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## Editorial

OUR Annual Meeting was held at the Memorial Hall on Wednesday, 10th May. The business was confined to a review of the past proceedings of the Society, and of work which it is desirable to take in hand. Some anxiety was expressed as to our financial position, owing to the loss by death and otherwise of members who formerly were liberal subscribers. It is earnestly desired that all our friends will endeavour, by making our work more widely known, to obtain a large increase of our membership.

\* \* \*

It is nearly a hundred years since B. Brook published his monumental *Lives of the Puritans*. Since then much light has been shed on the history of early Nonconformity by the original researches of Bogue and Bennett, Jos. Fletcher, R. Vaughan, Waddington, Stoughton, and other less known investigators. Many valuable biographies have appeared, some of which have become classical. The story of the early Free Churches in several counties has been told with great wealth of detail by Browne, B. Dale, T. W. Davids, Halley, Nightingale, Ogle, Urwick, and others. But since Brook no student of our Nonconformist *Origines* has presented such an exhibition of painstaking and exhaustive research as is to be seen in *Official Records of Early Nonconformity Under Persecution and Indulgence*, by the Rev. Geo. Lyon Turner, M.A. This work, which has been fully six years in preparation, contains in the first volume: (1) The Episcopal Returns relating to Nonconformity obtained in 1665; (2) The Sheldonian Reports of Conventicles in 1669; and (3) The whole of the extant documents, from the entry books down to the scrappiest memoranda to be found in the Public Record Office, relating to the Indulgence of 1672. Every document is given *verbatim, literalim, et punctuatim*, in several cases special type being cut to represent abbreviations; and the proofs were corrected, not from the author's MS., but from the originals. In the second volume the whole of this chaotic matter is classified by counties and localities, every entry being made readily accessible by three elaborate indexes. There are also references to such lives of persons named as are found in the *Nonconformists' Memorial*; those which are doubtful being duly queried.

Mr. Turner has not attempted to write a popular narrative ; his book is not history, but material for history, and it will be indispensable to all future historians of the Free Churches. Books of this kind can never be commercially successful ; only under very exceptional circumstances can their sale repay the cost of production. All the more deeply are the public indebted to scholars like Mr. Turner, who without the remotest prospect of gain, and for the pure love of truth, devote labour and expenditure to the production of works of national importance, whereby students all the world over are enabled to utilize the fruits of research which for themselves would be impossible.

\* \*

About four years ago a book was published on *The Independent Church in Westminster Abbey*, which one of our correspondents criticized with considerable severity. We have read with pleasure a companion volume : *The Ministers of the Abbey Independent Church*, by the Rev. Ira Boseley, which is happily free from such anachronisms as disgraced the earlier treatise. It contains interesting and appreciative memoirs of the Revs. W. Strong and John Rowe ; together with brief notices of Seth Wood (who was assistant to both in the abbey) ; Thomas Rowe (tutor of Isaac Watts), Samuel Lee, and Theophilus Gale, who were all colleagues with John Rowe after his ejection. The book is a welcome tribute to men who served their generation by the will of God, and whose memory deserves to be kept green. The author has, however, suffered from a strange lapse of memory ; quoting from a sermon preached by Strong before the Long Parliament, that they were "the first Parliament in this nation which had undertaken by a public Covenant, with hands uplifted to the most high God, to endeavour a perfect Reformation," he queries "where was this impressive scene enacted?" evidently forgetting the memorable ceremonial in St. Margaret's church, on 25th September, 1643. This, however, may be deemed a minor blemish, and the book deserves a wide circulation.

\* \*

A sixth volume of the "Congregational Worthies" Series, issued by the Congregational Union, is just to hand. It is a *Life of John Owen*, by Dr. Jas. Moffat. The standard life of Owen, by Wm. Orme, is too bulky to find many readers in these days. Dr. Moffat's memoir is not only concise, but scrupulously fair ; giving due praise to Owen's many excellences, without concealing or extenuating his mistakes and shortcomings. The volume is one of the best of the series.

\* \*

At a meeting of the Royal Archaeological Society, on 5th April, the Rev. H. R. Wilkinson exhibited a notable relic, which has been

preserved in his family for three generations : the embalmed head of Oliver Cromwell. It is nothing short of a national disgrace that this relic is not replaced in the tomb from which the contemptible malice of Charles the Worst ejected it 250 years ago. More than once its reinterment in the Abbey has been urged, but those in authority always objected that there was no adequate proof of its authenticity. When this doubt is next interposed we may waive all the evidence from physical conformation, agreement with the death mask, trace of the well known wart, etc., and ask the objectors to name any other body which was first royally embalmed, and then beheaded, and the head exposed on a pike. We would strenuously protest against any further exhibition of the relic ; but we earnestly hope that Mr. Wilkinson will, as heretofore, guard it as a sacred trust until public opinion irresistibly demands the only possible reparation to the memory of the greatest of Englishmen.

\* \* \*

In our last issue we omitted to call attention to a valuable article in the October *Transactions* of the Baptist Historical Society. This is a list, probably as complete as can now be made, of all the Baptist churches in England *circa* 1718. It is based on the "Evans" list in Williams's Library, but supplemented from various sources.

\* \* \*

We are looking forward with eager interest for a promised work by the Rev. B. Nightingale, M.A., on "The Ejected of 1662 in Cumberland, their Predecessors and Successors." It is to be in two vols., about 700 pp. each ; and will contain a large amount of unpublished material from Lambeth, the British Museum, the Bodleian, State papers, parish registers, etc. It is expected to set in new and interesting light some of the religious problems of the Commonwealth and Restoration period. The price will be 28s. net.

\* \* \*

A meeting of our Society will be held at Nottingham in October, in connection with the Autumnal Meetings of the Congregational Union. We hope to have a paper from the Rev. H. F. Sanders, B.D., on "Early Nonconformity in Nottinghamshire."

\* \* \*

The first number of the *Transactions* (1901) is entirely out of print. The editor would be glad to purchase a copy, if any member has one to dispose of.

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*Erratum.* In last issue, P. 25, l. 16, for 1821 read 1822.

## Early Nonconformist Academies

## VI—Bedworth

**B**EDWORTH, in Warwickshire, a large village about five miles N.E. of Coventry, was the seat of a small academy in the early part of the eighteenth century; about which, however, we have but little information. The Congregational church in that village was constituted on 25th January, 1686-7, with twelve members, several of whom resided at a considerable distance. This was a result of the preaching of the Rev. JULIUS SAUNDERS, who, in the following November was privately ordained as their pastor. Mr. Saunders was one of the family that counted amongst its members the faithful martyr Lawrence Saunders of Coventry. In his youth he was sent to Oxford to qualify for orders in the Established Church; but having carefully studied the points at issue, he was led to take a definite stand on the side of Nonconformity. After leaving Oxford, therefore, he studied for some time under the Rev. John Shuttlewood at Sulby; and then began to preach at Bedworth, where, as it lay beyond the limits of the Five Mile Act, it was hoped that meetings might be held in safety. But the Conventicle Act was resorted to, and under its provisions Mr. Saunders was imprisoned for two years in Warwick gaol. The Revolution brought security; but the little church was for a time much disturbed by Antinomianism, and peace was only attained by

the expulsion of some disorderly members. One effect of this was that Mr. Saunders, though he is described as "a stern, awful minister of the strictly Calvinistic or Independent sort," was moved to write: "I hope I shall loathe Antinomianism while I live upon the earth."

It would seem that soon after this he was led specially to pray "that God would direct us what course to take for the succession of a Gospel ministry." Openings were many, capable preachers were few; Mr. Saunders received applications for help from various churches; and the advice of several brethren concurred in urging on him the counsel of St. Paul to Timothy, 2 Tim. ii. 2. At what time he began to receive students is not stated; probably about the end of the century.

We have no complete list of Mr. Saunders's students. Ten names have come down to us, two or three of whom received instruction from his assistant and successor, the Rev. John Kirkpatrick, M.A. The names are as follows:

John Saunders, Bury St. Edmunds and Hertford  
 Julius Saunders, Denton (both sons of the tutor)  
 Thomas Saunders, Coventry and Kettering (his nephew)  
 Joseph Barber, Basingstoke and London  
 James Rooker, Bridport  
 John Drake, Yardley Hastings  
 Robert Gilbert, succeeded Doddridge at Northampton  
 Simon Reader, Wareham (also studied with Doddridge)  
 Thomas Reader, Weymouth, Newbury, and Taunton  
 James Burgess, Whitworth in Lancashire

The last two, at least, received part if not the whole of their tuition from Mr. Kirkpatrick.

The date of Mr. Saunders's death is not certainly known; it was probably in 1730. Mr. Kirkpatrick died about 1750. Neither of them published anything of importance.

## Bridgwater

An academy was established here shortly after the Revolution. The minister of the Presbyterian church was JOHN MOORE, M.A. ; born at Musbury, Devon, about 1642, and educated at Colyton grammar school and Brasenose College, Oxford. He had episcopal ordination, and ministered at Holnest and Long Burton, Dorset, till 1667. But his conformity was by no means perfect, and he became convinced that it was his duty to secede from the State Church. Accordingly he removed to Ottery St. Mary, Devon, where he had a small property, and preached as opportunity served ; being much esteemed by the country people, but greatly persecuted by those in authority. Removing to Bridgwater in 1679 he laboured with great success for thirty-six years ; his force of character and peaceable spirit at length disarmed opposition, so that he became exceedingly popular.

After the Revolution he commenced the academy, the date is not quite certain ; in the conduct of which he was assisted by his two sons, the Rev. John Moore, junr., and (until about 1700) the Rev. Thos. Moore, afterwards of Abingdon. The spirit of persecution was not yet extinguished, and before the death of King William Mr. Moore, senr., was arrested under a warrant from the mayor for illegally keeping an academy. The arrest was made on a Sunday, just after he had left the pulpit ; and altogether he was involved in an expense of between £20 and £30.

Mr. Moore, senr., died at the age of 75, on 23rd April, 1717. His only published works were a sermon preached in 1698 for a "Society for Reformation of Manners," and a controversial piece on *Gifts and Forms of Prayer*. He was suc-

ceeded in his pastorate by his son, the Rev. John Moore, junr., who carried on the academy till his death, at the age of 74, on 31st December, 1747. Somewhat late in life he adopted Arian opinions, on account of which several of his pupils sought other instructors. He was the author of *Propositions on Natural and Revealed Religion*, and of a controversial tract on the Trinity.

The following list of the Bridgwater students was derived from a lady related to the Moore family, and is believed to be approximately complete; but there may be some omissions:

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| John Norman, Portsmouth   | — Denbury, <i>died at Bristol</i>          |
| Richard Jones, Christchurch                                     | Dr. John Milner, Peckham                   |
| <sup>a</sup> Thomas Morgan, M.D., "The Moral Philosopher."      | W. Milner, <i>left the ministry</i>        |
| John Green, <i>died while a student</i>                         | Simon Browne, Portsmouth and London        |
| James Green, Shaftesbury and Exeter                             | John Wade, J.P., Gloucestershire           |
| — Furze, Exeter   | Thomas Osler, S. Petherton                 |
| — Flavel, <i>son of Flavel of Dartmouth</i>                     | Jos. Pyke, Warminster and Tiverton         |
| Henry Atkinson, Totness   | <sup>a</sup> Samuel Chandler, D.D., London |
| Nathaniel Cock, Bideford  | Jasper How, Falmouth                       |
| Joshua Cook, Ashburton  | <sup>a</sup> James How, <i>conformed</i>   |
| — Thompson, <i>conformed</i>                                    | — Cudmore, Plymouth                        |
| Thos. Lavender, <i>conformed</i>                                | Jos. Denham, London                        |
| Simon Welman, Esq.  | Saml. Baker, Bridgwater                    |
| <sup>b</sup> George Speke, <i>colonel, father of Lady North</i> | James Watts, Bridgwater                    |
| — Banger, Dorset  | — Waters, Chidleigh                        |
| Robt. Batten or Button, Charmouth                               | — Pearce, Mere                             |
| <sup>c</sup> John Diaper, Bristol                               | Zachariah Bailey, Esq.                     |
|   | Thomas Glover, Frome                       |

The academy was interrupted for a short time on the passing of the Schism Act (1714), and Mr. Moore deemed it prudent to retire into privacy. The following students were entered after its resumption:



John Pretty, Waytown	Thos. Clark, near Exeter
John Armstrong, <i>died young</i>	Stephen Whitwell, <i>died while a student</i>
<sup>1</sup> Peter Bennet	
<sup>6</sup> James Chadwick, Taunton	<sup>b</sup> Samuel Lavington, Bideford
Baldwin Deacon, Bishops Hull, etc.	William Lavington, Exeter
Joshua Keath or Keech, Ilminster	John Frank, Bath
Matthew Dowdell, Beckington	Matthew Towgood, <i>Banker</i> , London
John Osler, Lambrook	Thos. Totterdel, <i>died while a student</i>
W. or J. Miles, Yeovil	John Pool, Chumleigh and Torrington
Thomas Norman, <i>son of John N. above</i>	Thomas Chapman, Collumpton, etc.
Samuel Bulstrode, <i>died while a student</i>	Joseph Jeffries, London
John Butler or Rutter, Honiton	<sup>1</sup> Peard Jillard, Shepton Mallet
Henry Webb or Webber	<sup>1</sup> John Diaper, <i>son of <sup>o</sup> above</i>
Peter Gifford	John Damer, Esq., M.P., Ireland
James Berry, Sidmouth and Crediton	Dr. W. Gifford, Exeter
James Short, Barnstaple	— Hawker, Esq., Poundisford
<sup>b</sup> John Kiddel, Tiverton	Benj. Kiddell, Sidmouth, Cork, etc.
Jos. Launce, <i>died young</i>	John Hawker, <i>died young</i>
George Castle, Hatherleigh	W. Bushnell, Potterspury and Southwark
John Rudge, Tiverton	
John Batson	

(Another very incomplete list adds the name of Moore, of Plymouth and Taunton)

#### NOTES.

- <sup>a</sup> Received his education gratuitously.
- <sup>b</sup> "Frederick, 2nd Earl of Guildford and 8th Lord North, married Ann, daughter and sole heir of George Speke, Esq., 20th May, 1756."
- <sup>c</sup> His son, of the same name, also studied here.
- <sup>d</sup> Also studied under Samuel Jones at Tewkesbury.
- <sup>e</sup> Married a niece of Lord Chancellor King.
- <sup>f</sup> Also studied under Henry Groves at Taunton.
- <sup>g</sup> Became insane.
- <sup>h</sup> These also studied under John Eames, F.R.S., in London.
- <sup>i</sup> These also studied at Edinburgh.

