apply ; for "the station of the apostles was extraordinary, it being the formality of their office to take care of all the Churches." "Extraordinary practices are not fit matters to make up ordinary precedents."

2. Moreover, in that case there were no "concurring Elders of other Churches ; they could not have this, being the first and only Gospel Church extant."

3. No precedent is afforded by *Acts 4th*, *Acts 6th*, or *Acts 20th* ; for "here is no joynt voice of various commissioned Elders" from diverse particular Churches.

4. In *Acts 15th* : "Here is an Eldership of several Churches (indeed) met ; but as touching the coercion of their power, as such an excerped Eldership enforcing their results upon other Churches," this remains to be proved. The decision of that meeting "was not therefore Scripture or Canonical and binding because they decreed it," but because "what they decreed was by debate found out to be expresse in the Scripture, or undeniably deducted from thence." It is true that "A Forrain Eldership rightly constituted hath peculiar authority, i.e. a power of pre-eminent council ; though not a power of jurisdiction to constrain their results to be practised, or to censure ecclesiastically in case persons who have the result of things produced by them do not follow them." Indeed the decrees of the Jerusalem Synod "are said to bind those to whom they are sent ; and . . . they were sent to all the Churches of the Gentiles (*Acts 21st*). . . . Now these had no commission else of that kind delegated to that Synod, and therefore what they did there could not bind them by way of any authoritative jurisdiction . . . where there is no delegation of messengers by mutual consent, there is no right of jurisdiction."

5. In 1 *Tim. 4th* : "Here seems to be two things, a sojourning Eldership or a collegiate church which did ordain Timothy." This

would be much to the point if this were "an ordinary Eldership, such as consisted of ordinary pastors or teachers, and brethren commissioned from several particular churches." But as before stated—"an ordinary Eldership cannot institute an extraordinary officer, as Timothy was, to wit an Evangelist."

6. Furthermore, a coercive eldership outside the particular congregation is not only without precedent in Scripture, "it is a device of man, for it opposes the Word." "That the extent of Church Officers power to rule is no further than the extent of his place to feed, instruct, and diffuse knowledge and doctrine appears by these Scriptures; *Acts 20²⁸*; *1 Peter 5²*, *Colos. 1¹⁷*, *Heb. 13⁷* . . . Where we are chosen and fixed to feed, to speak the word of God, there are we to rule and exert judicial power, the use of the Keys in each part thereof."

7. "It may be said, Elders may preach in this church and that, in many particular churches; therefore they may, according to this you have said, rule over many particular churches." But "Tis not occasional preaching, which one church by consent and desire may admit to another, that the Scriptures forementioned mean and make the bound of rule; but where men's fixed call and work properly lies." See *1 Thes. 5¹²* and *1 Tim. 1⁷*. "'Tis not bare labouring in the Word in a place which notes an Elder, but being over them, fixed and commissioned in such a station over them; and then when this is pitched and bounded, this bounds his work of conduct and discipline."

8. "A sojourning coercive eldership is surely a device of man, and no instituted ordinance of God, because it eludes that end to which it would seem to pretend." This aim is "an effectual remedy of offence, that nothing may be undone, or all done, as to the relief of anyone's complaint, or as to the appointing of anyone his right." But in practice these "sojourning Elderships" are less effective to this end than the eldership of the congregation. Indeed "this whole frame and series [of Presbytery and Synod and General Assembly and Commission of the Kirk] looks more like to entangle and perplex poor creatures than effectually to extricate and issue their distress."

9. "The particular Church is complete without them; for God would not appoint useless things. Every particular Church rightly constituted . . . hath sufficiency in itself to exercise all the ordinances of Christ, to ordain, to excommunicate, without Forrain Elderships of what degree soever." And it would still be the duty of the particular church to preach and dispense the Sacraments, even were the Classis to forbid it. As to discipline, the church at Corinth is blamed for not having exercised it of themselves, without either the apostle's direction or a Collegiate Church sentence sent them.

Various objections are now considered; as that "particular churches cannot make up a sufficient eldership" to ordain or excommunicate. Yet for this purpose it is admitted that four or five elders may suffice; and "a particular congregation may have and yield so many upon any occasion." And "If one particular congregation, so constituted as is before mentioned, be not sufficient to exercise the full power of the Keys without a forrain eldership, then the first church, that of Jerusalem, was lame in its power till others were erected." "And other congregations which were scattered up and down in Pontus, Cappadocia, &c., which in all likelihood by distance of place and by violence of Heathens were in an utter incapacity to any standing, extrinsecal elderships and associations . . . must needs sink from a defect intrinsecal; and in their make and constitution, not being able without forrain power to relieve themselves in the mainest things." And finally, "if the particular Church has not been complete to do its own work without a forrain eldership the apostles would have mentioned something" thereof. But of this there is no trace, not even in *Acts 20th*, where it might have been most expected.

Another group of objections is briefly considered.

(a) "We find no example of separation but in case of idolatry." But idolatry hath had several shapes, according as the light hath broken out in every age, in several degrees. "What is not warranted by the Word is an idol, let present times and abused affections call it what they will."

(b) "We have had many converted under the Presbyterian Government; doth not this seal it to be of God?" But "so there was under Episcopal government, yet Presbyterians gave witness to that not to be of God."

(c) "But many godly being in the Presbyterian way, is it not more proper to purge than to pull down all?" "'Twas just so objected by the godly in England when Presbyterians would have down the Episcopal Church. Many of the godly . . . were for purging . . . but the controversie of the Lord meant, the axe to the root, and so I humbly judge doth the same controversie now mean. . . . Purging doth suppose an encouraging foundation to work upon. . . . Where the form of Government, or the matter of Government be right, something of purging may do the work. . . . But when matter and form are both corrupt and naught—for form knit by situation, and by forrain forensical Elderships and associations: for matter three parts of four naught, prophane, atheists, of elders and people both—how can such a state and constitution . . . purge itself? The bad will cast out the good, sooner than they will condescend to cast out themselves. . . . So that Church State is in this case quite dead, 'tis not a man but a carcase. . . . Therefore to depart from the dead is proper; but to talk of purging

the dead . . . is discourse full of weakness, if not of unwillingness to see and censure our own shame."

