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EDITED BY
T. G. CRIPPEN

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Editorial

BOTH the Editor and the printer much regret the unavoidable delay of the present issue. It is entirely due to the depletion of the staff in the printing-office in consequence of the war.

* *

Our Autumnal Meeting was held at Leeds, on 6th October, 1915. The Rev. Dr. Nightingale being absent on account of illness, the chair was taken by the Rev. Dr. Grieve. Two interesting papers were read; one by the Rev. G. S. Briggs on *Puritanism in Wharfedale*, and the other by the Rev. G. L. Turner on *The Clerical Subsidy of 1661*. One of these, and a first instalment of the other, will be found in the following pages.

* *

Our Annual Meeting was held at the Memorial Hall, on 10th May, 1916, the Rev. Dr. Nightingale presiding. There was a good attendance, and the Treasurer's report shewed a satisfactory balance in hand. The retiring officers were re-elected *en bloc*, with thanks for past services. A paper was read, contributed by the Rev. J. Charteris Johnston, M.A., of Torquay, on *The History of the Western College*; this we hope to publish in our next issue. A general conversation followed, in which it was intimated that the projected Historical Exhibition was not abandoned, but only deferred till after the war.

* *

There has just been issued by the Cambridge University Press in two handsome large 8vo. volumes, at the price of one guinea net, *The Seconde Parte of a Register*, edited by our friend the Rev. Albert Peel, M.A., Litt.D. It is enriched by a brief preface by Prof. C. H. Firth of Oxford. It is scarcely necessary to inform any member of the Congregational Historical Society that the title indicates that there is an earlier Register, a collection of Puritan tracts bearing the title *A parte of a Register*, issued from the press in the year 1593, and now very scarce, the greater part of the impression having been seized and destroyed. The present collection formed a second series, gathered by the same band of Puritan leaders, but was not printed. It forms part of the valuable Morrice MSS. in the possession of Dr. Williams's Library in London.

* *

The Seconde Parte of a Register as issued by Dr Peel is an immense addition to the apparatus of the student of early Puritan history. Very few persons were aware of the riches and variety of the collection; the bulk of the MS. volumes was forbidding to most busy students; and the very incomplete and perplexing index with which the reader was supplied only led to exasperation and further waste of time. Dr. Peel has calandered the collection, and his work is a model of exact scholarship and of good judgement. We have an abstract of every document, sometimes brief, in other cases more extended, and, in the case of the more important papers, very full, with liberal extracts. The whole of the pages are usefully annotated, elucidating obscure points in the text and giving references to further literature upon the subjects noted. And after the loose manner in which the documents have been handled by Neal, and the continual inaccuracies of Brook, it is a satisfaction to the student to feel that he is perfectly safe in Dr. Peel's hands. Dr. Peel's knowledge of the period and his general scholarship are equal to his great task, and his scrupulous honesty a salutary example to future historians. Besides Prof. Firth's introduction and his own, both replete in points of historical interest, Dr. Peel has enhanced the value of his work by adding five capital indexes dealing with printed books, manuscripts, places, persons and subjects. A preliminary perusal of these valuable indexes will at once shew what the careful study of the volumes will confirm, that there is scarcely a problem connected with the ecclesiastical history of the first thirty years and more of Elizabeth's reign, no problem certainly of any importance, that is not illuminated by these documents as they are now presented to us. Much of the record is quaint and interesting; but the prevailing impression which the volumes will leave upon the mind is that of the earnestness of these early vindicators of the scriptural type of churchmanship; and especially of the iron stanchness of those who proclaimed themselves Separatists, and would have no part in the secular-minded compromise between Genevan doctrine and Roman officialism which Elizabeth gave to the nation as the one and only Church she would tolerate.

* * *

We hope to hold an Autumnal Meeting in Birmingham, on Wednesday, 4th October next.

Congregationalism in the Fen Country

(Continued from vol. vi, p. 428)

(60)

1701

A little after we were on the same Account greeted by the church at Chisil to w^c. Mr. Nickholds is now pastor

4 m. 26 day sister Stern of Soham was added.

... About this time the church was greeted to ... by Bury Church.

— to the Church of Christ at Burwel to which M^r Doughty is pastor.

The Church of Christ at Bury saluteth you in ... our lord Jesus Christ, who is the Head over all things to the Church (61) which is his body, who is Ascended on high and continues to give gifts to Men, according to the service he designs them for in their Generation, some pastors etc, who by his providence more than six years since, sent his servant M^r John beart to preach the gospel among us [at times] for the space of two years, in which time we perceived that the grace of God was

(62) with him, and that he had the Anointings of the Spirit for that great work and service, and so soon as we perceived a dore opened we called him more orderly to preach the Gospel Among us constantly for more than four years last past, and finding him fittly qualified for office we desired letters of Recommendation & Dismission from the church at Ipswich, whereof he was a member, in order to our setting of him here as pastor, and he [*? was*] received as a Member in this church An Dom 1699 Nov 26; from which time we gave him seueral calls to ... the pastoral office, but he ... for several wighty Reasons was hindered, until the Lord by his word removed those obiections & silenced those

(64) Reasonings. Which being done at our last church meeting, being the first of this instant, the church renewed its call, he complied therewith, & uoluntarily consented therunto to our great satisfaction: and it being designed by us more publickly to set him apart to that great office, we have appointed the 12 day of the next month for that service. and therefore intreate

(65) that you would please to send your Messengers as witnesses, and that your pastor may be one of them, to Assist in the work of the day, and to impower them (if

satisfied we are a true church of Christ, & on a right foundation) to give us the right hand of fellowship: we desire your speedy Answer, & shall take care to receive you & subscribe . . . our selues [by the consent of the church] your (66) loving bretheren James Cooke & James Noble, Elders.

- 1701 5 m. 4 day: it was Acted & uoted that joyning with Common prayer worship was Sinful. Rom. 12. 2, Gal. 2. 18, Eph. 5. 11, 2 Tim. 3. 5, Mat. 15. 2, 9, Luk. 11. 38.
- (67) 6 Month 21 day brother Wodelo of Coueny was added.
- 1701 7 M 10 day brother Millitons daughter Percenary was Baptized.
- Esra 10. 8
Luk. 9. 62 & 19 day Jenny Dolbie of Ely was . . . Excommunicated for toal [*sic*] neglect of Church Communion, & going from the truth to the quakers' lies.
- 1701 8 M. 16 day Sister Ransdel of Ely was Added.
- 19 day brother Churchman of Littleport was Added. now he lives at Hadnam. & his son Robbard was
- (68) Baptized the . . 22 day and the 23 day sister Gant & sister Stockbrig was Added.
- 1701 10 M. 20 day Goodmans Howlet [*sic*] second wife was added.
- 25 day brother Chemps daughter was Baptized.
- 1702 . . . 3 m. 7 day brother Carron the elder was added of Burwel.
- 4 m. 21 day Edward Smit & John Spaldin was Baptized.
- 5 month 2 day Sister Holden of lidgate was Added.
- (69) — 5 day Sister Pond of Lidgate was Added.
- 1702 6 m. Mairy Eaton was Baptized.
- 1702 7 m. 13 day John . . . Hunt of reach was cast out on the Lords day for gross drunkenness swaring fighting etc.
- 1702 [8 m. 13 day . . . on the 3d day of the week my son Benony was born at Soham.]
- 1702 27 day John Shopland of Exnon was Baptized.
- 1702 10 m. 6 day Aelse Trowel was Baptized.
- 1702 11 m. 3 day Mary Tailor of Burwell was Baptized.
- 1702 11 m. 10 day brother Wake of Snailwell was Added.
- (70) 1702 — . . . 14 day Jabiz Wood was Baptized.
- 15 day James Kidd was Baptized.
- 18 day John Ripply was Baptized.
- 27 day Mary Wodelow was Baptized.
- 12 m. 2 day Steuen Wake was Baptized.
- 1703 2 m. 8 day brother how of Burwell was Added.
- 11 day his son John how was Baptized.
- 4 m. 28 day Mary Simson of Islam was Baptized.
- 5 m. 13 day Samuel Gant was Baptized.
- 8 m. 5 day Elisabeth Milinton was Baptized.

- (71) — 8 m. 15 day Brother Patarson was constituted Deacon
 1703 [being first called & then Accepted] by election & sepe-
 ration thereto by the prayers of the Church. [Illegible] as the mouth of the church I gave him a charge to fulfil this ministry, with mutual promises to discharge mutual duties.
- Col. 4. 17
 Act. 6. 8, 5
 1 Cor. 12. 28
- 10 m. Elisabeth Ripply was Baptized.
 1704 — 1 m. 8 day Edward Smit of Burwel was excom-
 municated for impenitent leaving his wife & child : and Sister Ray of reach was Added to us.
 — 12 day brother Croke of Soham, sister Mary turner & Sister Spaldin was Added, & young Sister Garners son was Baptized.
- (72) — 2 m. 2 day Sister Emans of burwell was Added.
 1704 — 4 m.—20 day William Kid was Baptized.
 — 29 day Sister blackwell of burwell was Added.
 — 5 m. 11 day Steuen Wake was Baptized.
 — 6 m.—13 day Amos Woods was Baptized.
 — 21 day— Aelse Blackwls was Baptized.
 — 14 day—the church . . . noted sinfull to joyn with the publick worship for Exo. 20. 4, 6, & 1 Cor. 10, 7, Amos 5. 21, Ezek. 43. 10, Lev. 10. 3, Judg. 8. 17, Hos. 5. 11, Gal. 2. 11, Rev. 11. 2, Isah. 1. 10, Mat. 28. 20, Luk. 11. 32 (?), 1 Joh. 2. 6, Eph. 5. 11, Rom. 12. 2, Rev. 14. 3-12.
- (73) 1704 — 8 m. 8 day Nicolis Fouler was Baptized.
 — 19 day Sister bredgman of Burwell was Added.
 — about 24 day William Simson was Baptized.
 — 29 day John Eaton was Baptized.
 1704 9 m.—4 day Elisabeth Carron was Baptized.
 1705 — 1 m. Sister Potters child was Baptized.
 1705 — 2 m.—26 day Sister Cutle of Soham was Added.
 — 3 m.—31 day Sister Grigs of . . . Lidgit was Added or incorporated; & Robbard & Joseph Sanfield of Dullingham was Added.
- (74) — 8 m.—11 day William trowell was Baptized, & Brother Brown of Burwell was constituted Deacon.
 1705 — 11 mo. 10 day Brother floit (? Floyd) of Newmaket was added.
- 1706 — 6 m.—22 day brother Chapman of Exonon (*Exning*) was Added.
 — 7 m.—12 day William trowell was Baptized.
 — 8 month Dority Chapman was Baptized.
 — 11 m. 15 day Mathew Cook was Baptized.
- (75) — 12 m. Mary Blackwell was Baptized.
 1707 — 1 m. 1 day brother...John Riddly & Edward Chambers of Soham was Added.

6 Congregationalism in the Fen Country

— 23 day George Carrow was Baptized.
 — 2 m.—3 day Sarah talor was Baptized.
 — 6 day Ephata Woods was Baptized.

(Enterlined)

— 6 m.—18 day . . . thomas Harris was Baptized.
 6 m.—28 day. A Solemn Renewal of Covenant (which is the oath or engagement of the Lord between us) Subscribed and made by Subscription. We whose names are under written do believe these truths & promise to perform these duties; And such shall be esteemed of be of the church.

(76)

1. The Solemn confession & profession of our Most holy faith is what is in the 107 propositions in the . . . assemblies Catechism.

2 tim. 1. 13

2 ly. as to our most holy order & practices we couenant and Agree unto the Lord & one another, believing in Christ's Merits for Acceptance, & Relying on his Spirit for Assistance. 1. to withdraw from euery brother that walketh disorderly, & is a Railer, and walk as a church according "to the holy order" of the Gospel & Rules of fellowship given us in charge by our Lord Christ. Gal. 6. 16, 1 tim. 6. 14.

2 thes. 3. 6-14
 1 Cor. 5. 11

(77)

" " Interlined

Act. 1. 15-26
 & 5. 5—
 & 14. 28

Rom. 14. 1 & 16. 1

2. That we will Admit Members upon testimony of a work of grace upon them that God Shall enable & stirre up to declare as Isah. 44. 4, 5.

2 Cor. 6. 14, 15
 1 Cor. 7. 89 & 9. 5

with Phi. 3. 17

" " Interlined

3. that we will not Marry with the visible wicked or visible enemies of Christ & his "church" wayes.

4. that we will perseuer in partaking of the priviledges & in performing the duties of this church (78) according to the Rules of the word.

Heb. 10. 24, 25
 & 13. 1
 Act. 2. 42

5. that we will submit to, & use as ther is occasion, the censures of Reproof, Admonition, & excommunication, to testifie that we cannot bear them that are euil, & Release the censure to the penitent.

Rom. 2. 2, 3
 1 Cor. 5. 4—
 5. 18

Mat. 18. 15-17
 2 Cor. 9. 6-16
 Gal. 6. 1
 Eph. 4. 82

6. that we will not go to human worship or worship corrupted with superstition & inuentions of Men (79)

Hos. 4. 15-17
 Amos 5. 5-21
 Rom. 11. 4

7. not discouer the secrets of the church, but endeuer to keep up before the world & each other, the reputation of each other, that the Name of God suffer not by us.

Mat. 1. 19
 2 Sam. 1. 20
 Jam. 4. 11

8. that none be against the ordinance of Baptism of the Immediate seed of Church Members, at least so far as to make any disturbance in the church about it.

Act. 2. 87
 1 Cor. 1. 4
 & 7. 14
 Rom. 11. 17
 & 14. 19
 Eph. 4. 3

1 Cor. 4. 10 phi. 1. 27

(80) 9. that we will labour to carry it so to them that are without as they may be wone by our Good conuersation.

Col. 4. 5
 1 Pet. 2. 15
 & 3. 15
 Eph. 5. 16
 Mat. 5. 16

10. that we will be personally present, & not forsake the Assembling of ourselves together, but bear up the

Administration of the Gospel by a presential communion as much as may be upon Lords Days, (81) or upon every first day of the week, & other . . . occasional church Meetings on week days for the bussiness of the Church—only let it be Excepted in tenderness & indulgence to our Bretheren & sisters in case of bad weather, infirmities of body, Age, Great Distance, they may meet together or hear a sound & holy Minister, in the town where they live, except still when we brake bread, (82) for then all that can ought to Assemble with the Church, let what Gospel Minister soever preach in their towns.

Heb. 10. 24, 25
Ezra 10. 8
Act. 10. 33

(No. 11th par.)