A large number of these students followed secular pursuits.

## Manchester

The foundation of the Manchester Academy is traditionally assigned to the learned HENRY NEWCOME, M.A., ejected from the Collegiate church, and afterwards founder of Cross Street Presbyterian church (now Unitarian) in that city. Walter Wilson says he "also taught academical learning, a work for which he was well qualified on account of his good natural abilities, and large stock of acquired knowledge, which he was very free in communicating" (see *Theol. and Bibl. Mag.*, 1807, p. 348). If this be correct, his teaching must have been private; for he died 17th September, 1695, and there is good evidence that the academy commenced in March, 1698. Its actual founder was JOHN CHORLTON, born at Salford in 1666, and educated at Frankland's Academy. He entered on 4th April, 1682, when that institution was located at Natland, and in August, 1687, became assistant to Mr. Newcome. W. Wilson says he "was a man of extraordinary abilities, assisted by a strong and clean judgement, and a free and noble elocution. His temper was mild and amiable, his carriage modest and humble, and he was of moderate healing principles." Matthew Henry, whose intimate friend he was for 16 years, says: "he was eminent for solid judgement, great thought, an extraordinary quickness and readiness of expression, a casuist one of a thousand, a wonderfully clear head, . . . and of great sincerity and eminent piety." On Newcome's death he succeeded him in the pastorate, "and also took upon him the care of educating young men for the ministry." Oliver Heywood records that not long after Frankland's death he "set up a-teaching university learning in a great house at Man-

chester"; and gives a list of his students, 19 in number, of whom 14 had previously been with Frankland. This list, he says, he obtained 4th September, 1699 :

John Lomax, admitted 21st March, 1698.  
 Reignold Tetlow,<sup>1</sup> admitted 18th February, 1699.  
 Joshua Nightingale,<sup>1</sup> admitted 20th February, 1699.  
 James Clegg,<sup>1</sup> admitted 16th March, 1699.  
 Richard Chorley,<sup>1</sup> admitted 16th March, 1699.  
 Richard Key or Clay,<sup>1</sup> admitted 16th March, 1699.  
 Samuel Audland, admitted 16th March, 1699.  
 William Pendlebury,<sup>1</sup> admitted 6th April, 1699.  
 John Walmsley,<sup>1</sup> admitted 15th April, 1699.  
 William Woolstenholm,<sup>1</sup> admitted 19th April, 1699.  
 John Cowper, admitted 15th May, 1699.  
 Joseph Crompton,<sup>1</sup> admitted 17th May, 1699.  
 John Crompton, admitted 27th May, 1699.  
 James Brownlow,<sup>1</sup> admitted 29th May, 1699.  
 John Grace,<sup>1</sup> admitted 30th May, 1699.  
 Edmund Hawarth, admitted 6th June, 1699.  
 Richard Rigby, admitted 24th June, 1699.  
 John Atkinson,<sup>1</sup> admitted 26th June, 1699.  
 Alexander Stephenson, admitted July 4th, 1699.

(Those marked <sup>1</sup> were with Frankland).

Hunter says the academy "acquired what may be called a public character, by a resolution of the Lancashire ministers at one of their meetings that they gave it their countenance, and meant to support it."

In 1697-8 Mr. Chorlton had an assistant named Gaskeld, who after about a year left suddenly, and was afterwards at Hull and in Holland. Heywood notes in his diary, 29th Nov., 1698: "Letter from Manchester, strange news of Mr. Chorlton's assistant running away." In 1700 Mr. Chorlton obtained the assistance of the Rev. James Coningham, M.A., a graduate of Edinburgh University; who, having been a licentiate of the Church of Scotland, was for about six years pastor of a Presbyterian church at Penrith. He was there

a successful minister, and acted as tutor to some young men in the neighbourhood. The two colleagues laboured harmoniously, both as pastors and tutors, till the death of Mr. Chorlton, which took place in his 40th year, on 16th May, 1705. After this Mr. Coningham's position became unpleasant; there was a violent outburst of hostility against Nonconformists in the town; the reactionary party were getting the upper hand in the State, and a prosecution was instituted against Mr. Coningham for keeping the academy; and there was dissension in the congregation. Mr. Coningham thereupon (in 1712) accepted an invitation to the Haberdashers' Hall church, London, and the academy was discontinued. The tutor did not long survive; he died 1st September, 1716, aged 47.

There is no complete list of the Manchester students. A memorandum among Joshua Wilson's papers at New College gives the following names, additional to those furnished by Heywood:

Bourn	Cartwright of Northamptonshire
Harrop	Venables of Oswestry
Holland of Wem	Benj. Mather of Darwent
P. Walkden of Stockport	

#### Gloucester and Tewkesbury

The Carmarthen Presbyterian College has, from the early days of the Hanoverian dynasty, represented *two* academical institutions of earlier date. Of one of these, Brynlllywarch, an account has already been given; the other now claims our attention.

SAMUEL JONES the younger, whose brother David was son-in-law to Samuel Jones of Brynlllywarch, was the son of the Rev. Malachi Jones, sometime

of Longtown, Herefordshire. Malachi Jones was one of those resolute Puritans "who found across the sea a refuge where they could enjoy the civil and religious freedom denied them in their native land." He had become pastor of a church in Pennsylvania, where Samuel Jones was born about 1681.

We know nothing of the circumstances under which young Samuel came to England. We first hear of him as a pupil of Mr. Griffith at Abergavenny. After that gentleman's conformity he was for a short time under the tuition of the Rev. James Weaver, the ejected minister of Knill, on the borders of Herefordshire and Radnor. Thence he went to the University of Leyden, where he enjoyed the instructions of the celebrated James Perizonius and Hermann Witsius.

In 1708 he commenced his academy at Gloucester. It was located in Barton Street, in a house just opposite the then lately built Presbyterian meeting house. Languages and mathematics were much studied, and "the Academy was famed for as much learning as any one seminary among the dissenters." Of the course of study pursued we get an interesting account in a letter written by Thomas Secker, one of the students, to Dr. Watts, dated 18th November, 1711:

"Our Logic is so contrived as to comprehend all Hereboord, and the greater part of Mr. Locke's *Essay* and the *Art of Thinking*. Though he (Mr. Jones) be no great admirer of the old logic, yet he has taken a great deal of pains both in explaining and correcting Hereboord, and has for the most part made him intelligible, or shewn that he is not so. I began to learn Hebrew as soon as I came hither. We read every day two verses apiece in the Hebrew Bible, which we turn into Greek, no one knowing which his verses shall be; and this with logic is our morning's work.

Mr. Jones also began, about three months ago, some critical lectures . . . about the antiquity of the Hebrew language . . . the ancient divisions of the Bible, the Talmud, etc. We are at present upon the Septuagint. This is what we first set about in

the afternoon, which being finished we read a chapter in the Greek Testament, and after that Mathematics.

This is our daily employment, which in the morning takes up about two hours, and something more in the afternoon, only on Wednesdays in the morning we read Dionysius's *Periegesis*, in which we have notes, mostly geographical, but with some criticisms intermixed, and in the afternoon we have no lecture at all. So on Saturday we have only a thesis, which none but they who have done with logic have any concern in. We are also just beginning to read Isocrates and Terence, each twice a week.

We are obliged to rise at five of the clock every morning, and to speak Latin always, except when below stairs amongst the family."

In 1712 the academy was removed to Tewkesbury, for the sake of a large and commodious house, built in 1701, which is still standing. It is called Tudor House, and is in the High Street, adjoining Red Lane. It is uncertain whether Mr. Jones was a Presbyterian or an Independent; the academy was supported by churches of both denominations, and members of both worshipped together in the town. It has been argued that the tutor was an Independent, because the Presbyterian Board sent him no students before 1714. A contrary conclusion is suggested from a scoffing allusion in Somerville's poem *Hobbinol*, wherein Tewkesbury is described as seated :

"Where amicably join  
The sister floods, and with their liquid arms  
Greeting embrace. Here Gamaliel sage,  
Of Cameronian brood, with ruling rod  
Trains up his Babes of grace."

The Schism Act seems to have been quietly ignored by Mr. Jones and his students; but it would appear that some fanatics of the Sacheverell school succeeded in persuading the dregs of the populace that the dissenters were friends of the Pretender! As a result, on the night of the coronation of King George I., the academy house was assailed by a riotous mob, the marks of whose hatchets were long to be seen on the ancient

massive oak door at the side entrance; and Mr. George Moore, the high bailiff of the town, in attempting to quell the disturbance, was thrown down and beaten.

From first to last the academy subsisted less than twelve years; but in that time it gave instruction to a band of men who did honour to four religious denominations: Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Independents and Baptists; and some of whom attained to the highest positions both in Church and State. It may suffice to name Joseph Butler, the author of the immortal *Analogy of Religion*, bishop successively of Bristol and Durham; Thomas Secker, bishop successively of Bristol and Oxford, and finally archbishop of Canterbury; Samuel Chandler, D.D., F.R.S., said to be the most learned man in the island; Jeremiah Jones, author of a once celebrated work on the canon of Scripture; and John Bowes, lord chancellor of Ireland.

There is no complete list of the Gloucester and Tewkesbury students; but in addition to those just named the following are recorded:

J. Allen, M.D.	Joshua Jones, Manchester
— Berry, Salop	Caleb Jope, Bristol
— Braddock, Bury, Lanc.	— Judge
— Brooks, M.D., Naturalist	— Lane
— Cock	Ben. Lewis
— Crouch	Thos. Mole, Hackney
— Fernihaug	— Oldsworth
Hy. Francis, Southampton	T. Pearse, M.D., Chelwood
Andrew Gifford, D.D., London	R. Pearsall, Taunton
Ed. Godwin, London	John Philips
Vavator Griffith, Tutor in Wales	— Roberts
S. Harvey, London	— Rutter, M.D.
— Holland	Danl. Scott, LL.D., Colchester
— Hollis	— Sedgeley, Bideford
T. Hopkins	J. Sheldon, Romford
— Howe	John Spilsbury, Attorney at Law
Obadiah Hughes, D.D., London	T. Thomas, Pershore
W. Hunt, Hackney	Jeremiah (?) Tidcombe
— Johnson	

Samuel Jones published nothing; but his MS. lectures on Jewish antiquities were used by the principals of two other academies: by Joseph Jennings at Kibworth, and by Dr. Doddridge at Northampton; Dr. Doddridge also mentioning that in teaching ethics his critical lectures were an abridgement of Jones's. There is a MS. of his lectures in two 8vo. vols. in Dr. Williams's Library; in the Congregational Library are six 8vo. vols. of MS., entitled: *Annotationes in Godwini Mosen & Aaronen, Autore Sa. Jones, 1719*; the late Joshua Wilson of Tunbridge Wells is said to have had a MS. of his *Logica seu ars Ratiocinandi*, transcribed by Edward Godwin in 1712; and among the Doddridge relics in New College Library is a small volume of *Prolegomena Critica, sive Apparatus ad S. Scripturae Lectionem*, by Samuel Jones, with notes interlined here and there in Doddridge's hand.

"One Mr. Jones" (as Bishop Porteous with fine prelatie taste called him) died at the early age of 38, on 11th October, 1719. He was buried the following day within Tewkesbury Abbey. His tombstone (on which a Latin inscription, though much worn, can still be traced) had been almost forgotten when it was found by Joshua Wilson. It is at the back of the chancel, near the entrance to the Clarence vault.

After Mr. Jones's death Edward Godwin was urgently invited to become his successor in the conduct of the academy, but declined. He subsequently married Mrs. Jones, who was the daughter of the Rev. Mr. Weaver of Hereford. Some of the students received instruction from the Rev. Jeremiah Jones at Nailsworth; others went to Carmarthen, where Thomas Perrot, who had been S. Jones's fellow student at Abergavenny, was instructing students, some of whom had been



pupils of William Evans. In 1721 the library of the Tewkesbury academy was transferred to Carmarthen; and the arrangements then made may probably be regarded as the real foundation of Carmarthen College.

Stratford-on-Avon, etc.

Respecting this academy and its tutors our stock of information is exceptionally slender. It would seem that a Rev. JOSEPH PORTER of Alcester, who died about 1721, was accustomed to receive pupils; amongst whom were "many gentlemen and merchants, and two ministers," viz. the Rev. John Perkins of Bromyard, and the Rev. Jos. Carpenter of Worcester. Mr. Porter only published a few single sermons, preached on public occasions. After his death his remaining pupils "were transferred to Stratford-on-Avon, and placed under the care of the . . . minister of a dissenting congregation in that town." Walter Wilson fills the blank with the name of the Rev. John Fleming; but this is an error, as that gentleman only settled at Stratford about 1729. The Stratford tutor at the earlier date was the Rev. JOHN ALEXANDER. He seems to have received pupils at Gloucester; whence he removed to Stratford in 1720, and carried on an academy until 1729, when he removed to Dublin. He is said to have been "of the first note in his time for Oriental learning"; and was the author of a learned treatise on *The Primitive Doctrine of Christ's Divinity*, published 1727. He died in 1743. Among his pupils were:

Rev. Benj. Higges, Faringdon	Gabriel Nichols
Danl. Silk, Aylesbury	Robert Gilbert, <sup>1</sup> Northampton
John Heywood, Potterspury	John Dawley, Lutterworth
Jas. Floyd, Daventry	W. Foot, Bristol
John Philips, Kingsbury?	Jas. Belsham (father of Thomas Belsham)
Daniel Thomas	Belsham)

[<sup>1</sup> He also studied under Saunders of Bedworth]

On Mr. Alexander's removal to Dublin he was succeeded both as pastor and tutor by the Rev. John Fleming. All we know of him is that he had been pastor at Bridgenorth, Salop; that on 14th October, 1724, he had preached at the opening of the "New chapel" in Vicar Lane, Coventry; and that about 1726 or-7 he had begun to receive pupils. The following are mentioned as having been under his tuition :

Rev. John Edge, Stourbridge	Thomas Merryman, Rochester
Samuel Philips, Bromsgrove	Edward Smith, Romford
Samuel Clements, Warwick	John Philips, "near Chester"
Edward Pickard, London (Carter Lane)	Edward Nicklin, Bloxham
John Ward, Taunton	Thos. Tingay, Rotherhithe, afterwards Beccles
— Talbot	

The academy probably ceased to exist when, if not before, Mr. Fleming left Stratford. This was about 1737. What became of him is unknown.

