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EDITORIAL

Our usual Autumnal Meeting was held in the United Methodist lecture hall, Coronation Street, Blackpool, on Wednesday, 16th October, 1907 : the Rev. Dr. Brown in the chair.

Prayer having been offered by the Rev. W. Mottram, the minutes of the Annual Meeting, being already printed, were taken as read.

The Rev. J. H. Colligan, M.A., minister of Trinity Presbyterian church, Lancaster, having been introduced by Mr. E. B. Dawson, read an instructive paper on "Early Nonconformity in Cumberland and Westmorland." After discussion, in which the Revs. B. Nightingale, T. Gasquoine, and others took part, a unanimous and hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Colligan for his paper ; and he was requested to place it in the hands of the Secretary for publication.

It was resolved on the motion of the Rev. W. Mottram "That this society places on record its sense of the irreparable loss it has sustained in the lamented death of the Rev. Bryan Dale, M.A. ; and the Secretary is hereby commissioned to express the same to the surviving members of Mr. Dale's family."

*

We are glad to give place to a suggestive paper by the Rev. Dr. Whiteley, Baptist minister of Preston. The writer directs attention to several facts which, though printed fifty years ago, seem to have been totally overlooked. On the general question of the historic continuity of the Pilgrims' Church, however, it could scarcely be expected that Mr. Fitten and his adherents, when reorganizing the church on a Strict Baptist basis, would recognize any division ; in their view the Paedobaptist members would be regarded as excluded for neglect of what the majority esteemed a divine ordinance. In the absence of church rolls it is, of course, impossible to *prove* that the minority formed the nucleus of the church that worshipped in Deadman's Place in 1672 ; but the difficulty of otherwise accounting for that assembly strongly supports the usual tradition.

While there can be no doubt that Neal confused the Jacob-Jessey church with that of Hubbard and More, a link connecting the former with the south side of the Thames appears to have been

generally forgotten. It is well known that Lothrop, Barbone, and others were arrested in Blackfriars in 1632; but an entry quoted by Waddington from the records of the High Commission, dated 12th June 1634, mentions "John Lothrop of Lambeth Marsh."

*

On the subject of Canting Names (see *Transactions* III, pp. 78 and 141), Mr. H. N. Dixon calls our attention to Waylen's *House of Cromwell*, pp. 337 fg., where it is stated that among 17,280 names in Besse's *History of the Quakers*, though many unusual classical names are found, the only canting names that appear are five, viz., Faith Sturges, Mercy Chase, Provided Southwick, Shunamite Pack, and Temperance Higwell. (The first, second, and fifth of these are not yet quite obsolete). Three daughters of Sir John Danvers of Culworth were named Temperance, Justice, and Prudence (Prudence was occasionally met with in the last century). Waylen also mentions the following as authentic:—Hate-evil Nutter, a New England elder and great persecutor of Quakers; Gracious Franklyn,* master of Heytesbury hospital; Consolation Fox, a captain in Fairfax's last army; Pious Stone and Manna Reeve, two of Cromwell's early troopers mentioned in the *Squire* papers; Sir Faithful Fortescue,* a parliamentary officer "who proved very unfaithful at Edgehill"; Accepted Frewin, Archbishop of York, and his brother Thankful Frewin; Increase Mather,* a well known New England divine; and Livewell Chapman, a bookseller rebuked in *Mercurius Aulicus*, 9th August, 1660, for vending a book of fanatical anecdotes. (The three marked * were noted on p. 78).

*

We hoped to give in this issue the final result of Mr. Cater's inquiries into the later life of Robert Browne. But Mr. Cater informs us that he has discovered some new facts which require further research before coming to definite conclusions. He hopes to have these in readiness for our next issue.

*

We are glad to present the last instalment of the *Wiggenton MS.* We should be obliged to any friend who is familiar with the writings of early Separatists, and who would express a definite opinion as to the authorship of the anonymous tract now printed for the first time. Possibly a clue may be found in the peculiar and twice repeated phrase "word of message."

*

We give with this issue a print of the ancient *thatched* meeting-house at Pound Lane, Martock, Somerset. The still more ancient edifice at Horningsham is well known. We should be glad to hear of any more old, *thatched* meeting-houses still in use or existence.

Personal memorials of Isaac Watts are so rare that the following communicated by Rev. G. Eyre Evans, M.A., is of interest :—

In the copy of Baxter's *Directory* at the Presbyterian meeting-house, Middletown, Delaware Co., U.S.A., is this inscription—

30 Jany. 1735 Given by the Rev. Isaac Watts, of London, for the use of the Middletown Meetinghouse, that people who come from far & spend their whole day there, may have something proper to entertain themselves with, or talk of to one another between the Services of Worship, morning & afternoon.

It is well known that there was a Separatist church in the west of England as early as 1600, some members of which were among the exiles at Amsterdam. A very vague tradition ascribes this early evolution of Puritanism to the influence of the Scottish workmen who built and worshipped in the chapel at Horningsham. It would be interesting to know if there are in that region any families of Scottish origin who can trace their *local* ancestry to the days of Queen Elizabeth.

We should be glad to have some particulars of the history of the old Baptist chapel at Cote, Oxfordshire.

Some time before 1810 a small congregation with their pastor, Mr. McNeeley, who had temporarily worshipped at Monkwell Street, united with Mr. Brooksbank's people at Haberdasher's Hall. On 27th April, 1821, the "Rev. Stephen Mummery and church" reopened Dr. Watts's old meeting-house in Bury Street, which had been closed for a few months. Mr. Mummery's church possessed one of the "Dorset" endowments, which had formerly been enjoyed by Mr. McNeeley's congregation. Information is earnestly desired as to the course of events from 1810 to 1821.

We would earnestly appeal to our friends to use their personal influence to obtain an increase of membership in the society. Many works of historic importance could be reprinted if our income were adequate to the work.

Members are requested to note the new address of our treasurer—
"Wheatham Hill, Hawley, Liss, Hants."

Nonconformity in Cumberland and Westmorland

THE subject before us to-day is so extensive, that the following paper can only be described as a sketch of an important field of northern Nonconformity. Leaving out the Baptist movement, which appears as early as 1652, and the convulsive origin of Quakerism, there remains the history of seventeen congregations. The registers and records of these congregations are very imperfect. Not one congregation has original registers, and, with the exception of Cockermouth, the registers were begun when the stress of the storm was over. In several cases the Presbyterian ministers from Scotland originated the records, while in other cases, such as Penruddock and the joint congregations of Great Salkeld and Plumpton, there is not a vestige of official record.

Before giving an outline of the history of each congregation we shall indicate the position we take up on the whole subject. The origin of Nonconformity in the two counties must be traced to the Puritanism among the clergy of the Established Church. Long before the Act of Uniformity there were Puritan vicars and rectors, who, generally speaking, developed into Presbyterians. About ten years before 1662 we find a group of men in the parish churches of these two counties, wholly intent upon preaching an evangelical doctrine. In the greater number of the parishes we find "churches" existing inside the parish, the ministers being pastors of the churches and parsons of the parish. The Act of Uniformity put an end to this, and with the ejection of the ministers various groups of the parishioners became Nonconformists also. The ejected ministers appear to have left the counties, and to have laboured elsewhere, while several conformed. The work was carried on by two or three silenced ministers, who had never held livings, but who would probably have done so had not the Bartholomew Act prevented them. Of these Anthony Sleight, M.A., of Penruddock, and George Nicholson, M.A., of Kirkoswald, are two fine examples.

From 1662 to the Act of Toleration was the heroic period of Nonconformity in the two counties, for the Indulgence did not bring much relief. Then came "the meeting-house era" (1690-1710), and the groups of nonconforming folk began to creep out of their secret meetings in farmhouses and barns, and to erect those plain structures that here and there remain. The first generation

of Nonconformists was fast passing away at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and a diminution of zeal is already noticeable. Anthony Sleight's son, of Penruddock, applied to Bishop Nicholson for deacon's orders. Richard Gilpin's son conformed, and became recorder of Carlisle, and the sons eased in their adherence as the times had eased in their intensity.

After the decease of the ejected and silenced ministers the academy students took their places, and here a word may be said about these institutions. Every one knows the work of Richard Frankland, M.A., who carried on his ministry and at the same time educated the youth of the nonconforming homes. His great service was in Yorkshire and Westmorland. In the latter county his residences were at Natland, Dawsonfold and Hartbarrow. This last place, near the south end of Windermere, offered an escape from a writ, from either Westmorland or Lancashire. The purity of his message and the splendour of his sacrifice cannot be too highly appreciated.

The academy of Messrs. Chorlton and Cunningham, of Manchester, was not drawn upon by Cumberland and Westmorland¹; but Cunningham, when minister of Penrith, did a private work in educating several of the youth of the neighbourhood.

The practice began about this period of obtaining supply from Scotland. As far as we can gather these men, having passed through the divinity halls of the various universities, were licensed and set free to wander. Apparently no oversight was taken of the licentiate, and of course there was no jurisdiction over the congregations in England. At a later period, when the secession churches arose in Scotland, discipline was maintained over their ministers, as is seen in the cases of Francis Rattray of Blennerhasset and James McQuhae of Kendal; but even then there was no jurisdiction over the congregation from Scotland. For a period of about seventy years a number of the congregations in Cumberland—Independent and Presbyterian alike—were supplied from the Church of Scotland. The rest of the congregations were supplied from the academy of Dr. Caleb Rotheram in Kendal. He, himself a native of Great Salkeld, had the confidence of the Nonconformists of Cumberland and Westmorland. Though it is to be feared that his method was too rationalistic to be safe, he was on the whole an excellent minister, an esteemed tutor, and a man whose outlook was—in a modern phrase—that of a progressive theologian. In the later stages of their careers a number of his students became 'advanced,' but the temper of the times was as much to blame as their training, and Rotheram's academy can scarcely be held responsible. The stream that came from Scotland was strongly Calvinistic; while the

¹ William Pendlebury, of Kendal, was trained partly by Frankland and partly by Chorlton. Samuel Audland, of Penruddock and Kendal, is the only instance of supply from this academy and he was a native of Westmorland.

Rotheram stream was Arminian. An important cross current in the tide of rationalism was introduced by the arrival of James Scott at Stainton, who afterwards became the founder of Heckmondwike academy.

Towards the close of the eighteenth century the causes throughout the two counties were near the point of extinction.

In the beginning of the nineteenth century several of the churches became Independent, under doubtful circumstances, and others attached themselves to secession presbyteries in Scotland. These afterwards entered into that union which formed the United Presbyterian Church in 1847; and in 1876 they returned to their early English connection, by helping to form the Presbyterian Church of England.

It is from this point of view that the following accounts are given. Looking at the group of Independent congregations in alphabetical order, we find :

Alston (Garrigill)

This cause did not originate in an ejected congregation, or through an ejected minister. The influence of Nathanael Burnand, M.A., the ejected vicar of Brampton, was felt in his itinerant ministry. The first minister, Thos. Dawes, was possibly a student of Frankland's, and appears, later on, to have been minister of Kirkoswald. He was probably connected with Dr. Dawes the vicar of Barton, Westmorland, who had a nephew named Thomas. The next minister, Mr. Turner, was probably connected with the ejected vicar of Torpenhow.² The third minister was Mr. Dickinson, who was probably the Thos. Dickinson who entered Frankland's academy in 1689. He was followed by Adam Wilson, from the Church of Scotland. He formed a cause at Neshopeburn, and worked the two congregations together. The next minister was James Richie, M.D., who is referred to under Ravenstonedale. The sixth minister was Thomas Smith, and the record of his ordination is in the minutes of the Penrith congregation, where the Provincial met in 1753. He returned to a charge in Scotland. He was followed by Mr. Dean, who was probably Adam Dean of Kirkoswald.³ The last minister whom we need mention is Timothy Nelson, M.A., who was there for 38 years. He had previously been at Penruddock, and when he retired from Alston, in 1800, he took charge of the congregations of Great Salkeld and Plumpton, he being a native of the former village. He died there in 1829, having lived a long and honoured life in the service of Cumberland Nonconformity.

² It is possible that "Mr. Turner" may have been Thomas Turner the ejected vicar, but Calamy has no particulars beyond the name.

³ Our surmise is that Dean, while minister of Kirkoswald, supplied Alston pulpit. He is found earlier than the above date, and later also, at Kirkoswald, &c.

He was the first historian of local dissent, but unfortunately most of his papers have been lost. His descendants are still connected with the meeting-house of Great Salkeld.

Blennerhasset

The particulars of this congregation consist of two names in Evans' list. The first is James Mallison, who may easily have belonged to the Penruddock family of that name.⁴ We have no record of his Blennerhasset pastorate. In 1714 he ministered to a secession of 10 disciples at Ravenstonedale, and in 1717 removed to Howden, Yorks, where he was in 1722. The late Mr. Bryan Dale says he was there for nearly 30 years.

The other name is that of John Seyer (or Sayers), who was probably at Keswick before he went to Blennerhasset. Nothing further is known of him.

There is no date upon the old meeting-house. In appearance it is like several houses in the village that are dated 1760, so that originally it was probably a cottage. The modern history of this congregation is associated with Sir Wilfrid Lawson and his son, the late Sir Wilfrid.

An interesting fact in Blennerhasset Nonconformity is the ministry of Francis Rattray, a preacher from the Secession Church of Scotland, who was in 1789 called to Whitehaven. He remained there a year, itinerating as far as Kendal. Afterwards he was at Mixenden and Sheffield, and finally at Blennerhasset, where he left the Secession Church, and became a Baptist minister.

Cockermouth

Cockermouth was established through an outside influence, although Puritanism of a pronounced type is found in the adjacent parish of Bridekirk as early as 1616. The Rev. Thos. Larkham, M.A., who visited the county in 1651, was the means of founding the Cockermouth church, 11 years before his ejection from Tavistock, Devonshire.

The first minister was George Larkham, M.A., the son of Thomas, who was inducted into the parish of All Saints, Cockermouth. At that time the two counties had Puritan vicars. It was quite consistent, because there was no Act of Uniformity. That Act was, in a subsidiary sense, an attempt to unify the types of doctrine and the forms of service then existing throughout the parish churches. There was no episcopal ordination, nor was it desired; for Cromwell's commissioners had taken the place of the bishops in

⁴In 1872 Miles Mallison was married at Greystoke. This may easily have been the grandfather of the above minister. If so, this would connect him with a well known Nonconformist yeoman, John Noble of Penruddock.