(d) "But will not my protest serve the turn? . . . What doth others' wickedness in abuse of ordinances prejudice those ordinances to me? If protesting were only words, then such a thing would do; but to say the precious should not mingle with the vile, and yet the man doth this daily and continually is not to protest, but to mock and dissemble. . . ."

(e) "But doth not Baptism give the form of a true Church? . . . Now we are all baptized." The assertion is denied; for "There may be a Church, and consequently Members of a Church, before Baptism: Ministers are before Baptism, and a Church is before Ministers. . . . Besides, how much this gratifies the judgment and practice of the Anabaptists, any one may see, who constitute Church Members by Baptism; and how much Presbyterians are against Anabaptists all their writings shew."

(f) "But since this opinion prevailed we see a vast toleration of all strange and damnable doctrines." . . . "We are not so well skilled in divine things as to tell what everything is in the bud; we are patient more than some would have us till the bud blossom and bear, and when we see the fruit naught we give our witness against it, by dispute, discountenance, and otherwise as we understand the Word to warrant us. . . . Not by might nor by power civil, but by God's Spirit in his word and other ordinances we fight in these quarrels; which weapons, though not so terrible to look upon as the temporal sword, are yet mighty through God to cast down strong imaginations of vain men" (pp. 92-138).

* * * * *

James Wood, a Scotchman, published in reply to this treatise "An Examination and Refutation of Mr. Lockyer's Lecture concerning the Visible Church." (4to Edinburgh, 1655.)

T. G. CRIPPEN.

Nonconformity in Hull

(Continued from page 43.)

An interesting entry appears in the old Independent Minute Book under date March 31st, 1682: "paid for John Kirkus, his enlargement out of captivity £27." John does not appear in the list of members of the Church, altho' it includes several members of his family. Probably he was a sailor captured by the Barbary Pirates or Salee Rovers, like "Robinson Crusoe." That this is no fanciful idea is proved by an entry in the Parish Register of Holy Cross, Canterbury, which states that Simon Louth, Vicar from 1666 to 1679, subscribed 5s. for "redeeming the Captives in Turkey."

In 1686 matters began to improve, and in April 1687 King James II.'s "Declaration of Indulgence" to Roman Catholic and Protestant Dissenters was issued. A few months later came the Revolution and the liberty under William of Orange.

Ministers came out of their hiding-places and their meeting-houses were reopened, amongst them the Hull Independent meeting-place and the Bowlalley Lane Presbyterian Chapel. Mr. Charles, of the latter, was now able to preach in security for a few years, but on December 23rd, 1693, he finished his earthly course. "The stern old Puritan," says one writer, "was carried to his burial two days later through the streets where Christmas merrymakers held revel such as he had turned away from."

Not long did his Independent colleague survive him. After all his labours and sorrows, his trials and tribulations, "Mr. Richard Astley dyed ye 7th day of April 1696 having served ye Lord as pastor to this Church about 27 years. Flere et memenisse relictum est,"¹⁹ He was buried in Drypool Parish Churchyard.²⁰

An important event now occurred in the life of this hitherto harassed congregation. Having met for many years in the

¹⁹ Extract from old Minute Book.

²⁰ "1688 Bur'd a child of Mr. Richard Astley. 18 Jan. 1688." "1696 Buryalls; Mr. Richard Astley Buryed ye 9th of April." "1696 Mr. Benjamin Astley buryed ye 6th of March." (Extracts from Drypool Parish Registers)

house of John Robinson, elder of the Church, secretly at first and later under licence, they were now able to launch out into full publicity. In 1697 a good tobacconist named John Watson, a member of the church, gave a site in Dagger Lane for the erection of a chapel. Passing down Dagger Lane you may yet notice the Chapel at Prince St. Corner. About twelve feet above street level is a stone faintly inscribed "This Chapel was built in 1698."

Gone now were the meetings held in secret, fearful of interruption by spies and watchmen, although from time to time private houses were still licensed for the purpose of small gatherings for religious worship, for example:—

"1705 To Mr. Jonathan Bielby for occasional religious worship in the house where Thomas Wallis Master Mariner now lives" (This was Independent).

1713 (p. 59B Bench Book).

"Application was made to the court that Mr. George Bielby's dwelling-house in this towne being designed as a place for religious worship might be allowed accordingly the same was granted and a certificate ordered."

On July 3rd, Jeremiah Gill came as a probationer to the congregation. In his own writing in the old minute book he says:

"The summer following (1698) by the good hand of God upon us our new meeting place was erected at the sole charge of the Church and other assisting friends belonging to the congregation. We begun in't Aug. y^e 21st in the year above mentioned, the first text preached from (by J. G.) being Exod. XX.v. 22" ("In all places where I record my name I will come unto thee and I will bless thee.")

The Trust Deed of this Chapel (like many others of this period, Bowlalley Lane, South Cave, etc.) makes no mention of doctrine or forms of government but says . . . "In case it shall please God that the said congregation . . . be by Force or public Authority broke up . . . or permitted to preach and teach in public Churches . . ." the property is to be employed for the benefit of the poor.

In September, 1698, Gill was elected to full Office as pastor and at the close of the year he was able to write, "1698. The Lord was now pleased after a time of breaking down, to begin to repair the breaches of this little Tribe by the addition of some new members, for which the following pages must account." On December 20, 1698, four were added; in 1699 thirty-one joined the Church.