2 Tim. 4
1 Cor. 1. 11
& 11. 25
Act. 15. 36
Sam. 5. 14
Act. 20. 20, 28
1 thes. 5. 12, 13
1 Pet. 5. 1-5
Neh. 10. 29
1 Cor. 10. 31
Phi. 4. 27

1 thes. 5. 12, 13
1 tim. 5. 37
Heb. 13. * 7, 17

2 Cor. 9. 9
Heb. 10. 24
Mat. 6. 18
Rom. 12. 10-15
1 Cor. 16. 14
1 Pet. 4. 8

(84)

1 thes. 4. 15
& 5. 11-14
Rom. 14. 19
& 15. 14

Mat. 5. 48
2 Cor. 9. 1-7
1 Cor. 10. 1, 2
Gal. 6. 6
1 Cor. 9. 9-17
Act. 11. 29
Ezra 2. 69
Heb. 13. 10

(85)

Eph. 5. 21
1 Cor. 5. 4
Rom. 14. 1
Act. 14. 28
Eph. 4. 2, 32
Rom. 14. 1
Gal. 6. 2
Rom. 15. 1, 14
2 Joh. 6-10
Act. 6. 8, 5
& 14. 28
1 Cor. 5. 4-13
2 Cor. 2. 6
Col. 2. 5, 10

(86)

Ezek. 48. 11
Psa. 68. 5
2 Pet. 3. 11
1 Pet. 1. 15, 16

12. that the officers perform their Duties & the elder or pastor perform his duties in preaching the word, prayer, Administration of the seals, visiting the sick & tempted, or the like, & that he Abide by the flock whilst we perform our Duties (83) & cleave to him, & carry on our own church state, to the Glory of God, & Reputation & Credit, of, or as Becometh to the Gospel. .

13. that we will perform . . . the Duties of the word to our pastor, & obey, love, esteem, honour, & submit to him in the Lord.

14. Pray for one another, & walk Exemplarily in holyness, love, meekness, & christian freedom, curtesie, pity & compassion one to another.

15. Edifie & exhort one another, comfort the feeble minded, warn the unruly, Receive instructions & Reproofs without offence.

16. Relieve any . . . poor, & contribute according to our abilities to the upholding of the Church State, its ordinances, Ministry, & help to bare the burden & sustain the Charges of Gods House.

17. Submit one to another in the fear of God. *as for instance in church debates the lesser part to the . . . Judgment of the greater.*

18. Bearing one anothers burdens, in bearable infirmities, & in Reproaches, opposition, & difficulties.

19. Not give up our church power in Ordination & excommunication to a classis [or presbytery] of Ministers.

20. Daily meditate on or read Daily God's Word.

21. We will study the preservation of truth & holyness in the midst of us.

* 17 in MS. by error.

8 Congregationalism in the Fen Country

Tit. 2. 14 & 3. 8
 Mat. 6. 4
 Eph. 6. 18
 & 6. 4
 Pro. 28. 5
 Det. 3. 6, 7
 1 Chr. 28. 9
 Gen. 14. 14
 Mic. 6. 8
 2 Cor. 9. 1-7
 Gal. 6. 10

1 Cor. 14. 1-40

1 Thes. 5. 15
 Psa. 122. 1-5

2 Cor. 18. 11
 Eph. 4. 3
 1 Cor. 1. 10 &
 11. 18 & 12. 25

(88)

Gal. 6. 1

Jude 23. 28
 Mat. 18. 16-17
 2 Cor. 13. 10
 Tit. 1. 18

Lev. 19. 16-17
 Tit. 3. 1-8
 2 Tim. 3. 1-3
 Psalm 15. 3
 Rom. 1. 80
 Pro. 15. 88
 2 Cor. 12. 20
 1 Tim. 5. 17, 19
 1 Pet. 2. 1
 Eph. 4. 2-58

Eph. 6 Col. 3 & 4
 Rom. 18. 1-7

1 Tim. 2. 1, 2
 Mat. 16. 24-26
 Heb. 11. 35-36
 Psa. 187. 8

2 Pet. 8. 1

(91)

Mat. 18. 16-17
 2 Cor. 6. 4

Col. 3. 17
 Mat. 18. 20
 & 28. 8, 9
 Isah. 53. 27
 Psa. 9. 6
 Isah. 24. 25

(92)

they
 promised 30
 pounds a year
 & . . . 12
 Sabbaths to
 go out on
 occasion

22. Be zealous in Good works, & careful to maintain them; as works of worship of God in the closet, family, catechize or instruct them in Gods word & Church Assemblies, (87) & of justice & Charity to men, especially to the poor of the church giving without grudging.

23. Do all things decently & in order.

24. not do any thing to the hurt of the church, but seek in a special Manner its prosperity.

25. that we will study peace & unity, & not rend by Division the body of Christ.

Phi. 1. 27

26. Delighting in one anothers society.

Psa. 16. 2 & 122. 1 & 119. 68

27. endeavouring in tenderness & meekness the Restoring the fallen.

28. and of some making a difference, & Rebuke them Sharply.

29. that we will check & frown upon talebearers, fals Accusers (89) backbiters, makebates, & will Avoid evil surmising . . . & slandering, especially our pastor & his family, and not receive any Accusation against him without two or three "credible" witnesses; and lay aside envy, evil speaking, guile, & hypocrisies. . . .

30. Perform all Relative Duties.

31. Deny ourselves, & make all other bussiness give (90) place, when self & they stand in the way of our obedience to Christs laws in Church fellowship, & prefer Jerusalem about our chiefest joyes.

32. And Read this Couenant some times to stirre up our pure minds by way of Remembrance.

33. We will take up controuersies & offences between ourselves, & not trouble our pastor with them, till after the first and second Admonition.

34. And do all things in Christs name only, & look at them as carrying His Authority in them as King of Zion.

35. That we will give his subsistence into the Deacons hands at the time Appointed, & not trouble him to ask it. [Which . . . now was . . . five pounds every quarter, & to do other kindnesses as we are able.]

And when he cannot have a comfortable subsistence Among us we will Dismiss him from us upon his request.

☛ All that we mean & purpose by all this is that we

* This word interlined.

the
sum of all

will not Allow of no sin, but allouedly endeouour the practice of all . . . the Duties of the word of God.

(93) And for the orderly & visible obligation upon ourselves, touching these things, which we are to perform "through Christ"⁷ to the Glory of God & good of ourselves, & others, we do freely subscribe with our hands, without imposing one upon another.

George Doughty—pastor
thomas trowell—Ruling Elder
Jarue Paterson—Deacon

	Edward Chambers	Ann Spaldin
	Mathew Crane	Sister prr
	John Kid, Elder	Sister Militon
	Ralf Eaton	Sister Oylard
	John Pur	Sister Potter
(94)	thomas Burls	Sister Veal
	thomas Wake	Sister Merit (?)
	William Harris	Sister Stern
	John Riddly	(95) Sister Spelman
	John Robbins	Bro. Churchman
	Sister Riddly	John Kid the younger
	Sister Cuttle	John Havlock
	Sister Eaton	Richard Robbins
	Sister Randals	Sister fisher
	Sister Simson	George Carron
	Sister Spaldin Elder	Sister Staples
	Catrin Spaldin	

The entries of the next four years consist of 21 Admissions and 14 Baptisms; together with the following:

- (96) 1708 12 m. 3 day brother Edward Chambers was chosen Deacon.
- 1709 9 m. 16 Sister Olyard Admonished a second time.
- 1710 1 m. in this month Sister Olyard was declared to have no communion with us in special ordinances till she testified her repentance for having deserted the church.
- (97) 11 m. 21 day John Robbins was dealt with as Sister Oylard.
- 1711 1 m. John Robbins testified Repentance & was reconciled to the church.
- 1711 6 m. 5d my Dear & well beloued beloued [*sic*] wife was Received to the fellowship of our Covenant by a Dismission.⁸

⁷ Interlined.

⁸ Mr. Doughty's former wife appears to have died about October, 1702.

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(98) the church of Christ in & About Barrington to the church of Christ in & about Soham, ouer which the . . . holy Ghost hath made the Rev^d M^r Doughty overseer, sendeth greeting, grace, mercy, etc. Dearly beloved in our lord Jesus Christ, whereas our sister Doughty, a sister in fellowship with us, and walked with us (99) as become the Gospel whilst with us, desiring her Dismission, & Approving her Reasons for the same, we do hereby Discharge her from her near Relation with, & obligation to us, & commit her to your particular watch & care; doubting not but you will receive her in the lord, & that you will be every way helpfull to the promoting her edification & comfort; for which spiritual ends we commend you with her to God & the word of his grace, etc.

Rom. 16. 1
Act. 20. 32

Subscribed by the consent (100) & in the name of the whole Church of Christ in & About Barrington.

thomas Jenning—pastor.
Richard Day, Robbard Barnet,
John Austin, timothy Norman, Deacons.

1711 Seventh Month 30 day. John Chambers was by the unanimous vote of the church gathered together Adjudged unworthy of a letter of Approbation or recommendation to any person or people, (101) and not to have communion with the church in special ordinances till he testifie his repentance. Mat. 5. 23-25, Ezra 10. 8, Eph. 5. 11 . . . he hauing couenanted & engaged by word of mouth & subscribing with his hand to perform the Duties of the word in the church, & having for seueral Month forsaken Church Assemblies . . . both on week days & Sacrament days, and have been Admonished of his sin & exhorted to his duty both . . . privately & publickly, & being still impenitent in this sinful practice, which is contrary to Gospel Rules in precepts, 1 Cor. 16. 13, Heb. 10. 25, Rom . . . 14. 19, 1 Cor. 10. 32, phi. 1. 27, Heb. 10. 23 & 13. 1, & precedent Act. 2. 42; and a . . . braking of a Solemn Covenant, wherein he lyed unto God & unto Man. 2 thes. 3. 6 & 14.

Hos. 6. 7
Acta 5. 1-5
Jos. 7. 11-26

(102) 1711 II m. 20 day non communion was unanimously voted with John Robbins till he testified his Repentance to satisfaction. His offences was long ommitting Church Assemblies and uain singing.

Mat. 5. 24
Eph. 5. 11
Ezra 10. 3

6 m. 3 day Tho Smith Rejoynd to the Church.⁹

⁹ The name is in a different handwriting, perhaps Smith's own: the other words are crowded into the margin.

- 1712 6 m. 27 day the church judged that the bretheren at Burwell & thereabouts were still Members unless by their seperation they cut off themselues: then it was declared if they imbodyed or joyned with M^r Campain we would give them (103) no disturbance in their so doing.
- 1712 12 month 15 day Sister fisher of Structom [? Stretham] was cut off for perjury which was a publick scandal. the Matter of fact the church declared they believed to be true, & that it deserved the censure. Psa. 101. 1-7, Act. 5. 1-5.

All the remaining entries, down to 13th June, 1734, are Baptisms (30) and Additions (16)¹⁰, except the following:

- (105) 1715 5 months 31 day John watson & his wife . . . for their scandalous living in fighting, was acted not to have communion with the church in special ordinances till their reformation & . . . confessing their sins. 1 Cor. 5. 11, 2 Tim. 3. 5, Eph. 5. 11.

And Ann Shelnerton for toal (*sic*) forsaking church fellowship . . . was uoted not to have no communion with the church in special ordinances till she confessed her sin . . . in forsaking church fellowship & going to . . . publick Heb. 10. 25, 2 Thes. 3. 6.

- (107) 1718 Sixt month 7 day Sister palmer [and sister Also Moody] was added to this church.

At the end of their experience was the church covenant or agreement by which they were admitted in these words.

I desire to take a whole Christ, as a Priest to save me by his Merits, as a prophet to teach me by his Doctrine, and as a king to Rule & govern me by his precepts, . . . laws, & Rules of his word; And now I confesse & professe before men a Scripture faith in Christ alone for Salvation, & profess & promise a Scripture obedience to him as God shall help me; and to walk and abide in the holy order and ordinances of the gospel in this church, desiring your prayers that I may be faithful unto death, and then receive a crown of Glory given me by my dear Redeemer.

— then they withdrew.

— having the consent of the church for their Admission they were called in & told the church consented their

There is a large erasure of at least 80 words, in the margin.

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¹⁰ Many of these have the actual signatures.

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admission; then they were admitted by the pastor, who gave them the right hand of fellowship. . . .

Sister, you having giving [*sic*] yourself to the lord. and to us by the will of God, and confessed and professed and promised a Scripture faith in Christ and obedience to him. I promise in the name of Christ and his Church he[r]e gathered together that we will perform our duties to you for your edification & comfort in the Lord as becomes a church of . . . Christ as he shall help us; and do now, in the Name of Christ & with the consent of this church, Admit & pronounce you a member of this church of the living God, & as a sign & token thereof give you the right hand of fellowship.

(110) 1722 I month. this church was greeted by Cambridge church.¹¹

the church of Christ meeting in Stone yard in Cambridge to the church of Christ at Soham, with the beloved pastor, M^r Doughty, greeting.

- Beloved bretheren—the lord hauing laid it on our hearts to study, seek, and pray for the well being of this church of Christ. (whereof by the grace of God we are called to be Members), that all the ordinances of Christ might be duly dispensed in it; it was his Good pleasure to direct us to invite our beloved brother John Dauis to minister the word among us: whose labours have been made of use to many souls, hath given us encouragement to proceed to give him a call to take the pastoral charge of this church upon him, which call he hath complied with, whereupon we have set apart a time for his more solemn taking upon him the office and
- 112 Relation of pastor to us, to be over us in the lord, viz Wednesday the 21 day of March; therefore that fellowship and communion in the Gospel might be stablished and maintained between us and you, and brotherly love continued, we desire that Messengers from you may be then present to behold our order in this affair, and to give the right hand of fellowship one to another. In the mean time we beg you would joyn with us in prayer, that more of the Spirit may come down upon us (113) and his Glory manifested in the midst of us. So wishing mercy and peace to be multiplied unto you, we conclude, your bretheren in the bands of the Gospel,

¹¹ This church was a secession from that of which Rev. Jos. Hussey had formerly been pastor.

Rich. fairchild, Joseph Ray,
John littlewood, Deacons.
thomas Goode, L. Hagger, M. Wait.

The meeting-house at Soham, during Mr. Doughty's ministry, was a transformed barn. In 1717 there were 200 hearers, of whom 13 were county voters. Mr. Doughty died in 1734 or-5, when the fellowship was divided; some worshipped at Burwell, some at Isleham (forming, it would seem, the nucleus of the Union Baptist church which still flourishes there), and some uniting with a Presbyterian church of "Fordham and Soham," of which Rev. Tobias Wildbore was minister from 1722 to 1741. After his removal seven ministers followed in quick succession within 21 years; and then, in 1762, the church was reconstituted as Congregational under the pastorate of the Rev. T. Adams. The ministers from that time onwards were:

- Rev. T. Adams, 1762-1781.
- " R. Roote, 1782-1829.
- " W. Dallison, 1827—(colleague).
- " Chas. Hickman, 1830-34.
- " F. R. Moore, 1834-48.
- " A. T. Shelley, 1851-55.
- " D. Matheson, B.A., 1856-61.
- " W. C. Shearer, M.A., 1862-63.
- " J. H. Cattow, 1865-72.
- " W. Young, 1872-95.
- " J. Hancock, 1895-1901.
- " H. C. Gant, 1902-07.
- " F. W. Freeman, 1908-13.
- " W. H. Davis, 1914, the present pastor.

The old barn gave place to a regular meeting-house in 1803; the present chapel was built in 1841.