#### Saffron Walden

Several writers mention an academy in this town about the end of the seventeenth century; but it is very doubtful whether any such academy existed. The Congregational church claims to have originated in 1655; but its records do not go beyond 1740. However, from the records of the Congregational Fund Board and some memoranda of Joshua Wilson's in the Congregational Library, these facts may be gathered :

WILLIAM PAYNE, eldest son of the ejected vicar of Bishop Stortford, born about 1648, was literary executor of Dr. John Owen, whom he visited the day before his death. Of his education and early life we know little or nothing; but he became pastor at Saffron Walden in 1694, and continued

until his death on 10th July, 1726. He was one of the ministers selected by the Congregational Fund Board to train young men as candidates for the ministry, before the academy of the Board was established. Of his pupils we have the following names; whether he had any others we are not informed:

John Guyse, D.D., London  
 John Green, ? Wimborne  
 Caleb Wroe, Bishop Stortford  
 William Notcutt, Ipswich

Theophilus Lobb, M.D., F.R.S.,  
 . . . Yeovil and London  
 — Williams  
 Richard Rawlin

## Anti-Brownist Pamphlets, 1641-42

(Sequel to paper on "London Conventicles in 1641"; see  
*Transactions*, vol. iv., pp. 299-304)

THE | Brothers of the Separation | OR | A true Relation of a  
Company of Brow- | nists which kept their Conventicle at  
one M<sup>r</sup> Porters in Goat Alley in Whitecrosse-Street, | where  
they were apprehended on Sun- | day, Aug. 14. 1641 |

As also | A Sermon preached afterwards in the | same house by  
*John Rogers* a Glover, | wherein is shewed their wicked ran-  
corous minds at full. | *This was justified by above twenty men of | good  
life and conversation.* | Mark 13.30 [quoted in full] | Printed at  
London by Tho: Harper, 1641.

[B.M., E. 172.11]

The tract begins with a paragraph of denunciation, greatly resembling portions of *The Brownists Synagogue*. Next follows a brief and rather ridiculous notice of the arrest and speedy release of certain persons at the place and date named. Finally an *alleged* report of the glover's sermon on Leviticus xi. 13-17. It consists of barely a thousand words; and while possibly *based on* an actual reminiscence of what was said, is evidently a spiteful burlesque.

\* \* \*

LVCIFERS | LACKY | OR | The Devils New Creature. | BEING  
[The true Character of a dissembling | Brownist, whose life is  
hypocriticall, instructi- | ons Schismaticall, thoughts dangerous,  
Actions | malicious, and opinions impious. | With the Relation of  
their repulse from | the Parliament house upon Thursday the 4. of]

*December* | And the reason why Constables had | warrants in the  
City and Liberties of *Lon-* | *don* to take up men to guard the  
Parliament- | house upon *Friday* the 12. of *December*, 1641. |  
LONDON, Printed for *John Greensmith*, 1641

[B.M., E. 180.3]

This tract of 8 pp. (two of them blank) is little else than scurrilous abuse. The only passages worth quoting are these :

"Yet are there amongst this holy assembly (as they tearme themselves) as many several opinions, as men, which will easily be made manifest by their last Congregation in the Malt-house of one Job a Brewer, the number being about sevenscore, then had every one a Religion by himselfe, and every one a nigher way to Heaven than the other, each shewed his opinion, which to relate it would be too tedious, but their ambitious zeale was so hot, that in snuffe each left the other ; but not long after the Reverend Box-maker elevated as high as little *St. Bartholomew's* Pulpit, where he threw more stones against the Bishops and the booke of Common Prayer, then little Boyes use to doe Snow-balls in the time of Winter." . . . .  
"Twice have their troopes been collected being armed with Swords and staves, and what place have they gone to besiege, a place of no lesser consequence than the Parliament house. The first day was upon Thursday the 4 of Decemb, the second upon Friday the 12 of December, upon the first day the Trayne Band ceazed upon them, not knowing otherwise but that they came against the Parliament house, but their plea was they came to defend the truth, but it was very true that many of them were committed to prison. Vpon Friday notice was given to the Parliament, how that their number was so great, so that instantly there was warrant sent unto each Constable to command sufficient men, with Swords and Halberts, to guard the Parliament house from Schismaticall oppression."

On the next page is a print of a man preaching in a tub to a company of ten men and one woman. Below is printed :

*When Women Preach, and Coblers Pray,  
The fiends in Hell, make holiday.*

\* \* \*

HIS  
MAJESTIES  
Speciall Command under the Great Seale of  
ENGLAND  
To the Lord Major of the Honourable  
city of *London*, dated *Decemb. 9. 1641*  
For the speedy sending of Precepts into severall wards  
of the City  
To suppress the Tumultuous and unlawfull Assemblies, and  
Riotous disorders both in  
the City of *London* and *Westminster*.  
With a Relation of the Riotous Assemblies, Mu-  
tinous Vproares, and disorders, made and committed by  
a company of Brownists or Separatists within the City of  
*London* and *Westminster*.  
Also in what manner they entered into St. Georges Church,  
where one of them made a Sermon, on *Sunday, Decemb. 12.*  
Whereunto is added the Riotous Insurrection and  
Rebellion of some Persons in *Newgate* condemned to  
dye, on *Munday December 13. 1641*

---

*London*, Printed for *John Thomas*, 1641

[B.M., 1128. G. 11]

This, notwithstanding its promising title, is little better than a mere catchpenny. It commences with a proclamation by the Lord Mayor (Michell), dated 9th December, 1641; setting forth that many riots, tumults, and unlawful assemblies had lately taken place in London and Westminster; warning all persons against being concerned in the like; but containing not a single word about Separatists or Brownists. Next comes "A Relation of the disorders, mutinous assemblies, uprores and distractions committed by many Schismaticall people, but especially by the Brownists or Separatists of this Kingdome." The section thus entitled is a reprint, almost word for word, of the passages marked <sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup> and <sup>2</sup> <sup>2</sup> in *The Brownists Synagogue*;\* followed by 44 lines of general statements about

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\* See *Transactions*, vol. iv., pp. 300, 301.

tumults, but with no mention of either Separatists or conventicles. At length we have two short paragraphs of real information, viz :

“On Sunday last December 12 was a great assembly of these Brownists gathered about *St George’s Church in Southwark*, and one of their preachers, a Cobler by profession, violently went up into the Pulpit and made a Sermon above an houre long ; whom they assisted, untill all the Constables thereabouts had raised up ayd to suppress these tumultuous outrages.

After this he went from thence to *St. Olave’s Church* neare the Bridge, with all his illiterate audience after him, thinking to make another sermon there also ; but being prevented, and that they could not get into the church, this Preaching Cobler stood up in the Church Porch and made a Sermon to them all.”

The section ends with the passage<sup>3 3</sup> in *The Brownists Synagogue*,\* with a few verbal alterations. Then follows a short one page report of an attempt at mutiny by some condemned prisoners in Newgate on the same day, 12th December, 1641 ; but the facts, serious enough, which give that attempt some historic importance are not mentioned.

\* \* \*

The | Discovery | of a Swarme of Seperatists | or | A Leather-sellers||Sermon||.Being a most true and exact Relation of the | tumultuous combustion in *Fleet-street* last Sabbath | day being the 29. of *Decem.* truly describing how *Burboon* | a Letherseller had a Conventicle of Brownists met at | his house that day about the number of an hundred and | fifty, who preached there himselfe about five | houres in the afternoone||.

Shewing likewise how they were discove- | red, and what meanes, as also how the Constable | scattered their Nest, and of the great tumult in the | Street.

With another Relation of a Sermon, that Prophet *Hunt* pre- | ched in *St. Pulchers Church* the same day aforesaid, meaking | Another Combustion in the said Parish, with a description of that | Sermon, which he preached in *Westminster-hall* not long | since, with a Relation also of that, which he would | have preached in the Old Exchange. |

LONDON, Printed for *John Greensmith*, 1641

[B.M., E. 180.25] 8 pp. (2 bl.)

\* See *Transactions*, vol. iv., pp. 500, 501.

The greater part of the pamphlet is mere clap-trap ; but the following extracts are noteworthy :

“ At the lower end of *Fleet Street* neere *Fetter lane*, one Burboone a Lether seller entertained a whole swarme of Brownists in his house, (as by credible information about the number of a hundred and fifty) who last Sabbath day being the 19. of *December* preached himselfe (I suppose) as the Spirit moved him to his Brownisticall Congregation. But he yelped so loud with a horrible exclamation, that divers men passing by gave some audience thereunto, and immediately conceiving that they were some Nest of Schismaticks, they stayed longer, in expectation to heare some of his too erroneous Doctrine (as it was afterwards declard to sufficient men) and as they still waited in auricular captation, so their number increased, and at length they came to a full head. And being impatient of the aforesaid Leather Seller's Sermons, which was full of Hereticall opinion, they began to make a Combustion thereabouts, and on a sudden broke down all the glasse windowes, and withall striving to break downe the doore ; thus they continued in this diffusive hurly burly from five of the clocke in the afternoone, until past seven ; then the Constable of the Ward commanded the doore of the sayd Conventicle house to be opened, while they sent them all away : there was a tumultuous clamour among the Popular conflux of the vulgar, and some of the said Brownists being obstinate, and desperate, were committed to Bridewell, and others to the Counters. Yet notwithstanding there was still an acclamation among the Apprentices and others, who would have pulled downe the house, had not the Constable come againe and mitigated them with his guard : yet still their raging fury could not be abated in a perfect tranquillity and pacification, but they broke the Signe of the said Leather Sellers house, having a various distraction and great mutiny among them. The said Burboone preached very nigh five houres, crying divers times, as was audibly heard, Hell and Damnation, telling them they were all damned ; he did speake likewise much against the Book of Common Prayer, against the Bishops and many others ; but the flexibility of his voice was so various that we could heare no perfect sentence of his sermon, but only some fragments thereof. . . . Thus the aforementioned Letherseller houled out his new-coined Doctrine to his new-united Auditors, who of late have all surreptitiously crept in amongst us. There was as many women as men, and if the Constable had not come seasonably, as he did, there had been great murther among them ; for the Apprentices were fully resolved to break open the doores immediately ; therefore in the debate that then was many of the said Brownists crauled over the Tyles, and houses, escaping some one way and some another. But at length they catcht one of them alone, but they



kickt him so vehemently, as if they meant to beate him into a jelly. It is ambiguous whither they have killed him or no; but for a certainty they did knocke him, as if they meant to pull him in pieces. I confesse it had been no matter if they had beaten their whole Tribe in the like manner."

Then follows an account of one James Hunt, who "divers times put himselfe forward in many churches, for which he had great rebuke." He seems to have been somewhat of a crank, certainly a fanatic, who claimed to be a prophet. It seems that after the sermon at Sepulchre church on 19th December he stood up and began thus: "Men and brethren, I pray give ear unto my text which is taken out of the 7 chap. of the Revelation v. 3. Then he began to bawl so loud concerning fire and water, with such preemprory confidence, that there did arise a fresh tumult . . . and . . . he was pulled downe by the Constables and others." Brought before the Lord Mayor, he was asked: "Whether he had the Spirit or no, or how he dare presume to preach having no warrant for the ministeriall function; his replie was that he had sufficient warrant from God, for he knew that he was his messenger; and as for the Spirit he was confident that he had that, which he sayd they apparently might perceive by the fruits thereof."]

\* \* \*

NEW | PREACHERS, | NEW. | *Greene* the Feltmaker, *Spencer* the Horse- | rubber, *Quartermine* the Brewers Clarke, with | some few others, that are mighty sticklers in this new | kinde of talking Trade, which many ignorant | Coxcombes Call Preaching.¶ Whereunto is added the last Tumult in Fleet street, rai- | sed by the disorderly preachment, pratings, and pratling of | M<sup>r</sup> *Barebones* the Leather-seller, and M<sup>r</sup> *Greene* the Felt- | maker, on Sunday last the 19. of Decemb.

[A rude woodcut of a man preaching in a tub or rather hogshead, with ten men and one woman standing or sitting around. Above is printed on one side "Greene the Feltmaker," on the other "Barebones the Leatherseller."]

[B.M., E. 180.26]

This pamphlet of 8 pp. has for sub title: "An Epistle written by a private friend to *John Greene*, a Hat-maker." It consists of little else but violent abuse, and affords but little information. A few brief extracts may therefore suffice. "Consider, I pray you, that our Lord would not have had the Asse, *Matth.* 21. 3. if he had not stood in need of him. Now the truth is, our Church hath no need of such as you, unlearned, a selfe-conceited hatmaker; *Spencer*, a wavering minded fellow, a stable unstable companion in all his waies, having beene a Serving man, a Porter, a Groome to a Stable,

a Chandler, a Weaver, yea more, of as many trades almost as religions : but the Church hath need of him, so he saith. But I say it is a proud speech. It is true, that in the beginning of Queene *Elizabeth's* reigne, the Popish Priests and Friers being dismissed, there was a scarcity for the present of learned men, and so some tradesmen were permitted to leave their trades, and betake themselves to the ministry ; but it was necessity that did then constraîne so to do ; but thanks bee to God we have now no such necessity."

. . . . . "One of them told the Lords in the Parliament, that they were all preachers, for so they practise and exercise themselves as young players doe in private, till they bee by their brethren judged fit for the pulpit, and then up they goe, and like mountebankes play their parts, making some of there old honest acquaintance believe that all they doe is by the Spirits immediate infusion."

. . . . . After a reference to 1 Cor. 14 : 15, 24 and John 4 : 29 the writer proceeds : "These were those that could then pray by the Spirit, sing by the Spirit, and without studying preach by the Spirit : and now every proud sectarie takes upon him to doe the like ; *Greene, Spencer, Robinson*, yea all Brownists, Anabaptists, Familists, Arrians, can all preach by the spirit, pray by the spirit, but they cannot sing by the spirit." . . . . "Both he and many of his fraternity know very well how to get money, can they but turne non-conformists, or deliver strange doctrines, or become a leader of some sect, then who but them, both for rich wives, and many customers." The last page of the tract is occupied by an unfriendly account of the riot at Barbone's house in Fleet-street, when he and Greene were preaching. It affords no additional information.

\* \* \*

#### THE BROWNISTS CONVENTICLE :

*or an Assembly of Brownists, Separatists, and Non-Conformists*, as they met together at a private house to heare a Sermon of a brother of theirs neere *Algate*, being a learned *Felt-maker*. | Contayning the whole discourse of his Exposition, with the manner and forme of his preaching, praying, giving thankes before and after Dinner and Supper, as it was lately heard | and now discovered by a brother of theirs who | is turned out of their Society upon some | discontent, to be buffeted by Sathan. | *His Auditors were Button-makers, Translators, Weavers, Box-makers, | with divers other holy Brethren and Sisters.* |

[Print of five men seated at table, one of them labelled "Simple Robin." At the side another man kissing a woman, with the legend "A little in zeale, good sister Ruth."]

