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## EDITORIAL.

**T**HE autumnal meeting of the Society will be held on Thursday, 8th October, at four o'clock at Lancashire College, by the kind invitation of our President, Dr. A. J. Grieve. Dr. Grieve will speak on "These Hundred Years of Ministerial Training." At the invitation of the College, tea is to be served to 300 delegates; tickets must be obtained at the Local Secretaries' office, 244, Deansgate, Manchester. This meeting will give an excellent opportunity to members of the Society to see one of our Colleges which has itself had a long and distinguished history.

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I had proposed to say something in this issue about the Centenary of the Union, but there is much pressure on our space, and I am leaving that for a future occasion.

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### CONGREGATIONAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

#### SUMMARIZED ACCOUNT OF RECEIPTS & PAYMENTS, 1930.

<i>Receipts.</i>	£	s.	d.	<i>Expenditure.</i>	£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.				By Printing <i>Trans-</i>			
To Balance forward,				<i>actions</i> .. ..	50	2	0
1929 .. ..	42	15	3	Index to Vol. X.,			
Subscriptions, 1930 ..	37	1	6	1927/9 .. ..	1	15	0
Arrears .. ..	3	0	0	Postages and Receipts	2	10	0
Subscriptions in Ad-				Hire of Hall, Annual			
vance .. ..	3	15	0	Meeting .. ..	1	1	0
Sale of <i>Transactions</i> ..	3	3	7	Subscription to Friends'			
				Historical Society		5	0
				Balance in hand,			
				31/12/30 .. ..	34	2	4
	£89	15	4		£89	15	4

Audited and found correct,

C. LEE DAVIS,

*Hon. Auditor.*

14/2/31.

## THE ANNUAL MEETING.

The Annual Meeting of the Society was held in the Board Room of the Memorial Hall on Wednesday, 13th May, 1931. After the re-election of the officers for the ensuing year Dr. Peel gave a brief talk on some aspects of the work of the Union during these hundred years. From the Congregational Library there had been brought an interesting collection of documents, periodicals and other publications which have played an important part in the last century. There were copies of John Campbell's excursions into the world of journalism in *The British Banner* and *The British Standard*; a Congregational Calendar, reminiscent of *Whitaker*; documents outlining projects for a national union in the late 'twenties. A complete set of Congregational hymn-books marked development in our theological position and change in our method of worship, while a gallery of portraits of Algernon Wells and Hannay (the great secretaries), of Baldwin Brown, Raffles, Parker, and Thomas Wilson ("our great chapel builder"), were reminders of those who had led the Union and served the churches during the century.

R. G. MARTIN.

## Alexander Gordon.

**B**Y the passing of the Rev. Alexander Gordon on 21st February, 1931, our Society has lost one who, though not of our communion, was one of our oldest members, staunchest friends, and most distinguished ornaments. Mr. Gordon—who resolutely declined all honorary doctorates—was born in June, 1841, and could trace his descent through six generations to one of Richard Frankland's students. He ministered to Unitarian Churches in Aberdeen, Liverpool, Norwich, and Belfast from 1862 to 1889, and from 1890 to 1911 was Principal of the Unitarian College, Manchester. He had a hand in establishing the Theological Faculty in the University of that city and was University Lecturer in Ecclesiastical History, 1904–11. His learning was prodigious and his industry marvellous. Prof. Tout declared that he knew no man who had the same majestic sweep over the centuries of ecclesiastical history. In the realm of Nonconformist history he certainly had no peer. He contributed 759 articles to the Dictionary of National Biography, and his contributions are to be found in each of the sixty-three volumes of the original issue, and the four supplementary volumes. His *Freedom after Ejection* (1917) and *The Cheshire Classis* (1919) are his most monumental works, but characteristic and admirable examples of his labours are found in the little collection of *Addresses Biographical and Historical*.

Gordon was a great traveller and a great frequenter of libraries. His later days were spent between his home in Belfast and the British Museum, and if he happened to be in London at the time he never failed to come to the Annual Meeting of our Society and to contribute to the discussion. His heart was as large as his mind, his sympathies were universal. Two informing and illuminating notices of him appear in *The Inquirer*, 28th Feb., 1931.

A. J. GRIEVE.

## The Puritan Spirit Through the Ages

**T**HE name Puritan, like the names Christian, Protestant, and Methodist, like the names Quaker, Shaker, and Convulsionnaire, and more nearly like the name Cathari, was a nickname bestowed by their opponents on a particular group of people at a particular time in a particular part of the world. When this is granted, however, it is not doing violence to the word to apply it more generally to that spirit in religion which has driven men at all times to seek a purer way of life, one that was simple and good as opposed to the insincere conventionalities and corruptions in the world around them. A passionate desire for righteousness, which demands improvement and reform, and therefore implies opposition from lazy souls, is an essential part of Christianity, and in every, or almost every, century there have been groups of men who have seen this and who have striven to realize their ideal. These men have been Puritans in spirit, if not in name, whether they were the early Cistercians, the early Independents, who came to form the backbone of historical Puritanism, or the early Quakers. That there was an essential sameness of spirit in all these men may be seen from a consideration of some of their chief characteristics—characteristics which have not failed to receive adverse comment from critics who have never tried, or who have at least failed in the attempt, to understand the experiences which inspired them.

Puritanism, we have said, was a movement towards freedom from the corruption in the world around. This naturally expressed itself in the desire to get away from the world. Thus Cîteaux, where the founders of the Cistercian order went when they left Molême, was "a remote and savage spot almost inaccessible by reason of thorns, and inhabited by wild creatures only,"<sup>1</sup> which took its very name from its stagnant pools.<sup>2</sup> Thus Skeldale, near Ripon, which became the site of Fountains Abbey, was a place "full of thorns and enclosed by rocks"<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A. M. Cooke, *A Study in Twelfth Century Religious Revival and Reform* (reprinted from the John Rylands Library Bulletin, Jan., 1925), p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> H. B. Workman, *The Evolution of the Monastic Ideal*, p. 239.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 241.

and therefore pleasing to the monks who had been disgusted by the luxury of St. Mary's Abbey at York and had fled into the wilderness. Again, Savonarola, who was in many ways a Puritan, tells us that it was because of "the great misery of the world, the iniquities of men, the rapes, the adulteries, the robberies, the pride, the idolatry, the cruel blasphemy"<sup>1</sup> that he found such attraction in the line from the *Æneid*

*Heu ! fuge crudeles terras, fuge litus avarum !*<sup>2</sup>

and eventually betook himself to the Dominican convent at Bologna. A precisely similar spirit is evident in the charter of an Independent church in London in 1571, which runs as follows :—

So we a poore congregation whom god hath separated from the churches of englande and from the mingled and faulse worshipping therein used, out of the which assemblies the lord our onely Saviour hath called us, and still calleth, saying come out from among them, and seperate your selves from them & touche no unclean thing. . . .<sup>3</sup>

Lastly, the separateness of Quakerism has been marked from the beginning and needs no illustration. "By reason of its strangeness and separateness, the Society came to be looked on almost as a monastic order."<sup>4</sup> George Fox himself had the quality, not indeed of otherworldliness, but, as it has been well said, of overworldliness.<sup>5</sup>

Together with this separateness, which is one of the chief characteristics of the Puritan spirit, there went, almost inevitably, two other things, a simplicity, and a freedom, whether from bishop, priest or State. The Cistercian reform was, very definitely, a return to a simplicity which was to run through the whole life of the monks and which shows itself even in their architecture. Thus it is at Cistercian abbeys like Fountains and Kirkstall that a blank wall takes the place of an ornamental *triforium*.<sup>6</sup> Similarly, the lofty tower at Fountains is not central, just because, like the meat kitchen at Jervaulx, it was not in the original design and was added only after the first ideals had gone with the first generation of monks. Again, one of the marks of Savonarola's preaching was a natural and

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<sup>1</sup> W. R. Clark, *Savonarola : his Life and his Times*, pp. 33f.

<sup>2</sup> *Æneid*, III. 44.

<sup>3</sup> Albert Peel, *The First Congregational Churches*, p. 33.

<sup>4</sup> A. N. Brayshaw, *The Quakers : their Story and their Message*, p. 159.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 31f.

<sup>6</sup> Francis Bond, *Gothic Architecture in England*, p. 534.

straightforward simplicity, which scorned the sophisticated verbal elegancies and ornaments which were fashionable.<sup>1</sup> When we come to the English Puritans of the seventeenth century, their devotion to simplicity is indicated by the modern use of the word "Puritanical" as a term of disparagement, which, though it may be shown to be unfair in its implication that Puritan simplicity was narrow, must have had reason to grow up. This we will consider in detail later. The early Friends, too, were noted for their simplicity, whether in dress or in speech or in their way of worship.

The spirit of freedom shows itself very clearly in these Puritan movements. The Cistercians were free from the authority of bishops almost from the beginning<sup>2</sup>; and their polity, with their independent chapters, has been compared to an aristocratic republic, as against the monarchy of Cluny.<sup>3</sup> Savonarola was so devoted to freedom that it brought him to the stake. In English Puritanism the name Independents speaks for itself, and here we have the idea of the independence of the Church from the State as well as of the independence of the layman from the priest. Robert Browne's words "The Lords people is of the willing sorte"<sup>4</sup> struck at the very root of Elizabethan Anglicanism; but they were the strength of the early Independents. Characteristic of the Independents, again, was their firm belief in the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers. The Quakers, once more, are so free that they have no ministers at all, in the ordinary sense of the word, and in their meetings for worship anyone may speak as he or she feels moved by the Spirit. Puritanism has indeed always been opposed to sacerdotalism. The Lollards, who may certainly be considered as Puritans, came to be called "the lay party" in the Church.<sup>5</sup> Nor must we assume, as we are sometimes prone to do, that the medieval priests had a monopoly of what idealism and spirituality there was. Henri Pirenne, writing of lay religion in the Middle Ages—and it must be remembered that it was from the laity that the ranks of monasticism were filled—says:

Cet esprit laïque s'alliait d'ailleurs à la ferveur religieuse la plus intense. Si les bourgeois se trouvèrent très fréquemment en

<sup>1</sup> C. Silvester Horne, *The Romance of Preaching*, pp. 155f.

<sup>2</sup> H. B. Workman, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

<sup>3</sup> A. M. Cooke, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

<sup>4</sup> *A Treatise of Reformation without Tarrying for Anie.* (Cong. Hist. Soc., Edn. of 1903, p. 25.)

<sup>5</sup> Jas. Gaardner, *Lollardy and the Reformation in England*, p. 201.

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lutte avec les autorités ecclésiastiques, si les évêques fulminèrent abondamment contre elles des sentences d'excommunication, et si, par contre-coup, elles s'abandonnèrent parfois à des tendances anti-cléricales, elles n'en étaient pas moins animées d'une fois profonde et ardente.<sup>1</sup>

Yet, however much this simplicity and this freedom may be praised, the separateness of Puritanism has often been criticized both as foolish and as selfish and even unchristian. In 1857 an Independent lady, aged seventy-four, thus finished her letter to her grandson, aged sixteen :—

My dear J, may the Lord incline you to walk in the narrow path of life that you may be kept from the sins and vanities of this wicked world is the sincere prayer of your affte Grand-mother Ann Muscutt.

To Ann Muscutt, living securely at Cockermouth all her ninety-six years, the phrase may have been due to a fear of entering into, rather than a desire to flee away from, "this wicked world"; but her spiritual ancestors had had to suffer much for daring to be independent of the world and of the worldly Church. The cloistered and fugitive virtue which Milton could not praise during the Commonwealth was under the Restoration the virtue of those "gathered churches"<sup>2</sup> of the Independents which Milton himself continued to support,<sup>3</sup> no less than the virtue of the Cistercian monks centuries earlier. Many still share with Milton the feeling that to flee from the world is both cowardly and selfish; but too few of them have ever felt the horror, amounting almost to despair, at the corruptions in the world as it is, which alone will enable them truly to understand the reason for such flight. After all, the Puritans have the Apostolic injunction to keep themselves unspotted from the world<sup>4</sup>; and even the disciples were told by Jesus to flee into the next village, rather than to endure, when they were persecuted<sup>5</sup>; and, though Jesus came eating and drinking,<sup>6</sup> He also said that an offending member ought to be cut off.<sup>7</sup> True,

<sup>1</sup> Henri Pirenne, *Les Villes du Moyen Age* (1927), pp. 202f. : in the translation by F. D. Halsey from the original lectures given in America, *Medieval Cities* (1925), pp. 242f.

<sup>2</sup> Some of Watts's less well known hymns give an admirable reflection of the "We are a garden walled around" spirit of these conventicles.

<sup>3</sup> It is amusing to remember in this connexion the line from Wordsworth's Sonnet "To Milton":—

"Thy Soul was like a star and dwelt apart."

<sup>4</sup> *Jas.* i. 27.

<sup>5</sup> *Mt.* x. 23.

<sup>6</sup> *Lk.* vii. 34.

<sup>7</sup> *Mt.* v. 29f.



it might seem more Christian to stay *in* the world and to try to make it better from within ; but, we repeat, most of those who *can* do this have never felt the despair which has sent men out of the world into separateness. If they had, they would not be so quick to use the term "selfish" when speaking of at least the originators of a religious revival, whether they be the early Cistercians, the early Independents or the early Quakers.