On the removal of Mr. Doughty from Burwell, about 1712, he was succeeded by the Rev. Thos. Royston, who in 1725 established a branch church at Catledge, otherwise Kirtling. He died in 1744, and was followed in the dual pastorate by the

Rev. Joseph Maulden about 1747. In this year a meeting-house was built; it is not very clear what accommodation for its assemblies the church had previously enjoyed. In 1767 Catledge was dissociated from Burwell; a Mr. Carver ministered there till 1770, after which the station was variously supplied till 1818, when the services would seem to have been discontinued. Mr. Maulden's pastorate at Burwell lasted 49 years. He was succeeded by the Rev. Thos. Nicklin in 1797, and in that year or the next the present church building was erected. Mr. Nicklin's ministry ended in 1816; and there is a void in the succession till 1827, when a Mr. Shepherd appears as pastor.

The succeeding ministers have been :

- Rev. Jas. Buckfit, 1829 to 1835 or later.
- „ E. Flower, 1840-1847 (died 1859).
- „ A. R. Philp, 1848-1850.
- „ J. E. Cullen, 1850-1859.
- „ J. Hicks, 1859-65.
- „ G. H. White, 1866-68.
- „ W. P. Huddleston, 1869-77.
- „ J. W. Upton, 1881 : the present pastor.

The church building was renovated in 1866, and again in 1881, when the manse was purchased.

In 1823 a shed at Reach was fitted up as a preaching-place; where in 1838 a chapel was built by Mr. E. Ball. This was enlarged in 1842 and again in 1847, and a burial-ground provided in 1848. A local church was organized, to which Mr. Ball ministered for several years, and which in 1862 was incorporated with that at Burwell; and a new chapel was built in 1863.

The following churches exist within the area from which the original Soham and Burwell fellowship was gathered :

CONGREGATIONAL.

Newmarket	...	...	founded	1790.
Ely (C.H.)	...	...	"	1793.
Fordham	...	...	"	1818.
Chippenham	...	...	"	1832.
Cheveley ...	...	...	"	1868.

BAPTIST.

Isleham ...	...	...	"	1693.
Soham ...	...	...	"	1752.
Haddenham	...	...	"	1814.
Ely ...	...	...	"	1820.
Landbeach	...	...	"	1828.
Burwell ...	...	...	"	1851.

The Clerical Subsidy, 1661

IT is not to *Clerical Subsidy Rolls* that one would naturally turn for fresh light on Nonconformists and Nonconformity.

Yet the Rolls of one Clerical Subsidy afford absolutely trustworthy evidence on one point on which historians have differed, and but for this evidence might differ to the end of time. I mean the date of ejection or silencing of those Puritan ministers who thus suffered after the Monarchy had been restored and Episcopacy had been re-established.

With many it was in 1660 that they were turned out from their benefices to make way for clergymen who had been sequestered in the Interregnum and still survived to claim their sequestered livings; but with many more it was on St. Bartholomew's Day, 1662, because they could not subscribe the oath prescribed by the Act of Uniformity.

The lists of Calamy and Palmer include both classes. In many cases these authors had obtained, and they give, authentic information on this question of date; but in some cases they have ventured statements on insufficient data; and in many others they do not venture any statement upon the point at all.

There is one Clerical Subsidy, however, the Rolls of which *ipso facto* solve the question. It is the Clerical Subsidy made in 1661. By an Ordinance of Parliament a Subsidy was called for from the clergy of England and Wales, which would

incidentally test and attest their loyalty to Charles the Second, as well as provide a welcome pecuniary gift to "the merry monarch" whose love of pleasure made him so eager for money. Though "suggested" (which is only a euphemism for "ordered") by an Act of Parliament, and authorized by his Majesty under the Great Seal of England, with a charming simplicity and ingenuousness it was called "a Free and Voluntary Present to his Majesty." The bishop of each diocese saw to the ingathering of it, and sent into the Treasury the sum gathered; with a list of "the Reverend the Clergy" within the diocese who had subscribed to it. These lists formed the Clerical Subsidy Rolls of that date, 1661.

Now it is self-evident that any minister whose name appears on any of these rolls was still one of "the Reverend Clergy of the Established Church of England." Negatively it is proved that he had not been "outed" in 1660, positively it is certain that if he were ejected from his living it must have been subsequent to 1661, and almost certainly by the operation of the Act of Uniformity in 1662. A complete set of such Subsidy Rolls would therefore give absolutely reliable information as to the date of the ejection of all Nonconformist ejected ministers whose names appear therein.

The point occurred to me almost casually as I was working in the Public Record Office on the Early Nonconformity of Bristol; seeking collateral information about the pioneers of Nonconformity in that city by turning up all the Lay Subsidy Rolls for Bristol and its immediate neighbourhood, to get light on their social position and financial standing by noting the amount of their assessments either in lands or goods; and, later, the number of hearths in their houses for which they were rated in the Chimney or Hearth Taxes of

Charles II's reign. In a waiting moment I looked up in the Calendar the Clerical Subsidies for the diocese of Bristol; and to my delight found that there was one for 13 Car. II., *i.e.*, for A.D. 1661. I put in an application for it; and on obtaining it had the shock of a still more pleasant surprise in coming upon over a score of names which I knew well as old Nonconformist friends not only in the city of Bristol but in the county of Dorset. I made a transcript of the greater part of it; and while doing so, realized that a complete series of these Clerical Subsidy Rolls for 1661 would furnish the valuable information I have just referred to.

So I set about the task in systematic fashion. I carefully scrutinized the Calendar of Clerical Subsidies (preserved in MS. volumes) for the 22 English dioceses and the 4 dioceses of Wales; and though I freely confess to serious disappointment that the result is comparatively meagre, still I feel the search has amply rewarded me, and I have pleasure in passing on the results to my brethren who are interested in this point of Nonconformist history.

Of the 22 English dioceses, there are preserved in the archives of the Public Record Office Clerical Subsidy Rolls of this date from only *five*: and one of these, *viz.* that from the diocese of Exeter (which would have been of superlative interest), most tantalizingly gives only the names of the *benefices contributing*, but *not* of the *clergy* holding these benefices; while of a second, that from Rochester, there are only fragments of no value to the Nonconformist historian. The remaining three, however, are full of interest. They are those from the dioceses of Worcester and Oxon in the Southern Midlands; and that from the diocese of Bristol in the south west.

The Rolls from *Wales* are proportionately far

more complete. Of its four dioceses, only *one* is wanting, viz. St. Asaph. The Subsidy Rolls from the other *three*, viz. from Bangor, St. David's and Llandaff, are very full. Of these three, however, one (the first) yields no names either of places or persons which figure in the pages of either Calamy or Palmer.

I have transcribed the whole of the Subsidy Rolls from the three English dioceses and the two Welsh dioceses which alone yield us the information we desire. I have also compiled a Classified Summary of the results of a careful scrutiny of them, with a view to noting and extracting all the items which give the names of parishes noted in the lists of our historians of the ejected Nonconformists, whether Calamy or Palmer.

This Summary I have arranged under the heads of the five dioceses concerned; grouping separately the several counties included in each, and under these the ecclesiastical deaneries in which the individual parishes are given.

I have also separated out the information given about these places which appear in both the Clerical Subsidy on the one side, and the pages of Calamy and Palmer on the other, in six columns, giving:

1. The name of the parish.
2. The name of the minister given by Calamy or Palmer as "ejected" or "silenced" there.
3. The denomination to which he belonged, where information on that point is forthcoming.
4. The date of his ejection: it being clearly 1662 if the name of the minister is the same in the Subsidy Roll and in the pages of Calamy and Palmer; and 1660, or early 1661, if the ministerial names are different.
5. The name given in the Subsidy Roll, in the second case.
6. The amount subscribed to the Free and Voluntary Present by either the one or the other.

All I propose to do in this paper is to give you

a brief résumé of the information contained in the transcripts and summary on *three* points: (1) the number of places or parishes of which these Clerical Subsidies give information; (2) the dates of ejection or silencing of Nonconformist sufferers furnished by them, with the numbers of those ejected in either case; and (3) the amounts contributed by those who subscribed to the free and voluntary present to his Majesty, with the significance of these amounts, especially of those contributed by the men afterwards ejected under the Act of Uniformity.

i. First then the "places" or "parishes" common to these Clerical Subsidies and the pages of Calamy and Palmer.

- I. In *England* there were 75; *viz.* 20 in Worcester county; 5 in the county of Warwick; 13 in Oxfordshire; 4 in Bristol city, with one in the adjacent part of Gloucester (which is in the diocese of Bristol), and 32 in the county of Dorset (in the same diocese.)
- II. In *Wales* there were 29, *viz.* 1 in Pembroke; 3 in Carmarthen; 3 in Cardigan; 3 in Brecon; 2 in Radnor; 8 in Glamorgan; and 9 in Monmouth.

Or 104 places or parishes in the whole of England and Wales.

ii. Second: the *dates* of ejection or silencing revealed by these Subsidies as either confirming, supplementing or correcting the statements of Calamy and Palmer. This threefold function I proceed to display in detail.

[In order to economize space, and at the same time to give the fullest possible information, it has been thought advisable to print Professor Turner's *Classified Summary* in full; and in place of his *detailed* enumeration to substitute a condensed abstract, with reference marks, which are explained below.—ED.]

Clerical Subsidy of 1661

Classified Summary of Results

i. Worcester Diocese

I. Worcestershire

(i) Wygorn Deanery

1.	<i>Worcester City St. Andrews</i>	...		Joseph Baker †	1662		£2 10 0
2.	<i>Worcester City All Saints</i>	...	C	Richard Fincher †	1660	[James Warrock	£0 10 0]
3.	<i>Kemsey</i>	...		Thomas Bromwich ‖	1662		£1 0 0
4.	<i>Broadway (Broadwaies)</i>	...		Mr. Wall †	1660	[Dr. Nath. Tompkins	£10 0 0]

(ii) Powick Deanery

5.	<i>Kidmarley d'Abitol</i>	...		Willm. Kimberley †	1662		£10 0 0
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(Redmarley)

(iii) Wytch Deanery

6.	<i>Hampton Lovitt</i>	...		John Freeston ‖	1660	[James Pitt	£10 0 0]
7.	<i>Salwarp</i>	...	P	Richard Woolley ‖	1662		£2 0 0]
8.	<i>Bromsgrove</i>	...	C	James Spilsbury †	1660	[John Woolley	£5 0 0]

(iv) Kidderminster Deanery

9.	<i>Kidderminster</i>	...		Richard Baxter ‖	1660	[George Daunce	£10 0 0]
10.	<i>Chaddesley</i>	...	P	Thomas Baldwin, sen. *	1660	[Samuel Lee	£3 0 0]
11.	<i>Stone</i>	...	P	Richard Sergeant †	1662		£5 0 0
12.	<i>Old Swinford</i>	...	P	Jarvis Bryan ‖	1662		£5 0 0

(v) Pershore & Evesham Deanery

13.	<i>Naunton Beauchamp</i>	...		Thomas Franks †	1660	[Fr. Robinson	£5 0 0]
14.	<i>Churchill</i>	...	P	Edward Boucher ‖	1660-1	[Joseph Brittain	£6 0 0]
15.	<i>Harvington</i>	...	C	Stephen Baxter †	1662		£5 0 0
16.	<i>Pippleton</i>	...		Cornelius Woodward *	1662		£5 0 0
				<i>not Wood</i>			
17.	<i>Evesham (All Saints)</i>	...		George Hopkins †	1662		£0 16 0
18.	<i>Cropton</i>	...	C	William Westmacot †	1660	[Wm. Thornborough	£10 0 0]
19.	<i>Doderhill</i>	...		Thomas Francis †	1660	[Wm. Jones	05 00 00]
							not pd.
20.	<i>Alvechurch</i>	...	P	Richard Moore ‖	1660-1	[Wm. Hollington	10 00 00]
							not pd.

II. Warwick

		(i) <i>Kineton</i> Deanery				
1.	<i>Stratford-upon-Avon</i>	...	...	Alexander Beane ||	1662	£2 0 0
		(ii) <i>Warwick</i> Deanery				
2.	<i>Alcester</i>	...	...	P Samuel Tickner ||	1662	£2 0 0
3.	<i>Exhall</i>	...	...	C Josiah Bassett*	1660	[Timothy Kirke £5 10 0]
4.	<i>Witton</i> (<i>Wootten</i>)	...	...	P James Wright †	1662	£1 0 0
5.	<i>Wroxhall</i> (<i>Wiershall</i>)	...	...	Luke Milbourne ||	1662	£1 0 0

ii. Oxford Diocese

III. Oxon

		(i) <i>Woodstock</i> Deanery				
1.	<i>Glympton</i>	...	...	Nathaniel Stonyford †	1662	02 00 00
2.	<i>Westcot Barton</i>	...	...	— Bowen †	1660	[Thomas Belcher 01 10 00]
		<i>al. Barton Westcote</i>				
3.	<i>Kidlington</i> (with Rectorship of Exeter Coll.)			Dr. John Conant †	1662	47 10 00 but not pd.
		(ii) <i>Witney</i> Deanery				
4.	<i>Witney</i>	...	...	P William Gilbert, lecturer †	1662	[Dr. Ralph Brideoak, vic.]
		(iii) <i>Chipping Norton</i> Deanery				
5.	<i>Broughton</i>	...	...	Nathaniel Coney †	1662	02 00 00
6.	<i>Daddington</i>	...	...	James Wyar †	1662	00 10 00
7.	<i>Bloxham</i>	...	...	Christopher Nevil †	1662	01 00 00
		(v) <i>Henley</i> Deanery				
8.	<i>Henley-on-Thames</i>	...	...	P William Brice †	1662	04 00 00
		(vi) <i>Bicester</i> Deanery				
9.	<i>Litlington</i>	...	...	John Hathaway †	1662	02 00 00
10.	<i>Heyford</i> (<i>Nether al. ad Pontem</i>)	...	...	P John Dod ||	1662	02 10 00
11.	<i>Somerton</i>	...	...	John Fenwick *	1660	[Myles Sandys 08 00 00]
		(vii) <i>Peculiars of Oxon.</i>				
12.	<i>Banbury</i>	...	...	P Samuel Wells ||	1662	01 00 00
13.	<i>Newington</i>	...	...	Edward Archer †	1660	[Dr. John Dolben 20 00 00]

iii. Bristol Diocese

IV. Bristol City

1.	<i>The Cathedral...</i>	...	P	John Knowles ||	1660	[Dean and Chapter	160 00 00]
2.	<i>St. James's</i>	...	P	John Paul †	1662		01 00 00
3.	<i>St. Ewen's</i>	...	P	Matthew Hazard †	1662		01 00 00
4.	<i>St. Phillip's and Jacobs</i>	...	P ? C	Edward Hancock ||	1662		01 10 00