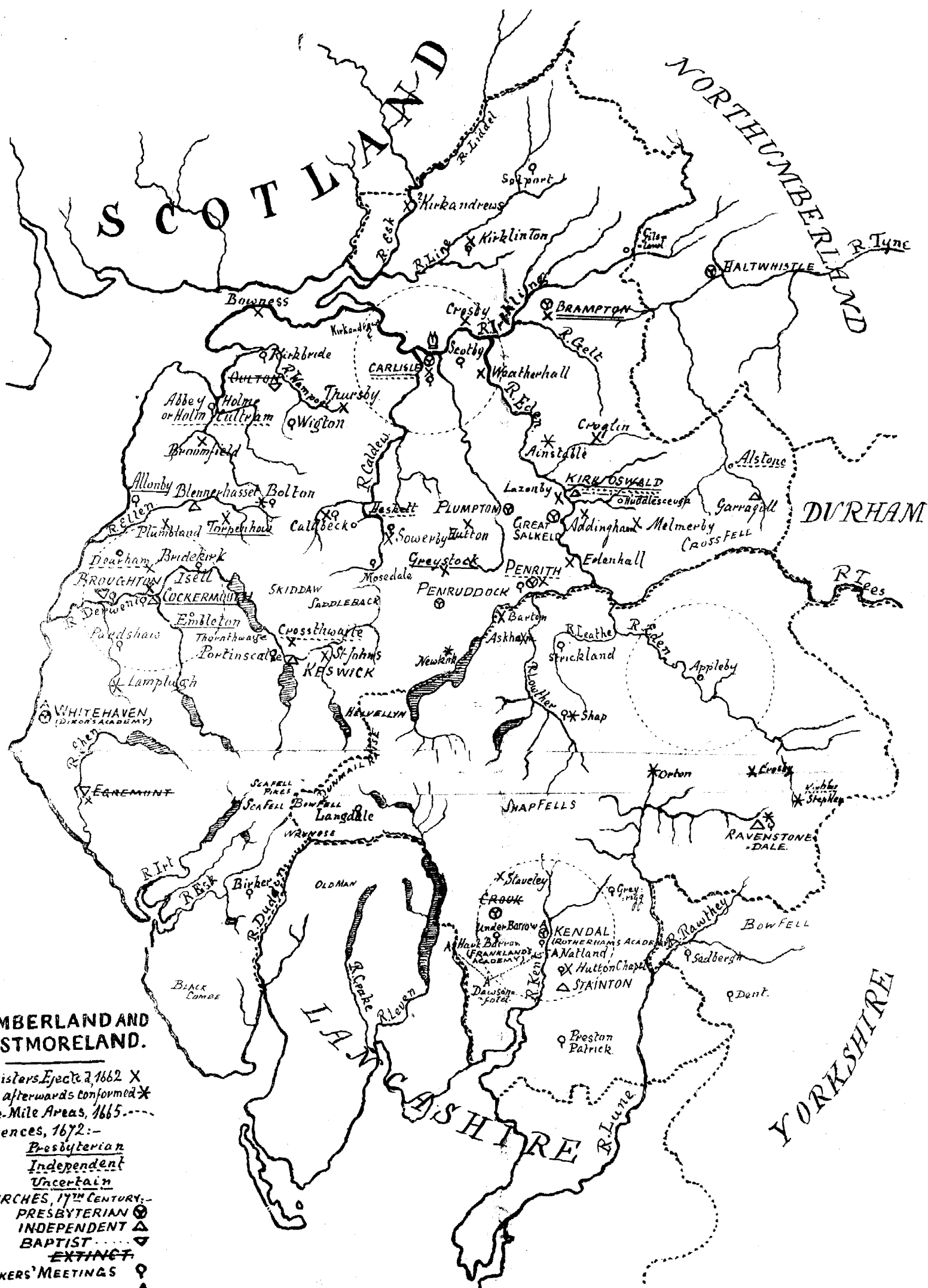
ecclesiastical matters. The questions of using the buildings that political fortune had put them in possession of, exercising the advantages of the parochial system, and, above all, of supplying the religious needs of the parish, were the practical aspects that absorbed the thought of the Puritan preachers. Accordingly when George Larkham was appointed by the commissioners to the living of All Saints, Cockermouth, he proceeded to form "a church" in the parish. He was ordained by the presbyters Thomas Larkham, M.A., Gawin Eaglesfield, M.A., and George Benson, M.A., on December 28th, 1651. From the year 1660 matters became acute in the State Church. In that year—to use Larkham's own words—"the afflictions of the churches began to tumble in upon them, heaps upon heaps." In 1659 the last church meeting was held at Bridekirk. In 1660 George Larkham ceased to preach at All Saints. On August 27th, the day after this cessation, the inhabitants of Cockermouth gave him a call in public to be their minister, *nem. con.* Sir George Fletcher disregarded this memorial, and Larkham was formally ejected. Three days afterwards he took leave of his people. In 1661 the church had several meetings in "parts and parcels," some meeting on one side of the river Derwent, others on the other side. For a portion of the year 1661 he had to cease his labours in public. Two months before the Act of Uniformity had come into operation the Cockermouth church had kept a day of prayer and conference on the subject of conformity. They decided that they "would not own the present generation of ministers," but those of the Puritan type "might be heard accidentally (occasionally) even though they did read Common Prayer. It was, however, considered an unlawful thing for the Church to read Common Prayer, for several reasons."

It was not until 1687 that a site was secured for a meeting-house: "after 26 years' compulsory exile, the Church met in a place prepared."

This is as far as we require to trace the Cockermouth history at present. In his volume on this church the Rev. W. Lewis has given full particulars. In the later stages of its congregational life it appears to have had the general experience of the Cumberland causes. One of its ministers was suspected of doctrinal declension, and one other minister, at least, was from the Church of Scotland.

Keswick

This cause evidently arose through the ministrations of James Cave (*vide Calamy*). He was ordained in the parish church of Crosthwaite in 1656, for general work, apparently. In 1657, the churches of Keswick and Cockermouth met at Thornthwaite, near Bassenthwaite Lake, and the two parsons preached; "the meeting was comfortable." Cave removed from the county after his



CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORELAND.

Ministers Ejected 1662 X
 Do. afterwards conformed *
 Five-Mile Areas, 1665.
 Licences, 1672:—
 Presbyterian
 Independent
 Uncertain
 CHURCHES, 17th CENTURY.—
 PRESBYTERIAN ⊙
 INDEPENDENT △
 BAPTIST ▽
 EXTINGUISHED
 QUAKERS' MEETINGS ♀
 ACADEMIES ▲

ejection, and ultimately was a minister in London, where he died in 1694.

There is a gap between 1662 and the first name on Evans' list, but probably there was a close connection between Keswick and the other churches. Notably Cockermouth and Kirkoswald.

From the traces we have of several ministers, we find that the pulpit supply was either from the native element, or from Scotland.

Kirkoswald

This church has had the normal history of the other congregations of Cumberland. It is difficult to distinguish between the work at Huddlesceugh, Parkhead and Kirkoswald, but they were all fed from the same source. So also, we surmise, were Great Salkeld and Plumpton, until about 1700. The two personal forces in the Eden valley, in the early nonconforming period, were George Nicholson, M.A., and Simon Atkinson. The former only entered the county a short time before the Bartholomew Act; but the latter appears to have been vicar of Lazonby, from which he was ejected. Both were evidently working in the district at the same time. Nicholson died in 1697, and Atkinson in 1694. Particulars of their service are given in Calamy. This is a church where the registers have been lost. They were begun by the Rev. Caleb Threlkeld, M.A., M.D., (1702-1713) in existence in 1824 (*Home Missionary Magazine*). From the fragments that remain we see that the cause was founded in 1658, with aid from Cockermouth, and that afterwards it follows the normal course of having for its ministry the native element, then the Scotch element, and at the beginning of the nineteenth century a pronounced Independent.

Ravenstonedale

Our remarks here differ in several particulars from the sketch of this church written recently by the late Mr. Bryan Dale and the Secretary of your Society. It is hardly necessary to cover that ground, except to remind you that the influence of "the good Lord Wharton" was potent in this district, and that even after the Restoration there was in the parish church a strong Low Church influence. In the incumbency of Anthony Proctor, M.A., (1673-1689) "the saints' bell" was rung after the Nicene creed, to call the Dissenters to sermon. Mr. Proctor had been a Nonconformist for ten years before he was selected by Lord Wharton, who chose him knowing he would be acceptable to the parishoners.

The doctrinal troubles of this congregation began early. In 1714 a secession took place, encouraged by Dr. Dixon of Whitehaven (a

* The saints' bell was probably the old sanctus bell, but was distinct from the sanctuary bell, which was a little distance from the church.

native of Ravenstonedale). We think that were it as Messrs. Dale and Crippen suggest, a question of Arianism, it would be a remarkably early date; but the probability is that it was the question of Arminianism *versus* Calvinism. The sermon of Joseph Dodson of Penruddock, in 1719, entitled "Moderation and Charity," shews that many minds were becoming centred on this great doctrinal problem. Dr. Dixon administered the sacrament to the seceders, who were the first to secede on any question in the two counties. The minister was James Mallinson⁶ of Blennerhasset. He was possibly one of Dr. Dixon's students. He remained at Ravenstonedale until 1717, and then went to Howden, Yorks.

Before the secession took place the minister was James Magee, who was ordained there in 1714, and remained with the original congregation until about 1732.

The particulars in the sketch by Messrs. Dale and Crippen concerning James Ritchie, M.A., M.D., the next minister, are somewhat deficient. Another account of him appears in the article on Great Salkeld meeting-house, published this year in the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society's *Transactions*. Ritchie appears to have been able, and somewhat advanced, but there is no proof that he ever became an Arian. The elaborate inscription to his memory at Mixenden weakens the statement that the congregation there "dwindled under his ministry."

It is impossible to examine in detail this congregation's history, but our theory is that Mallison was the progressive man; and if he came from Penruddock, Dodson's Arminian views would have their effect upon Mallison. Upon his departure about 1717 the seceders (numbering only ten at the beginning), returned to the old congregation, which resumed its Presbyterian and orthodox character.

Magee's successor appears to have been Samuel Lowthian, a native of Penruddock, a child of good lineage and great hopes. After a seven years' ministry at Ravenstonedale he removed to Penrith, and from thence to Richard Gilpin's old church at Newcastle, where, we fear, he was caught in the rationalism, if not in the heterodoxy, of the times.

The next minister was (according to Dale and Crippen) John Blackburn. We have gone carefully over the sketch, (which is admittedly uncertain here), and think that the particulars given refer to two men of the same name. In fact we cannot find any reason for concluding that Blackburn was ever at Ravenstonedale. An examination of the names of those attending the Provincial at this time makes us hazard the suggestion that a Mr. Saunders was at Ravenstonedale, from about 1753 to 1756.

The next name introduced is that of a Richard Simpson. This is placed here because it is on record that he had a charge in

⁶ There are two forms of the name, Mallison and Mallinson.

Westmorland. Mr. Nightingale suggests that it was Ravenstonedale, but we are inclined to think it was Stainton, where a Richd. Simpson was minister, 1749 (?) - 1763, at the same time acting as Dr. Rotheram's assistant.

At this period there are several ministers from the Church of Scotland, and one from the newly founded academy at Heckmondwike. In the above mentioned sketch the congregation's life at this stage is inadequately represented. About 1780 Ravenstonedale, like the other congregations in Cumberland, was *in extremis*, and it was not until 1790, upon the settlement of John Hill, from Mile End academy, that the cause began to revive. Mr. Hill carried on a good work until his death in 1809.

The next minister, James Muscatt from Hackney, took a bold step. He accepted the call on condition that the church "should be reorganised and put more strictly on the Congregational plan." The sketch says that it had been accounted Independent 80 years before (there is only the reference in Evans' list to justify this, and even that might be explained), "but," continues the sketch, "there had been several Presbyterians, and apparently the minister, elders and trustees had managed things without much reference to the church members." This, we venture to submit, was not irregular procedure, since the constitution, character, and endowments of the congregation were Presbyterian. As to the legality of Mr. Muscatt's action, we must leave that question to the judicial mind.

There were several youths from this meeting-house who afterwards became Nonconformist ministers :

(1) The Rev. Thos. Dixon, M.D., Whitehaven, who kept an academy from which a number of students were sent out to supply pulpits.

(2) The Rev. Ralph Milner. His people were well-to-do statesmen in the dale. He was a student of Dr. Dixon's. His first charge was Wantage, Berks., in 1726. By his "procurement" the gallery of the meeting-house was built at Ravenstonedale, in 1731. His other charge was Yarmouth (Old Meeting) where he ministered, 1731-1761. In the closing period of that ministry he had as assistant John Whiteside, a native of Lancaster, and previously minister of Great Salkeld.

(3) The Rev. James Alderson. He was a native of Westmorland, and as the name is found in Ravenstonedale the strong probability is that he belonged to this meeting-house. His first charge was Great Salkeld, from which place he removed to Lowestoft, where he died in 1761. His son Robert was minister of the Presbyterian church at Norwich, but conformed and became recorder of Norwich. It is from this family that the well known judge Baron Alderson was descended, who was the father of the late Marchioness of Salisbury.

Stainton

The beginning of the cause at Stainton is obscure, but probably the influence of Gabriel Camelford, the ejected vicar of Staveley, was felt in this neighbourhood. The meeting-house was built in 1697, and in the churchyard there is the gravestone of Roger Dickinson (1676-1762). This may have been the son, or grandson, of Roger Dickinson the elder, of Beetham parish church, in the classis for the barony of Kendal.

The list of ministers is imperfect. The first one is John Atkinson, 1722. There were several persons of that name, and according to Mr. Nightingale one appears to have been at Crook, while the other was at Stainton. Although the thread is complex at present we are inclined to identify the John Atkinson, who wrote the reply to Joseph Dodson of Penruddock, and who undoubtedly was at Stainton, as the John Atkinson who appears in 1696 as schoolmaster of Motherly, Penruddock. After this there are several names, including John Kirkpatrick, (Kilpatrick) and the well known James Scott, afterwards of Heckmondwike, both of whom were from Scotland. In 1772 James Somerville from Scotland was settled there; but the cause was so poor that he was not able to receive ordination until he was called to Ravenstonedale in 1775. He was afterwards at Branton, Northumberland, where his ministry as an evangelical one was very successful. Somerville was the last minister at Stainton, and when the Rev. George Burder, of Lancaster, visited the place in 1779, he found the cause almost deserted. At the present time weeknight services are held in the old meeting-house, conducted by the members of the Lowther Street Independent church at Kendal.