The Puritans are, further, often accused of keeping to the letter rather than to the spirit. Indeed it has been asked whether anything could be "more characteristic of the timeless Puritan spirit whensoever and wheresoever it appears" than "an interpretation of the spirit in the terms of the letter."<sup>1</sup> There is a certain piquancy in the question ; but it really applies not to the Puritan but to the Traditionalist, who has lost the right to the name of Puritan. We have seen how closely Puritanism is connected with freedom ; and freedom is incompatible with keeping the letter of the law. Simplicity will always be condemned by some as narrowness, which the term "Puritanical" now implies. It may be conceded that men of Puritan spirit do tend to distrust pleasures which are really harmless, and that they are so much the poorer thereby. It is perhaps almost impossible for a man who is impressed by the valuable powers of salt as an antiseptic to remember that it has also the virtue of giving relish to food ; and the Puritans, in their very anxiety to be the salt of the earth, have always been in danger of losing their savour.<sup>2</sup> We must not, however, forget the corruption of the society from which they are reacting. Reactions are proverbially violent ; and in a time of reaction there are few who have the insight and even courage to distinguish between what is corrupted but in itself good and what is in itself bad—few who, like St. Francis, can decry the immoral purposes to which the emotions are being put by the world around and can yet be free and spontaneous in the joyful expression of their own emotions.

In any case, the Puritans of the seventeenth century are much maligned by those who represent them as disdaining the innocent pleasures of music, sports, and the stage. It is too little known, in the first place, that

Cromwell and nearly all the leading Parliamentarians did their best to prevent actual destruction of instruments and of music.

Cromwell himself and many of his chief supporters were ardent

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<sup>1</sup> A. M. Cooke, *op. cit.*, pp. 24f.

<sup>2</sup> I owe this thought to a sermon preached by the Rev. A. J. Costain at Rydal School on 26th July, 1931.

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music lovers, and the vast body of Puritans never for a moment questioned the lawfulness of ordinary music, confining their prohibitions to profane music on the Sabbath, organs and choirs in churches and stage plays. . . . Cromwell gave State concerts at Whitehall.<sup>1</sup>

Cromwell also

hunted, hawked and played the games of the times as did the royalist country gentlemen . . . and had as real a love for a fine horse as they.<sup>2</sup>

Many of the Lancashire Puritans, and even some of their preachers . . . were mighty hunters, keen anglers, fond of hawking, of shuffleboard, of bowls, of billiards, and . . . of baiting the badger, of throwing at the cock, and even occasionally of private theatricals.<sup>3</sup>

With morris dancing and the maypole, it was to their religious association, to their connexion with Church festivals that they objected. The stage they mostly did abhor, in fact, the theatres were definitely closed during the Commonwealth. The reason for this is clear ; for

the drama heaped its bitterest and often coarsest attacks upon whatever savoured of the Puritan spirit ; gibes, taunts, caricatures in ridicule and aspersion of Puritans and Puritanism make up a great part of the comic literature of the later Elizabethan drama and of its aftergrowth in the reign of the first two Stuarts.<sup>4</sup>

Further, to speak of the seventeenth century stage as an innocent pleasure shows either ignorance or a moral outlook that has remained of Restoration date, while the Puritans have gained the day. For

with the exception of Shakespeare, it was the custom of the comedies of the seventeenth century to introduce adultery as a subject for laughter, and often as the staple of the whole plot, the seducer being let pass as a "handsome gentleman," and the injured husband made the object of every kind of scorn and ridicule.<sup>5</sup>

It is, indeed, high time that the Puritans were rescued from their fate at the hands of popular criticism in this respect. Most people, however, find a coloured picture more pleasing to look at than one of pure white ; and the traditional view of

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<sup>1</sup> Ernest Newman, *A History of Music in England*, pp. 121f., 144.

<sup>2</sup> John Brown, *The English Puritans*, pp. 151-154.

<sup>3</sup> Robert Halley, *Lancashire : its Puritanism and Nonconformity*, p. 34.

<sup>4</sup> A. W. Ward, art. "Drama" in *Enc. Brit.* (13th Edn. 1926) VIII., p. 526.

<sup>5</sup> John Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 151-154.

Puritanism has been fostered by a romantic novelist like Scott and by a rhetorical historian like Macaulay, for whom it was natural to paint only the decadent Puritanism, caring not that their portraits do but show that

lilies that fester smell far worse than weeds.<sup>1</sup>

The error is not made less by the constant vilification of Oliver Cromwell in so many English cathedrals. The way in which Lichfield was treated was exceptional; more characteristic was the consideration he showed for Ely, as was pointed out in *The Spectator* last year.<sup>2</sup> In any case, when a Cromwell is to blame, it is far more often Oliver's namesake and relative, Thomas Cromwell, to whom the damage is due.

The extreme simplicity of the early Quakers in their speech and dress may seem nothing but the keeping of the letter of the law. That it became so we shall have to admit; but originally

it flowed from the principle which pervaded (Fox's) whole conduct, the desire of piercing through the husk and coating of forms in which men's hearts were wrapped up and of dragging them out from their lurking places into the open light of day.<sup>3</sup>

The witness of Friends on points of speech and dress . . . is not to be treated as an excrescence on their main message. We ought rather to feel that the main message, under the conditions of that age [and it was an age of ostentation and insincerity]<sup>4</sup> could not have been uttered in its purity and force if Friends had shrunk from giving it fearless application to these parts of life.<sup>5</sup>

Fox was, it must be remembered, the incarnation of a sensitive conscience. No matters of right and wrong could ever be trivial in his sight. . . . If formal etiquette expected him to say to a man what he very well knew was not true, then he resolved to have nothing more to do with formal etiquette till the end of the world.<sup>6</sup>

In their ardent Puritan search for reality, it was natural that the early Quakers should have been wedded to this simplicity as opposed to the conventionalities of the day. In time, it

<sup>1</sup> Shakespeare, Sonnet XCIV.

<sup>2</sup> E. G. Hawke, "Cromwell and the Churches" in *The Spectator* of 30th Aug., 1930. The consideration Cromwell showed for Ely, like the consideration Fairfax showed for York, may have been due to the fact that it was the cathedral of his native country.

<sup>3</sup> *Guesses at Truth*, p. 127: quoted in W. C. Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism*, p. 494.

<sup>4</sup> See also A. N. Brayshaw, *The Personality of George Fox*, pp. 59f.

<sup>5</sup> W. C. Braithwaite, *op. cit.*, p. 495.

<sup>6</sup> R. M. Jones, *George Fox—Seeker and Friend* (1930), pp. 100, 200.

must be admitted, the spirit of dead tradition grew up. Plain clothing of a certain type, for instance, became a *requirement* to which rigid adherence was demanded. Margaret Fox, in her old age, saw the danger and protested against "this narrowness and strictness entering in"; for, as she added, "It's the Spirit that gives life."<sup>1</sup> Her protests were in vain, and the narrowness she feared descended on the Society. Yet it is important to realize that it was not there originally. The esoteric distinction between "gay" and "plain" Friends, in connexion with which we are told of a member who gave up music, "but once a year he went to the top of the Monument in London, and there, where his action could do no harm to anyone, he played his flute"<sup>2</sup> was a late development. To keep to the letter in this pitiful way is *not* typical of Puritanism at its best; far more Puritan are Margaret Fox's words "It's the Spirit that gives life."

Like them, again, is the anecdotal<sup>3</sup> saying of George Fox to William Penn, when Penn was uncertain whether his newly-adopted Quaker principles would permit him to wear his sword. Fox's advice was, "Wear it so long as thou canst"—advice which is striking in its Puritan freedom, when we remember the strong and consistent testimony Friends have borne against war.

There is one other objection to Puritanism which we may consider briefly, and that is the disparagement of the intellect. We see it in the controversy of Bernard of Clairvaux with Abelard, we see it in Savonarola's suspicion of his tendencies towards philosophical speculation,<sup>4</sup> and we see it markedly in the Quakers, who had to wait for Penington and Barclay before they made any attempt to work out the theology of their position. Following along the lines of Fox's sound words

that being bred at Oxford or Cambridge was not enough to fit and qualify men to be ministers of Christ<sup>5</sup>

they came to distrust the intellect so much, that it became

<sup>1</sup> *Epistles*: quoted in W. C. Braithwaite, *The Second Period of Quakerism*, pp. 518f.

<sup>2</sup> A. N. Brayshaw, *The Quakers, etc.*, p. 158, n. 2:

One is reminded of the Plymouth Brother who never sang another secular song for the rest of his life, through overhearing a carpenter say to his fellow: "He can zing a zong, zo well's another, though he be a minister." Edmund Gosse, *Father and Son*, p. 125.

<sup>3</sup> S. M. Janney, *Life of William Penn*, p. 50: quoted in M. R. Brailsford, *The Making of William Penn*, pp. 206f.

<sup>4</sup> W. R. Clark, *op. cit.*, pp. 30, 127f.

<sup>5</sup> *Journal*, (bi-cent. edn. 1891), Vol., I. pp. 7, 11: quoted in A. N. Brayshaw, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

customary for Friends who spoke in meeting to assure their hearers that what they were about to say "has occurred to me unexpectedly since taking my seat here this morning."<sup>1</sup> This was indeed a misunderstanding of the true Quaker position, as is now realized; and that Fox and the early Friends were keenly interested in education is clear from the number of schools they established.<sup>2</sup> In any case, the explanation of the disparagement of the intellect by the Puritans of all ages is that they have had an intense religious experience at first hand. Conscious of this, they cannot help feeling that theological speculations are dry, barren, irrelevant, and unnecessary, and tend to become little more than dialectic and logic-chopping. Once again, if the critics had anything approaching the mystical experience of the revivalists, they would be more sparing in their condemnations.

Thus we have followed the Puritan spirit through the centuries, taking the early Cistercians, Savonarola, the early Independents, and the early Quakers as our illustrations. There are, of course, many others whom we might have chosen. Of especial interest are the Catharist sects of the early Middle Ages, whose very name means Puritan, and who were emphatic in their distrust of this world and in their desperate attempt to be free from it and from the established Church. In their scrupulous simplicity and conscientiousness they were the forerunners of the Friends, since their witness against war and against swearing, to take but two instances, was no less consistent. Like them, also, they preached the doctrine of Perfection in this life and even divided their own ranks into two bodies—the *credentes*, who were in the majority, and the *perfecti*, who, by a still more severe process of abstinence from all things worldly, became true Children of God, very angels in the flesh, separated from Christ only by the thin screen of death.<sup>3</sup>

All these, then, whether Catholic or Protestant—for the same types of piety are to be found in both the great branches of the Christian Church—all these were Puritans in their search for reality and righteousness, in their desire to get away from the corruptions of "this wicked world," in their devotion to simplicity and to freedom. All this sprang directly from their religious experience; while their tendencies to narrowness and

<sup>1</sup> A. N. Brayshaw, p. 210.

<sup>2</sup> See A. N. Brayshaw, *The Personality of George Fox*, pp. 55ff.

<sup>3</sup> See F. C. Conybeare, art. "Cathars" in *Enc. Brit.* (13th Edn. 1926), Vol. V., pp. 515ff.

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to the disparagement of the intellect were the almost inevitable defects of their qualities, nor did the narrowness become pronounced until Puritanism had degenerated into Traditionalism.

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*Note.*—It is interesting to see how often the word “pure” actually occurs in the writings of these men of Puritan spirit. Wordsworth, for instance, has written a poem “On a Cistercian Monastery” around these words of Bernard of Clairvaux, which he saw inscribed on the walls of the monastery: “*Bonum est hic nos esse, quia homo vivit purius. . .*” Again, a charter of the Independent church in London in 1571 referred to above states that it “stryueth for to haue. Fyrste and formoste, the Glorious worde and Evangell preached, not in bondage and subjection, but freely and *purely*. Secondly to have the Sacraments mynistred *purely*. . . And laste of all, to have, not the fylthye Canon law, but dissipylyne onely. . .”<sup>1</sup> Lastly, Fox’s *Epistles* abound in such phrases as “Mind that which is *pure* in you to guide you to God,” “Wait upon God in that which is *pure*” and “Obey that which is *pure* in you. . .”<sup>2</sup>

GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL.

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<sup>1</sup> Albert Peel, *The First Congregational Churches*, p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> *Epistles*, pp. 9, 14 and 94: quoted in A. N. Brayshaw, *The Quakers, etc.*, pp. 26, 54 and 99. The italics are in all cases my own.

## An Old Yorkshire Congregation, South Cave Congregational Church.

**N**ESTLING 'neath the hills near the banks of the Humber and overlooking the County of Lincolnshire on the other shore, is South Cave, a little country town of only 1,000 inhabitants, but with a long and interesting history dating back to Saxon days, when it had "a church and a mill." Its Nonconformity is not the least interesting feature of this history.

There was for many years prior to the Act of Uniformity of 1662 a strong Puritan element. In 1594 Robert Todd was born at South Cave.<sup>1</sup> In 1621 he was ordained by Archbishop Matthews, and in 1625 he went to Ledsham, thence to Leeds, whence he was ejected in 1662; he died in 1663.

