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A table of contents for the *Transactions of Congregational Historical Society* can be found here:

https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_congregational-historical-society-1.php

Congregational Historical Society

Annual Meeting

Our eighth Annual Meeting was held in Room 28 at the Memorial Hall, on Wednesday, 13th May, 1908, at 4 p.m., the Rev. J. Brown, D.D., in the chair.

After prayer by the Rev. J. Alden Davies the SECRETARY read the Report, which was for the most part a statement of what had been published during the year ; notice being taken of work in progress by members of the Society—Mr. Boag, in Northumberland ; Mr. Watkinson, in Kent ; and Mr. May, in Staffordshire. Reference was also made to MSS. of the late Rev. B. Dale, which the Society had been requested to publish ; and to the urgent need for research in counties where no history of Congregational Church life and work had yet been undertaken. The present number of members was stated to be 178.

The TREASURER presented a provisional statement, the accounts being not yet audited.

Resolved on the motion of the Rev. J. A. DAVIES, seconded by Mr. A. R. BAX, F.S.A., "that the accounts be henceforth made up to 31st December in each year."

The Officers and Committee were unanimously re-appointed.

Conversation ensued as to the best way of increasing our membership, without which it was felt that no satisfactory progress was possible. It was arranged that a circular should be prepared for distribution by members among their friends. Several suggestions as to publications were discussed, some of which were not entertained, and others remitted for fuller information.

Reference was made to the recently established Baptist Historical Society. A general feeling found expression that the movement deserved a hearty welcome, and that practical co-operation might be highly beneficial to both Societies.

The Rev. G. LYON TURNER, M.A., gave an account, with extracts, of a Report which he had discovered relating to Conventicles in 1665.

In view of the Autumnal Meeting to be held in Liverpool, the Secretary was directed to endeavour to obtain a paper on the history of Congregationalism in that city.

Editorial

We regret the delay of the present issue beyond the usual time of publication, which is due to the fact that our esteemed contributor, the Rev. F. J. Cater, was unable sooner to complete his examination of the Peterborough diocesan archives. We think members will prefer this delay to the postponement until autumn of Mr. Cater's illuminative paper.

Thanks to the laborious researches of Mr. Cater, and the fortunate discoveries of Mr. Burrage, we have now before us as much as is ever likely to be known about the career of Robert Browne. Some other of his writings which are known to have existed may perchance hereafter be discovered; but they are not likely to throw new light on his life or character. The statements of Fuller are now both justified and explained; the "poor old wife" is shewn scarcely to deserve the sympathy claimed for her by Baillie, even if her ill conduct did bring on her some such chastisement as he alleges; Browne's conformity is ascertained to have been very partial, and although the local tradition of his late reversion to separatism is not actually proved, it is shewn to be by no means unlikely. The obloquy which has been cast upon his memory by several prominent Nonconformist writers is now seen to be for the most part undeserved; and although it is impossible to assign him a place among the heroes beside Penry and Robinson, he will henceforth hold honourable rank among the pioneers of religious liberty.

May we therefore venture to express a hope that before very long some fitting memorial will be raised to the author of *Reformation without Tarying for Anie*? Probably the most suitable form it could take would be a brass in St. Giles's church, Northampton, near which his remains rest in an unmarked grave.

* * *

Our Society has sustained serious loss in the death of Mrs. Rylands, of Manchester. We have endeavoured, without success, to obtain a brief biographical sketch suited to our pages. It may be that her characteristic modesty would have preferred that no such narrative should appear. It was noticeable that, amidst the unstinted eulogy of the newspapers at the time of her decease, very few facts were given, except such as related to her large benefactions—which were by no means limited to her own city.

Her name will live as long as men can appreciate a singularly energetic and unselfish life. The Rylands Library is her lasting monument; and for the rest, "let her own works praise her in the gates."

* * *

In the paper on *The Ancient Meeting-house at Ravenstonedale* (iii. 94) we have detected a rather ludicrous blunder. At lines seven *et seqq.* is a quotation from Evans's MS. as follows: "Russendale . . . 10 disc. James Malleson 1716 (rem)"; which is explained "that, after Mr. Mallison's removal, about ten of his adherents, calling themselves Presbyterians, continued to hold a separate meeting, etc." This is evidently due to a misinterpretation of the "10 disc."; which really means—as is shewn by comparison with many similar entries in other parts of the MS.—that, in addition to the Independent church of which Mr. Magee was pastor, there was a Presbyterian church under the charge of Mr. Mallison, which received £10 from the Presbyterian fund; but Mr. Mallison had removed, and the grant was *discontinued*.

* * *

We have great pleasure in calling attention to *The Colonial Missions of Congregationalism*, by our honoured President, the Rev. Dr. Brown. To one point, however, we must take exception—the title, which is by no means adequately comprehensive. The book should have been called *A History of Congregationalism in the British Colonies*; for it begins the story with 1597—two hundred and thirty years before our Colonial Missionary Society was dreamed of. It is crammed full of facts, narrated in a popular and instructive manner, and is by no means the least valuable of the venerable author's contributions to the history of the Church. We would urge all our members first to read it, and then circulate it among our young people.

Early Nonconformist Academies

A COMPLETE history of the Nonconformist academies and colleges is a desideratum not likely soon to be realized. There is abundance of scattered material, but its collection and arrangement would need much patient research. Of the character of this material a fair sample is afforded in the accounts of Frankland's academy, *Trans. II, 422*, and in the Rev. B. Dale's supplementary communication, *Trans. III, 21*. It would be desirable to put on record the time when and circumstances under which every such institution originated, migrated, was reconstructed, or came to an end; the succession of tutors, their academical qualifications, and literary, pastoral, or other work; the number of students in training from time to time, with particulars of those who gained especial distinction as preachers, authors, or otherwise; and any matters bearing on the relation of the institutions to each other, to the churches, to the national universities, and to educational and theological movements in general.

The academies and colleges may be conveniently arranged in three groups: 1. Those conducted or initiated by the ejected ministers; 2. Those of later origin which have entirely ceased to exist; 3. Those which still remain, or are represented by existing institutions.

In the present and following papers it is intended to give in a concise form such information as lies readily to hand about the academies of the first group—those founded by the ejected ministers.

The available sources are the *Nonconformists' Memorial*, Calamy's *Continuation*, Toulmin's and Bogue's *Histories of Dissenters*, W. Wilson's *Dissenting Churches*, various memoirs and funeral sermons, and MSS. collected by Mr. J. Wilson, in the library of New College. Any additional information, whether by way of correction or supplement, will be heartily welcomed.

LIST OF ACADEMIES FORMED BY EJECTED MINISTERS

1. In or near London

Newington Green. (1) By Theophilus Gale, 1665-78, continued till about 1706.

„ „ (2) By Charles Morton, 1667-85, continued till about 1696.

Islington. (1) By Ralph Button, 1672-80.

„ (2) „ Thomas Doolittle, 1672-1700 [?]

Wapping. By Edward Veal, 1680-1708 [?]

2. In the English Counties

Coventry (Warwickshire) By Obadiah Grew and others, 1663-93 [?]

Sheriff Hales (Salop) By John Woodhouse, 1663-96 [?]

Broomsgrove (Worcestershire) By Henry Hickman, 1665-92.

Nettlebed (Oxon) By Thomas Cole, 1666-97.

Lincoln By Edward Rayner, 1668-80.

Whitchurch (Salop) By John Maulden, 1668-80.

Tubney (Berks) By Dr. H. Langley, 1668-79.

Dartmouth (Devon) By John Flavel, 1668 [?]-91.

Wickhambrook (Suffolk) By Samuel Cradock, 1670-1706.

Rathmell and elsewhere (Yorks) By Richard Frankland, 1672-98

Taunton (Somerset) By Matt. Warren and others, 1672-1750 [?]

Manchester (Lancs) By Henry Newcome, 1672-1716 [?]

Sulby (Northants) By J. Shuttlewood, 1680-88.

3. In Wales

Brynlwarch (Glamorgan) By Samuel Jones, 1668-97.

ACADEMIES IN OR NEAR LONDON

At NEWINGTON GREEN, now represented by a small square a furlong northward from Mildmay Park railway station, but then a pleasant rural village, there were two academies, both commenced soon after the Great Fire. One of them was conducted by Theophilus Gale, and the other by Charles Morton.

Theophilus Gale was born in 1628, at King's Teignton, Devon ; where his father (of the same name) was vicar, holding likewise a prebend in Exeter cathedral. Young Gale received his early education under a private tutor and at a local grammar school, and in 1647 entered Magdalen College, Oxford. He graduated B.A. on 17th December, 1649 ; being permitted to do so after a shorter residence than the statutes demanded in recognition of his unusual proficiency. He was elected Fellow of his college in 1650, and proceeded M.A. on 18th June, 1652. He was a successful tutor at Oxford, one of his most distinguished pupils being Ezekiel Hopkins, afterwards bishop of Derry. He also gained distinction as a preacher ; and in 1657 was chosen one of the stated preachers in Winchester cathedral. At the Restoration he lost both his preachership and his fellowship ; and in September, 1662, accepted an engagement as travelling tutor to the two sons of Lord Wharton, who is still remembered for his sturdy Puritanism and his large-hearted beneficence. The elder of the two sons, though his personal character

reflected no credit on his tutor, left his mark on English history as an energetic promoter of the Revolution ; and especially as the author of the celebrated political song *Lillaburlero*, with which he boasted that "he had rhymed a foolish king out of three kingdoms." After spending a considerable time with his pupils at Caen, Gale appears to have sojourned for a while at Lord Wharton's house in Buckinghamshire ; and, journeying to London, arrived during the progress of the Great Fire. Fortunately a desk full of papers, which he had left in charge of a friend, had been saved by what might be deemed a mere accident ; the MS. thus rescued being that of the book with which, more than any other, his name is associated, *The Court of the Gentiles*. The main object of this once renowned treatise is to develop, for apologetic purposes, the opinion advanced by several early Christian writers, that the heathen philosophers borrowed their most rational sentiments, and all that is best in their theology and philosophy, from the Hebrew Scriptures.

Soon after his settlement in London he became colleague with John Rowe, M.A., in the pastorate of an Independent church which during the Commonwealth had met in Westminster Abbey, but which now worshipped in some obscure retreat in the parish of St. Andrew's, Holborn, and subsequently in Bartholomew's Close. He also established an academy at Newington Green ; where his richly stored mind and proved tutorial aptitude enabled him in large measure to supply the educational needs of young men whom ecclesiastical and political intolerance excluded from the universities. Unfortunately we have no complete list of his pupils ; the only names that have come down to us being those of Thomas Rowe, the son of his colleague and his own successor ; Benoni

Rowe, brother of the former, and John Ashwood. Both of these were distinguished ministers in the next generation.

John Rowe died in October, 1677; and Mr. Gale had for a few months, as colleague, Samuel Lee, M.A., the ejected rector of St. Botolph's, and the author—amongst other works—of a curious folio on the structure and spiritual significance of Solomon's temple. It does not appear whether or not Lee co-operated in the work of the academy. Gale died in February or March, 1678. By his will he left to Harvard's College in New England the whole of his valuable library, except the philosophical books, which were to be reserved for young students at home. He also left the whole of his real and personal estate to be managed by some of his Nonconformist brethren for the benefit of poor young scholars. He was buried in the tomb of his friend Rowe, in Bunhill Fields.

The following is a list of his writings :

The Court of the Gentiles : or a Discourse touching the Original of Human Literature. 5 vols. 4to., 1669, '71, '77, '77, '78.

(The 5th vol. is chiefly occupied with an endeavour to vindicate Calvinism from the charge of making God the Author of sin).

The True Idea of Jansenism. Preface by J. Owen, 12mo., 1669.

Theophilie ; or the Saints' Amity with God. 8vo., 1671.

The Life and Death of Mr. Thomas Tregosse [an ejected minister in Cornwall] 16mo., 1671.

The Anatomie of Infidelitie. 8vo., 1672.

A Discourse of Christ's Coming. 8vo., 1673.

Idea Theologiae tam Contemplativae quam Activae, 1673.

Sermon on 1 John 2 : 15 in the Morning Exercise, 1674.

Philosophia Generalis, in duas partes dislterminata. 8vo., 1676.

A Summary of The Two Covenants ; prefixed to a discourse on that subject by William Strong, 1678.

Christ's Tears for Jerusalem's Unbelief and Ruin, posthumous, 8vo., 1679.

Shortly before his death he issued proposals for printing a folio *Lexicon of the Greek Testament* which was to be more complete than any then extant. This design was never realized.

Gale was succeeded both in his pastorate and in the conduct of the academy by his pupil, *Thomas Rowe*, who had only just completed his 21st year. Notwithstanding his youth he proved a successful pastor and an able tutor. As an author he was not conspicuous ; but there is evidence that he won, in an unusual degree, the personal affection of his students, several of whom attained to eminence in various departments of public life. Among these the foremost place is due, by common consent, to Dr. Isaac Watts, poet, theologian, and philosopher. Others were Dr. John Evans, whose historical collections have been of incalculable value ; Dr. Jeremiah Hunt, pastor at Pinners' Hall ; Daniel Neal, the historian of the Puritans ; Henry Grove, metaphysician, and tutor at Taunton ; Samuel Say of Westminster ; John Wilson, first pastor of a dissenting congregation at Warwick ; Josiah Hort, who conformed to the State Church and became archbishop of Tuam ; and John Hughes, poet and dramatist. During Mr. Rowe's time the church migrated to Girdlers' Hall ; and afterwards to Haberdashers' Hall, where it was finally disbanded about 1826. The academy was also somewhat migratory ; being in Little Britain about the time of the Revolution, again at Newington Green when Watts was a student, and at another time at Clapham. It came to an end with the life of Mr. Rowe, who died suddenly on 18th August, 1705. He was riding along a London street when he was taken with a fit, fell from his horse, and immediately expired.

Charles Morton, the originator of the other academy, was born at Pendavy in Cornwall, probably about 1617. He was descended from an ancient family in Nottinghamshire ; one of his ancestors having been Thomas Morton, secretary to King Edward III. Cardinal Morton, archbishop of

Canterbury in the fifteenth century, and Thomas Morton, bishop of Durham in the time of James I., were of the same family. His father, Nicholas Morton, was rector of Blisland, near Bodmin ; who, being driven thence for nonconformity in the time of Charles I., removed to London, became rector of Newington Butts, and died in 1652. Young Charles Morton entered Wadham College, Oxford, at a very early age. By his proficiency in mathematics he won the special regard of the warden, Dr. Wilkins—brother-in-law of Cromwell, and afterwards bishop of Chester. Having attained to the degree of M.A., and to a fellowship in his college, he was presented to the rectory of Blisland, formerly held by his father. He was at first a strict Conformist, and zealous for all the prescribed ceremonies ; but on the outbreak of the Civil War was much impressed by the fact that many of the worst characters flocked to the royalist standard, while the most sober and pious men of his acquaintance took the side of the Parliament. This led him to reflections which issued in his becoming a decided Puritan.