Turning now to the group of congregations in connection with the Presbyterian Church of England we draw attention to :

Brampton

The particulars of this congregation are fully given in the article in the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society's *Transactions*, vol. iii, n.s., and in the *Monthly Messenger* of the Presbyterian Church.⁷ The registers are complete from 1712. There is still in existence in this congregation a large board displaying the royal coat of arms, which was put up by the authority of the Privy Council at the close of the seventeenth century. This public declaration of the congregation's loyalty to the crown was demanded only from the perverse congregations, and in itself tells the story of this Border cause. There are only two or three of these boards throughout the kingdom.

⁷ Both of these accounts are written by Mr. Henry Penfold, an office-bearer of the Brampton congregation.

The course of the congregation's history need not detain us. It originated through the ejection of Nathanael Burnand, M.A., vicar of Brampton. The ministry has been supplied mainly from the Church of Scotland, although in the eighteenth century the provincial meeting of Cumberland and Westmorland performed the ordinations. Upon the removal of the ministers to parish livings in Scotland their ordination was acknowledged by the Church of Scotland.

Carlisle

The history of Nonconformity in Carlisle is obscure in its beginnings. There was no ejected minister from any of the parish churches. The bishop at the Restoration was Richard Sterne, but the see had been previously offered to Richard Gilpin, the ejected vicar of Greystoke, who declined it. His relative Bernard Gilpin had been unable to accept the same honour in Queen Elizabeth's reign. Gilpin purchased Scaleby Castle, near Carlisle, and it is probable that among the Nonconformists who gathered in the large kitchen of that Border fortalice, the Puritans of Carlisle were to be found. In this cathedral city the Five Mile Act would be rigidly enforced. The first minister of Carlisle is Thomas Dickinson, who was there in 1712. Then follows, as far as we can trace, the usual development with the unique climax, for Cumberland, of a Unitarian congregation. In 1778 a Secession cause was formed, and after various fluctuations Presbyterianism of a Scotch type was planted, and continues to thrive. Little of the old English Presbyterianism remains.

Haltwhistle

This cause probably originated through the influences of Gilpin of Scaleby Castle and Burnand of Brampton (brothers-in-law).

In Dr. Evans' time (1717-1729) it was at Wardrew (near Gilsland), for the water-drinking time, and the services were carried on by twelve ministers jointly. The first trust deed of Haltwhistle is dated 1744. The ministry has been mainly Scotch. The cause has always been Presbyterian, and there is nothing abnormal in its history.

Kendal

Kendal is the home of many schisms. The particulars are well known, as there have been several chroniclers. A book will be published this year by Mr. Francis Nicholson, entitled *Kendal Unitarian Chapel*. It will deal with the early records, which are in no sense Unitarian, but contain much valuable material for

studying the early history of Kendal Nonconformity. The name of Richard Frankland is inseparably associated with Kendal, for in addition to his pastoral charge he started an academy at Natland, which from 1674-1684 was most serviceable to northern Dissent.

Two other important names are those of the Rev. Caleb Rotheram, D.D., and the Rev. Caleb Rotheram, junr., whose united ministry lasted 76 years. A few years after the settlement of Caleb Rotheram, junr., (1763) a petition was sent to the Associate Presbytery of Edinburgh for supply of sermon. This was granted, and the Rev. James McQuhae was ordained in 1764. McQuhae took part in an independent ordination, and brought himself under the discipline of the Secession Church in Scotland. Mr. Nightingale tells the story (p. 284 Westmorland vol.).

McQuhae refusing to submit became an Independent, and was minister of Tockholes, Lancs., in 1771; but a certain party detached themselves from the Presbyterian (Secession) congregation, and ultimately, in 1781, Lowther Street Independent chapel was built. In addition to these shades of Dissent in Kendal particulars are found of Unitarian Baptists (or Dippers), Inghamites, Sandemanians and Universalists.

During the long ministry of the Rotherams the original Presbyterian cause had been changing, and in the pastorate of the Rev. John Harrison (1796-1833) the congregation became decidedly Unitarian.

Penrith

The cause originated in the ejection of Roger Baldwin from St. Andrew's church. The Five Mile Act was evidently enforced, and this probably explains the strength of Nonconformity in the Eden valley. The congregation at Penrith has had an unbroken history from the Act of Toleration. The ministers have been mainly from the Church of Scotland, but Samuel Lowthian and Samuel Threlkeld were natives of the district. The history of the congregation is entirely English. In 1799, through the decay of Dissent, Penrith applied to the Secession Church of Scotland, and received a minister from that denomination. After becoming part of the United Presbyterian denomination it eventually, in 1876, returned to its original English Presbyterian connection. It is impossible to give further particulars here, but its traditions equal, if not exceed, those of Cockermouth.

Penruddock

The story of this cause has been told by the present writer in the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society's *Transactions*, vol. v. n.s. That sketch is inaccurate in several particulars, but the

outline is unalterable.⁸ We shall only add the following fresh information.

In the *Transactions* article a reference was made to the parish list of Penruddock. We have since been able to examine the documents, and have made a rich discovery. The papers themselves do not contain many direct allusions to the religious aspect of the struggle, but it is evident that it is a fight between Puritan and Roman Catholic on the one hand, and Puritan and Episcopalian on the other.

The first group of documents relate to a law case between the tenants and Andrew Huddleston, lord of the manor of Hutton John. Before the manor came into the possession of the Huddlestons it had been occupied by Thomas Hutton. In his time the tenants had kept the Borders for king and baron, and upon the lordship of the Huddlestons claimed special privileges in their tenements for this Border service. The fight began in 1628, and in the year 1635 the tenants sent a petition to Charles I., which was presented at Newmarket. In 1637 Baron Trevor decreed for the tenants; but for 70 years afterwards the struggle went on, until the House of Lords made the final award in favour of the tenants. The matters in dispute related to the amount of fines they should pay, and boon services they should render; but beneath these disputes there was the feudalism of the baron, who insisted that they were only tenants at the will of the lord, and the Puritan spirit, that, as free men in Christ, demanded freedom from intolerant and unfair claims.

The other case related to an excessive tithe the Puritan rectors had received, 16 gallons to the bushel measure. The Restoration rectors increased the tithe until it reached 22 gallons; but the tenants appealing, the case was tried in 1672 at Carlisle, Appleby and Lancaster, when it was settled in favour of the tenants.

In these two cases the Puritan attitude towards authority is seen. It was not antagonism to the lord of the manor, or to the parson of the parish, that prompted the people to appeal. They disliked the tyranny of the one, and the doctrine of the other; but they fought the lord and the parson on the injustice of their charges. In this respect the Puritans differed from the Quakers, who refused both to acknowledge authority and to pay the tithe. It is perhaps worth remembering, in these days when authority is distasteful to the Nonconformist conscience, that the Puritan revolution was never anarchical.

The men who carried on these two battles were members of the

⁸The name of Richard Gilpin, that great Puritan, will always be associated with Penruddock. He was the rector of the parish of Greystoke, and it was his congregation there that afterwards formed the Penruddock meeting-house. His predecessor was Mr. West (or Weston) whose doctrine was "effectual upon many." He was buried there September 15th, 1664 (Greystoke Register and John Noble's Funeral Sermon, 1708).

Penruddock meeting-house, and in 1685 were excommunicated by the rector of Greystoke.

Penruddock is without a line of official history; yet the cause there is one of the rarest pearls in the coronet of churches in Cumberland.

Great Salkeld and Plumpton

These congregations have been worked under one minister from an early date, probably before 1737. The full story of these causes appears in an article in the *Antiquarian Transactions* this year. Its ministry is almost identical with that of Penrith. Several important families were connected with this congregation, among others being the Rev. George Benson, D.D., the two Caleb Rotherams, the three Threlkelds (the Revs. Caleb, M.A., M.D., Samuel, and Thomas), the Lowthian family (the Rev. Thomas Lowthian, born at Great Salkeld; the Rev. Samuel Lowthian, born at Penruddock), and the Nelson family (the Rev. Timothy Nelson; M.A.).

Whitehaven

Although Whitehaven is some miles from Cockermouth, yet the early Nonconformists of Whitehaven were dependent upon the ministry and ordinances of the latter place. The first reference in the Cockermouth registers to Whitehaven is in 1660. Between that date and the Indulgence a common friendship existed, while occasionally meetings of the Cockermouth church were held at Whitehaven. In 1675 the Whitehaven church appears, from a reference in the Cockermouth registers, to have become a separate church; but its connection with Cockermouth is found as late as 1692, when George Larkham baptised several children of the Whitehaven church. In 1695 a deed was drawn up for Protestant Dissenters "whether Presbyterian or Congregational according to their way or persuasion," but no mention is made of a minister until the name of Thomas Dixon, M.D., occurs in the 1711 deed as minister of Market Place. During his pastorate the cause was influential, and Evans' list states that five of the members were merchants having a joint fortune of £36,000. The same authority also mentions that the Dissenters of Whitehaven had such influence in the elections at Cockermouth, that these two congregations were able to return whom they pleased. The names of several English ministers follow that of Dixon, and in 1773 a Church of Scotland minister appears. This denomination supplied the ministry until the disruption of 1843, and at that period the congregation allied itself with the Free Church of Scotland. In 1876 the Whitehaven congregation became part of the Presbyterian Church of England. In the eighteenth century a second cause had been

formed. In 1775 twenty-seven Scotch residents applied to the Secession Church (Presbytery of Sauquhar) for "sealing ordinances." This was the formation of High Street congregation, which continued until 1895 when it united with Market Place.

Crook

This congregation is now extinct. The ministry of Gabriel Camelford, the ejected vicar of Staveley, was probably exercised in this neighbourhood. The names of several ministers who were at Crook are known, one being Samuel Bourn (1711-1720) whose son became prominent in the Arian movement. The last name we can trace is that of Abraham Ainsworth, who was there in 1729.

II

THE IMPORTANT QUESTION OF POLITY can only be briefly considered. Perhaps it will suffice for the present if we state the positive side of the case.

The prime document is the Agreement of the Associated Ministers of Cumberland and Westmorland in 1656. Their churches are the parishes on the Congregational model or are "churches" within the parishes. The Articles of Agreement were drawn up by Richard Gilpin, who followed the lines of Richard Baxter in the Worcestershire Agreement.⁹ The document is a perfect example of Christian charity towards each other, in men who differed in "the power of the keys" and polity, both of which were inflammatory subjects in those days.

Dr. Drysdale in his valuable work on English Presbyterianism says that the Articles reflect the genius and spirit of Presbyterianism. This is especially true from the view of modern Presbyterianism, but the document was clearly a compromise and a constitutional basis for two types of polity.

The incontrovertible fact, as "the explication" shews, is that while it was not Presbyterian it was not Independent. Discipline was exercised by the Association, not only in the cases of ministers but in grave cases in the congregations. On the subject of "sins of ancient date" the advice of the Association had to be asked. At ordination of ministers the Association appointed trials, and if satisfied they set the candidates apart. Similar instances of over-

⁹The Agreement of the Associated Ministers of Essex in 1658 acknowledges its obligation to other agreements, and in many passages resembles the Cumberland agreement.

sight could be quoted from this document, but these will suffice to prove that the Association was more than a federation and that it had internal executive power.

The Association agreed to meet once a month at Carlisle, Penrith and Cocker mouth; occasionally they met together, and this is evidently what is meant by a general meeting.

At a general meeting at Keswick in 1685 Richard Gilpin preached his sermon on "The Temple Rebuilt." It deals with the differences, entirely ecclesiastical, of these Puritan vicars who were still in their livings.¹⁰

After the Act of Uniformity we hear nothing of the Association for a long time. This is not surprising considering the state of things between 1672-1689. When the meeting-houses began to spring up in the two counties the Association was revived, probably on the London model of 1691, under the name of the Provincial meeting. The first trace of it is in 1709, when they ordained James Campbell, a Scotch Presbyterian, to the English congregation of Brampton, Cumberland. The latest trace of it is in 1783 when they ordained Richard Paxton to Penrith. That meeting is called "the Provincial of Cumberland." There were only two surviving causes in Westmorland at this period, those of Kendal and Ravenstonedale. The defection of the former had taken place and the latter may have attached itself to Yorkshire, or, which is more probable, may have become isolated. A Mr. Smith was there 1784-90, but nothing is known of him.

The existence of the minutes of the Provincial has been a matter for conjecture. Our theory is that there were no separate records, and that the minutes of their meetings were inserted in the registers of the congregations at the places where they met.

With regard to the individual congregations we find that no restriction whatever was placed upon their freedom. They were allowed to develop as they chose. In the first half of the eighteenth century the tendency of the Provincial was to become less presbyterial in its procedure, and that of the congregations to become more independent in action; but the Provincial maintained its authority on the subjects of ordination and admission into the ministry, as is seen in the case of Caleb Rotheram, junr. It was only when the congregations became so weak as to be unable to support ministers (1780-1800) that the Provincial ceased to exist; and it was the dissolution of that Association that threw the congregations into isolation and sheer Independency.

The question of the polity of each congregation is a complicated

¹⁰ A passage on p. 30 upon government and ordinances clearly shews that Gilpin believed in "confederacy or combination." Whether it is more than Association "confederacy" is not stated, but he is not in favour of action by congregations separately. The sermon met with the fullest approval of the Association, who ordered it to be printed. A few weeks afterwards, however, George Larkham left Cocker mouth to attend the Independent Conference at the Savoy.

one, and would require to be dealt with at great length. Dr. Dale in his posthumous work, recently published, says that the characteristic of the Presbyterian congregations was that of trustees and office bearers, in distinction to that of Independent congregations which was that of the church meeting.