Printed 1641

8 pp. blackletter. A ludicrous account of a

dinner party, with two monstrous "graces" before and after, with a sermon following on Revelation 12 c., 7 v. The whole is sheer burlesque; and in some parts too coarse for reproduction. It contains references to Samuel How and Samuel Eaton; but yields *no* fresh historical information.

[B.M., E. 164.13]

\* . \* \*

(Title-Page only)

The | DIVISIONS | of the Church of | ENGLAND | CREPT IN  
AT XV SEVERAL DOORS BY DIVERS, | Each having Members very  
earnest in the seeking to have such a | Church and Discipline here  
established, as is agreeable | with their Religion. |

	For Bishops	1. <i>Papists.</i>	3. <i>Arminians.</i>	
		2. <i>Arians.</i>	4. <i>Canonists.</i>	
Against Bishops	{	5. <i>Atheists.</i>	{	10. <i>Seperatists.</i>
		6. <i>Adamiles.</i>		11. <i>Brownists.</i>
		7. <i>Familists.</i>		12. <i>Puritans.</i>
		8. <i>Anabaptists.</i>		Betwixt both.
		9. <i>Lutherans.</i> <sup>1</sup>		<i>Novelists. Timeservers.</i>

<sup>1</sup> Misprinted Luthetans.

*Each in their true colours without any dissimulation in the world.*

LONDON

Printed and are to be sould by R. Smithers. Anno Domini. 1642.

[B.M., E. 180.10]

Five pp. of text, consisting mainly of definitions; these are *mostly* fair, except that "Arians" and "Arminians" are both described as conforming ritualists, without any reference to their doctrinal specialities. The author's standpoint appears to be Puritan, for he concludes thus:

*Puritans* among us are a people, who would have the Bishops removed, and the church no more to be ruled by them: but by a *Presbyteriall Government*, as it is in *Scotland*, and the very same *Government discipline, and ordinances* which they have, they would have here, approving of it in their judgments, and conceive it to be the happiest Government in the world; especially if we enjoy it, because the Church in *Scotland*, and ours in *England*, is all in one and the same Iland, and under one and the same King.

The *Author*, and those of his mind, pray to God for a Reformation, and that God would bee with the great Assembly in the settling thereof, waiting Gods time, and their accomplishment thereof : not doubting but that God will be with them, to worke such a reformation, as shall make the church of *England* glorious, and what that high Court shall establish, we doubt not, but that their Declaration will bee sufficient to give satisfaction to all true hearted Protestants, and all who wish well to the King, Church, and Kingdome of *England*.

All true hearted Protestants desire and pray, that God would bee pleased, to bee with that great Assembly, and to guide them, that they may establish such things, and only such as may be pleasing to Almighty God, for the honour of the King, the comfort of the Church, and the good of the whole Kingdome, and that for Christ his sake. *Amen.*

On the last page is a "POSTSCRIPT"; a rude print of two persons, looking from the windows of two adjacent houses toward a scaffold, on which kneels a friar as if praying: a fourth person walks toward the spectator between the houses and the scaffold. Above and below are these lines:

*Arminians and fryers, soe neare together dwell,  
There is but one wall betweene both, One like each other well  
The Protestant walks up and downe the streete (with greefe,)  
And in his sad distractions to God praes for yreleife.*

## Samuel Chidley, Philanthropist and Iconoclast

IN *Transactions* ii., pp. 335-6, a list is given of the writings of Samuel Chidley, the protagonist of criminal law reform, and son of Katharine Chidley, the amazonian champion of Independence against Edwards of the *Gangraena*. He is there spoken of as an "eminent Commonwealth lawyer," a mistake which would have been avoided had the writer then seen the pieces here reproduced. He was no lawyer, but an idealist who could not imagine how godly men should fail to perceive what was to him self evident truth.

As his most important work is reprinted in the *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. vi., pp. 272-288, it is not necessary to reproduce it here; but a short summary of its contents may be a fitting prelude to other pieces of his on the same topic.

The (reprinted) work is a pamphlet of 24 pp., 4to., *printed in red*. The title is:

"כִּצְרָח A Cry against a crying sin; or a just complaint to the magistrates against those that have broke the Statute laws of God by killing men merely for theft." Several passages of Scripture are quoted at length; after which follows: "Printed for Samuel Chidley, dwelling in Bow Lane at the Sign of the Chequer. 1652." [B.M., E. 659,24.]

The contents are: (1) A Preface. (2) A Petition to the Lord Mayor (Thomas Andrews), Aldermen, and Common Council, that they would address themselves to Parliament for Amendment of the law which punished theft with death. (3) A Letter to Thos. Andrews, dated "London Bridge, 25 June 1649," referring to the petition, and enclosing "Certain reasons of weighty consideration in reference to the petition to the Common Council on behalf of transgressors." (4) The "weighty reasons" in full. (5) A Letter, written by Samuel Chidley on 11th December, 1651 "To the Right Honourable the Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery of Newgate." (6) A Statement that the letter was delivered to the bench; that Chidley, being called upon, publicly owned it; and that immediately after his withdrawal a poor wretch charged with felony was adjudged to be pressed to death for refusing to plead. (7) A Petition (undated) to the Council of State for the reprieve of such condemned persons as are "not guilty of death by the laws of God, nature, or equity." (8) A Petition To

the Right Honourable the General Council for the Army, entitled "The Humble Proposals of S. Ch.," dated 31st December, 1651. (9) "A Letter written to the regulators of the law, appointed by Parliament, and sent and presented to that Committee"; it encloses a copy of the "Humble Proposals," and expresses grief and indignation that at the last sessions men had been hanged at Tyburn for stealing 5s. 6d.; dated "From my Mother's House in Soper Lane, London, 25th February, 1651/2." (10) An Appeal to the reader to promulgate the contents; with a statement that by the author's direction a copy should have been nailed to the gallows at Tyburn before the last execution; and, this being impracticable, it had been nailed to a tree near by.

Before the end of the year 1652 Chidley put into circulation the following on a fly leaf, about 7 in. by 5¼, with a wide black border :

To the Honourable Committee for Petitions,

*The humble Petition of Samuel Chidley, against  
the crying sin of Murder.*

*Sheweth*

That your Petitioner setting the fear of the Lord of lords before his eyes, and advancing the Judgements and Laws of the God of gods in his heart, before the Precepts of frail Man, (though he know none of his friends or acquaintance to be guilty of Theft) was moved, in zeal to his most sacred Majesty, to discharge his conscience, by shewing the unlawfulness of killing men for stealing nothing but food and raiment; and accordingly hath given testimony of the same truth, to the Court of Aldermen and Common Council of *London*, and those who are called the learned judges of the Land, and at the Judgement seat before the Sessions, and to the General Council for the Army, and the Committee for the Law, as may appear unto your Honours, by the printed relations hereunto annexed; yet notwithstanding they proceed in their horrid sin (according to the usual and ungodly custom) of killing men only for stealing food and rayment; All which is against the Law of God, the good things contained in the Solemn League and Covenants of the Nation, the Oath of every Free-man of *London*, Reason itself, the witness of Conscience well check'd or rightly rectified, and the whole creation of God.

*Your Petitioners humble desire therefore is, That this Honourable Committee would report the whole matter to the House forthwith, and that Mr. Cary (the Chairman for the Officers of the Armies Petition) may be called upon to prefer the Bill with all expedition which is in his custody, and which he received from the Lieutenant-General, for pulling an end to such cursed practices; and that inquisition may be made after the blood of those men which have been murdered under pretence of Law; and that all Records may be examined, and Evidences, con-*

cerning the premises; and that the Murderers who are yet alive (upon conviction) though in never so great places (as he who was the supremest Magistrate of England) may suffer as Murderers and Traytors, for subverting the Fundamental and unrepealed Laws of God, which themselves have sworn to observe inviolably; and that the Supreme Authority would pardon none but such who are pardonable by the unrepealed Laws of God: so that the Judgements of God which are like to overwhelm this Land for their Sin, may be stayed.

And your Petitioner shall we pray &c.

Samuel Chidley

(On The Reverse)

Now seeing two hours time in a [*illegible*] is too little for the Committee to set for tryal of Petitions, it were better to meet oftner, and sit longer; and it would be more for their honours: For this Petition concerning Life and Death, having lain dead before the Committee for Petitions the space of six months, and no report thereof made to the House, I thought it not good to tarry any longer, but save the Committee a labour, and report it myself, that it may not lie all the year long in hand.

And whereas Doctor *Turner*, Bishop, of *Kent*, in the time of the late King, after 16 years' experience by imprisonment, did affirm to the Committee for [*illegible*] in the Exchequer Chamber That the Parliament were not set by God to make Laws, but to obey Laws; I suppose the good old Father meant no harm in it, but his words may bear this construction, that either it is to be understood of matters in Religion, or in civil things, of those Laws that are absolutely forbidden or commanded by the Law of God; that in such cases the Parliament has no power to make Laws in opposition; and if they make any for confirmation, it may be taken rather as a declaration, or command, for putting the said Laws in execution, which is the Magistrates proper work. But in worldly things of an indifferent nature, He holdeth the Magistrate to have liberty as a Father, or a Master of a Family in his house; as may appear by his Creed, called the *Saints belief*. Hence it will follow, that the Parliament hath power to destroy all wicked Statutes such as were made by *Omri* King of *Israel*, and to cause all such Statute-Books, in contempt, to be burnt by the hands of the Common Hangman.

Thus have I discharged my duty in plainness, *My Conscience bearing me witness, with God's holy Word and Spirit*; And I would rather seal his truth with my dearest blood, then deny any part thereof; though *he that departeth from evil, maketh himself a prey, and a snare is layd for him that reproveth in the gate, who is a brother to Ostriches, but none of their Fraternity, and a companion to Owles, though not of their Company.*

Psalm 119. 31.

*I have stuck unto thy Testimonies: O Lord, put me not to shame.*

FINIS

Early in 1653 Chidley wrote a tract concerning "The Publique-Faith Souldiers Arrears, and Other Publique Debts of the Nation." It is, for 14 pages, a bitter complaint of bad faith on the part of the decadent Long Parliament, in respect of obligations to public creditors which, he says, no honest attempt had been made to discharge. He claims to have presented petitions on behalf of a thousand creditors, many of whom had been reduced to poverty through failure of payments to which they were justly entitled. The tract seems to have been still unfinished when Cromwell effected the memorable *coup d'état* of 20th April; and Chidley wrote: "When they could they would not, and now if they would they cannot; God hath removed them; and now I find the words of understanding men to be true, which they have often spoke at the Bell-Savage and elsewhere, and which I desired might have proved otherwise: That the work which I had in hand was too good and too great for God to honour this Parliament with, and whereof I did admonish them in my printed books which I delivered at the Parliament door. But I thought I would never give over till I saw the utmost of it, believing the words of the wise would prove true, He that being often reproved hardeneth his neck shall suddenly be destroyed, and that without remedy."

On 22nd April the tract was published, with the rather inappropriate title: *A Remonstrance To the Valiant and well-deserving Souldier, And the rest of the Creditors of the Commonwealth.* The actual Remonstrance is contained in an appendix of two pages; whereof the substance is condensed in these sentences: "You wel-affected and valiant Souldiers, that have born the burden and heat of the day; You bear not the Sword for nought. And you that have lent Money, Plate, or other useful materials for the Commonwealth, do not repent your bargain. You welaffected Creditors of the late King, etc., The right Successors must pay their Predecessor's lawful debts. And you that have been plundered by the late Kings party, and lost upon the publick account; the Parliment gain'd when you lost, and now their losse is likely to be your gain."

The following 8 pp., 4to., printed in red, is undated; but the British Museum copy has a MS. note at the top, "2 March 1656."

To his Highness the Lord Protector, *and the Parliament of England, etc.*

Mortal Gods,

The Eternal Being, without which nothing can be, hath *made of one blood all nations of men* Act. 17. 26. Men are *the offspring of God*, v. 29. and *made in his own Image*, Gen. 1. 23. and therefore God said unto our fathers soon after the flood, *Whoso sheddeth mans blood, by man shall his blood be shed*, Gen. 9. 6. Yea (except



in some special cases) blood must be shed for the blood of a thief : *for he should have lived to make full restitution*, Exo. 22. 3. And therefore you ought to be more tender of a man's life, then of matter of estate : and *all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, ye should do even so to them*, Matt. 7. 1. And I have so much charity towards you, to hope that you are not void of all humanity, but have some natural affection ; so that if any of your children or neer relations through poverty should fall to steal, and happen to be hanged for the value of 13 *d. ob.* (or pressed to death for not speaking) it would touch you to the quick. And think you that other mens children and relations are not as dear and precious to them, as yours are to you ? And this I say, not that I allow of theft, nor do I know any of my relations guilty thereof ; but only shew unto you the unnaturalness of the act and fact of putting men to death for simple Theft ; that so you may be thorowly sensible and sorrowful, and *you hearts may be made better*, Eccl. 7. 3. You know its' a common thing to arraign men for stealing Horses ; a man is hang'd ordinarily for a Mare : for your Law values not a man more then a horse : Is not this a brutish estimation, O ye Heads of *Great Britain* ?

You have sate now above these 40 days twice told, and passed some Acts for transporting Corn and Cattel out of the Land, and against *Charles Stuarts*'s, etc. but (as I humbly conceive) have left undone matters of greater concernment ; amongst which, the not curbing this over-much justice in hanging men for Stealing, is one ; the not suppressing the Pressing of men to death for not answering against themselves, is another : And what think you of taking away a mans life upon a single testimony ! (especially being for such small matters) can you justify the same before the great Law-giver, who is able to save and to destroy ? If you cannot, then be as diligent to make a thorow Reformation, as I have been in importunate Sollicitation.

Wot ye not also, that it is a general grievance and open disgrace to the Nation, that the Publick debts are yet unpaid, although you are deeply engaged by *Art. 39.* of this present Government ? Ye know the Laws are executed with great severity against Pick-pockets, petty thieves, and silent malefactors, who are pressed to death for holding their tongues, and are taken *pro confesso* : But judg in your selves, Whether are the greater sinners, those that steal for meer necessity, to supply their present wants, or such as defraud the old soldier of his Pay, and the laborer of his hire, and borrow money and not pay again but engage faith and promise upon it, give Debenters, Bills and Bonds for it, and establish Securities to satisfie it, and afterwards by force or fraud take it, or suffer it to be taken away again ; and yet again binde themselves by a solemn Oath, as in the presence of God, that the Securities given shall remain firm and good, and not be made void or invalid

upon any pretence whatsoever ; and afterwards neither regard debts nor debtors, but suffer many of them to perish, while justice is bought and sold, and cometh by a drop at a time, and doth not *run down* as it ought like a mighty stream : And by swearing and lying, and killing and stealing, and committing adultery, men break out, and blood toucheth blood. And for these things doth the land mourn. Hos. 4. 2. 3.