Being ejected by the Act of Uniformity, he preached for some time in a house of his own in the parish of St. Ives. But sustaining severe loss by the Great Fire he came to London to secure the remains of his property ; and was urged by several friends to undertake the instruction of youth in academical learning, for which he had ample qualifications. To this end he settled at Newington Green, where he is said to have trained “some scores of young ministers, as well as many other good scholars.” This statement of Calamy may be a little exaggerated ; but unquestionably his pupils were numerous, as he “had a familiar way of making difficult subjects easily intelligible.” For their use he drew up several brief systems of

various arts and sciences, which the students copied out, and which he expounded in his lectures. These lectures, contrary to the prevailing fashion of the day, were not in Latin but in English.

After a time the tutors of dissenting academies, who were all graduates of Oxford or Cambridge, were assailed with an accusation that by privately "teaching university learning" they had violated the oath which had been administered to them on taking their degrees. To this charge Morton thought it necessary to make an elaborate reply, which is printed in Calamy's *Continuation of the Account of Ejected Minsters, 1727*; (see pp. 177-197). It is not worth reprinting as a whole, but a brief summary may be of some interest. He points out (1) that the terms of the oath were explained in one way by those who desired to claim for Oxford and Cambridge an educational monopoly and to stigmatize Nonconformists as perjurers, and in another way by persons of ordinary common sense: (2) that the oath was designed to obstruct the possible growth of a rival university, such as had once been attempted at Stamford; and that, the occasion no longer existing, the former oath was nugatory: (3) that the Nonconformist teachers could claim good precedents, as several prelates and dignified persons had privately "read university learning" to young men of their own party during "the late times"—the archbishop of York having 16 or 17 such students: (4) that the accusers' contention would not only condemn Sion and Gresham Colleges, but would challenge the king's right to appoint English graduates to professorships, if it should please him to constitute another university: (5) finally he urges the necessity of private academies, unless Nonconformists are to be false to their own consciences; and anticipates that these will benefit the ancient

universities, by stirring them up to emulation and improvement, until at length "private students may come all to supplicate their public graces, when they can receive them without incumbrance."

Another small treatise of Morton's, also preserved by Calamy (*Continuation* pp. 198-210), is entitled *Advice to Candidates for the Ministry under the present discouraging circumstances*. It well deserves to be reprinted in full ; but the headings must here suffice :—

1. See that in all Study and Preaching you chiefly mind Jesus Christ.
2. Call to mind the End of Preaching ; which is to teach *what men should*, not *what you can* do.
3. Use notes, not proudly and foolishly, but humbly and wisely.
4. Endeavour, by Prayer and Meditation, to have your hearts well affected with the matter you are to deliver.
5. Lay the stress of all your discourses on plain and pertinent texts of Scripture.
6. Be diligent in hearing the most pious and practical preachers, and such as you see do most prevail with the hearts of men.
7. Let your discourses be mostly Practical, both as to the Subjects and Manner of handling.
8. Be well disposed as to the present or future dispensations of Providence towards you. Under this last head he specially warns against plausible tempters to conformity ; saying "Be sure, unless you be complete and thorough-paced renegades, you will be always suspected, and then trusted and favoured accordingly. My advice therefore is, that you tamper with them as little as may be."

There is no complete list of Morton's students ; but the following attained to some measure of distinction :— Samuel Lawrence, pastor for 24 years at Nantwich ; John Beaumont, pastor at Deptford ; Thomas Reynolds, for above 30 years at the King's Weigh House ; Joseph Hill, of Swallow Street, afterwards at Rotterdam, and finally at Haberdashers' Hall ; William Hocker of Edmonton, afterwards at Gravel Lane ; John Shower and Joseph Bennett, both of Old Jewry ; Timothy Cruso of Poor Jewry Lane ; Nathaniel Taylor of Salters' Hall ; James Hannot of Yarmouth ; Richard Lardner—father of the celebrated Dr. Lardner ; Samuel Wesley, who con-

formed in 1684, and was afterwards the well known rector of Epworth ; while among the lay students were Kitt. Battersby, William Jenkyn, and one of the brothers Hewling, who laid down their lives "for Faith and Freedom" among the victims of Jeffreys' Bloody Assize in 1685 ; and, more distinguished than all the rest, Daniel Defoe, politician, pamphleteer and novelist. It is noteworthy that Reynolds, Hill and Bennett were ordained with four other young ministers in Dr. Annesley's meeting-house, Little St. Helen's, on 22nd June, 1692, this being the first *public* Nonconformist ordination in London since the time of the Commonwealth.

In this, however, Morton had no part. Worn out with vexatious proceedings in the ecclesiastical courts, he retired in 1685 to New England ; and there became pastor of a church at Charlestown. He was also chosen vice-president of Harvard College ; and died in April, 1697, aged about 80 years. His publications were numerous, though mostly small ; for he was fond of quoting the proverb *Μεγα βιβλιον μεγα κακον* : so that it is somewhat strange to find him entirely unnoticed in Ant. Wood's history of Oxford writers. The ensuing list of his works is probably incomplete.

The Little Peacemaker, discovering Foolish Pride the Makebate, 1674.

The way of Good Men, for Wise Men to walk in, 1681.

Debt's Discharge (on Romans 13 : 8), 1684.

The Gaming Humour Considered and Improved, 1684.

Season's Birds ; an enquiry into the sense of Jerem. 8 : 7.

Meditations on the History of the first 14 chapters of Exodus.

The Ark, its Loss and Recovery (on 1 Sam. 4-6 cs.)

The Spirit of Man—Meditations on 1 Thes. 5 : 23.

Of Common Places, or Memorial Books.

Ενραζια : (a treatise on principles of public polity, agreeable to the English Constitution).

A Compendium of Logic (Once used as a text-book at Harvard's).

Letters to a Friend, to prove Money not so necessary as is imagined.

Considerations on the New River.

A Discourse on Improving the County of Cornwall (In the Philosophical Transactions.)

At the removal of Mr. Morton some of the students went to pursue their studies on the continent, especially at Geneva. But the academy was not immediately dissolved. For a time, at least, three London ministers read lectures to the remaining students; viz. Messrs. Wickins, Lobb, and Glasscock.

William Wickins was born in London in 1614, and educated at Emanuel College, Cambridge. After being chaplain to Sir E. Scott in Kent he occupied successively the two sequestered benefices of St. Andrew Hubbard and St. George's, Southwark. Vacating the latter at the Restoration he was chosen preacher at the Poultry Comptor, whence he was ejected by the Act of Uniformity. He subsequently became pastor of a small congregation at Newington Green, having for a colleague, first, Mr. Starkey, ejected minister of Grantham, and afterwards Joseph Bennett, mentioned above as one of Morton's students. He is said to have been a hard student, especially of Jewish antiquities and Oriental learning; and to have usually read the Scriptures (in private) in the original languages. He took part in several private ordinations; one of the latest being that of Matthew Henry, 9th May, 1687. He died at the age of 85, and was buried in Bunhill Fields, 22nd September, 1699.

Those of his works of which we have found any trace are:

The Kingdom's Remembrancer, 1660.

The Warrant for Bowing at the Name of Jesus examined, 1660.

A Plea for the Ministry.

And something on *The Dates of Paul's Epistles*.

Of *Stephen Lobb's* early history we have but little information; which is somewhat surprising, as he "made a very considerable figure in his day." He was a Cornish man, probably born

during the Protectorate. His father, Richard Lobb, was high sheriff of Cornwall, and M.P. for St. Michael in 1659. It is believed that Stephen received his education partly in one of the early dissenting academies, and partly in Holland. His first pastorate is supposed to have been in the west of England ; as he married a daughter of the Rev. Theophilus Polwhele, Independent minister at Tiverton. In 1681 he became pastor of Fetter Lane, in succession to Dr. Thos. Goodwin ; and four years later commenced his tutorial work at Newington Green. On the issue, in April 1687, of King James's "Declaration for Liberty of Conscience" Lobb was one of the few Nonconformists who believed in his sincerity, and one of those who presented the Address of Thanks. James, believing that the good man's simplicity fitted him to be a useful tool, took him into conspicuous favour, and conversed with him frequently and familiarly. Lobb earnestly endeavoured to use the influence he seemed to possess in the interest of his dissenting brethren ; and is said both to have advised the king to set aside the Test Act, and to have expressed approval of the prosecution of the seven bishops. However he may thus have erred in judgement, it was in company with such men as the Presbyterian Vincent Alsop and the Quaker William Penn ; and he was sufficiently chastised by the reproaches of many of his brethren and the revilings of the High Churchmen. On the outbreak of the Neonomian controversy he took the High Calvinistic side, in common with most of the Independents, and in opposition to Alsop and most of the Presbyterians. He is described as a faithful and laborious pastor, a diligent student, a keen and yet charitable controversialist, and a man of large beneficence and deep spirituality. He died very suddenly on 3rd June, 1699.

His writings were numerous, and mostly controversial. They include :

- A Modest and Peaceable Inquiry into . . . Mistakes . . . in Dr. Stillingfleet's Unreasonableness of Separation*, 1681.
Reply to the Defence of Dr. Stillingfleet (written jointly with John Humphries) 1681.
The True Dissenter, or the Cause of those who are for Gathered Churches, 1685.
The Healing Attempt : being a Representation of the Government of the Church of England, 1689.
The Glory of Free Grace Displayed, 1690.
A Peaceable Inquiry into the Nature of the Controversy about Justification, 1693.
A Letter to Dr. Bates on the Doctrine of Satisfaction, 1695.
A Report of the present state of the Difference in Doctrinals between some Dissenting Ministers in London, 1697.
The Growth of Error ; or Rise and Progress of Arminianism and Socinianism, 1697.
A Defence of the Report ; and Further Defence, both 1698.
An Appeal to the Bishop of Worcester [Stillingfleet] and Dr. Jonathan Edwards, about the Controversy between him and Mr. Williams, 1698.
A Further Defence of his Appeal, 1698.

Of *Francis Glasscock* still less is known. He is understood to have studied at one of the Scottish universities, and to have been minister of a Presbyterian congregation that met near Drury Lane, and some time after 1695 in Hanover Street, Long Acre. Although a Presbyterian, he was one of the lecturers at Pinners' Hall. According to W. Tong, who preached his funeral sermon, he was an enthusiastic student of the prophetic Scriptures, especially Daniel and the Revelation. He died in 1706 ; and a treatise of his *On the Two Covenants* was published posthumously.

Matthew Henry narrates that while reading law at Gray's Inn, in 1685 or -6, he once attended "a divinity disputation kept up weekly by Mr. Morton's young men, six or eight of them, when scattered from him." Mr. Glasscock presided, and the question was : "Whether we are justified by

Faith alone?" The balance of opinion seems to have been on the Solifidian side.

How long the academy was carried on after the removal of Morton is a matter about which we have no certain information. That it did not collapse on the departure of the last of Morton's students is evident from the statement that Wickens, Lobb and Glasscock lectured not only to them but "to others who, through the severity of the times, were deprived of more public means of improvement." But as none of the students who, from 1696, were educated under the patronage of the Congregational Fund Board is mentioned as receiving instruction from either of these gentlemen, it may reasonably be supposed that the academy was discontinued very soon after the Revolution.

There were also two academies at ISLINGTON, one conducted by Ralph Button, and the other by Thomas Doolittle.

Ralph Button was the son of Robert Button of Bishopstow, Wilts. He commenced B.A. at Exeter College, Oxford; and in 1633 became Fellow and tutor of Merton. One of his pupils was the once famous Zachary Bogan. On the outbreak of the Civil War he removed to London, and was appointed professor of geometry in Gresham College. In 1647 he was delegated as assistant to the visitors of Oxford University, and in the following year was elected public orator, and appointed to a canonry in Christ Church, though he was not "in orders," and at that time was no preacher. In 1650 he exercised his influence on behalf of the eminent Hebrew and Arabic scholar, Edward Pococke, and thus enabled him to retain his post in the university. He welcomed the Restoration both in Latin and in Hebrew; but experienced the usual Royalist gratitude of being

deprived both of his oratorship and his canonry ; of which the former was given to R. South and the latter to Dr. J. Fell. He thereupon removed to Brentford, where he commenced a school for the sons of gentlemen ; his pupils boarding with his next door neighbour, the Rev. T. Pakenham, the ejected minister of Harrow. For doing this without taking the "Oxford oath" of non-resistance he was imprisoned for six months. After the Indulgence, in 1672, he removed to Islington, where he "trained up many young persons, both for the dissenting ministry and for secular employments." The most distinguished of his students was Sir Joseph Jekyll, the son of a clergyman in Nottinghamshire : he became an eminent lawyer, was one of the managers of the trial of Sacheverel, and in the reign of George I. was appointed Master of the Rolls. Other pupils of Button who attained distinction were Mr. King, minister of Wellingborough, and Samuel Pomfret, of Gravel Lane, Houndsditch. Mr. Button died in 1680.

Thomas Doolittle was born at Kidderminster in 1630 or -31. His spiritual awakening was due to some of those sermons of Richard Baxter which were afterwards embodied in the *Saints' Rest*. He entered an attorney's office, with a view to the legal profession ; but withdrew owing to some conscientious scruples. Encouraged by Baxter he entered Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, where he graduated M.A. Coming to London in 1653 his lively and pungent preaching attracted attention, and he was elected by the parishioners as minister of St. Alphage, London Wall. Being ejected in 1662 he commenced a boarding-school in Moorfields ; in which he was assisted by Thomas Vincent, the ejected minister of St. Mary Magdalen, Milk Street. On the outbreak of the plague in 1665 he removed with his pupils, nearly 30 in

number, to Woodford Bridge in Essex. Returning after the abatement of the pestilence, he fitted up a meeting-house in Bunhill Fields, which gave place, after the Great Fire, to another in Monkwell Street. From this he was forcibly driven away by soldiers, and the chapel was seized: Doolittle escaped arrest through a friendly hint conveyed privately from the Lord Mayor. On the issue of the Indulgence he resumed his ministry, and commenced an academy in Islington. Whether in this he had any co-operation from Vincent is uncertain. In 1680 he had 28 students in his charge. An outbreak of persecution in 1685 compelled the temporary closing of the academy; and Doolittle removed successively to Wimbledon, Clapham and Battersea; the students boarding in neighbouring villages, and attending the lectures by stealth. He was often in danger; and at Battersea his goods were seized and sold. After the Revolution he resumed his regular work as pastor and tutor; but the academy is believed to have been discontinued some time before his death. He died 24th May, 1707, in his 77th year; being the last survivor of the ministers ejected from London churches. There is no complete list of his students; but the following names are recorded:—

Walter Bedford; Robert Bozier (a kinsman of Philip Henry), died while a student; Samuel Bury, pastor successively at Bury St. Edmund's and Bristol; Edmund Calamy, D.D., biographer of the ejected ministers; Ebenezer Chandler, second successor of Bunyan at Bedford; Henry Chandler, of Malmesbury, Hungerford, and Bath; Samuel Doolittle, son of of the tutor, minister at Reading; Thomas Emlyn, Unitarian, who endured much persecution for his belief; Matthew Henry, the commentator; Dr. Kerr, physician and tutor successively at Highgate and Clerkenwell; John

Mottershead, assistant to the tutor, afterwards pastor at Ratcliff; Thomas Ridgley, D.D., tutor and theologian; Thomas Rowe, who had also received instruction from Theo. Gale, and succeeded him at Newington Green; and J. Waters of Reigate, afterwards of Uxbridge. We also find the following names, which we fail to identify: Benson, Clark, Saunders, and Wells.

