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EDITORIAL

WE have before commented enviously on the freedom with which American scholars can pursue their researches—not a complete freedom, because America is more and more in the war, and such Libraries as the Folger in Washington, and the Huntington in California, have sent their books and manuscripts to safer places—surely an excess of caution! And what a pleasure it is nowadays to handle a book on white paper, with good print and wide margins, and free from all suggestions of overcrowding. Such a one is Dr. W. K. Jordan's *Men of Substance* (Chicago and Cambridge Univ. Presses, 18s.), which is reviewed in the *Congregational Quarterly*, January, 1944. Those who have used Dr. Jordan's four volumes on toleration will open this account of two Parliamentary supporters, Henry Parker and Henry Robinson, with eagerness, and they will not be disappointed. Too often does Cromwell's greatness obscure the service rendered by smaller men; here are two civil servants, not working silently, for they were prolific pamphleteers, but working efficiently, with clear heads and bright ideas.

We mention the book here, partly in order that our readers may not overlook it, and partly in order to emphasize a point, well made by Dr. Jordan, which conveys a much-needed warning to students. There has been a tendency, especially since the modern stress on economics was read back into the 17th century, to discuss minor movements and extreme elements at the expense of more solid and less vocal ones. But Dr. Jordan puts it so well that we cannot do better than quote his words:

The historian, unable completely to divest himself of modern preoccupations and preconceptions, is perplexed by the essentially conservative nature of the English Revolution. He is, for that reason, too much inclined to lend his attention and extend his admiration to fragments of thought on the periphery of English ideas during this period. Surely, it need no longer be pointed out that the groups which prosecuted, won, and exploited the revolt against the Caroline interpretation of the constitution were not inspired by democratic idealism. Rather, those groups . . . were quite as profoundly shocked and frightened by the rapidly developing political radicalism of an

incendiary like Lilburne as they were by the anti-social conduct and exhibitionistic tendencies of the early Quaker enthusiasts. In periods of political and cultural confusion, when the normal weight of divers types of restraint is relaxed, the ferment and the cultural anarchy which ever smolder beneath the firm topsoil of an ordered society tend to flame through at scattered points in the polity. But history cannot be reconstituted, past ages cannot be understood, in terms of the atypical or by following out the faint threads of thought which a particular age condemned as irresponsible or lunatic.

This, we trust, will whet the appetite for a scholarly piece of work.

* * * * *

When were Psalms first sung in North America, and where? We imagine that most readers would answer, "New England in 1620". They would be 3,000 miles out, and 40 years. Drake's Bay is some thirty miles north of San Francisco, and there for five weeks in 1579 Drake's ship was being repaired. The men were camped on land, and when they held services the Indians came and listened. In the words of Francis Fletcher, the chaplain,

In the time of which prayers, singing of Psalmes, and reading of certaine Chapters in the Bible, they sate very attentively; and observing the end of every pause, with one voice still cried, Oh, as greatly rejoycing in our exercises. Yea they tooke such pleasure in our singing of Psalmes, that whensoever they resorted unto us, their first request was commonly this, *Gnadh*, by which they intreated that we would sing.

* * * * *

No Unitarian scholar since Alexander Gordon has made such useful contributions to historical learning as Dr. H. McLachlan, and we always open with eager anticipation a book which bears his name. The Chetham Society has now published his *Warrington Academy: Its History and Influence* (Manchester Univ. Press, 15s.), the account of

a small short-lived eighteenth-century nonconformist seminary of learning, open to all, struggling to establish principles, methods, and ideals, now largely accepted, together with something resembling a modern university education in the midst of a society hostile, when not completely indifferent, to its efforts.

Founded in 1757, the Academy was dissolved in 1786, lack of support and failure in discipline, together with some suspicion of its aims, bringing it to an untimely end. It endeavoured to train men for commerce and the professions as well as for the ministry, and sometimes their high spirits passed the bounds of decorum: once

they exchanged all the inn signs in the town, while two brothers, who afterwards made good, distressed their father, who kept them amply supplied with money, because "they think it a sight to appear without having their hair frissened, and this must be done by a dresser, even upon the Sabbath"!

Of the many scholars in the Academy, as teachers or students, the most famous was Joseph Priestley; Dr. McLachlan leaves open the identification of Fantin La Tour, who taught for a short time about 1770, with Marat. He does, however, definitely prove that there is no real connexion by descent between Frankland's Academy at Rathmell and Warrington, on the one hand, and between Warrington and Manchester New College, on the other. Here, apparently, even Alexander Gordon nodded. The liveliness of the Warrington students is suggested by the fact that the prospectus of the new College in Manchester in 1786 mentioned among the advantages of Manchester "well-regulated police and the serious attention of the townsfolk to the duties of public worship". Dr. McLachlan includes the College at Manchester with the Widows' Fund Association, the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, and various schools kept by alumni as "heirs" of the Warrington Academy, which is rather dangerous once he has disproved the claim to descent. "The Congregationalists" (p. 123) is unusual, and there is a misprint on p. 135, but the book is a scholarly piece of work for which we are grateful.

And how useful it would be if all ecclesiastical historians would bear in mind Gordon's words:

Arian, in the 18th century, denoted those who acknowledged our Lord's pre-existence and his agency in creation and in atonement, while denying his essential deity. Socinian was the name given to those who, denying our Lord's pre-existence, assigned to him no nature but the human: these points, no doubt, are features of the system of Socinus, which in other respects, that of worship, and of Christ's present relation to the divine government of the world, had at this period no access to the minds of the so-called Socinians.

* * * * *

Few churches can have had so many advantages as the beautiful Congregational Chapel at Swanland, E. Yorks. A history that goes back to 1693, with tempting suggestions of connexion with a 15th-century chantry, a long line of devoted ministers, laymen of character and generosity like Sir James Reckitt, and now a historian in its minister, the Rev. John G. Patton. *A Country Independent Chapel* (Brown, 7s. 6d.) is a well-illustrated and readable account which brings the story down to the present day.

Among other recent books members of the Society should make a point of reading are Professor H. W. Foote's *Three Centuries of American Hymnody* and Mr. C. F. Dunham's *Northern Preachers and the Civil War*. Mention of Professor Foote's book naturally brings to mind the Hymn Society of our own country, though there is an affiliated Society in the States, two of whose meetings we have been privileged to attend. The Hymn Society has had some splendid enthusiasts at the helm, but they are conscious of increasing years and are anxious to associate younger scholars with them. The Society's great enterprise is a new edition of Julian, and it is greatly to be hoped that this will not be a war casualty, with the resultant waste of much strenuous work. Inquiries about the Society should be made to Mr. F. J. Gillman, St. Davids, Jordans, near Beaconsfield, Bucks.

Meanwhile we express the hope that the plans for the new Congregational hymnbook will include a volume about the hymns corresponding to Dr. James Moffatt's useful and readable *vademecum* to the *Church Hymnary*.

At the 1943 Annual Meeting of the Society held at the Memorial Hall, London, on Tuesday, May 11th, 22 members were present and the Society's Officers were re-elected. The Society's good wishes on his retirement from the Principalship of Lancashire College were expressed by Dr. Peel and the Rev. K. L. Parry to Dr. Grieve, the Society's President, who addressed those present on "Early Years in Lancashire College". Through the unfortunate omission of the notice provided, from the printed programme of the 1944 May Meetings of the Congregational Union, so few members were present for the 1944 Annual Meeting of the Society on May 9th that it was agreed to ask the Rev. R. G. Martin, who was to read a paper on "Selina Hastings, Countess of Huntingdon", to hold this over till next year. It is to be hoped that there may then be a good attendance. The subject should prove of special interest to Cheshunt College men.

The Early Congregational Conception of the Church

THE early Congregational churches arose by way of protest and dissent, in despair at the corruptions in the life round about them, and in a passionate desire for something purer and finer and more real. Their spirit was the spirit from which all religious revivals arise, from the successive waves of monasticism in the Middle Ages to the Methodist societies of the eighteenth century or the Groups of our own day^{1a}. "Come out from among them, and separate yourselves from them, and touch no unclean thing": the recurrence of this text shows the power it had over these men^{1b}, and their conception of the church is not likely to be understood without the effort, at least imaginatively, to enter into their life and to share the horror and despair which made them break away and form a society in which they might attempt to live and worship according to their conviction of God's will. The early Congregationalists were confessedly Separatists. There were different types of Separatist, from the fiery Barrow, who said of the Establishment that its churches could never be purged till they were laid on heaps as their youngest sisters the abbacies were², and who scorned "their forged patchery, commonly called The Apostles' Creed"³, through various stages of tolerance to John Robinson, who allowed there to be true churches in some parishes within the Establishment. But all were Separatists, John Robinson himself writing *The Justification of Separation*. They were not thinking in terms of Christendom, or of the one Church on earth. The only Church in that sense which they knew they had despaired of, of the Church in that sense they had no conception. Their conception was of something quite different, of an ideal which they sought to embody in newly-formed local societies by a process they called 'in-churching', the ideal of freedom to walk together in the ways of God known or to be made known, and of binding themselves to stand fast in such a freedom.

^{1a} Cf. G. F. Nuttall, "The Puritan Spirit Through the Ages", *Transactions of Congreg. Hist. Soc.*, XI. 4 (Sept., 1931).

^{1b} Cf. A. Mackennal, *The Evolution of Congregationalism*, 71.

² H. Barrow, *Discoverie of the False Church*, 139; quoted by R. Baillie, *Dissuasive from Anabaptism*, 44.

³ H. Barrow, *op. cit.*, 76; quoted by R. Baillie, *op. cit.*, 48.

"The Lords people is of the willing sorte", writes Robert Browne in a familiar passage; "they shall come unto Zion and inquire the way to Jerusalem, not by force nor compulsion, but with their faces thitherward: . . . and they themselves shall call for the covenant, saying, Come and let us cleave faste unto the Lorde in a perpetuall covenant that shall never be forgotten. For it is the conscience and not the power of man that will drive us to seeke the Lordes kingdome⁴". The notion of the covenant was something newly discovered from the Old Testament, and was intensely fashionable. The covenant of grace between God and man, the social covenant between man and man in the state, the church covenant between man and man in the church: Professor Perry Miller has shown how these were all expressions of the contractualism so congenial to the age, "part of a universal tendency in European thought to change social relationships from status to contract⁵". Our present concern is with the church, and "the heart of the church theory", says Professor Miller, "was the church covenant. Regenerate men, the theory ran, acquire a liberty to observe God's commanding will, and when a company of them are met together, and can satisfy each other that they are men of faith, they covenant together, and out of their compact create a church. . . . there can be no true church until there is a covenant of the saints, submitting to the rule of Christ in public observance out of their free and regenerated will⁶". The covenant is recognized as what formally constitutes a church: John Robinson says explicitly that "a company, consisting though but of two or three, . . . gathered into the name of Christ by a covenant made to walk in all the ways of God known unto them is a church⁷".

Now there is no getting away from the fact that with this kind of conception of the church we are in another world from the conception of the church which was the normal basis of discussion then and is the normal basis of discussion now. The majority always tends to absorb the minority, and to force on the minority its own use of terms. It takes a clear head, and a courageous spirit, to accept, as Troeltsch does⁸, the contrast between the church-type and the sect-type; and even he by his terminology favours the majority, the dominant churches, though his own sympathies happen to be with the sects. His twelve pages of contrast deserve to be read and re-read. He insists that the sect-type is

⁴ R. Browne, *Treatise of Reformation without Taryng for Anie*, ed. F. J. Powicke, 25.

⁵ P. Miller, *The New England Mind*, 399.

⁶ *ib.*, 435.

⁷ J. Robinson, *Works*, ed. R. Ashton, II. 132.

⁸ E. Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, I. 331-343.

not an undeveloped expression of the Church-type, as is so often unconsciously assumed even by its own exponents, but is an independent sociological type of Christian thought, and is equally with the Church-type a logical result of the Gospel.

What, then, are the implications of the early Congregational conception of the church as constituted by voluntary covenant? An early and important implication is that the church is prior to the ministry, which is of the church's *bene esse* only, not its *esse*. Barrow says that the gathered people "are to be esteemed an holy Church, . . . although they have attained to have yet among them neither a Ministry nor Sacraments, providing it be not by any default in them that they be wanting"; and Baillie, writing in opposition, complains that Congregationalists hold that "the Church, newly erected, makes the Minister; but no Minister can gather or erect a Church⁹". "The Church is before the Ministers", writes Hugh Peter, "seeing the power of chusing Ministers is given to the Church by Christ¹⁰". It will be observed how closely bound up this is with the fact that the people who constitute the church are already regenerate, and "of the willing sorte". Baillie makes the sharp criticism that "Their Pastors preach not for Conversion", because their flock is "converted already to their hands by other men"; and adds that "Of all that ever crossed the American Seas, they are noted as most neglectful of the work of Conversion¹²". Of early missionary activity there was certainly little, though John Eliot's work among the Indians was by no means negligible; but, in arguing that the flock is "converted already . . . by other men", Baillie fails to recognize the charismatic basis of the new movement, and in effect he begs the question. These Separatists were not ashamed to acknowledge the converting power of God's Spirit in their hearts through His Word in the Bible, without the intervention of "other men". "I do tell you", says John Robinson, "that in what place soever, by what means soever; whether by preaching the Gospel by a true Minister, by a false Minister, by no Minister, or by reading, conference, or any other means of publishing it, three faithful people do arise, separating themselves from the world into the fellowship of the Gospel and covenant of Abraham, they are a Church¹³". John Owen, again, who was not converted to Congregationalism till the 1640's, and who therefore represents a second and less enthusiastic generation, still argues that Scripture

⁹ H. Barrow, *op. cit.*, 34; quoted by R. Baillie, *op. cit.*, 39f.

¹⁰ R. Baillie, *op. cit.*, 24.

¹¹ H. Peter, *Answer to Thirty-two Questions*, 15; quoted by R. Baillie, *op. cit.*, 137.

¹² R. Baillie, *op. cit.*, 60.

¹³ J. Robinson, *Works*, II. 232.

manifests itself to us to be the Word of God "without the contribution of help or Assistance from Tradition, Church, or any thing else", and that "It is all one, by what meanes, by what hand, whether of a Child or a Church, by Accident or Traditions, by common consent of men or peculiar Providence, the Scripture comes unto us¹⁴". Behind this is the Calvinistic theology: as Powicke puts it, "Preaching might 'mediate' the call of God to an elect soul; but the call would assuredly reach it, whether there was preaching or not¹⁵". It is assumed, therefore, that the people, already, "have learned to know the Lord in their owne hearts" and therefore are not "unworthy to chuse their owne Ministers". The choosing is the important thing; as Hugh Peter says, "Ordination is lesse then Election¹⁶". Ordination is the public recognition that God's Spirit has made a man overseer of a particular congregation; it is the congregation which ordains, not the other ministers present. The thought of ordaining to the ministry of the Church Catholic does not arise; Bridges and Ward, when they got to Holland, are even said to have renounced their earlier ordination in the Church of England^{16a}; Hugh Peter certainly did so^{16b}.

It should be evident by now that we are in another universe of discourse from the church whose marks are the preaching of the word and the administration of the sacraments. John Robinson explicitly states that these are not its marks¹⁷. John Cook, in his pamphlet *What the Independents would have*, also argues that they are not its constitution¹⁸. Barrow, again, claims that sacraments "are not a perpetual mark of the church¹⁹". Of course, the word is to be preached and the sacraments are to be administered; but the emphasis is wholly different from the emphasis of the church-type, because the ministry is so differently conceived. Congregationalism began in days sufficiently enthusiastic to revive the New Testament custom of "prophesying", "any private man of the flock" being permitted "publicly to expound and apply the Scripture" after sermon, and "to pray and blesse the people²⁰"—a mode of worship which laid the foundations for the Quaker Meeting, and must have made it less unfamiliar than might otherwise be supposed.

¹⁴ J. Owen, *Divine Originall*, 34, 80.

¹⁵ F. J. Powicke, *H. Barrow*, 124.

¹⁶ H. Peter, *op. cit.*, 42, 15; quoted by R. Baillie, *op. cit.*, 137.

^{16a} *Anatomy of Independency*, 23; quoted by R. Baillie, *op. cit.*, 82.

^{16b} R. P. Stearns, "Letters and Papers by or relating to H. Peter", *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, LXXII. i. 47 foll.

¹⁷ J. Robinson, *Works*, III. 428.

¹⁸ Pp. 4f.; see the extracts printed in *Transactions of Congreg. Hist. Soc.*, XIV. 1 (Dec., 1940).

¹⁹ F. J. Powicke, *op. cit.*, 98.

²⁰ R. Baillie, *op. cit.*, 118.

"We know not", says Barrow, "what you mean by your old popish term of laymen. . . . I am God's free-man . . . I have the spirit of the Apostles²¹". John Robinson says that the practice of "prophesying," "out of office" was observed in each of the churches in exile in Holland²²; and he wrote *The People's Plea for the Exercise of Prophecy, against Mr. John Yates, his Monopoly*. Somewhat later the chief difference of opinion between the Congregationalists and the Presbyterians was precisely over this preaching by "gifted brethren" (a charismatic phrase) who were not ordained to any pastorate; and the Congregationalists produced a host of controversial works under such titles as *Preaching without Ordination* and *A Plea for Private Men's Preaching*. Together with this, not unnaturally, went, somewhat hesitantly, permission for women to preach. Few of their names are known, but both Prynne and Bastwick remark the fact²³, and at least one Dutch theologian²⁴, influenced by the Congregational exiles, was prepared to admit it as justifiable in certain circumstances. Again, the foundations were laid for the women-ministers of Quakerism. The preaching of the word was therefore conceived in a much broader way than was usual in other communions, and the members of the church were given a wider freedom both of practice and of judgement. In his famous farewell speech John Robinson appeals to the people to follow him no further than he followed Christ; we may accept Alexander Gordon's caveat that this "owes something to the reporter's controversial needs²⁵", but that does not destroy its representative importance, as allowing "private judgement" its full value.

About the administration of the sacraments there was some division of opinion, as to whether it might be done by any but ordained ministers. The Brownists' Confession of Faith of 1602 states that "no Sacrament is to be administered untill the Pastors or Teachers be chosen, and ordained to their office²⁶"; and the Pilgrim Fathers remained for some years in New England without observing the sacrament, on John Robinson's explicit advice, because they had no pastor among them, and could not persuade their elder, William Brewster, to accept the pastorate²⁷. This in itself shows that neither a pastor nor the administration of the sacraments was considered essential, however desirable. On the

²¹ F. J. Powicke, *op. cit.*, 99, 10, 93.

²² A. Gordon, *D.N.B.*, s.v. Jn. Robinson.

²³ Cf. R. Baillie, *op. cit.*, 111, 140f.

²⁴ Voetius; cf. D. Nobbs, *Theocracy and Toleration*, 135.

²⁵ A. Gordon, *loc. cit.*

²⁶ P. 34; quoted by R. Baillie, *op. cit.*, 39.

²⁷ Cf. W. Cheever, *The Pilgrim Fathers*, 144ff.

other side, Katharine Chidley, in her *Justification of the Independent Churches*, puts the sacraments on the same level as preaching, and allows them to be administered by others than pastors²⁸; and she is strongly supported by Milton, if he may be considered a Congregationalist, in his *Treatise of Christian Doctrine*²⁹. But the early Congregationalists were as much concerned about who should receive the sacrament as about who should administer it. John Cotton refused to baptize the child born to him in mid-Atlantic and called Seaborn, because there was "no settled congregation³⁰" in the ship; and some of the ministers who held livings during the Commonwealth were so strict about administering the sacrament only to the members of a church gathered by covenant, that they did not administer it at all³¹. It is true that this non-observance, whether through lack of an ordained minister or through lack of suitable recipients, was, owing to high doctrine about the sacrament, not to loose doctrine; but there is much in Troeltsch's remark that "sooner or later the sect always criticizes the sacramental idea³²"; and it may be argued that *in spirit* Dale continued the early tradition, when he was clear that, if a man could not conscientiously take the sacrament, this ought not to prevent him from being received into church membership³³. The way for the Quaker position was, again, being made open, even from the time when Barrow declared that "many thousands that never attained the symbol of the Supper yet do feed of the body and blood of Christ unto eternal life³⁴".