In this same year of 1698, the "Society for the Reformation of Manners in Kingston-upon-Hull" was formed.²¹ This was a new departure, for although the members of the society were nearly all, probably all, members of the various churches existing in the town, the management of its affairs was entirely distinct from Church Authority. Popular Societies were just beginning.

Amongst the early members of this Society were John Watson, the Bielbys, the famous Ald. Daniel Hoare, who was Mayor in 1674 and 1700, of the Independent Church, and Leonard Chamberlain, John Waite, Ralph Peacock, Joseph Turner, Richard Cooke, and Thos. Lightfoot, of the Presbyterian congregation in Bowlalley Lane.

A letter²² from Jeremiah Gill to Rev. Mr. Whitaker, Leeds (Mill Hill), dated April 7th, 1704, is interesting.

"This day eight years my worthy predecessor" (Richard Astley, 7th April, 1696) "was dismiss'd to the purest church . . . Mr. Billingsley (the Presbyterian Minister of Bowlalley Lane) is going to leave us at Hull. He has fully declared his purpose to's people this week and I presume they now take it for granted . . . Mr. Brook, who had been with'em at Swanland about a year, should be there (Deo Annuente) solemnly separated to's work on Wednesday next. . . ."

Mr. Gill was a minister of no mean ability and of untiring energy but died in 1709 at the comparatively early age of forty years.²³

In 1709 (May 24th) Mr. Joseph Sutton was elected pastor (and came with his family October 4, 1709). He was ordained at Swanland, a little village near Hull.

"The several houses of Mr. Joseph Sutton in Mytongate and Mrs. Sarah Jackson, Widow, in Scale Lane in this town were (as certified by Thomas Lee to be used for that purpose) allowed by the Court for assemblies for the religious worship of Dissenters called Independents."²⁴

²¹ A full account of this Society is given in the *History of Bowlalley Lane*, p. 88. Mr. Bayock of South Cave, Presbyterian Chapel may have belonged the Society, for I find in his Library catalogue (already referred to) "An account of y^e Societies for y^e Reformation of Manners."

²² Birch MSS., 4275, Brit. Museum.

²³ "Mr. Jere Gill Min^r at Hull and Mrs Spencer married abt Michaelmas 1704." "Mr. Jeremiah Gill, Min^r at Hull died at York abt Jan. 23. 1709." Northowram Register.

²⁴ Hull Bench Books, 1712, p. 37B.

"Mr. Joseph Sutton (Min^r at Hull) died Aug. 25 1712," says the Nonconformist Register. "A young man of rare parts; a great loss to the congregation, his wife and children. Cease, Lord, help Lord!"

T . . . Fletcher was pastor from 1st January, 1714-5. He died in 1733.

In that year (Dec. 10th) *Ebenezer Gill* "unanimously (*sic*) accepted the pastorate and submitted to keep ye Minister's house in repair and to permit Mrs. Fletcher to dwell . . ." (therein) "rent free until 1st May next."²⁵

The Bench Book²⁶ thus records his taking the oath required of a dissenting minister.

"Mr. Ebenezer Gill, a Dissenting Minister or teacher, then also appeared and took the oath and also made the declaration of the 30th year of King Charles the 2nd and subscribed his name to the said oath of declaration. He also then declared his approbation of the Statue (*sic*) made in the thirteenth year of the reign of the late Queen Elizabeth except the 34th, 35th and 36th and those words in the 20th.

He was ordained May 5th, 1734 (by fasting, prayer, imposition of hands, etc., according to the minute book), but had to resign owing to illness and died November 4th, the same year.

Just before his death²⁷ a new pastor was appointed in the person of Tobias Wildboar, who comes upon the scene in October, 1734.

Writing in the old Dagger Lane minute book some time later, Mr. Wildboar says he "received in Oct., 1734, an invitation from ye *Congregational Church* at Hull, lately under the pastoral care of Ebenezer Gill."

This is a definite statement, proving that the church was still in principle an Independent one, but, as will shortly be seen, changes were creeping in.

As he seems to have been unable to settle finally at Hull until 1736 (he came to Hull, he says, April 16th, 1736), the Rev. W. Martin was appointed as assistant preacher in 1735.

The following year Mr. Wiseman gave £200 for the use of the minister and in 1744 Mr. Howsom or Howson left £100.²⁸

²⁵ Old Minute Book.

²⁶ P. 120B.

²⁷ "Mr. Ebenezer Gill, Min^r in Hull died, 1734." Northowram Register.

²⁸ In 1743 the £200 was in the hands of J. Bielby and Samuel Watson, members; the £100 was placed in the hands of Alderman Bielby. See Lawton's *Collections*, 1840—payment was afterwards suspended.

A silver candlestick and snuffers were presented by Christopher Hemloc in 1746 (September 28) for the use of the chapel.

From about 1700 there was much interchange between the Presbyterian and Independent ministers of the district, which is proved by their entries of baptisms in the various registers, several of which I have examined. As the historian of Bowlalley Lane says :

“The differences of Presbyterianism and Independency seem, in the first part of the 18th century, to have worn down considerably and thus helped the congregations of early Dissent to fraternize to an extent that seems strange in the light of later events.”

Yet sometimes it has been the cause of trouble. In this church, we notice Mr. Wildboar's entry on October 30, 1748—“Mr. Townsend was chose at a church-meeting as a co-pastor, to which, for the sake of peace, I consented.”

Evidently there was some difficulty. “1748 Nov. 13, Mr. M. Townsend complied with the choice.”