John Seaman, a minister of liberal views, was vicar of South Cave from 1638 to his death early in 1662. He married Anna Langthorne, a member of a local Nonconformist family and was tutor to several who rose to eminence in nonconforming circles. Amongst these was Christopher Nesse, born at North Cave, who studied with him ten years, and afterwards, like Robert Todd, was ejected from Leeds. Strange that these two Cave lads should meet a like fate in the same city. The next vicar at Cave, Richard Remington, was appointed in April, 1662, and remained until his death a few years later.

Three miles away, at Brough on the Humber Bank, lived John Ryther. He had previously been ejected from Frodingham and Bromby, and at the time of the Great Ejectment was compelled to retire from his living at North Ferriby and for a time preached in his own house, where, without doubt, people of South Cave and district would come under his influence.

Tradition, repeated in various historical notices of the congregation of which we write, states it was founded by "an ejected clergyman, James Bayock, in 1662," some writers even going so far as to say he was ejected from South Cave Parish Church.

What, then, are the real facts? Fortunately we are able to

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<sup>1</sup> He was first minister of Swinefleet Chapel and afterwards of Whitgift Church.

quote various authentic records which give conclusive evidence on several important points. Already we have shown who were the vicars of South Cave at this time, which disposes of the supposed connexion of James Bayock (not Baycock as sometimes erroneously spelt) with the Parish Church. Now as to his age. The Cambridge University records show "James Bayock, son of Thomas Bayock, of York, barber, admitted St. Johns, 15 June, 1667, aged 18." Paver's *Marriage Licences* records, "1672. James Bayock, clerk, 25, and Ann Norman, spinster, 26, Huntingdon, there or at Thorpe Bassett." He was married at Thorpe Bassett, the entry reading: "*Jacobus Bayock de Huntingdon duxit uxorem Annam Norman de Ead spinster die July vicesimo secundo—Licentiatus.*"

These dates show that Mr. Bayock was not old enough in 1662 to be "an ejected clergyman." He would only be about 13 or 14 years of age at the time. Calamy says:

"The following persons were not fixed when the Act of Uniformity took place . . . Mr. James Bayock. He had a University education and trained up several for the ministry. . . ."

He was a member of a highly respectable York family, several of whom were on the Cathedral (Minster) staff, others merchants, surgeons (barber-chirurgeons), apothecaries, *etc.*

As he was described as "clerk" in 1672, the date of his marriage and of the "Declaration of Indulgence," it would seem that he had recently taken "Holy Orders" and come to South Cave in that year. We find him holding land here during the next few years.

Now congregations which had hitherto only existed in secret began to be regularly organized, and it is almost without a doubt that this year would see the foundation of our South Cave church on a proper basis, organized after the Presbyterian model, as Bayock, who was himself a Presbyterian, states in 1731/2 he had been preaching for over fifty years, having exposed himself many times to poverty and persecution "as," he says, "others have done."

In 1682 he mortgaged a parcel of land to his brother Matthew, apothecary, of York, for the sum of £50, which the above remark would imply was for the purpose of paying a fine. Some time after coming to Cave, Bayock obtained the use of a barn, said to be a tithe barn, at the West End, in St. Katherine's Yard, the traditional site of a religious house of that name (though I am unable to trace any records), also commemorated by the "Nunnery Fields" close by. This barn was fitted up



as a meeting-house, and survived until 1873 (being at that date, I believe, the oldest Nonconformist building in the East Riding), when necessity caused it to be replaced by the present building.

Mr. Bayock gathered together a large congregation, and in 1702 conveyed to trustees the meeting-house and yard, together with a piece of ground on which to erect a stable for the convenience of the worshippers, some of whom came long distances from Elloughton, Newbald, Skipton, North Cave, *etc.*

The Nonconformists joined in a collection (upon brief), as recorded in the Churchwardens' book for 1703, for the relief of the distressed Protestants of the Principality of Orange, and the proceeds of their collection, £1/15/-, were paid over to Mr. Ash, the curate, and in the same year they joined in another collection, for the relief of the seamen's widows and children, whose breadwinners "lost their lives in the Dreadful storm wh' happened the 26 and 27 November last past, and paid 14/2 to Mr. Peter Hickington, Viccar."

In 1710 the houses of John Chappell (? Chappelow, a tradesman who issued the only known local token), and of Matthew Eppington, were certified at Quarter Sessions, Beverley, for Protestant Dissenters, and in 1716 the house of Robert Langthorne. The Langthornes were Nonconformists, John being "Parish Register" under the Commonwealth in 1653/5.

In 1715 the congregation numbered 400, of whom thirty were county voters, which shows the congregation was now an important one. An entry in the York Archbishop's Register, 22 Apl., 1718, records :

"Ordered that a House at South Cave, standing on a piece of ground called Catherine's Close be licenced for a Meeting House for Protestant Dissenters."

I am unable to trace a previous licence, or to understand, if there was no previous one, why one was not taken out.

Yellow with age, pinned with the round-headed pin of 200 years ago, there lies before me a manuscript catalogue of Mr. Bayock's Library dated 1737. It lists 147 volumes folio, quarto and octavo. Fifteen were undated ; nineteen, sixteenth century editions ; 105, seventeenth ; eight, early eighteenth. Titles and authors, date and place of publication are given in almost every case.

Not merely a student of English writers, Mr. Bayock drew on the publishing centres of the Continent, Geneva, Wittenberg, Amsterdam, Cologne, and many others. Most of the books

were in Latin; the wide range of theological and other works suggests the scholarship of the Nonconformist ministry of the period. It is also a tribute to the intelligence of the congregations of that day and their ability to appreciate the preaching of such ministers as Oliver Heywood, Baxter, and others, thus disposing of the notion that early Nonconformists were "ignorant Sectaries." Many of the volumes being "first editions," would be eagerly snapped up by present-day collectors, e.g., Watts's *Horæ Lyricæ*, 1706, published at 4s. 6d., which was sold in 1902 for £2 10s. *Orationes* of Isocrates, Geneva, 1521, and Sloss's *Sermons*, London, 1736, indicate the period covered by the library, apart from undated books, as 215 years. Bibles and Commentaries show Baycock was a student in English, Latin, Hebrew and Greek.

Luther was represented by his *Isaiah* (Tubingen, 1546), probably his last work, for he died in that year. Seven of Calvin's books (Geneva, 1564-95) were in the library, including his *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. We traced a copy of this to a local library, but, like many other books, it was cast into the insatiable jaws of the pulping machine during the war, to be re-made into paper.

Melanchthon's *Chronicon* (Wittenberg, 1580) appears. Peter Martyr's *Commentary* (Heidelberg, 1603) and an edition of the Works of Cyprian (Cologne, 1617) were other Continental volumes.

Probably the most costly book in the library was an *Exposition on Job*, published at £4 by Joseph Caryl, M.A., member of the Assembly of Divines, 1643. The Assembly's *Confession of Faith*, the writings of many Puritan ministers, Archbishop Laud's *Labyrinth* and Stillingfleet's *Discourse on Idolatry* represented varying shades of religious opinion, whilst Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History* is, of course, present.

Passing to other features of the Catalogue, the History of New England, the Pilgrim Fathers' home, is chronicled in two volumes dated 1654 and 1702. Sojourners here, though hoping to be "citizens of a better country," we cannot be freed from political questions. So the controversialists realized in the Stuart period, and politics and religion were hopelessly inter-mixed.

Such titles, then, as *Politick Discourses*, *Perfect Statesman*, *Conspiracy against y<sup>e</sup> late King*, *Political Economy of Ireland* (even then a cockpit), *Monarchy Asserted*, *Comparella on y<sup>e</sup> Spanish Monarchy* and others are included. Perhaps the most famous is Milton's *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio*.

Being a member of a medical family, Mr. Bayock possessed *Practice of Physick* by Riverius (once physician to the French Court), Bartholmi's *Anatomia*, Magirus's *Physiologia*, with other works on Physiology and Natural History.

Writers on philosophy, philology, logic, included Aristotle, Cicero, Quintillian, and Descartes; geometry, manners and morals, and poetry (including Homer, Watts, and Milton) were all present.

Mr. Bayock died in 1737, and as his name does not appear in the South Cave Parish Register, it is most probable that he was buried (as desired in his will),

“ On the backside of my chappell or in my orchard by my executors, knowing superstition first brought bodies to be buried in churches  
 . . . ”

Amongst the members of his congregation were the brothers Blossom. John, a farmer and tailor at North Cave, who died in 1786, aged 76, was a deacon here for many years. His brother Thomas was a farmer on a large scale at Brantingham Thorpe, but misfortune came upon him and he never again rose in his worldly affairs, but remained in humble circumstances through the rest of a long life of piety and adherence to the Gospel of Christ. For many years he walked the three miles between Elloughton and Cave on the Sabbath until too infirm to do so, when he was obliged to go upon an ass until the loss of his eyesight compelled him to desist some years before his death at 85.

His grandson, Thomas Blossom, became a missionary for the L.M.S. in the South Seas and on his retirement became a member of the church at South Cave until his death at North Cave in 1855.

A copy of his diary, which, though intensely interesting, has not been published, is in the writer's possession, and contains valuable notes of many of our churches throughout the country, and of his life as a missionary.

The church book, commencing in 1821, states the Rev. James Bayock was followed in 1737 by Rev. *Thos.* Hickington, who died in 1754, aged 82, having been a minister fifty years. This is evidently a garbled statement, gathered from incorrect sources. The Rev. *Peter* Hickington was vicar of South Cave for fifty-two years and died in 1754. No record, whatever, appears of a Nonconformist minister named Thomas although a most exhaustive search has been made. Can any reader assist in bridging this gap of seventeen years, either by

references to this name or to any other minister who would appear to have visited South Cave during this period ?<sup>1</sup>

In 1740 (30 July) appears this entry in the Parish Registers. "Mary, dau<sup>r</sup>. of Mr. Hoyle, late dissenting minister at Swanland, buried." Is it possible he had some connexion with Cave ? (He died in 1738.)

The records of the Presbyterian Fund Board, London, show that a grant was made each half-year, from November, 1754, to March, 1759, to Mr. Thomas Ellis, South Cave, whilst in 1774 a grant is made giving his address as Romford, Essex.

We now enter upon a period fraught with great disasters to the old English Presbyterianism. Many of the churches were rent in twain by the Arian controversy, in some cases the followers of the old ideas remaining in possession and in other cases being turned out.

In the East Riding, supposed to be leaning to Arianism, were John Harris, of Beverley, John Smith, of Bridlington (who was excluded by the Trustees as a Unitarian, so that there were for a time two congregations), John Angier, of Swanland, Benjamin Clegg, of Collingham, and his successor, Edward Dewhirst, and Thomas Ellis, of South Cave.

At the Ordination of Newcome Cappe at York in 1756, the certificate was signed by all the above except Dewhirst. These, with the other signatures to the certificate, were all men of Unitarian views. It is noticeable that these four men all sign the Baptismal Register of Bowlalley Lane, Hull, Presbyterian (afterwards Unitarian) Church. The intercourse amongst the ministers was so constant as to become suspect ; obviously it was a means of spreading the new views.

Ellis had been educated at Dr. Doddridge's Academy, where he was of two years' earlier standing than Newcome Cappe.

In the local Parish Registers appears the following entry, "Hannah, daughter of Peter Lyon,<sup>2</sup> at Chappel, Bapt. Oct. 5,

<sup>1</sup> Since the above went to press the following has turned up from Vicar Peter Hickington's written answers to a "Visitation" of the South Cave Parish Church in 1743.

I. We have about an hundred and forty-five families in this parish and we apprehend there's not above four or five and twenty of these Dissenters, all of the Presbyterian way except one or two Quakers.

II. We have a Meeting House for ye Dissenters call'd Presbyterians and one Mr Mallison preacheth in it, but of what number ye Congregation consists we know not.

Reference to E. Goodall, *Howden Nonconformity* (1880) and *Northowram Register* (p. 213) show Mr. James Mallison, Presbyterian minister at Howden from 1715 to an uncertain date.

<sup>2</sup> Note. John Lyon was witness to James Bayock's will.

1760, as said." This is the earliest entry we can trace of a baptism definitely stated as at the chapel, no chapel register prior to 1790 being extant, and is entered in accordance with an Act of 1694, instructing that a register be kept of Dissenters' children. There are, however, earlier entries which refer to children of this congregation and that of the Quakers, which do not say "baptized" but "was born," *e.g.*,

"1703. Simon, the son of Wm. Goakman of South Cave was born 19th Januarius."

"1705. Anne ye daughter of Richard Dalton of Weedley was born 31st Augusti."

"1708. Wm. ye son of William Sparrow of Weedley was born Oct. 24th."

The Goakmans were Quakers, the other two attended the chapel. Mr. Ellis's doctrine became extremely distasteful to the people and he was compelled at last to retire from his pastoral office, removing to Romford. The congregation here declared for Independency and from that date it has been Congregational in sentiment and government.

Mr. Ellis left in 1773. There is then a gap in the records until about 1780, when Noah Blackburn became pastor. The *Evangelical Magazine* for 1821 states that he was converted by the reading of a sermon by Jeremiah Whittaker, M.A., one of the Assembly of Divines. Rev. J. G. Miall states that he was not ordained here and only stayed a year.