In the land of *Israel* there was a special provision made for the poor, the fatherless and the widow ; yea, the very stranger was not to be forgotten in that land : so that Theft was much more to be punished than now, sith the Thieves then were not driven to such straits and calamities as many now have been, and are still here in *England* (under such rude Forms of Government) by calamities, as impotency of body, loss of estates, bad debts, like the Publick faith and Arreres of Souldiers, so much undervalued, as if the High and Mighty States of *England* were broken. And God then gave free liberty amongst the Jews, for a man to eat his fill of his neighbour's field, vineyard, or oliveyard : but by the rustical law of *England*, men arrest men as trespassers for coming upon their ground, and obtain Judgements against them for Costs, although there is no damage. Such practices as these disquiet the Land, create combustions, bring confusions, and procure work for a sort of villains called Catchpoles, and employ a company of lascivious Lubbers, I mean the lying Lawyers, whose heads are full of mischief, and their pens dipt in gall and wormwood ; their tongues are as sharp arrows, their teeth as swords and spears, and their throats open sepulchres, to devour and swallow up the poor and needy from amongst men : These are like a sweeping rain to the poor, not leaving them a shilling to be a shield of defence, nor a peny in their pocket, to encounter with their enemy Hunger : and so the poor men's noses are held to the Grindstone, and their faces ground away, as may be seen by their countenances : and the Poor's poverty comes to be their absolute destruction, and swarms of beggers and thieves ingendered in the Commonwealth by Pecuniarians : and the poor mans Suit cannot go on currantly without money, though his Cause be never so just ; but I suppose a Lawyer may easily be got to speak twenty lyes against him for 10s. and cloak his lyes with pretences of Clyents informations. These things may easily be reformed by you, if ye will, O ye men of high degree.

And because you are the Patrons of *Englands* Statutes, and have power to redress the Grievances which by your Law cannot be redressed without you ; I have presented you with these lines printed in red letters, because, though *Tophet is prepared of old for Kings*, because of their crying crimes ; yet Parliaments sins are sins red as scarlet, of a deep and double dye ; and they must be accountable to him by whom their Legislative power is limited.

Repent, therefore, O Parliament of *England*, and be not as your predecessors the former Parliaments. Parliaments have been Pillars of Popery, Panders to the Whore of *Babylon*, abominable Idolaters, propagators of Adultery and Covetousness in the Clergy : Parliaments have been Murderers of Saints and sinners ; Parliaments have done and undone their self-denying Ordinances, been puffed up with pride, tyrannous towards their inferiours, slavish to their superiours, submitting to force against freedom ; using publike fraud and private flattery, to the destruction of the people. Therefore whatsoever *heavy burdens* they bound, and *grievous to be born*, you must unbinde, lobsing the bands of wickedness, undoing the heavy burdens, and letting the oppressed go free, and breaking every yoke, so much as the putting forth of the finger, or speaking vanity."

It is to be feared that Chidley's plea for more humane and equitable legislation was largely discounted by his assumption of a judicial *rôle* ; and passing sentence, not merely on the statute law, but on its administrators, as transgressors of the Law Divine. Nor would his philanthropic endeavours be greatly aided by his extreme iconoclastic sentiments, far outrunning the saying traditionally ascribed to Knox : "Ding down the nests, the rooks will fly." These find expression in a pamphlet of 40 4to pages, issued in February 1652/3, entitled :

THUNDER | From the | THRONE | of | GOD | AGAINST | The  
Temples of | Idols |

The title is printed first in Hebrew and then in English. The tract commences :

"To the Church of God (in Edmondsbury) even to the living Temples of the Holy Ghost : Samuel Chidley, the servant of Jesus Christ, sendeth greeting. In the name of Jehovah, the Eternal God of our Salvation."

The patronal, almost apostolic, style may be excused by the fact that Chidley and his mother were concerned in the constituting of the church at Bury St. Edmunds (see *Trans.* ii., 334). But only the wildest ultra-puritanic fanaticism could demand, and support the demand by elaborate argumentation, that all church buildings which had been erected for or profaned by "superstitious and Idolatrous services" should be utterly demolished, as the law of Moses ordained for the Idol-temples of the Canaanites.

The last mention we have found of Chidley is in a Lay Subsidy Roll for London, <sup>1667</sup>/<sub>67</sub> Hearth money, probably 1668.

“ Bishopsgate Ward, St. Buttolphe w<sup>th</sup>out  
West Side

	Hearths	£	s.	d.
Samuel Chidley	2	0	6	0
in prison”				

Under what circumstances he was imprisoned we do not know ; but it is probable that he would be an object of suspicion, certainly of dislike, to those in power at that time, seeing that his latest known publication was an address (1658) *To the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England*, against the restoration of monarchy.

## The Free Churches of Sussex

### Part I

IN trying to trace the history of the Free Churches of England the materials at the disposal of the enquirer are far less abundant than in the Established Church. Until recent years the buildings were plain and barn like, and Nonconformists possessed none of those glorious edifices of the Middle Ages, the cathedrals and large parish churches, which are the admiration of all succeeding ages—indeed of all who have the most elementary knowledge and appreciation of architecture ; neither have their records been (with one great exception, the Friends') long and carefully kept.

The reasons for this difference are not far to seek.

In the first place, although on the accession of Elizabeth England was nominally a Protestant country, yet the Reformation was sprung upon the nation generally by the arbitrary act of Henry VIII., and was not immediately accepted by the mass of the people. During her reign, and for several reigns afterward, the Protestant forms were regarded with doubt and suspicion, and multitudes of the inhabitants of our island clung to the faith and practices of the past ; it was still practically a *religio illicita*, and men and women who desired to worship according to the simpler forms had to practise them in secret, in woods, and private houses, having contrivances by which the preacher could rapidly escape should the alarm of

the approach of informers be given by those who were posted as guards to the assembly.

Another reason was that very many of the early Nonconformists (at least the ordinary private members) were poor men with little of this world's wealth or learning, and their minds were so occupied with the thought of building up living temples that they gave no heed to the beauty of the material edifice; moreover, for many years the government of those times would not have allowed buildings to be erected which seemed in the slightest degree to compete with those of the Established Church. Instead their places of worship were carefully hidden away up some obscure side street or alley (*e.g.*, Union Street, Brighton; Chapel Street, Guildford).

With regard to the records, owing to their frequent harassment it was no doubt not always safe to make entries. It has indeed been said that memoranda of baptisms were recorded in pocket books which the ministers carried about with them at great personal risk.

But after making all allowances, undoubtedly much more, especially of the earlier records, would remain to us, had their custodians been more deeply impressed with their importance. This is the more surprising remembering what a serious matter it has often been to be unable to state the exact date of birth or baptism for legal purposes and government appointments, and there was no *general* civil registration in the 17th and 18th centuries, in fact not until 1837.

Notwithstanding that Mr. Timbs in his *London and Westminster* (Bentley, 1868) maintains that Dr. Waddington found evidence that a Congregational church existed in London in 1567 with its duly appointed minister, Richard Fitz, and deacon, Thomas Rowland; yet such instances must have

been sporadic, and until the Revolution and the reign of William and Mary there appears no systematic attempt to establish churches in the midst of large centres of population.

There can be no doubt that the theory of every Christian church being independent of *every* other in *every* respect was carried to an absurd extreme by the early Independents, and that consequently they lost the *weight* and *dignity* which attaches to one united Church such as is found amongst the Moravians, the Church of England, and the Presbyterians.

It is noteworthy that those churches (not being of the Church of England) whose records are fullest and most complete are, or have been at some time in their past history, Presbyterian in their origin.

The old story of the bundle of sticks seems to apply here, singly they are easily broken, but united they are broken with the greatest difficulty. United, the larger churches not only strengthen but reflect honour upon the smaller country churches.

In any systematic attempt to trace the history of the Congregational churches of England it seems desirable to enquire into :

1. Particulars whether anything is known concerning the building ; when the original has been destroyed, then to learn whether any sketch taken by an old member of the congregation is in existence ; or if still standing, then a photograph or photographs of the old place of worship.

2. Any early communion plate, of pewter or silver, such as the Flavel communion cup, dated 1663, the property of Princes Street church, Devonport ; the Pilgrim Father beakers of silver, belonging to the Pilgrim Fathers church, Southwark ; and a set of pewter patens, given by the Rev.

J. Owen in 1694. Instance: set of pewter cups and patens found in a disused cupboard in Old Fetter Lane church, and exhibited with other objects at an evening meeting of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society some years since.

3. The church records: baptisms, births and burials. In many cases there are *others* than those preserved among the non-parochial records at Somerset House, *e.g.*, at Horsham, at Ditchling.

4. *Complete* copy of the inscriptions on monuments in the church (line for line) and in the adjoining burial ground; in the case of the latter, at least all the *facts* upon the headstones and tombs. This would apply chiefly to cases where the church is an old one.

It may not be known to many that the Society of Antiquaries put forth a paper recently suggesting that complete transcripts should be made not only of the inscriptions in the churchyards of the parish church, but also in Nonconformist burial grounds, as useful in tracing families some of whose ancestors were Churchmen and some Dissenters. Most families have relatives belonging to the Established Church, whilst others, members of the same family, are connected with the Free Churches.

The present writer has transcribed the inscriptions in many of the churchyards of Surrey and Sussex, and in Nonconformist burial grounds in both counties. Of those of Sussex: almost every inscription in the Free Christian church and burial ground (very many, some early,) at Horsham, (formerly General Baptist, now Unitarian). Also at Billingshurst; all the *names*, and inscriptions in full of certain selected ones, *e.g.*, Jeffery, Taylor, Evershed, Greenfield, Towse, Turner, Moore, Heath, Kensett.

At Brighton the interesting tablets formerly on



the walls of Union Street church have, since the congregation has united with Queen Square church, been carefully removed and placed on the walls of the latter building under the superintendence of the late minister, the Rev. J. G. Stevenson, and his deacons. The writer copied these verbatim some years ago when *in situ* on the walls of Union Street church.

5. The names of the ministers, with the duration of their ministry, dates of appointment, and resignation, and death.

These should be painted on a board and placed on the entrance, or one of the vestries of the church. The suggestion came originally from a late Archbishop of Canterbury (I think it was Dr. Tait) to the clergy of his diocese, and has been adopted by many of them.

Where ministers have been sufficiently famous to have their portraits taken, engravings of them framed might be arranged in chronological order in the vestry.

In a paper entitled *Admissions to Sussex Benefices (temp. Commonwealth) by the Commissioners for the Approbation of Public Preachers*, by Mr. E. H. W. Dunkin, F.S.A., published in the collections of the Sussex Archaeological Society, vol. xxxiii., p. 213, that gentleman has shewn, in his valuable notes to the admissions, how many of the Sussex clergy declined to conform and were consequently ejected in 1662. He mentions 22 names: John Harrison, appointed in 1645, and removed from the rectory of Bexhill. Thomas Reeves, it is supposed from Bigner. Robert Everden, from vicarage of Brighthelmstone. Joseph Bennett, from the rectory of Brightling. Thomas Goldham, M.A., from Burwash. William Martin (fellow of Merton College, Oxford, appointed to churches in Chichester, but vacated the livings in 1662; he died 3rd

August, 1686, in his 66th year, and was buried in Witney churchyard, Oxon). Robert Parke, from East Havant rectory, appointed 1637, silenced in 1662. John Stone, appointed to vicarage of Helingligh, ejected. Joseph Hayhurst, appointed to Iping rectory with Chithurst, 1654-5; declined to conform, 1662. Edward Newton, from St. Anne's, Lewes, and Southover, appointed 1657; born at Maidstone, fellow of Balliol College, Oxford; died in January, 1712, at an advanced age. Thomas Delves, M.A., from Nenfield rectory, in 1660. Thomas Wilmer, from vicarage of Pagham. Samuel Willmer from Patching, with Clapham; died at Havant, Hants., October 7th, 1671, aged 46. John Greenfield, from Peasemarsch vicarage. Elias Arnold, from Ringmer. Paul d'Aranda, from Rotherfield rectory; at one time curate to John Maynard, vicar of Mayfield; subsequently pastor of the French or Walloon church in the Undercroft, Canterbury Cathedral; minister of Patcham, 1655. John Hamper, from vicarage of Selsey, appointed 1657. John Etheredge, M.A., refused to conform at the Restoration; John Earle, from Tarring Nevil rectory, appointed 1654-5. Francis Cuffley, appointed 1655, April 12th, from Pertington; Calamy says he died March 20th, 1669, aged about 35. William Pixie, M.A., from West Tarring, silenced in 1662.<sup>1</sup>

The first attempt to collect names of places in each county where meetings were held and of their heads and teachers (*i.e.* ministers) seems to be in the *Return of Conventicles in Sussex* in 1669, made by the bishops at the request of the Archbishop Sheldon.

The archbishop directs that speedy enquiry should be made: "what and how many conventicles are held in every parish, what are the

<sup>1</sup> Many other Sussex ministers were ejected or silenced in 1660 and 1662. The *Nonconformists' Memorial* names more than 50. [ED.]

numbers which usually meet at them, and of what condition or sort of people they consist.

From this return we learn that there were at that time fifty conventicles in Sussex, of which eleven belonged to the Anabaptists, six to the Quakers, four to Presbyterians, three to Independents, one to Papists, and twenty-four of which the sect is not recorded (see the late Canon J. H. Cooper's *Return of Conventicles in Sussex, 1669*, and in *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol. li).

The writer took out these returns some years since from the original MS. (Tenison 639) preserved in the library of Lambeth Palace. They are of special value as the report of those who were antagonistic to dissent, and therefore not likely to represent an optimistic view of Nonconformity, as a return made by one of its friends might be considered.

There are some slight differences in this transcript and the canon's, as in the latter the division into deaneries is ignored.

The particulars are divided into five heads, *viz*, parishes and conventicles in them; sects; numbers of their adherents; quality or social position; heads or teachers. The sects represented are Anabaptists, Quakers, Presbyterians, Independents; they frequently met in private houses, their numbers vary from 16, 20, 30 to 200 and even 500 (S. Malling), their quality is variously described as "of middle sort," "yeomen and labourers," "meane for the most parte," "of all sorts under the degree of a gentleman," "tradesmen and labourers." At Wartling the congregation is said to contain "many of good estate." At Midhurst the note is that there "are great numbers, some of them persons of good quality."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> At least 18 of the "Teachers" named were ejected ministers, most of them from benefices within the county. [ED.]