Doolittle's published works are numerous, and several of them were frequently reprinted. The following list is believed to be complete:

- Sermon "Concerning Assurance" in the Morning Exercise, 1661.*
A Spiritual Antidote against Sinful Contagion, 1665.
A Treatise Concerning the Lord's Supper, 1665.
A Serious Enquiry for a Suitable Return, answered in xiii Directions, 1666.
Rebukes for Sin by God's Burning Anger, 1667.
The Young Man's Instructor and the Old Man's Remembrancer, 1673.
Captives bound in Chains made Free by Christ their Surety, 1674.
Sermon "Concerning Prayer," in the Morning Exercise, 1674.
Sermon on the Novelties of Popery, in the Morning Exercise, 1675.
The Lord's Last Sufferings shewed in the Lord's Supper, 1682.
A Call to Delaying Sinners, 1683.
Sermon "On Eyeing of Eternity," in the Morning Exercise, 1683.
A Scheme of the Principles of the Christian Religion, 1688.^a
The Swearer Silenced, 1689.
Love to Christ Necessary to escape the Curse at His Coming, 1693.
Earthquakes explained and practically improved, 1693.
The Mourner's Directory, 1693.
A Plain Method of Catechizing, 1698.^b
The Saint's Convoy to Heaven, 1698.
A Complete Body of Practical Divinity (posthumous), 1723.

The last named is a huge folio of 20 + 644 pp. His *Solemn Form of Covenant with God*, dated 18th November, 1693, occupies 5 pages. The treatise is based on the Assembly's *Shorter Catechism*, on which Doolittle had already published two smaller expositions ^a and ^b above. The treatment is chiefly practical and devotional, a feature which characterizes most of the author's works. He generally ignores, indeed does not seem to perceive,

the difficulties of the Calvinistic system. Toulmin justly says: "though a very worthy and diligent divine he was not very eminent for compass of knowledge or depth of thought."

As above stated it is uncertain whether *Thomas Vincent* is entitled to a place among the academical tutors; but his moral courage and spiritual greatness demand a brief recognition. He was born at Hertford in 1634; studied at Christ Church, Oxford, and graduated M.A.; was ejected from St. Mary Magdalen, Milk Street; and assisted Doolittle in his school at Bunhill Fields. On the outbreak of the Plague he refused to leave London; and remained throughout the whole time of the visitation, tending the sick, comforting the bereaved, and preaching—in defiance of law—to large congregations in parish churches from which the conforming ministers had fled. On Doolittle's return he assisted him in his ministry at Monkwell Street until the meeting-house was seized. Afterwards he ministered to a congregation which met first in Hoxton, later in Hand Alley, and finally in New Broad Street; and died at Hoxton in 1678. He published several small works, devotional and practical; of which the most important is *God's Terrible Voice in the City*, 1667.

The remaining London academy of this period is that conducted by *Edward Veal* in WAPPING. He was born about 1631 or -2, and studied at Christ Church, Oxford, where he graduated B.A., 13th February, 1651, and M.A., 21st February, 1653. He also studied at Trinity College, Dublin, of which he became senior Fellow. On 14th August, 1657, he received Presbyterian ordination at Winwick, Lancashire; being designated to a pastorate at Dunboyne, a village about 11 miles from Dublin. He was admitted B.D. at Dublin in July, 1661, but before the end of the year was deprived for Non-

conformity. He came to London with a testimonial signed by seven Dublin ministers, and was for some time chaplain to Sir Wm. Waller. Afterwards—from 1680 till shortly before his death—he was pastor of a Congregational church in Old Gravel Lane, Wapping. We are told that “he had several pupils, to whom he read university learning,” but only three names have been preserved—Nathaniel Taylor of Salters’ Hall; John Shower, and Samuel Wesley; all of whom studied also with Chas. Morton. Thomas Simmons, his successor, says, in a funeral sermon: “God made him extremely useful in the educating of young persons for the sacred office of the ministry, at a time when the harvest was great and the labourers few. He has met with good success that way; some that were under his care approved themselves able ministers of the New Testament, have done their work betimes, and are gone to receive their crown. Others have—most of them—approved themselves faithful and useful; and are living witnesses of his soundness in the faith, and the care he had upon him that their judgements might be well informed in the great fundamental points of the Gospel.”

Mr. Veal died 6th June, 1708. His only published writings of which we have any knowledge are four sermons in the *Morning Exercise*, and the annotations on the Ephesians in the continuation of Matthew Poole’s monumental work.

Penry's Last Journey to London

November or September—Edwards or Penry?

(See p. 182 : Sept., 1907)

THERE is a singular discrepancy as to the date of Penry's last journey from Scotland in 1592; Edwards, apparently, saying definitely that it was in November, Penry that it was "about September"; and it is not easy to account for the discrepancy or to reconcile it. I have recently made a special examination of the MSS. in regard to this point, and the following notes may be of interest.

It may be well at the outset to give the exact words involved:

Examination of John Edwards:—"John Edwards came out of Scotland with Penry—His coming out of Scotland was in November last."

Examination of Penry:—"Item he sayth that he came out of Scotland about September last, in the company of John Edwards."

It may then be noted: 1. As the Harleian MSS. are confessedly copies of still earlier MSS., it is possible, and not at all improbable, that in one case there has been a mistake in copying. The two words have the same termination, —ember.

2. It is not likely that in regard to events so comparatively recent—the examination of Penry being dated April 5, 1593, and Edwards's having taken place, apparently, a few days earlier—there was with either of them a mistake of memory.

3. The apparent vagueness of Penry: "about September," is not to be unduly pressed. It is clear from the construction of the sentences that all the items of Penry's examination are in answer to questions, which are not given. The vagueness was probably in the question; "Did you leave Scotland with Edwards about September last?" To which the answer would be in the affirmative.

4. If there has been miscopying of dates, this seems to be less likely with the evidence of Penry. (a) It is given in formally arranged items. The deposition of Edwards is given in the style of narrative; and owing perhaps to some looseness

in the examination there is a certain confusion in the order of the recital of events. Edwards goes forward and backward; there are, too, evident gaps in the story, and a want of completeness. There are signs that only a part of his evidence appears. (b) At the close of Penry's evidence there is the note, "concordat cum originale." (c) September agrees better than November with all the other indications of the journey.

5. In Edwards's testimony, after mention of November, there are the words: "They came *first* to one Mr. Ureton's house besides Derby six miles." Here there must surely be a preceding gap, as from the southernmost point of Scotland to Derby must be some 150 miles, a distance further than any mode of locomotion known at the time would be likely to accomplish. If "November" be retained as, after all, Edwards's word, then the question is suggested whether he is not dating from a time and place somewhere in England in the course of the journey.

6. Waddington (*Penry*, p. 120) has a singular and somewhat irritating variation. Instead of any mention of Scotland, in giving the evidence of Edwards he has the words: "In November last he came with him *out of the country*." It would seem unwarrantable for an historian to alter words; and yet there is no note to say he is quoting from some earlier MS. In any case he shews his conviction that the journey Edwards describes as beginning in November is from a point south of Scotland.

7. One suggestion of the gaps in the preservation of Edwards's evidence arises from the statement, as if of habit, that he lay wherever Penry lay. Yet in the very next place named, Northampton—which however could hardly be reached from Derby in a day,—he does not lie with him, but stays alone at the Bull; and St. Alban's, also within a day's journey from Northampton, is the only place left for this habit.

Locate, however, a number of places between Edinburgh and Derby, and suppose a number of weeks spent between the two, and there is room for the habit, and some possible explanation of the naming of November.

T. GASQUOINE.

Seventy Years of Church Building in the West Riding

AT the accession of Queen Victoria, in 1837, the Congregational churches in the West Riding of Yorkshire numbered about 107. Ten of these, mostly in small towns and unprogressive villages, are to-day extinct; but the growth of our great cities, and the development of rural hamlets into thriving towns, have necessitated such additional provision for the spiritual needs of the population that there are at present within the West Riding above 200 Congregational churches, together with at least 35 preaching-stations—many of them substantial buildings—where churches have not yet been organized. In addition to these 42 of the older church buildings have been replaced since 1837; so that Congregationalism is responsible for about 175 ecclesiastical buildings, great and small, erected in the West Riding within the last seventy years.

Of the edifices existing in 1837 very few had much architectural character. Of the majority the style was domestic; in a few cases there was a more or less successful imitation of the Italian style; a small minority—like Salem church, Bradford—were really handsome buildings of their kind; but in too many instances the architecture was that of a factory. Yet some of the least attractive of these structures bore witness to much devotion and self denial; for example, the old sanctuary at Allerton, erected in 1814 and removed in 1872, was largely built by volunteer labour.

The internal arrangements were usually those of the Puritan meeting-house; the pulpit was often in the longest side of the building, with a large table pew in front, and deep galleries so constructed as to bring their occupants as near as possible to the preacher. Sometimes the pulpit had a sounding-board, over which at Mixenden hung a dove with expanded wings. Pews were usually high backed, sometimes square and sometimes narrow, but seldom shewing much regard for comfort. As the leading idea was that of an auditorium it was natural to mass the congregation as much as possible in front of the preacher; and therefore a central alley was unusual, except in the smallest churches. Organs were rarely found in "Dissenters' meetings"; but Yorkshire was then, as now, renowned for its church psalmody; and the table pew, or front gallery, furnished accommodation for "cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, and dulcimer, and all kinds of music," as miscellaneous as Nebuchadnezzar's court band, and much more tuneful.

By far the finest Congregational church building of the early Victorian period in the county was that in East Parade, Leeds, erected in 1840. It was in Grecian style, with a stately Doric portico; and well deserved the admiration it commanded. Its removal sixty years later, owing to the shifting of population, deprived the city of a notable ornament; but was less to be regretted than some possible uses to which it might otherwise have been applied. Another noteworthy building is the church at Saltaire, erected in 1857 by Sir Titus Salt, entirely at his own cost. This is a Roman classical edifice, artistically faultless; and with its richly coloured marbles, arched roof with elaborate panelling, and fittings at once elegant and solid, was probably up to that date the most

beautiful church that had ever been dedicated for Free Church worship in England. Its belfry, moreover, was the first attached to a Congregational church in which there was more than a single bell. Unfortunately its acoustic properties were thoroughly bad ; and the mischief was only overcome, after several costly experiments, by the introduction of heavy draperies.

A third church that demands notice is that in Horton Lane, Bradford, erected in 1862 to replace a huge factory-like meeting-house which had stood for about 80 years. The style of this is Elizabethan, with Italian details, from the designs of Messrs. Lockwood and Mawson. It is at once commodious, beautiful, and comfortable, and its acoustic properties are excellent. It seats about 1,300, and, with the adjacent schools, cost £12,000. A concise description appears in the Congregational Year Book of 1864.

But these churches, large, conspicuous, and beautiful as they are (or were), must yield in historic importance to a very modest village sanctuary which accommodates 300 worshippers. This was built in 1840, at Burley-in-Wharfedale, and is noteworthy as the earliest Congregational church in Yorkshire in the so-called "Gothic" style. It is a pretty little building, though no doubt architectural purists might find much in it to criticize ; and its builders had to contend against not only ignorance but prejudice. In those days many excellent people seriously believed that a "churchy" style of building was somehow incongruous with the "principles of dissent" ; and there is a story—perhaps apocryphal—that the architect had to conciliate ultra-Protestant susceptibilities by substituting another kind of finial for the floreated cross which he had proposed to place on the front gable. However, the success

of the experiment was such as to warrant repetition; and it was soon practically demonstrated that, if anything better than the baldest and ugliest utilitarianism was desired, a better effect could be obtained at less cost by the adoption of some form of Gothic than by feeble imitations of the classical or the renaissance.

No doubt many blunders were made; that was inevitable. The ecclesiastical Gothic of the earlier years of the nineteenth century was of the most debased type. Churches were built, or rebuilt, in which were blended architectural features of every age from Henry II. to Henry VIII. Difference in style may be seen in most of the cathedrals; but the Episcopalian churches built with parliamentary grants, all in one style, were as debased Gothic as any in the country.

And the fact that the systematic study of mediaeval architecture was intimately associated with the religious movement popularly nicknamed "Puseyism" was disadvantageous to Free Church architects. Hence from time to time we had deep transepts, heavy stone or clustered iron pillars, open roofs, wide aisles — often filled in with galleries which cut right across tall narrow windows. And not infrequently there were timber or plaster imitations of features which must be ridiculous if not executed in stone—in short a cheap pretentiousness which gave point to the gibe about "Dissenters' Gothic."

But we learned by our failures. A fairly creditable church was built at Rawden in 1846; Greenfield, Bradford, followed in 1852, Stanningley and Lister Hills, Bradford, in 1854, and in the same year Wicker, Sheffield. In 1856 there arose the slender spire and richly decorated front of Regent Street, Barnsley; and every former success was surpassed in 1857, when

the Square Church, Halifax, reared its stately head.

From this time forward the majority of our new churches in the district were designed in the style which most unmistakably proclaims their religious purpose, and is associated with the most memorable incidents of our national history. Many of them bear witness not only to the zeal and liberality of the congregations, but to the fine taste and constructive skill of the architects. Externally at least, Harrogate (1861), Knaresborough and Hillhouse, Huddersfield (1865), Pudsey (1866), and Ilkley (1868), may safely challenge criticism. But it was long before our architects abandoned the attempt to enclose a conventional "meeting-house" within a mediaeval shell, or resisted the temptation to insert lofty side-windows which were afterwards to be obstructed by the erection of deferred galleries. This constructive error was avoided at Halifax Park (1868), and Dewsbury Ebenezer (1884); but late examples indicate that it was abandoned with some reluctance. Of downright structural falsehoods—such as vestries simulating chancels, and of pretentious fronts on buildings otherwise mean and shabby, we have happily few instances in the West Riding. But somehow it has come about that often our most successful buildings, those most suited for Congregational worship, are found not in great cities, but in small towns and rural villages. Perhaps it may be that there is less temptation to provide the largest possible number of seats at the smallest possible cost. However, churches like those at Drighlington and Holywell Green (both 1868), Ripponden (1869), and Boston Spa (1877), are each in its own way admirable. While for the requirements of a great city church it would not be easy to imagine provision that

should surpass that of Trinity, Leeds (1901), the majestic edifice which carries on the work of the once famous East Parade.

This is a review of architectural progress which would do honour to any Christian denomination. Some of the churches that have been mentioned are not perfect, for who has ever seen a perfect building? But they are a wonderful improvement upon the meeting-houses of the eighteenth or nineteenth century.

This slight sketch would be wanting indeed if it were to close without reference to the most valuable work which the English Congregational Church Building Society, under the able and painstaking leadership of the Rev. J. C. Gallaway, M.A., has effected in the improvement of our church buildings. The moneys granted and the loans made have been but a small portion of the good accomplished.

How many churches could be named that have cost over £10,000, which if their plans had been submitted to Mr. Gallaway or his successors before the works were let, would be much better to hear or preach in! Sometimes the transepts are too deep, the naves too lofty and the inner wagon headed roof been found wanting. Instances could be named where there are no transepts and there is an under drawn roof, and still by the faulty construction of the building the acoustics are wretched.