Mr. Wildboar's entry regarding the ordination of this young man is still more interesting:—“1749, May 10th, Mr. Townsend ordained by fasting and prayer and by the hands of the Presbytery. N.B. Bro. Walker of Leeds preached Acts, 28. v. 22, Self prayed over him and Mr. Whitaker of Scarborough ga' the charge.”

“Bro. Walker” was the Rev. T. Walker of Mill Hill Presbyterian Church, Leeds, and the other minister was the Rev. W. Whitaker, Presbyterian, of Scarborough.

Only fifteen years separates this statement of Presbytery from the remark *re* “Congregational Church.”

Mr. Wildboar would have left before this (he having had an invitation to Birmingham) but the majority of the members pressed him to stay, a vote being taken on the matter.

In 1759 Mr. Wildboar died, having been (says the record) “afflicted with the palsy.”

Mr. James Cunningham, who had been elected co-pastor after Mr. Townsend had left, was appointed to the full pastorate and remained until 1762, when he removed to Ellenthorpe.

He was followed by the Rev. Rest Knipe, who only stayed until 1766, and in 1767 came the Rev. John Burnett.

Long before the foundation of the L.M.S. and similar societies, the churches of Hull took an interest in missionary work, and the state of the Red Indian people across the

Atlantic attracted much attention. In an account of an Indian Charity School in Lebanon, Conn. (carried on by Dr. E. Wheelock), I find that in 1769 Dagger Lane under Mr. Burnett contributed £24 and the Bowlalley Lane Church under Mr. Beverley £17.

Mr. Burnett was invited as a Calvinist in faith and an Independent in order, but he was in matters of church-government apparently a Presbyterian and in doctrine an Arian. He visited the congregations of other ministers in the district who were suspect and they returned the visits, as shown by the various baptismal registers.

Amongst these were Thomas Ellis of South Cave (at that time a Presbyterian Church); John Harris, Beverley; Titus Cordingley, John Beverley and J. Witter of Bowlalley Lane; John Argier, Swanland; and Benjamin Clegg, Cottingham.

This suspected Arianism led to a considerable secession of members, who formed the Blanket Row Independent Church. In tones of gentle reproach the seceders referred to their pastor's failure to live up to the terms of his appointment and also referred to their former unhappy settlements, *i.e.* Mr. Wildboar and later. From this secession branch out practically all the Independent or Congregational Churches of the city.

Continuing our account of Dagger Lane, we now enter upon quite a different phase in its history. In 1783 came the Rev. Robert Green, who embraced the doctrine of Emanuel Swedenborg, and remodelled the Church along those lines. The place was much altered, new galleries erected, etc.

Struggles between the trustees and the Swedenborgians were continuous; minister after minister came and went; the trustees had the keys seized from them, lawsuits and Chancery proceedings followed one after another.

The words written to the Church at Ephesus might well have been written to Dagger Lane:— "I know thy works and . . . (that thou) hast tried them which say they are apostles and are not. . . . Nevertheless I have something against thee, because thou hast left thy first love. Remember . . . and repent and do the first works or else I will remove thy candlestick out of his place."

Yet who am I, that I should judge? No doubt amidst this turmoil of conflicting views there were some members of the congregation who got a blessing from time to time.

From the coming of Robert Green in 1783 to 1840 there were eight ministers (Geo. Nicholson, Robt. Brandt, F. M. Hodson, Thos. Walkworth, James Bradley, James Rhodes, John Parry, and Wm. Hill).

We must now return to the Hull Presbyterians as a Church-party. The Bowlalley Lane Presbyterian Church, having become Unitarian during the Arian disputes of the latter half of the 18th century, and the Dagger Lane Church being largely Swedenborgian, the Presbyterians opened the old Tabernacle in Sykes St. on April 8th, 1838, as the "(Hull) United Associate Presbyterian Congregation."

This chapel had been erected in 1826 by an Independent minister, Rev. Samuel Lane, formerly of Ebenezer Chapel (usually called Myton Walls Chapel), on the other side of Dagger Lane.

On November 18, 1840 (or December 1, 1840) the United Presbyterians took over the Dagger Lane Chapel, the Swedenborgians using various other premises until they erected their present church on Spring Bank.

The Revs. James White, Alex Renton, and James Little Rorne followed one another from 1840—1870. With the coming of John Forrest in 1871 the affairs of the church took a new turn. The town having increased greatly since the building of the chapel in 1698, it was felt that the migration of the population to the suburbs necessitated a new church. A site was secured on Spring Bank and the new church was opened in 1875 at a cost of about £3,500.

Our story is told! We may only just link up our existing Congregational Churches with those that have gone, but their history, though highly interesting, must be entirely omitted.

The seceders from Dagger Lane in 1769 built a little chapel in a Court down Blanket Row and called to their pastorate, George Lambert, who attained a wide reputation, being a founder of the L.M.S. and other Societies.

The church prospered and, needing larger premises, built the Fish St. Congregational Chapel in 1782.

From time to time this latter transferred some of its members who, with others, formed churches at Nile St. (1827), Salem (1832), Albion (1841), Wycliffe (1868), Latimer (1869), Hessel Rd. (1877), and Fish St. Memorial (1898-9).

Other Congregational Churches, which I have not been able to directly connect with Dagger Lane and Fish St., are Hope St. (1797), with "Hope St. Memorial," Newland (1903);

“Ebenezer,” Dagger Lane (1804-5), with its descendants, “Tabernacle,” Sykes St. (1826), and “Bethesda,” Osborne St. (1842); Holborn St., Witham (1830); Moxon St. (about 1851); Porter St. (prior to 1856) and Lower Union St. (1882).

Of all these chapels only five remain as Congregational Churches, Albion, Wycliffe, Hessle Rd., Princes Avenue and Newland.

We have spoken of the *past*. What of the *future*? We must leave it in the hands of God and his Children of Hull Congregationalism.