By this test a good claim could be made to-day by the English Presbyterians for several buildings that are not in their possession ; but we are not disposed to press this rigid test as far as Cumberland and Westmorland are concerned.¹¹ There is little doubt that while the strong tendency was Presbyterian¹² that element became weaker as each period passed, and was almost obliterated at the close of the eighteenth century ; but that fact does not alter the early and marked characteristics of the congregations, nor does it conceal the truth that among several congregations Independency appears in the decadent stage of the congregational life.

III

THE QUESTION OF DOCTRINE though important need not detain us long. From the fact that no Warrington students are to be found in the pulpits, the only two congregations that became Unitarian are Carlisle and Kendal. The latter was through the influence of the Rotherams, particularly the son. A landmark in the history of the Provincial is the ordination of Caleb Rotheram, junr., in 1756, when grave doubts seem to have arisen from this step.

The academy men who filled the pulpits of the counties were natives, and though several of them appear to have moved from the old position their heterodoxy is at a late stage in their ministry and after they had left the counties. The congregation, as a whole, retained the Westmorland Confession of Faith (modified), and the *Shorter Catechism*. The ministerial supply from Scotland in the eighteenth century brought a fresh vitality to these English documents, and there is strong evidence that the Calvinism of Scotland saved the meeting-houses of Cumberland and Westmorland from the fate of Lancashire in the second half of the eighteenth century.

The last thing that need be said to-day is that had it not been for James Scott, a man trained in a Presbyterian divinity hall, many meeting-houses in Lancashire and Yorkshire could never have striven against the Latitudinarianism of the time. He it was who

¹¹ The harmony between the denominations (if they may be described as such at this early stage) is heard in the remarkable clause of the Whitehaven trust deed.

¹² With the exception of Cockermouth which, beginning in a pronounced Presbyterian atmosphere, sent its ministers to the conference of Independents at the Savoy Palace in 1686.

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started the reaction and founded the Heckmondwike academy, which, in spite of "the Rational Nonconformist" and Warrington academy, was successful in saving the meeting-houses by turning them into independent congregations and making them citadels of the evangelical faith. It will perhaps be put down to the credit of Scotchmen, who are often charged with mercenary motives for invading England, that your own denomination had a great deliverance through the Berwickshire man who preferred the Calvinism of the seventeenth century to the Rationalism of the eighteenth, yet who saw below creeds and beyond politics into the evangelical verities of the Christian faith.

J. HAY COLLIGAN.

Note upon the Map for "Cumberland and Westmorland" Article

IN constructing a map to accompany Mr. Colligan's instructive paper it seems desirable to make it so far comprehensive as to illustrate the whole history of seventeenth century Nonconformity in the two counties. The map therefore locates the "Bartholomew" ejections of 1662, the licences under the Indulgence of 1672, the few Baptist churches that were founded within the century, and the Friends' meetings that were constituted before the Revolution. The authorities are Palmer's *Nonconformist's Memorial*, the Calendar of State Papers, Dom. Ser., 1672-73, Evans's List in Williams's Library, and Mr. Norman Penney's valuable work *The First Publishers of Truth*.

1.—Ejected Ministers, 1662: Cumberland.

- ADDINGHAM.—Daniel Broadley.
ANISTABLE.—George Yates (afterwards conformed).
BOLTON.—John Forward (afterwards conformed).
BOWNESS.—John Saxton.
BRAMPTON.—Henry (?) Burnand, afterwards minister at Harwich.
BRIDEKIRK.—George Benson, afterwards of Kellet, Lancashire.
BROOMFIELD.—A minister whose name is not recorded.
CALDBECK.—Richard Hutton.
CARLISLE.—Comfort Star, M.A., afterwards pastor at Lewes, Sussex.
COCKERMOUTH.—George Larkham, M.A.
CROGLIN.—John Rogers, M.A., afterwards ministered in Teesdale and Weardale.
CROSBY.—John Collyer.
CROSTHWAITE.—James Cave, afterwards pastor at Daventry.
EDENHALL.—Thomas Tailor, afterwards preacher at Alston Moor, etc.
EGREMONT.—Mr. Halsell.
GREYSTOCK.—Richard Gilpin, M.D., afterwards of Newcastle.
HUTTON.—John Jackson.
ST. JOHN'S CHAPEL.—James Carr.
KIRKANDREWS.—Thomas Courtney.
KIRKLINTON OR KIRK-LEAVINGTON.—Mr. Hooper.

LAMPLUGH.—John Michael or Myriel (afterwards conformed).
 LAZONBY.—Simon Atkinson.
 MELMERBY.—William Hopkins.
 NEWKIRK.—Mr. Cragg (afterwards conformed).
 PENRITH.—Roger Baldwin, afterwards of Eccles.
 PLUMLAND.—Gawen Eggesfield.
 SOWERBY.—Peter Jackson.
 THURSBY.—John Carmichael, afterwards in Scotland.
 TORPENHOW.—Thomas Turner.
 WETHERHALL.—Mr. Wilcox.

Westmorland.

ASKHAM.—Christopher Langborne.
 BARTON.—Timothy Roberts.
 CROSBY-ON-THE-HILL.—Christopher Jackson, afterwards at Ravenstonedale.
 HUTTON CHAPEL, KENDAL.—Mr. Greenwood.
 KENDAL.—John Wallis.
 KIRKBY STEPHEN.—Francis Higginson (afterwards conformed).
 ORTON.—George Fothergill (afterwards conformed).
 RAVENSTONEDALE.—James Dodson (afterwards conformed).
 SHAP.—John Dalton (afterwards conformed).
 STAVELEY CHAPEL.—Gabriel Camelford, afterwards pastor in Furness.

2.—Licences granted under the Indulgence, 1672: Cumberland.

ALLONBY.—House of Richard Egleshold, Presb. 16th July.
 ALSTON MOOR.—John Davy, Congl., at house of Reginald Walton.
 29th June.
 BRAMPTON.—(Misspelled Branton and Brantam) Nathaniel
 Burman, Presb., General. 5th Sept.
 House of William Atkinson, Presb. 5th Sept.
 BRIDEKIRK.—George Larkham, Presb., at his own house at Hames
 Hill, 2nd May; the house licensed 26th July.
 House of Edward James, Presb. 30th Sept.
 CARLISLE.—House of Barbary Studholm, Ind. 3rd Feby., 1673.
 COCKERMOUTH.—House of Richard Lowry, Presb. 16th July.
 CROSFIELD.*—House of Wilson (no initial or description).
 30th Sept.
 CROSTHWAITE.—House of Gawen Wrenn, Presb. 16th July:
 corrected as Gawden Wreen, Cong. 5th Sept.:
 and again corrected as Gawen Wrenn, Cong.
 18th Nov.

* Crosfield—not located—was probably about 5 miles E.S.E. of Whitehaven.

- DEARHAM.—Gavin Eaglesfield, Indpt., at his own house.
9th Decr.
- EMBLETON.—House of John Casse, Presb. 16th July.
- GREYSTOCK.—Anthony Sleigh, Presb., at house of John Noble.
15th June. (?)
- HESKETT.—Simon Atkinson, Congl., house of W. Sanderson.
29th May.
- HOLME CUTTRAM.—House of Thos. Barnes, Indept. 9th Decr.
- KIRKOSWALD.—Giles Nicholson, Congl., general. 22nd July.
House of William Jameson, Presb. 5th Sept.
House of Thomas Therkeld (no description).
28th Oct.
- PENRITH.—(Misspelled Penrick) : house of Thomas Langhorne,
Cong. 19th Nov.
- TORPENHOW. — House of Thomas Youngusband, Presb.
16th July.

Westmorland.

- HEVERSHAM.—House of Edward Bridges, Presb. 28th Oct.
House of John Hinde, Presb. 28th Oct.
- KENDAL.—Thomas Whitehead, Presb., house of John Garrett.
13th May.
George Benson, Presb., at his own house. 16th July.
House of William Syll, Presb. 22nd July.
House of John Gernet, Presb. 5th Sept. (misspelled
Rendal).
House of James Atkinson, } (misspelled Kendle ; } no
House of James Cook, } description) 9th Dec.
- WHINFIELD.—House of William Warriner, Presb. 22nd July.

3.—Baptist Churches in Cumberland.

- BROUGHTON. EGREMONT. OULTON.
(None in Westmorland).

4.—Friends' Meeting-houses : Cumberland.

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| ABBAY HOLME, soon after 1653. | PORTINSCALE, 1653. |
| ALLONBY, 1656. | CROSFIELD, 1677* |
| BIRKER. | ISELL, 1653. |
| BOLTON, 1653. | KIRKBRIDE, 1653. |
| BROUGHTON, 1653. | KIRKLINTON, 1672. |
| CALDBECK, 1653. | MOSEDALE (Grisdale How), 1653. |
| CARLISLE, 1653. | PARDSHAW CRAGG, 1653. |
| COCKERMOUTH, 1688. | PENRITH. |
| | SCOTBY, before 1661. |
| | SOLPORT, 1673. |
| | SOWERBY, 1653. |
| | WIGTON, 1653. |

* See previous footnote.

Note upon the Map

Westmorland.

GRAYRIGG.	PRESTON PATRICK.	UNDER BARROW.
HUTTON.	RAVENSTONEDALE.	DENT (Yorksh.), 1680.
KENDALL.	SHAP.	SEDBURGH (Yorksh.) 1652.
	STRICKLAND HEAD.	

5.—Academies.

FRANKLAND's temporarily at Natland, Dawsonfold, & Hart Barrow.
 DIXON's at Whitehaven.
 ROTHERHAM's at Kendal.

The Jessey Church, 1653-1678

THE church founded in 1616 by Henry Jacob, and ministered to afterwards by Lathrop and Jessey, has attracted attention in recent years owing to the discovery of some of its early documents. The papers known in Baptist circles as the Jessey Records and the Kiffin MS. were copied in 1711 by Benjamin Stinton. His *Repository*, misused by Neal and condensed by Crosby, came into the hands of George Gould of Norwich, whose transcript was recently published in the *Transactions* of the Congregational Historical Society. The authenticity of these papers had been challenged in America, where it had been defended by Geo. A. Lofton, by Champlin Burrage, and by the present writer, who then proceeded to write the story from 1616 till 1645 from these contemporary papers, tracing nine of the churches into which the original foundation separated. This was published in the *Baptist Review and Expositor* for January, 1906.

Some letters from the Jessey church in 1653 and 1654 to the Baptist church at Hexham, now at Rowley and Blackhill or Hamsterley, were printed in 1854 by the Hansard Knollys Society. Seven years earlier the same society had printed more correspondence of this church with the Baptist church at Broadmead, Bristol, from 1669 till 1678. The information in these two sets of letters has been overlooked of late, and deserves to be analyzed, in order that the history from original sources may be continued for another generation.

First, as to the place where the church habitually met. The letters to Hexham are subscribed from "the church meeting at Swan Alley in Coleman Street." This agrees with the colophon to Jessey's *Storehouse of Provision* published in 1650, and dated from the same place.¹ We must distinguish this from the Particular Baptist church of Hanserd Knowles in Coleman Street itself, and from the great general Baptist church of Thomas Lamb in Bell Alley, parallel with Swan Alley. Not one of the three was reported in the bishop's enquiry of 1669; in 1672 only Lamb's people applied for a licence, this time in White's Alley, and met with a refusal for reasons obvious to those who know their militant disposition. At this time Vavasour Powell calls our church small,² so that it might easily escape notice, and in fact, while it was certainly existing in 1669, it is not reported from any quarter. The place in 1672 is uncertain, but there is nothing to suggest a change. An idea has grown up that the church met in Southwark; this seems due to Neal's confusion with the ancient church of 1592 and also with the 1621 church of Hubbard Canne More and How. It is true that Jessey on Sunday morning preached at St. George's in Southwark, but he also lectured at All Hallows, and preached at Anchor Lane, besides ministering to his own church in the afternoon. The documents of the church give no hint of any removal, or of any meeting being held south of the Thames: in 1663 Jessey's funeral started from Woodmongers' Hall,³ just off Coleman Street; in 1669-1678 the Bristol correspondence never mentions Southwark, but styles this a church in London.⁴

Next, as to the continuity of the church.

¹ *Fenstanton Records*, pages 345, 347, 348, 349.

² *Broadmead Records*, page 108.

³ Crosby, vol. I, page 330.

⁴ *Broadmead Records*, pages 104, 115, 155, 157, 158, 203, 383, 384.

Vavasour Powell vouched for this in 1669, calling it "the church brother Jessey belonged to."² And a letter of October, 1670, is endorsed by Mr. Terrill of Bristol, the recipient, "Letter from the church of Jesus Christ in London, that formerly walked with our beloved brother Henry Jessey, now deceased."⁵ On this point there can be no doubt, and it is instructive to note how completely the membership could change in a few years. Stinton has preserved the names of several members between 1633 and 1640, but in 1653 the Hexham letters mention none of these, while George Baggott, Thomas Shefold, Matthew Strange, George Waddle, George Ware, are now prominent, with George Barret as teacher alongside Jessey.⁶ In 1669 every one of these has disappeared, and we find in the next two years John Abbot, John Buckmaster, Samuel Buttall, Thomas Chappell, Nathanael Crabb, Thomas Dawson, Michael Dunwell, Nathanael Hall, Thomas Hardcastle, John James, William Nuttall, John Smith and Richard Woollaston.⁷ As Powell calls the church "but small," there were perhaps few other men.

As to the integrity of the church, there is no sign in these letters that any further division had taken place. Powell and the church itself regard this group not as part of Jessey's church but as Jessey's church complete. Some of the 1640 members may be traceable elsewhere, but that could be due to their transfer separately; some of the 1653 members may be traced to another community, but there is no hint here that any had seceded or had been dismissed to form another church, as had happened down to 1643. The 1669 people are regarded and regard themselves as the

² *Broadmead Records*, page 117.

⁵ *Fenstanton Records*, pages 345, 348.

⁷ *Broadmead Records*, pages 102, 104, 120, 125, 140, 155.

same church which in 1637 called Henry Jessey, and these letters carry on their story as an undivided whole until 1678.