If we consider the theological basis of such a structure as the early Congregational conception of the church appears to be, we find, as is to be expected in a movement of the charismatic type, that its main differentia is a concern with the Holy Spirit. Paul Wernle has the dictum, "'Word and Spirit' is the motto of the Reformation³⁵"; and on the ceaseless controversy about the relation of the two an illuminating treatise might be written. The emphasis of the early Congregationalists was on the Spirit. It was Congregationalists like Owen, Howe and the Goodwins, as Principal Rees has observed, who "bestowed upon the work of the Spirit the most elaborate exposition it has ever received³⁶", Owen in fact declaring

²⁸ P. 8.

²⁹ Prose Works (ed. Bohn), IV. 418.

³⁰ E. Winthrop, *Hist. of New England*, I. 131; quoted by H. M. Dexter, *Congregationalism of Last 300 Years*, 422.

³¹ Cf. A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 182, 226 *et al.*

³² E. Troeltsch, *op. cit.*, I. 339.

³³ A. W. W. Dale, *Life of R. W. Dale*, 364.

³⁴ F. J. Powicke, *op. cit.*, 109.

³⁵ P. Wernle, *Calvin*, 182.

³⁶ T. Rees, *The Holy Spirit*, 191.

that he knew not any who ever went before him in his "Design of representing the whole Oeconomy of the Holy Spirit³⁷". But these men were the doctrinaire second generation, by whom "argument is fitted to practice in reversed order". The practice of the pioneers flowed directly, without overmuch conscious argument, from their enthusiastic consciousness of the workings of God's Spirit in their hearts. Browne, says Troeltsch, "believed that the spirit was all that mattered", and based "the life of the Church solely upon the inward power of the Spirit³⁸". Barrow's claim to have "the spirit of the Apostles" we have already noticed. "The spirit is all in all religion³⁹", says Walter Cradock of Llanvaches; and it was no doubt partly their stress on the Spirit, and on what was termed "experimental religion" as opposed to a merely "historical faith⁴⁰", which made Cromwell, a keen supporter of such an emphasis, choose largely Congregational ministers to be his chaplains. To recapitulate: the self-authenticating power of Scripture by its own intrinsic witness, the gathering together of those converted to form a church, the secondary position of the minister, the encouragement of preaching by laymen and even by women, the ability to dispense, at least temporarily, with the sacraments—these things which are characteristic of early Congregationalism are all dependent on a firm faith in the present and living power of the Holy Spirit in experience. For these pioneers faith is not an intellectual assent to doctrine preserved in an institution called the Church; it is something at work in themselves through God's Spirit, an ἐνέργεια, ἀπίστως was to Paul. "Clearly and emphatically to Browne", says McGiffert, "the believer is first, and the Church second⁴¹". *In spirit*, again, Dale continued the early tradition in insisting that experience, not the Church, authenticated doctrine; and in regarding it as "a fundamental principle of Congregationalism" that "the gates of the Church should be open to a Unitarian⁴²". Nor for these men is there any dependence upon sacraments which can be celebrated only by priests in a mechanical succession: "the true Succession", says Cromwell, "is through the Spirit⁴³". The conception has its perils, both intellectual and moral, which would be a subject fascinating to pursue; it may degenerate into humanism of a debased kind, just as sacerdotalism, which is the diametrically opposed conception of the church, may degenerate into super-

³⁷ J. Owen, *The Holy Spirit*, "To the Readers".

³⁸ E. Troeltsch, *op. cit.*, II. 661f.

³⁹ W. Cradock, *Divine Drops Distilled*, 230.

⁴⁰ Cf. P. Miller, *op. cit.*, 31.

⁴¹ A. C. McGiffert, *Protestant Thought before Kant*, 136.

⁴² A. W. W. Dale, *op. cit.*, 706, 344.

⁴³ T. Carlyle, Cromwell's *Letters and Speeches*, Speech I.

stitution. But it is a positive conception, with its own theological foundation and its own inner articulation.

In this connexion, it is interesting to find Vernon Bartlet declaring that "The Apostolic age was, above all things, the age of the Spirit⁴⁴", and Dr. Vincent Taylor that "it is not too much to say that the New Testament Church is the community of the Spirit⁴⁵". Certainly the time and the atmosphere in which the early Congregationalists lived had more than a little in common, on the religious side, with the time and atmosphere of the first Christians. Both were withdrawing and persecuted minorities; both were conscious, nevertheless, of "halcyon days" and increasing spiritual light; in both there was a party who thought the end of the world was at hand; both lived in a state of enthusiasm which did not last and, from a historian's detached viewpoint, could hardly be expected to last. Fashion in New Testament criticism changes, and the present notion of eschatology no longer seems to carry with it the awkward corollary of an *Interimsethik*; but it might be argued that both the New Testament conception and the early Congregational conception of the church are interim-conceptions, bound up with such a general kindling of religious fervour as may recur at intervals but is part of those movements of man's spirit which are beyond our power to effect or even to prophesy. A study of such movements, with consideration of the conditions in which spiritual revivals have occurred, and also of those in which they have not occurred, is urgently needed.

If the foregoing analysis be accepted in principle as correct, questions arise such as the following:—1. Was the early Congregational conception of the church good and wise, or was it bad and foolish? 2. If the former, then in the absence of such an atmosphere of enthusiasm as it requires, is it better to incline towards the sacerdotal conception of the church-type, which requires no such enthusiasm⁴⁶ and continues to flourish? or to seek to hold and live by the early Congregational conception, despite the dry season, believing that the sect-type often continues unseen for a time in an underground stream, and that by so living we may foster a fresh spiritual revival? 3. Is there, in fact, a spiritual revival taking place at the present time, but as much in separatism from our churches, as the early Congregational churches were from the Church of England? And, if so, what are we to do about it?

GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL.

⁴⁴ J. V. Bartlet, in *Peake's Commentary*, 644.

⁴⁵ V. Taylor, in *The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit*, 49.

⁴⁶ *I.e.*, in the technical sense used throughout, of the people's 'knowing the Lord in their own hearts' without sacerdotal mediation.

John Cotton's "Keyes of the Kingdom" (1644)

THE Independent Churches were born of Mr. Cotton and others in New England"¹; so William Erbury. If an exaggeration, it is the exaggeration of a truth. Few men had an influence on Congregationalism at once so wide and so deep as Cotton had. There is, indeed, another strain, more radical and enthusiastic, which does not spring from Cotton. Exactly how he came to his Independent principles seems not to be known; but it certainly was not through Browne or Barrow, for he and his party held that "God is not wont to make choice of men infamous for gross vices (as that *Brown* and *Barrow* were) to be the Discoverers of momentous Truths".² For "that very *Middle-way*," on the other hand, "between that which is called *Brownisme*, and the *Presbyteriall-governments*,"³ which was the Dissenting Brethren's way, John Cotton and his *Keyes* became definitive. By 1652, when Cotton died, the Independents in this country had been "turned aside by the unforeseen course of the wars and forced to preserve their lives in an unholy alliance with the sects upon a platform of toleration"⁴; but of the actual early New England Congregationalism, as Dexter says, the *Keyes* remains the most complete and influential statement published.⁵

The pamphlet has the further personal interest of having converted John Owen to Independency.

Of the congregational way I was not acquainted with any one person, minister or other; nor had I, to my knowledge, seen any more than one in my life. My acquaintance lay wholly with ministers and people of the presbyterian way. But sundry books being published on either side, I perused and compared them with the Scripture, and one another, according as I received ability from God. After a general view of them, as was my manner in other controversies, I fixed on one to take under peculiar consideration and examination, which seemed most methodically and strongly to maintain that which was contrary, as I thought, to my present persuasion. This was Mr. Cotton's book of *The Keys*. The examination and confutation hereof, merely for my own particular satisfaction, with what diligence and sincerity I was able, I engaged in. . . . In the pursuit and management of this work, quite beside and contrary to my expectation, at a time and season wherein I could expect nothing on that account but ruin in this world; without the knowledge or advice of, or conference with, any one person of that judgment, I was prevailed on to receive that and those principles which I had thought to have set myself in opposition unto.

And, indeed, this way of impartial examining all things by the word, comparing causes with causes and things with things, laying aside all prejudicate respects unto persons or present traditions, is a course that I

¹ Wm. Erbury, *Testimony*, 327; quoted by T. Richards, *Puritan Movement in Wales*, 29, n.3.

² *Life and Death of R. Mather*, 1850 edn., 84; quoted by H. M. Dexter, *Congregationalism, in Last 800 Years*, 521, n.2.

³ Introd. by T. Goodwin and P. Nye to *Keyes*, vii.

⁴ P. Miller, *The New England Mind*, 434.

⁵ H. M. Dexter, *op. cit.*, 433 f.

would admonish all to beware of who would avoid the danger of being made Independents.⁶

Since Owen became the leading Congregational divine of the Commonwealth period, it is of interest to observe that the Presbyterian Samuel Rutherford considered the *Keyes*, which converted Owen, to present a basis for comprehension.⁷ Owen, indeed, remained "a very decided Conservative".⁸ The large place the pamphlet allows to a system of synods is sufficient to distinguish it from the extremeness of Independency. "The idea of holding occasional synods was not developed; both word and policy were repugnant to Cromwell."⁹

Cotton was born at Derby in 1584, and was educated at Derby and at Trinity College, Cambridge, which in 1606 he left for Emmanuel. To Emmanuel's Puritan atmosphere he probably owed much; to sermons by William Perkins and Richard Sibbes seemingly more. From 1612 till 1633 he was Vicar of Boston in Lincolnshire, where both his influence and his nonconformity increased. John Preston, Master of Emmanuel, whom a sermon of Cotton's at Cambridge had brought into the ministry, sent him divinity pupils, among whom were Thomas Hill, later Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Samuel Winter, later Provost of Trinity College, Dublin; John Angier was another. At first satisfied with the indulgence of his diocesan, John Williams, Cotton finally decided to seek the greater freedom of New England. Thomas Goodwin and Philip Nye, who later wrote commending the *Keyes*, John Davenport and Henry Whitfield were among the Puritans who sought to dissuade him, but were themselves converted to his position. John Goodwin also came under his influence. In 1633, with Thomas Hooker, Samuel Stone, and a son of Mrs. Hutchinson, Cotton crossed the Atlantic and landed at Trimountain, henceforth in his honour called Boston, and was ordained minister of the Congregational Church there. Here he remained, a recognized and revered leader, till his death in 1652, aged 68.

Though condemned then, as now, for his intolerance, Cotton claimed a large latitude for his church members.

For we have in our churches some well respected Brethren, who doe indifferently allow either Episcopall, or Presbyteriall, or Congregational Government, so be it they governe according to the rules of the Gospel. Neither do we disturbe such, nor they us in our communion with them.¹⁰

We have tolerated in our churches some Anabaptists, some Antinomians, and some Seekers, and do so still at this day. We are far from arrogating infallibility of judgment to ourselves, or affecting uniformity. Uniformity God never required, infallibility He never granted us.¹¹

There were not many then prepared even to say so much.

GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL.

On reading *The Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven* one soon understands why the pamphlet—it is only some fifty pages—was so influential. The thesis is moderately stated (as Cotton says, he is "as well studious of peace, as of truth") and is closely reasoned from the Scriptures.

Analyzing *Matt. 16*¹², "I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven

⁶ J. Owen, *Works*, ed. W. H. Goold, XIII, 223f.

⁷ C. Mather, *Ratio Disciplinae Fratrum Nov-Anglorum*, 7; quoted by H. M. Dexter, *op. cit.*, 463.

⁸ J. Stoughton, *Religion in England*, II, 249.

⁹ T. Richards, *op. cit.*, 197.

¹⁰ J. Cotton, *Way of Congreg. Churches Cleared*, 71; quoted by H. M. Dexter, *op. cit.*, 462.

¹¹ J. Cotton, letter in reply to J. Clarke, *Ill. Newses from New England*; quoted by J. Waddington, *op. cit.*, 526.

and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven," Cotton inquires *What is meant by the kingdom of heaven?* It is the kingdom of grace, the Church; and the kingdom of glory, heaven. Peter is given power to bind and loose in the Church on earth, with the privilege that the binding and loosening shall apply in heaven. *What are the Keys?* They are the Ordinances of the Church as "the preaching of the Word, (which is the opening and applying of it)" and the administration of the Seals¹² and Censures. These being metaphorical keys, their acts are spoken of as to bind and loose; but, as with material keys, they close and open. *What is the subject to be bound and loosed?* "Whatsoever" does not mean "(as the Papists would stretch it) . . . oathes, or covenants, or contracts, or counsels, or lawes" but sin and sinners, *John 20*²³. The binding and loosening is partly in the conscience of the sinner and partly in his outward estate in the Church. *To whom is the power of the Keys given?* To Peter. Christ promised to use Peter's confession, *Matt. 16*¹⁶, as the foundation of the Church and to give him the Keys of his Church. Was it given to him as an Apostle, Elder or Believer? This, being a controversial question and unnecessary to the argument, is not pursued. From other Scriptural passages it is clear that the power to forgive or retain sins was given to the Apostles as well as to Peter, *John 20*²¹⁻²³; the Apostles commended the rule and government of each church to the Elders, *Heb. 13*¹⁷; also Christ gave the power of the Keys to the Body of the Church,¹³ *Matt. 18*¹⁷.

The current allegorical interpretation of the keys is that there is a key of Knowledge and a key of Power, the latter being a key either of Order or of Jurisdiction. In this interpretation Cotton claims as defects that: (a) any key should be without Power; (b) the key of Church Liberty is omitted¹⁴; (c) the key of Order is divided from the key of Jurisdiction¹⁵; (d) Order is appropriated to the Officers only in the Church.¹⁶

In point of fact, there are keys of Faith and Order, *Col. 2*^{5f}; and there are two keys of Order, a key of Liberty or interest, which belongs to the Brethren, and a key of Authority or rule, which belongs to the Elders. "The Gospel alloweth no Church authority . . . to the Brethren, but reserveth that wholly to the Elders; and yet preventeth the tyranny and oligarchy, and exorbitancy of the Elders by the large and firme establishment of the liberties of the Brethren." Cotton proceeds to explain and prove these statements.

*The key of Faith*¹⁷ belongs to all the faithful, whether or no they belong to any church, since faith precedes, though it is naturally followed by, church membership.

¹² Throughout the pamphlet the Sacraments are generally referred to as the Seals.

¹³ On the controversy whether "the Church" in *Matt. 18*¹⁷ means the Presbytery or the Congregation, Cotton says that both Classical and Congregational Divines are agreed that no offender should be excommunicated without the concurrence of the Congregation, at least by consent to, and practical support of, the sentence.

¹⁴ "The Popish Clergie omitted it," and it has been but partly recovered by Protestants, who have the liberty of preaching the gospel and the ministry of the sacraments but do not discern the necessity of discipline. Others have wrested to themselves a power which belongs to the key of Authority.

¹⁵ "Of purpose to make way for the power of Chancellours and Commissaries . . . who, though they want the key of Order, (having never entred into holy orders, as they are called, or at most into the order of Deacons only, whereof our Lord spake nothing touching Jurisdiction) yet they have been invested with Jurisdiction . . . even above those Elders, who labour in word and doctrine."

¹⁶ "For though wee be far from allowing that sacrilegious usurpation of the Ministers Office, which wee heare of (to our grieve) to be practised in some places, that private Christians ordinarily take upon them to preach the Gospel publicly, and to minister Sacraments: yet we put a difference between Office and Order. Office wee looke at as peculiar to those, who are set apart for some peculiar Function in the Church, who are either Elders or Deacons. But Order (speaking of Church-order properly taken) is common to all the members of the Church, whether Officers or private Brethren."

¹⁷ This is the same as the key of Knowledge in the older interpretation, since saving knowledge is held to be synonymous with faith in the Scriptures, *Is. 53*¹¹ *Luke 11*⁵², *John 17*³.

The key of Liberty, as the key of interest is termed in the Scriptures, is given to the Brethren: "Brethren, ye have been called unto liberty," *Gal. 5*¹³. "If we consult with the context,¹⁸ rather than with Commenters," since in this epistle chapters 5⁹ to 6⁹ touch on discipline, the reference is to church Liberty. Besides spiritual Liberties, as to be "set free by the blood of Christ from Satan, hell, bondage of sin, curse of the Morall Law, and service of the Ceremonial Law," and power "to be called the sons of God, to come boldly unto the throne of grace in prayer, and as heirs of glory, to look for our inheritance in light," the Brethren have the following power:—

- (1) to choose Officers. The early Brethren selected two, one of whom should be Divinely appointed as Apostle in place of Judas, *Acts 1*^{16ff}. Cyprian¹⁹ is quoted as confirmation that they may choose or refuse their Ministers; for Deacons, see *Acts 6*²⁻⁶; for Elders, *Acts 14*²³.
- (2) to send forth one or more of their number in Christian service as required, as Epaphroditus was sent by Paul to the church at Philippi, *Phil. 2*²⁵.
- (3) to propound any just exceptions against such as offer themselves to their communion or the Seals of it, as in the instance of Saul, *Acts 9*^{26f}. and Cornelius, *Acts 10*⁴⁷.
- (4) as individuals to speak to a brother about an alleged offence, and collectively to join with the Elders in hearing and discussing a scandal which has not been settled privately, *Matt. 18*¹⁷. It is for the Elders previously to have examined the alleged offenders and prepared the matter for discussion, and, if they discern the matter is one for censure, to declare "the counsell and will of God therein". That the Brethren may accept or decline these conclusions of the Elders is clear from *2 Cor. 10*⁶, where Paul waits (to apply revenge on disobedience, by censure) upon the obedience of the Church. The Brethren may also join with the Elders in binding an offender under censure, *1 Cor. 5*^{4f.}, and in forgiving the repentant, *2 Cor. 2*^{7f.}; for this is an act not of Authority or rule but of Discretion, like the act of a jury who adjudicate while the judge (the Elders) alone passes sentence. The Brethren and Elders may hear and judge an offending Elder as well as one of the Brethren; thus Peter submitted himself to give satisfaction, *Acts 11*²⁻¹⁸. This raises the query, can the whole Presbytery be proceeded against? The Brethren have no power to excommunicate, since that is an act of Authority; but they have the power
- (5) to withdraw from the Presbytery, *Rom. 16*¹⁷. For practical reasons, however, the Brethren should not proceed without exercising their power
- (6) to consult a Synod.²⁰ For they have power
- (7) to enjoy communion with other churches: (a) by *participation* in the Lord's Supper in another church, "for wee receive the Lords Supper, not only as a Seal of our communion with the Lord Jesus, and with his members in our own Church, but also in all the churches of the Saints"; (b) by *recommendation* of members to another church, *Rom. 16*^{1f.}, where they will be worshipping for a while, or, by letter of dismission, transferring a member who permanently changes his address; (c) by *consultation* about any person or cause, *Acts 15*²; (d) by

¹⁸ This Cotton generally does, and to a degree unusual in his time.

¹⁹ "Plebs Christiana vel maxime potestatem habet, vel dignos sacerdotes eligendi, vel indignos recusandi": Cyprian, *Ep. 4*.

²⁰ Although Synods are brought into the argument rather abruptly, the precipitation is hardly as marked as it appears here.

sending messengers to Synod to determine matters of common concern, *Acts* 15²; (e) by *contribution* in the giving and receiving of supplies and succours, *Acts* 11^{29f.}; (f) by mutual *admonition*, as Paul to Peter, *Gal.* 2¹¹⁻¹⁴; (g) in the propagation and *multiplying*²¹ of churches.