A. E. TROUT.

The Chapel Library at Matlock Bath

IT was the express desire of Rev. Jonathan Scott, the first minister of the Congregational Church at Matlock Bath, that the books in his study adjacent to the Chapel should remain for the use of his successors. A catalogue was drawn up, and it was arranged that every succeeding minister should acknowledge the custody of the books, and see to it that they were not diminished.

The original donation consisted of 678 volumes, of which seventeen were duplicates. Unfortunately, the list is arranged "Alphabetically by Titles," and is not easy to use: another list, "Alphabetical by Authors," was left incomplete, ending with letter k (292 volumes). In 1832 about thirty-six volumes were disposed of by way of exchange, and thirty or thirty-two others substituted: a few later additions having been made. A new Shelf Catalogue was made in 1858, when the number of volumes recorded was 693. At that time forty-six volumes were noted as not in the original list; and it was stated that about seventy volumes of that original list were no longer to be found.

The collection is very miscellaneous. About 112 volumes date from the seventeenth century and 470 from the eighteenth, the remainder being either early nineteenth or undated. A few are said to be imperfect. The most valuable of the books, according to the catalogue of 1858, were works of the Old Puritan Divines, together with some controversial treatises of a later date. There is a respectable collection of Practical Divinity and Devotional literature, but not much which would attract the cupidity of a book collector. Indeed, among the volumes cleared out in 1832 were some which were of interest as curios, though not of much practical utility. It would be well that the collection should undergo a careful revision. A number of odd volumes and broken sets, and other things of little worth, should be eliminated, and their places filled *either* with solid old-time divinity or with modern religious biographies of permanent interest.

J. C. EASTERBROOK.

State Prayers from the Niblock Collection

(Continued from Trans. VIII. 224)

(XV) *Additional Prayers, to be used together with those appointed for the Fifth of November. 1689.*

Second Collect :—O God, whose name is excellent in all the earth, and thy glory above the heavens ; who on this day didst miraculously preserve our Church and State from the secret contrivance and hellish malice of Popish Conspirators ; and on this day also didst begin to give us a mighty deliverance from the open tyranny and oppression of the same cruel and bloodthirsty enemies : we bless and adore thy glorious majesty, as for thy former so for this thy late marvellous loving kindness to our Church and Nation in the preservation of our Religion and Liberties. And we humbly pray that the devout sense of this thy repeated mercy may renew and increase in us a spirit of love and thankfulness to thee its only author ; a spirit of peaceable submission and obedience to our gracious Sovereign, whom thou madest the blessed instrument of it ; and a spirit of fervent zeal for our holy religion, which now again thou hast so wondrously rescued and established, a blessing to us and our posterity. And this we beg for Jesus Christ his sake. Amen.

In the Litany :—Accept also, most gracious God, of our unfeigned thanks for filling our hearts again with joy and gladness, after the time that thou hadst afflicted us, and putting a new song into our mouths, by bringing his Majesty who now reigns over us, upon this day, for the deliverance of our Church and Nation, from Popish tyranny and arbitrary power. We adore the Wisdom and Justice of thy providence, which so timely interposed in our extreme danger, and disappointed all the designs of our enemies. We beseech thee, give us such a lively and lasting sense of what thou didst then, and hast since that time done for us, that we may not grow secure and careless in our obedience ; but that it may lead us to repentance, and move us to be the more diligent and zealous in all the duties of our religion, which thou hast in a marvellous manner preserved to us. Let truth and justice, brotherly kindness and charity, devotion and piety, concord and unity, with all other virtues so flourish amongst us, that they may be the stability of our times, and make this church a praise in the earth. All which we humbly beg, together with thy continued blessing on all orders and degrees of men among us, and the perfect

deliverance of our brethren in Ireland, that they may rejoice together with us, and triumph in thy praise, for the sake of our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ ; to whom with thee, O Father of Mercies, and the Holy Ghost, be eternal praises. Amen.

In the Communion Service :—Eternal God, and our most mighty Protector, we thy unworthy servants do humbly present ourselves before thy Majesty, acknowledging thy power, wisdom, and goodness, in preserving the king, and the Three Estates of this realm assembled in Parliament, from the destruction this day intended against them. Make us, we beseech thee, truly thankful for this and for all other thy great mercies towards us ; particularly for making this day again memorable, by a fresh instance of thy loving kindness towards us. We bless thee for giving his Majesty, that now is, a safe arrival here, and for making all opposition, fall before him, till he became our king and governour. Continue, we beseech thee, to protect and defend him, the Queen, and all the Royal Family, from all treasons and conspiracies ; preserve them in thy faith, fear, and love ; prosper their reign with long happiness here on earth ; and crown them with everlasting glory hereafter : through Jesus Christ, our only Saviour and Redeemer. Amen.

(XVI) *A Prayer for the King : to be used instead of that appointed for his Majesties present expedition. Whitehall, July 11, 1690. The Queen does approve of this Prayer, and commands it to be Published.*

[This refers to King William's preservation at the Battle of the Boyne.]