V. Dorset

(i) *Pimperne* Deanery

1.	<i>Tarrant Hinton</i>	...	P	Timothy Sacheverell ||	1662		02 00 00
2.	<i>Blandford Forum</i>	...	C	William Allein ||	1660	[John Lyndsey	02 00 00]
3.	<i>Pimperne</i>	...	P	John White ||	1660	[Christopher Pitt	04 00 00]
4.	<i>Tarrant Munckton</i>	...	C	Henry Martyn §	1662		00 05 00
5.	<i>Stalbridge</i>	...		<i>Rich. de Shute</i> (aftd. confd) †	1660	W. Goddard	02 00 00

(ii) *Shaston* Deanery

6.	<i>Sherborne</i>	...	P	Francis Bampffield ||	1662		1 year's Tithe
7.	<i>Malbury Bubb</i>	...	P	Mr. Forward †	1660	[Will. Handleigh	00 10 00]

(iii) *Dorchester* Deanery

8.	<i>Weeke</i>	...	{ P	Mr. Damer { "Dammer" } * 1660		[Will. Blake	03 00 00]
9.	<i>Weymouth and Melcombe Regis</i>	...	C	George Thorne ||	1662		00 15 00
10.	<i>West Stafford</i>	...	C	Benjamin Way †	1662		00 15 00
11.	<i>Winterborne Came</i>	...	P	Christopher Lawrence ||	1662		02 00 00
12.	<i>Over Compton</i>	...	C	Robert Bartlett ||	1662		00 10 00
13.	<i>Whitchurch-Winterbourne</i>	...	C	John Wesley ||	1662		00 05 00
14.	<i>Winterbourne-Munckton</i>	...	C	Richard Downe §	1662		00 15 00
15.	<i>Dorchester (Trinity)</i>	...	P	George Hammond ||	1662		02 00 00
16.	<i>Dorchester (All Saints)</i>	...	C	William Benn ||	1662		01 10 00
17.	<i>Clifton</i>	...		William Oake ||	1662		01 10 00

(iv) *Whitchurch* Deanery

18.	<i>Spetisbury</i>	...	P	Mr. Trottle	1660-1	[William Smith	10 00 00]
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(v) *Carne* Deanery

19.	<i>Litchet Matravers</i>	...	P	Thomas Rowe	1662		01 10 00
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20.	<i>Buckland Newton</i>	P	John Weekes †	1662		01 10 00
21.	<i>Bere Regis</i>	C	Philip Lamb †	1662		01 05 00
	(vi) <i>Bridport Deanery</i>							
22.	<i>Hawkchurch</i>	...	...	P	John Hodder †	1662		05 00 00
23.	<i>Lyme Regis</i>	...	...	P	Ames Short †	1662		02 10 00
24.	<i>Wootton-Fitspaine</i>	...	...	P	John Kerridge †	1662		01 10 00
25.	<i>Netherbury</i>	...	...		Joseph Crabbe	1662		01 00 00
26.	<i>Bettiscombe</i>	...	...		Isaac Clifford †	1652		00 10 00
27.	<i>Bradpole</i>	...	...	P	William Sampson †	1662		00 10 00
28.	<i>Broadwindsor</i>	...	...	P	John Pinney ||	1662		01 10 00
29.	<i>Bridport</i>	...	...	C	John [William] Eaton *	1660	[Nath. Goodwin	01 10 00]
30.	<i>Rampisham</i>	...	...	P	Thomas Craine *	1662		01 00 00
31.	<i>Burstock</i>	...	...	P	Henry Parsons ||	1662		00 10 00
32.	<i>Whitchurch-Canonicorum</i>	...	...		John Salway †	1660	[Samuel Lockett	00 10 00]

VI. Gloucester

r.	<i>Clifton</i>	...	...		Nathaniel Ravens	1661		00 10 00
	<i>Welshpool</i>	...	...		Nathaniel Ravens	1660		
I.	<i>Elberton</i>	...	...		Mr. Hilton † if <i>i.g.</i>	1662	}	01 00 00
				<i>Will. Wilton</i>				
					if <i>not</i>	1660	[William Wilton	01 00 00]

2. WALES

(iv) i. St. David's Diocese

I. Pembroke

r.	<i>St. Ismael's</i>	C	Adam Hawkins †	1662		£1 0 0
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II. Carmarthen

1.	<i>Oxwich</i>		Evan Griffiths †	1662		£2 10 0
2.	<i>Port Eynon</i>	C	Daniel Higgs §	1662		£2 0 0
3.	<i>Midrym</i>	...	...	C	Stephen Hughes †	1660-1	[John Rice	£2 10 0]
	[? 4. <i>Llanibther or Llandissilio</i>			C	David Jones		£1 0 0]	

III. Cardigan

1.	<i>Llangynllo</i> ...	...	...	Lewis Price †	1660-1	[Thomas Evans	£2 10 0]
2.	<i>Llanbeder—Pont-Stephen</i> ...	...	C	<i>Rice Powell</i> †	1662	[aftds. conformed]	0 10 0
3.	<i>Llandeuvriog</i> ...	...	C	Evan Hughes †	1660-1	[David Evans	£1 0 0]

IV. Brecknock

1.	<i>Llandevayllog</i> ...	...	...	Thomas Edwards	1660-1	[Jacob Wood	£5 0 0]
2.	<i>Kathedin</i> ...	...	...	Jonathan Edwards †	1660-1	[John Perrott	£1 10 0]
3.	<i>Maesmynys</i> ...	...	...	Thomas Evans †	1660-1	[David ? William Jones	£2 0 0]

V. Radnor

1.	<i>Clirou</i> ...	...	...	Richard Swaine	? 1660-2	[Henry Melyn, prebend	£5 0 0]
2.	<i>Llanbister</i> ...	...	C	<i>Thomas Evans</i>	1662	[aftds. conformed]	£2 10 0

VI. Glamorgan

1.	<i>St. Lythan's</i> ...	...	...	John Powell ||	1660-1	[Thomas Maddock	} £10 0 0]
2.	<i>St. Andrew's</i> ...	...	...	Joshua Miller †	1660-1	[Thomas Maddock	
3.	<i>St. Fagan's</i> ...	...	...	Edmund Ellis †	1660-1	[Willm. Lewis	£20 0 0]
4.	<i>Wenvoe</i> ...	...	...	John French †	1662		£10 0 0]
5.	<i>Llantrissant</i> ...	...	...	Henry Williams †	1660-1	[Tho. Bassett	£20 0 0]
6.	<i>Llangynwydd</i> ...	...	...	Samuel Jones ||	1662		£3 0 0]
7.	<i>Cadoxton</i> ...	...	...	Jenkin Jones †	1660-1	[Henry Nicholls	£10 0 0]
8.	<i>St. Mary Church</i> ...	...	...	William Thomas †	1660-1	[Tho. Wilkins	£2 0 0]

(v) ii Llandaff Diocese

VII. Monmouth

1.	<i>Caerwent</i> ...	...	...	Mr. Rogers †	1660-1	[Playford Field	£5 0 0]
2.	<i>Newport</i> ...	...	...	Henry Walter †	1660-1	[John Griffith	0 15 0]
3.	<i>Magor</i> ...	...	...	Thomas Barnes †	1660-1	[Morgan Jones	£3 0 0]
4.	<i>Tredonock</i> ...	...	...	Walter Prossor †	1660-1	[Athanasius Davies	£5 0 0]
5.	<i>Llanvapley</i> ...	...	...	Mr. Walter Williams †	1660-1	[John Jones	£8 0 0]
6.	<i>Trelech</i> ...	...	...	{ William Milman or Mr. Simms † }	1660-1	[Richard Meredith	£10 0 0]
7.	<i>Caerleon</i> ...	...	...	George Robinson †	1660	[Edward Wrench	£2 0 0]
8.	<i>Llandegveth</i> ...	...	...	George Robinson †	1662		£3 0 0]
9.	<i>Llangattock (Vibonabel)</i> ...	...	...	John Robins †	1662		£2 0 0]

The above Summary furnishes us with three groups of facts :

First, as to the dates of ejections authentically determined by the Subsidy Rolls, which *confirm* those given by Calamy and Palmer, either by direct statement or by hints and implications; these number 31 (marked || in the Summary); of whom 9 were outed by the legislation of 1660 and 22 ejected in 1662.

Second, dates furnished by the Subsidy Rolls, as to which Calamy has *no information*; these are no fewer than 59 (marked † in the Summary). In 38 of these Calamy, sometimes supplemented by Palmer, gives an account of the persons named, in some cases tolerably full, in others very meagre; but fails to indicate the date of ejection; while of 21 only the bare names and places are given. From the Subsidy Roll we learn that 28 of these were displaced in 1660 and 31 in 1662.

Third, there are 7 cases (marked * in the Summary) where Calamy and Palmer have fallen into error, and the Subsidy Roll *corrects* them. In five of these our historians refer to 1662, or the Act of Uniformity, when the actual ejection was earlier; while in two cases Calamy assigns an earlier date to what really occurred in 1662. Two other corrections also occur: Cornelius Woodward, ejected from Pippleton, Worc., must be substituted for Calamy's "Wood"; and John Eaton, ejected from Bridport, is misnamed by Calamy "William." But it affords clear evidence of the fidelity and care of Calamy and Palmer, that only in these few instances they have fallen into error.

Three other names (§ in the Summary) call for remark. Calamy has Richard Down ejected from Tarrant Winterbourn; and Palmer has attempted to set him right by substituting the name of Mr. Martyn. The Subsidy Roll shews that there were

two places as well as two persons, Henry Martyn of Tarrant Munckton and Richard Down of Winterbourn Munckton, both ejected in 1662. In the other case the roll justifies Calamy against an attempted correction by Palmer, who in his amended account of Daniel Higgs says "there is no such place as Portinon." The roll shews that Higgs was ejected from Port Eynon in 1662, having been previously outed from Rhossili in 1660.

Further, the Subsidy Roll gives us information of the ejection of five persons whose names I have been able from other sources to add to the lists of Calamy and Palmer :

1. *Nathaniel Ravens*, whom Calamy notes as ejected from Welshpool, but who must now be recorded as previously at Clifton, near Bristol ;
2. *Joseph Crabbe*, ejected from Netherbury in 1662 ;
3. *William Trottie*, ejected from Spetisbury, Dorset, in 1660 ; as also
4. *Thomas Edwards*, from Llandevayllog in Brecon, and
5. *Richard Swaine*, from Clirow (Clyro) in Radnor.

On this question of date, moreover, there is another point of interest, *viz.*, the numbers ejected in 1660 and 1662 respectively, in the several counties and in the two kingdoms, separately and collectively.

Of the 20 ejected in Worcestershire, we find 11 were outed in 1660 and 9 in 1662												
"	5	"	Warwickshire,	"	1	1660	"	4	in 1662			
"	13	"	Oxon,	"	3	1660	"	10	in 1662			
"	4	"	Bristol,	"	1	1660	"	3	in 1662			
"	32	"	Dorset,	"	8	1660	"	24	in 1662			
"	1	"	Gloucester county,	"	...	...	"	1	in 1662	
—	—				—			—				
So that of 75 ejected in English counties							24	were outed in 1660 and		51	in 1662	
							=			=		

But in Wales the proportions are distinctly reversed. It is true that the single ejection in Pembroke was in 1662, and of the 3 in Carmarthen 1 was ejected in 1660 and 2 in 1662. But in 5 other Welsh counties : Cardigan, Brecon, Radnor, Glamorgan, and Monmouth, of 25 ejections, 20 were in 1660, and only 5 in 1662. Thus for the

whole of Wales there were 21 ejections in 1660, and only 8 in 1662.¹ Adding these figures to those given above for the English dioceses, we find that of the 104 persons with whom we are concerned in both England and Wales, 45 were outed at the Restoration, and 59 ejected in 1662; the proportion of the "ejected" to the "outed" being almost exactly 4 to 3.

3. There yet remains the *third* point, quite worthy of distinct notice, as full of significance both direct and indirect. I mean the *varying amounts* of the "free and voluntary present to his Majesty" which they record.

Taking the Subsidy Rolls as a whole, that is, including the *many* whose names do not appear in the pages of Calamy and Palmer, the range of variation in their amounts is even greater than is the case with those that do. In one or two cases they rise to £50, while in some cases they sink as low as 3s. 6d. or half a crown. It is only with those 104, however, which appear in both, that we are now concerned; and among them the highest amount is £20 and the lowest is 5s.

1. Before looking at these variations in detail, however, we may note the totals contributed, in the whole range of counties here concerned, and each county separately, with average per living in each case. Some very striking differences appear.

a. The total amount sent into the Treasury (from the 6 counties in England and the 7 in Wales) was £380 11s., *viz.*, £238 16s. from England and £141 15s. from Wales. This gives an average of a little over £3 13 2 from the whole 104, or of £3 5s. from the 75 English parishes, and nearly £4 17s. from the Welsh, a noticeably higher average from the Welsh than from the English.

¹ Query is this fact related to the vigorous action of the "Propagators" in South Wales in 1649, see *Trans.* vi, 193?—Ed.

What is the reason of this? It cannot be because of the greater wealth of the Principality in proportion to its population. Does it shew a proportionately greater wealth in its ecclesiastical endowments?

b. In the separate counties we get the following results:

I. In England.

The total sent in from	<i>Worcester</i> was	£122	6s.	giving an average of nearly	£6
"	"	<i>Warwick</i> was	£11 0 0	"	£2 4 0
"	"	<i>Oxford</i> was	£46 10 0	with an average of	£4 4 6
"	"	<i>Bristol City</i>	£5 0 0	"	£1 0 0
"	"	<i>Gloucester Co.</i> was	£1 10 0	"	£0 15 0
"	"	<i>Dorset</i> was	£54 0 0	"	£1 15 0

II. In Wales.

The total sent in from	<i>Pembroke</i> was	£1 0 0	giving an average of	£1 0 0	
"	"	<i>Carmarthen</i>	£7 0 0	"	£2 6 8
"	"	<i>Cardigan</i>	£4 0 0	"	£1 6 8
"	"	<i>Brecknock</i>	£8 10 0	"	£2 16 8
"	"	<i>Radnor</i>	£7 10 0	"	£3 15 0
"	"	<i>Glamorgan</i>	£75 0 0	"	£10 14 3
"	"	<i>Monmouth</i>	£38 15 0	"	£4 6 1

In each kingdom, therefore, there is one county which is far and away more generous than any of the others, *viz.* in England, *Worcester*, with its average of nearly £6, and in Wales, *Glamorgan*, with its average of nearly £10 14 3.

And, now turning to the individual gifts, one thing is very noticeable, and very natural: by far the largest contributions are from the Anglican clergy, who were sequestered in the Commonwealth period, and lived to be reinstated at the Restoration. Yet what more natural than that they should shew that loyalty and gratitude by a *handsome gift to his sacred Majesty whose Restoration had reinstated them?*

Thus:

- I. In *Worcester Co.* 5 sums of £10 were given [by *Dr. Nathaniel Tomkins* from Broadway; by *James Pitt* from Hampton Lovitt; *George Dannece* from Kidderminster; and *William Thornborough* from Cropthorn; and promised (though

not paid) by *William Hollington* from Alvechurch ;] and one sum of £6 was given [by Joseph Brittain from Churchill].