The key of Authority is given to the Elders. Their office is to rule, "the Elders that rule well," *1 Tim.* 5¹⁷, *Heb.* 13⁷⁻¹⁷. Their several acts of rule are:—

- (1) to preach the Word²² and to administer the Seals of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, *Matt.* 28^{19f.} If anyone should suppose from *1 Cor.* 14³¹ that private members may prophesy and so may also baptize, they overlook the fact that these people to whom Paul writes were not ordinary members but lived at a time when an extraordinary gift of the Spirit was bestowed.²³
- (2) to call together the Church "as any weighty occasion shall require", as for the election of Deacons, *Acts* 6².
- (3) to examine any, whether Officers or members, before they be received of the Church, *Rev.* 2².
- (4) to ordain Officers, whether Elders, *1 Tim.* 4¹⁴, or Deacons, *Acts* 6⁶, chosen by the people.
- (5) to "open the doores of Speech and Silence²⁴ in the Assembly", *Acts* 13¹⁵.
- (6) to prepare beforehand the business²⁵ to be transacted by themselves (as directions were given to Paul by the Apostles and Elders, *Acts* 21¹⁹) or others, that it may be "carried along with most expedition and best edification," in which respect they have power to reject causeless and disorderly complaints.
- (7) to give sentence against an offender, as foretold in *Ezek.* 44^{23f.}
- (8) to dismiss the church with a Blessing²⁶ in the name of the Lord, *Num.* 6²³⁻²⁶, *Heb.* 7¹.
- (9) to charge the Brethren in private that "none of them live either inordinately without a calling, or idly in their calling, or scandalously in any sort", *2 Thess.* 3^{6, 8-12}.
- (10) their powers in a Synod are mentioned later, under Synods.
- (11) to withdraw from the Brethren (whom as a body they cannot excommunicate, since in a censure they first must tell the Church and join with them), to carry away the Ordinances and to denounce the just judgement of God against the Brethren if they have fallen away from the way of grace, and "either no Synod to be hoped for, or no help by a Synod," *Acts* 19⁹, *Luke* 10¹¹. Yet with all this power of Authority, the rule of the Elders is not lordly but stewardly and ministerial.

The power of the Elders and Brethren having been stated, the power and authority given to Synods may be considered; for Synods, rightly ordered, are an Ordinance of Christ. Scripture states three just causes for their assembly:

²¹ "As when a particular Church of Christ shall grow so full of members, as all of them cannot heare the voice of their Ministers; then as an hive full of bees swarmeth forth . . ." or "when sundry Christians comming over from one cuntry to another; such as are come over first, and are themselves full of company, direct those that come after them, and assist them in like sort, in the combination of themselves into Church-order, according to the Rule of the Gospel."

²² They bind as they preach the Law, and loose as they proclaim the Gospel.

²³ But this ignores the fact that the more radical people claimed they were living in a time when the Spirit was again especially vouchsafed. In any case Cotton is frequently quoting other incidents in apostolic times as precedents.

²⁴ This means, apparently, to begin and call an end to discussion.

²⁵ See also the reference to the Authority of the Elders under the fourth power of the Brethren

²⁶ The retention of the primitive amoral notion of the blessing as power may be observed.

- (1) when a church desires the counsel and help of other churches; when the church at Antioch was disturbed by corrupt teachers, Barnabas and Saul and other messengers were sent to the Apostles and²⁷ Elders at Jerusalem, *Acts* 15².
- (2) when any church lieth under scandal "through corruption in doctrine and practice"; for, as there is brotherly communion between church members, so there is between churches, "what shall we do for our sister?" *Cant.* 8⁸;
- (3) when, in a time of general corruption in the churches, the corruption being discerned, churches may desire to meet for counsel in a Synod with a view to reforming, 2 *Chron.* 15¹⁰⁻¹⁵.

Certain questions regarding Synods arise:

- (1) What power has a Synod? It can do more than give counsel, it has a right to enjoin and command, as is implied in *Acts* 15²⁷, "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us not to lay upon you any other burden". A Synod is a Minister of the Gospel who may bind to faith and obedience because what is said is Gospel and is taught by a Minister for his calling's sake, and "He that receiveth you receiveth me," *Matt.* 10⁴⁰. It has power to withdraw communion from an offending church which will not heed its advice; and to publish such Ordinances as may, when the times require it, lead towards reformation, 2 *Chron.* 15^{12f.}
- (2) How far may the Brethren take part with the Elders in a Synod? They may express an opinion, *Acts* 15⁷; and join in determining the sentence, *Acts* 15²², and in choosing and sending messengers and in writing "Synodall Letters", *Acts* 15^{22f.} Yet since *Acts* 16⁴ seems to imply that the authority of the decrees there mentioned lay in the Apostles' and Elders' approval of them, it is safest to reserve authority to the Elders. If it be objected that Elders in Synod have no right to bind a church save in conformity with instructions received beforehand from it, Cotton replies that surely they may, for those who ask help of a Synod cannot determine beforehand how far they will go in accepting its decisions. Yet Cotton allows that the Brethren have a right to expostulate with the Elders on their return and to refuse to accept their decisions if contrary to "the Truth and Peace of the Gospel". In modern language, the Elders at Synod are plenipotentiaries rather than proxies, but must have their decisions ratified.
- (3) Has a Synod the right to enjoin non-essentials? Since only "things necessary" were laid upon the churches, *Acts* 15²⁸, and since the Apostolic Commission was only to teach all things which Christ had commanded, *Matt.* 28^{20f.}, to this as stewards, the Synod must be faithful. Its rule is not lordly.
- (4) Has a Synod power to ordain and excommunicate? While later and ancient Synods who claimed the power are not hastily to be censured, there is no instance of ordination by a Synod in *Acts* 1^{28f.}, 13¹⁻², or of excommunication in *Acts* 15. It is for the Synod rather to recommend and leave this act to the presbytery of the church concerned who will act in the presence of the church.

²⁷ This is taken as proof that they wanted the advice of the leaders of another church, not only of the Apostles. It may be noted, however, that the singularity of the Jerusalem conference drives Cotton outside the New Testament in his search for scriptural precedent, sometimes with ludicrous consequences. His interpretation of *Cant.* 8⁸ is so strangely allegorical as almost to shake his whole foundation.

In conclusion Cotton considers what may now be adduced about the nature of the Church and its independency.

The nature of the Church is defined solely in relation to Christ. The Lord Jesus is head of his Church, *Matt.* 28¹⁸. In consequence of his sovereignty all legislative power is in him, *James* 4¹², and others may do no more than publish and execute his laws, *Matt.* 28²⁰, neither adding to them nor altering them. He alone ordains the true constitution of his Church, its offices, ministries and their gifts, *Heb.* 3²⁻⁶, 28.

The subordinate and ministerial powers given in the Church may be summarized thus:—

- (1) A congregation professing the faith is itself the first subject of all the Church offices, with all their spiritual gifts, "for all things are yours," *1 Cor.* 3²¹. There is such a church in *1 Cor.* 14²³, where "they all came together in one place" for the communication of their spiritual gifts, God having set all²⁹ members in their offices and with their gifts, *1 Cor.* 12²⁸.
- (2) The Apostles were the first subject of apostolic power. They had all the power of all the offices, for they exhorted as Pastors, *1 Tim.* 2¹; taught, *1 Tim.* 2²; ruled, *2 Tim.* 4¹; were Deacons, *Acts* 4³⁵; baptized, *Acts* 8³⁸; censured and excommunicated, *1 Tim.* 1²⁰. Their power extended to all churches, "their line is gone out unto all the world," *Ps.* 19⁴, *Rom.* 10¹⁸; theirs is the great commission; but they were the last holders of all this power.
- (3) When there is 'truth and peace' in a congregation:—
 - (a) the Brethren are the first subject of Church Liberty, for they do not derive their power from the Elders (whom indeed they appoint) or from any other church or Synod.
 - (b) the Elders are the first subject of Church Authority, for they derive it not from a Synod or from any other church or from the Brethren (though appointed by these) but from Christ, "take heed to yourselves and to the whole flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseer," *Acts* 20²⁸. Indeed, the gift of rule is a mark of eligibility for Eldership, *1 Tim.* 3^{4f}.
 - (c) the Brethren and the Elders together are the first subject of all church power needful to be exercised within themselves. This is seen in that they have power to ordain³⁰; and to censure³¹, *Matt.* 18¹⁷. They also have power to excommunicate, *1 Cor.* 5¹⁻⁵, *2 Cor.* 2⁶⁻¹⁰. And, since a church lies under the guilt of offence when any member is uncensured for offence, *Rev.* 2^{14f}., it must have power to purge itself.

²⁸ Cotton's entire dependence on the Bible for the constitution of the Church contrasts itself sharply with the modern tendency to shape the Church into the pattern of a changing Society with little or no reference to the Bible.

²⁹ Cotton says "all" is a better translation than "some" (anacolouthic οὗς μὲν).

³⁰ To those who quote New Testament precedents for episcopal ordination, Cotton replies that Timothy and Titus ordained as Evangelists; this is expressly stated of Timothy, *2 Tim.* 4⁶, and may be "as clearly decyphered" of Titus. When they ordained, it was with the rest of the Presbytery and in the presence of the church, *1 Tim.* 5. Further, Bishop is synonymous with Presbyter, *Titus* 1⁵⁻⁷, *1 Tim.* 3¹⁻⁷. We read of many Bishops to one church, *Phil.* 1¹, not the reverse. Finally, acts of rule belong to the Elders. If there is a higher office than theirs, it is stated in *1 Tim.* 5¹⁷, "Let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honour, but especially they who labour in the word and doctrine."

³¹ "The Church," which is given this power, does not mean the Jewish Church then existing; the disciples knew what Christ meant, as also when he said he would build his Church upon a rock; and "is it likely he would send his Lambs and Sheep . . . unto Wolves and Tigers?" Nor does it mean a Bishop; one man is not the Church and can represent it only if sent forth by it, but the Bishops come "unsent for, (like water into a Ship)". Nor does it mean a Synod; the words Church and Synod are never synonymous in Scripture; no more are Church and Presbytery.

- (4) If a church is disturbed with error or scandal, a Synod or its messengers is the first subject of power to judge, and to declare and impose its findings upon the church. Since the power to bind and loose is given to a church only where there is agreement in the name of Christ, this power is absent where there is disagreement, and the church becomes subject to the power of a Synod, *Acts 15*.

The independency of the Church is involved in its dependence upon Christ for all church powers. It is subject to the judgment of another church or of a Synod, if it fall into offence, but remains independent of these while a place of truth or peace. It is subject to the power of the sword in matters that concern the civil peace, which are:—(a) civil matters, as "the disposing of mens goods, or lands, lives, or liberties, tributes, customes, worldly honours, and inheritances"; (b) the establishment of pure religion in doctrine, worship and government according to the word of God, and reformation as may be necessary in any of these³²; (c) the exercise of some spiritual administrations, as proclaiming a fast in time of calamity, *Joel 1*^{3f}. Unjust persecution at the magistrate's hands the Church must bear patiently; its power is that of the keys, not of the sword.

Finally, while Cotton favours fellowship between churches, to discuss matters of common and weighty concern and to maintain brotherly love and soundness of doctrine, and quotes apostolic precedent for this, his clear stress on independency is seen in his caution that power be not allowed to pass to a Synod: "all the liberties of Churches were purchased to them by the precious blood of the Lord Jesus; and therefore neither may the Churches give them away, nor many Churches take them out of the hands of one."

HUGH R. DOLPHIN.

The longest section in the *Journal* of the Friends' Historical Society (for 1940) is a further selection from the A. R. Barclay MSS., LXI-LXXI, letters of early Friends written between the years 1652 and 1690 inclusive. Isabel Grubb writes on "American Visitors in Ireland", and Ruth G. Burt publishes "Records from Nailsworth" from 1670 onwards. There is also a brief appreciation of A. Neave Brayshaw and an (incomplete) list of his writings.

In the *Proceedings* of the Wesley Historical Society (March, 1944), the Rev. P. Lee Cole writes of "The Widows' Home, Dublin", the Rev. F. Baker presents the first instalment of an annotated list of "Wesley's Ordinations", and the Rev. F. F. Bretherton has a note on "John Wesley's Visit to Holland in 1783".

GEORGE F. NUTTALL.

³² The references in this section are all save one to the Old Testament. It may be noted, however, that in Cotton's argument this is exceptional.

Edward Pierce

THE SCULPTOR OF MILTON'S BUST AT
CHRIST'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

THIS, the one authentic bust of Milton, is very little known except to scholars; eighteenth-century busts, and nineteenth-century versions of them, are all based on the Faithorne engravings, but this bust—a terra-cotta model, now somewhat damaged at one side—dates from 1654-8, and is as authentic as the lovely Onslow portrait of the poet at ten years old, now in America. It was the work of Edward Pierce—written Pearce, Pearse or Peirce in various documents, but so spelt by the sculptor—and an account of that little-known artist may not be unwelcome.

Edward Pierce was the son of a decorative painter who worked under Inigo Jones at Somerset House and St. Paul's, Covent Garden; he was born about 1630, and was made a member of the Painter Stainers' (his father's Company), becoming Master of the Livery in 1668, Master in 1693, and his own master—for he was apprenticed in the usual way—was a Painter Stainer, like his father a decorative painter, named Edward Bird. The father, who lived till 1658, probably carried on his work under the Commonwealth, as many minor officials were not displaced, though the heads of Departments were ruthlessly dismissed, and it is easy to see how young Pierce, probably assisting his father, would come into contact with Milton as Latin Secretary, and Cromwell, of whom he did at least three portraits, the finest being that in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, which comes next in date to the Milton; the latest of the Cromwells, the bronze at the London Museum, has rightly been described as "only a memory".

The Milton represents the poet in early middle age, severer and less attractive than in the Faithorne portrait; Vertue the antiquary saw it in 1741 and acquired it before 1743, when he refers to it as in his possession; at his sale in 1757 it was knocked down to Sir Joshua Reynolds for £9 15s. 0d., who resold it to Thomas Hollis for 12 guineas; from him it passed to Milton's College, Christ's. Terra-cottas are extraordinarily fragile, and with wise forethought it has been cast in bronze for the National Portrait Gallery, where many must have seen it who know nothing of its sculptor. Pierce's

career between the Milton and Cromwell of the Commonwealth and 1668 is obscure, but he married a widow, Anne Smith, in 1661, and moved from the City to Surrey Street, Strand. His portrait was twice painted by Isaac Fuller (d. 1674); but we may note that he had certainly abandoned painting for masonry at an early date—and to be a mason then often implied being a sculptor as well—and that he took apprentices to that craft. He must have been a marked man soon after the Restoration, since Wren very quickly took him as a colleague, and entrusted him with the building of St. Lawrence, Jewry, and St. Matthew, Friday Street; he was actually the architect as well as builder of St. Clement Danes, part-builder of St. Andrew's, Holborn, and the south side of St. Paul's, and from 1691 to 1696 worked at Hampton Court, as well as executing the whole of the lovely woodwork of St. Lawrence, Jewry, at the wish of the parish, decorations and fittings being the choice not of Wren but of the parishioners in all the Wren churches, and not part of Wren's designs—a fact too little realized today, when all fine wood-carving is recklessly assigned to Grinling Gibbons.

In 1673 the friendship between Pierce and Wren was signalized by the exquisite bust, Pierce's masterpiece, now at the Ashmolean Museum, one of the finest and most expressive things not in English art only but in European; and in 1687 he made the last portrait from the life of which we know, the noble bust of Thomas Evans, then Master of the Painter Stainers, shown at Burlington House in the winter of 1938.

His historical statues form a curious and interesting section of his work, and here we have the statement of a fellow-member of the Painter Stainers to Vertue the antiquary to go on. Pierce, he says, made the statues of Edward III and Sir Thomas Gresham on the Royal Exchange, and that of Sir William Walworth in Fishmongers' Hall; the latter is of wood, and in his hand is the dagger preserved by the Company which, tradition says, was the very weapon with which that valiant Lord Mayor killed Wat Tyler. The soft-crowned hat, the fur-lined robe are, however, the robes of Pierce's day, not of 1381, and we shall find much the same in Pierce's other medieval personage, the Edward III on the Royal Exchange, of which more presently. One of the Cromwells, as we have seen, is a bronze, and bronze are Pierce's delightful dragons on the Monument (1681), the bills for which are in the Bodleian, and the Vane on Bow Steeple; we shall see one of those dragons again when we come to 1689.

In 1679 Pierce, with five workmen under him, was employed to pull down Arundel House in the Strand, a deed for which we owe him a grudge when we recall the stately corridors shown in van

Somer's paintings of the famous collector Earl and his Countess, opening on to a cool garden by the river's edge: that Pierce rebuilt it also there can be little doubt.

In 1684 he had an odd commission. A Mr. Neal won largely in a lottery, and decided to devote some of his gains to what we should call a public clock, a great pillar with seven dials, to be put up at Seven Dials, St. Giles's; Pierce's drawing for it exists in the British Museum, though the Dial itself is now at Weybridge, the column bearing a crown in memory of Frederica, Duchess of York, who was much beloved in the neighbourhood; the Dial itself was degraded to a riding block for many years, outside an inn there, but is now properly protected.

In the same year a more important commission came his way. The death of Charles II in February, 1684 (to use the chronology of the time) caused the Gresham Committee hastily to resolve to erect a statue of that sovereign on the Royal Exchange, where the niches intended for statues were still vacant save for the Charles I from the old Exchange, which had been removed by the Commonwealth on the King's execution and was very properly replaced, as Evelyn tells us, in 1660. The Grocers' Company claimed the right of erecting the Charles II, but the Gresham Committee sent a whip to the other Companies allotting them the various sovereigns to fill the empty niches, the unpopular Mary and the popular Elizabeth being allotted jointly to two, so that neither was solely responsible for the odium or the glory of these particular works. The Skinners' Company had to erect an Edward III, and, though their own mason backed another candidate, they decided on Edward Pierce, who duly brought his model for inspection. It was approved, and the statue erected, only to be lost in the disastrous fire of 1838; but, fortunately for posterity, the Company carefully preserved the model, along with one of Sir Andrew Tudd, founder of Tonbridge School, also probably by Pierce, and in 1738 had two delightfully carved and gilt bracket cases made for them. They were shown at the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1926, at the Exhibition of City Treasures; by the kindness of the Company their records were inspected, and I published the story of the statuette in *The Times* for December 13, 1926.

The statue of Sir Thomas Gresham was also unhappily lost when this second Royal Exchange was burnt in 1838, but it was happily engraved, and showed him in the soft hat, doublet and hose of late Elizabethan days; it is commonly assigned to C. J. Cibber, but as Linton's statement as to Pierce's statues can be proved in two cases, he was certainly right in the third: the Gresham was by Edward Pierce.

A number of references in Hooke's *Diary*, only published in 1935, show Pierce as constantly in request as a critic and surveyor. He goes to Wren's new College of Physicians to pronounce on the statues of Charles II and Sir John Cutler, and himself carves the bust of Baldwin Hanney for that body; he is in touch not with Wren only, and that constantly, but with architects and sculptors everywhere; John Talman was right in calling him to Vertue "a great assistant of Sir Chr. Wren". And he must have done many monuments not yet identified, or he would hardly have been called on to design a colossal one for George Villiers, second Duke of Buckingham, "to be set up in Westminster Abbey". In fact, the Duke died in the greatest poverty, though Dryden's picture of him dying "in the worst inn's worst room" is overcharged; but a large drawing of the proposed work is in the British Museum, and shows the Duke and Duchess at length on a great sarcophagus, their one infant child beside them and mourning figures of a peer and peeress to right and left, the whole in a vast architectural setting, with trophies and beasts—a lion and a dragon, the latter related to Pierce's dragons on the Monument—set to right and left of a great curtained canopy and allegorical figures below.

In 1695 Pierce and the painter Thomas Manby held a joint Sale of their collections, which looks as though Pierce contemplated retiring from business; no copy of the Catalogue exists, but a notice of the Sale in the *London Gazette* is evidence of the fact. But he was still being paid for work at Hampton Court (begun in 1691) in 1696, and evidence of his skill is still to be seen, though no longer on the original site, in the shape of a magnificent "Great Urn", one of a pair described by Defoe in 1724 as "two marble vases or flower-pots, of most exquisite workmanship, one by an Englishman"; as the Treasury Accounts say that Pierce was paid £250 for this work, and mentions the "festoons of Shells", it is possible to identify this work as one of two now in the terrace garden at Windsor Castle; the lid ends in a pineapple, two Caryatids flank the central panel, a lovely low relief carving of the Judgment of Paris, and the body of the vase rests on three charming cherub figures; the festoons of shells run between the panel and the Caryatids. As an example of decorative garden sculpture no ancient example exceeds this delightful work.

Pierce died in March, 1698, and in the year 1711 he appears for the last time on the stage of history. John Talman, the greatest connoisseur of his age, was then in Rome, and by way of returning their hospitality gave a feast to the most prominent Roman antiquaries, connoisseurs and historians, adorning the room in which they dined with pictures done for the occasion. Three ancient

artists were chosen to represent Architecture, Painting and Sculpture, Vitruvius, Fabius Pictor, and the Glykon, whose signature appears on the Farnese Hercules; three to represent Italian art, Palladio, Raphael and Michael Angelo; and three to represent English, Inigo Jones, Isaac Fuller (who had painted Pierce's portrait) and Edward Pierce. To Talman, that is, Pierce was the greatest of English sculptors, and Talman, who possessed several of Pierce's designs, was the best judge of his day. It is singular to reflect that Edward Pierce's earliest work was the bust of Milton, and that his own last appearance, this time as a historic figure, should have been in the Italy which Milton loved and sang in deathless Latin verse before the iron of polemics had entered into his soul.