We can note the succession of pastors. From now 1616 till 1622 Henry Jacob was chief, 1624 till 1634 John Lathrop, 1637 till 1663 Henry Jessey; all three ex-clergymen. In 1670 John Abbot, ejected from Fishborne in Sussex, was a prominent member, but not the elder; Thomas Hardcastle, late vicar of Bramham in Yorkshire, was on trial for that post.⁸ Before the church decided, the Broadmead church at Bristol invited him, and he went, to the unappeasable indignation of the London church. Seeing that he was beyond reach, they called James Fitten, an old friend and fellow-sufferer of his, who is found in office by 1674.⁹ He was helped for a short time by Henry Forty, who in 1675 went to Abingdon.¹⁰ Fitten lived till 1676 at least, when he visited Trowbridge, and was asked to ordain Hardcastle, a request he evaded.¹¹ He soon died, and the church called a fifth pastor, whose name is unfortunately not given. He also died soon, and the church then made another vain attempt to get Hardcastle back.¹² At this point information fails.

The evolution of the church is carried a step further than was generally known. In 1616 it was indeed a separate church, but on very good terms with some Puritan clergy, and in 1630 it still accepted members from the Establishment, only stipulating for a verbal covenant. But questions were rife whether baptism by the State clergy could be recognized, and though these were hushed by the secession of many doubters, Jessey in 1642 followed the example set by some of these, so far as to return to the legal method of baptism :

⁸ *Broadmead Records*, pages 108, 111, 140, 155.

⁹ *Broadmead Records*, pages 111, 383, 198, 203.

¹⁰ *Broadmead Records*, pages 198, 203.

¹¹ *Broadmead Records*, page 359.

¹² *Broadmead Records*, pages 383, 384.

immersion. It would appear that he still administered this to infants, but in 1645 he abandoned this practice. And then he conceded that baptism in the State Church was null and void, and was himself immersed. This however, was the limit of his progress: a Baptist confession had been framed in 164 $\frac{1}{4}$, it was revised in 1646 and published in 1651; Jessey never signed it, though Henry Forty did. In 1653 the Hexham correspondence shews that Jessey strongly advocated mixed communion,¹³ and in 1670 and 1671 the church corresponded with Broadmead, also of this type,¹⁴ without any hint that a change had occurred. But the installing of Fitten seems to have made a difference, and the Bunyan meeting at Bedford, another church of the same liberal type, refused to transfer a member hither on this express ground. Henceforth Fitten is found co-operating with Strict Baptists, such as Thomas Collier of Wilts, Nehemiah Cox of Petty France, Captain Richard Deane, Henry Forty, Major and Alderman William Kiffin.¹⁵ Presumably then, the church had at last evolved into a regular Baptist church. There is no sign in the letters of any secession or division, but on the contrary of new members being added.¹⁶

Various traditional stories about this church seem to be negatived by these letters which have been so long disregarded. Thus the position of Forty has been misunderstood, while his senior James Fitten has been quite forgotten, as also an ephemeral successor. Then it has been held that the Paedobaptist members in the church at 1663 carried on the corporate life into the fellowship disclosed in 1669 under Wadsworth and Parsons in Globe Alley, Maid Lane, Southwark: these

¹³ *Fenstanton Records*, pages 348, 349.

¹⁴ *Broadmead Records*, page 360.

¹⁵ *Broadmead Records*, page 359.

¹⁶ *Broadmead Records*, pages 203, 363.

letters give us no reason to connect the church at any time with Southwark, but fix it in Swan Alley, close to London Wall and Moorgate Street; they give no sign of any disruption after 1663, and shew that the whole church was associating with Strict Baptists in 1678. However many ancient churches unite their threads in the present Pilgrim church on the New Kent Road, no strand has yet been discovered passing from the Jessey church. And on the other hand, whereas it was also supposed that on Forty leaving for Abingdon in 1675 the Baptist members joined their cousins under Kiffin, this also proves a double misconception: the church held together at least three years longer, and had two more pastors. Moreover, the ancient books of Kiffin's church have no record of any fusion with Jessey's church, nor do they contain the name of a single one of the members of this church, even as joining individually.

Four members of the church are recognized in four different Baptist churches as representatives at the assembly of 1689: Barret at Mile End Green, Buttall at Plymouth, Crabb at Shad Thames, Dawson at Horsleydown. As the church is not to be identified with any of the London churches, every one of which is known, the probability is that the little band had either merged into some other, or had given up its corporate existence. If a guess may be hazarded, the false tradition that the church joined Kiffin suggests the enquiry whether it really did join William Collins and Nehemiah Cox at Petty France, for this church did presently move to Devonshire Square and absorb the members of Kiffin's disbanded church* ;

[*This statement, though verbally correct, is liable to misapprehension. The Petty France church, the smaller of the two, had a substantial endowment. When it removed to Devonshire Square, the older church, though numerically larger, was formally disbanded, and its members at once enrolled in the immigrant brotherhood that the endowment might be preserved. The whole business was merely prudential, and did not really affect the historic continuity of the Spilsbury-Kiffin church, which has survived from 1633 to this day. ERROR.]

unhappily the records of this famous body, known to Ivimey in 1812, are at present mislaid.

The name of Nathanael Crabb affords material for another conjecture. Stinton notes at the head of documents 1, 2, 4 in his repository that they were from papers given him by Richard Adams. Now Adams and Crabb were members of the same church in 1689, Crabb was a member of the Jessey church from 1670 till 1674 at least. It is therefore conceivable that he was the person who handed over to Adams the early documents, including "several sheets containing ye names of ye members of ye said congregation and ye time of their admission," which unfortunately Stinton did not think worth copying.

These two suggestions may perhaps be disproved ; but the facts here summarised, and available in print for more than fifty years, make it plain that there is more need for co-ordination of studies, and for scholars to address themselves to the materials at hand, both that false legends may be exploded, and that true stories may be reconstructed.

PRESTON.

W. T. WHITLEY.

Dr. Watts's Tomb

The following receipt for payment in relation to the repair of Dr. Watts's tomb in 1809 may be of some interest.

1809	—Chatteris Esqr. to Thos. Waller 110 Shoreditch.	
May 31.	To taking off Black Marb. Ledger from the Tomb of Dr. Isaac Watts & re- facing do.	£1 15 0
	To No. 735 letters (Deep cut) on do. at 3 ^d	9 3 9
	To Refixing Do. in Bunhill F ^{ds} Bury ^l Ground	0 9 0
1810		
July 21.	To taking down Old, Clearing away and Erecting a new strong Port ^d Tomb, Cramps, Lead, &c.	30 0 0
	To Working up Brickwork to do., 1500 Bricks and 33 hods Mort ^r & Men 2 Days	5 19 3
		£47 7 0

Rece^d Feby. 29th 1812 of —Chatteris Esqr^r the sum Forty Seven
Pounds Seven Shillings for Stone Tomb and Brickwork

Impressed Stamp, 8d.	to D ^o in Bunhill fields Burial Y ^d over Dr. Isaac Watts	for Thos Waller Hy Waller
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£47:7:0

An Unpublished Letter of Dr. Watts

THE following letter has been contributed by Mr. R. W. Dixon, of Sandal Heath, Salisbury. The Rev. Henry Francis, to whom it is addressed, became pastor of Above Bar Independent church, Southampton, in 1726; and was succeeded in 1765 by the Rev. W. Kingsbury, M.A., who retired in December, 1809.

LONDON, *March 19th, 1728/9.*

DEAR BROTHER FRANCIS,

Your last is now before me with all the long detail of discouragements which you enumerate there. I own many of them to be just & the future prospects of the Dissenting Interest in Southampton after the Lives of some few persons is somew^t displeasing & afflictive, if we look meerly to appearances. But I have a few things to offer which will in some measure, I hope, reconcile your thoughts to a long continuance among them.

1. Consider how great things God has done for the dissenting Interest in Southampton by your means, even more than have ever been done by any minister whatsoever. There's a new & larger Meeting-house built for you: There's a great number added to the Church more than ever were in so few years time (I believe) since J was born, or perhaps long before.

2. There are some persons in whom God has begun a good work, & will (I hope) Carry it on by your means. Oh do not think of forsaking them who live by your ministry.

3. There is scarce any people in England who love their Minister & honor & esteem him more than yours do you: This Voice of the people is the Voice of God, generally, if not always. You know not what wounds you make in the hearts of those who love you when you do but speak of leaving them, or intimate your discouragements & uneasiness in any measure so as to look towards a departure.

4: When you sometimes think another must be the person whom God will honor in carrying on his work in that Town, Where will you find him? Where is the man who is better qualified for this service or is likely to be so much beloved as you are? And 'tis this affectionate respect of the people that is the chief foundation of usefulness so far as reason & probability go. So that if you leave them, you cannot do it with any other prospect than in leaving them like sheep in the Wilderness to be scattered, languish & dye, which I am sure will have no pleasing influence on the heart of one so sensible as M^r Ffrancis.

5. If you leave them, whither will you go? I have continual complaints from the Country as well as in the City that the case is the same in many places as it is with you, & much worse. No additions to the Church, Declensions of the Auditory, Sinking of the Subscriptions & the Support of the Minister to a great Degree, The deaths of members and their posterity leaving the Towns or leaving the Dissent so that your Case, tho. not universall yet 'tis very common. You may leave Southampton & make a much worse exchange.

6. Consider dear Sir, whether this be not a Temptation thrown in your way to discourage you in your work and weaken your hands. 'Twas a kind providence that has enabled you to weather the Storm which W : F : had raised : and will you raise Storms & Clouds in your own breast to make your work drag on heavily?

7. Let us remember dear Brother that we are not engaged in a work that depends all upon reasonings, & prospects and probabilities & present appearances, but upon the hand & Spirit of God. If he will work who shall hinder? He can work in unforseen ways & raise his Israel tho. it be small, & can make a stone become a great Mountain: Read Esa. 54.2,3. Esa. 56.8 Esa. 49.19-21. Prayer can give accomplishment to promises.

8. Think again Dear friend, You are not under the perplexing & overwhelming Cares about the support of a family. Suppose your own discouraging prospects should come to pass in a great measure; you can Live Comfortably tho. not save so much; now you well know that grandeur or prosperity or encreasing Circumstances in the World are not the things we propose when we become Dissenting ministers. If we can but feed the flock of Christ & keep it from sinking, by becoming instrumentall to add such a succession of members as may support it in the World, this is well worth living for. But I hope better things than this tho. I thus speak. I hope not meerly for a continuance of the church by your ministry but an honorable encrease: & if not of the rich, yet of the poorer or lower sort, whose souls may join to make a large & glorious Crown for you in the Day of the Lord Jesus.

ffarewell Dear Bro: Meditate on these things; Turn your

thoughts to the Objects which are more joyfull & the Occasions you have for thankfullness. Prayse & Thanksgiving are Springs to the Soul & give it new Activity. May Grace and Peace be with you in abundance. Pray for us under our discouragements, who add not half so many to our Church as you do. Once again ffarewell from Your affectionate Brother & humble servt.

J. WATTS.

[In Dr. Watts's autographs, as was common in those days, capital I and J are used at hazard.—ED.]

Pound Lane Chapel : Martock, Somerset

THE influence of Lollardy was early manifested in Somerset. From Trevelyan's *England in the time of Wycliffe* we learn that at Langport in 1447 "the tenantry of the Earl of Somerset drove their priest from his office, stopped all his services, buried their dead for themselves, refused to do penance, beat the bishop's officers when they interfered, and rid themselves of all ecclesiastical influence and jurisdiction." After the Reformation we find early indications of Puritanism and Separatism in the county. F. Johnson, pastor of the exiled church at Amsterdam (1593-1618), refers to "a church. . . professing same faith with us" in the west of England; and among the marriages of English people recorded in the public records of Amsterdam—a large proportion of whom were members of the exiled church—at least ten names are associated with places in Somerset.

When the Long Parliament entered on the work of a more thorough reformation, Somerset was one of the counties which adopted the Presbyterian system in its entirety. It was divided into four "classes"; the names of the ministers and elders for each parish are given in Shaw's *The Church under the Commonwealth*. The ministers and elders who accepted this arrangement subscribed the Solemn League and Covenant, binding themselves to uphold the Presbyterian system, and use the Directory in public worship.

Martock is a small market town in south Somerset, about half-way between Somerton and Crewkerne. Its population in 1801 was 2,102; in 1891 it had increased to 2,848. When the Presbyterian organization was constituted in 1646 it was included in the Ilchester and Ilminster classis, which embraced 97 parishes.

In 1642 the House of Commons appointed Puritan lecturers for many parishes where the character or preaching of the incumbent was unsatisfactory, but without dispossessing the latter unless in cases of gross misconduct or incompetence. These lecturers were to have the use of the church and pulpit on one portion of the Lord's day, usually the afternoon, and one day in the week, for the purpose of preaching a lecture. On June 3rd of that year a Mr. Gundrie was appointed lecturer at Martock. The vicar at that time was Mr. Walrond, who appears to have remained there till 1645. But when the Parliamentary ordinance was published in 1646, establishing the Presbyterian system, the name of the minister

was given as Mr. Debancke or Debank, who had been approved by the triers as a suitable minister. This implies that Mr. Walrond had been removed as unsuitable. The elder for Martock was James Burford. Another Martock worthy, William Strode, lord of the manor and founder of the grammar school, was elder for Charlton Adams, a village about eight miles distant. The Presbyterian form of worship was maintained in Martock parish church from 1646 to 1662.

Mr. Debank, as minister of Martock, received on 25th December, 1649, the sum of £60 from the sale of dean and chapter lands. He died apparently in the spring of 1653 $\frac{3}{4}$. Calamy speaks of him as "the worthy and pious Mr. Debank; who on his deathbed lamented the little success he had met with amongst the people."

He was succeeded by the Rev. James Stephenson, who was presented to the benefice by Thomas Oliver, clerk, the patron, and approved by the triers 20th October, 1654. In 1655 an augmentation of £60 was granted to the minister of Martock by the "trustees for the maintenance of ministers. . . . they being already approved by the commissioners for approbation of public preachers." Of Mr. Stephenson Calamy says "he was a native of Scotland, and educated in the University of Glasgow; but went to Ireland in 1627, and was ordained both Deacon and Priest by Dr. Downham, Bishop of Derry, and—it seems—without subscription (*i.e.* to the Prayer Book)." After a copy of his ordination letters Calamy continues: "He left Ireland in 1641 when the Rebellion broke out, and the papists designed to put all the protestants to the sword. He saw so much of the true spirit of the Romish religion when there that he left behind him in Ireland property to the value of £2,000, which he might have recovered had he returned, but rather chose to lose it than live among such people."