- II. In Warwick, £5 10 0 was given by *Timothy Kirke* from Exhall, a sum only 10/- less than the total of the four other gifts from this county.
- III. In Oxfordshire, £20 was sent by *Dr. John Dolben* from Newington, who soon afterwards became Bishop of Rochester, and ultimately Archbishop of York ; and £8 was given by *Myles Sandys* from Somerton.
- IV. In Dorset, £10 was given by *William Smith* from Spetisbury ; £4 by *Christopher Pitt* from Pimperne ; and £3 by *William Blake* from Weeke (or Wyke Regis).
- V. In Wales, two sums of £20 were given in *Glamorgan* [by *John Lewis* from St. Fagan's and *Henry Williams* from Llantrissant] ; and two sums of £10 from the same county [*viz.* by *Thomas Maddock* for St. Lythams and *Henry Nicholls* from Cadoxton], and with a third in *Monmouth* [by *Richard Meredith* from Trelech], while £8 was given by *John Jones* from Llanvapley ; and four sums of £5 were sent in from Brecon. Radnor and Monmouth. *Jacob Wood* from Llandevayllog in Brecon, *Henry Melyn* from Clirow in Radnor, by *Playford Field* from Caerwent, and *Athanasius Davies* from Tredonock, both in Monmouth.

Turning from these, however, to the *Puritans* who stayed in their livings until they were ejected by the Act of Uniformity, we must be struck with the *modest scale* of their gifts to the king.

There were two notable exceptions: *William Kimberley* of Kidmarley d'Abitot in Worcester (Calamy calls it Redmarley), and *John French* of Wenvoe in Glamorgan, each gave £10 ; but these two must have had long purses and the strong personal loyalty to the Stuarts which was characteristic of their type of scholarly Presbyterianism.

A third I must separately mention, not exactly because of the large amount of his contribution, but because of the singular form his contribution took.

It is that of *Francis Bampfield* of Sherborne,

whose case is so remarkable a one in many ways : who though Royalist suffered cruelly from Royalist Episcopalians, being imprisoned many months in Dorchester gaol ; who after his ejection made a tour of the sects, beginning as a Presbyterian, then turning Independent, and finally joining the Baptists ; who when in 1672 he secured a licence under the Indulgence, like Richard Baxter, would not avow himself as an adherent of any of the three recognized sects, but had the licence made out to him as "a Nonconforming minister," and (in this standing absolutely alone) having his licence made out not on paper but on *parchment* by the special order of Lord Treasurer Clifford. This is the entry of his contribution in the Lay Subsidy Roll for Bristol, under the Shaston Deanery :

"Francis Bampffield, Vicar of Sherborne giveth All tithes for one whole yeare last past ended at Michaelmas due to the Vicar of Sherborne, excepting the tenths due to his Majesty. And appointeth John fforssey Clark to gather the said yeares proffitts to the use of his Majesty."

It is not absolutely unique, although none of the "ejected" ever thought of giving their "present" in this form : for one other clergyman in Dorset County in the *Pimperne* Deanery did the same, adding its money value :

"John Straight, Vicar of Stourepayne and Turneworth giveth one full Tenth of his benefices according to their vaualluation in his Majestyes booke which is the sume of £1 16 s."

With these three exceptions we find that the highest amount given by any of the 59 who were subsequently ejected was £5, and this by only five of the whole number. There was one gift of £4, two of £3, five of £2 10s. (one of these afterwards conformed), twelve of £2 (one afterwards conformed). Is it not suggestive that of these 25, who

sent in respectable sums ranging from £2 to £5, only four were Congregationalists or Independents, the other twenty-one were Presbyterians ?

The rest of the gifts contributed by the ejected varied between 30s. and 5s., *viz.*: seven of 30s., one of 25s., eleven of 20s., one of 16s., three of 15s., six of 10s., two of 5s.

When we try to distinguish their various ecclesiastical proclivities, these facts arrest attention: of the donors of 30s. only one was a Congregationalist, *William Ben* of Dorchester; all the rest were Presbyterians. Though *Philip Lamb* of Bere Regis, the one donor of 25s., was a Congregationalist, among the eleven donors of the respectable sovereign three were avowed Presbyterians, and the other eight of no specified ecclesiastical colour; which last may also be said of the solitary donor of 16s.

All three of the subscribers of 15s., *George Thorne*, *Benjamin Way*, and *Richard Downe*, were strong Congregationalists; of the six contributors of half-a-sovereign three were avowed Presbyterians, two were doubtful, and one *Robert Bartlett* of Over Compton, was a decided Congregationalist. This may also be said without hesitation of the two who had the boldness to give "a mere five shillings," to shew how little their heart was in a "Free Voluntary Present" to such a graceless wastrel as Charles II, *viz.*: *Henry Martyn* of Tarrant Munckton, and *John Wesley* of Whitchurch Winterbourne, the grandfather of his more celebrated namesake, who, with his brother Charles, became the founder of the great Wesleyan Church,

It may therefore be fairly maintained that what we might naturally argue *a priori* is proved to be true as a matter of fact.

The *Presbyterians* were largely decided Royalists,

while the *Independents* or *Congregationalists* had little love for monarchy.

We should therefore expect the Presbyterians to shew their delight at the Restoration of the monarchy by liberal contributions to this "Free and Voluntary Present" to Charles II, while the Independents, just in the proportion in which they dared to be candid and straightforward, would shew their chagrin at the Restoration, and their distrust and dislike of his sacred Majesty by moderating or minimizing the amount of their gifts. And just this we find to be the case, proved up to the hilt, by the *facts* and *figures furnished* by the *Clerical Subsidy*.

Arianism and the Exeter Assembly

THERE was a Devonshire association, suggested by the example of Richard Baxter, existing from October 18th, 1656, to May, 1659, and consisting of "the ministers of the Gospel in the countys of Devon and Exon." [See Shaw : *English Church during the Civil Wars and under the Commonwealth*, vol. ii., p. 160, 446 ff.]

In March, 1691, another association, having no direct connexion with the earlier one, arose under the name "The United Brethren of the city and county of Exon and county of Devon," or, more briefly, "the United Brethren of Exon and Devon." "In 1693 they ordered that a letter should be written inviting the Cornish ministers to join them, and from that time forward the title was 'The United Brethren of Devon and Cornwall.'" The Brethren also called themselves "The ministers of the Provincial Assembly," and later were spoken of as "The Dissenting ministers in the counties of Devon and Cornwall."¹ Practically this meant Presbyterians and Independents, the great majority being the former in name,² though tending to become the latter in fact. The promoters of the association, in a draft of its rules, stated as their object to "hold frequent meetings for mutual advice touching things pertaining to our office, the right ordering of our congregations, and the promotion of purity and unity in the Church of Christ." They expressed "a hearty willingness and desire that others of our Brethren . . . who are of godly life and *sound in the faith*" should join them. There was no thought of anything beyond mutual fellowship and admonition : "we will not meddle with or have the hearing of any differences untill such time as those who desire our advice shew a disposition to regard it and receive it peaceably." Nor was the universal concord aimed at intended "to prejudice what might hereafter be done by public authority in order to a more universal unity." We "profess that if an act of comprehension should be passed we shalbe ready to come in with it, so far as we are persuaded in our conscience we may do." Careful provision was made for the decorous ordering of the assembly. At each meeting a moderator and scribe were to be chosen. Some one to preach and another to pray at the next

¹ *A Record of the United Brethren of Devon and Cornwall*, by Priestly Prince, p. 7.

² Many of the old congregations marked Congregational in our *Year Book* would be described as Presbyterian or simply Dissenting congregations in 1691.

assembly, with substitutes in case of failure, were to be nominated. "Delegates" were to be appointed to prepare business for debate and maintain correspondence with other "meetings." No new matter was to be sprung on the assembly without due notice to the moderator in writing. None but united ministers were to be present, and none to withdraw unless by special leave of the assembly. Everyone was by word or sign to declare his actual assent, dissent or suspense of judgement in any action brought forward. A majority of votes was to be decisive, but the reasons of dissent by a minority were to be noted by the moderator and "debated either immediately or at another meeting as the majority should determine." Mr. Isaac Gilling of Newton Abbot seems to have been first scribe, and to have been re-appointed time after time; at any rate the earliest minutes were made by him down to 1717. Of the next few years (to 1721) there is no known record. Minutes of the September meeting of 1721 and the May meeting of 1722 are extant. Those for 1722 are missing. From May, 1723, to September, 1728, both inclusive, the minutes were kept, and have been preserved. None are forthcoming for the period down to May, 1733. Then for 10 years (September, 1733, to September, 1743, both inclusive) they re-appear and continue unbroken to the present time.

It is unfortunate that the eventful years 1717-1719 are a blank so far as regards the minutes. But they are not altogether a blank. The charge of Arianism against the three Exeter ministers: Messrs. Peirce, Withers and Hallet was raised in 1717. But it did not come up before the May assembly, and was not brought forward in that of September.³ Neither was it brought forward in the following May. "When the assembly met in May, no mention was made of the controversy, but all things were carried peaceably and quietly; insomuch that I, as well as many others, concluded that the storm was over."⁴ But in the September assembly of 1718 the storm burst. How it had been gathering in consequence of correspondence with London ministers, particularly on the part of Mr. Walrond of Ottery St. Mary, is described by Mr. Peirce,⁵ who also describes those proceedings before, during and after the assembly which led up to the expulsion of himself and Mr. Hallet⁶ from their meeting-house on March 8th, 1719. The outcome of much heated debate according to Mr. Peirce was this:

"The scribe . . . was required to write the following words, which were dictated to him by Mr. Lavington⁷: "Tis the general sense of this Assembly, *That there is but one living*

³ James Peirce's *Western Inquisition*, p. 47.

⁴ *id.*, p. 65.

⁵ *id.*, p. 68, 69, &c.

⁶ Mr. Withers made a timely subscription to the 1st Article of the Church of England.

⁷ Peirce's younger colleague and zealous opponent.

and true God; and that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are the one God."

This general sense appeared to be the sense of about two to one, or perhaps rather more.⁹ By May, 1719, "Advices" had been received from London. Of these there were two sets. One was signed at Salters' Hall on March 10th by 73 ministers "of the three Denominations in and about the City of London." The other was signed by 61, (apparently) on April 6th. But the latter was accompanied by another paper setting forth a "Declaration of Faith in the Doctrine of the Blessed Trinity, as revealed in the Holy Scriptures." This contained a double subscription, first to Article I of the Church of England, then to "the answer to the fifth and sixth questions in the Assembly's Catechism." It was signed on March 3rd (at Salters' Hall) and the signatures were 78. Both papers, Advices and Declaration, were sent to the Committee of Thirteen Gentlemen who controlled affairs at Exeter, along with a letter commending both as suitable to their "unhappy circumstances."¹⁰ The gentlemen answered gratefully on April 11th but intimated that they had already taken action.

"The *Violence and Artifice* wherewith the attempts against the ever blessed Trinity were carried on, and the strange progress it had of late made, especially among the *Youth* here, *necessitated* us to proceed with that *Expedition*, to prevent many *ill-consequences* that we were in fear of."

Their action was confirmed by the assembly of May. Here the majority "went one better" than their brethren of London. They subscribed their names to *three* declarations, the third being the September formula. Then, adding a long "Letter of Advice to the people of their respective congregations, etc., to adhere stedfastly to the received doctrine of the ever blessed Trinity," they issued the whole in a printed "Account."

But the "Account" does not shew itself quite ingenuous. For it conveys an impression of unanimity which did not exist. It says nothing of the 19 dissentients, headed by Hallett, Peirce and Gilling, surely a considerable minority as against 45 on the other side.

From 1719, if not before, strict orthodoxy became a *sine qua non* of ordination. In September, 1721, e.g. Mr. Adams, along with Mr. White, professed his faith in the Trinity and was therefore requested to pray at the next assembly. But, the day after, "he joined in public worship" with some suspected people, and when brought to book about his conduct at the next assembly (May, 1722) he "publicly justified" its "lawfulness." So the assembly (out of a tender concern for the purity of public worship) revoked

⁹ *id.*, p. 107.

¹⁰ The letter was signed by 10 of the leaders.

“their order of the last assembly by which he was appointed to pray.”¹⁰

In September, 1723, again, the minute runs: “Mr. Green, before he was desired to preach, did freely give an account of his Faith in the manner following, *viz.*, I believe that there is but one living and true God and that the Father, Son and Spirit are y^t God, and farther he declar’d y^t this Faith he would defend.” In September, 1724 “Mr. Giffard proposing his ordination” his request was granted, but only after it had been declared by Mr. Enty that he accepted the “September formula” and also in his own words rejected any approach to Arian worship. In May, 1725, “Mr. George Denbury, being come to reside in these parts where he may in time have occasion for the Recommendation of this Assembly, Mr. Ball proposed whether it mayn’t be expedient that Mr. Denbury be desir’d to declare his statements concerning the doctrine of ever-blessed Trinity.” The assembly agreed and Mr. Denbury complied by repeating the “September formula” with the addition: “That the same worship y^t is due to the Father is due to the Son and the Holy Ghost.” His reward was to be “desir’d to pray the next assembly.” At the same assembly Mr. Evans, lately chosen for Modbury, had to assent “to what Mr. Tillard had declar’d the last assembly” before his request for ordination could be entertained. Stranger still is the following of the same date: “Mr. Pitts¹¹ of this city being in the assembly and signifying that he design’d to preach in these parts for some time, ’twas propos’d y^t he be desir’d to give an acc^t of his Faith concerning the Doctrine of the ever blessed Trinity. To this Mr. Pitts freely consented and declar’d in these words, *viz.* “That he believes there is but one God and that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost are this one God. And farther he declared that this is a Doctrine that he thinks to be of the greatest Importance (*viz.*) That ’tis very Dangerous to worship a creature and also not to pay Divine Worship to the Son and Holy Spirit.”

In September, 1725, “a motion being made y^t Mr. Rich^d Jones (who lately came into this County) give satisfaction to this assembly touching his Faith in the ever-blessed Trinity, he thereupon declar’d that he believes that there is a God, and but one, and y^t there are three Persons in the Godhead, Father, Son and Spirit, one in essence or substance, and y^t this is a Doctrine of Great Importance to the Christian Religion.”

In September, 1762, “Mr. Gillespie designing to settle in these parts hath produc’d a Certificate of his Ministerial Qualifications sign’d by the Rev^d Mr. Thomas Perrot of Carmarthen and the Rev^d Mr. Robt. Whitare of Swansea, and hath likewise declar’d to the Assembly as follows (*viz.*) I believe that there is but one God

¹⁰ Prince, p. 26.

¹¹ Aaron Pitts, ordained Dec. 12th, 1733.

and that the Father, Son and Spirit are this one God, and y⁴ the same Honour w^{ch} is due to the Father is equally due to the Son and Spirit."

In May, 1727, the candidates for ordination have to pass the same test and Mr. Denbury (who passed it two years ago) comes up again, evidently under a cloud. But "having afresh renew'd his confession of his firm believing the Doctrine of the Trinity we declar'd ourselves satisfy'd that he is no Arian."