An amusing incident is recorded during his ministry. The old church building, which had existed so many years, had become very dilapidated. Desiring it should be repaired, Mr. Blackburn called a meeting one Sunday afternoon after service. Just before the time of meeting a heavy shower fell and the congregation had to crowd to one side of the building to keep dry. This proved a convincing argument; the chapel was repaired, and a vestry built.

So meagre are the records about this time that this is the only incident to be traced, yet from the stories of his ministry elsewhere Blackburn must have served his congregation faithfully. He removed in 1781 to Tockholes, Lancs., and in 1786 to Delph. Here for thirty-four years he laboured earnestly and successfully until one Friday evening (4 May, 1821) he was found dead after the usual services. Strange to say, his texts the preceding Sunday had been, "My times are in Thy hand" and "I heard a voice from Heaven saying, 'Blessed are the dead . . .'"

Shortly after the departure of Mr. Blackburn the Rev. James Grimshaw became pastor (*circa* 1781). He had been a

student in Mr. Frankland's Academy. His ministry here was for a time most successful and the chapel was crowded with worshippers from far and near, who came either on horseback or in traps and other vehicles. Unfortunately unhappy differences arose (possibly of doctrine), and in 1787 Mr. Grimshaw moved to Foston, Lancs., and died there in 1838 in his 97th year after a ministry extending over 63 years.

He was followed by Wm. Tapp, who was born at Hitchin, 8 Feb., 1756, and was trained for the ministry at Heckmondwike Academy, 1779-1782, under the Rev. James Scott. During this period along with his tutor and others he preached in a room at the bottom of the "Great Bull" yard in Wakefield, which meeting place was the foundation of Zion Church there. His first pastorate was at Pontefract (1782-1790), after which he accepted a call to South Cave in 1791. His first wife, Mary, daughter of Joseph Clarkson, of Wakefield, died 1783 (aged 28) and was buried in the Congregational Chapel Burial Ground, Wakefield. In 1785 he married Sarah Ansley, at Leeds Old Church; she survived him many years.

The year of his settlement was noteworthy for the birth of a boy at Cave who was destined to work for God for many years in the South Seas—Charles Barff, son of Robert and Jane Barff. His story has been told in *Some East Yorkshire Worthies*, and also along with that of his colleague, Thomas Blossom (previously mentioned), William Ellis, and others. For forty-nine years he worked principally at Huahine, Society Isles, where he translated *Isaiah* into Tahitan. He visited his home and took part in the L.M.S. Anniversary Services in the district in 1847, and died at Sydney, N.S.W., in 1866.

Returning to 1792, we find that the Church was in a flourishing state, for in that year a deed dated 24 May conveys from Benjamin Earnshaw to William Petfield and others, a parcel of ground upon trust for the residence of the minister of the chapel of the Presbyterians<sup>1</sup> at West End, also the house built thereon with money received by voluntary subscriptions. This house still exists and provides some portion of the church's revenue.

The oldest register of baptisms still extant is dated 1791, and records baptisms of children from seventeen or more different places, which probably shows the popularity of the preacher. The adventures of this book will be related below.

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<sup>1</sup> Often referred to as the "Old Presbyterian Chapel" after it had become Independent.

## An Old Yorkshire Congregation,

The Rev. Dr. Robert Newton, a famous Wesleyan preacher, then about 20 years of age, preached at the chapel in 1802.

The Rev. Barnabas Shaw (pioneer missionary to Namaqualand, born at Elloughton close by) says :

“When I was about thirteen years of age I heard Mr. Newton preach a funeral sermon in the old Presbyterian Chapel, South Cave, which was perhaps never so well warmed before or since. . . . I felt great reverence and love for him then and it has been increasing ever since.”

During Mr. Tapp's ministry at Cave, he assisted in building a cause at Market Weighton, which resulted in the erection of a chapel there in 1808. Nearer at hand, a congregation was built up at Elloughton in 1810, and in 1814 an old Quaker school-house was opened for public worship. From that date the connexion between Elloughton<sup>1</sup> and South Cave has been a very close one, the dual pastorate being sometimes held by the South Cave minister.

Mr. Tapp did good service throughout the district, his activities being many and varied, and his diary contains much interesting matter. In 1813 the Hull Auxiliary of the L.M.S. was formed (Mr. Tapp being a member), and extended its operations to South Cave in 1814. By his church's request a big Missionary Meeting, attended by numerous ministers and others, was held here, the collection amounting to £12. He even wandered as far afield as Walkern, Herts., to attend an ordination service of W. Thompson, and he was present at numerous other ordination services in Hull and elsewhere. (These were the days of stage coaches !)

A large family was born to Mr. Tapp; the first of these, Sarah (born 16 Sept., 1786, died 20 Jan., 1869) married Geo. Conder of Hitchin. Their son, George Wm. Conder, a mighty man in Nonconformity, hymn writer and preacher, died at Forest Hill, 8 Nov., 1874, aged 53.

Mr. Tapp died suddenly, 20 Nov., 1819, and was buried beneath the pulpit in the old chapel, a mural tablet being erected to his memory.<sup>2</sup> The Rev. Mr. Whitridge (who preached here various times, according to Mr. Tapp's Diary) appears to have supplied at South Cave for a time after Mr. Tapp's decease, but up to the present no details about him have come to light. On 1 Jan., 1821, George Nettleship

<sup>1</sup> I have written a full account of Elloughton elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> He is mentioned in *Transactions*, VIII., 165, where it is said that the details of his life are very meagre; the writer, in fact, seems to know nothing of his life at Cave.

settled here. He was born at Whitby, 17 Dec., 1794, and was led to Christ at an early age under the ministry of John Arundel (afterwards L.M.S. Secretary). After a course of study at Rotherham College he came to Cave, and the church was reorganized on 26 Jan., 1821.

The list of church members on this occasion is the earliest extant. There were eight, of whom Francis Ruston<sup>1</sup> and James Milner were members before this date. The minute book records their separate "Confessions of Faith," which show that several of them, like many of the Puritans, had resided in Holland.

At Mr. Nettleship's ordination service on 5 Sept., 1821, ten or more ministers took part. It is sad to relate that such a promising beginning, such a time of awakened interest, was followed by differences, but a faithful historian must set down these things. On 1 June, 1823, Mr. Nettleship publicly resigned his pastorate and preached his farewell sermon. After thirteen years at Penrith, he removed to Yelvertoft, and later to Clutton, Bristol, retiring in 1865. He died 23 Jan., 1881, at the ripe age of 86.

"Mr. Nettleship was a good specimen of those country ministers toiling in comparative obscurity, who by their life and labours not only promote the highest good of the people to whom they minister and the increase of churches in the larger places to which their most promising young people are apt to migrate, but do much to quicken to some mental activity the population around them. He had a fine countenance, expressive at once of intelligence, determination and kindness."<sup>2</sup>

There now enters a strange character upon the scene. A note in the minute book says :

"Mr. Nettleship was followed in 1824 by the Rev. Kelsey who had been a missionary in the South Seas."

This puzzled the writer for a long time, but a process of deduction and investigation led to Seth Kelso (pronounced "Kelsey" in this district). In the ship *Duff*, sent out in 1796 by the L.M.S., were thirty missionaries, six women and three children. Amongst these was "Mr. Seth Kelso, aged 48, previous occupation weaver." The *Duff* arrived at Otaheite (Tahiti), 4 Meh., 1797, after a voyage lasting nearly six months. Here Mr. Kelso, who had chosen Tongataboo (Friendly Islands), as his future home, was ordained, this being the first occasion on which the "breadfruit" was used at a communion service. Leaving eighteen brethren at Otaheite, the vessel sailed for

<sup>1</sup> See p. 184.

<sup>2</sup> *Cong. Year Book*, 1882.



the Friendly Isles, landing Messrs. Kelso, Bowell, Buchanan, and seven others there in April, 1797.

Of the terrible trials these missionaries went through, savage native customs, thefts of property, *etc.*, a most realistic account is given in *A Missionary Voyage*, compiled from the ship's log-book and the journals of the missionaries. At last the survivors, including Mr. Kelso, were taken off by the ship *Betsy*, of London, and sailed for New South Wales 24 Jan., 1800, from whence, with one exception, they all returned to England. The L.M.S. "Register of Missionaries, deputations, *etc.*" (1886) states Seth Kelso was born 1748, left Tongataboo 25 Jan., 1800, arrived Port Jackson 12 Feb., and England 5 Sept. same year, when he resigned.

He then disappears from our view until 1809, when he became the first pastor at Dent, near Sedbergh, at a salary of £6 or £7 a year. He stayed here until 1818. In 1824 he came to South Cave where baptismal entries are made by him from 10 Apl., 1824, to 10 Oct., 1826. An interesting diary compiled by Robert Sharp, the South Cave schoolmaster at this time, contains gossipy remarks, *inter alia*, about the chapel and ministers.

"1827. 25th February. F. Rustin, Jo. Milner, and two or three more have given up going to chapel, for what? Aye, for what? Not because the preacher does not preach well, but because he is dirty (what is that to them?). Last Sunday they had no singing, but this day they have done pretty well, Eliza" (his daughter) "was there and assisted powerfully. Thos. Marshall says she is worth a hundred pounds for it. Tom could like to let the discontented see that he could do without them."

"Sep. 25th. Thomas Milner" (son of James Milner, an official of the Congregational Church) "preached at the Methodist meeting last Sunday night and as I have been informed acquitted himself very well, indeed such preachers as he is have proved themselves more useful than M.A.'s and D.D.'s from the Heathen Colleges."

About this time Mr. Kelso resigned, evidently through ill-health. One night he was said to have been counting his money by candlelight with the blind up.

"1827. Nov. 17th, Saturday. Mr. Kelso, who lately preached at the chapel and now lodges in Mrs. Gillett's parlour, had his room broken open on Thursday night last and a chest stolen containing nearly £500."

"Nov. 25th. They say old Lone<sup>1</sup> is more put out by being thrown out of the Constable's office, than the poor old Preacher is in losing his money."

An old lady resident, a former member of the chapel (with

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<sup>1</sup> William Loncaster was the village constable.

whom I had many conversations ere her death at 102 years of age) told me that Mr. Kelso was a tall, thin, dark-looking person, a "dead old man," evidently owing to his age and the trials he had undergone, and she told me that towards the end of his life Mr. Kelso fell ill and was removed to a Mrs. Moverley's, at West End, in a wheelbarrow, and, said the person who removed him, "every time the wheel went round his head went bumpety bump!" Whether owing to this or not, it is said he was never seen outside again.

In Dec., 1831, he died and was buried in the Parish Church-Yard, the burial entry reading: "Burials—Seth Kelso, South Cave, 23 Dec., 1831. 76 years." The age given here does not agree with that in the L.M.S. Register which, giving his birth year as 1748, would make him 83 in 1831, which is more probably correct.

Mr. Kelso, having resigned in 1828, was followed by the Rev. Wm. Stott, whose first baptismal entry is dated 10 Apl. in that year. This minister first appears at the new cause at Elloughton, where, as successor to Rev. H. H. Cross, he signs the baptismal register from 1817 to 1820. Where he then went for some years was unknown, until a century later a letter from him, dated Wakefield, Apl., 1823, turned up amongst some old papers. The evidence in it showed that the cause at Elloughton had sunk very low, that at Cave Mr. Nettleship had resigned, and that a request had been made to Mr. Stott to return to this district, but that though he was desirous of going where the Lord called him, he did not feel that he could yet return, though he was not then in any pastorate. As Mr. Kelso came here after Mr. Nettleship, it was not until the former's resignation that Mr. Stott returned, this time as minister of the joint pastorate of Cave and Elloughton.

He was a bachelor and lived with his mother in the house at West End at present occupied by Mr. Mews. My old lady informant stated that Mr. Stott was a very big man, with stout legs, encased in knee-breeches, silk stockings, and shoes with large buckles. Although the tone of his extant letters is good, Mr. Stott does not appear to have been a success as a preacher, and the cause sunk very low, and in the half-yearly distribution of "Lady Hewley's Fund" payment of £4 was made to William Stott of Cave and Elloughton.

Our local diarist, Robert Sharp, has the following entries :

"1832. Sunday, May 20th. Mr. Haydon of Swanland preached at the chapel to-day."

"1833. Sunday, March 24th. Exceeding cold and dirty, so

stormy that my wife did not go to the meeting this night, a place she seldom misses. I was reading in Watts' Hymn Book, and in the 126th Psalm is the following, *I think*, beautiful verse, 'The Lord can clear the darkest skies, Can give us day for night; Make drops of sacred sorrow rise, To rivers of delight'."

"1833. July 23rd. Mr. Stott brought up a letter to send to William" (Sharp's son) "respecting some books he had ordered and paid for beforehand. I promised to send the letter in the morning, I doubt the poor preacher will be taken in."

"Thursday, 1st Aug. Mr. Stott's books arrived yesterday. They came by Cousens, altho' the direction was by Mile's Coach."

The widow of Wm. Tapp died 20 Feb., 1837, and Ann Sharp, being an old friend, was asked to the funeral. It was customary in those days to present gloves and scarves to those who were invited.