He first came to Bristol, and afterwards settled at Tormarton in Gloucestershire. His name is attached to the "testimony" of the ministers of that county in 1648. After that he went to Holland for a time, and on his return to England was presented to the vicarage of Martock. Calamy says: "the inhabitants of this place were an ignorant sort of people: Mr. Stephenson therefore took a great deal of pains with them in preaching and catechizing their young ones in public, and others in private, and other ministerial services. And the parish being great (for it is a Hundred in itself, containing nine tithings) he was the more assiduous in his endeavours to spread knowledge and piety among them, and his labours were rewarded by their success. After the death of his son, who was a physician, he practised in that faculty himself, and met with great encouragement. The vicarage, with an augmentation of £50 per annum, was worth to him about £100 a year, but he was ejected by the Act of Uniformity (1662), and removed to an estate he had in the parish. But though he was silenced in

public, yet he continued his ministry in private, both before and after the Oxford Act. This last Act obliging him to leave Martock, he removed to Crewkerne [about six miles distant]. There he preached in his own hired house, and continued to do so though he had many enemies, and some that threatened to burn his house down."

Murch says that Mr. Tomkins, ejected from Crewkerne in 1662, was afterwards tempted to conform. But some of his people were less pliable; and adhering to the principles of Nonconformity had the ministerial services of Mr. Stephenson from 1665 to 1667.

"After two years' absence," says Calamy, "Mr. Stephenson returned to Martock, and preached there in a licensed house upon Charles II.'s Indulgence (1672), not having above £8 a year from his people. At length he, with some other ministers, were convicted of a conventicle, upon the information of two women of ill fame. The sum to be levied on him was £40; but such precautions were taken that he lost less than was expected. Sir G. Horner made him an offer of what was much more considerable than what he had left in the church if he would conform; but he could not satisfy his conscience to do so. He was a man of great integrity, and often said that his heart should not reproach him as long as he lived. He continued to preach after the Indulgence was withdrawn, and died 15th July, 1685, aged about 80."

In Sheldon's *Return of Conventicles*, 1669, "Martocke" is found under the heading "Archdeaconry of Wells." No house or denomination is mentioned, but the number of conventiclers is given as 300, and the teacher's name is Henry Butler. This shews the strength of Nonconformity at that date, and that in time of persecution there was no lack of a teacher or minister; also that all could not meet in Mr. Stephenson's house, but must have gathered in different places, and probably with different teachers.

At the time of Mr. Stephenson's death, 1685, there was evidently an organized congregation meeting in a dwelling-house, and ministered to by the Rev. Thos. Budd of Lambrook (3 miles distant) and a Mr. Bishop. Mr. Budd kept a register of baptisms for both Lambrook and Martock, in the same book but in separate lists. This book is now in the Non-parochial Registry, Somerset House. The Martock list contains 79 entries (besides one incomplete); the first being dated two days before Mr. Stephenson's death, viz.: "1685. Sam! Budd, son of John Budd and Elizth his wife, was born June 13th and baptized July 13th 1685." The last complete entry reads "1697. Elizth Moore daughter of Ambrose Moore of Hurst and Elizth his wife, was born Nov. 27th and baptized 3rd December, 1697." The following curious entry occurs under 1695: "Memorandum that from the first day of May, 1695, a Tax was laid upon Births for five years."

There are also four marriages entered in the book, two of which

relate to Martock and shew the close connection that existed between the Lambrook and Martock congregations :

" 1691. Anthony Field of Stapledon and Mary Goodden daughter of Andrew Goodden of Newton, both of the parish of Martock, were married the second day of February 1691 at Middle Lambrook meetinghouse : Their purpose of marriage being first published at Martock meetinghouse three several Lord's days, and the consent of her Father being first declared."

1694. William Lawrence the younger and Susanna Matravers (*i.e.* Cunmer [?]) both of Newton in the parish of Martock were married the Twenty third day of March 1694 at Middle Lambrook meetinghouse : Their purpose of marriage being first published at Martock meetinghouse three successive Lord's days, and their parents' consent being first sufficiently made known."

A MS. book in Dr. Williams's Library, written in 1774, and containing histories of several old congregations, confirms and throws more light on this relationship. Under "Martock" it says : "This congregation of Protestant Dissenters was first formed about the time of the Revolution in 1688. They first met in a licensed dwellinghouse, but had no pastor of their own for several years. The people being partly Calvinistic and partly otherwise, at first two ministers of neighbouring churches supplied them by turns, each once a fortnight. These ministers were Mr. Budd and Mr. Bishop, who continued in this connection for some considerable time." As the last entry in Mr. Budd's register is dated 1698, that would probably be about the time when the arrangement ceased. Mr. Budd must then have been an old man, as he was appointed minister of Kingsbury by the Parliament in 1646. No particulars are given of Mr. Bishop, and nothing further is known of him.

The MS. continues : "The people at Martock, thinking it necessary to have a settled minister, at length united in inviting Mr. Hallet, who was looked upon as a moderate Calvinist." He continued in that relation for upwards of 30 years ; but "at length some differences arising between him and a principal family that attended on his ministry, he resigned his charge, and left Martock some years before his death." His name appears as minister at Martock in Dr. Evans's list of ministers between 1717 and 1729, and he is also named in a later list of 1735 as still at Martock, with a congregation of 400. He is described in these lists as an ordained Presbyterian minister.

There can be little doubt that the chapel in Pound Lane was built during his ministry, or just before its commencement. The land on which it is built was granted, with adjoining land, by William Strode, lord of the manor and son of him who founded the grammar school (both of whom were Nonconformists), on lease to Andrew Westcott in 1679 ; and by him to his son John Westcott in 1715. John sold the lease to Amos Pittard in 1719, and then

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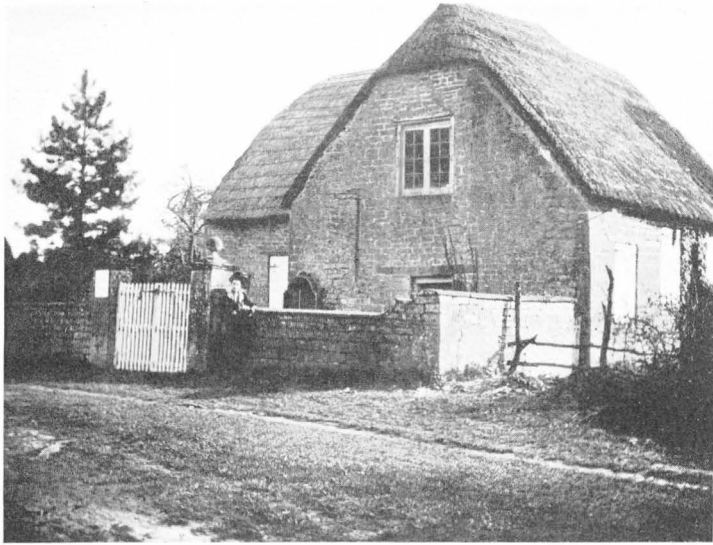
purchased the fee simple. Amos Pittard, "with the approbation, advice and consent of the said John Westcott," sold a part to Drury Royse and John Royse for the trustees "of a meetinghouse there late erected"; Amos Pittard junior being one of them. The deed of release in fee, dated 7th March, 1722, contains this curious clause: "In trust nevertheless for the use benefit and behalf of the Presbyterian meeting of Protestant Dissenters there assembling for the Worship of God continuing in the pure and uncorrupt Faith of the Gospel and to no other Use Intent or purpose whatsoever which Meeting should it be suppressed by the Lawes of this Realme or through or by any other Cause or Causes whatsoever be discontinued the House shall never be converted into a Mansion or Dwelling House or let to any Tenant to use and occupy the same for any Trade Work or Merchandize whatsoever but shall by those in whom the property is now or at such Time shall be invested be disposed of by them or either of their Successours in some other way as to them shall seem meet and convenient."

At the same time William Judoe, another of the trustees, executed a deed of rent charge on "Four Acres of Arable land at Guildings" to trustees for securing "One Annuity or Rent Charge of forty shillings out of the same unto the use behoof and benefit of such Teacher or Teachers Preacher or Preachers of and unto the Presbyterian Congregation of Protestant Dissenters that shall for the time being be assembled at Martock for the worship of God." Nothing is known of any subsequent appointment of trustees, though at the foot of the original deed is written in another hand "Survivor—Perran, 1760."

This William Judoe died in 1724, and was buried in front of the chapel. The rent charge appears to have been paid up to 1862. But an attempt to recover it in 1903-4 failed, as the present owner of the land pleaded the Statute of Limitations, and the Charity Commissioners declined to contest it.

After Mr. Hallet's withdrawal the people at Martock were supplied for two or three years by Mr. Lane and Mr. Baker. Some time before 1754 the latter was chosen pastor, and continued to preach at Martock a considerable number of years. It was during his pastorate, in 1760, that another small rent charge of thirty shillings was granted on five acres of meadow land in Martock Mead and Southey by John Westcott (probably another of the first trustees) to the "Minister or Pastor" of this congregation. This has not been paid since 1870, and, as the land cannot now be identified, is probably irrecoverable.

There is a tradition that, during Mr. Baker's pastorate, George Whitefield preached at Pound Lane: (see *Somerset Congregational Magazine*, January, 1891). It is certain that some preachers of Lady Huntingdon's Connexion came into the neighbourhood about 1773 or-4, and having fitted up a house at South Petherton, about



POUND LANE CHAPEL, MARTOCK, BUILT ABOUT 1720



POUND LANE CHAPEL : INTERIOR

two miles off, attracted many of Mr. Baker's people. In consequence the Pound Lane congregation was considerably diminished. The number in 1774 is given as "upwards of 100, and about 20 communicants." Soon after this time Mr. Baker left; but lived till 1799, dying at the age of 86.

The preachers above referred to must have been the Revs. Richard Herdsman and Christopher Hull. Mr. Herdsman was the first student from Lady Huntingdon's college at Trevecca, and became the first pastor of a new congregation at South Petherton; which in 1775 seceded from the older society because of the Arian tendencies of its minister, Rev. J. Kirkup (see *Transactions*, vol. III, p. 25). Mr. Hull left the Connexion in consequence of having accepted the doctrine of universal redemption; he settled at Bower Hinton, in Martock parish, and founded the congregation which still flourishes there. The chapel was built in 1791. During the preceding three years Mr. Hull had itinerated between Bower Hinton and Bridport.

The Rev. Nicholas Shattock, from the academy at Daventry, was minister at Pound Lane in 1780. He removed to Ilfracombe in 1784.

The next minister of whom we have any knowledge is the Rev. S. R. Pittard. In 1798 he wrote the *Address from the Ministers of the Somerset Association*, a tract which was highly commended in the *Evangelical Magazine* of that year. On 11th January, 1799, he took part in the reopening of the old Presbyterian chapel at Somerton, which had long been disused.

The Somerset Congregational Union was formed at South Petherton in 1796; the Rev. R. Herdsman being the first secretary. The fourth meeting was held in Pound Lane in 1799; the speakers were the Revs. Toller, Bond, and Hey, but no details of the meeting are recorded. Other meetings of the Union were held there in 1809 and 1824.

All registers and records of the Pound Lane congregation between the first quarter of the eighteenth century and the middle of the nineteenth appear to be irrevocably lost. The only known documents are the original trust deeds of 1722, and appointments of new trustees in 1754, 1789, 1817, and 1857; the two deeds of rent charge; and a mutilated register of baptisms, marriages, and burials, containing entries early in the nineteenth century. The names of the following ministers are given in connection with baptisms:—

- John Brick, no date ("Here in Sept., 1815"
J. Wilson's MS.)
- James Trego, to 1824 (he died at Brighton in
1865, aged 87)
- Ebenezer Smith, 1824 to 1828
- William Croome, 1828 to 1832

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S. R. Pittard, 1832 to 1834 (Mr. Pittard had been for some time minister at Lambrook, but seems to have retired and been living at Martock).

P. H. Hannaford, 1834 to 1837

Wm. Hyde, 1837 to 1842

Mr. Hyde seems to have been the last regular minister. He was living in London in 1857.

After his removal the pulpit was sometimes supplied by Mr. Price, the Baptist minister of Montacute : and subsequently a Mr. George Paul, a Baptist layman, was chosen pastor—not without a vigorous protest, as is shewn by letters dated 1856 and 1857, and now in the present writer's possession. He held the pulpit until about 1876 or -7, by which time the congregation had become very small, most of the old families having withdrawn and attached themselves to the church at Bower Hinton. Mr. Thomas Walker, of North Street, whose family had long been connected with the place, and whose father appears to have been appointed a trustee in 1817, told the writer that Dr. Stuckey, who lived at the manor house, once told him that he knew he ought to pay something out of his property to the minister at Pound Lane ; but did not do so, because he thought the persons in possession were not legally entitled. Mr. Paul once made an attempt to recover the rent charges after they were refused, but failed. Clearly he, as a professed Baptist, could not claim endowments settled by deeds which distinctly specify that the "Teacher or Pastor" must be of the "Presbyterian Discipline," which provides for infant baptism. Probably if the trustees appointed in 1857 had then exerted their legal powers Mr. Paul would have been removed, and the endowments would not have been lost.

After Mr. Paul's retirement the pulpit was supplied for a time by Mr. John Story of Norton-sub-Hambden, Mr. Chas. Benson of Martock, and others who were strict Calvinists ; until Mr. Benson took the sole charge, preaching at Norton in the morning and Pound Lane in the evening. But no church organization was kept up, nor sacraments administered. This went on till 1906, when age and increasing infirmity compelled Mr. Benson to discontinue the evening service, at which often only six or eight attended. He then asked the Rev. W. J. Harris of Bower Hinton, to take the matter in hand and provide for services.

All that has yet been done is to arrange for a Tuesday evening service once a fortnight, which is sometimes well attended. Meanwhile, in 1901, new trustees were appointed, of whom the present writer is one ; and it is hoped that means may be devised to revive this ancient interest.

JOHN SCAMELL.



THE MEETING-HOUSE AT WATTISFIELD, SUFFOLK ; BUILT 1706, DEMOLISHED 1876.