In September, 1727, two other cases occur, and in September, 1728, Mr. Gillespie, before ordination, is obliged to declare "that as to his Faith concerning the Doctrine of the ever Blessed Trinity he was of the same sentiments as when he declar'd his Faith to this assembly when he first came into the county."

Here the minutes break off for five years, but there is no reason to suppose that the assembly's watch-dog vigilance relaxed. At length, however, mainly through the agency of Mr. Micaiah Towgood (Exeter) there came a time (May, 1753) when it was decided by 14 votes to 9 *not* to debate the following question: "Whether the assembly shall recommend any candidate to ordination who will not declare his faith in the Deity of the Son and the Holy Ghost." At the same assembly Mr. Sam Lavington^{1a} (perhaps grandson of Mr. Peirce's colleague) made the familiar declaration that "he believed y^e Father, Son and Holy Ghost to be one God." But, if we may trust later references, this was the last of the test.

List I

Pastors and ordained ministers who, on May 5th and 6th, 1719, subscribed "a voluntary declaration of their faith concerning the Doctrine of the Blessed Trinity as revealed in the Holy Scriptures," after the manner of the London subscribing ministers (on March 3rd) *i.e.* to the first article of the Church of England and the answers to the fifth and sixth questions of the Westminster Assembly's *Shorter Catechism*; or else (generally and concurrently) to the collective sense of the last (September) assembly, *viz.*: "That there is one living and true God, and that the Father, Word, and Holy Ghost are that one God."

Nath(aniel) Harding, Modr. Plymouth (1690-1744)	
	ordained Aug. 27, 1690 died Feb. 23, 1744)
Tho(mas) Edgley, Scribe. Totness	
	ordained June 20, 1700 died Feb. 2, 1722
William Horsham, Topsham	
	ordained Nov. 24, 1687 died May 22, 1725

^{1a} Ordained July 7th.

- Jacob Sandercock. Tavistock (1688-1729)
 ordained May 1, 1688 died Dec. 24, 1729
- Samuel Wood. Hartinton
 ordained May 1, 1688 died May 5, 1725
- Thomas Walsh (or Welsh). Stokenham
 ordained April 2, 1690 died Nov. 1729
- John Rosewell. Colyton (1705-1707)
 ordained Dec. 31, 1690 died 1707
- Samuel Hall. Tiverton
 ordained Jan. 23, 1691 died Jan. 23, 1729
- John Moore. Tiverton
 ordained July 29, 1691 died Aug. 25, 1730
- Deliverance Larkham. Exeter (previously Launceston)
 ordained Aug. 20, 1691 died March 1722
- John Powell
 ordained May 13, 1693 died 1721
- Jacob Baylis (or ies)
 ordained May 30, 1693
- Richard Evans. Collumpton (1698-1743)
 ordained Aug. 16, 1694 died July, 1743
- Michael Martyn. Lypstone (—1728), came from and
 returned to Launceston
 ordained Aug. 1694 died Aug. 9, 1745
- Peter Kellow. Torrington
 ordained Dec. 11, 1695 died Jan., 1731
- John Ball. Honiton (1705-1745)
 ordained Jan. 20, 1695 died May 6, 1745
- Sellinger Symonds. N. Bow
 ordained March 18, 1695 died April 28, 1724
- John Enty. Plymouth (1696-1720). Exeter (1720-1743)
 ordained May 11, 1698 died Nov. 26, 1743
- John Walrond. Ottery St. Mary. Exeter (1729-1755)
 ordained June 16, 1698 died Oct. 4, 1755
- William Giles. Modbury
 ordained Oct. 2, 1700
- Andrew Majendie. Dartmouth
 ordained Sept. 8, 1701
- George Bowcher. Barnstaple (1718—). Warminster
 (1701-1718)
 ordained Oct. 16, 1701 died Jan., 1756
- Samuel Short. Colyton
 ordained Oct. 16, 1701 died April, 1726
- Henry Atkins. Puddington
 ordained Oct. 16, 1701 died Dec., 1742
- Josiah Eveleigh. Crediton (1702-1736)
 ordained Aug. 6, 1702 died Sept. 9, 1736

- John Sloby ? (Stoley ? Stoly ?). Silverton
 ordained Aug. 6, 1702 died May 23, 1749
- John Hughes. Dartmouth
 ordained Aug. 6, 1702 died May, 1726
- Penuel Symonds
 died 1733
- William Bartlet
 ordained Nov. 11, 1702 died Sept. 28, 1720
- Peter Baron. Plymouth (1704-1759)
 ordained July 19, 1704 died 1759
- Richard Glanvil. Liskard, Cornwall
 ordained Aug. 9, 1705 died March, 1748
- Robert Wood. Luppit (3 miles from Honiton)
 ordained Aug. 9, 1705
- William Palk. Sidmouth
 Ordained Oct. 17, 1705
- Benjamin Wills. Appledore
 ordained Oct. 17, 1705 died Oct. 25, 1747
- Jonathan Wheeler. Tiverton
 ordained Nov. 14, 1705 died Oct. 2, 1723
- Samuel Stoddon. Budleigh
 ordained Dec. 26, 1706 died 1755
- Henry Brett. Assistant to Mr. N. Harding, 1707-1723
 ordained Aug. 10, 1707 died January, 1724
- Hugh Brown. Stoke
 ordained April 8, 1708 died May, 1748
- Eliezer Hancock. South Moulton
 ordained Aug. 23, 1710 died June, 1757
- Benjamin Flavell
 ordained Aug. 23, 1710
- Isaac Clerk (Clark ?). Sidbury or Sudbury, nr. Sidmouth
 ordained April 4, 1711 died March 18, 1721
- Cornelius Bond. Ashburton
 ordained July 7, 1711
- Alexander Walker. Kingsbridge
 ordained July 7, 1711
- Edward Colton. King's Carswell or Keswel, nr. Newton
 Bushell
 ordained July 7, 1711
- John Lavington. Exeter (1715-1759)
 ordained Oct. 19, 1715
- 46 John Coplestone
 ordained Nov. 19, 1718

In a P.S. it is said that Mr. Withers (Exeter), though not at the meeting, has since assented to the 1st Article of the Church of England, and that Mr. Edward Colton, though he dissented at the

meeting, has since written to Mr. Enty expressing a desire to sign.

Other ordained ministers not present but assenting are:—

Theophilus (or Thomas) Tingcomb. Talvans? nr. St. Germans, Cornwall

ordained 1662 died Nov. 11, 1719

Edward Bishop. Up Ottery

ordained June 13, 1688

Daniel Kellow. Foway al Foy, Cornwall

ordained Aug. 23, 1694 died Feb. 5, 1721

Angel Spark(e). Moreton Hampstead (1692-1721)

ordained June 21, 1692 died Oct., 1721

Joseph Man(s)ton. Lymston or Woodbury, between Topsham and Exmouth

ordained March 30, 1703 died April, 1720

Jasper How. Penryn (and Falmouth), Cornwall

ordained June, 1704

Robert Gough. St. Ives, Cornwall

ordained July 7, 1708 died June, 1727

John Edwards (Edmonds?) Plympton

ordained June 18, 1713

10 John Cudmore (Cadmore?) Loo, Cornwall

List II

Names of those who refused to subscribe "according to the vote of the Assembly," but subscribed (on May 6) a paper of protest against the charge of Arianism.

Joseph Hallet. Exeter (1690-1722)

ordained 1683 died Nov., 1722

Isaac Gilling. Newton Abbot or (and) Newton Bushell

ordained Aug. 25, 1687 died Aug. 21, 1725

James Peirce. Exeter (1713-1726)

ordained 1699 died March 30, 1726

John Cox. Kingsbridge. ejected 1719

ordained Aug. 6, 1702 died 1754

Mat(thew) Huddy. Penzance, Cornwall

ordained July 19, 1704 died 1728

Roger Beadon. Budleigh, nr. Sidmouth, ejected 1719

ordained July 21, 1709

Samuel Carkeet. Totnes

ordained July 19, 1710 died June 17, 1746

Samuel Adams. Chudleigh

ordained June 18, 1713 died July, 1731

John Parr. Okehampton

ordained July 20, 1715

- Joseph Hallet, jr. Exeter. (1722-1744)
 ordained Sept. 28, 1725 died Apr. 2, 1744
- James How
 ordained Oct. 19, 1725
- John Force. Bovey Tracey, nr. Chudleigh
 ordained July 27, 1717 died July 27, 1728
- Nathanael Cock. Bideford
 ordained Oct. 24, 1716

N.B.—“One name is here left out at the desire of the subscriber,”
 “he having since submitted to subscribe the assembly’s
 paper.” This was Mr. Colton (see *P.S.* to List I, and *An
 Answer*, Mr. Peirce’s *Western Inquisition*, p. 28.)

- Thomas Hornbrook. Liskard, Cornwall
 George Jacomb (not yet ordained)
 John Starr
 John Fox (licensed but not placed)
 Mark Facy

19 John Forse

The first of the above lists is taken from an authorised “account
 of what was transacted in the assembly of Exon”; and the second,
 from Peirce’s “Remarks” upon this “account” (p. 38). But for
 the particulars added to the names I have had to seek elsewhere.

Attention may be drawn to the youth of the minority (with two
 exceptions) as compared with the advanced age of the majority.

The last six (of the second list) were probably candidates. George
 Jacomb appears in the “account” as a rejected candidate on account
 of his refusal to subscribe the declaration.¹³ Hornbrook succeeded
 Richard Glanvil at Liskard in Cornwall, and was still there in 1728.
 None of the others seems to have settled. John Fox, of Plymouth,
 had been licensed to preach in 1717. He was one of the youths at Mr.
 Hallet’s academy in Exeter, who had read and talked themselves
 into something like Arianism even before Mr. Peirce came in 1713,
 the tutor’s son being their leader. But his examiners “did not
 press him on the subject of the Trinity.”¹⁴ So he passed for
 orthodox and “preached several times at Plymouth.” His con-
 science, however, gained the upper hand. He never sought a
 church, and gave up all thought of the ministry in 1723. At a later
 time he wrote his “memoirs” (see *Monthly Repository*, vol. xvi),¹⁵
 and says of the suspected minority that they were left to preach
 “to the poor remains of a few broken congregations, which had
 good nature and charity enough to stand by their ministers whose
 reputation, interest, and usefulness were absolutely ruined by the

¹³ He was afterwards ordained apart from the assembly, see *Western Inquisition*, p. 184.

¹⁴ His father was one of Mr. Harding’s important people, and managed to secure
 examiners “friendly disposed.”

¹⁵ The MS. is in the Cornwall Street Library, Plymouth. (Prince, p. 24.)

rage, aspersions, and violence of the other party." Old Mr. Gilling's¹⁶ case specially affected him. To have been cast out by the assembly which he had fostered with "notorious attachment" and whose meetings "he always attended with great punctuality" was a crushing blow. And when to this was added the disruption of his church at Newton Abbot, and the setting up of a new meeting-house, the experience "stuck" so "close to him" that it "broke his heart."¹⁷ A narrative published by Peirce (*Western Inquisition*, pp. 182-5) bears out what Fox says and adds he "is exposed to the contempt and hatred of the mob and labours under a load of malicious and groundless calumnies."¹⁸

Other narratives (also published by Peirce) relating to John Cox, of Kingsbridge; John Forer, of Bovey Tracey; and Nathanael Cock, of Bideford, disclose the same spirit of persecuting intolerance. Peirce's own case was equally hard and brought him to an early grave.

FRED. J. POWICKE

¹⁶ He was Fox's uncle and father-in-law.

¹⁷ He died in 1725 and his "remains were altogether refused interment." Worth's *History of Nonconformity in Plymouth*, p. 29.

¹⁸ The narrative is dated July 30, 1719, and was written from the spot.

St. Mary's Chapel, Broadstairs

[From the Collections of the late J. Watkinson, Esq.]

THE occupancy by a Congregational church of a building erected for ecclesiastical purposes before the Reformation is so exceptional as to invite recognition in the *Transactions* of our Historical Society. Such an edifice is "The Chapel of our Lady of Bradstow," *i.e.*, Broadstairs: a quaint old fashioned flint building situated in a narrow lane off Albion Street. Obscure as its location is today, it was formerly a conspicuous landmark; it stood parallel with and open to the present Harbour Street, which was merely a cut or gap through the cliff, and there were no buildings of importance between it and the North Foreland, so that mariners in coasting the dangerous shores of East Kent had for miles a clear view of the sacred edifice. Very sacred indeed it was esteemed, for it contained an image of the Blessed Virgin to which miraculous powers were ascribed, and seamen were accustomed to shew their respect for the Virgin by lowering their sails as they passed it. Moreover it was a place of pilgrimage; there is a legend that in the fifteenth century two sisters, being on their way thither by sea from Faversham, were wrecked at Reculvers; one of them was drowned and the other, as a thank-offering for her preservation, built the twin towers—called "the two sisters"—which graced the ancient but now ruined church of Reculvers.

Of the chapel at Bradstow between 1500 and



1600 nothing is certainly known. It is believed, however, that it had become ruinous, that dwelling-houses were constructed with part of the materials, and that the remainder, still called "the chapel," somehow became the private property of the Culmer family, who for 400 years were the principal landholders in this parish.

The Culmers were early devoted to the Puritan cause. One of them, Richard, having been persecuted by Laud, became a fanatical iconoclast, and has the reputation of having destroyed most of the painted glass in Canterbury cathedral, where he was one of the "six preachers" during the Commonwealth. However, it was not he who restored St. Mary's chapel to its legitimate use. The date 1601 appears on the building, and it is believed that this indicates the time when it was first fitted up for Protestant worship. No annals are accessible, but it is certain that, so long as the building was under the control of the Culmer family, whatever worship was conducted there would be on Puritan lines.

No mention is made of Broadstairs in either the Return of Conventicles, 1669, or in any of the licence documents, 1672. But toward the end of the century several of the residents were members of the dissenting congregation at Ramsgate, then nominally Presbyterian, but reconstituted on Congregational lines in 1696. One of these was Mr. Josiah Culmer, who in 1691 fitted up or refitted the old chapel of St. Mary. Its inward aspect must then have been interesting. We are told of a little pulpit in the north-east corner, so high that it was with difficulty that a tall person could stand erect in it. The large chimney place, Elizabethan high-backed chairs, and rude wooden forms were all in keeping with the exterior of the building. On the western wall were inscriptions

in large church-text characters, consisting of passages of scripture, some verses by Richard Baxter ("Christ leads me through no darker rooms, &c."), and a rhyming version of the ten Commandments, followed by

" These sacred words in these ten lines
Are strings of pearls and golden mines,
Or Heaven transcribed, wherein, no doubt,
God's mind to man is opened out ;
Bless God, my soul, that thus hath given
On this thy pilgrimage to Heaven,
Such sight and guidance ; but withall
Bless God for Christ, that kept them all.
Refuse not that which conscience bids thee chuse,
And chuse not that which conscience says, refuse."

There were also these couplets:

Believing soul, consider this,
Death is the portal into bliss.
Blessed, O blessed are the dead
That in the Lord do die ;
Thus hath the Spirit witnessed,
And most assuredly.
But God who doth our rising day foresee,
Pities not rotten flesh so much as we.