"1837. Saty. 25th Feb. Mrs. Tapp was buried this forenoon in the chapel. My wife was there, having received a pair of gloves, as a testimony of old friendship, but that cord is for ever severed."

We have spoken of the adventures of the Registers prior to 1827. The one from 1791 (South Cave) and that from 1810 (Elloughton) are now at Somerset House, London, removed under the Commission for the Preservation of Non-Parochial Registers, 1837. In the Cave Register is a statement certifying the book is the original (the word in this sense means "not a copy" and does not imply it is the "first register") Register for the South Cave Independent Chapel founded about 1690 (a footnote says, "This is only conjecture."). There is also a Country Licence for Registries of Burials, etc., dated 18 Oct., 1791, given to William Tapp, Dissenting Minister at South Cave.

A letter pasted in front of the book says :

"The history of these registers is soon told. My predecessor, the Rev. Seth Kelso, told those who applied for their Register that the books had been stolen from him in a chest, with his money, in which they were kept. After his decease, however, this book was found amongst others and restored. At Elloughton in consequence of there being no means of support, there has not been a resident minister for the last nine or ten years. William Stott, Feb., 1838."

This incident was evidently connected with a Court case, for in 1832 an affidavit was sworn (now in my possession) by John Holborn, a Quaker, which includes the following :

". . . And this Deponent further saith that he verily believes that the Birth or Baptism of the said John Dalton the younger was entered in the books belonging to the Protestant Dissenters called Independents at South Cave aforesaid and that the said books were stolen about four years ago as this Deponent hath been informed and believes."

From the information contained in the affidavit it is shown that the John Dalton referred to was born long before 1791, the first date of the existing register, and therefore the book prior to that date was not recovered after the robbery. The Burial Register is also missing.

Mr. Stott died 27 June, 1839, aged 51, and was buried in the Congregational Burial Ground (formerly Quakers') at Elloughton, a stone being erected to his memory and that of his mother. He had evidently a great interest in Foreign Missions, for under a residuary legacy in his will the sum of £419 9s. less duty, was paid over to the L.M.S.

The Rev. John Allen, who succeeded Mr. Stott, came from Whitgift to Cave, Sept., 1839. The pastorate was a joint one with Elloughton and so remained until 1877. A Sunday School was opened at Cave with five teachers and six children, and at Elloughton with six teachers and twenty-eight scholars, and though this was only a small beginning Mr. Allen's ministry appears to have been a successful one. An interesting minute of this period makes an allowance of 1s. 6d. per week for life to an old member named Richard Foster.

About 1843/4 the L.M.S. built the *John Williams* missionary ship (296 tons), to which South Cave children contributed 6s. and Elloughton 11s. When this vessel was wrecked in 1864 on Danger Island, South Cave was again represented, for Charles Barff (earlier referred to) and family were on board and had to remain on the island for a month.

Mr. Allen, whilst at Cave, kept an Academy for Young Ladies. He was also an author of some ability.<sup>1</sup> In 1846 he removed to Glasgow and afterwards went to Australia.

The next minister to the dual pastorate was Thomas Roberts. He was born at Stonehouse, Gloucestershire, Dec., 1812, and was trained for the ministry under the Revs. Geo. Burder and J. Hyatt of Gloucester. He served the village churches of Longney and Chaxill in that county for some years, and in 1847 removed to South Cave, where he was ordained by the Revs. Newman Hall, James Sibree, and others. He had the experience, too, of being married in the chapel, which was licensed for marriages on 1st Mch., 1849, evidently with that wedding in view, for he married a local lady (Fanny Wallis, of Everthorpe) on 13th Mch., twelve days later.

Thomas Blossom, after his twenty-four years work in the

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<sup>1</sup> I possess copies of most of his works.

## An Old Yorkshire Congregation

South Seas, where he built and sailed *The Messenger of Peace*, retired to North Cave, and in the Minute Book is the following :

“ Church Meeting held Mch 6 1849, Thomas Blossom was received as member of the church, having been previously nominated.”

Leaving Cave about 1854, Mr. Roberts removed to Newent, Gloucestershire, and in 1861 to Denholme, Yorks. After three years here, the rest of his life was spent at Bradford, where he died in 1901.

Having now arrived at the middle of the nineteenth century, we must dismiss, very briefly and almost without comment, the remaining years of the church's history, though there is much that is worthy of record. The pastors since Mr. Roberts have been—John Menzies (1854–1869), a fine character, whose memory is still revered, and who was probably the most successful minister since Mr. Bayock ; Charles Hardie Murray (1869–1874), (New Church at South Cave built 1873) ; George Fraser Elliott (1874–1878), (New Church built at Elloughton, 1874) ; Edward Holland Davies (1879–1885) ; Samuel G. Jowett (1900–1903) ; Lay Pastors were then in charge at intervals—W. M. Carrington (1909) ; Christopher Teasdale (1910–1912) now minister at Booth ; Harry Riley (1912–1913) ; followed by the Rev. Robert Brotherton (1914–1916). During the intervals and since Mr. Brotherton's removal the church has been faithfully served by the Hull and East Riding Lay Preachers' Association.

The cause has passed through many vicissitudes, but the Banner of the Cross is still upheld and good work accomplished. May we, “ as lively stones, be built up a spiritual house,” acceptable unto God by Jesus Christ.

A. E. TROUT.

## The Works of Richard Baxter.

[Continued from page 139.]

61. *A second admonition to Mr. Edward Bagshaw.* L. 1671. 8vo. 190. Dated 9 June, 1671 (p. 22).

*Reliq.*, III. 85. "Mr. Bagshaw wrote a Second Book against my Defence (No. 60), full of untruths, which the furious, temerarious Man did utter, or the rashness of his Mind, which made him so little heed what he had read, and answered, as that one would scarce think he had ever read my Book : I replied to him in an *Admonition*, telling him of his mistakes. To which he pretended a Rejoinder in a third Libel, but I found as I was told, that his design was to silence almost all that I said, and to say all that he thought might make me odious, because that those that read his Books would not read mine, and so would believe him, and be no whit informed by my answers at all."

62. *The divine appointment of the Lord's day.* L. 1671. 8vo. 237.

*Reliq.*, III. 74. "A worthy Lady was perverted from the Lord's Day to the Saturday-Sabbath, desiring my Judgment, and Mr. Francis Bamfield, a Minister, . . . being gone to the same Opinion, and many following them, I wrote by the Perswasion of some Friends, a small Tractate also on that Subject."

63. *The duty of heavenly meditation.* L. 1671. 4to. 33. Dated 1 Oct., 1670 (p. 33).

*Reliq.*, III. 102. "Mr. Giles Firmin, a Silenced Minister, writing some-what against my Method and Motions for Heavenly Meditation in my *Saint's Rest*, as too strict, and I having Answered him, he wrote a weak Reply, which I thought not worthy of a Rejoinder."

64. *How far holiness is the design of christianity.* L. 1671. 4to. 24. Dated "Aug. 24 (the fatal day), 1671." (D.W.L.).

*Reliq.*, III. 85. "Dr. Edward Fowler (a very ingenious sober Conformist) wrote two Books : One an Apology for the Latitudinarians, as they were then called ; the other entitled, *Holyness the design of Christianity* ; in which he sometimes put in the word *only* which gave offence, and the Book seemed to some to have a scandalous design, to obscure the Glory of free Justification, under pretence of extolling Holiness as the only design of Man's Redemption : Which occasioned a few Sheets of mine on the said Book and Question for reconciliation, and clearing up of the Point : Which when Mr. Fowler saw, he wrote to me to tell me that he was of my

Judgment . . . but he spake feelingly against those quarrelsome men that are readier to censure than to understand. I returned him some advice to take heed, lest their weakness, and censoriousness, should make him too angry and impatient with Religious People as the Prelates are, and so run into greater Sin than theirs, and favour a looser Party because they are less censorious. To which he returned me so ingenious and hearty thanks, as for as great Kindness as ever was shewed him, as told me that free and friendly Counsel to wise and good men is not lost."

65. *The difference between the power of magistrates and church-pastors, and the Roman kingdom & magistracy under the name of a church & church-government usurped by the pope.* L. 1671. 4to. 59. Dated 21 Sept., 1669 (p. 52).

*Reliq., III.* 85. "Dr. Ludov. Molineus (Lewis Du Moulin) was so vehemently set upon by the crying down of the Papal, and Prelatical Government, that he thought it was the work that he was sent into the World for, to convince Princes that all Government was in themselves, and no proper Government, but only Perswasion belonged to the Churches; to which end he wrote his *Paraenesis contra aedificatores Imperii in Imperio*, and his *Papa Ultrajectinus*, and other Tractates, and thrust them on me, to make me of his mind; and at last wrote his *Jugulum Causae*, with no less than seventy Epistles before it, directed to Princes and men of Interest, among whom he was pleased to put one to me. The good Man meant rightly in the main, but had not a head sufficiently accurate for such a Controversie, and so could not perceive that any thing could be called properly Government, that was no way coactive by Corporal Penalties: To turn him from the Erastian Extreme, and end that Controversie by a Reconciliation, I published an Hundred Propositions conciliatory, and of the difference between the Magistrate's power, and the Pastor's."

66. *Gods goodness vindicated.* L. 1671. 12mo. 99. Preface 27 April, 1671.

*Reliq., III.* 85. "This same year 1671. I was desired by my Friend and Neighbour, Mr. John Corbet, to write somewhat to satisfie a good man that was fallen into deep melancholly, feeding it daily with the thoughts of the number that will be damned, and tempted by it to constant Blasphemy against the goodness of God, who could save them, and would not, but decreed their damnation: And I wrote a few Sheets, called, *The vindication of God's Goodness, which Mr. Corbet with a prefixed epistle published.*"

67. *The church told of Mr. Ed. Bagshaw's scandals.* L. 1672. 4to. 34 (D.W.L.).

*Reliq., III.* 89. "Mr. Bagshaw (in his rash and ignorant Zeal, thinking it a Sin to hear a Conformist, and that the way to deal with the Persecutors was to draw all the People as far from them as we could, and not to hold any Communion with any that did

Conform) having Printed his Third Reviling Libel against me, called for my Third Reply. . . . But being Printed without License, Lestrangle, the Searcher, Surprized part of it in the Press (there being lately greater Penalties laid on them that Print without License, than ever before :) And about the Day that it came out, Mr. Bagshaw died (a Prisoner, though not in Prison :) Which made it grievous to me to think that I must seem to write against the Dead. While we wrangle here in the dark, we are dying and passing to the World that will decide all our Controversies : And the safest Passage thither is by peaceable Holiness."

68. *More reasons for the christian religion.* L. 1672. 12mo. 172. Dedicated to Sir Henry Herbert, 17 Jan., 1671/2.

*Reliq., III.* 90. "A Stranger, calling himself Sam. Herbert, wrote me a Letter against the Christian Religion, and the Scriptures, as charging them with Contradictions, and urged me to answer them, which I did : And his Name inviting my memory, I adjoyned an Answer to the Strength of a Book heretofore written, by Edward Lord Herbert of Chisbury, some-time Ambassador in France, the Author of the History of Henry vii. called *de Veritate*, being the most powerful Assault against the Christian Religion, placing all the Religion that's certain, in the Common or Natural Notices."

69. *Sacrilegious desertion of the holy ministry rebuked.* L. 1672. 8vo. 139. The book deals with the question of how the Nonconformist should use the licences issued under the Declaration of Indulgence in relation to parish churches.

Reply by M. A., *Speculum Baxterianum* (1680).

*Reliq., III.* 102. "In Answer to a Book of Dr. Fulwood's, I now Published a small Book, without my Name, against the *Desertion of our Ministry*, though prohibited, proving it Sacrilege to Alienate Consecrated Persons from the Sacred Office to which they are Devoted. . . . Dr. Fulwood wrote a jocular deriding Answer to my Treatise . . . and after that Printed an Assize Sermon, against Separating from the Parish-Ministers. Divers called on me to Reply to the first, and I told them I had better Work to do, than Answer every Script against me : But while I demurred, Dr. Fulwood wrote me an extraordinary kind Letter, offering to do his best to the Parliament for our Union and Restoration, which ended my Thought of that ; but I know not of any thing to purpose done."

70. *The certainty of christianity without popery.* L. 1672. 8vo. 112 (D.W.L.).

*Reliq., III.* 99, 190. "A Paper sent from one Mr. Edwards, a Lawyer of Kingston, received from a Papist, (Mr. Langhorn) as a Challenge, was sent to me as by him, with desires of an Answer ; which occasioned my Book."

71. *A christian directory.* L. 1673. Fol. 929 + 214. Second ed., 1678. The copy of 1st ed. at the British Museum formerly belonged to King Charles II.



*Reliq.* III. 161. *A Christian Directory* . . . hath lain finished by me, many years; and since twice printed.