More than 50 years ago the society published a *Manual of Practical Hints*, embodying the views which the committee then held as to the buildings themselves and the methods by which such undertakings should be carried out.

Taking as their motto "Strength and beauty are in His Sanctuary" the committee have tried to combine such important requisites in the buildings

they have aided, and have been of untold benefit to Congregationalists in the hundreds of churches they have aided throughout the land. The English Congregational Church Building Society started in 1853 on an experimental career of five years, with a guaranteed income of £2,500, proposing in that time to aid in the building of fifty places of worship. It is pleasant to be able to report that in 1905 the committee could say that nine hundred and eighty seven cases (874 churches and 113 manses) have been aided by the society in the fifty two years of its existence, with loans and grants, paid and promised, amounting to £205,444.

Besides the English Church Building Society there have been or are the Metropolitan, the London, the Yorkshire, the Lancashire, and other societies of a similar nature, which have by practical advice as well as by grants and loans been of great service in the erection of suitable buildings in advantageous and commanding situations.

The writer has had to do, more or less, with the erection of more than fifty Congregational churches and schools, and can speak from practical experience of the great improvement that has taken place in the adaptability of the structures for which they are designed. The purposes to which we apply our buildings are prayer, psalmody, preaching, teaching, conference and fellowship; and the more we make them suitable for our requirements the more serviceable they will be for the wants of the community and the efficiency of our work for the Master.

J. A. CLAPHAM.

Early Conventicles in Cumberland and Westmorland

IN the last issue of *Transactions* an attempt was made to illustrate and supplement Mr. Colligan's paper by a map of the two counties and lists of ejected ministers, licences under the Indulgence, early Friends' meetings, etc. But nothing was said about the conventicles that were reported in 1669. The Rev. Geo. Lyon Turner, M.A., who has made a special study both of the Sheldon returns and of the licences, enables us to complete the record.

Conventicle Returns—1669.

(1) The returns for *Cumberland* are given in three brief sections:

i.—*Copeland* deanery as follows :

DEANE.	Meetings of Quakers, sometimes to the number of 200.
DISTINGTON.	Quakers.
EMBLETON.	Some Quakers.
COCKERMOUTH.	Some Nonconformists and some Quakers.
EGREMOND.	Conventicle of Nonconformists.
BRIGHAM.	Quakers.
LOWESWATER.	Quakers.
LAMPLUGH.	Quakers about 20.

Then follows a list of 21 places, with the note : "Noe Conventicles in any of these places." They are :

Ardleiden	Whitehaven	Millam	Innerdale	Waverthwayt
Corney	Nether Wasdale	St. Bees'	Nuncaster	Ponsonby
Breg	Wicham	St. John's	Hail	Hornington
Bootill	Work	St. Bridgett's	Irton	Morasby Gofforth

ii.—*Lonsdale* deanery :

LORTON. Some few Quakers.

iii.—In the diocese of *Carlisle*.

This part of the return is given in five columns—as was intended—and as it is given in all the returns from the southern counties.

Parishes & Conventicles in them.	Sects.	Numbers.	Qualitie.	Heads and Teachers.
Bridekirke ...	Independents	50 or 60	Meane for the most part	One George Larkham some time minister att Cocker-mouth.
Brampton ...		30 or 35	Meane most of them, but some rich	One Nathaniel Burnand some time vicar there, but is now a Farmer or Drover.
Hesket	} Independents	60 or more		Simon Atkinson.
Lozenby				One Slee.
Kirk Oswald				One Nicholson.

There is likewise a meeting of Quakers, sometimes in one parish, sometimes in another, very tumultuous.

(2) The returns for *Westmorland* are very meagre—only three in number; all in the return for the *Kendal* deanery, and all for Quakers.

They are:

1. GRIESMERE. A meeting of Quakers, about 80 or upwards.
2. BOLTON. Meeting of Quakers, to the number of 40, sometimes more.
3. BURTON. Quakers, 50, sometimes more.

Mr. Turner also furnishes corrections of several inaccuracies in the lists above referred to—*Transactions* 3., pp. 229-232.

Some of these are trivial—as where the licences for the preacher and the house are separate documents, but are not so distinguished in the list; or where licences are not dated in the entry book, but the dates have been supplied by the compiler of the calendar. But the following are important:

LICENCES IN CUMBERLAND.

ALLONBY is an error for Allerby.

BRAMPTON. Nathaniel Burman should be Burnam. The person meant is the ejected vicar, whose name was Burnand.

62 Early Conventicles in Cumberland, etc.

BRIDEKIRK. The dates 2nd May and 26th July should be 8th May and 16th July.

BRIDEKIRK. House of Edward James was at Carlisle—not Bridekirk [printer's error]; the correct entry is

CARLISLE. "The House of Edw. James of Blackfryers in Carlisle in Cumberland, Pr."

GREYSTOCK is spelled Graistock in the entry book.

A more serious fault is the omission of

SCALEBY CASTLE. "The house of Rich. Gilpin at Scarby Castle in Northumberl. Pr." (The name is misspelled in the calendar, and the county is wrongly stated.)

LICENCES IN WESTMORLAND.

KENDAL. Whitehead was ejected from Dalton in Lancashire (which of the two Daltons is questioned); and Benson from Bridekirk. Garrett is an error for Garnett; he is the same as Gernet mentioned below. Cook is an error for Cork; he is described as "of Kendall Park in Westmorland."

ERRORS ON THE MAP.

ALLONBY is given by error instead of Allerby, which is about two miles to the south.

BRIDEKIRK should be underlined for a Presbyterian meeting.

HESKETH in the map is Hesketh Newmarket; it is doubtful if the licence was for that place or for Upper or Nether Hesketh, both of which are about nine miles to the NE.

KENDAL should be doubly underlined for several Presbyterian meetings.

WHINFELL and **HEVERSHAM**, both Presbyterian, are omitted; the former is about six miles NNE. and the latter six miles S., of Kendal.

SCALEBY CASTLE, Presbyterian, is also omitted; it is NE. of Carlisle, about halfway between Kirkclinton and Crosby.

The Later Years of Robert Browne

IN the first paper of this series (*Transactions* Vol. II. No. 3, p. 151) I ventured to remark "It seems to be the fate of every writer about Robert Browne to fall into some misstatements." Unfortunately that fate befell the present writer in that very paper, but he is now in the happy position of being able to correct some, at least, of his own errors.

I.—BROWNE'S MATRIMONIAL TROUBLES

The last section of the above mentioned paper dealt with the question of Browne's second marriage, and set forth a theory as to the second wife which seemed to fit in admirably with ascertained facts. It is now my duty to say that that convenient theory has been shattered completely by further discoveries among the diocesan records at Peterborough. Browne did marry a second time (and therein another of Dexter's conclusions goes to the wind), but the woman was not, as I conjectured, Joane Story of Stamford. In the parish register of St. Martin's, Stamford, I had found this entry:

1612 Robert Brown, gent, & Eliz. Warrener, married
Feb 14th

But that entry I rejected as not relating to our Browne, firstly because it was unlikely that a "clerk" would be termed a "gent," and Browne we know had been ordained; and secondly because the Joane story seemed so pat. However, I soon had proof that the name of his second wife was Elizabeth, yet it was not until this month (April, 1908) that I found the entry to settle all further doubt. In the Special Licence book (vol I.) it is recorded

That on Feb 5th 1612/13. a licence was granted for the solemnization of the rites of holy matrimony between "Robert Browne Clerk, Rector of Achurch & Elizabeth Warrener of Stamford S^t. Martins, widow." And permission was given for the marriage to take place "either at Achurch or Stamford S^t. Martins"

The entry at St. Martin's was evidently made by a clerk who had not been informed that Browne was in orders, yet knew that he was a member of the influential Tolethorpe family.

304 The Later Years of Robert Browne

Elizabeth Warrener, widow, seems to have brought to Browne but little domestic happiness and much parochial disturbance. The next entry relating to her is as follows :

"Before Mr Wm Pritherghe LL.D. Commissary general, Surrogate & official of the Archdeacon of Northanton. In the Chapel of Blessed Mary the Virgin by the Cathedral church of Peterborough. Wednesday 12 October 1614. Present Tho. Amy : Not. Publ. etc.

Thorpe cū Achurche

Wm Lynhall : pñtat^r for speakeinge of unreverent speeches of Elizabeth Browne the wyfe of M^r Robt. Browne o^r minister.

The case was deferred until November 25th. Unfortunately the proceedings on that day were entered on a leaf which has been torn from the record, and the only thing which remains clear is that Wm. Lynhall was excommunicated or suspended. Therefore the charge was admitted to be true, although, as we shall see presently, apparently Wm. Lynhall had some grounds of justification for speaking "unreverently" of Mrs. Browne. This presentation, of course, was made by the churchwardens of the parish.

Some light is thrown upon this unhappy domestic story by the following and similar entries :

Court of the Archdeacon of Northampton

17 Octobrio Before M^r Richus Meredith, clerk, surrogate etc.
1615

In the parish church of Oundle.

Tuesday 17 Oct 1615

In the presence of Tho. Amy, Notary Publ.

Thorpe Achurche

Magistr Robtm Browne	} Presentatur our parsonage houses (<i>sic</i>) to be in decay and 4 Tenants dwellinge in them.
clerc. Rector : ibidem	

Mrm Browne p^rdictum: Presentatur for not being resident on his parsonage.

Again a year hence, on October 30th, 1616, in the same place and before the same official, Browne was presented "that the parsonage house is oute of repaire."

Yet again on December 9th, 1617, he was charged with the same offence "for sufferinge his parsonage house to go to decaye."

Upon these entries all that I have to remark at present is this : that Browne's handwriting disappears from the Achurch parish register in June, 1616, that the house at Thorpe Waterville which he lived in (and built ?) bore the date 1618 ; and that his successor to the living of Achurch, the Rev. Peter Asheton D.D., built the present rectory in 1633 upon the site of the old parsonage house allowed by Browne to go into decay.

To return to Browne's wife, we find the following records, parts only of which I give :

"Before Mr. Johannes Lambe LL.D. Vicar General of the Lord Bishop of Peterborough as well as Official of the Lord Arch-deacon of Northampton.

In the parish Church of Oundle, 14 October 1618
In the presence of Tho. Amy, N.P.

Achurche

Elizabeth Browne : Presentatur M^{re} Eliz : Browne and Bartholomew Smithe of Wadenhoe, for keepinge Companie together in the parsonage house of Thorpe Achurche as the fame goeth, in the nighte"

On the same day and before the same court she was likewise presented with John Broughton of Pilton on a similar charge. Both the men appeared to answer the charge and were ordered to find four honest neighbours apiece as compurgators to swear to their innocence. The case came before the same official on October 30th, 1618, in the parish church of Uppingham ; it was declared that the citation had been served upon Elizabeth Browne by an apparitor named Washingle on the previous Wednesday, but again Mrs. Browne put in no appearance. As she did not appear again on November 20th, 1618, she was pronounced by the court sitting at Oundle to be contumacious, and condemned to the usual penalties. However, on December 10th, 1618, Mrs. Browne did appear before the court sitting in the parish church of Oundle, "et solvit 2^s. debet 16^d." for her contumacy. Bartholomew Smithe and John Broughton also appeared, and presented their compurgators, viz. : "Thomas Saunderson. Tho. Thirlby de Pilton, Millicent Hunt de Yaxley, Wm. Wolasson de Allwinckle." These were accepted for Broughton, and when he and they had sworn on oath that he had never misconducted himself with Elizabeth Browne the court declared itself satisfied, and formally stated that Broughton's reputation was cleared. Bartholomew Smith, however, apparently was not able to clear his character. The case came up again on March 14th, 1619, and May 16th, when Smith was declared contumacious for not paying all the court fees ; and there the case disappears.

Our present entries relating to Browne's wife end with the following :

"Court held before M^r Anthony Wells, surrogate of M^r John Lambe Vicar-general of the Bp of Peterborough, in the parish church of Oundle 29. Oct 1623. present Thos. Amy. N.P.

"Elizabetha Browne de Achurche uxor Roberti Browne, cl, contra Robertum Browne predictum eius maritum	}	in causa restitutionis obsequiorum conjugalium etc.
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Evidence of the service of a citation on Robert Browne was given by the Officer of the Court, but Browne put in no appearance. The case was called on November 11th, November 25th, and December 9th in the same year but no progress was made with it.

Piecing together these bare records we conjecture that the story of Browne's second marriage was somewhat as follows : Early in 1612/13 he married this Mrs. Warrener who was probably many years his junior. Her conduct was such that within eighteen months she was the subject of gossip, and plain spoken Wm. Lynhall was moved to unreverent speech concerning her. Sometime during 1615 Browne leaves his old parsonage house to reside at the other end of his scattered parish, and possibly builds there the house with which his name has ever since been associated. Whether his wife Elizabeth went with him, or stayed on in the large old parsonage house, we cannot say. The plural "houses" in the entry of October 17th, 1615, probably refer to the outhouses and other buildings adjacent to, and connected with, the parsonage house proper.

His wife's conduct may have been the cause of his removal to Thorpe Waterville, and even the reason why he ceased to officiate at Achurch for a while. This much is clear that henceforth at least Browne refused to live with his wife. She sued him in 1623 for the restitution of conjugal rights, but he took no notice of the suit, and in all probability never lived with her again. She outlived him some years.

Fuller (*Church History* vol. 5, p. 68) therefore is proved to be quite correct when he stated that Browne "had in my time a wife with whom for many years he never lived, parted from her on some distaste, and a church wherein he never preached." But I doubt whether we can place much reliance upon the assertion of Robert Baillie ("a Dissvasive . . ." 1645) "I have heard it from reverend Ministers, that he was a common beater of his poor old wife, & would not stick to defend publikely this his wicked practice." Had Browne beaten his wife she could have presented him before the ecclesiastical court, but there is no evidence of such a procedure.

2.—BROWNE'S PAROCHIAL TROUBLES, 1616 TO 1631

I regret that I am still unable to give the complete story of Browne's life as rector of Achurch. The new evidence which follows is very disjointed and usually the records break off just where the interest is keenest. However, from the following items (taken chiefly from the archdeacon's Visitation and Court Book at Peterborough) some fresh light is thrown upon the tangled history of Browne. And here the present writer desires to make the fullest acknowledgement of the ever courteous assistance of the

Rev. E. A. Irons, M.A., rector of North Luffenham, Stamford, whose knowledge of the records at Peterborough is equalled by no man. But for Mr. Irons's generous help probably many of the following facts would never have emerged to light.

It is of interest to note, first, his relation to the ecclesiastical authorities as indicated by his appearance or non-appearance at the archdeacon's visitation.

Achurch is in the rural deanery of Oundle, from which place it is distant about $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles. Thither then Browne and every incumbent, curate, etc., in the deanery was expected to come, or send an adequate excuse.

The archdeacon's visitation books prior to 1607 have been lost. The following is Browne's record :

1607. No appearance.

1608, 1609, 1610 and 1611. Appeared. (1611 paid $2/6$ procuration fee).

1612. No appearance, excused. Thurlbie (his curate) appeared.

1613. Appeared.

1615. No appearance; he was therefore suspended, but probably absolved on paying the usual fine.

1616 (April 10) Appeared, also Henson, his curate, who had been licensed as deacon on Sept. 24, 1615.