KATHARINE A. ESDAILE.

A LETTER FROM PHILIP DODDRIDGE TO ISAAC WATTS (*Continued from page 240*).

have stood wth an Air of Attention & Pleasure wh it gives me inexpressible Delight to recollect.

And now Dear Sir having permitted my Letter in this Manner streaming forth from so full a Breast to overflow its Banks to such a Degree as it has done It is more than Time I conclude wth telling you how much I am grieved to hear (since most of it was written[)] of ye Return of your Indisposition of which our good Friend Mr Roffey has just informed me. We have been largely joining our Family Prayers for your Recovery to which I hope I shall never be able to forget to add those of ye Closet & ye Sanctuary. If Lady Abney & you do not go a Journey this July I hope if God permit to come to you for a few Days. GOD grant I may find my invaluable Friend in such a State of Health as to be capable of giving me such Instructions Encouragements & Assistances as I have generally received from his Conversation. I hope then to bring you a Plan of ye Work you recommended to me wh I have drawn up in such a Manner as might least interfere wth that of my Sermons on Regeneration ye three first of wh I have sent up to ye Press & have all ye rest ready transcribed but ye 4 last are not corrected. I have sent by Mr Roffey a long letter to Mr Lardner concerning ye Jewish Proselytes wh I desire him to communicate to you for your Opinion upon it. At present our united humble Services to your self & Lady Abney Miss Abney & our good Friends at ye next Door must conclude from

Revd & Dear Sir your inexpressibly obliged & affect

P. DODDRIDGE

Welbeck Abbey MSS.

THE following pages contain copies of documents among the Welbeck Abbey MSS., which were sent by the Librarian to the Rev. A. G. Matthews, M.A., when he was working on *Calamy Revised*. They appear here through the kindness of Mr. Matthews, and by favour of his Grace the Duke of Portland. Most of them are letters written either to Sir Edward Harley (1624-1700), of Brampton Bryan, Herefordshire, or to his son Robert (1661-1724), afterwards first Earl of Oxford. Baxter, from whom a letter to Sir Edward appears here, called him "a sober and truly religious Man" (*Rel. Baxt.* I, 59f.). Macaulay, in one of his portmanteau sentences, thus sums him up:

Sir Edward Harley had been conspicuous among the patriots of the Long Parliament, had commanded a regiment under Essex, had, after the Restoration, been an active opponent of the court, had supported the Exclusion Bill, had harboured dissenting preachers, had frequented meeting-houses, and had made himself so obnoxious to the ruling powers that, at the time of the Western Insurrection, he had been placed under arrest, and his house had been searched for arms.

The correspondence of Sir Edward with Francis Tallents has already been noticed in Vol. VIII of these *Transactions*.

The documents require little annotation, but references to the *Dictionary of National Biography* and to *Calamy Revised* have been supplied. Superior letters have been brought down.

GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL.

For Sr Robert Harley, Knight of the Honorable Order of the Bath, and Member of the Honourable House of Commons sitting in Westminster present these.

Sr

I Receiv'd yor Nobly-Courteous Letter: and blesse God that I have so Honourable a Friend that will cast an Aspect on mee: as your Greatnes hath Honour'd mee, so your Goodnes (I speake it bona fide) hath warm'd my Heart many a time in yor company: and where (Besides Outward) I received spiritual Good, I thought it my Duty to Reciprocate the like again vpon such a great Occasion: And I humbly thanke you that yor Generous and Gracious Spirit doth so Candidly Interpret my letter to you: For when I writ to you that letter, yor Reputation was tossed about in some Mouths.

wch did much grieve mee: For I do Earnestly desire that you might shine to the last; I am so dearly Engaged to you that wtever blot fals vpon your Honor goeth to my Heart: and I hope, Sr, the Faithful Affection of a poore Creature so farre below you will not do you Hurt: you have been the Faithfulst Friend in the World to mee in my distresses, and should not I Echo Faithfulness back again vpon you? I beseech you go on to continue yor Favourable Interpretation of my letter, and yf I were anything vnmanerly or sharpe in it, I pray you to pardon mee: The Lord Carry you on for Him & His church in these parts vpon His Wings of Love and strength. It doth much Reioyce mee that you have such a Spiritual Care of Kingsland¹: God wil not let you loose your Labour of Love: The Lord knowes that the progresse of the Gospell in these parts depends much vpon yor zeale, & therefore or prayers are to god that Hee would preserve you long to us: Not to trouble yor serious affayres, I desire Ever to Remember you at the throne of Grace, and to rest,

Sr

Yor Humble servant

TH. FROYSSELL².

Clun, Novemb. 9, (16)48.

Sir Edward Harley, Miscellanea, no. 32.

The Ministers of Hereford to Sir Edward Harley.

ffor the Honoble Coll. Edward Harley
a member of the house of Comons

These present.

Noble Sr

fearing that or former letters haue miscarryed, wee hauing so good an opportunity by yor man, make bold to represent or humble service to you, congratulating yor safe returne from Dunkirke³, wch wee thankfully acknowledge to be a speciall mercy from God to you & yor noble family, to vs, & the whole church of God.

Good Sr, wee looke vpon it as or duty to acquaint you, whom wee haue found vnder God to be or cheife patron, wth or condition here. Wee are dayly threatned that wee shalbe remoued hence; if the Deane & Chapter be set vp agayne or station is the more questionable. Wee know that we are in the hands of God (blessed be his name) & desire to Comitt orselves vnto him by weldoing. May it please you to give vs a little light to direct vs what to doe, & according to yor wanted fauor, to endeauor or settlemt, wth or salaries according to the Ordinance of Parlmt of the 28th of March 1646, wch yor noble ffather of blessed memory procured for vs. Wee desire to waite vpon the Lord & to keepe his way. Pardon wee beseech you the boldnes of

Yor most humble & obliged Servants

Wm LOWE
SAM: SMITH
GE. PRIMROSE
WILLIAM VOILE⁴.

¹ A Herefordshire parish.

² Ejected from Clun in 1662: C.R.

³ From 14 July 1660 to 22 May 1661 Harley was Governor of Dunkirk, which had come into English hands through the battle of the Dunes in 1658, but which Charles II soon sold to France.

⁴ For these signatories, cf. C.R.; they had all been preachers at Hereford Cathedral since 1646; all were ejected in 1660, as they feared would be the case. Voile left £3 apiece to the other three, 'sometime my fellow preachers in Hereford'.

Heref: 30 June 1660.

Sir Edward Harley, Miscellanea, no. 54.

(Names of Lecturers at Knighton, all except the last, in the handwriting of Sir Edward Harley, with approbation signed by Herbert Croft, Bishop of Hereford):

Dr. Thomas Good Rector of Winstanstow¹
 Mr. Sam: Berkley Rector of Clungunford
 Mr. George Lawson Rector of More¹
 Mr. Joh: Willcox Rector of Maynstone
 Mr. Jackson Vicar of Clun
 Mr. Peak Rector of Hopton
 Mr. John Goughe Vicar of Bucknel
 Mr. Lewis Vicar of Presteign
 Mr. John Martin Rector of Bramton
 Dr. Tonge Vicar of Leyntwarden¹
 Mr. Alexander Clogie Vicar of Wigmore¹
 Mr. Ralph Fenton Vicar of Ludlow²
 Mr. Millward Vicar of Bishops Castle³

I doe approue of the persons abouenamed to preach in their turnes a Lecture at Knighton humbly beseeching God to be assisting to them with his powrefull spirit that it may be to his glory and the edification of his people.

Amen.

HER: HEREFORD.

Croft Castle May 16, 1665.

Sir Edward Harley, Miscellanea, no. 86.

Endorsed by Sir Edward Harley: "New England".

To the Elders and Ministers of every Town within the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts in new England:

The Governour and Council sendeth greeting:

Reverend, and beloved in the Lord,

Wheras we finde in the Examples of holy scripture, that Magistrates haue not onely excited and commanded all the people under their government, to seek the lord God of their Fathers, and doe the Law and Commandment, 2 Chron: 14, 2, 3, 4, Ezra 7, 25, 26, 27, but also stirred up and sent forth the Levites, accompanied with other principal men, to teach the good knowledge of the Lord throughout all the Cities of Judah, 2 Chron: 17, 6, 7, 8, 9, which endeavours haue been crowned with God's blessing.

Allso we finde that our Brethren of the Congregational perswasion in England haue made a good profession, in their Book, intituled A Declaration of their faith and Order, Pag: 59, Sect: 14, where they say, That although Pastors and Teachers stand especially related unto their Particular Churches; yet they ought not to neglect others living within their Parochial Bounds, but beside their constant publick preaching to them, they ought to enquire after their Profiting by the word, instructing them in, and pressing upon them (whether young or old) the great doctrines of the Gosples, even personally and particularly, so farre as their strength and time wil permit.

We hope that sundry of you need not a spur in these things, but are conscientiously carefull to do your Duty; yet for as much as we haue cause to feare, that there is too much neglect in many places, notwithstanding the

¹ For all these, cf. *D.N.B.*

² cf. *C.R.* s.v. Richard Sadler.

³ Robert: cf. *C.R.*

Laws long since provided therein, We do therefore think it our duty to emit this Declaration unto you earnestly desiring, and in the bowels of our Lord Jesus requiring you to be very diligent and carefull to Catechize and Instruct all the people (especially the youth) under your charge, in the sound and Orthodox Principles of Christian Religion; and that not only in Publick, but privately from hous to house, as blessed Paul did, Acts 20, 20, or at least three, four, or more families meeting together, as strength and time may permit, taking to your assistance such godly and graue persons as to you may seem most expedient. And also that you labour to Inform your selves (as much as may be meet) how your hearers doe profit by the word of God, and how their conversations do agree therewith and whether the Youth are taught to read the English tongue, taking all occasions to apply suitable Exhortations, particularly unto them for the Rebuke of thos that doe Evil, and for the encouragement of them that do well.

The effectuall and constant prosecution hereof, we hope will haue a tendency to promote the salvation of Souls, to suppress the growth of sine and Prophaneness, to beget more loue and Unity amongst the people, and more Reverence and Esteem of the Ministry, and will assuredly be to the enlargement of your Crown and Recompence in Eternall Glory.

Given at Boston the 10th of March 1668 by the Governour and Council, and by them Ordered to be printed, and sent accordingly.

EDWARD RAWSON, Secret.

For The Honoured Sr Edward Harley Knt of the Bath at Brampton Castle. To be sent *per* Postmr of Ludlow, Shropshire.

Honoured Sr I sent not an answer to the second, because it was partly answered *per* Mr. Innis¹; and since I supposed yow wold bee from home, here nothing done within the libertyes, only I heare of one or two Aldermen were surpriz'd & tooke Convictions, but noe Warrts granted out; one Informer confesst to Sr Wm Turner² hee was onely encouraged by the Bp. of London³ and another B. who wold haue transfer'd the odium of the Declaracon upon a noble person was sufficiently checkt, and the noble person not satisfied till hee had convicted the Informer of a notorious untruth. Mr I: saith if yu are not provided of lodgings hee will looke out for yu. I heare nothing of St Ros⁴ yet. Mr Cary⁵ hath been very ill. I wish it were dispatch; generally persons do voluntarily lay downe their publicque meetings, some upon the acct of the Magistrates desire, and promise of security in other places. Whaley hath driven Mr James⁶ a Mr quite out of Notting(h)amshire, and seiz'd upon all his goods, corne, and seed corne as they were sowing, broke open his house, tooke all within and without, and left him noe necessaryes; at Exeter⁷ very bitter, the Minrs

¹ For Jas. Innes, ejected from St. Breock, Cornwall (*C.R.*), and his son, who acted as agents in procuring licences for country ministers in 1672, *cf.* G. L. Turner, *Original Records*, III. 618-631.

² 'He never disturbed the Nonconformable Preachers. . . . I never heard nor read of any Lord Mayor who was so much honoured and beloved of the City' (*Rel. Baxt.*, III. 48).

³ Humphrey Henchman: *D.N.B.*

⁴ 'Mr. Rose (an humble Godly man)' is among the Independents included by Baxter among well-known London ministers (*Rel. Baxt.*, III. 95).

⁵ Nicholas Cary, ejected from Monmouth, who went to London after his ejection: *C.R.*

⁶ John James, ejected from lectureship at Newark, Notts.: *C.R.* 'Whaley' is Justice Peniston Whalley (*ib.*).

⁷ *e.g.*, Lewis Stucley, ejected from Exeter Cathedral, was fined £20 on 3 Nov., 1674 (Milton's death-day) for preaching at Exeter: *C.R.*

forct to fly; at Taunton¹ they keep up theire publike meeting still; at Redding² I heare they carryed it agt the Informers, the North Circuit like altogether to bee hindred by a bruise on Littleton³ recd by the overthrowing of his coach; my humble service to yu. I rest in hast

Your very hum: servant

(without signature, but in handwriting of RALPH STRETTELL⁴).
March 27, (16)75.

Sir Edward Harley, Miscellanea, no. 84. c. 1675.

A Breife accompt of Bristoll Prosecutions⁵.

Bristoll is a City of Considerable Trade, wherein his Maties Revennews by Customes have bene considerably Advanced through the Peace that Dissenters have enjoyed for many yeares past (the Trade being Cheifly mannapged by them) who enjoyed their Liberty in their Private Meeting till the now Bpp⁶ came And then He Imediately consults John Helliar an Attorney (whoe is Indicted for Perjury, Barratry & other offences) calling him his son, & making him his Councillor And prevails with him & 4 of his Clergy to be Informers.

Then the said Attorney and Clergy Informers haunts the Meetings, Convicts the Ministers, some of them upon the 5 Mile Act, & some upon the Conventicle Act: getts warrants to Distraine their goods. But the Magistrates forbore to proceed against the Ministers upon the 5 Mile Act, till the Declaracon from the King & Councell came downe in february And then The Bpp goeth in Person⁷ with Divers of the Aldermen to Mr Thompson's⁸ Meeting where Divers of the People were abused. One had a Pistill put to the Breast, & was threatened to be Shott &c. They Carry away Mr Thompson to the Mayor's⁹ house where he was baited by the Bpp with virulent language such as—you Dogg, you a Minister of Christ? you are a Minister of the Devill, you deserve to stretch A halter—and soe he was sent to Goale upon the 5 Mile Act.

Then the Bpp Procured the other 2 Ministers Mr Weekes¹⁰ and Mr Hardcastle¹¹ to be taken up in their Meetings & Comitted to Prison Accompting them noe Ministers of the Gospell. And although Mr Weekes offered to prove himselfe a Minister of the Gospell in the presence of the Magistrates and Bpp & that from the Scriptures, fathers, Schoolemen, & the most learned Episcopall Divines, yet he was not permitted soe to doe.

After a few dayes Mr Thompson falls sick in Prison, & his friends & Physitian offered sufficient Baile for his removall into some house fitt for a sick man; But the Bpp would not permitt it, threatening the Sberiffs & Magistrates with the severities of the Law if they suffered him to be removed from his Prison. In 4 or 5 dayes after Mr Thompson Dyed¹², Declaireing before his Death his Imprisonment to be the cause of his sickness, Saying they were Barbarously cruell, But he Did heartily forgive them.

¹ The justices were recommended on 17 March 1676/7 to make inquiry about this 'publike meeting'; cf. *C.R.*, s.v. Geo. Newton.

² Yet Christ. Fowler, ejected from St. Mary's, Reading, had been refused a licence for a conventicle in Reading in 1672: *C.R.*

³ Sir Thos. Littleton: *D.N.B.* Or his father Sir Thos.

⁴ Ejected from St. John Zachary, London; *C.R.*

⁵ With this account, cf. *Broadmead Records*, ed. N. Haycroft (1865), 93-105.

⁶ Guy Castleton: *D.N.B.*

⁷ 10 Feb. 1674-5.

⁸ John: *C.R.*

⁹ Ralph Ollivc.

¹⁰ John: *C.R.*

¹¹ Thomas: *C.R.*

¹² 4 March 1674-5.

After these Ministers are in Prison the People Continue to Meete to Read, Pray & Sing Psalmes. The aforesaid Attorney John Helliar with the Mayor's servants & Bpp's servants Come to the Meetings, where they haule, thrust, Punch & Pull the People, Raile & Revile them, sends some of them to Goale, Binds over some to the Sessions, thrusts some into the Dungeon, Denyes them the Refreshments their freinds bring them, Indictments are framed against many, wherein they are Charged with many falshoods.

Robbins a Lawyer & the Bpp's Councillor said it would never be well till there were a Presbyterian Massacre, & that he could as willingly wash his hands in Presbiterian Blood as in faire water.

The Informer John Helliar falsly charges the People with Rebellion, Ryotts, Insurrecons and Treasonable Designes Proveing nothing.

The Bpp sits on the Bench with the Magistrates when Convictions are made where he threatens the Councell, calls the Attorney that appeares for Dissenters Knave, Rogue, Rascall, sayes that he deserved to be hanged, or to have his bones broken, & threatens the Magistrates.

Many hundred Convictions are made, & some fynes levyed, to the great Prejudice of Trade. Many are Indicted upon the 35to of Eliz. And the Bpp Prosecutes many in his Courts to Excommunication & Perpetuall Imprisonment.

Now in the Bpp's absence (yet by his speciall Order) this Helliar & the Mayor with his officers Comes to the Meetings where they beates & kicks the People, thrusts them out of their Meeting house, throwes their Seats into the River, & some of them among the People hurts many of them, women Greate with Child, &c.

Sends many of them to Prison Refuseing to take Baile for their appearance at Sessions. A maid was sent to Bridewell for saying a Sexton was a Dogg whipper.

The Heads of the Complaints agst. Robert Thoroton¹ & Peniston Whaley Esqre Justices of Peace of the County Nottingham for their Irregular & unjust proceedings upon the Act against Conventicles [in or before 1678, the year of Thoroton's death.]

1. That they Convict & Condemne persons unsumoned & unheard.
2. That they Convict them by Oaths of the Informers who are to have a share of the Penalties.
3. That they make no Record of the Convictions (unless forced to it by Appeale of the party) for want whereof & of retorne of such Record to the Quarter Sessions the King's & Poore's two third parts of the penalties are swallowed up by the Justices undiscovered.
4. That where parties have been acquitted upon their Appeals, & had Orders of the Quarter Sessions for restitution of their money levyed & received by the sd Justices they never could gett any of it out of the said Justices' hands.
5. That when Juryes have found for the Appellants, the said Justices have refused to take their verdicts, gone out of Court leaving the Jury at Barre, & cursed them, saying also they hoped the King would take away Tryalls by Juries. And at other times they have threatned the Juryes when they would not find against the Appellant, And sometimes sett aside the Jurors returned by the Sheriffe to try the Appeals & forced the Sheriffe to returne whom they named & some of their owne servants upon the Jury.

¹ D.N.B.

6. They have levied £20 upon persons present at meetings for the owner of the place of meeting where it was not in any House but in the Highway & soe not within the word of the Act.
7. That they have arbitrarily layd the penalties of some (upon pretence of their poverty) on others, when the parties themselves were visibly able to pay, & in other cases where the pretended poore persons were unknowne.
8. That they have ordered the taking Excessive & Oppressive Distresses, whereby they have left the parties neither Bedd nor Bread nor the Toolcs of their Trade to gett their livelyhood,
9. And lastly when by the sd meanes the parties have had nothing left, They have fined the Officers in £5 apiece for not levying the penalties upon such Offenders & would not take of such Fines unless the Officers would compound with the Informers.

THO. CORBETT.

For the Worshipfull Robert Harley Esqr at Brampton Brian Castle in Herefordshire.

Leave ys at the Post House in Ludlow.