## DIOCESSE OF CHICHESTER

## Nidhurst Deanry

Parishes and Con- venticles in them	Sects	Numbers	Quality	Heads & Teachers
Petworth 1		50 or 60	some middle sort others inferior	Mr. Henry Staples one Reeves and one Willmott
Lurgisale 1 at the houses of John Hooke and Richard Lauder		about 40	yeomen and Labourers	Mr. Kemes and oth <sup>rs</sup> whose names are unknowne
Stedham 1 at y <sup>e</sup> house of Richard Smyth of Bridge foot		sometimes 200	some of the gentry	Mr. Richard Garrett Mr. Staples

## Arundell Deanry

Yapton		about 6	of ordinary rāke	John Lutter
Arundell 3	Presby- terians Quakers Anabaptists	about 40  few	meane psons	Samuel Wilmere Mr. Staples Mr. Fish Mr. Wilson

## Boxgrave als Bosgraue Deanry

Birdham 2 att the house of Will <sup>m</sup> Atwell at the house of Richard Greene	Anabaptists	about 30	inferior people	one Cleyton and others unknowne
Sidlesham 1	Quakers	20 or 30	meane	Thomas Willmore and Will <sup>m</sup> Vousden

## Lewys Deanry

Parishes and Conventicles in them	Sects	Numbers	Quality	Heads & Teachers
Twyneham i at the house of James Wood	Anabaptists and Quakers	about 40	meane for y <sup>e</sup> most part	Michael Martyn and others unknowne
Marsfeild i at the houses of Walter Norman and Edward Gerrard	Quakers			
Barcomb i	...	...	...	Thomas Chroucher unknowne
Ditchling 2	Anabaptists Presbi- terians	about 10 about 8	midle sort midle sort	Mr. Lulham
Beeding ails } Seale } i att the house of Thomas Parson liuing att Peppersgate	Quakers	seldome fewer then 200		Strangers unknowne
Plumpton att y <sup>e</sup> house of Mr. Tur- ner a Non- conformist minister		about 200	of all sorts under the de- gree of a Gent	the said Mr. Turner
East Grin- stead at y <sup>e</sup> house of Mr. Chris- topher Snell	Papists  Independ <sup>ts</sup>	about 16  20 or 30		Mr. Chris- topher Snell
at the house of James Woodman	Anabaptists and Quakers	about 30		Thomas Turner a chirurgion
Balcomb i	Anabaptists	seven or eight familys	Tradesmen and Labourers	

Parishes and Conventicles in them	Sects	Numbers	Quality	Heads & Teachers
Westmeston i Cum Cap and Chiltington at a house called Black brooke		about 200	many of good estate	Richard Turner Thomas Hallet Edward Lullham John Earle
Slaugham i att the house of Thomas Parsons	Quakers	...	...	unknowne
Brighthelm- ston i at the houses of W <sup>m</sup> Beard and Henry Smyth		about 200 See their names in the	Returne	Mr. Newton Mr. Earle Mr. Samuel Wilmer Mr. Louer Mr. Fish Mr. Euerden Mr. Turner Mr. Hallett

**Peuensey Deanry**

Haylesham i		about 40	most meanest sort of people	the said John Louer
Allfriston 2	Quakers Anabaptists	3 or 4 familyes besides strangers		

**Storrington Deanry**

Thake- ham o (?)		20 or 30	poore people	Samuel Wilmore John Beaton Mr. Stapler Mr. Wilson
Itchingfeild	noe Conventicles	But seuerall that neuer come to Church. See the names in the	Returne	
Storrington i		20 or 30	poore people	Samuel Wilmer

## Dallington Deanry

Parishes and Conventicles in them	Sects	Numbers	Quality	Heads & Teachers
Castle Parish i [Hastings] at the house of John Thorpe		40 or 50		one Thomas Bennett
Beckley i at a house called Farmo <sup>rs</sup> where Abra- ham Feauer dwells				one Ham- mond and one Bennett
Pease marsh at the house of Thomas Mococke		50 or 60 sometimes 100		Thomas Ben- nett of Rolu- enden in Kent
Warbleton 2 at the house of John Ellis and of Thomas Soare ?	Quakers  of other sects			
Nenfeild 1 in an empty house				Mr. Earle and Mr. Vousden Nōconf. ministers
Herstmon- caue i at the house of Joane Syllis a poore woman once a week	Anabaptists			
Wartling i euery Sunday		many persons of cōsider- able estates		
Heathfield i at the house of the widow Grouer	Anabaptists			

Parishes and Conventicles in them	Sects	Numbers	Quality	Heads & Teachers
Crowhurst i at the house of Richard Yelding	Anabaptists			the said Rich- ard Yelding and others
Sedlescomb āls Selscomb at Thomas Frencham's house and at the house of Edmund Thorpe				
Salehurst i at the house of Will <sup>m</sup> Steede of Robtsbridge		unknowne		unknowne
Westfield i at y <sup>e</sup> houses of Joseph Stoneham Rich : Coul- stock and Francis Langley	Anabaptists			one Bennett out of Kent

Peculiars of Canterbury

South Maw- ling i	Presby- terians	at least 500	midle sort	Mr. Newton Mr. Earle
All S <sup>ts</sup> in Lewys i	Independ <sup>ts</sup>	numerous	midle sort	Walter Posslethwait
Lindfeild	noe conventicles although many factious psons live there. See the names in the Returne			
Cliffe i		60	midle sort	
Pagham i		20 or 30 see the names in the Returne		Thomas Will- mer ejected thence for Nōconformity



## The Free Churches of Sussex

## Hastings Deanry

Parishes and Conventicles in them	Sects	Numbers	Quality	Heads & Teachers
Rye i				
at the house of Samel Jeake	see the persons named in the Returne	100		

## Midhurst Deanry

Stedham i				
Trotham i				
Farnhurst i	no particulars			
Trotten cum Taxlith	} 2 Anabaptists	from 50 to 100		Joseph Varnden
at y <sup>e</sup> house of Anthony Whiteyard				
at the house of Arthur Bettesworth, Joseph Varnden and Clement Loueder	Presbyterians and Independ <sup>ts</sup>	frō 50 to 100		Mr. Garrett Mr. Rowe
	see the names of the Sectaries in the Returne			
Medhurst i		great nōbers	some of them persons of good quality	Mr. Samuell Marner Mr. Richard Garrett Mr. Staples and the two Brothers Mr. Thomas and Mr. Willmott
at the houses of Robert Marner and Nicholas Brewer				
Fernhurst at the house of Roger Shotters		men 200	midle ranke	Mr. Corbett and Mr. Reeues

The next account of Nonconformist congregations and their preachers, the places where they

assembled, and the approximate number of their hearers, is found in a letter from Mr. Robt. Bagster, of Chichester, to Mr. Joseph Robens, dated 8th November, 1717, in the *Evans MSS.* in Dr. Williams's Library, Gordon Square.<sup>3</sup>

Place of Meeting	Preachers	Directions	Number of Hearers	Voters for	Count	Burr	Mag
Chichester	Robert Baxter } John Boucher } P	O Jan 9 170 <sup>6</sup> at Chichester 22 men and 200 men frō 300 <sup>ii</sup> to 100 <sup>ii</sup> p ann	550	60	61	1	
Ditto	John Eaton removed to Newington 171 <sup>9</sup>	at Madam Le Gays at Stoke near Chichester	100	15	11	—	
Horsham B T	Peter Bristow P f Joseph Stokes 7 <sup>ii</sup> removed to Dorking John Sheriman O Aug 1718 1718 re- moved 1726	at Horsham	120	12	8		
Lewes B T	Thomas Barnard 1 John Olive 1 Joseph Beach Thomas Force P	at Lewis Gent 33 Yeom 18 Tradesm 50 Labour 19	425	Suss 42	42		
Arundel 2 B P	Benjamin Keene 1	at Arundel	90	10	14	—	
Midhurst B P	removed to Andover John Boucher 1719		100	16	12		
Rye B P	Merriman Norris 1 Button		140	15	15	15	

<sup>3</sup> The following explanations appear necessary: C, city; B T, borough town; M, market town; O, ordained; P, Presbyterian; P f, aided by Presbyterian fund (the figures sometimes indicate the amount); I, Independent; A, Anabaptist. Under the number of Voters, Mag "for magistrates," who in a few places were then elective. [Ed.]

## The Free Churches of Sussex

Place of Meeting	Preachers	Directions	Number of Hearers Voters for County Barr Mag		
Byworth near Petworth	John Buckley P f O 5 <sup>th</sup> removed to Kent 1720	a Pettworth	82	7	
Worminghurst near Steyning	Jeremiah Owen removed 1726		61	4	4
Battle M	William Potter O died 1716 P f John Ashmore £5 John Smith		120	17	
Brighthelmstone	John Duke P	at Brighthelm- stone Gent 30 Yeom 2 Capt <sup>ns</sup> and Masters of Ships 14 Tradesmen 32 Able sailors 52 Labour 13	560	22	50
Worth near East Grin- stead	Benjamin Chandler P f Joseph Chandler 7 <sup>th</sup>	O O Jan <sup>ry</sup> 19 1728			
Mayfield in Pevensey Rape	John Sammon dead 1720 P f	O } 5 <sup>th</sup>	100	7	
Framfield	John Hammond P f Downhall Xmas 1727	O } 5 <sup>th</sup>	200	21	
Burwash near Kent	Edward Dear P f 5 <sup>th</sup>	at Mr. Polhills near Burwash	90	7	1
New Shoreham B T	Thomas Frost P	at Heward's Heath in y <sup>e</sup> Parish of Cockfield Gent 4 Yeom 1 Cap <sup>n</sup> 1 Tradesm 11 Labour 3			
Glinley near Helcham Linfield	John Smith P Thomas Frost P Joseph Stedman conformed in 1717	at Mr. Faggs at Glinly Gent 7 yeom 12 Tradesm 11 Labour <sup>rs</sup> 16	110	12	30

Place of Meeting	Preachers	Directions	Number of Hearers Voters for County Barr Mag
Carter's Corner in Helling- ley	Thomas Heys P	at Mr. Luxford's	30 4
Michellam Ariston and Hel- lingley	Samuel Park Xmas 1727 P removed to Wallingford 1728 5 <sup>h</sup>		
—preaches occasion- ally	John Studley I dead 1726	at Lewis	
Chichester	C William Smith	A at Chichester	164 8 14
"	Isaac Hanns	Part A	69 2
Steyning	B T John Jefferys	A at Ashurst	50 4 7
Horsham	B T _____	A	35 <sup>o</sup>
Lewes	B T ..	A	
Linfield	"	A	
Warbelton		A	120
Wadhurst		A	60

In the *Thompson MSS.* congregations existed at the following places: Arundel and Midhurst, Battle, Burwash, Brighthelmston, Chichester, Grinley near Healcham, Framfield, Horsham, Lewes, Mayfield, Petsforth (Petworth) and Thakam, Rye and Worth.

To these may be added, 1772: Billingshurst, Cuckfield, Ditchling and Green, and in 1773: Green, Turner's Hill, West Hoathley, Wivelsfield, Waldron or Warbelton.

A. RIDLEY BAX

(To be continued)

## Matthew Meade, A.M., and his Sermons

PARTLY owing to family associations, the present writer has been led to take especial interest in the life of this old Puritan worthy; which has recently been revived by the acquisition of a folio manuscript containing some sixty of his later sermons.

So far as we are aware there is no separate biography of this remarkable man; though there are interesting accounts of him in the *Non-conformists' Memorial* (1802, ii., pp. 461-7), in *Chambers's Biographical Dictionary* (1815, xxi., p. 508), and notably in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (1st edn., xxxvii., p. 180). From these and other sources we gather the following brief summary of his life.

Matthew Meade (so he spelled the name, though his son, the eminent physician, omitted the final e) was the second son of Richard Meade of Mursley, Bucks, gentleman, by his wife Joane, and was born at Leighton Buzzard, *circa* 1630. Richard seems to have settled later at Great Brickhill, also in Bucks, one of the scenes of his son Matthew's labours; for there are in our possession two indentures of 1663 and 1664, one of the parties being "Richard Meade of Great Brickhill, gentleman." It is indeed possible that this Meade was brother to Matthew, but scarcely likely.

In 1648 Matthew was scholar, and in 1649 fellow, of King's College, Cambridge; this fellowship he resigned in 1651 (Cole says to avoid expulsion). We next find him rector of Great Brickhill aforesaid; there were controversies and suits about the presentation. The parish register of St. Mary Woolnoth, London, records the marriage, on 3rd January, 1654, of "Matthew Meade, of Solber, Bucks," and Elizabeth Walton, of Allhallows, Lombard Street. "Solber" is no doubt intended for Soulberry, a village on the river Ouzel, 2½ miles N.W. of Leighton Buzzard, and about 3 miles S.W. from Brickhill Magna. By his wife Matthew had fifteen children, to some of whom we shall have occasion to allude hereafter.

Somewhat later Meade became morning lecturer at St. Dunstan's church, Stepney; and on 28th December, 1656, became a member of the Independent church which had been formed in Stepney as early as 1644 under the pastorate of the rector, Wm. Greenhill (1591-1671; see *Dictionary of National Biography*, xxiii., p. 80). In 1658 he was presented by Cromwell to the new chapel of St. Paul's, Shadwell. He was displaced both from his lectureship and his cure of Shadwell at the Restoration; and, obtaining another



*A. latit. Star. 60.*

*An.º Do. 1691.*

*Matthew Meade Minister of y<sup>e</sup> Gospel.*

*Printed for John Berridge at the Black Horse in the Strand.*

## 118 Matthew Meade, A.M., and his Sermons

the celebrated John Howe. A long extract is given by Palmer in the *Nonconformists' Memorial*; from which we learn that he was a man of excellent natural abilities and education, of deep spiritual attainments, and of great industry and zeal. He refrained from fruitless controversies; making the great substantial truths of the Gospel the principal themes of his discourses. On his tombstone in Stepney churchyard is a Latin inscription, of which a full transcript and translation is given by Palmer.