1617. No appearance. But Arthur Smith, his curate, appeared and he was "asked by his Lordship's judge if he have worn the surplice, admitted he hath not since he served the cure, he was suspended from the exercise of his office & absolved, & admonished to wear the surplice every Sabbath & to do other rites & solemnities according to the book of common prayer."

1618, 1619, 1620, 1621. Browne made no appearance, Smith appears each time. In 1621 occurs the note "Mr. Smith is gon from Achurche." (He was instituted vicar of Oundle that year).

1622, 1623, 1624, 1625, Browne—no appearance. John Barker, curate, A.M., appeared each time. In 1622 there is the note "There is a strange preacher."

1626 (Oct. 10) Browne appeared by proxy, paid $3/4$. Barker also appeared.

1627 (2 courts) No appearance. Barker appears.

1628 (Oct. 23) Browne appears.

1628/9 (Mar. 31) Browne appears.

1629 (Oct.) No appearance, paid $2/4$.

1630. No appearance, but excused.

1632. No appearance.

1633 (Nov. 2) Peter Asheton, D.D. (his successor) appears.

On the whole, therefore, Browne fulfilled this ecclesiastical duty up to April, 1616, and from October, 1626 to the end of his resi-

dence in Achurch, but not during that strange period of ten years. There is no evidence from this source of any breach with the ecclesiastical authorities. He simply made no appearance then, as on certain other occasions, but no special notice is taken of his absence.

Turning, however, to the records of the archdeacon's court we find there is mention of a suit "Officium dni g^r Robtum Browne R. of Achurche" begun on Wednesday 4th June 1617 in the Oundle parish church, but no particulars of any kind are given, probably because the proceedings never took form. But the entry, such as it is, is of great interest. First, because of its date. It synchronizes with the first appearance of Arthur Smith's handwriting in the Achurch parish register—June 17th, 1617. Secondly, it indicates that the suit—whatever may have been its character,—was promoted not by the churchwardens of the parish but by the ecclesiastical authorities—"his lordship's officer."

I have no trace of any action against Browne during the interval 1617 to 1626 except those mentioned above in the section dealing with his second wife. But on April 26th, 1626, there is an important record. It is of a suit brought by "his lordship's officer," not against Browne, but against the churchwardens of Achurch because they had not presented Browne.

It was tried before John Lambe, LL.D., vicar-general of the lord bishop of Peterborough and official of the archdeacon of Northampton, in the parish church of Oundle.

His Lordship's officer against Wm Deacon & Henry Wiles wardens of Achurche	}	Information is given to the court by John Barker, clerk, & Thomas Olyver of Achurche
--	---	--

"That the sd M^r Browne beinge suspended ab execucone officii sui clericalis did notwithstandinge upon Palme Sunday last reade dyvine service & preache on the same daye. And that upon the 15 of Aprill now instant beinge the Sabothe daye he did reede prayers & preache and Administer the Sacramente in the Churche there."

We are not told what happened to the unhappy wardens. This entry gives us the exact date of Browne's resumption of duties—"Palme Sunday," 1626: his handwriting reappears April 9th, 1626, His suspension may have been of short duration; as we saw above, suspension was sometimes only for a few hours—till a fine had been paid; but I think, putting the 1617 and 1626 entries together, we may legitimately infer that he was suspended from his clerical duties for the whole of that period. The cool, independent way in which he returns to his duties, without waiting for the annulment of his suspension, is quite characteristic of the man. It is the Robert Browne of pre-clerical days reasserting himself, and this same independent spirit is indicated in the remaining records.



The "Old Chapel House," Thorp Waterville (Achurch Parish); built for R. Browne, 1618

Had we a full knowledge of the forty years spent at Achurch, we might find that that spirit had never left him.

The next entry is dated Thursday, 8th November, 1627.

Before Mr. Anthony Wells, S.T.B., Surr. etc. in the parish church of Oundle etc.

M^{rs} Robtum Browne, R. etc is presented "for not using of the crosse in baptism, & for not wearinge of the surplice, & for omittinge of some parte of the booke of comon prayer."

This suit was brought, presumably, by the churchwardens. From the time of his return we have evidence that an active section of his parishioners, including apparently the churchwardens, were opposed to his lax conformity. It may well be, as I suggest above, that all through his incumbency he had exercised a certain freedom with reference to the rubric, but that his withdrawal in 1617 was a more emphatic declaration of nonconformity, and that on his return the conforming section were less complaisant. The rebuke his curate Smith received at the archdeacon's visitation in 1617 is evidence of an atmosphere of freedom in Achurch.

It is worthy of note also that whereas we have evidence that Browne employed curates from 1611 to 1626, from 1627 there is no mention of one. Browne *now* discharges the duties himself, with what result we see.

The growing hostility to Browne comes out clearly in the following and subsequent records.

On the same day (November 8th, 1627) and at the same court at which Browne was presented for his nonconformity, one of his parishioners Thomas Sanders was presented "upon a fame for givinge the Minister evill speeches in the Churche." Sanders put in an appearance to meet the charge and declared "that that we^h M^r Browne sayd to him in the Churche was A lye." Sanders was deemed guilty, he was suspended from entering the church and ordered to perform a penance.

Then follows a list of parishioners of Achurch presented for "absenting of themselves" from the parish church: "Thomas Olyver & his wyfe & all his familie. Robt Dust, W^m Osberston, Edmund Quincey & Judith his wyfe. Robt Peake, Johana Peake widow, Johana Greene." (Note that the first named, Thomas Olyver, had together with Barker the curate been the prime mover against Browne on his return on "Palme Sunday," 1626.

On November 27th Thos. Sanders still remaining suspended was absolved; he was ordered to perform a penance of which the wardens were to certify the performance, and a fee of 2/6 was paid. The certificate had not been sent by December 6th.

There is a lull as far as the records are concerned for the next two years, then the final storm slowly gathers. In the Achurch

parish register (*vide Transactions* Vol. III. No. 2, p. 135) occurs this entry :

1629 Christenings October 25, 1629 Allen Greenes child baptized in schisme at Lylford named John.

In the archdeacon's book we find the following :

Business transacted before Mr Anthony Wells S.T.B. Surr. etc. in the parish church of Oundle, Thursday 19 Nov. 1629. In presence of Tho: Amy, N.P. Dep. Reg. Thorp Achurch.

"Magrum Browne Rcorem ibm—Presentatur for that he refused to baptize the child of Allen Greene & turned it from the church."

Evidence was given that the citation had been served on Browne on the preceding Sunday, but he made no appearance. John Browne his son appeared and declared on oath "that his ffather is not able to come to this courte without danger of his healte." The case was deferred to the next sitting of the court, when Browne was ordered to appear in person.

Then immediately following there are also these separate charges made, each being held over for the same reason.

"Magrm Browne predictum : Presentatur for that he refused to bury the dead. Similiter.

Magrm Browne predictum : Presentatur for that he doeth not read divine service according to the booke of Comon prayer. Similiter.

Magrm Browne, antedictum : Presentatur for that he doeth not weare the surplice. Similitr.

Magrm Browne, predictum : Presentatur for that he doeth not use the Crosse in baptisme. Similiter."

The case came up before the same official at the same place on Thursday, 10th December, 1629. All the charges are repeated in precisely the same form. Again Browne made no appearance, and this time his son Thomas took the oath and made the same declaration. Then his lordship's official ordered Browne to appear at the next court.

The case was called again on Thursday, 7th January, 1629/30, in the same place. On this occasion the entry simply states that Browne did not appear to answer the charge, and that he was to appear at the next court.

How often during the year 1630 Browne was ordered to appear and refused I cannot say; there are no more entries relating to the case until December, 1630, when the case is taken to a higher quarter.

"Business transacted before the Reverend Father and Lord in Christ the lord William by divine permission bishop of St. Peter's Borough or Peterborough in a certain parlour within the bishop's palace at Peterborough on Sat. 4 Dec. 1630 between the hours of 9 and 12 a.m. in presence of Thos. Amy, N.P. Dep. Reg."

Officium domini promotum per Allenum Greene unum Gard. de Achurche et Robtum Dust unum. Inquisit, ibidem contra Robtum Browne, Cler, Rcorem de Achurche	}	Then follows the usual court jargon at great length.—I give only a summary: Roger Mason certified that he person- ally had served the citation upon Robert Browne, on last Wednesday at his rectory of Achurch. When Browne's name had been called three times, and no appearance been made, Greene and Dust accused Browne of contumacy in not appearing to answer the summons, and prayed that he should be considered and declared contumacious and that he should be excommunicated; but the Reverend Father from reasons specially known to him ("ex causis eum specialiter novendis") ordered Browne to appear at the next court to be held at Oundle viz. on the 16th of December, and he postponed and held over the case to the aforesaid time and place.
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Accordingly the scene is transferred back to the parish church of Oundle, before Mr. Anthony Wells, S.T.B. Surr. etc., on Thursday, 16th December, 1630.

There is a similar entry :

"Officium domini promotum etc." This time Browne appears and immediately Allin (a proctor, practising in the archdeacon's court, and appearing here for Greene and Dust) took the oath and produced the articles which his lordship had admitted on his petition and ordered Browne to answer to the aforesaid articles at the next court.

The next court was held in the same place, before the same official, on 12th January, 1630/31. Browne appears and presents his answers to the articles. Allin accepts the answers; and on the prayer of Allin his lordship fixes a date for the proving of the articles, etc. All this, of course, is merely the complicated court procedure. The case comes up at the next court on January 26th, 1630/31. Browne is called three times, but does not appear. Allin forthwith accuses him of contumacy and petitions that he should be pronounced contumacious and condemned to the usual fines. This his lordship decreed upon Allin's petition. Then Allin produced the witnesses who should prove his articles, viz.: Thos. Sanders, James Holledge, Robert Woodruffe, Wm. Deacon and Geoffry Tuckerson, all of Achurch. These witnesses are admitted

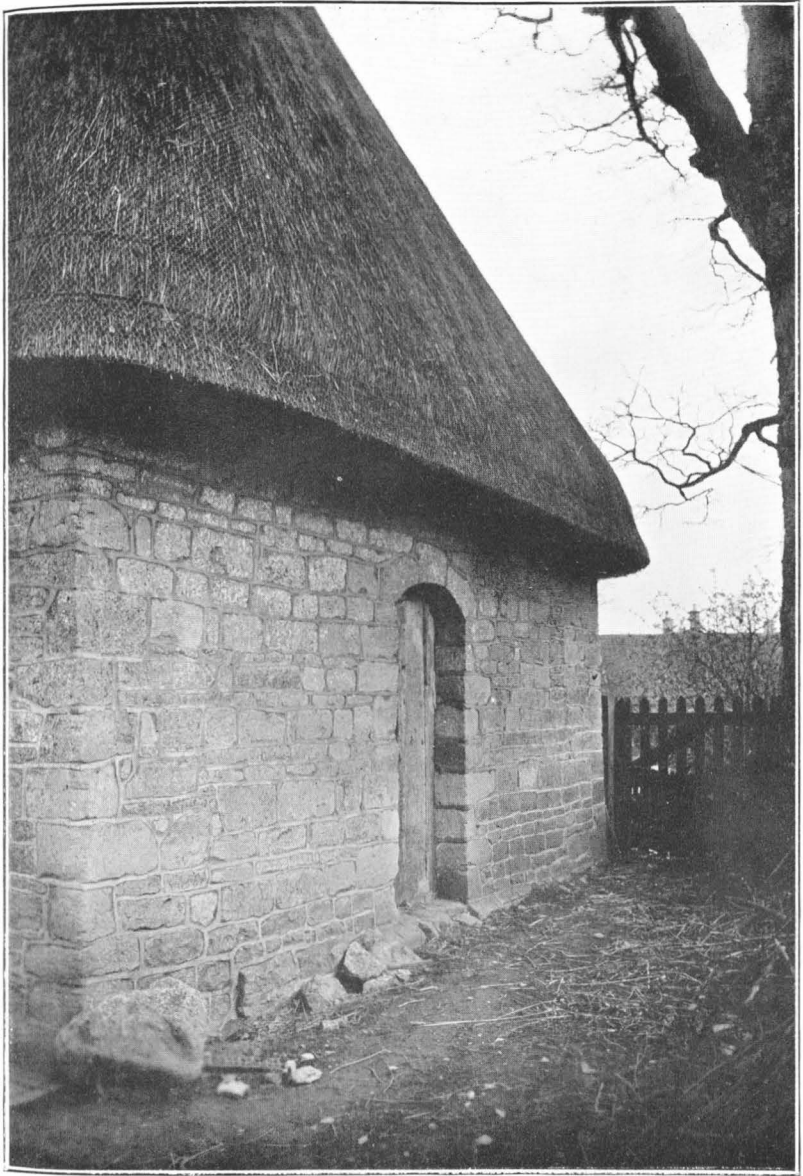
by his lordship, and they are warned that their questions (examen) shall be written by the time of the next court.

February 17th, 1630/31, is the date of the next (and for us final) court. The witnesses on behalf of Greene and Dust are produced, and examined. Browne is called, but does not appear; thereupon much more court formality and court jargon, of which nothing clear is the upshot; and the entry concludes with the statement that his lordship ordered the aforesaid testimony to be published.

There, so far as these records go, it all ends. Browne's handwriting disappears from the Achurch register on June 2nd, 1631, and the curtain falls.

3.—WAS BROWNE EVER EXCOMMUNICATED?

The present writer thinks he was not. In a former paper (*Transactions* Vol. II. No. 4., p. 239) he brought forward certain considerations to prove that the excommunication, if it ever happened, did not happen in 1586, as Dexter and some subsequent writers allege. Those considerations have been accepted by Mr. Champlin Burrage in his invaluable work *The True Story of Robert Browne*, (p. 43), and he there agrees that the excommunication did not take place in 1586. Mr. Burrage, however, is loath to dismiss the excommunication story altogether. He fixes upon 1617 as the date of the excommunication, and argues very ingeniously to prove that the disappearance of Browne 1617 to 1626 was due to sentence of excommunication (*ibid.*, pp. 68-71). Now, Mr. Burrage's knowledge of Browne's life and writings is unrivalled, and his judgement weighty. The present writer therefore considerably hesitates to differ from such an eminent authority. Yet he cannot accept Mr. Burrage's theory. To make his theory square with known facts Mr. Burrage is obliged to alter, in two important particulars, the earliest account of (and sole authority for) the excommunication, *i.e.*, that given by Dr. Thomas Bayley in the preface to *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, 1709. For Northampton he would write "Achurch near Northampton" (it is 26 miles distant), and for Bishop Lindsell, Bishop Dove. Even then one can hardly believe that when Dr. Bayley wrote "This [the sentence of excommunication] so struck the old gentleman, that he submitted himself to the bishop," he was referring to an excommunication, which according to Mr. Burrage must have lasted nine years. That would be rather a slow striking of the imagination of the old gentleman. An excommunicated person was practically an outlaw, certainly he was put in quarantine. None dare even associate with him. It is difficult to believe that Browne should live thus in his own parish for nine years! More-



BROWNE'S HOUSE, THORP WATERVILLE
Door of the room where he is said to have held Religious Meetings

over, the records at Peterborough contain not the slightest tissue of evidence of excommunication. Robert Browne's name never appears in the list of excommunicated persons; for persons were occasionally excommunicated, and their names recorded, but they usually soon gave in to the ecclesiastical authorities. Further, in the entry of December 9th, 1617 (*supra* p. 304) he is termed rector, as usual, and is held responsible for the upkeep of the parsonage.