Dear & Honoured Sr

It is not that I have not preserved a gratefull remembrance of yr great kindness to me att Brampton, wch was most acceptable to me, that I have not all this while returned my most humble & hearty acknowledgemt for that as well as many former favours: But because the very great Respect & Esteem I most deservedly have for you made me afraid to trouble you with an empty & ill penned letter But the extrem love wch I am bold to say I have for you forces me at last to break through the fear I am in of yr judgement; & venture yr thinking me unworthy yr friendship, rather by infirmitys, then by my fault, in not thankfully Imbracing & Cultivating to the best of my power so great an Advantage. I do flatter my selfe with some hopes of haveing once the honour of seeing you at my house, because you have Relations so neer me¹; And it is partly the business of this letter earnestly to beg of yu that you would please to think of a journey this way; & the rather because at this time I have an opportunity of doing yu a piece of service, wch perhaps may not be unacceptable to yu; but such as yu may think worth the journey; besides the convenience of seing yr friends, & likewise visiting the poor Alma Mater before her last gasp². I shall not trouble yu with any more but to give my most humble service to Sr Edward, his Lady & to yr own & all the rest of the good family that are with you, & to beg that you would still preserve that kindness which yu have hitherto shewn unto

Dearest & most Hond Sr

Yr most faithfull humble servant

J. BLAGRAVE³.

Longworth⁴

Jan: 16th (16)87/8.

¹ Robt. Harley and his brothers had been at the academy kept by Samuel Birch (C.R.) at Cote, Bampton, Oxon., a mile or two the other side of the Thames from Longworth.

² The reference is to the forcible Romanization of the University of Oxford by James II in 1687.

³ The Blagraves were a Reading family; cf. *D.N.B.* for Daniel (1603-68), recorder of Reading, who signed Charles I's death-warrant, and for Joseph (1610-82), astrologer.

⁴ Berks.; the house of a Baptist church dating from Commonwealth days, for which see J. Stanley, *The Church in a Hop-Garden*.

For the Worshipfull Robert Harley Esqr at Bramton Castle near Ludlow. Longworth March 1st (16)87/8.

Honrd Sr

I give you the trouble of this second letter because I think I did not (through hast) in my letter by yr servant give yu direction how to send to me And upon a review of yr letter I find yu are so obliging as to tell me I shd now & then have a letter from yu if yu knew how to direct it: wch great satisfaction I would by no means be deprived of.

If yu please therefore to direct for me to be left at Mr. Edmundson's, Linnen draper at the White Beare in Grace-Church street, London, it will be sent safe to me where ever I am. I have spoken about the Welch Bibles according to yr desire. But I find the designe is first to print folio Bibles for Churches, but as soon as that is over My Lord will very willingly hearken to yr proposals. I shall not now trouble yu with any more of my observations, much less with my advices as I presumed in my last letter till I hear from yu how they take with yu. I only beg that I may continue to have a place in yr good Opinion And wth my hearty prayers for yrs & all the Family's health & prosperity, I subscribe

Dearest & most Honrd Sr

Yr most affectionate humble servant

J. BLAGRAVE.

To Robert Harley Esqr

High Sheriff of the County of Hereford and a Member of the Honoble Howse of Commons this humbly present.

Nov: 9 (16)89.

Honrd Sr

Give me leve to divert your thoughts from yr more waightly Concerns and lay before you an Instance of the moderation & kindness I have of late found from the officers of the Chancellor's Court at Hereford; I was cited to Court to take the office of sidesman for the parish of Hampton Bishop and when I appeared the Register told me *that*¹ the churchwardens had presented me as elected sidesman for the sd parish. I told the Court *that* I was not elected, & I desired *that* the Churchwardens might be cited to make good their presentmt, the Register Replied *that* the presentmt was upon oath, & if there was no election the Court had power to elect, & therefore required me to take an oath to execute the office or else they would proceed to decree me excommunicated, wch accordingly they did, & somtime after caused it to be published in the parrish Church, and I doe presume *that* the Register's Malice will not terminate here, he having a perfect enmity against all dissenters, & especially such as are accounted freinds to the present gover(n)ment, & therefore I doe expect he will take out the writt excommunicatio capiendo this Terme, the 40 dayes being expired since my excommunication. Sir, my humble request is *that* you will favour me so far as to speake to yr Undersherriffe who I presume is now in London *that* if any such writt is brought unto him that he would not grant any warrant thereon, telling the promoter *that* he will execute the writt himself, and I will be ready to Render myself yr prisoner when Required, & I shall Remaine

yr obliged freind & most humble servt

SAMPSON WEAVER².

Sir, upon enquiry I find there was no election of sidesmen by the parishioners, onely churchwardens.

Pray Sir give my most humble service to Sr Edward.

¹ The italic words are run out from contractions.

² ? rel. to John Weaver, ej. fr. Knill, Herefs. (C.R.).

These ffor the Honbl Sr Edward Harley Kt of the Bath.

No: 20th (16)89.

Hod Sr

In July last by a very strang & I hope as good a providence of God a stranger from a parish call'd Horsmonden in Kent, 40 miles from London, came to Town for a minister to preach to a private Congregation in the saide parish for one moneth; but it pleased God to Continue me there Maidstone & Crambrooke Ever since, I hope not in vaine. Yor late Act of parliamt giuing me incoraugmt therevnto haucing Ever kept myself off the Rocke of dispensing powers. Now Sr the minister of the parish is one Bates a man who hath not taken the Oath of Allegienc as yet & saith he will liue vpon bread & water before he pray for our K: Wm & Queen Mary; the liueing is worth 120^l per ann. The Patron an honest presbiterian hath promised me his presentation in Case he were out, I humbly beg yor Answer to this question, when is the tyme over yt the Act appoints Conformists to sweare Allegienc, for I haue not the Act by me, & I do pray yor advise & assistance for the Patron & I accomplishing our end; but yt the ways are not passable I had waited vpon you in order to this affair; wth my humble service vnto & prayer for you, & all yors I remaine

Yor faithfull friend & seruant whilst I am

RALPH STRETTELL.

Sr this bearer is a very good man & hath a question to ask you wch I beseech you to advise him in; pardon my boldness I pray you both touching him & my own Case.

Richard Baxter to Sir Edward Harley, K.B., 30 January, 1689-90.

For Sr Edward Harley at Colonel Cooper's house in Margaret's Lane in Westminster.

(With a curious seal)

Sr

If *your* parson *that* tells you of Mr. Verse's booke will do so much as a translator as but briefly to tell me these few things it will adde to *your* kindnes to procure it me

- 1^o How he expoundeth *your* *per*monthes, or time, times & halfe time.
- 2^o Who he taketh to be *the* 7 heads & 8 Kings, of *which* 5 were past, & one is, & one yet to come.
- 3^o How he expoundeth *the* Beast *that* was & is not & yet is & was wounded.
- 4^o Who are *the* 7 Heads & ten hornes.
- 5^o What is *the* Image of *the* Beast.
- 6^o *What* his Maker's name & number.
- 7^o Who is *the* false prophet & *the* two horned Beast.
- 8^o Whether Pagan or Papal Rome be Babilon, or both, viz. *that* meant in Rev. 17.
- 9^o Whether *the* 20, 21, 22 Chapters speak of this world, or *that* to come.
- 10^o *What* is *the* first & 2d. resurrection.
- 11^o Who are *the* Witnesses.
- 12^o *What* is *the* wildernes *that* *the* woman fled to.

I care not how briefly if I know his sence.

I rest

Your seruant

RI: BAXTER.

Jan. 30 1689.

For the hoble Sr Edward Harley
at Bramton Castle
these.

Sr

the inhabitant doth not say he is sick, but satur dierum, bowed down by the loss of sleep, stomach & strength, no paine, much peace; grace, grace; my arms are weake, I cant dig, the vineyard is stiffe land, cant make good worke, willinge to lay by the spittle, & goe home & drink out of the flagon, no place so useful to me as Bramton, heaven hath often mett me at Bramton, and accompanied me thence; O Bramton, be thou blessed of the Ld, but I feare for Lemster, I was glad to heare Mr. Re. would not stay Tuesday night, I humbly thank you, for the spiritts sent, & desire yr recovery ten times more then my own, inwardly I desire to unyoke, wn I consider the distance from Lemster, the neer approach of winter, and the great duty expected from me, there is no more spirit in me. The Lord chose in mercy for

Sr

Yr thankful & humble servant in our Ld
Wm WOODWARD¹.

Nash, Octob. 23, 1691.

For the hoble Sr Edward Harley
these.

Sr

Yours conveyed by Mis Powle came to hand. I lament for your indisposition, let all humble and whiten, since my fall, and I bless God, you please to take notice of it, I have had wearisome nights, of which this last was much the worst, I can now lye upon neither side, all this morninge, I have had much paine upon that side, which at first, I thought was untouched; I am in the use of meanes wch the Lord bless; I would returne home, though nothinge be wantinge here, yet feare the saddle, I doubt I shal not be able to preach, next Lord's day; But, Sr, falls, paines & black clouds returninge after the raine, suffice not to deaden us to the world, Christ Jesus, that faire one, hath not his just value wth me, I doe not long enough to see his glory; indeed he let me slip out of his arms, he affrighted me, but not harmed me; the fall should have been sooner, it should have been lower, but grace & mercy, keep the throne stil; sin should give most paine; the moor is servant to Bramton, the blessing of the N. Covenant be wth you & all yours, wch have a principal place in the best affections of, Good Sr,

Yr most humble servant
Wm WOODWARD.

Feb. 3d 1694².

For the Honourable Robert Harley Esq.
Speaker of the House of Commons
Lincolns Inne
London.

Worthy Sir,

I hope yor Honour will pardon the presumption of this Address, which a just concern for the welfare of England & the Cause of Religion has given occasion to; which I perswade my self I shall with so much the more ease obtain from you, inasmuch as these things are (I question not) chiefly laid to heart by your self, as they were by your worthy Ancestors before you.

¹ Ejected from Richard's Castle, Herefs.: C.R. Pastor of a congregation at Leominster.

² His will was proved 28 July 1692 (C.R.).

There is a Bill on foot in yor House part of which (if I am not misinformed) your Honour contrived & framed, viz. the Bill for the preservation of the Protestant Religion, &c. which contains such things in it, as I conceive you desire not to have enacted, as being no way agreeable to what the Title bears, but of a contrary tendency. These 2 things are commonly said to be in it 1. That we Non-Conformists are to be denyed the benefit of having our children educated by persons of our own principles & perswasion. 2. That no person in any office must be present at any of our meetings, on pain of being prosecuted as Popish Recusants. The first of those Heads will affect our sober & religious Gentry, many of whom, to prevent their children being tainted, both with respect to their principles & morals, have chosen rather to commit them to the private tuition of well qualified persons than to venture them in the Universities, & have found the good effect thereof. I might mention your worthy Father as an instance in this kind. But if this clause pass among the rest, they must be obliged for the future to take such measures as they would not, or want the means of having their Sons accomplished as they desire, in order to the fitting them for the better serving their Country. The effect of it, as to us, must be the entire ruine of learning among us, & the filling the nation in time with a new sett of illiterate Teachers, who may be more troublesom to the Church of England than we are who generally content ourselves with inculcating to our Hearers and those we converse with the plain (& betwixt the Ch. of E. & us) uncontested truths of Xtianity, without bending ourselves to promote the Interest of parties by any invidious representations of the established way. The less knowing or accomplished any are among the several denominations of dissenters in this nation, the less do they (usually) observe these methods. Those of the Quakers & Anabaptists afford instances enough in this kind, whose parties in time would gain considerable advantages from this branch of the Bill, should it pass into an Act. They deceive themselves that think the generality of those that go to meetings will ever be drawn to the Churches til they see them furnishd with such Teachers, as they can judge fit to commit the conduct of their souls to, and if they cannot hear men that are Scholars in the allowed congregations, they will run after them that are none, rather than sit under a notoriously debauched or corrupt minister, or one who in his preaching shoots over their heads, & is as a Barbarian to them. The Town I live in (whose minister is none of the worsor sort neither) would I suppose ere this have been more than half Quakers and Anabaptists were here no other Dissenting Teacher but theirs.

The other Article may be supposed to be befriended by two sorts of men, as being adjusted to the promoting their several ends. The Jacobites would be glad to have it pass, in order to the disabling many from serving the Government that are fast friends to it. The famous Mr. Lesley¹ in his Case of the Regale declares himself for it, & Mr. Bacon another Non-Jurant & accused of corresponding with the Enemies of the Govt pleads for it, in a Book styled Dutch Liberty. Those who are enemies to the Reformation of Manners would be glad likewise to see those quit the Magistracy of London & other places that have been among the forwardest to suppress Immorality & Prophaneness, the Increase whereof of late years has been matter of common observation & regret amongst all sober men of whatever denomination, & whose joynt endeavours are no more than necessary for the giving check thereto. I question not but your wisdom has suggested to you such considerations as these, with others of equal weight to the determining you agt those parts of the Bill. But I humbly crave leave to tell your Honour that those good men who are not strangers to your

1 Charles (1650-1722) D.N.B.

character promise themselves *that* you will, so far as the station you are in will admit, & according to the capacity it gives you, use your utmost endeavour to prevent those ill effects which can scarce be avoided, if these Heads be once enacted. I will not be so presumptuous as to take upon me to tell you what methods are fitt to be taken in order to so good an end, whether the labouring to postpone the Bill, or moving to have some other things inserted which would not be liked by those *that* stickle for *the* Bill, tho' too popular for them handsomly to oppose. I suppose some of those Gentlemen that are for obliging all in office to forbear going to meetings would not be very forward to bring themselves under an obligation of going constantly to Church under the same forfeitures which they would have the others incur, or yet of relinquishing their debaucheries & Houses of Lewdness, tho' both of these would fall under the risk of the Act as well as the things they would have.

Sr, It has pleased God lately to remove my mother by Death¹. The Lease of *that* we hold from you at Wigmore says there shall 40s be paid you as your Heir² on the death of each Tenant in possession, to whom the land should be assigned by me. I am not so skilful as to know whether my Father or she be the person intended by this word Tenant, inasmuch as the same Assignment still remains to him by virtue of the Bond lodged in yor hands. I crave yor opinion herein, & directions where the money must be paid, if now payable. I shall be no farther troublesom to you at present, being sensible that I have trespassed too much upon yor time & occasions.

I am

Sr

Yor most Humble Servt

RICH. BILLINGSLEY³.

Whitchurch

June 3d 1701.

References to RICHARD BAXTER

Letters of Ralph Strettell to Sir Edward Harley.

6 January 1671(-2) Upon Tursday night I was wth Mr. Baxter who safe & well recd yor present of the 4 parcells & writ you the enclosed; his adversorie Mr. Bagshaw⁴ was buried upon Munday last . . . old Mrs. Baxter⁵ very well for her age presents her service to yor good Lady.

24 March 1673(-4). I recd yors for wch I humbly thanke you for God's gracious return of poore prayers in yor safe return unto yor family & findinge all well &c. Sr John Baber⁶ & Mr. Baxter (who is very weake) kindly thank you &c.

23 May 1674. Mr. Baxter hath beene very ill espetially since yesterday was formitt &c, hath beene severall days at Highgate, came thence this morning a foot much refreshed & dined at St Ja: Langham's⁷.

24 November 1674. Mr. Baxter is full of paine & very weake.

20 February 1674(-5). I was wth Mr. Baxter this day, presents his service, remains very weake, but preaches constantly twice a weeke; no

1 She was bur. at St. James, Bristol, 16 April, 1701. A *Carmen Lugubre* on her death is in Dr. Williams's Library.

2 *i.e.*, heriot.

3 Son of Nich. Billingsley, ej. fr. Weobley, Herefs. (C.R.); minister at Whitchurch, Hants.

4 Edw. Bagshaw (1628-1671): *D.N.B.*; cf. *Rel. Baxt.* III. 72f.

5 Baxter's stepmother: 'she lived to be 96 years old' (*Rel. Baxt.* I. 12).

6 Royal physician: *D.N.B.*

7 Sir John Langham befriended Thos. Burroughs (C.R.) and Sam. May (C.R.).

prosecution as yet of the orders of Councill, only a repetition of them in a declaration . . . this day sennit Dr. Twiss¹ was buried at his own Chappell.

27 February 1674(-5). Friends are quiett yet here, though troublesome enough in other places, particularly Bristol² wre they have imprisoned 3 or 4 Mrs; a person serv'd a Warrt upon Mr. Baxter yesterday³ & brought him this day before Sr William Poltney⁴ a Justice of Peace in Westmr, but the fact being committed at Mr. Turner's⁵ in the City, hee would take no cognizance of it, & soe dismist him; severall Informers have been about here, but the magistrates give noe encouragement, wch makes them desist.

27 March 1675. Upon the receipt of yor last as touchinge yor Lodgings, I went to Mr. Baxter's & acquainted him wth yt affaire, unto wch he replied never a man in the world should be welcome to Lodge wth him then Sr Edw. Harley, & upon his discourse wth his wife they Concluded yt they had 2 good roomes in the wch yor Neece my Lady fitchJames⁶ daughter lies in at present, flyinge from the smale pox of wch her sister is well recovered so yt she would return home before you came up or if you might know your worst neighbour &c., but Sr I mentioned terms, upon wch hee was not well pleased wth me, but because I know you, &c. I cann tell you what yor Neece payd, &c. I have studied a further Convenienc(e) for you beinge there; honest Capt. Titus⁷ is yor neighbour &c. I have gott a Collecion of prayers from Mr. Baxter, Mr. Burroughs⁸, &c. for yor daughter; the good Lord issue her distemper in much mercy, to God's glory, parents' Comfort & her own advantage.

Letters of Sir Edward Harley to his son, Robert Harley.

20 August 1680. Be sure that bodily exercise hinder not yr Endeavors afrt Godlines wch is profitable for all things. Use industrie to mend yr writing. Let mee know who yu hear on Lrdsdayes, and when Mr. Baxter; see him when yu can.

28 December 1680. I pray God sanctifie to you that visitation his holy fatherly Love and Wisdome continues upon you. Remembr what good Mr. Baxter (who stil inquires after you wth great affection) sayd to you that long diseases are to be specially improved to stablish and habituat the Heart in submission and dependance upon God to Live by Faith.

Edward Harley to his father Sir Edward Harley.

30 December 1691. (A long letter about his spiritual state.) I have not neglected to ask advise from some pious and juditious men, especially from Mr Baxter.

Robert Harley to his father Sir Edward Harley.

19 December 1691. My Brother got a cold at Mr. Baxter's funeral⁹ on Thursday.

¹ Robt. Twiss, of Tothill Fields Chapl, Westminster: C.R.

² cf. *Broadmead Records*, ed. N. Haycroft (1865), p. 99.

³ cf. *Rel. Baxt.* III. 155.

⁴ Son of Sir Wm. Pulteney, M.P. for Westminster; father of Wm. Pulteney, 1st Earl of Bath (D.N.B.).

⁵ John Turner, ejected from Sunbury, Middlesex: C.R.

⁶ She and her three daughters gave £6 towards Baxter's New Meeting-house (*Rel. Baxt.* I.I. 172).

⁷ Silas Titus, 'a noted Presbyterian' (Macaulay): D.N.B.

⁸ Probably Thos. Burroughs, ejected from Cottesbrook, Northants., whose will is as of London: C.R.

⁹ Baxter died Tuesday, 8 Dec. 1691.

Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, Miscellanea, no. 120.

"A List of all the Meeting Houses of Dissenters from the Church of England within the Cities of London and Westminster and Liberties thereof and Out-Parishes adjoining".

(Endorsed by Robert Harley Earl of Oxford: "Nove. 15, 1723.")