The published works of Matthew Meade are not numerous or bulky. The best known are the following :

1. *The Almost Christian Discovered; or, The False Professor Tried and Cast*: Being the substance of seven sermons, first preached at Sepulchres, London, 1661; and now at the importunity of friends made public. Of this sermon we have three editions: the first, printed by Thomas Parkhurst, Cheapside, in 1662, is a small 8vo. of 333 pages of good paper and print. Other editions of smaller size and type are dated 1670 and 1691, the latter being the ninth edition. A later one was printed in 1720.
2. *The Good of Early Obedience; or, the Advantage of Bearing the Yoke of Christ betimes*. This was an 8vo. of some 456 pages, dated 1683.
3. *The Vision of the Wheels seen by the Prophet Ezekiel; opened and explained*. 112 pages, 1689.
4. *Two Sticks made One; or, the Excellency of Unity*: A sermon preached by appointment of ministers of Congregational and Presbyterian persuasion, at their happy union; by Matthew Meade, pastor of a church at Stepney. This, on Ezekiel 37 c., 19 v., is a small 4to., published 1691.

Other printed sermons are :

*The Young Man's Remembrancer*.

*A Name in Heaven the truest Ground of Joy* (on Luke 10 c., 20 v.).

*The Power of Grace in Weaning the Heart from the World*; two discourses on Psalm 131.

*Spiritual Wisdom Improved against Temptation*, and *A Farewell Sermon* on 1 Cor. i c., 3 v., of which Palmer gives a long account.

Mr. Meade also printed funeral sermons for Thomas Rosewell, Timothy Cruso, etc.

In 1836 appeared a volume of *Sermons on the Jews, etc.*, ascribed to Meade, together with the farewell sermon; edited by Bickersteth.

The *Dictionary of National Biography* says that there are MSS. of Meade's, perhaps sermons, in the British Museum; and that three engraved portraits of him are known.

Mention was made above of a MS. of Meade's sermons, which lately came into our possession. It is a large folio bound in parchment, measuring 15 inches by 10, of stout handmade paper, containing 547 pages of MS., with several blank leaves at the end. It is neatly lettered on the back: *Mead's Sermons, 1694*; and on the front of the cover a defaced description of the book is discernible. The title, in large printed characters, reads: Sermons | And Discourses | on Several | Divine Subjects | By the Late Reverend & Learned | Mr. Matthew Mead | Minister of y<sup>e</sup> Gospel | And Pastour of a Church of Christ | At Stepney Near London | Taken in Short Hand from His Mou[th] By | Thomas Akers: And by him Tr | anscribed or translated | into This Book." There is also at the top of the title an old number in large figures 15.5.0. A few pages containing the first sermon and a small portion of the second are missing; pp. 122 and 344 are blank; also three leaves between pp. 98 and 99, and one or two between 134 and 135 have been torn out. Otherwise the MS. is in excellent preservation. The caligraphy is a good educated hand, and is a monument of painstaking industry. The lines in a page vary from 45 to 54, written (within a margin ruled in red) without ruling, but in perfect alignment. Reckoning 50 lines to a page, this makes 27,200 lines; and with an average of twelve words to a line we have the enormous total of 326,400 words.

There are 62 sermons, all dated from May 1694, to February 1695. They consist virtually of only three discourses in many heads, continuing the same theme week by week, though sometimes a fortnight or more elapses between two parts. The first discourse, commencing in May, was not concluded until 30th September, occupying 14 Sundays; and Mr. Akers has a note that "the other branch of the Exhortation, promised in the sermon foregoing to be directed to those that through grace have experienced these teachings of Christ in their hearts, is wanting and was never preached by the Authour of the preceding sermons to complete the subject."

The next discourse, commenced on 14th October, is upon Luke xix., 10. Here Mr. Akers begins to place at the end of each sermon, first the parts of the discourse, and second the number of the sermon from the beginning of the collection. The margins contain references to chapter and verse. This series continues for about 25 Sundays, from the date last named to 5th May, 1695.

The third discourse is on John x., 10; and commencing 16th June, 1695, continues to the end of the volume, viz., 9th February, 1696, occupying 23 Sundays. The sermons average ten closely written folio pages apiece, some more, some less; which gives some idea of the time they must have taken in delivery, probably not less than two hours.

From a note on p. 191 that a "middle sermon comes in after 16th December, 1693," it seems likely that this bulky folio is only



one of a series. Who Thomas Akers, the stenographer and transcriber, was we do not know; but he is worthy of remembrance for his extraordinary patience, industry, and ability.

We now proceed to give a brief account of Meade's posterity. Strange to say, we know nothing of any of his fifteen children, except two sons; most of the rest probably died young.

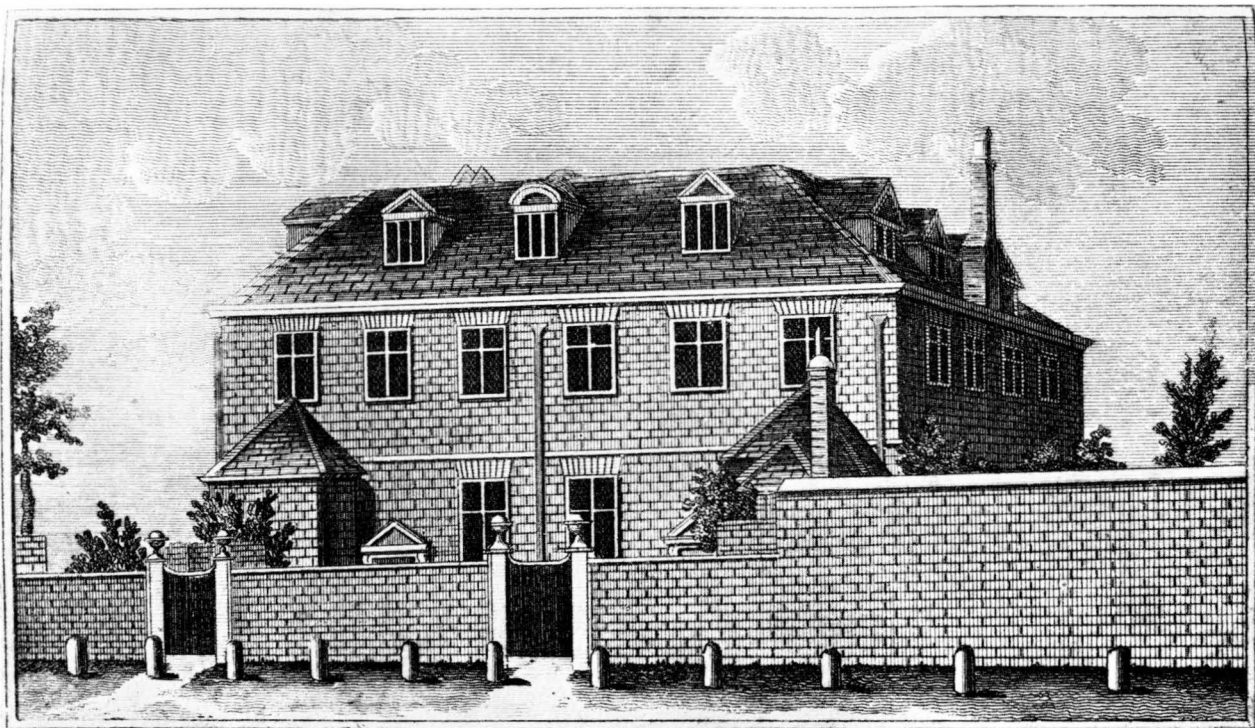
Samuel Meade, born about 1670, was the elder of the two survivors. There is a memorial of him in the Temple churchyard, London, erected against a house, and contiguous to that of Oliver Goldsmith. It has a long Latin inscription of thirty lines, written by his brother the doctor (who was buried in the Temple church), which informs us that Samuel Mead, I.C., son of the Rev. Matthew Meade, was of Lincoln's Inn, and died 13th April, 1733, aged 63. He was apparently the father of Samuel Mead of Hornsey, Captain R.N., F.R.S., one of the Commissioners of H.M. Customs, 1741-76; who by his wife, Mary Brathwaite, of Wood Ditton, Co. Cambridge, was father of an only surviving daughter, Mary Mead (1768-1837). She married, in 1791, Michael Stephen Joseph MacCarthy, of Ennis, Co. Clare, Ireland (1770-1829); whose third son, Michael MacCarthy, M.A., clerk in holy orders (1804-1891), married in 1835 Frances Mary Robinson, eldest daughter of William Robinson, LL.D., F.S.A., of the Middle Temple, barrister-at-law; by his wife Mary Ridge, second daughter of William Ridge of Chichester, banker; and of Sarah Lacy, his wife.

Dr. Robinson, who resided at Tottenham, was the celebrated topographer of Greater London, and by marriage a great-uncle of the wife of the present writer. Another of Dr. Robinson's daughters married Sir Frederick Madden, F.R.S. (1801-73), the distinguished antiquary.

The MacCarthy family possess several portraits of their Meade ancestors: including the Rev. Matthew Meade, Captain Samuel Mead, R.N., Edward Mead (his son), Sir Thomas Meade and his lady; and the parchment conveying the freedom of the City of Edinburgh to Captain Samuel Mead in 1730.

Among other descendants of the Meade family were: the Rev. Francis Egerton Mead MacCarthy, M.A., the distinguished Birmingham educationist, whose wife was a daughter of Hedley Vicars, M.A., barrister-at-law, of the family of the well remembered soldier saint; Herbert Charles MacCarthy, who married Elizabeth Denman Hodgson, daughter of the Rev. Francis Hodgson, B.D., Provost of Eton, son-in-law of the great Lord Denman, and friend of Byron; and Constance Amelia MacCarthy, wife of Albert Hartshorne, F.S.A., antiquary and art writer.

Of Richard Mead, M.D., F.R.S., etc., etc., (1673-1754), one of the most picturesque figures of the eighteenth century, of whom Chalmers says he "was alone sufficient to give celebrity to the name of Meade," volumes might be written. We have not space



*Independent Meeting, Stepney.*

to write even a short biographical notice ; but would like to draw attention to his marriage, of which an account is given by the present writer in an article entitled "Marshes and Meads" in the *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, October, 1907. Dr. Mead married Ruth Marsh (1683-1720), eldest daughter of John Marsh a Quaker merchant of Bristol and London, and granddaughter of Richard Marsh, a much persecuted Quaker merchant, also of Bristol and London (1630-1704). Ruth's mother was Elizabeth Matthews, daughter of Captain Richard Matthews of Limehouse, mariner, and of Sarah, his wife ; she married John Marsh at the Friends' meeting house, Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, in 1681 ; and the wedding was graced by the presence of William and Gulielma Maria Penn. John Marsh and his wife apparently left the Quakers ; he died in 1699, she predeceasing him in 1695, in the parish of St. Dionis Backchurch, where they resided. Maitland, in his *London* (ed. 1756), says that in the churchyard of St. Dunstan's, Stepney, towards the south, was a marble tombstone with this inscription :

" Captain Richard Matthew was buried here April 1665, and his Daughter, Mrs. Elizabeth Marsh, who died April the 13th 1695, late wife of Mr. John Marsh, of London, merchant.

Thus fled our Dear away,  
And with a Dove-like mind,  
She like a Dove in Spirit,  
And so she was inclin'd,  
And left us here to mourn,  
We, who are left behind."

Upon the north side of the same tomb, in gold letters, was the inscription to the Rev. Matthew Meade, in 1699, which has already been noticed. So the Independent and the Quaker sleep in peace in the same tomb.

Both Richard Mead and John Marsh name in their wills as beneficiaries to considerable amounts the present writer's direct ancestors, Robert Ruddle, of Bristol and London, merchant, and Anne Dolcing, his wife. It is probable that Ruddle and the Marshes were closely associated in business, as we know of no other relationship. John Marsh names his daughter Ruth, "now wife of Richard Mead, Dr. in Physick," to whom he had given £2,000 upon marriage, and now gives her husband 100 guineas. He remembers the Quakers by a gift of £50 for their poor in the cities of London and Bristol, and appoints Ruddle an executor.

It may appear somewhat singular that the Meades were associated by marriage, and otherwise, with the family of both the present writer and that of his wife.

A Matthew Mead who died near Somerset House in 1747 may possibly have been a son of his more illustrious namesake.

Godwyn Lodge,  
Hastings.

JOSEPH J. GREEN.

## A Letter of Hugh Peters to Henry Cromwell

B.M., Lansdowne MS. 823, fol. 364

MY Lord

These are to return you my hartly acknowledgments of your care of young M<sup>r</sup> Weld and men of hie [<sup>?</sup>his] constitution, & hope your lord<sup>pp</sup> shall have no cause to repent you of any requests made by mee and answered by you. for truly therein I shall be tender because I tender you as myne own hart, and doe often please my selfe with my thoughts about you and the presence of the Lord with you in y<sup>r</sup> worke. how will doe [<sup>?</sup>the] matters goe on when we measure them by the other world, where eternity dwells, and where our workes must be weigh'd over agayne. The blood of Christ mingled w<sup>th</sup> them will give them their true alloy. Oh (my Lord) Labor after that meate w<sup>ch</sup> will never perish, that ioy where no mixtures have accesse. You have known in your few days much vanity written upon most creatures, and you may see an end of all perfections, but the law is exceeding broad. Go on and prosper in the name and power of the Lord. You heare by others how it is here. I am very much taken of by age and other wayse from busy business, and would fayne see Jesus. None can more love you I thinke than y<sup>r</sup> lord<sup>pps</sup>

Wh : H. 24 of 8 [i.e. 24 Aug 1656]

H. P.

Pray salute my lady (*illegible*) all w<sup>th</sup> you.

Zach 8. 16, 17, et 19.

ffor his Excellency my Lord Harry.

## Letters relating to the Condition of the Church in Kent During the primacy of Archbishop Sancroft, 1678-90

[Transcribed, by the Rev. C. E. Woodruff, M.A., from the Tanner MSS. in the Bodleian Library. Printed in the *Archaeologia Cantiana*, vol. xxi. (1895), pp. 184 flg.]

### V. Dr. Giles Hinton's Account of the Rectory of Biddenden (1683)

**T**HE State and Condition of the Rectory of Biddenden in the diocese and patronage of the See of Canterbury humbly offered to his Grace the Archbishop of the same 1683.

Imprimis. The parish of Biddenden in the Weld of Kent is situate neer the midway between Tenterden and Cranbrook of large extent, and containing about six thousand acres of land, but not soe populous now as formerly when the clothing trade there flourished.