Had he been excommunicated from 1617 to 1626 we should have had reference to it on April 26th, 1626, if nowhere else. The present writer thinks that for some time preceding 1626—possibly from 1617 to 1626, Robert Browne was, for some reason at present not known (possibly for nonconformity), simply suspended "from the discharge of his clerical duties"—a very different condition from that of excommunication.

Browne came nearest to excommunication on Saturday, 4th December, 1630, as we have seen above; and if ever that sentence fell upon him it was in the year 1631, at the close of his life, and as the result of the "contumacy" indicated above. But of that we have not the slightest trace, and the probability is against such a conclusion.

What then was the origin of Dr. Bayley's circumstantial story? Another confusion! Not Robert but Philip Browne was excommunicated. For on the same days, and before the same courts that Robert Browne was presented (*viz.* December 16th, 1630, January 12th, 1630/31, January 26th, 1630/31, and February 17th, 1630/31), a Philip Browne was presented. Who this Philip Browne was, we cannot say, probably he was that younger brother of Robert who had been deprived of the living of Little Carterton in 1604 (*cf. Transactions*, Vol. II., p. 154). Nor can we say what accusation had been brought against him. The first entry relating to him discovered at present is that of December 16th, 1630. It commences (as Robert's):

"Officium domini promotum per Alanum Greene et Robtum
Dust g^a Philippum Browne de Achurche."

Like Robert, he was to answer certain articles. Mason certified that personally he had served the citation upon the aforesaid Browne at Achurch. As Philip did not appear Allin took the oath and accused him of contumacy in not appearing etc., and petitioned that he be deemed contumacious and be declared excommunicated. The court granted the petition and Philip Browne was declared to be in danger of excommunication. When the case came up on January 12th, 1630, it is simply recorded that Philip Browne did not appear, and he is excommunicated.

On January 26th, 1630, the entry relating to Philip reads: "Browne remains excommunicated."

The last entry (February 17th, 1630) states that he had been denounced in church "in festo Natalis Domini 1630" and that he "remains excommunicated."

Here then is the origin of Dr. Bayley's story, for this did occur while he was chaplain to Bishop Lindsell, or more accurately one year before. It should be noted that in Dr. Bayley's account no Christian name is prefixed to Browne.

4.—THE "SCHISM" ENTRIES IN ACHURCH PARISH REGISTER.

The various records reproduced above throw light, I believe, upon the "schism" entries which occur in the Achurch parish register (see *Transactions*, Vol. III., p. 126, *et seq.*). In those records certain of Browne's parishioners are found to take action against him, either by presenting him, or witnessing to the truth of the accusations brought against him, or simply absenting themselves from church.

In the first column below I give the list of such persons, and in the second I give the names of the "schismatics."

PERSONS OPPOSED TO R. B.

Thomas Saunders
Wm. Osberston
Edmund Quincey
Allen Greene
James Holledge
Thomas Olyver
Robert Dust
Robert Peake
Robert Woodruffe
Wm. Deacon
Geoffrey Tuckerson

SCHISMATICS.

Thomas Saunders
Wm. Osbaston
Edmond Quincey
Allen Greene
James Holdich
Sylvester Greene
Thos. Meakins
Richard Denis
John Cranfield
James Connington
Robert Greene

Each list contains eleven names, 5 of which appear in both. Clearly, then, there was a party opposed to Browne from 1616 onwards, who refused his ministrations by going to neighbouring parishes for various rites, and who were guilty, therefore, in his opinion, of "schism."

Further consideration has led me to believe that all the "schism" entries are in Browne's handwriting; and that the "doubtful" entries of 1616 are in his hand.

5.—WAS THERE A PARTY IN FAVOUR OF BROWNE?

The parochial upheaval of 1616 is reflected in the disturbed condition of the parish register for that year, especially by the unique formal setting forth of all the parochial officers for that year—churchwardens, sidesmen, constables, are all named as if to record the passing of an old order and the bringing in of a new. (*cf.* plate No. 2 *Transactions* Vol. III., p. 130).

Now one of the churchwardens who testified to the accuracy of the register in the spring of 1616, and therefore belonged to the old *régime*, was William Dust. In the archdeacon's Court Book, under the date 30th October, 1616, we find that Mr. Henson, curate of Achurch (he was licensed as deacon on September 24th, 1615) was presented :

“ For that he contrary to lawe doth reade dyvine service when the excommunicate person Wm. Dust is in the church... Henson admits that he did read prayers when Dust was present in the Church at Achurche, but did as he saeth not know that Dust was excommunicate, because the same was not denounced at Achurche.” Then there follows a list of persons presented “ for keepinge companie in the Church & in other places with the said Dust (— Wiles & Mary his wife,— Harbord & Mary his wife,—Nicholsen ” and others whose names have decayed from the margin where they were written).

Have we here the nucleus of Browne's party in the parish, his “most forward” ones who possibly worshipped with him afterwards at Thorpe Waterville?

6.—AFTERMATH.

Robert Browne's troubles with the ecclesiastical authorities are recalled to mind by the following entries of later years. They refer to his widow and his second son.

“ Business transacted before Mr. John Smith cler. A.M., Surrog. of Thomas Heath A.M., LL.B. Vicar-general of Ffrancis bp. of Peterborough & Official of the Archdeacon of Northampton in the parish church of Oundle Thursday 22 May 1634. In presence of Robt. Rowell N.P. Reg. deput. Thorpe Achurch.

Mrs. Eliz. Browne. Presentatur for a non communicant at Easter last etc.

Willm Browne. Similiter.—Browne appeared & was warned to receive the sacrament & to certify that he had received it before the next Sunday after the feast of S^t. John the Baptist, & to pay the fine at the next court.

Both cases came up on June 6th, 1634, when Wm. Browne paid the fine of 3/4.

The cases appear again on June 25th, and again on July 9th, 1634, when it is remarked "She was gone from thence before the presentment against her." Thus disappears Browne's second wife.

On July 24th, 1634, Wm. Browne had not produced the certificate.

The last entry relates to William Browne's wife. On October 27th, 1636, before Thomas Heath, LL.D., Vicar-general, in Oundle church, she was presented "for a comon scold and in particular for abusing our Minister Mr. Tuthill by unreverent speeches."

F. IVES CATER.

Oundle.

[We have pleasure in presenting photographs of "The Chapel House" at Thorpe Waterville, probably built by Browne in 1618, and in which—according to local tradition—he held services when he was "turned out" from his parish church.—See *Transactions* Vol. II. pp. 243-4.]



WALPOLE MEETING-HOUSE

The Ancient Meeting-House at Walpole, Suffolk

THE Congregational church at Walpole was organized in the year 1647. Its history, so far as it can be recovered, is given in Browne's *History of Congregationalism in Norfolk and Suffolk*, pp. 437-440, and therefore need not be repeated here in detail. The first pastor was the Rev. Samuel Habbergham, who declined an invitation to become assistant to the Rev. W. Bridge at Yarmouth, but removed in 1652 to Syleham, from which he was ejected ten years later. He was succeeded at Walpole by the Rev. John Manning; who within two years removed to Peasenhall, and was ejected in 1662. His brother, the Rev. Samuel Manning, M.A., was appointed to succeed him at Walpole by the Parliamentary "Committee for Plundered Ministers"; and remained until he, too, was ejected by the Act of Uniformity.

All these were at the same time incumbents of the parochial benefice and pastors of the "gathered church" within the parish. It is therefore a pretty safe assumption that the parish church was the usual meeting-place of the Congregational society. S. Manning continued to reside in the village after 1662; and on the issue of the Indulgence he was licensed as a Congregational teacher in his own house, the licence being dated 18th May. Another licence was granted to one Thomas Folkerd, for "his house" on 1st July. "Own house" in these licences does not invariably stand for a dwelling-house; and there is every probability that either Mr. Manning's or Mr. Folkerd's "own house" was

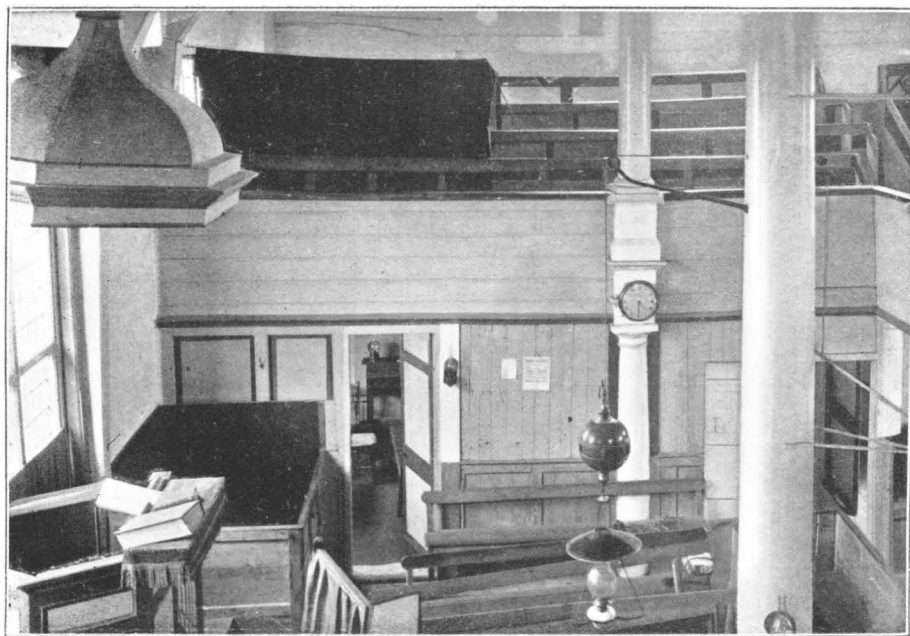
318 Ancient Meeting-House at Walpole, Suffolk

the venerable meeting-house of which we have pleasure in giving illustrations. It is possible, however, that the latter was built a little later, perhaps immediately after the Revolution. That the meeting-house was coeval with the "gathered church" is altogether unlikely; before the Restoration there could be no reason for its erection.

Mr. Manning died in or before 1697. Eleven pastors followed him in regular succession, the last of whom, the Rev. R. A. Cliff, resigned in 1877. Since then the church has usually been associated under the same pastor either with Cratfield or Halesworth, each of which places is about two miles distant.

The people of Walpole, though few in number, are duly sensible of the historic interest that attaches to their venerable sanctuary; which we may hope will long remain as a monument of the heroic days of East Anglian Nonconformity.

In the interior view notice will be taken of the sturdy mast by which the M shaped roof is supported, the curious pulley arrangement by which the hanging lamp is raised or lowered, the sounding-board over the pulpit, and the remarkable manner in which the window is set in the wall—the upper part inclining outwards.



WALPOLE MEETING-HOUSE : INTERIOR

Unpublished Doddridge Correspondence

OF the huge mass of Doddridge correspondence preserved in the library of New College, all that is of much historical or biographical value has already been printed, either in Dr. Stedman's volume, Shrewsbury 1790, or in the five volumes of *Doddridge's Correspondence and Diary*, edited by J. D. Humphreys, London, 1829. The six letters now for the first time printed seem all to be of considerable interest. Two of them, Nos. 2 and 3, are preserved by the Congregational church at Market Harborough, and were kindly lent for transcription by J. H. Clarke, Esq., J.P.; the others form a part of the valuable collection of autographs brought together by Sir John Bickerton Williams, and now in the Congregational Library.

(1)

DR. HENRY MILES to DR. DODDRIDGE.
TOOTING,

8th March 1738/9

REVD & DEAR SIR

I rec^d y^r kind L^r with pleasure on Saturdaytho I confess it made me ashamd of myself to think that you might justly expected a line from me long ago, especially as I had obtained the promise of y^r endeav^r to serve a poor Destitute Church in Glo^rshire. I did not neglect to acquaint them with y^r concern for y^m, but they were then (unknown to me) applying themselves to a young Gentleman lately settled in that County—and since Xmas wrote me word they had prevailed on him to accept their call: at y^t time a report was Current in Town that you would be in London very shortly, w^{ch} I gave credit to, till I saw y^r last to Mr. Neal, which (glad as I shoud be to see you) I could not be dissatisfyd with, because of the difficulty of a journey under such circum-

stances of bad weather. I most thankfully acknowledge the encouragem^{ts} you have been pleased to give to that good design on foot for the relief of the distressed Wid : & orphans of the Min^{rs} of J. Xt. and y^r very kind offers to promote it further ; be pleased to make my acknowledg^{mts} to such friends as have been pleasd to send their contributions by y^r hands. I pray G. reward y^r & their work and labour of love with his best blessings—I paid the 12 Guineas to the Treasurer, Mr. Corbett, on Monday last, and desired it might be entered among other Benefactions as Money Coll : by you, among y^r friends in and ab^t Northampⁿ. The sd Treasurer, and such of the Society as I have Communicated it to, acct themselves much obliged to you for the assistance you have been pleased to lend us, and will I doubt not be always ready to think of any case which shall be recommended by you—But the body of the Managers meet not till next month, being chose yesterday, after an affectionate sermon preached by M^r Wilson a Baptist Min^r the Coll : was 211^l, being 5^l more than last y^r : there have been above 50 New Subscribers last year amounting to abt 270^l there has been beside a benefaction of 300^l sent in by a private Gentleman. So that besides Distributing 400^l they were able to purchase 300^l more S. Sea Annuity Stock, of which if my memory fails me not they have as their Capital 3000 and fifty odd pounds—the round Sum I am sure I remember—thus G. has caused his grace to abound toward his serv^{ts}, that they might abound in this good work. Thanks be to him for this unexpected encouragem^t. It wou^d I am sure rejoyce you to see the cheerfulness that sits on the Countenances of the Contributors and the Gentlemen who take the trouble of managing the affair upon 'em—nothing abates our pleasure, or gives any discouragem^t to this pious design, but the Conduct of Sev^l of our leading min^{rs} in Town who have taken offence at some Circumstances of missmanage^{mt}. at the beginning, as they conceive, in M^r Chandler. I considered the matter seriously with myself as far as I was acquainted with it before I preachd, and thot myself warranted to give that short hint in my Sermon, which it seems has given offence too—I am very sorry to say it, and it concerns me much to think that any for whom I deservedly have the highest esteem, shoud think anything a sufficient reason to discourage a Work of this nature, confessed to be good in itself and very necessary in y^r Circumstances—however I have the Consolation to tell you that there are 6 min^{rs} new Subscribers.

I am very sensible the Cases you mention deserve regard, perhaps among the first—I will do my endea^r y^r they shall (the first opportunity the Laws of the Society will admit of it) be considered. I perceive you are sensible they distribute not to any more than twice toge^r. I now add that no money is given to Children in any circumstance but with the View to place y^m out as apprentices—or to buy such Clothes who chuse to go into Service :

Any such you can recommend I may venture to promise you shall be immediately considered. the business of the day taking up much time yesterday, I could not get you a Copy of the rules of the Society, but will speedily do it. I presume you already know that Subscribing one 5 Guineas qualifies a Person to be a member of the Society & to recommend an Object. I have got a few Sermons left if they would be acceptable to any of your friends I would convey you some by M^r. Hett in y^r next parcel, or otherwise as you shall direct.