Almighty and most gracious God ; we bless and magnifie thy holy name for thy late mercies to us of these kingdoms, in raising up thy servant King William to be a deliverer to us in the day of our distress, and to rescue us from Popish Tyranny when we were so near sinking under it. We also acknowledge with all due praise and thanksgiving that thou hast graciously heard the prayers of thy church for him whom thou madest the happy instrument of our preservation ; in preserving him in so wonderful a manner from those great and apparent dangers to which he exposed his royal person for our safety, and for the deliverance of our suffering brethren. Blessed be thy name that thou hast given such visible tokens of thy gracious presence with him in this expedition : that thou hast not only covered his head in the day of battle, but encompassed him with salvation round about ; that the messenger of death which came so near could not hurt him ; that his enemies who rejoiced over him are clothed with shame ; and that thou hast crowned him with victory and success even above our expectations. We beseech thee to continue him under the wings of thy gracious providence ; to bless his arms by sea and land against the common enemy ; and in thy good time to bring him back in peace and safety

to our comfort. And give us grace to live worthy of these mercies, in all thankful obedience to thy divine Majesty, in dutiful subjection to them whom thou hast set over us, and in entire dependence on thy will, which we have found so gracious to us of this church and nation. Grant this for thy mercies sake, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

(XVII) *A Form of Prayer and Thanksgiving to Almighty God, to be used on Thursday the sixteenth of April next. . . . For Discovering and disappointing a horrid and barbarous Conspiracy of Papists and other trayterous persons, to Assassinate and Murder His most gracious Majesties Royal Person; and for delivering this kingdom from an Invasion intended by the French.* 1695.

[This is chiefly compiled, with necessary modifications, from No. VII. (Titus Oates, 1679) and No. IX. (Rye-House Plot, 1683)]

Proper Psalms; M., 9, 21, 118; E., 62, 92, 124, 145.

1st Lesson; M., Job 5c; E., Numb 16 to 36v.

2nd Lesson; M., Acts 23; E., 1 Peter 2 to 18v.

1st Collect:—Almighty God, who of thy great mercy towards us hast discovered the designs and disappointed the attempts of those bloody Conspirators who had maliciously contrived our destruction, and designed, by the Assassination of his Majesties person, to make way for a foreign Invasion, and thereby to enslave both the bodies and souls of thy servants: We yield thee praise and thanks, &c [as in VII. with slight verbal alterations.]

After the Litany:—O God, whose Providence, &c. [as in IX, with slight verbal changes and omissions.]

In the Communion Service:—Almighty God, who hast in all ages, &c. [as in IX., with slight verbal changes.]

O Lord our God, abundant in goodness and truth, whose mercies are over all thy works; We beseech thee to extend thy compassion and favour to all mankind; more particularly to the Reformed Churches abroad, and especially to those who are still under persecution for truth and righteousness sake. Relieve them according to their several necessities; be a shelter and defence to them from the fury of the oppressor; and in thy good time deliver them out of all their troubles. And whatsoever they have lost for Thy sake, return it to them, according to thy gracious promise, in the blessings of this, and a better life. And we humbly beseech thee to enlighten all those who are in darkness and error, and to give them repentance to the acknowledging of the truth; that we may all become one flock under the great Shepherd and Bishop of our souls, Jesus Christ, our blessed Saviour and Redeemer: To whom with Thee, O Father, and the Holy Spirit, be all honour and glory for evermore. Amen.

A PRAYER FOR OUR ENEMIES.

O Father of Mercies, and Lover of Souls, who art kind to the unthankful and to the evil, and hast commanded us also to extend our charity even to those that hate us: We beseech thee as to accept our prayers and praises, which we have this day offered up unto thee in the behalf of all that are faithful in the land, so also to enlarge thy mercy and pity even to those that are our enemies. Take from them all their prejudices and inordinate passions; give them a meek and humble and docible temper, and guide their feet into the ways of peace. And thus redouble upon us, O Lord, the joys of this day; that we may not only triumph in the disappointment of their mischievous imaginations, but with the holy Angels in heaven rejoice in their conversion, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

[It is interesting to compare this with a prayer having the same title in X.]

(XVIII) *A Form of Prayer to be used . . . on Wednesday the Nineteenth day of January, being the Fast Day appointed by Proclamation, to be observed in a Most Solemn and Devout manner. For the Imploring of a blessing from Almighty God upon her Majesty and her Allies, engaged in the present war; as also for the Humbling of ourselves before Him in a deep sense of His heavy displeasure, shew'd forth in the late dreadful Storm and Tempest, &c. 1703 (3/4).*

Proper Psalms: M., 107 from 23v., 144; E., 44, 86.

1st Lesson: M., 2 Chron. 20 to 31v.; E., Lam. 3 from 22v.

2nd Lesson: M., Luke 13 to v. 10; E., Hebr. 11 from 32v.

First Collect:—Great and Glorious Lord God, just and terrible in thy Judgments, and unsearchable in all thy ways; at whose rebuke the earth trembles, and the very foundations of the hills shake; who also commandest the winds and the sea, and they obey: We, vile dust and miserable sinners, in a most awful sense of thy amazing judgments, our own great and manifold provocations, and thy tender mercy to the penitent, do with all humility of soul cast ourselves down before thy footstool, bewailing our unworthiness and imploring thy pity and the bowels of thy compassion. We beseech thee, O Lord, to awaken our consciences, that we may see and duly consider thy hand, which in so astonishing a manner has been lifted up against us. Pardon our own crying sins, and those of the whole nation, which have drawn down this thy heavy displeasure upon us; and grant us such a measure of thy grace, that we may no more disobey thy laws, abuse thy goodness and forbearance, or despise this and other thy chastisements, lest a worse thing come unto us. It is of thy goodness, O Lord, that we were not all consum'd by the late winds and storms which fulfill'd thy commandment, and that in the midst of judgment thou didst

remember mercy, shewing forth the care of thy providence in so many wonderful preservations of thy people. Let the remembrance of them work in us such a thankfulness of heart, and such a seriousness and watchfulness of spirit, that no calamity may ever be a surprise to us, nor death itself come upon us unawares; that so we may at length arrive safely at that blessed kingdom which cannot be shaken: for the sake of Jesus Christ our only Mediator and Advocate. Amen.