*Ib.* I. 122. "It containeth bare Directions for the practice of our Duties in all these respects; as Christians, as Church-Members, as Members of the Family, and as Members of the Commonwealth: But there is a sufficient Explication of the Subject usually premised, and the Directions themselves are the Answers of most useful Cases of Conscience thereabouts, though the Cases be not named by way of Question: But where it was necessary the Cases are distinctly named and handled. My intent in writing this, was at once to satisfie that motion so earnestly name by Bishop Usher, mentioned in the Preface to my *Call to the Unconverted*, which I had been hindred from doing by parts before (see No. 32): And I had some little respect to the request which was long ago sent to him from some Transmarine Divines, to help them to a Sum of Practical Divinity in the English method: But though necessary brevity hath deprived it of all life and lustre of Stile, it being but a Skeleton of Practical Heads; yet is it so large by reason of the multitude of things to be handled, that I see it will not be of so common a use as I first intended it. To young Ministers, and to the more intelligent and diligent sort of Masters of Families (who would have a Practical Directory at hand to teach them every Christian Duty, and how to help others in the practice) it may be not un-serviceable."

72. *Full and easie satisfaction which is the true and safe religion.* L. 1674. 8vo. 189. Dedicated to the Duke of Lauderdale, 27 Aug., 1673. It was intended to reissue the first part of *A Key for catholics* (No. 36) and bind it to form "the chief part of the book" with this work (p. 189). This was never done, so far as I am aware.

*Reliq.*, III. 107, 180. "I had fourteen Years been both a necessary, and voluntary stranger at the Court; but at this time by another's invitation called to attend the Duke of Lauderdale, who still professed special kindness to me, and some pious Scotsmen, (being under suffering, . . .) and craving my interposition for them, I went to him, and desired his Pardon and Clemency for them, which he readily granted: And being to reprint my Key for Catholicks, where his Name was in too low a manner in the Epistle (he being then a Prisoner in Windsor Castle) I told him that to omit it might seem a Neglect, and so to mention him, would be an injurious dishonour, and therefore if he pleased, I would put to it an Epistle Dedicatory, which he consented to, and approved of the Epistle before it was Printed: But being fain to leave out the second part of the Book, and much of the first, that the rest might be licensed, I printed instead of that left out, a new Treatise . . . called, *Full and easie Satisfaction* . . .: Wherein Popery is brought to sence of the meanest Wit. But some were offended that I prefixed the Duke's Name."

73. *The poor man's family book.* L. 1674. 8vo. 423 + 117. Dated 25 July, 1672 (p. 423). Other editions 1675, 1677, 1680, 1691 (5th ed.).

*Reliq.*, III. 147, 190. "At this time came out my Book called, *The poor Man's Family Book*; which the remembrance of the great use of Mr. Dent's *Plain Man's pathway to Heaven* (now laid by) occasioned me to write, for poor Countrey Families who cannot buy or read many Books.

"(It) was so well accepted, that I found it a useful work of Charity to give many of them (with the *Call to the Unconverted*) abroad in many Countries, where neither I, nor such others had leave to Preach (and many Hundreds since, with good success)."

74. *An appeal to the light*. L. 1674. 4to. 6.

*Reliq.*, III. 154. "Not long before this, having Preached at Pinners-Hall for Love and Peace, divers false Reports went currant among the Separatists, and from them to other Nonconformists, that I preached against the Imputation of Christ's Righteousness, and for Justification by our own Righteousness, and that the Papists and Protestants differ but in Words, &c. So that I was constrained to publish the truth of the Case, in a sheet of Paper, called, *An Appeal to the Light*. Which, though it evinced the falsehood of their Reports, and no one Man did ever after justify them, that ever I could hear of, yet did they persevere in their General Accusation; and I had Letters from several Countries, that the London Accusers had written to them, that I had both in the Sermon, and in that Paper . . . done more to strengthen Popery, than ever was done by any Papists. This was the reward of all my Labours, from the Separating Independents."

75. *Richard Baxter's catholick theologie*. L. 1675. Fol. 136 + 124 + 118 + 299. Preface 25 Jan., 1674/5.

*Reliq.*, III. 181. "About that time I had finished a book called, *Catholick Theologie*; in which I undertake to prove that besides things unrevealed, known to none, and ambiguous words, there is no considerable difference between the Arminians and Calvinists, except some very tolerable difference in the point of perseverance: This book hath hitherto had the strangest fate of any that I have written, except our *Reformed Liturgy*, not to be yet spoken against, or openly contradicted, when I expected that both sides would have fallen upon it: And I doubt not but some will do so when I am dead, unless Calamities find men other work."

76. *Two disputations of original sin*. L. 1675. 8vo. 245.

*Reliq.*, III. 172. "Dr. Tully, by his book called *Justificatio Paulina*, constrained me to Publish Two Books in Vindication of the Truth and my self, viz. Two Disputations of Original Sin, and a Treatise of Justifying Righteousness; in which I published my Old Papers to Mr. Christopher Cartwright. Dr. Tully presently fell sick, and (to our common Loss) shortly died." (See also No. 1.)

77. *More proofs of infants church-membership*. L. 1675. 8vo. 414.

Preface. "In 1655 he (Tombes) sent to me again, and drew

from me the Letters here recited. These without my consent he published with an answer in the midst of a great Book: I left his answer these nineteen years, or thereabouts, without any Reply; as also the rest of his books against me. I thought it not lawful for me to waste my precious time on things so little necessary. A man may find words at length to say for almost any Cause. I partly know what can be said against this, and every book that I have written. And I know what I can Reply. And I partly foreknow what they can say to that Reply, and what I can further say in defence of it; and so talk on till we have wrangled away our Charity and our Time." Baxter adds that he would have left Danvers alone "had he not called me so loud to repent of slandering some for being Baptized naked."

78. *Select arguments and reasons against popery.* L. 1675. 4to. 6 (Sion College).

79. *A treatise of justifying righteousness.* L. 1676. 8vo. 198 + 94 + 294 + 184 + 79. Postscript on Mr. Danvers's last book, 4 Sept., 1675 (p. 79). (See No. 76.)

80. *Rich. Baxter's review of the state of christians infants.* L. 1676. 8vo. 64 (Bodleian).

*Reliq., III.* 187. "Having published a Confutation of Mr. Danvers about Infant-baptism (No. 77), one Mr. Hutchinson an Anabaptist in a reproachful Letter called me to review what I had written on that Subject; And in a few sheets I published it, called *A review* . . . which, I think, for the brevity, and perspicuity fittest for the use of ordinary doubters of that point: And Mr. Barret hath contracted my other Books of it, in certain Quaere's." (*Much in a little* (1678), by John Barret, ejected from St. Peter's, Nottingham.)

81. *The judgment of non-conformists, of the interest of reason, in matters of religion.* L. 1676. 4to. 21. Anon. Subscribed by fourteen other ejected ministers (p. 21). Some names added in MS. to list of ministers in copy at D.W.L.

*Reliq., III.* 185. "Two years ago by the Consent of many Ministers I Printed one Writing called the Judgment of Nonconformists, concerning the Parts or Office of Reason in Religion; which having good acceptance, by the same Men's consent, I yielded to the Printing of three more, one of the difference between Grace and Morality; Another called the Nonconformists Judgment about things indifferent commanded by Authority; And another *What Nonconformity is not*, disclaiming several false Imputations: To which I added a 4th of *Scandal*. But when they were Printed some of our Political friends in Parliament and else where, were against the publishing of them, saying, they would increase our sufferings by exasperating, or offend some Sectaries that dislike some words: And so I was put to pay (23L.) for the printing of them and suppress them." (See No. 87.)

82. *The judgment of nonconformists about the difference between grace and morality.* (And the other "writings" mentioned above under No. 81.) L. 1676. 4to. 123. (D.W.L.).

This volume was not put into general circulation till 1680 (see Nos. 81, 87), but some copies appear to have been privately circulated, of which this, in the original binding, is one.

83. *Roman tradition examined . . . in the point of transubstantiation.* In answer to *A rational discourse of transubstantiation.* Anon. 1676. 4to. 73 (D.W.L.). This is bound with No. 84 and probably did not appear separately.

*Reliq., III.* 180. "After this one Mr. Hutchinson (another of the Disputants with Dr. Stillingfleet, and Mr. Wray's Friend, one that had revolted to Popery in Cambridge long ago, having pious Parents and Relations) Wrote two Books for Popery, one for Transubstantiation, and another in which he made the Church of England Conformists to be Men of no Conscience or Religion, but that all Seriousness and Conscience was in the Papist and Puritan, and sought to flatter the Puritans, as he call'd them, into kindness to the Papists, as united in Conscience, which others had not. I answered these Books, and after fell acquainted with Mr. Hutchinson, but could never get Reply from him, or Dispute."

84. *Naked popery: or, the naked falsehood of a book called the Catholick naked truth . . . by W. H.* L. 1677. 4to. 196 (D.W.L.). Dated 9 Aug., 1676 (p. 196). This is bound with No. 83.

85. *Which is the true church?* L. 1679. 4to. "168." (148).

Preface. "Above eighteen years past I received a Paper (by the mediation of one Mr. Langhorne) from one that called himself Wm. Johnson, to prove the Papal Church to be the Catholick, because no other had been visible in all ages (see No. 46). I answered it and received a Reply, and wrote a Rejoinder. But being not rich enough to pay either an Amanuensis or Transcriber, I never (to my remembrance) took a Copy of any Book which I wrote, except this Rejoinder to him, and one other; and I never (to my remembrance) lost any but those two. When I had sent this by the ordinary Carrier, he lost it, but took on him that he never knew how. Whereupon when I lookt for a Reply, I received an insulting Letter for not answering. But when I sent my Rejoinder the second time, I could never have any Reply thereto. Above a year after, coming up to London at the King's Restoration, I enquired after the Disputer, and called yet for some Reply, but could get none: and I was then informed, that his name was Terret, and that he usually lived with the Earl of Shrewsbury (within seven miles of me, when I was told he lived near an hundred miles off): But that he was one of the greatest of their Disputers about London, where he spent much of his time, and had lately disputed with Mr. Peter Gunning, and Mr. Pierson (now both Bishops), and had printed the Dispute without their consent, And lest he should do so by any part of

mine, I sent him word : That if he would not prosecute the Dispute, I would publish what was done. Whereupon he offered to do it rather by Conference than by Writing : Which I accepted, and he came to me, and we agreed to begin with the true explication of some terms which were likest to be most used in our Controversie. I offered to give him my sense of any terms of which he would desire it, and desired the like of him, which he granted. He desired none at all of me ; but such terms as I offered to him, he wrote me immediately his explication of ; which because it rather encreased the darkness and uncertainty, I excepted against it, and desired fuller explication. By this time our hour was at an end, and I expected him to prosecute the Dispute, but could never see him more. Whereupon after urgency and expectation, I published what had passed between us."

Baxter then relates that the next year when the eldest daughter of his friend the Countess of Balcarres became a Roman Catholic he " offered a Conference with the person that had perswaded her." After prolonged negotiations to bring this about " the Lady was stolen away . . . to a Nunnery in France. . . . When she was gone I understood that it was this same Mr. W. Johnson, alias Terret, who was the man that had seduced her, and refused the Dispute. But not long after he Printed a Reply to the Book which I had published, and called it, *Novelty repress* : which when I perused, I saw that a Rejoinder would be of little use, because it must consist for the far greatest part, of the detection of his fallacious words, and of the vindication of a great deal of Church-History. . . . But having since written many Books against Popery, to none of which I can procure yet a word of answer, and hearing that they are obliged not to answer me till I am dead (which they may shortly expect) by the perswasions of some I have attempted to make this Return to this one Reply, which is all that ever they published against me, that I know of." (See also *Reliq.*, I. 218 ff.)

*Reliq.*, III. 183. " I wrote an Answer to Mr. Johnson Alias Terret, his Rejoinder against my book of the Church's visibility ; But Mr. Jane the Bishop of London's Chaplain refused to License it. But at last when the Papists grew odious he Licensed it and my *Methodus Theologiae* : And the former is Printed, but by the Bookseller's means in a Character scarce legible."

86. *The nonconformists plea for peace.* L. 1679. Svo. 340.  
Reply by Ric. Hook, vicar of Halifax (1682).

*Reliq.*, III. 180, 187. " Two old Friends that I had a hand heretofore in turning from Anabaptistry and Separation (Mr. Tho. Lamb, and William Allen, that followed John Goodwin, and after became Pastors of an Anabaptist Church) though but Tradesmen, fell on Writing against Separation more strongly than any of the Conformable Clergy ; But in Sense of their old Error, run now into the other Extreme, especially Mr. Lamb, and Wrote against our gathering Assemblies, and Preaching when we are Silenced : Against whose Mistaken Endeavours I Wrote a Book, called, *The Nonconformists Plea for Peace.*

" The act restraining the Press being expired, I published a Book that lay by me to open the case of Nonconformity, called, *A Plea for Peace* : which greatly offended many Conformists ; tho I ventured

no farther but to name the things that we durst not conform to : Even the same Men that had long called out to us, to tell them what we desired ; and said, We had nothing to say, could not bear it."

87. *The second part of the nonconformists plea for peace.* L. 1680. 4to. 204 + 123 (D.W.L.). Preface 16 April, 1680. Sub-title pages 1676.