- A Meeting House at Lorimers' Hall. Presb.
 The late Mr. Jacob's Meeting at Curriers Hall. Ind.
 A Meeting at Turners' Hall in Philpot Lane. Presb.
 A Quakers Meeting in Bull & Mouth Street.
 Mr. Wright's Meeting. Presb. (Parish of St. Ann in Black-Friers.)
 A Quakers Meeting in Lombard Street.
 Mr. Robinson's Meeting. Presb. (Par. of St. Ethelburga.)
 Mr. Grosvenor's Meeting in Crosby Square. Presb.
 Mr. Reignolds' Meeting in Eastcheap.
 Mr. Cummins' Meeting at Founders Hall. Presb.
 Mr. Ridgeley's Meeting in Thames street near the 3 Cranes. Presb.
 A Meeting at Haberdashers' Hall. Presb.
 A Meeting at Girdlers' Hall. Presb.
 Mr. Clark's Meeting in Crooked Lane. Presb.
 Mr. Noble's Meeting at Tallow Chandlers Hall. Presb.
 Mr. Harris's Meeting in Crotchet Friers. Presb.
 Mr. Brown's Meeting in the Old Jewry. Presb.
 Mr. Wilcox's Meeting in Monkwell street. Presb.
 The late Mr. Smith's Meeting in Silver street. Presb.
 Mr. Hunt's Meeting at Pinner's Hall. Presb.
 A Meeting in Little Moorfields. Indept.
 Mr. Newman's Meeting at Salters' Hall. Presb.
 Mr. Atkin's Meeting in Bow Lane. Presb.
 Mr. Brag's Meeting near Leadenhall Market.
 Mr. Taylor's Meeting in Leather Lane. Indp.
 Mr. Freke's Meeting in Bartholomew Close. Presb.
 Mr. Nesbit's Meeting in Hare Court. Presb.
 The late Mr. Pomfret's now Mr. Denham's Meeting in Gravel Lane, Houndsditch.
 Mr. Key's Meeting in Devonshire square. Anabst.
 A Quakers Meeting in Devonshire square.
 Mr. Evan's Meeting in Hand Ally. Indt.
 Mr. Bradbury's Meeting in Nevil's Ally, Fetter Lane. Ind.
 Mr. Park's Meeting. Presb. (Par. of St. George's in Southwark.)
 A Quakers Meeting in the park. (Par. of St. George's in Southwark).
 Mr. Burroughs' Meeting in Barbican. Presb.
 An Anabaptists Meeting by London Wall near the Gate.
 Mr. Kirby's Meeting in Glasshouse Yard. Anabt.
 Mr. Astby's Meeting in Ropemakers Ally. Presb.
 The late Mr. Gale's Meeting in Redcross street. Ind.
 Mr. — Meeting in Jewin street. Presb.
 Mr. Molinaugh's Meeting in White's Ally. Anabst.
 Mr. Gilf's Meeting. Presb. (Par. of St. Olave in Southwark.)
 Mr. Arnold's Meeting in Horsley Down. Presb.
 Mr. Ingram's Meeting in Fair street. Anab.
 Mr. Galloway's Meeting in Parish street. Presb.
 A Quakers Meeting in Horsley Down.
 Mr. Welling's Meeting in St. Olave's Court. Anabst.
 A Meeting House in Salisbury Street. Presb.
 Mr. Radcliff's Meeting in Salisbury Court. Presb.

- Mr. Killinghall's Meeting in Deadman's Place. Anabst.
 Mr. Oldfield's Meeting. Presb.
 Mr. Bayes's Meeting. Ind. (Par. of St. Thomas in Southwark.)
 Mr. Merriot's Meeting. Presb. (Christ Church in Surry.)
 Mr. Dauke's Meeting. Presb. (Par. of St. Dunstan at Stepney.)
 Mr. Reese's Meeting at Limehouse. Anabst.
 Mr. Mottershed's Meeting. Presb. (Par. of St. Dunstan, Stepney.)
 The late Dr. Mead's Meeting. Presb. (Par. of St. Dunstan, Stepney.)
 A Meeting in Virginia Street. Presb.
 Mr. Chapman's Meeting on Bednall Green. Presb.
 Mr. Hussey's Meeting in Spittle Fields. Ind.
 A Quakers Meeting in Spittle Fields.
 Mr. Cotton's Meeting. Presb. (Par. of St. Giles's in the Fields.)
 Mr. Harrison's Meeting in Wildstreet. Presb.
 A Quakers Meeting in St. John's Lane.
 Another Quakers Meeting in Corporation Alley.
 Mr. Jenning's Meeting. Presb. (Par. of St. John at Wapping.)
 Mr. Bush's Meeting in Broadstreet. Presb.
 A Meeting in Nightingale Lane. Presb.
 A Quakers Meeting. (Par. of St. John at Wapping.)
 Mr. Smith's Meeting. Presb. (Par. of St. John at Hackney.)
 Mr. Barker's Meeting in Mare Street. Presb.
 Mr. Davy's Meeting in Upper Moorfields.
 A Meeting in Hoxton Square. Presb.
 Mr. Mathew's Meeting in King John's Court. Presb.
 Mr. Slaydon's Meeting at St. Saviour's Dock. Ind.
 Mr. Harris's Meeting in Mill Yard, Goodman's field.
 A Meeting in Boar's head Yard in Petticoat Lane. P.
 Mr. Masters Meeting. Presb. (Par. of St. Mary at Rother hyth.)
 A Quakers Meeting at Ratcliff.
 An Anabaptists Meeting in the Artillery Ground, Spittle-fields.
 Mr. Woods Meeting in New Court, late Daniel Burges.
 Mr. Calamy's Meeting. Presb. (Par. of St. Margaret in Westmr.)
 A Quakers Meeting. (Par. of St. Margaret in Westmr.)
 A Meeting in Hanover Street. Presb.
 Mr. Anderson's Meeting in Swallow Street. P.
 A Quakers Meeting in the Savoy.
 Mr. Ingram's Meeting in Hart Street. Presb.
 An Anabaptists Meeting in the same street.

Woburn Abbey MSS.

[The following accounts of the generosity of William Russell, 5th Earl of Bedford, to Nonconformist ministers, are from among the MSS. at Woburn Abbey. Copies were originally sent to the Rev. A. G. Matthews, when he was at work upon *Calamy Revised*. It is by favour of his Grace the Duke of Bedford, and by the kindness of Mr. Matthews, that they appear here.—GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL.]

[Extracts from the accounts of George Collop, Esq., Receiver General of the Revenues of William, 5th Earl of Bedford.]

[Account for one year ended 25 March, 1661.]

Gratuities.

Octob.

20 To Mr. Manton¹ to distribute to Poore Ministers £5
[Account for one year ended 25 March, 1664.]

Gifts and Rewards.

August

14 To Dr. Manton by way of Gratuity by his Lord^{ps}. order £30
ffebr. 1 To Dr. Manton by his Lord^{ps}. order to bestow Charitably £5

[Extract from the account of Randolph Bingley, Gent., Steward of the Household of William, fifth Earl of Bedford, from 24th March, 1689/9, to 24th March, 1689/90.]

[Extraordinary Payments].

To the Lord Wharton² being his Lop^s. Gift towards Printing Welsh Bibles as by an acq^{te}. of the 10th. of Iuly 1689 Cs.

[From Ri: Baxter.]

Sir,

I received of Dr. Cox^e as sent from ye E(arl) of Bedford 50 l. to give to poor Ministers. I intreat you to thanke my Lord for his Charitable liberality and to give him the true account of its distribution.

	£
To Mr. Ri: Darley ⁴ (lately fined &c.)	3
To Mr. Turner ⁵ (long & dangerously sicke)	3
To Mr. Parsons ⁶ (long ill of ye stone in ye bladder)	3
To Mr. Wildbore ⁷	3
To Mr. Morris ⁸ for 3 Welch ministers— Stephen Hughes ⁹ , Sam: Jones ¹⁰ , David Jones ¹¹	5

1 Thos. Manton, ej. fr. St. Paul's, Covent Garden, London; *D.N.B.*; *C.R.*

2 Philip Wharton, 4th Lord Wharton: *D.N.B.*

3 Thos. Cox^e: *D.N.B.*; Baxter's physician (*Rel. Baxt.*); bro. of Henry Cox^e, ej. fr. Bishopstoke, Hants. (*C.R.*).

4 Rich. Dowley, ej. fr. Stoke Prior, Worcs.; fined £10 for being at a conventicle in London 17 Jan. 1683/4: *C.R.*

5 John Turner, ej. fr. Sunbury, Middlesex: *C.R.*

6 Thos. Parsons, ej. fr. St. Michael's, Wood St., London: *D.N.B.*, as Parson; *C.R.*

7 John Wildbore, ej. fr. Fellowship of Clare Coll., Cambridge: *C.R.*

8 Roger Morrice, ej. fr. Duffield, Derbyshire: *C.R.*: compiler of the Morrice MSS. in Dr. Williams's Library.

9 Ej. fr. Mydrim, Caerm.: Calamy.

10 Ej. fr. Llangynwyd, Glam.; founder of Caermarthen Academy: *D.N.B.*; Calamy; H. McLachlan, *English Education under the Test Acts*, 52.

11 Ej. fr. Llandyssilio (which ?) and 'generously assisted . . . by the late Lord Wharton, and many other Persons of Quality': Calamy. (The David Jones ej. fr. Llanbadarn Fawr, Card., seems less likely.)

To Mr. flavel ¹²	£
To Mr. Shettel (imprisoned for debt)	2
To Mr. Higs ¹³ in Worcestershire	3
To Mr. More ¹⁴ in Worcestershire	2
To Mr. Jarvis Bryan ¹⁵ } of (?) Bremicham	2
To Mr. Eavens ¹⁶ }	3
To Mr. Joshua Barnet ¹⁷ in Cheshire	2
To Mr. Owen ¹⁸ of Oswestrie }	1
To Mr. Tailor ¹⁹ of Wem } (all in Shropshire)	3
to Mr. Berry ²⁰	2

The rest Dr. Coxe desired to distribute of which he gave me this account.

To Mr. Knowles in prison ²¹	£
To Mr. Bacon ²²	2
To Mr. Warre	2
To Mr. Watson ²³	2
To Mr. flavel (above named)	1
To Mr. Jackson ²⁴ neere Brainford	1
If any of this distribution be mislikt, I send this weeke to five poore Ministers in Yorkshire	£10

which shall stand instead of any of the rest.

My service to the Countesse of Bedford (I know none but her) I hope God supporteth her in her age & weaknes; The Time is short & I (*sic*) whose bodyes are a continuall burden to us, as we have speciall need of divine helpe, & the constant use of a lively faith of ye unseene world; so we have speciall helpe to be weary of this vaine world, & loose from the body, that we may with lesse unwillingnes come to Christ. Its our shame that we should have so much need to be driven out of our prison & that faith, hope & Love be not strong enough alone to draw us out. But we have a Saviour who knoweth & pityeth our frailty & him selfe maketh our excuse, that the spirit is willing but the flesh is weake. My humble service presented to my Lord & Lady, & though unknowne to the Lady Russell²⁵,

I rest
Your feeble brother hasting homeward

[1684]

RI: BAXTER.

-
- 12 Phineas Flavell, chaplain to Edw. Lord Russell: *C.R.*
 13 Richard Hincks, ej. fr. curacy of Tipton, Wolverhampton: *C.R.*
 14 Richard Moore, ej. fr. Alvechurch, Worcs.: *D.N.B.*; *C.R.*
 15 Ej. fr. Old Swinford, Worcs.: *C.R.*
 16 Thos. Evans, ej. fr. Weddington with Caldecote, Warws.: *C.R.*
 17 Ej. fr. Wrockwardine, Salop: *C.R.*
 18 Jas. Owen, son and assistant of Hugh Owen, who was 'a Candidate for the Ministry when the Bartholomew Act came forth', was 'afterwards of Oswestry': Calamy.
 19 Sam. Taylor, ej. fr. Wem, Salop: *C.R.*
 20 Edw. Bury, ej. fr. Great Bolas, Salop: *D.N.B.*; *C.R.*
 21 John Knowles, ej. fr. St. Werburgh's, Bristol: *D.N.B.*; *C.R.*
 22 Isaac Bacon, ej. fr. Blackwell, Derbyshire: *C.R.*
 23 Thos. Watson, ej. fr. St. Stephen's, Walbrook, London: *D.N.B.*; *C.R.*
 24 John Jackson, ej. fr. St. Bennet's, Paul's Wharf, London, and living at Old Brentford: *C.R.*
 25 Widow of Wm. Russell, Lord Russell (eldest surviving son of Wm. Russell, 5th Earl of Bedford), who had been executed in 1683.

On Helping Our Successors

ONE of the disappointments of research is to discover the shortcomings of one's predecessors. Often the confidence with which one begins to handle their work is sadly shaken, and if personal knowledge has led too easily to that confidence the blow is all the more staggering. How many times does one handle a piece of work with the feeling that it has definitely said the last word, so that one ejaculates, "This job, at any rate, has been done once and for all".

A year or two ago an American, working on the history of Congregationalism, told me with what delight he had come across Waddington's five-volume *Congregational History*. This was to be for him henceforth a *vade-mecum*, the book of reference which would solve many of his problems. He was repeating, though he did not know it, the plaudits which, in the middle of the 19th century, greeted the work of an industrious worker in a comparatively unworked field. A day or two later, in the Dexter collection in the Sterling Library at Yale, I turned to Dexter's careful examination of one of Waddington's volumes. It pointed out glaring inaccuracies, and errors in detail on almost every page: it proved once for all that anyone relying on Waddington was sure, sooner or later, to be led astray. Not that Waddington did not render conspicuous service to the cause of historical learning. He did; he brought to light many hidden sources, and pointed the way to others. But he was not a scientific historian. He had no idea how to handle his documents: he did not refer to them accurately; sometimes he would paraphrase, sometimes he would quote, and sometimes by omission or suggestion he would lead them gently in the way he wished them to go. A Nonconformist Strype, he has Strype's virtues and Strype's failings.

But, it may be said, *nous avons changé tout cela*: the modern historian knows better: he handles his documents with care, nay with reverence and scrupulous accuracy. He shows no bias, he copies accurately and gives exact references, he makes neither omissions nor additions, and he can be trusted absolutely. Would it were so! But recent experience has shown how frail even modern historians be. During the last two years, in editing John Penry's

Notebook, I have had in almost daily use the works of William Pierce and Champlin Burrage, both of whom were known to me personally. Now no student of Elizabethan Nonconformity but is in great debt to these two scholars. Both gave many years to the elucidation of the period, and their labours were strenuous and fruitful. Pierce's *Historical Introduction to the Marprelate Tracts*, his edition of the Tracts, and his *John Penry* were notable contributions for a busy minister with no historical training. The edition of the Tracts will always stand, and if new discoveries may result in the suppression of some of the conclusions reached in the other two works, they will be made in virtue of Pierce's spade-work. Pierce's failings were those of training and temperament. He was a fierce partisan, and too easily allowed himself to accommodate the facts to his views—convictions, his friends would say, prejudices his enemies.

With Burrage the situation is different. He had taken a research degree, and with untiring energy had followed many a scent. His *Early English Dissenters* has proved of the greatest service to later scholars, and started many of them on researches of their own. So useful has it proved itself that sometimes those who have had no reason to go behind Burrage to the books and documents he quotes have come to place utter reliance upon him. Some of his weaknesses have, no doubt, long been obvious. So far from welcoming the assistance of fellow-students, and sharing the camaraderie of searchers after truth, he liked to play a lone hand: in the Bodleian it used to be amusing to see him place a piece of blotting-paper over the work he was doing as he observed one approach. His bias was in the desire to take a new line, a desire which led him in such directions as *John Penry, the So-called Martyr of Congregationalism*, where he maintained a view which has been supported by no other scholar (neutral scholars such as Prof. J. Dover Wilson, we mean, and not Congregational protagonists).

Here, however, the harm done was negligible, for Pierce (violently) and others could put Mr. Burrage in his place. It is rather in his handling of sources that he leads his successors astray; constant use of the *Early English Dissenters* has led us to the regrettable and unexpected conclusions that Burrage's copies of manuscripts must always be checked, and that he can never be trusted absolutely: in transcription he frequently uses dots without indicating what they mean; in practice we discover it is often to omit a difficult word or sentence. A telling illustration is seen in Pierce's copy of the *E.E.D.*, now before us. Pierce has worked over Burrage's transcript of B. M. Egerton MS. 2603.49 [*E.E.D.*, II. 93-1], correcting it from the original. There are understand-

able errors, such as "in the said tymes" for "ten thousand tymes", but Pierce replaces three dots by "proceedings", another three by "frendless", and another three by "straight", which in "From straight and close prison" should have been easy. In no instance does Burrage indicate that the dots represent an undeciphered word. Another example is the transcript of Penry's Apology from a Bodleian MS., which I have compared with the copy in the Yelverton MSS. It would be unfair (with the Bodleian MS. inaccessible) to attribute to Burrage *all* the discrepancies between his text and the Yelverton MS., yet sad experience leads to the conclusion that in 14 lines to him is probably due "credence" for "coherence", "my" for "anie", "reason" for "risen", maybe "2" for "vii", though scarcely, we hope, "written" for "noted".

Pierce's comments (*John Penry*, 412n) on his treatment of manuscripts are entirely justified, though characteristically Pierce gives the wrong page reference to Burrage and too wide a reference to Harl. MSS. 6848: speaking of the examinations of members of the congregation to which Penry belonged, he says:

These have been summarised in Burrage's *E.E.D.* II. 19ff [*sic*, 31ff]. But these reprints are of no value to the student, who cannot be sure that the more interesting facts are not omitted, as sometimes they are. Important examinations are omitted altogether. In two cases only, the important fact is recorded that inquiry was made about the books of Barrowe, Greenwood and Penry. It would not be suspected that between forty and fifty of these examinations contain an inquiry about books. Even in the case of an examination of Penry, where the inquiry if he were acquainted with 'Barrowe his booke' is highly significant, Mr. Burrage omits this fact.

Personal experience therefore leads us to pray that all members of the Congregational Historical Society engaged in research will do their work so carefully and thoroughly that it will stand the test of time, and so make things easy for their successors.

ALBERT PEEL.

A Letter from Philip Doddridge to Isaac Watts

Philip Doddridge needs no introduction to readers of these pages as an Eminent Congregationalist, but even they may not have realized, without some special study of the man, what an unusual, interesting and important character he was. He is probably the only minister whose very name is perpetuated in *two* churches in the town where he laboured (Doddridge, and Doddridge Memorial, Northampton). He superintended an influential Dissenting Academy, where he "broke away from university and academical tradition by substituting English for Latin as the language of the lecture-room" (McLachlan). He was largely instrumental in founding the first county infirmary, thereby setting an example copied by the Bishops of Worcester and Oxford in their respective cathedral cities. Many generations, down to our own day, have been brought up on his *Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul*, which has been translated into many languages, including Tamil and Syriac. Some of his hymns are among the best known in the English language, and in their warmth and enthusiasm ("Well may this glowing heart rejoice And tell its raptures all abroad") well indicate his mediating position between the more radical type of Puritanism and the newer Methodism, to which he was by no means unfriendly. It was through him that Blair's *Grave*, "the first and best of a whole series of mortuary poems" (Gosse), was accepted by a publisher; and he had a sufficient appreciation of Gothic to pronounce Salisbury Cathedral "fine", Ely "very fine", and King's College, Cambridge, "charming". He was *persona grata* with Heads of Houses at both universities, and included both scholars and representatives of the nobility among his numerous correspondents. The series of love letters printed by his great grandson would not disgrace any anthology of such literature. Alexander Gordon sums up his influence as "doing more than any man in the eighteenth century to obliterate old party lines, and to unite nonconformists on a common religious ground" (*D.N.B.*).

Doddridge's *Correspondence* can be found in two collections, a single volume edited by Thomas Stedman in 1791, and five volumes by J. D. Humphreys in 1829-31; but with a letter-writer so indefatigable (he speaks of having 106 letters still to answer) it is only natural that much material was left to gather. The Darracott MSS. descending from his student, Risdon Darracott, were at the disposal of Charles Stanford, for his biography of Doddridge (1880). Gordon's article in the *D.N.B.* draws attention to the Doddridge MSS. at New College, London, and to letters printed in the *Monthly Repository*, the *Christian Reformer*, and elsewhere. The list, both of MSS., and of published letters, could now be lengthened. An inclusive calendar of the letters of Doddridge would be a useful piece of work.

The following holograph to Isaac Watts, which appears not to have been printed before, was preserved by Watts's secretary, Joseph Parker, and has been found in a family letter-book of Parker's descendant, the Rev. Wilton E. Rix, by whose courtesy it is printed here. With it was enclosed a copy of the letter written to the church at Northampton by the elders and deacons, which is printed on pp. 20-22 of T. Coleman's *Independent Churches in Northamptonshire* (the word printed *common* in its first sentence is *concurrence* in the MS.); its signatories are the four elders recently appointed, *viz.*, John Evans, Job Orton, Sam. Hayworth, and John Brown.

and the six deacons, viz., George Mason, Henry Bunyan, Benj. Knott, Francis Butlin, Edw. Stevenson, and Henry Goode. The "Church Act" against bankruptcy copied by Doddridge in this letter is also printed by Coleman from the church book. GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL.