The Ancient Meeting-house at Wattisfield, Suffolk

A FULL history of the Congregational church at Wattisfield, organized on 14th September, 1654, is given in Browne's *History of Congregationalism in Norfolk and Suffolk*, pp. 466-476. Browne, however, does not give the "Profession of Faith," drawn up and agreed to at the first constitution of the church. This we are enabled by the kindness of the present pastor, Rev. C. E. Chandler, to lay before our readers; together with prints of the ancient meeting-house erected in 1706, which had unhappily become so dilapidated after 170 years that repair was out of the question, and its demolition was a regrettable necessity.

The Wattisfield church-book is one of the most important documents of its kind in existence, containing a large amount of historical matter; much of it set down by the learned Thomas Harmer, who ministered to the congregation for 54 years, and died 27th November, 1788.

Covenant adopted by the *Wattisfield Congregational Church*, "on the 14th of y^e 7th Month in the Year 1654."

"Wee doe Covenant or Agree in the Presence of God, through the Assistance of his Holy Spirit, to Walke together in all the Ordinances of our Lord Jesus, so far as the same are made clear unto us: indeavouring the Advancement of y^e Glory of our Father, The subjection of our Wills to the Will of our Redeemer, and the mutual Edification each of other in his most holy Faith and Fear."

“THE PROFESSION OF FAITH AS IT WAS DRAWN UP AND AGREED TO BY THE CHURCH FROM THE FIRST.”

1. We believe the Lord our God to be one God blessed for ever, and that He is but One in essence though yet distinguished by Relative Properties into Three Persons, that is to say, Father, Son & Holy Spirit : & that this distinction doth not suppose three several Essentialities, but three several ways of subsistence & diverse ways of His manifesting Himself to us.

2. We believe that each of these Relations is God, Infinite, Eternal, Immortal, Invisible, Holy, Just, Almighty, Omniscient, Omnipresent & every way absolutely perfect & blessed ; & therefore the only Object of all Spiritual & Divine Worship.

3. We believe that of, from, and by this God were all things made & created that are in Heaven, Earth & under the Earth : & that at the beginning or at the Creation everything was very good in its kind : & amongst these, those unclean Spirits (though now most miserably wretched in their fall by their not keeping their first station) were according to the order of their creation holy & good. So man also in his first estate was created in the image of God, but by reason of the mutability of his nature & though the subtlety of the Temptation he was easily carried away in the transgression & through that fall of his not only lost that blessed image in his own soul, but likewise forfeited & utterly lost the same to all and every other person that was to proceed out of his loins (excepting only our most dear & precious Saviour). And now instead of that blessed image of God which consisted in holiness, knowledge, purity & rectitude of his mind & will unto God, have succeeded all that miserable & worse than Egyptian darkness that is now upon his understanding with that enmity & rebellion that is in his nature, that perverseness & obstinacy that is upon his will, with all that froward disorderliness that is in his affections ; so that every one of his faculties is now depraved ; and Death which before had no existence is now begotten & brought forth into the world.

4. We believe that God who from all eternity foreseeing the miserable Defection of man, did yet notwithstanding purpose & decree within Himself to advance not only the Glory of His rich & free Grace in the recovery of some of those persons which were thus lost through Adam's sin ; but in that way of Salvation which the Lord in His wisdom hath now ordained the glory of every other of His attributes do most eminently shine forth, as of His Wisdom, Holiness, Power, Righteousness, yea & Justice itself : all which now become most gloriously propitious unto man in that great design & mystery of His will in Effecting our Salvation.

5. Which mystery we believe, in the fulness of time, God manifested & brought forth before the sons of men, to wit, in the manifestation of Christ: Who though equal to the Father as touching His Godhead yet took upon Him the form of a servant & became man like unto us: & was clothed with our whole nature of infirmities (sin only excepted): & in that estate He died & dying fulfilled the determinate counsel of His Father & likewise satisfied Divine justice, & thereby paid the price & purchase of salvation for all the Elect of God.



WATTISFIELD MEETING-HOUSE, 1706-1876 (FRONT VIEW).

6. We believe that for those the Lord Jesus Christ is become an Everlasting Mediator & Advocate with the Father: for those He became incarnate, died & rose again, & is now ascended unto the right hand of Glory, there to make intercession for them.

7. For those he is appointed of the Father to be King, Priest, Prophet & Lawgiver. As King to lead, govern and protect them. As Priest to make atonement for them & to intercede for them. As Prophet & Lawgiver to enlighten, teach counsel & instruct them. And therefore He is anointed not only above His fellows, but above all measure with the spirit of wisdom, understanding,

counsel, knowledge & the fear of the Lord, and thereby is become a most fit Head to govern so great a body as the Church.

8. And that they might have a perfect Rule of Righteousness both for faith, Knowledge & Obedience, He hath given them the Holy Scriptures, which are a Rule so absolute in themselves that they are able to make the man of God perfect, thoroughly furnished with all good works without man's traditional additions, which Scriptures (as they are vulgarly distinguished into the Old & New Testaments) for that spirit of Holiness that breathed in them, the profoundness & immensurableness of their wisdom, with that wonderful heartsearching property that is in them we own for the very word of God & that the pen-men of the same were inspired & directed by that infallible & Holy Spirit of God.

9. We believe that the Lord Jesus Christ is become Author of Life & Salvation only to so many as believe in His name. And that true Justifying Faith, whereby Jesus Christ with all His benefits is effectually apprehended & applied, is the special & proper gift of God, given particularly to the Elect: And that He worketh this faith in their hearts by the effectual & lively operation of His own Spirit upon their souls: And that we are to wait upon the Lord for the dispensation of that Spirit in a faithful & constant use of those means which Himself hath appointed to that end: as, searching the Scriptures, hearing the word preached, with attendance upon all other ordinances for that purpose.

10. For Ordinances we own, as of our Lord's institution, the two Sacraments (vulgarly so phrased) that is to say, Baptism & Breaking of bread; praying in the Spirit; preaching of the Word: singing of Psalms: communion of Saints; administration of the Censures, to wit,—Admonitions both private & public, Excommunication, with Sanctification of the Lord's Day.

11. We believe that the Lord Jesus Christ hath a Spiritual Kingdom here on Earth, which though it be not of this world, yet is in this world. And that therein He doth exercise the power of His Headship amongst His saints; & that the subjects of this Kingdom are all true believers of what nation, condition or relation so ever.

12. Yet more especially we believe that a company of Believers called by the word & Spirit of Christ, separating from the world's worship & joining together by mutual consent to walk in the faith & order of the gospel are more visibly owned & attested by Christ for a Church of Christ: unto whom He hath committed many special privileges which without apparent breach of gospel-order cannot be enjoyed but by believers so separating from the world & conjoining themselves in gospel fellowship.

13. We believe that the Essential matter whereof such a Church of Christ is to be constituted is of right, & ought to be of none others but such as are Saints by calling, sanctified by Christ, made partakers of His Spirit & that they have union & communion with Him their head.

14. Yet do we believe that in the purest Churches many graceless spirits, & cunning hypocrites may notwithstanding there crowd in & shroud & shelter themselves there; but then they are not known or discovered to be such. And if upon discovery by clear evidence that church does not labour to purge out such as leaven from amongst them, we believe it is that church's sin.

15. We believe that to a Church so constituted, Jesus Christ hath committed the Seals of the Covenant, the power of the keys, to wit, of receiving in & casting out; the dispensation of all ordinances, with power to elect & choose all her own officers with special promises of His presence, blessing, protection & favour towards them.

16. For matters dubious we are persuaded thus to judge—That seeing we know but in part & much of the vail is still upon our hearts which keeps us from seeing the things of our peace. And therefore are we waiting for the rising of that Day-star still in our hearts: that where doubts remain upon any of our spirits we are to yield each to others all christian forbearance that may stand with our walking orderly in love & inoffensively to a brother's conscience.

17. Where Christ hath purchased a freedom for us we are not to bring ourselves into bondage; yet with that Christian prudence to make use of our liberty, always looking where the glory of God may lie most, & the expediency of our practice most for the peace of ourselves & others.

18. We believe a Civil Magistrate to be an Ordinance of God set up to be a terror to evil doers & for the praise & encouragement of them that do well: Whom we are bound to pray for & to be subject to in well doing, & that, not only for fear, but for conscience sake.

19. We believe a Resurrection of the dead: and that a day is set (which is only known to the Lord) when all shall arise that either now are or hereafter shall be asleep in the dust: and that all shall come to judgment, when the Lord Jesus Christ, unto Whom is committed all judgment from the Father, shall take vengeance on all those that have not obeyed His gospel, punishing them with everlasting destruction from His presence. But then His sheep shall be separated from the goats & shall inherit the Kingdom prepared from the foundation of the world.

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20. Which appearing of Christ we ourselves do await, expect & pray for : resting with some confidence in our own spirits, that these vile bodies of our sinful flesh, which must be turned into dust, except prevented by the coming of Christ (and then they shall only be changed) shall yet be raised up at that great day & made like to His own most glorious body : that so we may receive the fulness of that Everlasting Redemption ; therein to admire & adore Him for ever, singing that new song of Moses & the Lamb. . . . Great & marvellous are Thy works Lord God Almighty, just & true are Thy ways Thou King of Saints. Who shall not fear Thee O Lord & glorify Thy Name !

We hope at some future time to illustrate the valuable communion plate of the church, part of which was presented as early as 1678.

Profes of Aparant Church

THE following is the remaining document—as yet unpublished—from the “Wiggenton MS.” in the Congregational Library: see *Transactions* vol. ii, p. 147. It is the fifth piece in the volume, occupying pp. 41-52, and is in the same handwriting as Barrowe’s treatise and Greenwood’s *Pastoral Epistle*, a hand which certainly is not Wiggenton’s. There is no clue known to me as to either the author or the copyist. The erratic spelling suggests that it may have been written by some illiterate person from dictation. The point of view is that of an extreme Separatist; and the bitterness of tone is painfully conspicuous. [ED.]

PROFES OF APARANT CHURCHE.

- 1 The churche of christ is his Kingdome; therfor wher the kyngdome of christ is not his church is not. Wher christ Doth Rull & Rayne Ther is he kyng; but wher rull and rayng is taken out of his hand, ther is he disposed of his Ryght, of his Inheritance, which is his kyngdome. But your ministers, or rather tynservors, confes y^t they have not the true church govment; y^t is as much to say christ his regiment & septer: therfor they have not his kingdome, & therfor not his church aparant.
- 2 Yf they answer that the whol world is the kyngdome of christ, & y^t he ruleth every whair, the Question is not of that Rulling y^t he, being god equall with his Father, ruleth & governeth all things; but to him being man, his heavenly father hath geven him the inheritaunce of mount sion, which is his church, as it is written I have sett my King upon Sion my holly mountayn; also the lord hath chosen sion, & loved it, & to dwell in it, saing this is my Rest for ever, ther will I mak the horne of David to bud, for I have ordeyned a light for myne anynted./ this Sion is the church; this horne of David is the strength of his septer, and of the kyngdome of christ.

- 3 Yf they answer y^t in som part they have this gov^ment, because as they say they preach the word, which is the septer of the kyngdom of christ : first mark well they are faine to call back again y^t w^{ch} they before have preached, y^t church gov^ment is wanting. Also I demann^d of them yf ther be any partting or halting with the lord, or if they may yowk an oxe and an asse to gether in the lords tillage ; or what agrement is betwext god & belyall. for what peace or felowship hath the scepter of christ with the septer of antichrist, that they shold Joyn to gether in gov^ming? The lord our god is a Jelous god, & will not suffer his honour to be geven to another.
- * The 4 below should have been placed here. * Lastly, I answer y^t the word which is his septer of his kyngdom is his word of messag preached with power and auctoritye by them which ar sentte, which preach with governing & govⁿ with preaching, how they do itt shall aprear afterward.
- 2
- 4 When the chifeste & heiest ecleseau^ticall autoritie is in the hands of antichrist, ther is not the church of christ ; for christ hath geven this auctoryty to his own servants : but in the churches of these mi^usters* The lordly byshops, deaues, chaneslors, archdeacons, comisaryes, & such lyk being the popes basterds, these have chefer autoritye then his servaunts, & these straunge (?) prelasie execut domiⁿion over them, & they sufer that yolk of bondag ; they therfor have not the church of christ among them aparante.
- 3 In the church of christ every man may execute y^t which our savior christ hath comanded as in the 18 of Mathew, consarning of bringing of dew complaints unto the church, in these words 'tell the church,' but in the churches of these ministers this cannot be executed ; no, not when a wolf is thrust upon & horryble inequitie is donne among them, they cannot Complayn to the church, except they will call the byshop the church ; & he is alwayes the chefe workmaster of that messechefe of sending of woulfes & dome Dogs unto them. therfor they have not the church of christ aparant among them. lett them answer wherever they did know y^t this comandement of our Savior christ cold be put in practtys amonge them, which in the church of christ may be practtysed Dayly.
- 4 Also in the church of christ ther be Keyes of the kyngdom of heaven to bynd and to lowsse in outward go^mente : but in the churches of these ministers they have not this auctorytie, but they must fetch it from the comisaryes cortes or other chapell cortes, which ar contrary to christ & therfor anty-christian & against christ. therfor they have not the church of christ among them aparant.
- 5 They which being put in offyce by a kyng, & they geve over

Evidently error for "ministers."

Mat. 18-17.

ther offyse & auctorytye into the hands of a straunge kyng, ar becom traytors to ther true kyng; & have not kyngdom amongste them. but these ministers have betrayed the keyes of the kyngdom [of] heaven which ar comitted to them & to the church into the hands of lord byshops, comesaryes, & such lyke, which ar strange maiestrats; therfore they ar traytturs to christ, & have spoyled his kyngdom; therfor they have not his kyngdom nor his church aparant among theme.

- 6 The church of christ is sanctyfyed & mad glorious without spot or wrinckell or grose pollutions y^t ar retayned and mayntained when they be owne manyfested in daungering the statte of the church. but in theyr churches they confes ther be many and gret pollutions, and ar bothe mayntained & retayned. therfor they have not the church of christ aparant.
- 7 We acknowledge ther be many pollutions in the mañers of men; but being secrete, & not known openly indangering the statte of the church govment, ar then left to god. but yf they be manifeste & openly known, in Daungering the stat of the church, ar then becom such spottes & wrinckells as declar the church not to be glorious nor santyfyed to christ, & therfor to be none of his.