These inscriptions, having become much defaced, were obliterated by a coat of whitewash in 1797, but were fortunately put on record in the *Protestant Dissenters' Magazine* of that year.

Among the records of the Ramsgate church in 1700 is an entry of payments for the "hire of a horse to Broadstairs lecture"; and throughout the century, if not beyond its close, there was preaching with more or less regularity by or under the direction of the ministers of Ramsgate. When or under what circumstances it was discontinued does not appear.

In 1825 Mrs. John Goodwin, the then owner, decided to repair and enlarge the chapel for the accommodation of visitors and others. It was re-opened on Friday, 11th July, 1828, the preachers

being the Rev. H. Townley, late of Calcutta, and the Rev. T. Young of Margate ; Messrs. Townsend of Ramsgate, Rybolt of Margate, Harris of Epsom, and Aston of Buckingham took part in the services. The Rev. Joseph Paul, from Chinnor, Oxfordshire, undertook the pastoral charge, and during his ministry the liturgy of the Anglican Church was used. He removed, apparently, about 1837 or-8. There is mention made of a re-opening of the chapel on 8th March, 1837, and on 19th December, 1838, the Rev. J. Chapman was received into the District Association as "Pastor of St. Mary's, Broadstairs." He is understood to have been a minister of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, and to have exercised a useful ministry. We next find the name of H. D. Jameson, for several years following 1846. No particulars of his work are recorded; he may probably be identified with a minister of that name who was at Steeple Bumstead, Essex, from about 1858 onward.

Mrs. Goodwin died in 1825, and her nephew and executor executed a deed placing the chapel under the care of Ebenezer church, Ramsgate, but with a proviso that if the pulpit were not supplied for a prescribed time the premises should revert to the grantor. This contingency occurred, but again we have no account of the circumstances, only that for a time the building was used as a reading-room. At length, in the summer of 1867, it was placed at the disposal of the Kent Congregational Association, and once more re-opened on 8th December of that year, the Rev. H. W. Butcher of Margate being the preacher. Two years of quiet progress under a dispensation of supplies encouraged a determination to obtain a settled minister, and to build a church in a more suitable situation. The minister was found in the person

of the Rev. Augustus Frederick Bennett, from Fulbourn, Cambs., whose interesting "life story" is too full of remarkable incidents to be summarized here. A building committee was formed, a convenient site was given by T. Henson, Esq. (the father of Dean Henson of Durham), the memorial stone was laid by Sir Charles Reed, F.S.A., on 13th April, 1871, and in due time the present "Vale" church was dedicated to the worship and service of God. Mr. Bennett retired in 1887, and died at St. Leonard's, 18th July, 1894, aged 68 years. His successors have been the

Revs. F. J. Eccleston,	1887—8,
David H. Rees,	1889—94,
Sidney Milledge,	1894—96,
Thos. W. Ingram,	1896—1903.
W. Muncaster,	1904—

The ancient chapel is used as a mission-room under the direction of the Vale church.

Puritanism in Wharfedale

WHERE Wharfe joins Ouse there stand the unimposing ruins of Cawood Castle. It was once the favourite residence of the Archbishops of York, and there it was that Cardinal Wolsey was arrested by the Earl of Northumberland on a charge of high treason. In the early dusk of a November evening he started on the journey which was never completed. The sympathetic chronicler says that outside the Castle gate the country-folk assembled to the number of 3,000, and crying "God save your Grace" ran after him through the little town, for "they loved him so well." In the gathering darkness he rode on to Pomfret. Broken in fortune, and health, and spirit, he was a dying man when, a few weeks later, he reached Leicester Abbey. If his faithful servant and biographer, George Cavendish, may be trusted, almost the last words of his message to the king were a solemn warning against the spread of "the pernicious sect of the Lutherans as harmful to the royal authority and destructive of the order of the realm."

A century later Protestantism, not in its Lutheran but in its sterner Calvinistic form, had overspread England and reached our remote Yorkshire dales. But in twenty years more reaction has set in; the political power of Puritanism is broken, and in 1662 the undistinguished Puritan minister of Cawood parish has to retire from church and vicarage, probably to the sincere regret of the people if without the demonstrations of grief which marked the departure of the famous cardinal.

Between these two points, the fall of Wolsey and the English St. Bartholomew, lie some of the most stirring events of British history, and at the heart of most of them was a spiritual motive and movement. When King Henry's greater daughter died, Puritanism was already a religious force of remarkable potency. According to an Anglican writer "religious England, outwardly Catholic, was inwardly Puritan. The best, the purest, the noblest of Elizabeth's heroes were Puritans. The more energetic of the two Universities was steeped in Puritanism. The most typical poet of the Elizabethan age was a Puritan"; and the strength of this early Puritanism, according to Wakeman, "lay in two great principles, the insistence upon the personal relation between God and man, and the hatred of professional religion."

In this brief paper I cannot search into the origins or follow the progress of this great movement. I wish simply to point out certain phases of it which long residence in a Yorkshire dale led me to study. For it is noteworthy that Puritanism was not confined to the cities and larger towns, but penetrated and permeated the rural districts, including our Yorkshire dales, and found many of its leaders among the country gentry. I have not been able to ascertain to what extent the *people* of Wharfedale were Puritan. Very few Nonconformist meeting-houses were built in this district during the 17th century. It was not till the time of Wesley, whose visits were so frequent and so fruitful, that churches and societies outside of the establishment became numerous. Rural Yorkshire, especially north of the Aire, is still to a great extent Methodist. But chapel-building was not the chief mark of progress during the years when progress was most rapid, and the strength of early Puritanism is not to be measured

by the number of Separatist congregations. On the other hand, the evidences of Puritan influence especially of the Presbyterian type are clear, and they are scarcely less numerous in the dales than in rising towns like Leeds, Bradford and Halifax.

Take the prominent families in the middle of the 17th century. In Wharfedale the Fairfaxes were supreme. They dominated this part of Yorkshire to an extraordinary extent. From Denton to Nun-Appleton, across the Ainsty of York, and in the northern capital itself this pushful clan made its power felt, and on the whole its political and religious sympathies were Puritan. The Dyneleys of Bramhope, the Rawdons of Rawdon, the Arthingtons of Arthington, the Gunters of Healaugh, the Huttons of Poppleton were Puritan. They were men of ability, culture and public spirit; well educated, especially according to the Miltonic standard: "I call that a complete and generous education which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully and magnanimously all the offices both public and private of peace and war."

I doubt whether England has ever produced a finer type of Christian manhood than the Puritan gentleman of the 17th century. His piety was deep and sincere. I think religion was more in the minds of men, a greater fact in their lives, than it has ever been since. There was cant, no doubt, especially when Puritanism became predominant, but, for the most part, the supreme interest in religion, and the association of it with all the affairs of life, was genuine. The first Lord Fairfax, irascible, pugnacious, ambitious, with the blood of a fighting race in his veins, compiles his book of prayers for private use. His grandson, after his breach with Cromwell, retires to Nun-Appleton, enjoys the Wharfeside garden which Andrew Marvell has made famous, keeps up the Fairfax

tradition in his well appointed stables, collects old books and pictures, reads the classics, and renders the Psalms into English verse. If the latter lack the literary grace of those that Philip Sidney and his sister wrote in retirement when weary of "false, fine courtly pleasures," they have genuine feeling. They are the often rugged lines of a soldier, whose chief work for England had been on the battlefield, and in these stormy days we understand better than we once did the fascination those ancient Hebrew Psalms had for the fighting Puritans of the 17th century. Fairfax has not the fervour and depth of Cromwell or Vane; he is not an enthusiast or mystic; but on that very account, perhaps, he is a better representative of his class. The free use of religious phraseology is not the one test of religious feeling; the remarkable reserve of to-day is not entirely due to indifference. But the place of God in the letters and conversations and speeches of 17th century men does seem to me to indicate God's place in their thought and life.

Next to this, and inseparable from it, was their sense of honour. These men revered their conscience as their king, and like their great poet, worked ever "in the great Taskmaster's eye." Perhaps this was too exclusively their thought of God, but it made strong men loyal to what they believed to be duty, cost what it might. Their calling and election "was to service, no less than to privilege, and they had to make it sure." The demands conscience made upon them were imperious. The separations caused by this great conflict were tragic. Men who had met in the hunting field and in the local courts, and whose families had intermarried, found themselves in opposite camps, and engaged in mortal combat on Marston Moor and Naseby Field, and one of them

could write to another in terms like these: "My affections to you are so unchangeable that hostility itself cannot violate my friendship to your person, but I must be true to the cause wherein I serve. the God of peace in His own good time send us peace, and in the meantime fit us to receive it. We are both on the stage and we must act our parts that are assigned to us in this tragedy. Let us do it in a way of honour and without personal animosities." [Sir Wm. Waller to Sir Ralph Hopton.]

There is little difference of opinion among competent historians as to the rival policies of Cromwell and Fairfax which led to the latter's withdrawal from public life on the eve of Cromwell's victorious Scottish campaign. The step which Cromwell took was justified by events, but I have no doubt as to the conscientiousness of Fairfax's action. At the close of their conference he said: "What my conscience yields unto as just and lawful, I shall follow, and what seems to me otherwise I will not do Every man must stand or fall by his own conscience."

Another mark of these Wharfedale Puritans was respect for learning, and a passion for its advancement. They desired, especially, a thoroughly educated ministry. A member of the Fairfax family in whom I am interested was Henry, an uncle of the Parliamentary general. He was a clergyman and held livings at Newton-Kyme and Bolton-Percy, and for a time at Ashton-under-Lyne. Calamy places him on the list of the ejected 2,000. As a matter of fact, however, he retired in 1660, having fallen under suspicion because of his well known Puritan sympathies, and being then advanced in years. He was an amiable, devout, scholarly, large-hearted man, ready to assist the distressed, to whatever party

they belonged. When at Ashton, about 1640, he was a chief promoter of the scheme for founding a Northern University at Manchester. In the voluminous "Fairfax correspondence" there are some extremely interesting letters addressed by this Ashton rector to the then head of the family at Denton urging him to use his influence on behalf of the scheme. Puritan Lancashire had already been zealous in establishing grammar schools in the county, and now, some two hundred years before Owens College was founded, enlightened citizens and county magnates are holding public meetings in Manchester, passing resolutions, obtaining promises of financial support, and facing the opposition of the old Universities. The reasons they give for their action are interesting, and what is most suggestive in the correspondence is the emphasis laid on the benefits that would accrue to the Church. The religious motive was at the back of this enterprise, as indeed of almost every great movement in the 17th century. The promoters urged that "owing to the distance of the old Universities many ignorant and unlearned ministers had been obtruded on the Church, thrust upon country livings without degrees and without University training." "We have great hope" they said "that from the new University may issue able and learned men, laborious pastors and teachers, to convince and discourage Papists and other superstitious people who for want of able scholars daily take growth and increase to the great hindrance of piety and true religion,"

Unfortunately, the ancient hostility of the Roses made this a thorny question for Lord Ferdinando Fairfax to handle. York, jealous of its reputation as the capital of the North, set up rival claims and prepared its rival petitions. It pleaded among other advantages the possession of a printing

press, and the benefit of a library "some time the most famous in Europe but burnt" (I suppose only in part) "about the time the University of Paris was founded." (So said the petitioners.) They must have been indulging in a little irony when they urged further that "having been looked upon as a rude and almost barbarous people," in comparison with the favoured dwellers round Oxford and Cambridge, the establishment of a University in their midst might be the means of "removing the stain of rudeness and incivility from them, and rendering them, to the honour of God and the kingdom, not much inferior to others in religion and conversation." This tone of humility, if sincere, is unusual in Yorkshiremen!

The Long Parliament, however, was busy with other matters, and both the Manchester and York petitions seem to have met with a fate common to such documents. Some seventeen years later Cromwell attempted to establish a Northern University at Durham, but the scheme fell to the ground, probably owing to the Protector's death. It is interesting to note that one of the men nominated for the professorial staff at Durham was Richard Frankland, who started and carried on our first Yorkshire college for the training of Nonconformist ministers,

Puritan ministers of the earlier period were, with very few exceptions, University men, and when the Universities closed their doors Puritans made heroic efforts to give candidates for the ministry as thorough a training as possible. What was expected of them at an ordination service is proof that they must have had a pretty strenuous time at college. At the first recorded service of this kind in Yorkshire the candidate, or "expectant" as he was called, was one Richard Thorpe, a member of a well known West-Riding family.

The officiating ministers were Oliver Heywood, Richard Frankland and others. Some of the young man's statements on the subject of justification did not quite satisfy the critical mind of Principal Frankland, and there was a short amicable dispute ("short and amicable" I suppose according to Puritan measurement of time and estimate of temper). But the expectant "positioned" on a given theme in Latin at such length and with such ability that there was no further question as to his fitness for ministerial office. This prolonged ordination service with its examination in the "fundamentals" and its Latin oration must have been a severe ordeal. Certainly Puritanism did not depreciate scholarship.

The Puritanism of Wharfedale, so far as I can ascertain, was mainly of the moderate Presbyterian type. Independents and Baptists do not appear to have made much way there. In Lancashire, according to Joseph Hunter, there was scarcely a middle party between Presbyterians and Papists. In Yorkshire there was greater variety, but, except in the Parliamentary army, Presbyterians were in the majority, and it is well to bear in mind that throughout the Civil War the term "Independent" is the designation of a party rather than of an organised religious denomination. Dr. Dale has emphasised this point in his *History of Congregationalism*. Independents were many when "gathered" Congregational churches were very few. It was the "Act of Uniformity" which drove and drew people into separatist communities, and the Act of Toleration which housed them.

It is difficult to fix Fairfax's theological and ecclesiastical position, and I cannot say that I regret it. Would it not be at least as difficult to label his great contemporary Milton? Probably

we shall not be far wrong if we describe Fairfax as a moderate Presbyterian. In his wish for toleration, however, he was in sympathy with Cromwell and Vane and Milton, and hence is sometimes classed with the Independents. He had, moreover, a certain breadth of view which distinguished him from many of his contemporaries. He was no iconoclast. He valued the beautiful in art, the stately and venerable in architecture. It is said that when he was in military authority at Oxford its colleges and churches and library were safer than during the Royalist occupation, and the famous Dodsworth collection at the Bodleian was probably his gift.

There is no difficulty, however, in classifying Lord Fairfax's strong-minded lady. She was a true-blue Presbyterian. She gave proof of her courage by her famous outburst in Westminster Hall when King Charles was tried. She hated Cromwell with a perfect hatred, and Dr. Gardiner thinks she was actually guilty of betraying some of her husband's military secrets to the King. For the most part, however, she seems to have been a brave and faithful wife, sharing many of the hardships and perils of war, and taking a keen interest both in the political and religious movements of the time. At Nun-Appleton she delighted in gathering round her Presbyterian divines of eminence, and all three members of the Fairfax family, including Andrew Marvell's pupil Moll, sat in mute reverence taking notes of their sermons.