[A second Collect follows, on similar lines, but including petitions for the queen, the army and navy, the allies, and for victory. After the Litany (also in the evening) the following:—]

O Almighty God, who delightest not to grieve the children of men, yet as a wise and gracious Father dost chasten every son whom thou receivest; behold with tender pity all those who have suffered by the late public calamity, in body, estate, friends, or relations. Give them patience and submission to thy holy will: let them not murmur or repine, seeing it was thy doing, whose judgments are always righteous, though they are a great deep. Be thou the comforter of those who are cast down, O thou God of Consolation, and make up their temporal losses by spiritual advantages, and by future blessings of this world, as thou seest necessary or convenient for them; and so sanctifie to all of us both the mercies and judgments which thou sendest, that at length we may be made happy in that perfect state which is not subject to time or chance, where we shall sin no more, be no more disquieted, and die no more, but enter into that everlasting rest which thou hast promised through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

(XIX) *A Form of Prayer and Thanksgiving, to be used on Thursday the first day of May next . . . For rendering most hearty thanks to Almighty God for the wonderful and happy conclusion of the Treaty for the Union of her Majesty's Two Kingdoms of England and Scotland. . . . And for beseeching Him to give all her Majesties subjects Hearts disposed to become One People.* 1707.

Proper Psalms:—122, 133.

Proper Lessons:—Isaiah II. from 12v.; Galat. V. from 22v.

First Collect:—O almighty God, whose mercies are over all thy works and endure for ever; we bless thy holy name for all the signal providences by which the Union of this island is brought to a happy conclusion; so that as we were before under one head, so we are now become one people. Thou hast given the Queen her heart's desire, and hast encompassed her with thy favour as with a shield. Thou hast directed her councils, and taught her senators wisdom; and hast made all to see, in this our day, the things that belong to our peace. O suffer us not again to return to folly, or to those sins that may separate us from thee, or from

one another. Give us one heart and one mind; unite our hearts in thy fear, and in true charity to one another, which is the bond of perfectness; so that by such a blessed temper the world may know that we are truly sensible of thy favours unto us. Root out from among us all the seeds of anger and envy, of murmuring and jealousy, which the Enemy has sow'd; make us all zealous to promote the glory of thy great name, the honour of our Sovereign, and the common Welfare and happiness of this great United Nation; that so thou mayst still continue to bless us, and make us more and more the joy of the whole earth, till at last thou bringest us to thy kingdom and glory, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

After the Litany:—O Lord our God, who hast been pleas'd already to make the reign of our most gracious Queen exceedingly glorious, by giving to her arms and those of her Allies so many and so great successes both by Sea and Land; and likewise in vouchsafing further strength to her government, by the long-desired Union of her kingdoms of England and Scotland being so speedily and completely accomplish'd: We laud and magnifie thy holy Name for these eminent dispensations of thy good providence, beseeching thee to bless these wonderful beginnings with a suitable progress; and to crown them with a happy issue. Increase in us a spirit of meekness and charity, that we may live as becometh Christians, assisting and helping one another. Continue to her majesty and her allies thy wonted protection and favour, in the just war in which they are engaged: never leave them nor forsake them, till we be all settled upon the lasting foundations of Righteousness, Truth, and Peace; through Jesus Christ our only Lord and Saviour. Amen.

In the Communion Service:—Most gracious God, by whose good providence the kingdoms of this island have enjoyed a long course of prosperity, and are at length happily united into one people, while the nations about us are grieved by foreign enemies or intestine wars, although our sins have justly provoked thee to punish us with the like calamities; we in most solemn manner do, on this day, magnifie thy glorious Name for these thy unspeakable mercies. And we beseech thee to inspire us with such unfeigned thankfulness to thee the author of them, and with such hearty affection towards one another, that through thy grace and favour this Union may tend to the perpetual welfare of thy Church and People, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

(XX) *A Form of Prayer and Thanksgiving to Almighty God, to be used throughout England &c. on Thursday the Twentieth day of January next, for bringing his Majesty to a peaceable and quiet possession of the Throne, and thereby disappointing the designs of the Pretender and all his Adherents.* 1714.

[Unfortunately, the transcript does not indicate the respective places of these collects in the ritual.]

(1) O most merciful and gracious Lord God, who art the Blessed and Only Potentate, and rulest over all the kingdoms of the earth : We thy unworthy servants here assembled do humbly desire to adore thy mercy, and celebrate thy goodness towards us, in safely bringing our gracious sovereign King George, and giving him a quiet and peaceable Accession to the throne of these realms. Grant us grace, we beseech thee, to shew ourselves unfeignedly thankful for this great blessing, and to live like a people whom thou hast so often and so wonderfully made the especial care of thy providence ; that we may no longer walk in the lusts of the flesh, in envy and hatred, malice and strife, sedition and variance ; but studying to be quiet, and to do our own business, we may fear thee our God, honour our King, and love one another, adorning the doctrine of our Saviour in all things ; that so, being delivered from our enemies, and from the hand of those that hate us, we may serve thee without fear, in holiness and righteousness before thee, all the days of our life. Grant this, O merciful Father, for thy dear Son's sake, Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

(2) Most gracious and merciful God, who governest all things in heaven and earth, and whose providence in especial manner watcheth over states and kingdoms professing thy true religion ; we acknowledge thy great goodness towards these nations, not only in securing our Religion and Liberties under the government of a Protestant prince, but also in giving us a comfortable pledge of the continuance of the blessings to us and our posterity by a numerous issue descended from him. We beseech thee to direct and support our gracious Sovereign in all his counsels and endeavours for the publick good, and to vouchsafe to him and the royal progeny all temporal and spiritual blessings ; that we thy people, having a thankful sense of thy fatherly care over us, and paying all dutiful submission and obedience to our gracious king, may lead quiet and peaceable lives in all godliness and honesty ; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

(3) O God, the Creator and Governor of the World, whose mercies are over all thy works : We beseech thee to extend thy compassion and favour to all mankind ; more especially to the Protestant Churches abroad, giving them all blessings convenient for them. And we humbly beseech thee to enlighten all them that are in darkness and error, and to give them repentance to the acknowledgment of the truth, that we may all become One flock, under the great Shepherd and Bishop of our souls, Jesus Christ our blessed Saviour and Redeemer : To Whom, with, &c.