- 8 Know ye not y^t a letell leve ne leveneth the wholle lomp as the

1 Cor. 5.6.

apostell pall speaking to have on evell member cutte of. Yf then one wicked man worlthie excommunication not being reconciled tendeth to the savouring (?) of the whole lomp which is the church, how much mor shall so many wicked offyces, & so many wicked men which use them, and so many wicked gyedg (?) which submitt them selves to them, & so many people some Ignorant & some wilfull y^t ar holden captive by these gyudes (*sic*) in those ofyces contynewing after this sorte not onlye mak sower but also mak to stynck the wholl lompe of the church in the nost^r of god. therfor such churches be not the churches of christ, Seing they ar all corupt & have donne y^t y^t is abhominable.

but this is the comendacions of the church by the mouth of the plitts the people shall be all ryghteous, the grafe of my planting shall be the work of myne own hands y^t I may be glorified; meaning that outward iniquity must be fare from the children of the church. / and those children which be planted, they be the lords plants, and the profitte speaking saing a litell on shalbe a thousand and a small one a strong nation; as we see this day that the wicked bandes of the lords enimies cant not stand agaynst the power which god hath geven to a small on speaking in his name to the confounding of them all.

Isai. 60.21.

Also the ppytte speaketh thus of the church of christ; y^t is violence shall be no mor hard of in the land, neather disso-

- lacione nor distruction in the bordars ; but thou shalt call
Iesai. 60.18 salvatione thie walls & peace thy gaets. but in these
 churches whosoever desyreth to live godly in christ Jesus,
- 9 & to keep a good contiones, in the true worship & service of
 god without bondage of red prayers in popishe wyse, and a
 number of other corrupt begerlye serimones, those his people
 must sufer violence bothe of ther wicked guides themselves
 and also of the byshops withe others ; & those abhomyne-
 tions of desolations thrust into the people instead of christs
 true worship ; and all the mynisters must use them, & the
 Reste of the people must Joyn with them & so confyrme them,
 & so altogether with the lawe add to the bonds of those y^t
 suffer for a wittnes against them. Ye, they styll cry for the
 cevill maiestrats sword, & so crave for more violence against
 the children of god unconvinced or uncondemned, and therfor
 not his church.
- 10 The harlot which hath not taken away her fornications out
 of her syght and her adulteryes from between her brests
Hosea 2.2. is not the spouse of christ, yea, though she hath byne the
 mother church ; as yeat is written, plead with thie mother,
 plead with her, y^t she is not my wyf. but to chang the
 true church offices with false antychristian offices, or*
 spirituall fornications & adulyes, which in the church of
 these ministers ar not yeat taken away : therfor they be but
 harlots, & not the churches of christ.
- 11 In the church of christ the horn of David doth bud, & his
 crown florish upon him. bute in ther churches the horn of
Sa1m 132
17, 18. antychrist Doth not onlye bud but also florish ; & the
 crownes florish upon her heads of byshops, chaunsslers,
 comissaryes, plants y^t the heavenlye ffather hath not planted,
 & must be pluckt op by the Rowtes before the horn of David
 cane spring. therfor they have not the church of christ
 aparant.
- 12 In Sion, which is the lords church the prestes ar clothed with
Sa1m 139, 16. salvation : but in ther churches the ministers ar clothed
 with distruction, for most of them ar blynd gydes & dome
 dogges, destroyers and murderers of sowles ; & the rest, which
 sem to have knowledg ar malysious & envious & obstinat
 against the lords howse building, and will not build them selves
 nor suffer them that wold : so distruction & not salvation
 cometh both to them selves & others. therfor they have not
 Sion, which is the church of christ, aparant among them.
- 13 In the church of christ they may easilye be deserned who ar
 within or who ar without ; as it is written for what have I
1 Cor. 6.12. to doe to Juge those that ar wthout, doye not Juge those
 that ar within. but those churches or pishes ar all on
 felowship ; we see not who ar within or who ar without, or

who we shold cownt for brethren or whom we shold count for heathen & publycanes by the determynations of the churches sensors. therfor these pishes ar not the churches of christe.

14 The psalme speaketh thus ; owt of Sione which is the pfection
Psalm 50.2. of bewtye the lord hath shined. but they y^t speaketh the best or favorablyest of these churches do confes y^t in the state of owtward govñment ther be many Imperfections, coruptions & deformities, which darken the face therof ; yea, such deformities they be as is fowll and uglye, as is proved. therfor they have not syone which is the church.

15 Also of the people of the church it is written lette the highe
Psalm 149.6. accts of god be in ther mouthes & a towe edged sword in ther hands, to execut vengeance upon the heathen & corrections among the people ; such honour have all his saynts. but in ther church ther is no such autorytye ; nor any such honour unto the saynts y^t they shold execut vengeance & corections upon the wicked, but contrarywise they them selves are smiten of the wicked & dispitfully abused for righttesnes sack ; yea, the guides them selves lay downe ther neckes willyngly & slavishlye to antychristian offices, and to be displaced by those courts & such lyck senseurs : so far of ar they from bynding in chaynes & ffetters of Iron. therfor they have not the church of christ aparant amongst them.

16 paul to the Romans speaketh thus : we have many members
Rom. 12. of on bodye, & all members have not on offyce ; so we being many ar on bodye in christ, & every on of us on anothers members. seing then we have gifftes that ar dyvers, according to the graces w^{ch} is geven unto us, whether we have provesey according to the pporson of faythe, or an offyce, lett hime wayt on his offyce, or he that exorteth on his exortations ; he that distributeth lett him do it with simplisite, and he that rulethe with diligence, he that sheweth mersye with chearfulnes Thus hathe the apostell sett downe the offyces & callings of the church & the menistry of them, namlie of the profyts, pastors, doctores, elders, relevers, & widowes ; thus declaring y^t in the house of god we be mad on anothers members by the Deversitye of those callynges, gyftes, graces, wherin we sarve on to anothers perfection & going forward unto godlynes. but in ther pshes they have not these offices, much les the exercision of them, nather any gyftes of graces tending therto ; for yf any such gifftes spring up in any by the gyfte of god, for want of styryng up and not practysyng of it it is quenched. then, as the tallest head in the ground, So y^t the pishners ar not by these gyftes & callings Joined together as ffelowmembers of christ ar knite by these as by the synewes & bands of the church. thefor they have not the church of christ aparant amongst them.

- 17 Yf they say they have som of these offyces, as passtors & doctors, we denye that a pson or a vicar plased by a patron or a lord byshop can be a pastor ; but he must fyrst renounce that evell calling, & then to be lawfully called, both by God and bye the consent of godlye christians to be ruled and guided by hime so fare as the word of god doe lead them ; & furder executyng of his dutye not in gathering of the good and bad together, but in sepatyng of the good from the bad. & as for the docter, in som fewe places wher he is he cometh to smale effecte ; for most comonlye he is adioyned with some Idoll sheperd or some tym-server, and withdrawethe not the people from those abhomynections afronted, nor do not plant the church among them ; So y^t the lyght of those churches is nothing but darknes. O how great is that darcknes ! when the chefest ordars is full of confution, what then is the disorder offe them. thes things ar not in the churches of god.
- 18 Also thosse which psecut the church of christ ar not the church of christ ; for christ is not devided wthin (?) hime self ; & thei which hate sione ar not of sion but they psecut those which ar gethered to gether in the name of christ, holding on law & govment under christ, & whom they ar not abell to charg of any abhomynections unremoved, nather in the outward worshipe of god nor in the maner of lyffe. Therfor they psecut the church of christ & ar not his church.
- 19 And wheras they say we rend ourselves from the church, it is childyshe and slaundering of us : for although they wear the church, we myght leve on congregation as many occasions may fall out, so that we joyne with another which is the congregation of gods people. now if they can prove y^t we have joyned agaynest christ in any antychristian, then we will retorne & refforme our selves.
- 20 David speaketh thus : be favorable unto sione for Thie good pleasuer, byld the walls of Jerusaleme ; then shalt thou
Salm 51.18. exept the sacrificyes of ryghteousnes, the burnt offerings & oblations ; then shall they offer calves upon thiene alters. So that the exeptyng of our sacrificyes, even all our prayers & good deds & thancks geving in the true worship and service of god, dependeth upon gods ffavor toward syon and the building of Jerusaleme, & the place where his honour dweleth. & his honour dweleth where his ark resteth ; & when his ark depteth his honor & glory depteth, as ffineas wyf speak saing the glorye is depted from Israell for the ark of god is taken. but in these churches They have not brought home the arke of god ffrom the philystians which is christ bearing his septer ; therfor the glory of god is not among them ; & they Refuse to bring it home, & that wylfullye : Therfor they Refuese the lords honor. the ark of god is the face of god & the presence

of his grace : therfor they not having it in his resting-place, nor going about to fetch it home, they canot behowld the lord as he is, nor the faces [*sic*] of his anoynted. & for the walls of Jerusaleme, and the lords house, they Refeuse to build ; not as the Isralytes did in the dayes of agge the pfytt, which pronised [*sic*] unto them from the mouthe of the lord, y^t all that they did was uncleane & not expected because the lords house was not bylded ; for they being admonished speedlye obeyed : nether do they as the Isralytes did in the dayes of nehemiahe and annan, which sayd it was a tyme of troubullacion & Reproche because the walls offe Jerusalyne was not builded ; for then thei aplyed them selves carfulye to the work untyll it was fynyshed. but these mynisters do as the Isralyts Did in meribay, and as in the dayes of massay in the wyldernes, when they tempted and proved god, & seenne (?) his works, & wold not enter into his reste when they wer comanded ; to whom the lord swar in his wrath that they shold not enter into his rest. now these which have not the walls of Jerusalem bylded, nor his temple builded, & refuese obstinatlye to build being admonished therto, there sacrificyses is not excepted of the lord, & ther relygion but a burden to the lord, & he werye to bear them ; and therfor not his church.

Esai. 1.18,
14, 15, f.

The tabernacell was a figuer of the church of the lord ; & the lord gave strayght charg y^t it shold be mad according to the pattern showed to mosses in the mount. & so our savior christ was fortye dayes after his ressurection conversant with his apostells, teaching them those things which conserneth the byldyng of his church & kyndom. & the apostels, according as they reseved instructions of hime, so they bylded & have left us a patroun. Now these churches are not framed after this pattron ; yea, they fayll not only in a pine or a curtayn, which want myght not be suffered, but they fayll in the cheffe pillars & walles therof. therfor they be not the churches of christ.

Also David speakethe thus : Jerusalem is bwilded as a cittyte y^t is compacte together in it self, wherunto the tribes goo ue, evene the tribs of the lord goe up, according to the testimonies to israell, to prays the name of the lord there : for ther ar trones sett for Judgment, even the trones of the house of David. Jerusalem is a figuer of the church ; the trones of David a figure of the holye eldership of the church : but in thes churches they have neyther cowrts nor consystory, counsyll nor synod, holden of our David, christ Jesus, nor in his name ; but only those unlawfull courtts, consistories and seann [*sic*] holden by the strength of the canone law, even the sharpest edge of antychrists sword, & that by the confeshion of them all. therfor they have not the church of christ aparent to be seene.

Salm 122
Sfo.

Thus being so manifestlye pved y^t they be not the churches of christ ; they which be gathered to gether in his name as he hath apoynted to hear them, neyther cane they have his sacraments, which be scales only to the pmyses maed to the church. ffor there sacraments ar but dead synes, & pretended sacraments, because they cane prove no church ; and the true sacraments aplay unto the aparant church, & to be grafted into the church of god. nather have they the word of messag from the mouth of the lord preched among them, but Rezytall or historycall out of other historyes. for none can preach the [word] of messag but those that ar sent from the mouth of the lord onlye and alone. but they com not only & alone ffrom the mouth of the lord, but taketh ther warrant by antychristian auto^rtyte from the byshope. So they Ronne and ar not sent of god only and alone ; and so they speak gracious words, and so minister graces to the hearers, as anye child may doe, or any other man without calling. Now lett this Reason teach you ; yf a man in a town com to the wicked and disobedient, & saye I com in the nam of a constable, & say I charg you in the princes name y^t you leve your wickednes & flowe me, & is no constable nor have no lawfull autoryte nor calling ; the wicked will not nor hath not to obay hime : but yf the lawfull offiser com that hath his autoritye from the prince, hime they will and must obay, and so do wee.

The calling of those ministers, & autoryte that they have, cannot be warranted by the word of god ; therfor no autorytey

Now lett every on xamine hime self by the word of god, & show his obedienc ; for without his obedience ther is no promyse ; and without a promise ther is no true fayth. now

That preaching and govning ar joyned to gethere and can
Matth-24, 45. not be sepatred the word of god is manifest : Mat. 24, Accts

20 : 28, 1 tim. 5 : 17, 1 petter 5 ; 2, Ezra 3 : 9, Zacha. and wheras they mak ther xscuse of doing of ther dutie, for tarieng for the miestrats begining, that is that the maiestrat must warrant them by lawe, because they dar not do ther dutye for fear of lawe, yea, I saye againe for fear of trobell by law in lossing of ther lyvings, as though the maiestrats wear against the truth of god, & did lett the buildyng of the church of god, I saye in this they slander the maiestrat ; ffor the maiestrate is not against the bylding of the house of god & fudaryng of his glory : for the maiestrat being a christian maiestrat hath bed them go fforthe & build the church of god ; or else lett them challenge the maiestrate in that poynt yf there dare.

Profes for sepatation upon just cause, being dulye examyned by the word of god.

1 Corenth 5 : 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 ; Rom. 16 : 17 ; 1 Cor. 7 : 23 ; 2 tessal 3 : 14 ; 2 cor. 6 : 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18 ; ephess 5 : 6, 7, 8,

9, 10, 11 ; Acts 19 : 8, 9. christ sayeth he y^t heareth the lett hime tack head what he heareth ; bewar of the leaven of the pharises.

Yf they aleg the Kyngs of Juda & moyses & Kings of Isreall for begining of reformation in the church——

we answer that y^t they did in ecklesiastical or spirtiuall matters they did it as they wear sygnes of christ ; & that y^t they did sivillye in fforsyng they did it bye the sevyll sword, for they had autoritye in bothe cases y^t our kyngs & princes want ; ffor the fyguratyve maner was ended in Christe.

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