Revd & very Dear Sir

Northampton May 13. 1741

Mr Ortons writing to you a few Posts ago to acknowledge the Favour of your kind and generous Exhibition to him made me ye easier in ye little Delay of my Writing which a great Deal of Additional Business arising from what is peculiar in ye prest State of our Church has occasioned. Be pleased now Sir to accept my Thanks with his wh I also desired Mr Neal some Time since to present.

A Consciousness of a neglect in part of my Pastoral work occasioned by my freqt absence from home last Year & ye necessity of applying very close to my Academical Business when I was here engaged me quickly after my late Return to enter into Measures for a more regular Managemt of it for the future.

For this purpose having as I think I informed you some Time ago made Choice of four Elders one of wh had been a Clergyman & another had been pastor of a Baptist Congregation in Town, we established weekly Meetings in wh joining our six Deacons once a Month we held Councils for ye Care of the Church, & spent some Time at Prayer in each of them. In these we reviewed our Church-List considered who absented themselves from ye Lords Supper & who had given any offence. After this Survey the Elders & Deacons by my Direction wrote a Letter to ye Church ye Copy of wh I herewith send you in wh from several Scriptural Exhortations there recited & from a Consideration of ye Necessity of the Affair & its Importance for ye Honour of GOD & the Revival of Religion they press'd ye Church to take ye Cases of Absentees into proper Consideration wh at ye next Church Meeting it was determined to do & a Church Meeting extraordinary was then Appointed for that Purpose in which we found our selves obliged to cut off from our Communion no less than five persons three of them upon ye Account of Bankrupcy wh occasioned ye following Church Act of wh signed by me & ye Elders in ye Name & presence of the Church

"It is ye unanimous Judgement of this Church that ye frequent acts of Bankrupcy wh have happened in Dissenting Congregations as well as elsewhere, have brought so great a Dishonour on Religion, & occasioned so much Mischief & Reproach that we are obliged in Duty to enter our publick protest and Caution on this Head. And we do hereby declare that if any person in Stated Communion wth us shall become a Bankrupt or as it is commonly expressed *fail in ye world*, he must expect to be cut off from our Body, unless he do within two Months after his absconding give to ye Church by ye Elders either in word or writing such an Acct of his Affairs as shall convince us that his Fall was owing not to his own Sin or Folly, but to ye Afflicting Hand of GOD upon him. In wh Case far from adding Affliction to ye Afflicted we hope that as GOD shall enable us we shall be ready to vindicate comfort & assist him as his Friends & Brethren in Christ".

Some of the Grievances referred to have been of some years standing but thro' a faulty Negligence in part Chargeable on me have been put off from Time to Time which has made this a very melancholy Season but I hope GOD will own what we have done for two of our offending Brethren under Excommunication & two more under Admonition seem so much humbled that I believe they will publickly confess their Sin & declare their Repentance & as I verily believe that in all these proceedings we act accord-

ing to ye Laws of ye great Lord & Head of ye Church I greatly hope he will bless his own Ordinance & make it a means of glorifying his Name & reviving his work among us.

I have been going over my Congregation & taking an Account of ye Families & their respective Members. I have not yet quite finished ye Survey but according to ye Memorandums I have already taken I find about 308 Heads of Families, 360 young Persons & Children (including Infants) who may be called ye Children of ye Congregation & about 40 Servants that are not so & I suppose there may be about 100 Persons of Different Ranks & Ages not yet on my List. Our Church consists of about 240 about 180 have been admitted since my Coming and I have a List of above 70 hopeful Youths & other persons of a more advanced age in whom I have such satisfaction that I shall joyfully recommend them to ye Church whenever God shall incline them to offer themselves unto it.

I have on my List of Catechumens 92 Children most of them between ye ages of 6 & 12 whom ever since my Return from London at Christmas I have catechised once a week excepting Times when Preparation Days Assizes Fairs &c have prevented. All these Children (who have attended generally for such a Number wth surprizing Constancy) have learnt either your first or second Catechism or both & almost every one have learnt some & five parts out of six at least all ye prayers belonging to those Catechisms & some of them all ye Scriptures of ye Second & a few also to keep them full employed ye whole Book of your Songs for Children & two or three your Preservative. For their Encouragemt & to avoid offence by invidious Distinctions I have given them all their Books intirely at my own Expence. I have within these few Days heard of a generous Design to give away some Books & other Rewards as an Encouragemt for Children to learn & Ministers to teach these useful Systems. I hope therefore Sir the Case of Northampton will be taken into Consideration my own Labour I shall cheerfully give but if instead of ye Salary granted for this Work to poorer Places any thing could be granted towards putting poor Children to School I believe it wd in a little Time procure a Considerable Addition to our Numbers from ye Children of Church People & might be a Foundation for setting up Catechetical Lectures in Neighbouring Villages where my Pupils go to repeat & might be attended wth much good to ye Children & them. This therefore Sir is an Affair wh I hope you will please to take into Consideration & that if any Thing can be done to assist us in it you & ye other Gentlemen Trustees will shew as tender a regard to ye dear Lambs of my Flock as Convenience will admit. Children of ye finest parts & most serious Turn of Mind I keep my Eye upon & am in hopes, that some of my poor Boys whom I am at my own Charge supporting in their Grammar Learning will at length come out Ornaments & Supports to our publick Cause under ye Ministerial Character. Some of them are indeed Most delightful Children & such as God has seemed very Early to sanctify to himself by remarkable Influences of his Grace. I thought it proper Sir you should know these Circumstances but whether you can or cannot give me any Assistance in them otherwise than by prayer I shall do all I can to carry on this good & pleasant work in wh I evidently see that God owns me. And I bless God who has put this excellent Scheme into your Hearts by wh I hope & believe ye Dissenting Interest will in a very few years Time be greatly revived & Ministers as well as people much quickened. I have truly found it has had this Effect on me & never poured out my Soul before GOD with such earnestness for ye Rising Generation as since I have been once a week praying over them & talking wth them on religious Subjects in their own way & many a Tear has I seen dropt from their dear little Eyes while they

(Continued on page 217)

Kensington Chapel

IN the year 1732 there was born in the parish of Cockburnspath in Berwickshire one of a group of four men who some sixty years later were instrumental in founding the church. Although born in Scotland, he came of English ancestry, his forbears having been Northumbrian yeomen from the neighbourhood of Hexham, who had moved into Scotland. Trained as a cabinet-maker, he found no sufficient scope for his ambition in the small community in which he was brought up; he felt the attraction which London has always exerted on the inhabitants of Scotland and, turning his back on his native land, he walked to London to seek his fortune. There he found employment with Burkhardt Tschudi, a Swiss harpsichord maker, whose daughter Barbara he subsequently married. He was taken into partnership by his father-in-law, and on the latter's retirement in 1769 succeeded him in his business, which has ever since borne his name of John Broadwood.

He is described as an amiable and cultivated man, a clear-headed man of business and very independent and energetic. In his early days in London he probably resided on the premises in Great Pulteney Street, where the business is still carried on. At all events we know that he was for many years a member of Wells Street Chapel, whose minister was the Rev. Archibald Hall, of the Original Secession Church of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. Later on when he was nearly 60 years of age he moved to 14 Kensington Gore, where, as he himself puts it, he found himself at a great distance from any place of worship agreeable to the dictates of his conscience.

Five years after the birth of John Broadwood another of the founders of the church—William Forsyth—saw the light of day at Old Meldrum in Aberdeenshire. He lived there until he was 26 years of age, but then the lure of London attracted him as well. He found employment in the Apothecaries' Garden at Chelsea, of which he became head in 1771. Thirteen years later he was appointed Superintendent of the Royal Gardens of St. James' and Kensington, with an official residence in Kensington. He had a considerable reputation as a gardener, his *Treatise on the Culture and Management of Fruit Trees* running into seven editions. He brought out a plaster to cause new growth in place of previously diseased wood; for this he received a vote of thanks in both Houses

of Parliament as well as a pecuniary reward. His name is even better known than that of John Broadwood, though I doubt whether many of the inhabitants of Kensington who admire every spring the bright yellow blossoms of *Forsythia Speciosa* ever connect the name with William Forsyth, the Superintendent of the Royal Gardens from 1784 to 1804 and one of the first three deacons of Kensington Chapel.

Of James Mackintosh, the third of the little group, little is known, but we may guess from his name that he also came from north of the Border. We know that by his will he left a sum of £100 4 per cent Annuities to the Minister and Churchwardens of Kensington to apply the dividends every Christmas in the purchase of coals or bread or both for the relief of ten poor families in Kensington. The income of this fund, now amounting to £3 5s. 8d., is still distributed each year.

James Gray, the fourth of the small group and the only Englishman, was a nurseryman, who lived in Kensington Gore and cultivated an old established nursery of some 30 acres not far from the present site of the Albert Hall. His nursery was a famous one, and had been in existence for more than 150 years: Evelyn refers more than once to his visits there.

These four men were mainly instrumental in founding the church, but we must not forget Mr. Saunders. Most of the information we have about him comes from Faulkner's *History of Kensington*: "A Mr. Saunders, who had been body-coachman to King George II and also to his late Majesty, had been useful in forming this religious Society, which afterwards worshipped in Hornton Street Chapel and which had previously met in a very humble dwelling. To this good man the late King was much attached, and was accustomed to converse with him, in the most gracious manner on the subject of religion. On one occasion, having left some religious tracts in the coach, whether by accident, or design, is not now certain, the King was observed diligently to peruse them and shortly afterwards required Mr. Saunders to see that some more of a similar kind were put in the same place".

The first step in the formation of the church was taken on the 1st June, 1792, when Messrs. John Broadwood, James Mackintosh and James Gray entered into an agreement with Mr. Edmund Rogers of Warwick Street, Westminster, to acquire a site in Hornton Street measuring 109 feet in length by 40 feet in width on a lease for 99 years wanting 7 days at a ground rent of £7 7s. 0d. per annum. By the same agreement they covenanted to erect and completely cover in a chapel and vestry room by Michaelmas 1793, and to employ Mr. Edmund Rogers as their architect.

They also issued an appeal to others to join with them in this undertaking, and although the copy of the document which appears in the Church Records bears no date or signature it was probably issued about the same time. The appeal was in the following terms:

To the friends of Religious Liberty Sincere Christianity and of Benevolent dispositions *etc.*

We the undersigned of whom some have been educated in the principles of the Established Church of Scotland and others in that class of dissenters in England whose principles, opinions and faith, is the most generally consonant to, and founded on the Word of God, as revealed in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and of these essential doctrines of Christianity as professed by both the National Churches of England and Scotland;—Being therefore dissenters from the established Mode of Worship in this Country, and being situated at a great distance from any place of Worship agreeable to the dictates of our consciences, We, from pure motives of Religion and Piety alone, for conveniency to ourselves and familys, and to others who may be likeminded with us in matters of Religion, do propose under the favour and blessing of Divine Providence to erect and build a Temple for the Worship of Almighty God, in the Parish of Kensington and County of Midlsex.

We profess our religious opinions to be according to the rites and forms of Worship as well as of the doctrines and discipline agreed upon in the Confession of Faith by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster (so far as the circumstances of our situation will admit of), we wish to follow their soundness of Faith, Purity and Simplicity of Worship, as far as we can judge them founded on the Word of God and agreeable to the Standard of Truth contained in the Holy Scriptures, the alone unerring Guide of Faith and Manners;

We therefore invite the serious Christian, and the friends and lovers of Gospel Truths to join with us in this good Undertaking, to promote the Glory of God, the interests of true religion and the eternal happiness of ourselves and fellow Christians, having nothing in view but to forward the attainment of these great objects, we leave the briars and thorny fields of disputation and false philosophy, of factious politicks, and jarring interests of ambitious men "That we may lead quiet and peaceable lives in all Godliness and honesty" as commanded i Tim. 2, 1-2.

In March 1793 Messrs. Broadwood, Mackintosh, Gray, and Forsyth issued a further appeal to "the Friends of Christianity and

Religious Liberty", asking for voluntary gifts and contributions towards the erection of the chapel, and on the 14th May 1793 they entered into a contract with Robert Sanderson, Carpenter, of Chelsea, to build the chapel for £927 15s. 0d.

On 13th Nov. 1793 Messrs. James Mackintosh, James Lake, Edward King, William Forsyth, and Matthew Stenson certified to the Bishop of London that a new building situate in Hornton Street, Phillimore Place, was intended to be set apart as a place of religious worship of Almighty God for Protestant Dissenters from the Church of England commonly called Presbyterians, and this certificate was registered in the Bishop's Registry on the following day. This was a necessary preliminary required by a provision in the Toleration Act of 1688 and not repealed until 1871.

Having thus erected a chapel, it is perhaps not surprising to learn that in seeking a minister the founders turned their eyes to Scotland. An invitation to preach to the congregation was sent to the Rev. James Hall, minister of Rose Street Chapel, Edinburgh, who belonged to the Burgher Synod of the Presbyterian Church. He accepted the invitation and applied to the Edinburgh Presbytery to appoint a substitute for him during his absence in London, which they did at their Session on the 12th November.

Vol. II of the *Evangelical Magazine* contains this account of the opening of the chapel:

On Friday, Dec. 6th, 1793 was opened a new Chapel at Kensington in the neighbourhood of London. The Service was conducted by the Rev. Mr. Stephens of Crown Court, Covent Garden; the Rev. Mr. Smith of Camberwell; the Rev. Dr. Hunter of London-Wall; and the Rev. Mr. Hall of Edinburgh.

As all the above gentlemen are Scotch divines, agreeable to their custom, many well-adapted portions of Scripture were read upon the occasion, and an able discourse was delivered by the Rev. Mr. Hall from Psalm xxiv, 7 "Lift up your heads O ye gates, and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors, and the King of Glory shall come in".

This Chapel is neatly fitted up; is situated in a genteel neighbourhood; and will accommodate about four hundred and fifty persons. We sincerely wish that it may never be destitute of a congregation of spiritual worshippers, and of a minister that shall feed them with knowledge and understanding.

The ministrations of the Rev. James Hall must have been acceptable to the congregation, for early in 1794 James Mackintosh, William Forsyth, and James Gray wrote to the Edinburgh

Burgher Presbytery praying that Mr. Hall's stay among them might be prolonged, that the people to whom he ministered might be erected into a Presbyterian congregation, and that they might have elders elected and ordained among them. At the same time Mr. Hall wrote to the Presbytery informing them that if the congregation at Kensington to whom he was presently ministering should be by them erected into a congregation and should be favoured with a succession of agreeable supplies they would in time naturally be led to elect one of "our preachers to be their Pastor and if they shall do so everything else will come in course".

These letters were considered by the Presbytery on 14th February, 1794; they decided to recall Mr. Hall at once from London and to appoint him to minister to his own congregation. They also informed their petitioners that they could not grant any part of their petition because they had not yet acceded "to our principles nor given any intimation of their intention to connect themselves with us and put themselves under our personal inspection".

At the same time that these letters were written to Edinburgh the founders of the church approached various Scots ministers in London for the purpose of obtaining financial assistance from their congregations, with the result that an appeal was issued on the 11th February 1794 signed by the following Ministers and Elders:

Hen. Hunter, etc., Minister of the
Scots Church, London Wall.
William Smith, Camberwell.
Thos. Rutledge, Broad Street.
James Stevens, Minister of the Scots
Church, Crown Ct., Covent Garden.
John Love, Minister of Crispin Street,
Spitalfields.
John Trotter, Minister of the Scots
Church in Swallow Street.
Pat. Clayson, Elder.
Jas. Jaque, Elder.
Geo. Theakston, Elder.
Robt. Winter, Hammersmith.

After a lapse of eight months a meeting of the trustees and subscribers, at which about 60 persons were present, was held on the 30th October, 1794; after a sermon by the Rev. Robert Winter and prayer, it was unanimously resolved to invite the Rev. John Neal Lake, A.M., of Walthamstow, to become the stated minister to the chapel.

On the 12th November 1794 Mr. Lake accepted the invitation, and on Thursday, April 9th 1795 he was set apart and admitted to

the pastoral office. He had commenced his ministry on March 1st, and on the 15th March it is recorded that he baptized Edward King, son of Edward and Mary King, the first child to be baptized in the chapel.

On 12th April 1795 the first Communion Service was held, 40 persons being present. The following account of this Service is preserved in the Church Records:

The Lord's Supper was dispensed in the Chapel for the first time, this day by the Rev. Mr. Lake in the following manner—After preaching a suitable discourse from 1st Corinthians, 11, 26 and giving out a Psalm, he came from the pulpit to the Communion Table where a Linen Cloth and Elements had been previously laid; the great Pew as well as three or four of the adjoining Pews were filled with Communicants. After rehearsing the Institution with some useful remarks Mr. Lake prayed what has been called the "Consecration Prayer"; then with further address to the Communicants he distributed the Elements of Bread and Wine after which during the singing of a Hymn he returned to the Pulpit gave an exhortation to those who had received and concluded the whole with prayer, benediction and a collection as is usual on such occasions—Messrs. Forsyth and Mackintosh assisted the Minister in carrying about the Elements. Upon the whole it was a good day to many present, and it is hoped a day to be remembered.

The names of those present were recorded:

Rev. J. N. Lake, *Pastor*.

William Forsyth	} <i>Elders</i>	Mrs. Sarah Forsyth
James Mackintosh		Mrs. Frances Mackintosh
Edward King		Mrs. Mary King
James Gray		Mrs. Smith
Alexander Wilson		Mrs. Susanna Floyd Farquhar
John Wilson		Mrs. Christian Wilson
Roby Thomas Lake		Mrs. Adelson
John Forster		Mrs. Martha Forster
Thomas Chandler		Mrs. Margaret Denham
James Skeen		Mrs. Thirsk
Robert Imray		Mrs. Ann Hansard
William Hockaday		Mrs. M. Darkin
Malcolm Macduffie		Mrs. E. Macduffie
John Fowler		Mrs. Ann Howard
Mrs. Anderson		Mrs. Weston
Miss Ann Roby Lake		Miss J. Toller
Miss E. Dunsford (since Mrs. Hockaday)		

Occasional Communicants :

Mr. and Mrs. Lake (of High Street)	Mrs. Lake (of Phillimore Place)
Mrs. Beamish	Mr. Saunders
Dugald Cameron	Mr. Gray (of Richmond)

I do not think that there are any descendants of these 40 persons still connected with the church, but if there are any I shall be glad to hear from them. Probably the family of Mr. Thomas Williams, now a deacon, has been connected with the church longer than anyone else now attending. His grandparents, Mr. Joseph Hunt and Mrs. Elizabeth Hunt, were admitted members in 1826, and he believes that Mr. Joseph Hunt's father was connected with the church from its very early days. A Miss Fanny Hunt, who Mr. Williams thinks was his grandfather's aunt, was present at a church meeting held on the 23rd July, 1805 called to consider an invitation being sent to the Rev. Frederick Hamilton of Brighton.

At a meeting of the congregation held on 23rd April 1795 the first elders of the church were chosen—James Mackintosh, William Forsyth, and Edward King. The first two of these have already been mentioned; the last named was a grocer in the High Street and remained an elder, or deacon as he was more usually called, until 1806, when he resigned. In that year he started a Sunday School in Gore Lane, which on October 25th 1809 was adopted by the church. He held the position of superintendent for 10 years, when he was succeeded by his son-in-law Joseph Andrews, who was superintendent until 1834.

The records of the next few years are very scanty. From other sources we learn that in 1795 an attempt was made to make the trustees liable for parochial rates. This was resisted, and in 1796 the magistrates decided that a dissenting chapel was not rateable.

The church has always been very keenly interested in the work of the London Missionary Society, and the following extract from the records for 1798 shows a very early connection with the Society.

1798, May 7. Monday Evening—The Monthly Prayer Meeting of the Society which was instituted in 1795 for sending Christian Missionaries to Otaheite, Africa and other distant places was holden, by rotation, in Kensington Chapel this evening. This Society is composed of a number of serious persons, Ministers and others, of different Denominations, in England and Scotland, who besides their Monthly Prayer Meetings, have annual services in London.

The Prayer Meeting of the Society began at half-past 6

o'clock the Rev. Mr. Knight prayed, after singing a hymn—then the Rev. Mr. Humphryes of Hammersmith prayed—The Rev. Dr. Haweis, Rector of Aldwinkle and Senior Minister at Spafields Chapel etc. preached from Isa. 51, 9 "Awake, awake, put on strength, O arm of the Lord." The Rev. Mr. J. Lake, Minister of the Chapel, gave out the Missionary Hymns, which are sung upon these occasions, from the desk.