[[4] *The prayer "For unity," substantially as it still stands in the service for the Anniversary of the king's Accession.*]

[Concluded.]

T. G. CRIPPEN.

The Diary of A Country Parson :

The Rev. James Woodforde, 1758-1781.

EDITED BY JOHN BERESFORD (Oxford University Press, 12s. 6d.).

THERE are not many direct references to Nonconformity in these delightful extracts from the diary of James Woodforde, Fellow of New College, curate in Somerset, and Rector of Weston Longeville, Norfolk, but so much light is thrown on English life in the eighteenth century, and every page is so entertaining, that no student of history ought to miss this volume.

It is gratifying to read that a "dissenting Minister," with whom Woodforde travelled in the coach from Oxford to Bath, was "a very well behaved man." That is more than can be said for some others who appear in the diary. "Brother Jack," for example, is "rather wild," often in want of money and the worse for drink, and "is very indifferent by his being too busy with Girls." Perhaps it was for brother Jack's benefit that the diarist obtained "a pamphlet called a sure Guide to Hell, and a very good moral book it is, taken properly." We hope Jack took it properly!

We are reminded once more in perusing this volume how common drunkenness was. Here we have the Bachelor's Common Room at New College :

1761, November 4. . . . Dyer laid Williams 2s. 6d. that he drank three Pints of Wine in 3 Hours, and that he wrote 5 verses out of the Bible right, but he lost. He did it in the B.C.R., he drank all the Wine, but could not write right for his Life. He was immensely drunk about 5 minutes afterwards." Thirteen years later Woodforde is back at the College and entertaining friends :

"We were very merry and pushed the bottle on very briskly. I gave my Company for dinner, some green Pea Soup, a chine of Mutton, some New College Puddings, a goose, some Peas and a Codlin Tart with Cream. Madeira and Port Wine to drink after and at dinner some strong Beer, Cyder, Ale and small Beer. . . . I had a handsome dish of fruit after dinner. At 7 o'clock we . . . had Coffee and Tea. . . . I gave my company only for supper cold mutton. After supper I gave them to drink some Arrac Punch with Jellies in it and some Port Wine. I made all my Company but Dr. West quite merry. We drank 8 bottles

of Port, one Bottle of Madeira besides Arrac Punch, Beer and Cyder. I carried off] my drinking exceedingly well indeed."

Perhaps the over-eating strikes one even more than the drinking. Woodforde always describes the menu at his own and other tables. A large part of his diary is taken up with entries like this :

"We had for dinner for the first course a dish of fish, a Leg of Mutton roasted and some Ham and Chicken Tarts. The 2nd Course an Orange Apple Pudding, some Asparagus, Veal Collops, Syllabubs and Jelly."

That he was somewhat critical of the fare may be gathered from entries like the following :

"I dined at the Chaplain's table . . . upon a roasted Tongue and Udder, and we went on each of us for it 1. 9. N.B. I shall not dine on a roasted Tongue and Udder again very soon."

"We had for dinner a loin of Mutton roasted, rost Beef, a boiled Chicken, Soup, Pudding, etc., first course. A Turkey roasted, a roasted Hare, Mushrooms, Tarts, Maccaroni and a Custard Pudding, etc. Neither Turkey nor Hare above half done. I never made a worse dinner I think."

Woodforde had no hesitation about using means other than legitimate to obtain his goods. We read :

"1778. Feb. 23. To my smuggler Andrews for a Tub of Gin had of him January 16, pd. him this Morning 1. 5. 0."

"1780, May 17 . . . I did not go to bed until after twelve at night, as I expected Richard Andrews the honest smuggler with some Gin."

He is interested in cock-fighting and chronicles a two days' fight between Somerset and Wilts—"Wilts was beat shamefully. I believe my Brother John won a good deal of money at it."

Nevertheless his conscience troubles him about shaving on Sundays :

"As I was going to shave myself this morning as usual on Sundays, my razor broke in my hand as I was setting it on the strop without any violence. May it be always a warning to me not to shave on the Lord's Day or do any other work to profane it pro futuro."

One wonders if drastic measures like the following would be any use against the influenza fiend :

"My boy (servant) Jack had another touch of the Ague about noon. I gave him a dram of gin at the beginning of the fit and pushed him headlong into one of my Ponds and ordered him to bed immediately and he was better after it and had nothing of the cold fits after, but was very hot."

These samples are taken at random from one of the most diverting books we have read for a long time.

ALBERT PEEL.

John Henry Jowett, C.H., M.A., D.D.

BY ARTHUR PORRITT (Hodder & Stoughton, 7s. 6d.).

THE industry of Mr. Arthur Porritt has given us a biography of Dr. Jowett within a year of the great preacher's death—and a very good biography it is.

Local historians can turn to the chapters that deal with Jowett's boyhood at Square Church, Halifax, and with his ministry at St. James's, Newcastle, Carrs Lane, Birmingham, and Westminster, for old facts and new details, while there are interesting glimpses of College life in Edinburgh, Airedale, and Oxford.

Jowett was a man of one supreme gift, which he developed to the full. He lived to preach, and it is safe to say that to-day there is no preacher like him—in the Free Churches or without.

Mr. Porritt's task was far from being an easy one, but he has performed it with a marked degree of success, and many who have benefitted by Jowett's preaching will be grateful for this account of his life and personality. The Archbishop of Canterbury contributes a Foreword

ALBERT PEEL.