I am very sorry a mistake was committed this last year by some friend of M^{rs} King's of Oundle. I am not able to find out by what means it happend. I should have been informd who recommended her, and had I known where her friend [M^{rs} Wildboar (*in margin*)] lives in Town that gave her the missinformation, I would have examind into it; however I shall be obligd to inform M^r Goodrich with my affectionate service to him (when opportunity offers) that the Treasurer told me the money was given to her self—On casting my Eye on y^{rs} I would add, lest what I have before sd. should not be explicit eno^t—that Relief is given to Widows as such, whether heads of Families or not, and to Children male and ffemale for the intentions I mentioned before, only.

I have been under a necessity of making some alteration in my Study, and to take a Catal: of my Books, which and Sevⁿ avocations have unavoidably restrained me from doing little more than casting my Eye here and there into the body of y^r Book, which has been no small uneasiness to me—I think y^r dedication to the Princess merits the thanks of every one that loves the Royal Family & the Protestant Interest, for the decent freedom you have taken in suggesting such good Counsel to her—which I hope she will not fail to read and Consider—it cannot offend, and I think it is admirably adapted to promote her usefulness and happiness.

The period beginning ab^t y^o middle of the 6th page in y^r Preface I can never sufficiently admire—in those sentiments may I live and dye. I have more than once seen reason to make the same Remark you do of the great obscurity of Some modern Paraphrases on Some texts, and am ready to think that you particularly mean a passage or two in the Evangel. John—but permit me to mention for your encourage^{mt} that so far as I can learn the performance meets with very great and universal acceptance—With my thanks, and my hearty Prayers for your health and a large Measure of Divine light and influence to carry you thro' what remains. You have, I doubt not. those of many in Town and Country. Mention not Elsner or any other Book I am able to furnish you with, with any maⁿer of Concern, till you want 'em no longer I desire 'em not. Tho I could not tell how to think Philo had any such Passage as that you mention—I was willing to examine by the help of the Index, but was only confirmd in my Opinion, especially after I had lookd

322 Unpublished Doddridge Correspondence

into Fabric. Bib. Graeca, who takes no notice of it—however, I wrote to M^r Lardner, but it unhappily fell out that he was then going to preach, which somew^t retarded his answer. I will give his own words. I believe there is no such thing in Philo. I reckon it to be a thing generally allowd that he has nowhere made any express mention of the Xtians. Some indeed suppose that what he relates of the Essenes or Therapeutae in Egypt belongs to y^e Xtians of his time &c—But I cant at present recoll^t anything in this author like what you mention. Such a thing is mentioned by Just. Mart. Dial. cum Tryh. Jud. p. 234.235 Paris. 171. Thirlb. Is it possible that any one shoud have writ or read Phil. Jud. pr Tryph. Jud. ? So far he. I am not so happy as to have a Justin by me, and am sorry I did not receive the passage transcribed from M^r Lard : and I was afraid of delaying my Answer too long. He adds when you write to D^r Doddridge be pleased to present my service to him. I am obliged to him for the honb^{le} mention he has made of the Credibility &c in his notes upon his excellent Paraph : a good part of which I have read with a great deal of pleasure.

I had like to have forgot to tell you y^t M^r Neal has been in Bath ab^t a fortnight, is well, and y^e waters agree well with him. I will not forget to procure for you a Philo the first opportunity, or to send you my own.—M^r Hett sent me your sermon at Wellingb^{ro}, for which I return you my very hearty thanks, tho he has not done me justice in the list of subscribers, as I subscribe for Seven Setts—it matters little, only I gave you my promise to do so. I shall very much rejoice when the time comes you so kindly mention, of your spending a day with me at Tooting ; nor do I speak my own sentiment^s alone, but that of M^r Collyer & Family, who send you their Sincere Service and good wishes. If you shall have occasion to write to me agⁿ relating to y^e Passage or ab^t anything which may require a speedy reply I will endeavor^t to write you (if possible) p y^e 1st Post. I have great need to crave y^r Candor in excusing so tedious an Ep : which had been shorter and more to the purpose but that I have been frequently hindered since I began it—Be pleased dear Sir to number me among those who share in y^r earnest requests when before the throne of grace, and you will add to the many obligations with which I am

Y^r most affectionate tho' unworthy
bro^r & humble Serv^t

HENRY MILES.

[This letter is interesting as an early account of the "Society for Relief of the Widows and Orphans of Dissenting Ministers," founded 1733, and still continuing its beneficent operations under the name of "The Widows' Fund." Its grants at present average about £2,500 annually. Dr. Miles, F.R.S., was pastor at Tooting from 1731 until his death in 1763.]

(2)

DR. DODDRIDGE TO THE DEACONS AT MARKET HARBOROUGH.

To Mess^{rs} Bayes, Knee, Tayler, &c.

NORTHAMPTON,

Oct. 29th, 1740.

MY DEAR FRIENDS

I have received your most affectionate & respectful Letter with that Regard which I owe to a Society of so great importance as Harborough, as well as to the particular personal Friendship which I do & ought to bear to the valuable persons by whom it was subscribed in the Name of the rest.

Your Invitation to M^r Orton was no Surprize to me ; & I cannot but approve it as a very prudent Step ; for I know no Man living more fit to repair the Loss you have sustained by the Removal of the great & good Mr. Some. And I am so sensible of the Importance of your Congregation that I do not & will not set my self directly to counteract & oppose you in your present Scheme, how contrary soever it may be to my own Inclination to part wth so excellent an assistant. I have just now told M^r Orton that I love [?, *paper torn*] him as a Brother, & perhaps more tenderly than Brethren by Nature commonly do ; & that I most earnestly desire his Continuance wth me if he judge it consistent wth his Duty to Christ & to his Church ; yet if on serious Deliberation & fervent Prayer for Divine assistance & Direction he judge it most subservient to his Comfort & usefulness in Life quickly to leave Northampton & undertake y^e Stated Care of a People, there is no Situation in which I should so much desire to see him as that of your Minister.

Further than this I cannot go, because I really think and I am perswaded that you also know, it is not my personal Interest & Comfort alone, but the good of the Publick w^h is concerned in the Supply of my Academy wth a person of Learning Prudence & Serious Piety, capable of presiding over it wth a becoming Influence in my Absence, & also furnished wth such popular Talents as might render him fit to Succeed me both as a Tutor & pastor if God should remove me. I cannot therefore think it justice to M^r Orton, to my Self, or to the Publick to urge M^r Orton to accept your Invitation, tho' I have weighed your Case with the Bowels of Compassion which present Circumstances require.

On the whole, Gentlemen, seeing the Weight and Difficulty of the Affair, I humbly refer it to Divine Providence, which I doubt not will shew a gracious Regard to your Concerns & mine, or to speak more properly to the Interests of Religion at Northampton & at Harbro'. I heartly pray that if the Glory of God & the good

of the Church may be more effectually promoted by M^r Orton's Removal to you than by his Continuance wth me, he may be so re[]oved, & I hope you will remember that it is y^e Counter part of your Duty to pray that if God see otherwise he may be continued.

More upon this tender Head I flatter my self you did not expect & will not desire from me. Be assured that if M^r Orton decline your Proposal you will have a part in my most affectionate Cares ; & I will never cease my Endeavours to serve you according to the best of my Capacity, till I shall, if God permit, see you comfortably settled, for I can truly say there is no Congregation now vacant in y^e whole Kingdom for which I feel so sensible a Concern.

As for your Request of giving you a Sermon next Thursday Sevnight, tho considering how near it is to the fifth of November there may be some Difficulty attending it, I purpose to comply with it if I can ; yet I must beg you would endeavour to secure a conditional Supply if bad Weather, Indisposition, or any unforeseen Accident should prevent me. In the mean time I commend you & your Interest to the tender Care of the Great Shepherd of Israel, with a Regard becoming

Gentlemen

Your very affectionate Friend
& obliged humble Servant
P. DODDRIDGE.

(Address) To M^r Bayes
in Market Harborough,
Leicestershire.

NOTE.—Mr. Some, referred to above, had been pastor at Harborough since 1709, and died 27 May, 1737. He had been succeeded by a Mr. Toaker, of whom little is known. On 9th May, 1740, Mr. Isaac Wilkinson, one of Doddridge's students, was to have been ordained at Harborough ; but this may have been for Kibworth, five miles distant, where we find him located. Mr. Orton did not accept the invitation of the church ; which was still vacant in 1741, when an invitation was also declined by the Rev. S. Wood of Rendham, Suffolk.

(3)

REV. SAMUEL WOOD TO DR. DODDRIDGE.

PENDHAM,
Oct. 27 1741

MY DEAR DOCT. AND MUCH HON^d FFRIEND

I rec^d y^r and have diligently considered the Contents, and, upon the most earnest Seeking to God & impartial Enquiry into Circumstances, am obliged to think it my Duty not to remove, at present, from Sweffling ; I own, dr S^r sincerely, it has cost me no small Uneasiness to come to this Determinatⁿ ; for tho' I'm conscious of my Unfitness for any such publick Service as Harborough, my ffears on this Head were greatly overbalanced by the

Thots of being placed so near that d^r Gentleman, whose Company & Conversatⁿ I value beyond any Ones in the World ; A Situatⁿ so near Northampton, S^r, I assure you, gave the Affair so pleasant an Aspect, that it was wth much struggle and Difficulty my Judgm^t prevailed over Inclinatⁿ, and indeed to say the Truth its with sensible Reluctance, at last, that I sacrifice this sweet Circumstance, tho' my Duty now seems plain and pointing ; this unwillingness to w^t appⁿ my Duty, I know, S^r, w^d be my ffault in any other Case, but where there was so fair a Prospect for my Improv^t and Pleasure, as, I'm sure there is, in the Society of my dr. D^r Doddridge, I can't but be much affected wth the Loss, and must be very stupid to find it otherwise. However, d^r S^r upon the most mature & serious Attention that I've been capable of giving this important Affair, it appⁿ that I ought not yet to leave my People, and for these I think material and governing Reasons ; I have Peace here, and the hearty affectⁿ of my People ; the Situatⁿ is made as pleasant as my Wife's Relatⁿ, my surrounding Acquaintance, & the love of my Hearers can render it ; but w^t is more than all (and w^t has been the chief Motive wth me to form my present Resolution) is, that tho' our Number is very small, the Ministry has been very remarkably succeeded since my being here, and, by the Blessing of God, the Work is still going on, so that tho' we have been much fewer in Number, we are confessed to have had much more apparent Success, than any of our Neighbouring Congrega^tions ; besides, such is the present Posture of our Affairs, that my Removing just now w^d cause several ffamilies to desert and attend in another Place, wth w^d certainly very much injure, if not ruin, the Interest here, to all wth I might add that (insignificant as I am) my ffriends w^d be willing I sh^d think that my Continuance here is necessary not only for the sake of Religion among my own People but for the Service of some others in the Neighbourhood, for it was only last Saturday Evening that I rec^d two very pressing Letters from diff^t Congreg^tions, signed by several of the leading people, solliciting my Stay at Sweffling, and indeed wth such argm^{ts}, wth, tho' I care not to mention, yet if true ought to determine my Conduct in this Case. on Lords Day I had others y^t personally importuned me wth argum^{ts} of the like kind, tho' I tho't y^e Affair had hardly been at all known (?) abroad, for I had communicated it only to 3 or else 4 of my own People. These Th^{ts} I mention d^r S^r, to give you to understand that I took the Case into very close Considera^tion and sh^d not have been perswaded to have withstood y^e kind Sollicitatⁿ & my own Inclinatⁿ but upon the ffullest Evidence & Convictⁿ of Duty. The Motives abovementioned (wth I believe y^e Self will not condemn or think impotent) were, if I know my Heart, the very Reasons that overul'd in this Affair and dictated Sufficiently w^t I ought to do.

326 Unpublished Doddridge Correspondence

I thank you, dr Doct^r, for y^or too kind Tho'ts & Care for me ; how glad, sincerely glad, sh^d I be to see you ; the Tho'ts of You in this Affair have given me more Pain than I can express ; Please, S^r, to render my affectionate Wishes for Harborough acceptab[le to] my good ffriends there ; I'm satisfied they'l be much better supplied than by me, while D^r Dodd^r is so so kind as to negotiate for them ; it gives me a singular Satisfactⁿ to think they have so able a ffriend. [*a whole line obliterated.*] I'm in no great Pain for their future Welfare.

We often speak of you, d^r S^r, and pray for you. I hope it was a singular good Providence to all these parts that directed y^or last Circuit, for as I'm sure many, both Ministers & people, were much affected wth y^r Lab^or at Denton Publick & private, and speak often of them wth y^r utmost Marks of Esteem & Thankfulness, so I have the Pleasure to assure you y^t w^t you offer'd at that Time has been a happy means to revive religion & produce a laudable zeal in Several Congregat^{ns} wth I c^d name ; I'm sure this will be highly pleasing to you if you have not heard it before ; I tho't to have wrote to you very shortly to have informed you of it, if I had not rec^d y^r Letter. This I hope, d^r S^r will be an Encouragem^t to y^r Triennial Visitatⁿ, wth you have been so good as to encourage us to hope for, & wth we think & speak of wth great Satisfactⁿ. Y^or kind Wishes, d^r S^r for my Welfare I retaliat^e wth prayers equally fervent for y^or. You, d^r S^r, are in my warmest wishes every day ; I'm sure I love you, I value you and hon^r you. I think of you wth Pleasure, and think I can't better improve my Interest at the Throne of Grace than by a daily Sollicitⁿ for the Continuance of a Life so reputable, so singularly useful, and on wth the Hopes of the dissenting Interest so much depend. I wish you, d^r S^r, all possible pleasure & Success from y^or Young Gentlemen, and in every Branch of y^or great work. My wife (y^or particular ffriend) and I join in hearty Respects to Self & Lady and all y^or dear little ones ; we often speak of M^r Parminter as a very desireable & excellent Young Gentleman, & send our kind Service. My little girl has often lisp'd y^r dear name & sends her duty ; we have had two meet^{ns} since y^r at Denton, one at Yarmouth where M^r Scott sen^t preach^d, y^o other at Beccles where my Uncle preach^d ; Miss Scott has been so kind as to write me out her ffather's Sermon ; at Each place we had a good number of Ministers. I've not seen Mr. Badley since I rec^d y^or, but am sure he loves you and w^d be glad I sh^d send his Service. I'll take Care ab^t all the other particulars of yo^r Letter. Might I be so happy at any Time to be favour'd with One Line wth d^r Dodd^r has a vacant Moment. Let me hope for y^r Remembrance, & be asured, d^r S^r, that tho' among y^r correspondents you have none less worthy, Ile venture to say there is no one that loves and hon^or you more truly than y^or most obe^{ant} [*illegible*] SAMUEL WOOD-

I suppose you have heard of the death of that Pious and excellent

Lady M^{rs} Burward of Bury. Captⁿ Kell, Miss Kell's ffather, at whose House M^r Parminster was at Woodbridge, dyed at London last week.