*Reliq., III.* 188. "Because a Book, called, *The Counterminer* ; Le Strange, and many others, endeavoured still, as their Chief Work, to perswade Rulers and all, that we cherished Principles of Rebellion, and were preparing for Treason, Sedition, or a War: I much desired openly to publish our Principles about Government and Obedience, but our Wise Parliament-Gentlemen were against it, saying, You can publish nothing so truly, or warily, but Men will draw Venom out of it, and make use of it against you. But having been thus stopt many years, it satisfied not my Conscience, and I published all, in a Book, called, *A second Plea for Peace.* And it hath had the strange fate of Being Unanswered to this day ; nor can I get them to take notice of it : Though it was feared it would have been but Fewel to their Malice, for some ill effect. I added to it, *The Nonconformists' Judgment about things indifferent, about Scandal ; The difference between Grace and Morality ; and what Nonconformity is not.*" (See Nos. 81, 82.)

88. *Richard Baxters answer to Dr. Edward Stillingfleet's charge of separation.* L. 1680. 4to. "107" (D.W.L.). 2nd ed. L. 1680. 4to. 100. Contains (1) Baxter's letter to Stillingfleet, 29 May, 1680 : undated reply thereto : Baxter's reply, 17 June, 1680. (2) Reply to Stillingfleet's sermon at St. Paul's, 2 May, 1680. Reply by S. R.

*Reliq., III.* 187 ff. After the publication of *The plea for peace* (No. 86). "Dr. Stillingfleet being made Dean of Pauls was put on as the most plausible Writer to begin the assault against us, which he did in a printed Sermon proving me and such Others Schismaticks and Separatists. To which I gave an answer which I thought satisfactory (Dr. Owen and Mr. Alsop also answered him) To all which he wrote some what like a Reply. Against this I wrote a second Defence, which he never answered." (See No. 100.)

89. *The defence of the nonconformists plea for peace.* L. 1680. 8vo 199. (D.W.L.).

*Reliq., III.* 188. "One Mr. Cheny (an honest weak Melancholy Man) wrote against my *Plea for Peace* to which I published an Answer."

Preface. "Read not therefore these books, as the conflict of enemies, but as the consultation of unfeigned loving friends who fain would understand the truth. . . . And though I shew the great mistakes in his writing, impute them not to the habitual weakness of his judgment ; But 1. to the badness of his cause. 2. To the newness and crudity of his thoughts about it. . . . And who can

manage an ill cause without somewhat that is too like it ! And who doth any thing which needeth no repentance or amendment ? And who is so wise as to speak wisely at all times ? Let us pity one another, and pray for a teachable mind, and long for the world of Concord in perfection. O how much harder it is to justify proud Schismatical silencers and persecutors of the just, than to excuse the failings of the weak ! and with how great a difference shall they be shortly judged. . . . Yea, how much easier will it be for Sodom and Gomorrah, for Indians and Americans at that day, than for those who malignantly oppressed men of most serious piety, and fought against Christ as by his own pretended authority, and in his name."

90. *A moral prognostication.* L. 1680. 4to. 67.

*Reliq., III.* 188. "I published a few Sheets, called, *A Moral Prognostication*, what will befall the Churches, as gathered only from Moral Causes."

Preface. "It is many Years, since this Prognostication was written, (1661, except the Sixteen last Lines) but it was cast by, lest it should offend the Guilty. But the Author now thinketh, that the Monitory Usefulness, may over-weigh the Inconveniencies of Men's Displeasure ; at least, to Posterity."

91. *Church-history of the government of bishops and their councils abbreviated.* L. 1680. 4to. 488. Preface 31 March, 1680.

*Reliq., III.* 181. "I found by the people of London that many, in the sense of the late Confusions in this Land, had got an apprehension that all Schism and Disorder came from Ministers and People's resisting the Bishops, and that Prelacy is the means to cure Schism, and being ignorant what Church Tyranny hath done in the World, they fly to it for refuge against that mischief which it doth principally introduce ; Wherefore I wrote the History of Prelacy, or a Contraction of all the History of the Church, especially Binnius, and Baronius, and others of Councils ; to shew by the testimony of their greatest flatterers what the Councils and Contentions of Prelates have done. But the History even as delivered by Binnius himself, was so ugly and frightful to me in the perusing, that I was afraid lest it should prove when opened by me, a temptation to some to contemn Christianity it self, for the sake and Crimes of such a Clergy. But as an Antidote I prefixed the due Commendation of the better humble sort of Pastors. But I must profess that the History of Prelacy and Councils, doth assure me that all the Schisms and Confusions that have been caused by Anabaptists, Separatists, or any of the Popular unruly Sectaries, have been but as flea-bittings to the Church, in comparison of the wounds that Prelatical Usurpation, Contention and Heresies have caused. And I am so far from wondering that all Baronius's industry was thought necessary to put the best visor on all such Actions, that I wouder that the Papists have not rather employed all their wit, care and power, to get all the Histories of Councils burnt and forgotten in the World, that they might have only their own Oral flexible tradition to deliver to Mankind what their interest *pro re nata* shall require."

92. *The true and only way of concord of all the christian churches.* L. 1680. 8vo. 327 + 144. Preface to Bps. Morley and Gunning, 15 Nov., 1679.

93. *Fasciculus literarum* or letters on several occasions. L. 1680. 8vo. 344.  
Particulars taken from Grosart (CI). I have not been able to find a copy.

94. *A true believer's choice and pleasure. Instanced in the exemplary life of Mrs. Mary Coxe . . .* Preached for her funeral. L. 1680. 12mo. 62. Dedicated to Dr. Coxe, 19 Nov., 1679.

*Reliq., III.* 189. "Next died Mrs. Coxe, Wife to Dr. Thomas Coxe (now President of the Colledge of Physicians) a Woman of such admirable composure of Humble, Serious Godliness, meekness, patience, exactness of Speech and all behaviour, and great Charity, that all that I have said in her Funeral Sermon is much short of her worth."

95. *Faithful souls shall be with Christ.* L. 1681. 4to. 60.  
Funeral sermon for Henry Ashurst, esq. Dedicated to Judith, the widow, and Henry, the son of the deceased, 7 Dec., 1680.

*Reliq., III.* 189. "Next died my most intire Friend Alderman Henry Ashurst, commonly taken for the most exemplary Saint that was of publick notice in this City. . . ."

96. *Compassionate counsel to all young-men.* L. 1681. 8vo. 192. Dated 25 March, 1681 (p. 192). Other eds. 1682, 1691.

*Reliq., III.* 190. "The Miserable State of Youngmen in London, was a great trouble to my mind; Especially Rich men's Sons and Servants, Merchants and Lawyers Apprentices and Clerks, carried away by the flesh, to drinking, Gluttony, Plays, Gaming, Whoring, Robbing their Masters, &c. I wrote therefore a smal Tractate for such . . . Sir Robert Atkins contributed towards the charge of Printing it, and I gave of them in City and Country One thousand five hundred, besides what the Bookseller sold: But few will read it that most need."

97. *A breviate of the life of Margaret . . . wife of Richard Baxter.* L. 1681. 4to. 107.

Baxter intended this work and a reprint of the funeral sermon for Mrs. Baxter's mother (No. 52) should be companion volumes and supplement one another. But the second item not being published in time for this, the *Breviate* is found with two forms of title-page. One reads, "with the character of her mother": the other, "there is also published the character of her mother." (Both D.W.L.)



98. *Poetical fragments*. L. 1681. 8vo. 135. Preface 7 Aug., 1681. Additions L. 1683. Second ed. 1689. Third ed. 1699.

Preface. "These Poetical Fragments, (except Three heretofore Printed) were so far from being intended for the Press, that they were not allowed the sight of many Private Friends, nor thought worthy of it: Only had I had time and heart to have finished the first (which it self according to the matter and designed Method, would have made a Volume far bigger than all this, being intended as a thankful, Historical Commemoration of all the notable passages of my Life,) I should have published it as the most self-pleasing part of my Writings. But as they were mostly written in various Passions, so Passion hath now thrust them out into the World. . . . God having taken away the Dear Companion of the last Nineteen Years of my Life, as her sorrows and sufferings long ago gave Being to some of these Poems (for reasons which the world is not concerned to know) so my grief for her Removal, and the Revived Sense of former things, have prevailed with me to be passionate in the open sight of all."

99. *An apology for the nonconformists ministry*. L. 1681. 4to. 252. Dated 27 Oct., 1675 (p. 252). Dedicated to Bishops Compton of London, Barlow of Lincoln, Crofts of Hereford, Rainbow of Carlisle, Thomas of St. Davids, Lloyd of Peterborough "and as many more as are of their moderation and love of our common peace and concord. . . . You are not the men that resisted and frustrated our earnest endeavours and hopes of Concord at his Majesties return 1660, and 1661, nor made the Act of Uniformity, or the rest by which we suffer. . . . You are reputed among us Nonconformists, not only true to the Protestant Cause, but lovers of good men, and no lovers of cruel silencings, violence and blood: Though I know but few of you, I have reason to believe this same; and some of you have publickly declared your moderation to the world."

*Reliq.*, III. 188. "I published also an Apology for the Nonconformists Preaching, proving it their duty to Preach, though forbidden, while they can; And Answering a Multitude of Objectors against them, Fowles, Morley, Gunning, Parker, Patrick, Durell, Saywell, Ashton, Good, Dodwell, &c. With Reasons to prove, that the honest Conformists should be for our Preaching."

100. *A treatise of episcopacy*. L. 1681. 4to. 170 + 233. Preface 14 Oct., 1680.

*Reliq.*, III. 188. "Upon Mr. H. Dodwell's provocation I published a Treatise of Episcopacy that had lain long by me; which fully openeth our Judgment about the difference between the old Episcopacy, and our new Diocesans, and Answereth almost all the Chief Writers which have Written for such Prelacy. . . . I think I may freely say, it is Elaborate, and had it not done somewhat effectually in the undertaken cause, some one or other would have answered it ere now. . . . But I have since found some Explication about the English Diocesanes necessary; which the Separatists forced me to publish, by misunderstanding me."

In the preface Baxter relates, as in his Autobiography, how he first came to study the question of episcopacy and then goes on, "In 1668. After I had been in Goal, and yet men called for the reasons of my Nonconformity, I drew up some of my thoughts rudely: And in 1671. The call being renewed I wrote this Book as now it is (saving a few additional Notes): But cast it by my Friends and my experience perswading me, that the Bishops, and their Parliament adherence could not patiently bear it.

"Many years after some Letters past between Mr. Henry Dodwell (then of Ireland) and me: And his last being tedious, and he seeming not to intend or desire a publication of them I gave him but a short general return, instead of a voluminous particular Answer, especially because I had this Book written by me, in which I had more than answered him, and was not willing or at leisure to write over the same things again; But when I had lately wrote in my Book of Concord a summary confutation of Mr. Dodwels schismatical Volume, in which he degradeth, unchurcheth, if not unchristeneth, so many of the Protestants as having no Sacraments, no Covenant-right to Salvation, but sinning against the Holy Ghost; and all for want of a Ministry derived by an uninterrupted succession of Episcopal Ordination from the Apostles, and could not by importunity prevaile with him to answer Voetius *de desperata causa Papatus* or my Dispute of Ordination, at last I received a Letter from him, signifying his purpose, upon his Friends desire to Publish his long letter written to me out of Ireland: So that, I saw a necessity of Publishing my Treatise which contained more than an Answer to him: And the rather because some R. Reverend Bishops and others had urged me, to give an Account of the Reasons of my Nonconformity: So that I had no leave to suppress this book, nor be longer silent. And yet I fear that they that so called for it, will not easily bear it."

101. *A second true defence of the meer nonconformists.* L. 1681. 4to. 195. In reply to Stillingfleet. (See No. 88.)

102. *A search for the English schismatick.* L. 1681. 4to. 44.

*Reliq.*, III. 188. "Because the accusation of Schism is it that maketh all the noise against the Nonconformists, in the Mouths of their Persecutors, I Wrote a few Sheets, called, *A search for the English Schismatick*, comparing the Principles and Practices of both Parties, and leaving it to the Reader to Judge, who is the Schismatick; shewing, that the Prelatists have in the Canons *ipso fact*, Excommunicated all . . . who do but affirm, that there is any thing sinful in their Liturgy, Ceremonies, or Church-Government, even to the lowest Officer; And their Laws cast us out of the Ministry into Goals, and then they call us Schismaticks for not coming to their Churches: Yea, though we come to them constantly, as I have done, if we will not give over Preaching our selves; when the parishes I lived in, had one Fifty thousand, the other Twenty thousand Souls in it, more than come within the Church-doors. This Book also, and my Prognostication, and (which I most valued) my *True and only way of Universal Concord*, were Railed at, but never Answered (that I know of)."

103. *A third defence of the cause of peace.* L. 1681. 8vo. 132 + 152 (D.W.L.).

*Reliq., III.* 188. "One Mr. Hinkley Wrote against me long ago, which occasioned some Letters betwixt us ; and now he Published his Part, and put me to publish mine ; which I did, with an Answer to a Book, called *Reflexions*, &c. and another, called, *The Impleader*, and a Re-joynder to Mr. Cheny. Long of Exeter was one of them."

104. *Methodus theologiae christianae.* L. 1681. Fol. 450 + 439.