The parishioners there (as elsewhere in the Weld of Kent) have among them all the vulgar sects about London and one more, for there are alsoe remaining some Brownists who boast that they have kept themselves unmingld with all other dissenters ever since the days of that notable seismatic from whom they have their denomination. But the generality of the dissenters there are not soe much by their own choice as by the ignorance or error of their education, for they are as much to weke in the Constitution and usages of the Church of England as the disciples of Ephesus were of the Holy Ghost.<sup>1</sup>

### VI. Giles Hinton to the Archbishop, 2nd May, 1685

. . . . This year (my Lord) I have presented four persons of the parish of Biddenden for not coming to the holy Communion after many earnest exhortations. They are not formidable otherwise than that they are old and in this point most pernicious examples. I cannot follow them now as I would, but hope that in y<sup>r</sup> Grace's courts effectual course may be taken that they be noe longer hinderers of that reformation that is begun among the younger sort.

<sup>1</sup> In 1672 George Hammond, Anabaptist, was licensed to preach in the house of James Harding at Biddenden. No Nonconformist congregation of any kind is noted there in the Evans list, 1718-29. [Ed.]

IX. Alfred Mills, curate of Ash next Sandwich, to the archbishop's chaplain, respecting the reconciliation to the church of a Brownist and Anabaptist. Sandwich, 17th March, 1682

Reverend Sir,

There is one Valentine Dilnot living in my parish of Ash near Sandwich who for a long time hath been a follower and a member of the sect of Brownists, whom after some considerable time and paines I have so far prevailed as to be willing to be reconciled to and received again into the Church ; hee seemes to be so well satisfied with his reconciliation that he hath promised and intends to receive the Holy Eucharist at Easter, and for farther security as to the truth and sincerity of it, I did oblige him on Sunday last in the said Parish Church to take and subscribe the submission and declaration in such cases made and provided to be taken by the Act made in the 35 of Queen Eliz. and entitled an Act to restrain the Queenes Maties subjects in their due obedience, by which Act it is likewise provided that the minister of every parish where such submission and declaration of Conformity is made, shall within ten dayes after certifie the same in writeing to the Bishop of the diocese. This, Sir, is the reason w<sup>h</sup> makes me give you this trouble that you would be pleased to acquaint his Grace with what hath passed in this affayr. And, furthermore, to acquaint his Grace also that there is another Francis Holt of the same parish, aged full 28 years, who hath from his infancy been trained up in the way of Anabaptism, so that hitherto he hath continued without receiving the benefit of the holy Sacrament of Baptism, as it ought to be in the Christian Church. I have taken due care for his examination so that he is now sufficiently instructed in the true principles of the Christian religion, and earnestly desires this so useful and necessary Sacrament. I humbly desire to know of his Grace whether I shall proceed to the administration of it, or what his Grace will be pleased to determine therein, as also whether after baptism he may be admitted to holy Communion at Easter, to which he would be most willingly admitted, and saith that it is his earnest desire ; or whether he must be kept back till the next Confirmation that most Conveniently may be had after his baptism.

I have several others of the same sort in my parish, and I wish I may have the like good success with them, in the meanwhil pray favor me with an answer to these particulars with the first convenience, and present my humble duty to his Grace.

Reverend Sir,

Yo<sup>r</sup> most humble servant,

AL. MILLS.

## X. The same to the same, 14th July, 1682

Reverend Sir I here send you an account at last of the proceedings against Mr. Samuel Pomfrett, who was excommunicated, which I doubt not you will peruse with delight when you shall have beheld the whole circumstances which attended them, after all his little false tricks used in Chancery by which he put us to considerable charge, we obtained the writ *de exco'cato capiendo*, but he concluded that the falsity of his suggestion which he had used there, together with the perjury of his friend who swore briskly for him, had done the business, began with his old trade of impudence and presumption not only to preach publickly but to walk about without fear, and so on Sunday last was made prisoner much about 8 o'clock at night. You may imagine he was not a little struck with such a sudden alarm, but, however, he offered no resistance to the officer, but entreated him to take him immediately to Dover Castle (for that is the proper prison) till he spoke with some of his friends, to which he condescended carrying him to a little alehouse near his own dwelling. They had been there but a very little while when there was a very numerous convention of all the Godly brethren and holy sisters, and very much concerned they were that so good a man should have thus fallen into the paw of the Lyon, and after whole volleys of sighs and groans with wheels and turning of their eyes more than usual, the richer and more substantial part of them began to proffer bail and their words and promises for a 1000 poundes for his appearance tomorrow to the officer. Many words they used, but finding all to no purpose they at last retired. And now, the night being pretty much spent, and the prisoner inclined to rest, he earnestly besought the officer to suffer him to go to bed; this he was loath to do but being prest with all the protestations imaginable of his honesty and sincerity, bidding him conclude that all his preaching hitherto was false and praying vain if he did so much as attempt to escape, he at last prevailed with, won with these good and fair words he permitted him to go to bed in a room above and stayed below at the foot of the same stairs in another room, through which he must of necessity pass. So to bed he went, there lay some houres, where he received frequent visits from the officer, but at last finding an opportunity, and not being so fond of his religion as to venture to suffer too much for it, especially when he found it was likely to be no longer useful for him, he contrived his escape, out at a little window, for having left all his cloathes scattered up and down the room he tyed his shirt to a barr of the window, and to that a little piece of rope, and thus away he went, naked as he was born. It is true indeed we somewhere read that men went out to preach the Gospel without script or purses or money, but I think nowhere that they went out without shirts before, and thus he not only altered

his condition from a captive to a freeman, but his religion from a Presbyterian to an Adamite and left his shirt behind him for a whole day brandishing at the window as a trophy of his victory or rather escape. And now I will have you to imagine how kindly he was received by the holy sisterhood when they found him in such an innocent dresse. Thus marching off and the officer quickly discovering the cheat makes immediate application to the right worshipful the Mayor for his warrant to search to recover his prisoner, but he being too much a friend to such kind of cattle refused his warrant, expressing his refusal in very coarse words; several hours after another person having occasion to speak to the Mayor seemed to prevail so far with him as to grant a warrant, and so sending for the officer, he orders him to go and fetch his town clerk, and it should be done; accordingly he went, brought the town clerk's man along with him, but before their return the Mayor had so secured his door that nothing under a troop of horse could gett in, nor no noyse below that of a cannon could make him hear, and thus he continued for many hours till he was sure the other was gone. My most humble duty to his Grace, and I am, Sir, yo<sup>r</sup> most humble servant AL. MILLS.

Along with these letters is preserved an undated and incomplete document, probably of about the year 1668, containing a review of "All Benefices within the Jurisdiction of the Archdeacon of Canterbury." Twenty-seven parishes are noted, "and the compiler, whoever he may have been, is amusingly frank in his statements." The following extracts relate to Puritanism and Nonconformity.

*St. Andrew's, Canterbury.*—The parish full of sectaries and schismatics.

*St. Mildred's, Canterbury.*—Incumbent Mr. James Arderne, a young man of good schollerlike parts but vaine, unlike a clergyman in his hayre, and habit, and garbe, followed by Presbyterians and Schismatics, and proud of his popularity.

*St. Mary's Northgate, Canterbury.*—Incumbent Mr. John Stockar, a Switzer by birth, a civil person of good parts . . . . preaches a little after the Presbyterian Modell, and gives measure enough, but sound in his judgment for and conformable to the government and ceremonies of the church.

*St. Paul's, Canterbury.*—Communicants in y<sup>e</sup> Parish, if they would come, about 400. Durand, a washball maker, and Minister in Oliver's dayes, now a great keeper of Conventicles.

*Harbledown.*—Some Fanaticks in y<sup>e</sup> Parish but not considerable, about 40 families, 30 Communicants last Easter, which was thought a great Reformation.



*Fordwich*.—Incumbent Mr. William Osborne, a parson inclined to Presbytery . . . the inhabitants inclining to their Minister.

*Hardres parva*.—No gentlemen in the parish; 2 inconsiderable families Anabaptists.

*St. Peter's, Thannett*.—Incumbent Mr. James Slipton, a good man. No gentlemen but Culmer's<sup>2</sup> son (an Independent preacher, presbyterian, Anabaptist, anything, dead) this Culmer comes to church. The parish full of seamen. Noe Papists, nor sectaries, rather dull and worldly men, Church in good repayre. They have font and Communion table, and a Surplice in making.

*St. Lawrence, Thanet*.—The parish full of Presbyterians, of whom the leader is Mr. Johnson, the late Minister outed for not subscribing, who together with his brother makes a violent party against the Incumbent, holds Conventicles, and is implacable to the Church.

*St. Mary's, Sandwich*.—Incumbent Mr. John Lodowick, a Fleming, lately put in, of good parts and right for the Church, and a sober man, preaches a little after the Presbyterian Model; 200 houses in the parish, many Dutch in it. Many sectaries and enemies to the late King, Some subscribers to his death.

*St. Peter's, Sandwich*.—Presbyterians and Sectaries much infest the towne and parish, noe surplice, nor will be endured. The incumbent hopes well of the parish, because he came with their desire . . . The Church fallen down<sup>3</sup> but now rebuilding.

*St. Clement's, Sandwich*.—Full of sectaries and grossly ignorant persons.

*East Langdon*.—Incumbent William Osborne, sen<sup>r</sup>, a presbyterian. Parishioners all farmers indifferently well affected, as y<sup>e</sup> incumbent sayes, all but a carpenter and cobbler.

*Eythorn*.—Incumbent Thomas Walton a presbyterian.

*Mungham Magna*.—Incumbent Mr. John Sackett kept in all these last times, Presbyterian heretofore but now Conformable . . . The Church much out of repayre, preaches in y<sup>e</sup> Chancell, parish much infested with sectaries. One third of y<sup>e</sup> parish at least absentees from the church, noe surplice.

*Northbourne*.—Forty families or thereabouts, full of Anabaptists and Quakers, whereof Wildbore, Slaughter, and Verryer are the chief, poore fellows. Font and surplice providing.

*Deale*.—They all generally come to Church, not above 20 sectaries, of whom Captain Taverner the chief. . . . They have no font nor surplice.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Culmer, one of the Six Preachers during the Commonwealth, a man of more zeal than judgment, is credited with destroying the ancient stained glass in the Cathedral. [Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> Fell 13th October, 1661.

Letters of Thomas Jollie (Ejected Minister of Altham,  
Lancashire) to Oliver Heywood

From Birch MS. 4276. Brit. Mus. fol. 4

MY dear Brother

After entire love and service in the Lord presented to you and Mrs. Heywood, these are to excuse my not seeing you at this time of my going to Attercliff. Yet I think it fitt to give you a particular account of what I desir'd Tho: ffarrand of Bradford to give you some general account of.

The greater part of the enclosed came from a very worthy *minister* in London, who desires to have the contents thereof to be communicated to all who need the advice contained therein: but hee would have his name concealed.

Wee have taken notice of it at our general meeting in Bolton, and have also written to our brethren in London accordingly. What you, with the rest of our brethren within your district, may judg fitt to be done in this case, I leav to your consideration.

I have not time to enlarge: let us still remember each other at the throne of grace: I hope we shall shortly meet at the throne of glory. It is

Your very dearly loving Brother

THO. JOLLIE

Tingly

Apr. 29th 1696

ffor The Reverend Mr. Oliver Heywood at North-Owram

fol. 5

Newchappel Jan: 13th, 1698/9

My dearest Brother

The importunity of some, and compliance of others, draw from mee the enclosed paper: yet with much reluctancy on my part, becaus of the hardness of the times in general, and the hardness of hearts also. You know better how it is with psons in your parts, at present, both as to their condition and frame: I have also an entire confidence in you, and therefore would leave this affair to your conduct: if you think it not convenient to proceed at all in it, you shall not at all offend, or disoblige mee, if you let it

fall. If you judg it fitt that there be further progress in it, I leave it wholly to you to direct the bearer, to whom to apply himself. Alass, others may bee in as poor circumstances as wee, and bee as hardly putt to it. I would not trouble others too. I propound this to you, not to engage you to do anything in the case, but rather to excuse you: for you and friends with you have already show'd your kindness upon the Surey-occasion. I confess, I doe affectionatly expect your treatise you speak of, not only as yours, but as being upon that subject. My dear respects in the Lord to you, to Mrs. Heywood, and to my kind freinds with you.

The Spirit of the Bridegroom saith to us, Come; The Spirit in the Bride saith to him, Come, that wee may all be gathered together, first in Spirit among the Spiritts of just men made pfect, then in pson, at last: Heb: 12; 22, 23, 24, Rev. 22; 17-20.

Your brother in the same lord and spirit,  
faith and hope. Tho: Jollie

[No superscription]

fol. 6

THE FOLLOWING APPEARS TO BE FROM *Timothy* JOLLIE,  
THE SON OF THOMAS.

Nov. 29th, 1700

Ever honoured & Dear S<sup>r</sup>

You wil excuse me if I say the Truth, The *Soul- refreshment* I had under your roof in my last return from Lancashire gave me the liveliest adumbration of y<sup>e</sup> Society above y<sup>t</sup> ever I found in private conversation anywhere; but I must forbear lest I trespass; my very heart rejoiceth to hear of you, or see your lines; yet I would not think of you above what is meet; If I can pray, you share largely in that kind of remembrance, that you may yet see more of God's salvation, w<sup>ch</sup> your soul has long travelled for.

I have not yet seen *Mr. Smith's booke*. Oh y<sup>t</sup> we of the ministry were more cloathed with humility! but Alass I find it one thing to preach Christ, another to put him on: I must conclude my case hopeless if my Iniquities be not laid on Christ, & his Righteousness (who is y<sup>e</sup> Lord our Righteousness) be not imputed to me. I do heartily condole with you in the apprehension the comon [*enemy*] Adversary wil gain by these efforts, but I trust the Faith of the Martyrs & glorious Reformers wil not be abandoned to Novellists. I thank you for your prayerful remembrance, truly I need it, my head, hands, heart, are filled with the Lord's work. I bless the Lord for good success both in church and pupil work, *Soli Deo in Christo sit Gloria*. 46 hopeful young *ministers* are gone forth from my Eye to do good service in the Lord's Vineyard, & sundry of them Spiritual Fathers. I mention this with an humble freedom, That our dear Lord may have his due.

Mr. Hemingway is every way a choice young man, both for parts and piety. Elk. Bury is truly hopeful and capable. My wives service with my hearty duty and Love to y<sup>r</sup>self. Service to good Mrs. Hey. with thanks for your kindness last vissit ; when I can forecast my travelling-affairs I should be glad to see you once more ; what will the meeting in the general gathering be ! I send you the enclosed subscribed. Dear S<sup>r</sup>, let me be reckoned

Your unworthy and much obliged Son in the gospel, etc.,

T. JOLLIE.

To | The Reverend & honoured | Mr. Oliver Heywood at his |  
house in North-aurum | near Hallifax | These |