The Rev. S. Wood, son of a minister of the same name at Lavenham, was pastor at Sweffling from June 1733 to 1747. (Sweffling and Rendham are adjacent villages, divided only by a stream). He removed to Norwich, as successor to the Rev. T. Scott at the Old Meeting, received a diploma of D.D. from one of the Scottish universities, and died 2nd November, 1767. (See Brown's *History of Congregationalism in Norfolk and Suffolk*).

(4)

REV. JOHN BARKER TO D^r DODDRIDGE.

DEAR AND REV^d SIR,

I had y^r Letter att M^r Jacksons, and what I have to say to it is this : You, Good and Good natured Man, are very apt to thinke well of every body ; what You believe of Me I know I do not deserve, I am sure is not true, & it is a Great Reason ag^t my consenting to y^r Request that you really think too well of me & will be apt to speake too much in my praise : otherwise I am not only Content, but should be pleas'd the world should know I am y^r Freind & that I love & assisted M^r Steffe.

M^r Clark I know & honour ; He is a judicious Man, & a Good Scholar, & were he a lively preacher he would be as acceptable as he is valuable. There is a vacancy in London by the death of M^r Wood, but I imagine it will be filled up by M^r Langford.

Your Meetings of Ministers are very entertaining as well as instructive, but I am not able to attend with you on those occasions, but only please myselfe with thinking & talking of doing so. I rejoice in all your prosperity usefullness and comfort, & heartily recommend you to Gods Blessing.

M^{rs} Doddridge being better increases my joy. I have had the opportunity of assisting Mr. Hunt 3 Lord's Days successively—I suppose He returns this Weeke.

My hearty love attend all my Brethren, & I send the most particular Respects to you

being yrs faithfully & affectionately

May 24, 1742.

(Superscription)

“ To The Rev^d D^r Doddridge
att

J. BARKER.

Northampton.”

(5)

JOSEPH WILLIAMS TO D^r DODDRIDGE.

KIDDER^m

10th Octo^r 1743

REV^d & GREATLY HON^d SIR

M^r Crane related to me y^r Conversation he had wth you, & I doubt not you are willing to know what we have been doing.

M^r Crane, at his return, set himself, somewhat unfairly, to oppose & beat down M^r Halford's Interest among us, w^{ch} was very strong, just as strong as M^r Adams's had been, & earnestly to recommend D^r Steward; upon whose Character, & y^e expected Good Fruits of his settling wth us, he flourished wth an unbounded Profusion of what Rhetorick he is master of. And this he did, as I apprehend, not so much from a Dislike to y^e former, as from a fond attachment to y^e latter above all other min^{rs} in Engl^d, joined wth a prevailing Fear of a Division in case y^e former sh^d settle wth us. Four Days he laboured earnestly, & in vain, to shake our attachment to M^r Halford; but on Friday y^e 23^d past, thro' y^e Advice & Persuasion of a very Good Friend, Mr. Simon Reader of Bedworth, finding y^t M^r Crane had Gained y^e Adverse Party, & apprehending yt they would not fail to take Occasion from our Refusal to unite wth them in inviting a man so unquestionably Orthodox, to load us wth Reproaches, & charge to our account all y^e bad Consequences of a Separation, M^r Symonds first inclined, & thro' his Persuasion added to all y^e former I was prevailed on to try y^e Expedient, & this we the rather complied wth, in hopes y^t on y^e one Hand y^e Drs-settling wth us would probably preserve y^e Union, & promote y^e Prosperity of our Church, so on y^e other hand if y^e Providence of God should any way prevent his Coming, this our Compliance might be of use to facilitate M^r Halford's access to us: for M^r Crane promises, in that Case, to join his own Edeavours with ours to procure for him a fair and candid Hearing: & M^r Reader advises us to stick at no Difficulty, nor regard any Opposition, w^h may then be laid in his way. And we y^e rather acceded to it from an uncertainty whether M^r Halford did incline to us or not, w^{ch} seemed dubious, nor had he given us so much Ground to expect him as we hoped he would have done.

Accordingly on y^e 24th I wrote to M^r Halford, & having assured him y^t he had not lost one Friend in Kidderm^r, & largely explained to him y^e Reasons of our Conduct both toward him & toward y^e D^r, I beg'd of him to defer his Answer to our repeated Invitation till he should hear further from us. On y^e 26th we kept a Day of publick Prayer for Direction, & on y^e 28th an Invitation to the Pastorship was sent to y^e D^r signed by our whole Church, scarce one refusing, tho' indeed it was wth great Reluctance y^t many came into it from y^e Great Regard they have for M^r Halford: and now we are waiting y^e Determination of Providence.

[What follows is a lengthy narrative of an accident, and reflections thereon. About 14 months previously the writer had sustained a fractured skull, through the collapse of an old building; but had at length been restored to health.]

Your Goodness and Friendliness will excuse this long Detail of y^e Circumstances of an Accident so long past, & rejoice wth me in y^e joy w^{ch} far more than compensated for all y^e Grief it occasioned:

a Joy built on a Foundation w^{ch} will never fail. I thank you for recommending to me M^r Clark's Nature and Causes of Irresolution in Religion. Be pleased to commend me wth Great Respect to M^{rs} Doddridge, & to all my Young Friends. I beg y^e Continuance of your Prayers for our yet unsettled & destitute Church, & in particular for

D^r Sir, Y^r much obliged and
Most obed. Servant for Jesus Sake
JOS. WILLIAMS.

(Superscription)

To
The Rev. D^r Doddridge
in
Northampton.

NOTE.—The pulpit of the Old Meeting at Kidderminster was vacant from the death of Matt. Brodshaw, November, 1742, till the coming of Benj. Fawcett, one of Doddridge's students, in August, 1744. Meanwhile there was much dissension. "Mr. Halford" was presumably the minister in Back Lane, Horsleydown; of Dr. Steward we have no information.

(6)

THE COUNTESS OF HUNTINGDON TO D^R DODDRIDGE.

MY MOST EXCELLENT FRIEND

Since my last to you I have received a letter from my beloved Dutchess of Somerset, who thus writes in speaking of you —“ I should be very glad to see any Sermon of Doctor Doddridges, and should look upon a letter from him as an honour provided he will write to me as a person who wants both Instruction & reproof, but not as one who has attained any share of that Christian piety & Self Denial without which all pretentions to the name of a Disciple is vain.”—I could not satisfie myself till I had sent it, as it will not only Incourage you to write to her but show you in a degree to how amiable and Humble a disposition You have to address. I pray God improve this Friendship to you both, & I shall think myself of some use, since I have only now to lament my Great unprofitableness. My kindest respects to M^{rs} Doddridge and the Young Gentlemen who were with You hear, & to M^r Jones who I shall be—well extreme Glad to see whenever he has an oportunity of Comeing my way. You have, you ever will have, my prayers, poor and bad as they are, alas! You do not want them, your lively & active heart is ever soaring toward heaven from whence you look with transport for the Lord Jesus. O may he for ever rejoice in You that you you (*sic*) may delight Yourself eternally in him; & may the last trumpet sound ‘ Arise, my Love, my fair one, Come away’: this may we hear, & till then, love, watch, pray to (?) endure till every Cloud vanishes before us. We are now Confessing him, he will then Confess us, & all sorrows.

330 Unpublished Doddridge Correspondence

will be lost in endless day : bright Morn, O hail thou bless'd thou
transporting thought, thou [*illegible*] Glorious & Celestial world
fraught with all Joy God has to bestow on Creatures so redeemed.
Farewell, I am running beyond time, too fast, my friend ; forgive,
and live assured of a most unworthy but best meaning affection of
your sincere friend

S. HUNTINGDON.

(*Superscription*)

To
The Rev^d Docter
Doddridge at his
House In
Northampton.

The Care of the Postmaster
at Northampton.

[Undated : endorsed in Doddridge's hand "Countess of Huntingdon," with a note in shorthand. Probably written not long before 15th September, 1750, which is the date of the earliest known letter of the Duchess of Somerset to Doddridge. The Duchess is the "Hartford" complimented at the beginning of Thomson's *Seasons*.]

Surrey Congregational History

FORTY-TWO years ago the late Rev. John Waddington, D.D., published an interesting and instructive volume with the above title. There were then about seventy Congregational churches and preaching-places in the county, nine or ten of which have since disappeared; but, notwithstanding this loss, the present number stands at one hundred and forty. Three or four years ago the executive of the Surrey Congregational Union thought it desirable that Dr. Waddington's book, which had long been out of print, should be re-edited and brought up to date. The task was undertaken by the Rev. E. E. Cleal of Mortlake; but he soon found that a mere *refaccimento* of Waddington's history would not meet the necessities of the case. Not only had the number of churches in the county doubled; the Congregational ideal had enlarged, and the isolated independency of former times was seen to be no longer a thing to be gloried in. Besides this, many facts had come to light relating to early Nonconformity in the Metropolitan area, and Dr. Waddington was found to have been seriously mistaken on several points. Mr. Cleal therefore found it necessary to undertake an entirely new work; and the result is before the public in a handsome illustrated volume entitled *The Story of Congregationalism in Surrey*. Of the literary character of the book it would be unbecoming to say anything; because the failure of Mr. Cleal's health necessitated editorial assistance, which was

afforded by the Secretary of the Congregational Historical Society. But to Mr. Cleal is due the credit of a diligent and laborious collection of facts from a great variety of sources, and the bringing together for the first time of a fairly complete record of Congregational church life and work in the county. Indeed, so far as our knowledge extends nothing of importance has been omitted except the story of a few isolated congregations, mostly extinct, in which hyper-Calvinistic or Huntingtonian teaching prevailed, and which have left no permanent mark on the religious life of the community.

There are given by way of appendix lists of the ejected ministers of the county, the conventicles reported by Sheldon's emissaries in 1669, the licences issued under the Indulgence in 1672, the Nonconformist meetings enumerated in Evans's MS. of 1718-28, and the registers of Surrey Congregational churches in the custody of the Registrar General. It is convenient to have these together at hand, though most of the lists were separately accessible without much difficulty. But a *full list* of the Surrey licences under the Indulgence had not, we believe, been formerly printed. We have therefore obtained permission from the executive of the Surrey Union to reproduce this list; and also the map which exhibits all the most important Nonconformist sites in the county—from which however it was necessary to omit the licensed meetings in Southwark to avoid overcrowding.

LICENCES GRANTED IN SURREY UNDER THE INDULGENCE, 1672

(O.H.—Own House)

BATTERSEA.	Thomas "Harrockes," M.A., <i>Presb.</i> , O.H.	20 April.
"	Thomas Pace, <i>Presb.</i> , O.H. and General	22 April.
BLETCHINGLEY	James Parkins, <i>Presb.</i> , Genl.	22 May.
"	House of John Buttery, <i>Presb.</i>	22 May.

CHERTSEY	William Burnett, <i>Presb.</i> , H. of William Longhurst	9 May.
"	Arthur Squibb, <i>Bapt.</i> , O.H.	28 Oct.
CLAPHAM	Thomas Lye, <i>Presb.</i> , O.H. [this licence was applied for 5 times]	30 April.
"	Dr. Henry Wilkinson, <i>Presb.</i> , O.H. or Schoolhouse	25 May.
"	William Hughes, <i>Presb.</i> , O.H.	30 Sept.
COBHAM	House of James Towers, <i>Presb.</i>	29 May.
CROYDON	Francis Smith, <i>Bapt.</i> , "a room formerly a Malthouse"	20 April.
"	Edward Baker, <i>Congl.</i> , H. of Nathaniel Read	25 July.
"	House of John Worrell, <i>Presb.</i>	28 Oct.
DORKING	John Wood, O.H.	11 April.
"	James Fisher, <i>Congl.</i> , O.H.	1 May.
EFFINGHAM	Thomas Strickland, <i>Bapt.</i> , H. of Wm. Wilkinson	28 Oct.
ELSTEAD	J. Wheeler, <i>Bapt.</i> , H. of Edward Billingham	18 Nov.
FARNHAM	James Prince, <i>Presb.</i> , H. of Richard Whithall	15 June.
"	John Faroll, <i>Presb.</i> , H. of Richard Collier	15 June.
"	House of William Bicknoll, <i>Presb.</i>	^{(30 Sept.} ^{(11 Nov.}
FRIMLEY	Richard Bures, <i>Presb.</i> , O.H. and General	^{(30 April.} ^{(18 Nov.}
"	Noah Webb, <i>Presb.</i> , O.H. and General	^{(30 April.} ^{(11 Nov.}
GADBROOK	John Bernard, <i>Bapt.</i> , H. of Richard Humphrey	9 May.
GODALMING	House of George Bridges, <i>Presb.</i>	29 May.
GUILDFORD	John Manship, <i>Presb.</i> , O.H.	25 May.
"	House of Thomas Bradford, <i>Presb.</i>	29 May.
KINGSTON	William Simons, <i>Presb.</i> , General	2 April.
"	House of Mr. Piccard, <i>Presb.</i>	2 April.
"	Richard Mayo, <i>Presb.</i> , H. of John Pigot	13 April.
LAMBETH	(Kennington) Charles Morton, <i>Presb.</i> , O.H.	11 April.
"	" Christopher Fowler, <i>Presb.</i> , O.H. and General	25 May.
MORTLAKE	David Clarkson, B.D., <i>Presb. and Congl.</i> , H. of John Beamish	30 April.
OCKLEY	Robert Fisher, O.H. in Stone Street	
"	House of Richard Margesson in Stone Street, <i>Presb.</i>	1 May.
OXSTEAD	House of Thos. Stone, <i>Presb.</i>	3 Feb. /73
PURBRIGHT	Samuel Wickham, <i>Presb.</i> , General	30 April.

The double date, in some cases, seems to indicate a second licence issued because of some clerical error in the first. One date has been inadvertently overlooked.

SOUTHWARK*	William Whitaker, <i>Presb.</i> , H. in Court Yard, Bermondsey	2 April.
"	Andrew Parsons, <i>Presb.</i> , O.H. in Deadman's Place and General	2 April.
"	Nathaniel Vincent, <i>Presb.</i> , O.H. in Farthing Alley, St. Olave	2 April.
"	William Carslake, <i>Presb.</i> , General	11 April.
"	Thomas Kentish, <i>Presb.</i> , General	11 April.
"	James Janeway, <i>Presb.</i> , O.H. in Salisbury Street, Rotherhithe	11 April.
"	John Chester, <i>Presb.</i> , O.H. in Maid Lane House of Richard Hill in Winchester Street, <i>Congl.</i>	13 April.
"	Jeremiah Baines, Horsley Down, <i>Presb.</i> , General	1 May.
"	Stephen More, <i>Indept.</i> , H. of Barnabas Bloxom, Winchester Yard	2 May.
"	House of Humphrey Aldersley, St. Olave's, <i>Presb.</i>	4 May.
"	John Luffe, of St. Mary's Parish, Bermondsey, <i>Presb.</i> , General	13 May.
"	House of George Ewers, <i>Presb.</i>	16 May.
"	John Peachye, <i>Presb.</i> , General	22 May.
"	James Jones, <i>Bapt.</i> , O.H.	22 May.
"	House of James Walker, <i>Congl.</i>	30 Sept.
WALTON-ON-THAMES	House of John Daberon, <i>Presb.</i>	30 Sept.
		16 May.

*See note on the map.

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335

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