*Reliq., III.* 69, 190. "Having long (upon the Suspension of my Aphorisms) been purposing to draw up a Method of Theology, I now began it : I never yet saw a Scheme, or Method of Physicks or Theology, which gave any Satisfaction to my Reason . . . I had been Twenty Six Years convinced that Dichotomizing will not do it ; but that the Divine Trinity in Unity, hath exprest it self in the whole Frame of Nature and Morality : And I had so long been thinking of a true Method, and making some small Attempts, but I found my self insufficient for it ; and so continued only thinking of it, and studying it all these Years. . . .

"The Nature of things convinced me, That as Physicks are pre-supposed in Ethicks, and that Morality is but the ordering of the Rational Nature and its Actions, so that part of Physicks and Metaphysicks, which opened the Nature of Man, and of God, which are the Parties contracting, and the great Subjects of Theology and Morality, is more neerly pertinent to a Method of Theology, and should have a larger place in it, than is commonly thought and given to it : yet I knew how Uncouth it would seem to put so much of these Doctrines into a Body of Divinity : But the three first Chapters of *Genesis* assured me, That it was the Scripture Method. And when I had drawn up one Scheme of the Creation, and sent it the Lord Chief Baron (i.e. Hale) . . . he received it with so great Approbation, and importuned me so by Letters, to go on with that work, and not to fear being too much on Philosophy, as added somewhat to my Inclinations and Resolutions. And through the great Mercy of God, in my Retirement at Totteridge, in a troublesome, poor, smoaky, suffocating Room, in the midst of daily pains of the Sciatica, and many worse, I set upon, and finished all the Schemes, and half the Elucidations in the end of the Year 1669, and the beginning of 1670, which cost me harder Studies than anything I had before attempted."

"The times were so bad for selling Books, that I was fain to be my self at the charge of Printing my *Methodus Theologiae*, some friends contributed about Eighty pounds, towards it ; It cost me one way or other about Five hundred pounds : About Two hundred and fifty pounds I received from those Non-conformists that bought them. The Contrary party set themselves to hinder the sale of it, because it was mine, tho' else the Doctrine of it, being half Philosophical, and half Conciliatory would have pleased the Learned part of them. But most lay it by as too hard for them, as over Scholastical and exact. I wrote it and my English Christian *Directory* (No. 71) to make up one Compleat Body of Theology, The Latin one the Theory, and the English one the Practical part. And the latter is commonly accepted because less difficult."

105. *A sermon preached at the funeral of . . . Mr. John Corbet.* L. 4to. 36. Dated 1681 in *Terms Catalogue*.

*Reliq., III.* 189. "... His worth is known in Gloucester, Chichester, London, and by his Writings to the Land, to be beyond what I have published of him, in his Funeral Sermon. He having lived in my House before, and greatly honoured by my Wife; She got not long after his excellent Exemplary Wife (Daughter to Dr. Twiss) to be her Companion, but enjoyed that comfort but a little while, which I have longer enjoyed."

106. *The true history of councils enlarged and defended.* L. 1682. 4to. 8 + 240 + 113. pp. 1-8, *The ready way of confuting Mr. Baxter: a specimen of the present mode of controversie in England.* In reply to the charge, made by Robert Boreman in his *Hypocrisie unvail'd* (1662), that Baxter had during the Civil War killed a man in cold blood.

*Reliq., I.* 378. "Whereas God knoweth, that I never hurt a man in my Life, no never gave a Man a stroke (save one Man, when I was a Boy, whose Legg I broke with wrestling in jest; which almost broke my heart with grief, though he was quickly cured). . . . I began to write an Answer to this Book; but when I saw that Men did but laugh at it, and those that knew the Man despised it, and dissuaded me from answering such a one, I laid it by."

*Ib. III.* 189. "One Mr. Morrice, Chaplain to Arch-bishop Sanderoff, Wrote a Learned and Virulent Book against my *Abstract of the History of Bishops and Councils*; and against a small Book of Mr. David Clerkson, against the *Antiquity of Diocesaness*: To this Mr. Clerkson and I conjoynd our Answers; In mine, I Epitomized Job Ludolphus History of Habassia in the Preface; and, I think, sufficiently Vindicated my *History of Councils*, and so think they that were greatly taken with Mr. Morrice's book till they saw the Answer. And Mr. Clerkson hath shewn himself so much better acquainted with Church History than they, that whether they will attempt to answer his Testimonies (and mine in my Treatise of Episcopacy) which disprove the Antiquity of Diocesaness, or will trust only to possession, power and noise, I know not."

107. *An answer to Mr. Dodwell and Dr. Sherlocke.* L. 1682. 4to. 230. Preface, 2 Sept., 1681.

*Reliq., III.* 189. "Mr. H. Dodwell, and Dr. Sherlock, by publick accusation, called me out to publish a Book, called, *An Answer . . .* confuting an Universal Humane Church-Sovereignty, Aristocratical and Monarchical, as Church-Tryanny and Popery, and defending Dr. Isaac Barrow's Excellent Treatise against it. (For Dr. Tillotson had newly Published this Excellent Posthumous-Treatise, and Sherlock quarrel'd with it.) In this I confuted Mr. Dodwell's Treatise, of Schism, and many of his Letters and Conferences with me, which I think he will pass by, lest his own Reply should make those know him who read not mine."

108. *How to do good to many.* L. 1682. 4to. 48. Written to London merchants and citizens.

109. *The nature and immortality of the soul.* L. 1682. 8vo. 72 +

110. Two parts (1) Letter to an unknown doubter, 14 March, 1681. (2) Letter to Dr. Henry More, 17 Nov., 1681.

110. *Additional notes on the life and death of Sir Matthew Hale.* L. 1682. 8vo. 45.

111. *The catechizing of families.* L. 1683. 8vo. 439. Finished 10 Jan., 1681/2. Preface, 3 Oct., 1682.

*Reliq., III.* 191. "Finding the Success of my Family Dialogue I wrote a second part 1681 and 1682, called The Catechizing of Households teaching Householders how to instruct their Families, Expounding, First, the Law of Nature : Secondly, The Evidence of the Gospel : Thirdly, the Creed : Fourthly, the Lord's Prayer : Fifthly, the Commandments : Sixthly, the Ministry : Seventhly, Baptism : Eightly, the Lord's Supper. It is suited to those that are Past the Common little Catechism ; And I think these two Family-books to be of the greatest Common use of any that I have published."

112. *Obedient patience.* L. 1683. 12mo. 288 (C.L.). Preface, 27 Dec., 1682.

113. *Preparations for sufferings.* L. 1683. 8vo. 21. (D.W.L.)

114. *Richard Baxter's dying thoughts.* L. 1683. 8vo. 381. Second ed., 1688.

Preface. "I wrote it for my self, unresolved whether any one should ever see it, but at last inclined to leave that to the will of my Executors, to publish or suppress it when I am dead, as they saw cause. But my Person being seized on, and my Library, and all my Goods distrained on by Constables, and sold, and I constrained to relinquish my House (for preaching and being in London). I knew not what to do with multitudes of Manuscripts that had long lain by me ; having no House to go to, but a narrow hired Lodging with Strangers ; Wherefore I cast away whole Volumes, which I could never carry away, both Controversies and Letters practical, and Cases of Conscience, but having newly lain divers Weeks, Night and Day, in waking torments Nephritick and Colick, after other long Pains and Languor, I took this Book with me in my removal, for my own use in my further sickness. Three Weeks after falling into another extream fit, and expecting Death, where I had no Friend with me to commit my Papers to, meerly lest it should be lost, I thought best to give it to the Printer."

115. *Richard Baxter's farewell sermon, prepared to have been preached*

to his hearers at Kidderminster at his departure, but forbidden. L. 1683. 4to. 40. (D.W.L.)

Preface. "While I was lately turning up the rubbish of my old Papers, I found this Sermon, in the bottom which I had quite forgotten that I kept, but thought it had been cast away with many hundred others. Much of the last sheet was added to the Sermon after I came from you; and I remember that when I intended to send you this Sermon as my farewel, I durst not then have so much converse with you, for your own sakes, lest it should raise more enmity against you, and your displeasing circumstances of religious practice, should be said to come from my continued Counsels to you.

"I have lately taken my farewel of the World, in a Book which I called *My Dying Thoughts*: My pain of Body and debility increasing, and my Flesh being grown to me more greivous than all my enemies or outward troubles, I remembered the benefit I often received upon your Prayers; and craving the continuance of them till you hear of my dissolution, therewith I send this, as my special farewel to your selves, whom I am bound to remember with more than ordinary Love and Thankfulness."

(To be continued.)

## These Hundred Years.

By ALBERT PEEL, M.A., LITT.D. INDEPENDENT PRESS, 7s. 6d.

**A** "TRANSACTION" so timely and withal so permanent as Dr. Peel's volume bearing this title cannot go unnoticed in these pages. Probably no one who has not gone through the records of the Union with the same microscopic assiduity as Dr. Peel, that is to say no one but Dr. Peel himself, is competent to appraise the book as it should be appraised. But to one "general reader" at least the author appears to have achieved his task with signal distinction, preserving a judicious balance between the wood and the trees, exhibiting both the movements and the men who initiated and furthered them, and having an eye for gay and grave alike.

As every member of our Society undoubtedly has a copy and has read it, there is no need to hang out the bush that denotes the presence of good wine, but I may at least urge every member to lend his copy to him that hath none, which must surely result in the speedy exhaustion of another edition.

I dare not begin to speak of it in detail, but content myself with transcribing one or two notes I made on the flyleaf on my first reading. Thus: "Congregationalism serving others rather than self," pp. 39, 111, 196; "Home Evangelization" (in 1839), p. 109; "Objection to the common description of Independent Churches as isolated," p. 88. I can only hope that when A.D. 2031 comes round the Union will have as able and judicious an historiographer, and that the spirit which informs this record of the Union's first hundred years and finds happy expression and summary in the Epilogue thereof, will still animate our fellowship.

A. J. GRIEVE.

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## A Brief History of English Congregationalism.

By ALBERT PEEL, M.A., LITT.D. INDEPENDENT PRESS, 1s.

**S**INCE the foregoing notice was written Dr. Peel has further enriched us by *A Brief History of English Congregationalism*, which can be unreservedly commended not only to the young people for whom it is primarily intended, but for all who care for the story of our faith and order. Not only are the salient

facts presented with masterly accuracy and proportion, but the narrative is permeated throughout with the atmosphere and spirit and genius of Congregational Independency and Independent Congregationalism. The book ought to find its way into every home; it meets the need of student and layman alike, and should do much to instruct and confirm our people in our divine and "inevitable" principles.

A. J. GRIEVE.

### Builders of the Bay Colony.

By SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON. OXFORD PRESS, 21s.

**T**HE Tercentenary of the Founding of the Massachusetts Colony produced a large output of commemorative literature, of which perhaps the most important single volume was the one before us. In it Dr. Morison, after telling of precursors, deals with John White, John Winthrop, Thomas Shepard, John Hull, Henry Dunster, Nathaniel Ward, Robert Child, John Winthrop, junr., John Eliot, and Anne Bradstreet. He gives adequate bibliographies and moves with the confidence of knowledge through the period with which he deals. Especially valuable is his discussion of Puritanism on pp. 56-57. Having argued that "the connexion between Puritanism and political liberalism was fortuitous," he goes on to show that:

- (1) early 17th century Puritanism had a purely religious connotation;
- (2) it was not "mainly pre-occupied with hell and damnation": the fire and brimstone period came later;
- (3) it was not prohibitionist, or indirectly responsible for prohibition;
- (4) it must not be saddled with a coarseness common to the age, and a bigotry common to all Christian sects.

An Appendix, in which the contention that economic and not religious reasons were primarily responsible for the foundation of the Colony is examined and demolished, is specially worth noting.

Dr. Morison's assurance sometimes misleads him, as when he tells us that almost invariably clergymen in England and New England had taken the degree of M.A. Sometimes, too, dogmatic statements are made without the evidence in support being forthcoming. How does Dr. Morison know that "there were in 1629 not more than half a dozen English Separatist Congregational churches in



existence" ? Bishop Hall, who was likely to have better information than Dr. Morison, said in 1631 that there were eleven congregations "about the City (London)" alone.

But the book is one that will be of constant service. Dr. Morison writes clearly and with evident enjoyment, and his work should be on the shelves of every student of Congregational history.

ALBERT PEEL.

### English Education under the Test Acts.

BY H. MCLACHLAN, D.D. MANCHESTER UNIVERSITY PRESS.  
12s. 6d.

A VERY useful addition to the resources of students of Nonconformist history is provided in Dr. H. McLachlan's book, which the author describes as a "History of the Nonconformist Academies, 1662-1820." After surveying the rise and decline of the Academies, Dr. McLachlan discusses them as "Centres of University Learning," and then summarizes the history of the different Academies in turn. Appendices deal with lectures (MS. and printed) and with textbooks. Dr. McLachlan has collected a great deal of valuable material, and members of the Congregational Historical Society should be grateful at the use he has made of the *Transactions*. The Congregational Library, too, has been drawn upon, though it is here disguised as "the Memorial Hall Library." It is perhaps unfortunate that Dr. McLachlan has had to complete his work before the publication of the Rev. A. G. Matthews's edition of Calamy.

ALBERT PEEL.