A considerable number of persons from neighbouring Congregations, as well as several Ministers attended; and the people in general, seemed much pleased with the services of the Evening and the occasion of their assembling together.

From 1798 no entries were made in the records until 21st January 1804 when "A brief recital of some of the principal transactions of the religious society assembling in the aforesaid Chapel since the month of May, 1801" was inserted.

From this we learn that the Church had been deprived of the ministerial labours of the Rev. J. N. Lake by his resignation, and had remained without a minister till the month of May 1801. From another source we are informed that the Rev. J. N. Lake quitted "The Dissenting interest for a curacy in the Established Church, where he sustained a respectable and useful character to the day of his death".

On the 28th May 1801 the trustees, church and subscribers of the chapel, numbering over a hundred persons, invited the Rev. John Clayton, then only 21 years of age, to be the minister of the church and on the 21st October 1801 he was ordained to the pastoral office. He held the pastorate for just three years, resigning at the end of 1804. The church was then again without a minister for some time, but on 2nd February 1807 they sent an invitation to John Leifchild, then a student at the Hoxton Academy, to become minister the following mid-summer. In his reply he stated that he could not accept any call until the midsummer of the following year. The church decided to wait, and on the 2nd June 1808 Mr. Leifchild was ordained, and began a ministry which lasted till 1824.

F. P. WINTERBOTHAM.

Mrs. Anthony Hickman's Recollections

HAS full use been made of Rose Hickman's recollections, hidden away in Adam Stark's *History and Antiquities of Gainsborough, 1817*?

Rose, a daughter of Sir William Lock¹, married Anthony Hickman, a London merchant. In the 85th year of her age (about 1620) she wrote "Certaine old Stories" (we run out the superior abbreviations and modernize punctuation. ALBERT PEEL).

Certaine old Stories, recorded by an aged gentlewoman, a time before her death, to be perused by her children and her posterity. Written by her, with her owne hand, in the 85th yeare of her age, and about the yeare of our Lord 1620.

Of my father, in Hollinshed's Chronicle, I find this story. In the 25th yere of King Henry 8 being the yeere of our Lord 1534, at the sute of the ladye Katherine, dowager, a curse was sent from the pope, which cursed both the king and the realme. This curse was set up in the town of Dunkirk, in Flanders; for the bringer thereof durst no neerer approach, where it was taken down by Mr. Lock, of London, mercer.

Now I, his daughter, Rose Throckmorton, widow, late wife of Simon Throckmorton, Esq. and first the wife of Anthony Hickman, a merchant of London, reading this of my father, have thought good to leave to my children this addition to it, that for that act the King gave him £100 a yeere, and made him a gent. of his privy chamber, and he was the King's mercer, and his majesty vouchsafed to dine at his house. Moreover he was knighted, although he was never maior, but onely sherief of London, and so was never any Londoner before him.

I remember that I have heard my father say that when he was a yong merchant, and used to go beyond the see, Queene Ann Boloin, that was mother to our late Queene Elizabeth, caused him to get her the gospels and epistles, written in parchment in French, together with the psalms.

Of my mother. My mother, in the dayes of King Henry the 8th, came to some light of the gospel, by meanes of some english books, sent privately to her by my father's factors, from beyond sea; where-uppon she used to call me with my 2 sisters into her chamber, to read to us out of the same good books, very privately, for fear of troble, because those good books were then accounted hereticall; and a merchant, named Paginter, who used to bring english bybles from beyond sea, was slaine with a gun as he went in the streete. Therefore my mother charged us to say nothing of her reading to us, for feare of troble.

¹D.N.B. (by Sidney Lee). This confirms some of Rose's statements, and gives various references.

Then there was a plague in London, and my father and mother removed 7 miles off into the country, where she was delivered of a chyld, fell sick, and dyed. In time of her sicknes, she fell asleepe, and being awaked, she smiled, saying that she saw God the father, and Christ at his right hand, stretching forth his hands to receive her. And so dyed comfortably in the faith.

How my husband and I spent our time in the rayne of Queene Mary.

As in token of my most bounden duty and thankfulness to the allmighty, I do rise often in the day time, but esppecially in the night, as I ly waking in my bed, to meditate on his most merciful deliverances which he hath given to my good husband, Mr. Anthony Hickman, and me, in the dayes of Queene Marye, when the cruell papistes persecuted the people of God. So I, now being above 84 yeeres old, and looking continually when the Lord will call me forth of this lyfe, have thought good to set down the same in writing, and to leave it to my children, to move them to continue that thankfulness to allmighty God which I, their old mother, cannot acknowledge too much nor too often to his glory and praise; and to stand fast in that faith and service of God unto which their father and mother du [sic] stand so firmly, and manifest such zeale and affection as in this little treatise appeareth.

My husband, before he did marry me, was found to be worth £1000 by his books of accompt, that were examined by my father's appointment, and he being a great dealer in the trade of merchant venturor, was in the same, joint partener with my eldest brother, and they together had some ships of their owne, and did make divers voyages into farre countries, some of which voyages were of such note and fame as they are spetially recorded by Mr. Richard Hackluit in his 2d. printed vol. of English voyages to the south and south-east parts of the world; and I do well remember one goodly ship they builded at their owne charges, which they nam'd the Mary-Rose, being the name of us, their wives, for my brother's wife's name was Mary, and mine Rose. This ship Queene Elizab. after'ds had, and went in Cales voyage, 1596. It pleased God to blesse and prosper well their adventures, and though thereby their riches did increase, yet they did not set their harts upon them; they had learned not to trust in uncertaine riches, but in the living Lord, who giveth abundantly all things to bee enjoyed: for they were not unmindfull to use and employ their substance to the glory of God and good of his church, as they daily manifested by giving entertainment to Byshop Hooper, Mr. Foxe, Mr. Knoxe, and divers other godly preachers, of which some did afterw'd suffer marterdom in Queene Marye's days, who, if they were living on earth, as undoubtedly they are in heaven, would not forget to declare what kind usage and bounty they have found at the hands of my good husband, for the gospell of Christ's sake.

When Queene Mary came to the crown, the idolatrous masse was set up with publique profession of popery throughout the realme, and cruell persecution of those good Christians that in a good conscience refused to yield themselves to that idolatry; at which time we did receive into our house in the cittie of London divers godly and well disposed Christians that were desirous to shelter themselves from the cruell persecution of these times. And we and they did table together in a chamber, keeping the doores close shut, for feare of the promotors: as we read in the gospell, the disciples of Christ did, for feare of the Lewes. And thus we kept oure house in London, in the beginning of Queene Mary's days.

But then came forth a very strict proclamation, enioyning all to come to church and receive the sacrament after the popish fashion; after which proclamation we durst no longer keepe our house, but my husband used means to convey the preachers and other good Christians (that were in our house) beyond sea, giving them money to supply their wants. And one of those men was named Romiger, being then a proper young gent. that went to Loraine to studdy divinity, and afterwards became doctor of divinity, and died some few yeeres since, being one of the masters of the close of Lincoln. This man had £5 in gold of my husband at his going away, which, at his return, he thankfully repaid, and whilst he lived he was readie to acknowledge the kyndenes that he received from my husband.

Then my good husband was accused to the high commissioners, for the conveying away and releiving these good Christians, whom the high commissioners called the Queene's enemies, and for not conforming himself to poperye, according to the Queene's Iniunctions; and for the same my husband and my brother (who was also accused with him) were committed to close prison in the fleete. And, during the time of their imprisonment, they could not be suffered to have any private conference together; neither could any other be suffered to have conference with either of them: but they were kept in severall roomes in the prison, and were often severally examined; and when one of them was examined, the commissioners would endeavour to make him believe that the other had confessed as much as they would have drawn from him, and thereupon they would advise him to confesse, as his brother had done before him; but, neverthesse, there was not much gotten forth, of their owne confession, by that means; although, indeed, there was a collection of xi marks a week, duellie collected and exhibited by my husband and brother, with some other well disposed merchants, to the relief of the distressed ministrye; about which my husband and brother were sore charged in their examination. And, at the same time, there was also in the fleete the jury that acquitted Sir Nich. Throckmorton, upon his arraignment of high treason, who, because they chose rather to discharge their consciences by fynding him not guilty than to please the commissioners and judges that sate upon his tryall by fynding him guiltie contrary to their consciences, were committed to the fleete; but so as they had the libertie of the prison. And these Jurymen, being all merchants of London, had compassion upon the distresse of my husband and brother: for these jurymen, having the libertie that was wanting to my husband and brother in the prison, would come under the chamber window where my brother was, and under the chamber window where my husband was, and talk aloud one to another, to the end that my husband and brother might heare them, what they heard touching any of the matters for which my husband and brother were questioned, and so, by that meanes, gave them light of many things before their examination.

Afterwards, by great meanes that was made for them, they were removed from the fleete to the house of the Marquesse of Winchester, who was then Lord Treasurer, but were also there kept in severall rooms, as close prisoners, not being suffered to come together but by stealth; when the Marquesse was at dinner, or gone abroad, then they procured to themselves libertie to come together by giving gratuities to the gentlemen that attended about the howse. And, whilst they were thus detained prisoners, there came to the court the Lord of Barrowe, in the Low Countries, who became a great sutor for their enlargements, in regard of the want that his country had of their trading and mer-

chandize; and partelie by his meanes, and partelie by the Lord Treasurer's favor (which we purchazed with chests of sugar and peeces of velvet, to the value of £200 or thereabouts) they were (after long imprisonment) set at liberty.

Afterwards my husband (to drive away the wicked dayes) went to Antwerpe, where he had a faire house, which he rented for £70 a yeere; and I, being with chylde, went into Oxfordshire, to a gentleman's house that was a Lodge and stooede farre off from any church or towne (the name whereof was Chilswell) and there I was delivered; and from thence I went to Oxford, to the Bishops (who were then and there in prison, and did afterwards suffer martirdome there) to be advised by them whether I might suffer my chylde to be baptized after the popish manner; who answered me that the sacrament of baptisme as it was used by the papists was the least corrupted, and therefore I might; but therewithall they said that I might have gone out of England before that time if I had done well: and so my chylde was there baptised by a popish priest: but, bicause I would avoide the popish stuff as much as I could, I did not put salt into the handkerchief that was to be delivered to the priest at the baptisme, but put sugar in it instead of salt.

Afterwards, I prepared to go to Antwerpe, to my husband's house there; and although my husband had two faire houses in England, the one in London, the other in Essex, at Rumford, both of them well furnished with household stuffe; yet I accompted all nothing in comparison to libertie of conscience for the profession of Christ. So I conveyed my household stuffe into certaine frends houses, carrying none with me but a large feather bed, which I layed in the bottom of the old hulk, wherein we went to Antwerpe. I may well call it an old hulk, for the master of it said that if it pleased God to speede us well in the voyage it should never go to sea againe. We were five days and nights upon the seas, in stormy and tempestuous weather.

I might here tell that my brother, Tho. Lock (who was partner with my husband) would have gone with us but that he could not get his wife's goodwill to go out of England. Whereuppon I would say to her, 'Sister, you stay heere for covetousness and love of your husband's lands and goods; but I feare the Lord's hands will be upon you for it.' And, indeed, so it came to passe: for he, being constrained for feare of further trouble, to fashion himself outwardly to the popish religion in some sort, was so greeved in mynd thereat that he died shortly after, with seven of his children.

The reason why we did thinke ourselves safer in Antwerpe than in England was not for any more libertie of the gospell given there, but bicause there were not parish churches, but only cathedrall; wherein, though the popish service was used, yet it could not be easily known who came to church, and who not. But there was a chappell for the English Merchants, and thereunto all of them were compellable to go upon solemn feast-days, to wait upon their governor; and the night before that day my husband would lie mourning in his bed, and could not sleepe for greif to think that he was on the morrow to go with the governor to that idolatrous service. But the governor, though he was a papist, yet he was no persecutor nor cruell papist; for he was contented to beare with my husband, so farre as he might without being seene to do it, and would say to him, that though he did bark yet he did not bite.

Whilst I was in Antwerpe I had another chylde, and had great care to keepe it from the baptisme of the papists; for, in hatred that the inhabitants there do beare to the anabaptists, the magistrate used to enter at midnight into houses where any children were suspected to be kept unbaptized, and if he found any such he used to put them in a sack and cast them into the water, and so drown them; from which cruelty to save my chylde I did as followeth, viz.—Whereas it is the custom there, to hang at the streete doore where a woman lyeth in, a little peece of lawne, it was so that our house opened into 2 streetes, therefore I hanged forth a peece of lawne upon either side or doore, to the end that the neighbours on either side might suppose that it went out at the other doore to be baptised. And so it pleased God that there was a secret congregation of protestants, unto which congregation, by the helpe of some godley weomen there, I procured my chylde to be secretly carried, and there to be baptised by a protestant minister, I not knowing godfather or godmother.

And thus I continued in Antwerpe till the death of Queen Mary, which was not a little joyfull to me to heare of; for, during the time of her tyrannous raigne, I had often prayed earnestly to God to take either her or me forth of the world. In all which time I never was present at any of the popish masses, or any other of their idolatrous service, for all which blessings and deliverances, sent to me from my good God, I most humble beseeche his majestie that I and mine may never forget to be thankfull; not seeking our owne vaine glory thereby, but giving all praise and glory to his goodness, who so graciously preserved, blessed, and delivered me.

VISITATIONS IN THE DIOCESE OF LINCOLN, 1517-1531. Edited by A. HAMILTON THOMPSON. Vol. II. (Lincoln Record Society, Vol. 35. Hereford, 1944.)

This second volume of a work, whose first volume was mentioned in our issue of 1941, contains, as promised, Bishop Longland's visitations of rural deaneries, and his and Bishop Atwater's visitations of religious houses, in the diocese of Lincoln. A detailed record of the visitation of the Newarke College at Leicester, whose history Professor Hamilton Thompson has described elsewhere, is relegated to the third volume. There is no separate introduction, and the appendixes deal largely with lists and matters of chronology. The spelling, punctuation and abbreviation of references is not always perfectly consistent, and in the usual admirable index of persons and places Joyce Bulkeley is entered (by assimilation to Joyce Byckeley below) in error for Katharine Bulkeley, the redoubtable Abbess of Godstow, who on different occasions sent Cromwell two Banbury cheeses, a dish of old apples and an assurance that there was "neither Pope, Purgatory, image nor pilgrimage, nor praying to dead saints used amongst us". For the production of so careful a work, especially in war-time, both the editor and the Lincoln Record Society deserve the warmest thanks of all interested in the state of the Church in England, and in the careers of her priests, in these years immediately preceding the Reformation.

GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL.

REVIEWS

THE CHRISTIAN BASIS OF DEMOCRACY. By ALBERT PEEL.
Independent Press. 4s. 6d.

It is meet, right, and our bounden duty to record in the official *Transactions* of our Society the extraneous transactions of our admirable editor. Dr. Peel has a growing list of published work to his credit, the latest item being the book here noticed. It consists of four pithy lectures delivered at University College, Bangor, and now happily available to a wider public. At the outset there are wise suggestions for further reading, to which may now be added Mr. C. K. Allen's excellent work, *Democracy and the Individual*. I quote a sentence or two: "There has never been a time in the history of Christianity when the equality of souls was not a fundamental article of faith, though there have been many times when it must have been difficult to carry into practice. . . . Christianity itself, however, built upon the life of a carpenter's Son, has always been the religion of the Common Man and the hope of the Depressed Classes caught in the toils of States. . . . The crusade against slavery . . . had become possible, because more than a century before, the Puritan congregations had made the junction between Christian and political equalitarianism'.

Dr. Peel, as might be expected, after defining his terms and analysing the causes of the contemporary eclipse of both Christianity and democracy (which stand or fall together), develops and illustrates his thesis along the line of Independency in general and John Penry in particular. He thus whets our appetite for his forthcoming edition of Penry's *Notebook*. It is a field in which he is particularly at home. But while doing full justice to what was preached and practised by the first Congregationalists and their successors and emulators—a tribute amplified by many testimonies from others not of our 'Way'—he is insistent on the very much land yet to be possessed. It is for our generation to go beyond these pioneers of Christian democracy. In some respects we have already done so, *e.g.*, in a better appreciation of Scripture, and a scope that is not limited to the elect and to the male sex. We still have to apply our principles (or, if you like, the Four Freedoms) to the whole of life, to mankind everywhere, and to economics as well as politics. Great tasks await the Christian, and 'democracy, to be healthy, must' (as Mr. Allen says) 'offer not only rewards but tasks'.

It is refreshing to find at the head of each right-hand page an indication of the subject-matter of that page; while the synopsis on pp. 5f. affords a ready guide to the whole argument.

ALEX. J. GRIEVE.

THE EVERYDAY WORK OF THE WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY. By
S. W. CARRUTHERS. Presbyterian Historical Society. 12s. 6d.

Not the least of the services rendered by our allies and kinsmen of the United States in our present distresses is this very handsome volume jointly sponsored by the Presbyterian Historical Societies of America and England and produced in Philadelphia. It is, of course, most timely (1643—1943),

and the name of Dr. Carruthers is a guarantee of reliability. It is good to learn that he has in mind, if not in hand, a further volume which will reveal something of contemporary opinion, friendly and otherwise, on the work of the Assembly.

As the title of this book indicates, it is not a formal history of that remarkable Council and its undertaking; that was already in existence, as the bibliography bears witness. It is rather a series of "Studies" (which might have been a more exact title) of the varied concerns which engrossed the attention of the divines from time to time, though hardly "everyday"; and so it is best taken piecemeal rather than to be read through without intermission. The normal task of the Assembly was continually interrupted by remits from the Parliament to which it owed its existence, and which maintained a close oversight of its proceedings. It would take too much space to enumerate the score of topics which Dr. Carruthers has collected and selected for our delectation.

The Independents do not attain to a separate chapter, but they crop up pretty frequently, as the excellent index proves. In his introduction Dr. Carruthers admits that they stung Lightfoot and Baillie into strong language. Few in number, though representing a larger constituency than the majority of the divines, they declined to efface themselves, and chose the alternative of obstruction. They were in a dilemma—needing toleration for themselves but denying it to the innumerable "fancy" sects of the extreme left; but they (particularly Nye and Goodwin) obstructed well and thoroughly, as many a passage in this book reveals.

I like the author's pawky comparison of the Assembly with any other consultative body, as having three elements—the businesslike, the loquacious, and the apathetic. And there is scarcely a page in the whole two hundred where one does not come upon something of interest. Apropos of the metrical psalms, or rather of the later allied paraphrases, I remember the late Dr. Wallace Williamson of St. Giles saying that nothing had done more for Scots piety than the 2nd and 54th ("O God of Bethel" and "I'm not ashamed"), and the holy glee with which, as the next speaker, I pointed out that they were the work of Doddridge and Watts respectively.

ALEX. J. GRIEVE.

East Anglian Congregationalists will have a special interest in the article on "The Norwich Chapelfield House Estate since 1545 and some of its Owners and Occupiers" in Vol. XXVII of the *Proceedings* of the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society, by Mr. B. Cozens-Hardy, Hon. General Secretary of that Society and one of our own members. For nearly 250 years the estate, on part of which stands the modern Congregational church of Chapel-in-the-Field, was associated with the Hobart family, to whom John Collinges, the ejected minister, was chaplain from 1646 till his death in 1691. The article is based on the Blickling MSS.

GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL.

Congregational Historical Society

Accounts for the Year ending 31st December, 1943.

<i>Income.</i>				<i>Expenditure.</i>					
		£	s.	d.			£	s.	d.
Balances brought forward—					Printing 1943 <i>Transactions</i>				47 7 6
Current Account		92	19	10	Editors' Expenses—				
Capital Account		46	4	0	Dr. Albert Peel	1	6	3	
				139 3 10	Mr. Geoffrey Nuttall		5	0	
Subscriptions for the Year—									1 11 3
Current Year		31	11	9	Rev. C. E. Surman's Expenses				5 0 0
Arrears		2	15	0	Treasurer's Postage Account				2 0 0
In Advance		3	15	0	Printing Subscription Reminders				1 12 10
				88 1 9	Balances carried forward—				
Capital Account—					Current Account	74	15	0	
Subscriptions		4	4	0	Capital Account	60	8	0	
Congregational Insurance Co.		10	0	0				135 8 0	
				14 4 0					
Interest on Investment				1 5 0					
				£192 14 7					£192 14 7

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