GEO. SHAW BRIGGS

[*To be continued*]

Thomas Hall of King's Norton

AMONG Puritans of the narrower and more rigid type, an honourable place is due to Thomas Hall of King's Norton. Our information concerning him is derived partly from his own writings, partly from a brief memoir by Richard Moore of Withall, published in 1674, partly from the "Nonconformists' Memorial," and partly from a report drawn up for the Archaeological section of the Midland Institute, Birmingham.

Thomas Hall was born at Worcester on 22nd July, 1610. His father, Richard Hall, was a clothier in that city; his mother was Elizabeth, daughter of John Bonner, a London merchant of good family, but whether related to the notorious Bishop Bonner is uncertain. Thomas had two brothers: John, who became vicar of Bromsgrove and father of Bishop Hall of Bristol, and Edmund, who was a captain in the Parliamentary army, afterwards minister of Chipping Norton, and later vicar of Great Risington, Gloucestershire. Thomas received his early education at the King's School, Worcester. He matriculated at Balliol College, Oxford, in 1624, but soon removed to Pembroke College (formerly Broadgates Hall), then presided over by Dr. Thomas Lushington, whom he calls "my wicked and godless tutor." This epithet was in all likelihood provoked by Dr. L.'s heterodoxy, for Moore speaks of his principles as "poisonous," and his commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, published in 1646, appears to be tinged with Socinianism.

Hall commenced B.A. in 1628, and on leaving the University held a mastership in Warwick grammar school. Our authorities are decidedly hazy as to dates in this period of his life, but it seems certain that his spiritual awakening took place after he had left Oxford, and was followed by his ordination. His elder brother having become vicar of Bromsgrove, he was appointed by him to the curacy of King's Norton (about five miles from Birmingham), which is annexed to that benefice. The great tithes being inappropriate, the stipend of the curate was very small; Hall therefore undertook the mastership of the free school. This school was formerly conducted by the clergy of a chantry in the neighbouring church, which being dissolved in 1547 the school was continued with a greatly reduced endowment. Hall is said to have resided for ten years at Moseley (about half-way between King's Norton and Birmingham), "probably under the protection

of Sir Richard Grevis of Moseley Hall." This would be a convenient arrangement, for soon after the meeting of the Long Parliament the Rev. Samuel Wills became rector of St. Martin's, Birmingham, and Hall assisted him in the capacity of lecturer. He was indefatigable in preaching, and his pastoral labours are highly commended. As a convinced Presbyterian he welcomed the Solemn League and Covenant, to which he subscribed at the same time as the rector of St. Martin's. During the civil war he was much persecuted and worried, both by soldiers and sectaries, and was several times imprisoned, no doubt by the Royalists, as he is no where mentioned by Walker. On the establishment of the Presbyterian Order he was a member of the classis of Kenilworth. He had offers of substantial preferment, but declined them all, believing that it was his duty to remain where his ministry was evidently fruitful. A great lover of books, he assisted in founding the library of the Birmingham grammar school, to which he gave a valuable Polyglott Bible, and obtained several similar benefactions from his friends, of whom Richard Baxter was one.

A competent scholar, Hall had passed his fortieth year before he ventured on the field of authorship. His first published book, *The Pulpit Guarded*, was against the practice of lay preaching, which was favoured by the Independents, and greatly disliked by the majority of the Presbyterians. Thenceforward he produced on an average one book a year till the end of his life. Several of these, however, are of such a bulk and character as to represent the work of many former studious years. He graduated B.D. in 1652.

In 1653 there were serious apprehensions lest the "Little" or "Barbones" Parliament should anticipate the programme of the modern "Liberation Society," and invite the Church to put to a practical test the sufficiency of the voluntary principle. The Presbyterians were seriously alarmed, and Baxter presented a Worcestershire "Petition for retention of tithes and a settled ministry." This Hall signed as a matter of course, but he withheld his signature from the "Agreement of the associated pastors and churches of Worcestershire" promoted by Baxter in the same year.

Like most of the Presbyterian clergy, Hall welcomed the Restoration, and (if we may judge by expressions in his latest book) accepted at their face value the hypocritical professions of piety with which the second Charles befooled the unsuspecting. When it was becoming evident that he could not long retain his curacy with a good conscience, he resolved on a noble act of self-sacrifice for the intellectual and spiritual benefit of his parishioners. He gave them his entire library, consisting of about 800 volumes, to be preserved as a parish library for ever. The books were to be kept in an upper room of the school-house: a building be-

lieved to date from the 14th century. The parishioners readily provided oak cases for their preservation. The library consisted largely of Puritan divinity; there were also choice editions of the Latin classics, works of history, political and controversial publications relating to recent events, and a number of polemical tracts against the Quakers. None of his own writings was included. It is needless to say that "light literature" was conspicuous by its absence.

It was of course impossible for Hall to comply with the Act of Uniformity; and his name stands, with those of his friends Wills and Baxter, on the honourable list of Bartholomew confessors. Little more than two years afterwards his health failed, and he became dependent on the goodwill of friends. This was seldom lacking. There is a story that once he possessed only a solitary sixpence, but before it was expended he received remittances from several unknown donors. A short time before his death he said "All the joys of this life are nothing, nothing to the joy I have in Jesus Christ." He died on 13th April, 1665. He was never married.

The following is a list of his published works; those marked (C) are in the Congregational Library:

1. *The Pulpit Guarded with xvii arguments; proving the unlawfulness, sinfulness, and danger of suffering private persons to take upon them Publike Preaching, and Expounding Scripture, Without a Call; occasioned by a Disputation on Aug. 20th, 1650, against L. Williams, &c.* 4to. 1651. Three editions in that year. (C)

Replied to by Thomas Collier (eminent Baptist controversialist and propagandist), in *The Pulpit Guard routed in its Strong Holds; or a brief answer to a . . . discourse by . . . T.H. . . . intituled The Pulpit Guarded.*" 4to. 1651.

Also by William Hartley of Stony Stratford, in *The Prerogative Priest's Passing-Bell. Or Amen to the Rigid Clergy. Shewing the Usefulness, Equity, Lawfulness, and Necessity, of Private Persons to take upon them Preaching or Expounding of the Scriptures, having a Call thereto by the Word of God, and agreeable to the practice of the best Reformed Churches of Christ, and Judgment of judicious Divines both Forraign and Domestick. Being a brief reply to that Discourse intituled The Pulpit Guarded with 17 Arguments, and owned by Thos. Hall.* 16 pp., 4to. 1651.

Also by William Sheppard, Esq. in *The People's Privilege and Duty Guarded against the Pulpit and Preacher's Incroachment: and Their Sober Justification and Defence of their free and open Exposition of Scriptures. Wherein Is briefly and very plainly shewed that Christians, that are not Preachers in office, not onely may, but ought freely to Expound Scripture one to another: and this without any prejudice to the Preacher's office.* 12 + 88 pp. 4to. 1652.

2. *Wisdom's Conquest; or an Explanation and Gramaticall Translation of the Thirteenth Book of Ovid's Metamorphoses.* 12mo. 1651.

3. *The Font Guarded with xx Arguments. Containing a Compendium of that great Controversie of Infant Baptism; Proving the Lawfulness thereof; as being grounded on the Word of God, agreeable to the Practice of all Reformed Churches; together with the concurrent consent of a whole Jury of Judicious and Pious Divines. Occasioned partly by a Dispute at Bely in Worcestershire, Aug. 13, 1651 Against Joseph Paget, Dyer, Walter Rose and John Rose, Bulchers of Bromesgrove, John Evans a Scribe, yet Antiscripturist, Francis Loxly, Sho-maker. With a Word to one Collier, and another to Mr. Tombs in the end of the Book.* 24 + 136 pp., 4to. 1652.

At p. 119 is a second title as follows:—

The Collier in his Colours; or the Picture of a Collier. Where you have the filthy, false, Heretical, Blasphemous Tenets of one Collier, an Arrian, Arminian, Socinian, Samosatene, Antinomian, Anabaptist, Familist, Donatist, Separatist, Anti-Scripturist, &c. An Open Enemy to God, to Christ, to the Holy Ghost, to Scripture, Law, Gospel, Church, Commonwealth, Magistracy, Ministry, Army, &c. As will fully and plainly appear by the ensuing Discourse. (C. 2nd title only.)

Replied to by Henry Hagger in *The Foundation of the Font Discovered to the view of all that desire to behold it; and the baptizing of men and women when they believe (in rivers and fountains) proved to be a standing Ordinance in the Church of Christ to the end of the world; by plain Scripture proof. In Answer to Mr. Cook's Font uncovered for Infant-baptism, and Mr. Baxter's Plain Scripture-proof for Infants Church-Membership and Baptism; with a word sometimes upon occasion to Mr. Hall's Font Guarded; which is more fully answered by Thomas Collier.* pp. 8 + 132, 4to. 1653.

Also by Thomas Collier in *The Font-Guard Routed; or a brief answer to a Book written by Thomas Hall, superscribed with this Title, The Font Guarded with 20 Arguments.* 4to. 1652. (C)

See also *The Right Constitution and True Subjects of the Visible Church of Christ, with its Order, Ordinances, &c.* By T. Collier, 1654. (Brit. Mus.)

4. *Comarum Akosmeia: The Loathsomeness of Long Haire . . . with the concurrent judgment of Divines both old and new against it; with an appendix against painting, spots, naked breasts, &c.* 8vo. 1654. (C)

5. *Vindiciae Literarum, The Schools Guarded: or The excellency and usefulness of Arts, Sciences, Languages, History, and all sorts of humane Learning, in subordination to Divinity, & Preparation for the Ministry, by ten Arguments evinced; ten cavils raised against it by Familists, Anabaptists, Antinomians, Lutherans, Libertines, &c., are repelled and answered; and many cautions to prevent all mistakes are added. . . . With an addition of about one hundred Rules for the expounding of the Scriptures; and a Synopsis of all the most material Tropes and Figures contained therein.* 8vo., 1654. Another Edn., 1655. (Both in C)

[This is a volume of about 240 pp., of which only the first 70 are devoted to the main topic, and these are largely directed against Samuel How, "the preaching cobbler." The next 74 pp. are occupied with the "Centuria Sacra": the hundred rules for expounding Scripture. These are followed by "Rhetorica Sacra," pp. 147-192: and there is appended another short treatise by an unnamed author, entitled: *Histrio Mastix. A Whip for Webster (as 'tis conceived) the Quondam player: or an examination of one John Webster's delusive Examen of Academies; Where the Sophistry, Vanity, and insufficiency of his New-found Light (tending to the Subversion of Universities, Philosophers, Physitians, Magistrates, Ministers) is briefly discovered, and the contrary truth asserted*].

6. *Phaeton's Folly; or the Downfall of Pride; being a translation of the Second book of Ovid's Metamorphoses, paraphrastically and gramatically.* 8vo. 1655. (C)

7. *The Beauty of Holiness: or a Description of the Excellence, Amiableness, Comfort, and Content which is to be found in Wages of Purity and Holiness.* 8vo. 1655. (C)

8. *Chiliomastix Redivivus, sive Homesus Enervatus. A Confutation of the Millenarian Opinion; demonstrating that Christ will not reign Visibly and Personally on Earth with the Saints for a thousand years either before the Day of Judgment, in the Day of Judgment, or thereafter: where you also have many texts of Scripture vindicated from the vain glosses of one Dr. Homes.* 8vo. 1657.

9. *A Practical and Polemical Commentary or Exposition upon the 3d. and 4th Chapters of the Latter Epistle of St. Paul to Timothy.* fol. 1658. (C)

[This is the completion of a Commentary commenced by John Barlow; whose work on chap. 1 appeared in 4to in 1625, and on chap. 2 with the former in fol. in 1632.]

10. *To 'Alas tés ges, sive Apologia pro Ministerio Evangelico; in quo ostenditur ejus necessitas, contra vulgo vocalos Levellers: nec non quam plurimos alios ejusdem maniae. In calce operis annexa est dissertatio una de Activa Christi obedientia; altera de Perseverantia Sanctorum.* 8vo. Frankfort, 1658. (C)

11. *An Apologic for the Ministry, and its Maintenance. Wherein is set forth the Necessity, Dignity, and Efficacy of a Gospel Ministry; against the Socinians, Swenckfieldians, Weigellans, Anabaptists, Enthusiasts, Familists, Seekers, Quakers, Levellers, Libertines, and the rest of that Rout.* 4to., 12 + 104 pp. 1660. (C)

12. *Samaria's Downfall; or a Commentary on the five Last Verses of the Thirteenth Chapter of Hosea.* 4to. 1660. (C)

13. *The Beauty of Magistracy, in an Exposition of the 82nd Psalm; wherein is set forth the Necessity, Utility, Dignity, Duty, and Mortality of Magistrates.* sm. 4to. 1660. (C)

14. *An Exposition, by way of Supplement, on the fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth chapters of Amos.* 4to. 1661. (C)

[This is the completion of the unfinished work of Sebastian

Benefield, D.D., 4to, 1629; the two together formed what was, in its day, the standard commentary on Amos.]

15. *Funebria Florae, The Downfall of May Games: Wherein is set forth the rudeness, prophanness, stealing, drinking, fighting, dancing, whoring, mis-rule, mis-spence of precious time, contempt of God and godly Magistrates, Ministers and People, which oppose the Rascality and rout, in this their open prophanness, and Heathenish Customs. Occasioned by the general complaint of the rudeness of people in this kinde, in this Interval of Settlement. Here you have Twenty Arguments against these prophane Sports, and all the Cavills made by the Belialists of the Time, refelled and answered: Together with an addition of some verses in the close, for the delight of the ingenious Reader.* pp. 4 + 48. 4to. 1660. A revised edition, 1661.

The arguments, set forth in scholastic form, occupy 18 pp. The first of these is founded on the supposed fact that May games are a continuation of the Roman Floralia, to which our author, on the rather questionable authority of Lactantius, ascribes a peculiarly shameful origin. Next follows a regular Trial of Flora: about 12 pp., the greater part of which is reprinted in Hone's *Table Book*. Flora is charged with having "brought in a pack of Practical fanaticks, viz., Ignorants, Atheists, Papists, Drunkards, Swearers, Swashbucklers, Maid-Marions, Morrice-dancers, Maskers, Mummings, May-pole-stealers, Health-drinkers, together with a rascalian rout of Fiddlers, Fools, Fighters, Gamesters, Whoremasters, Lewd men, Light women, Contemners of Magistracy, Affronters of Ministry, rebellious to Masters, disobedient to Parents, Mispenders of time, Abusers of the creature, &c." The jury is made up of persons and documents which have already borne witness against the prisoner, who, of course, is sentenced to perpetual banishment. Another dozen pages are devoted to "An answer to all the cavils which are of any weight or worth which are brought in defence of May games;" it is alleged that the Maypole is usually stolen, or if given the donor is most likely a papist. The book concludes with a poem of 264 lines, in which the Maypole boasts of his exploits. A few lines are worth quoting.

"I have a mighty retinue,
The scum of all the rascal crew
Of Fiddlers, Pedlars, Jail-scaped Slaves,
Of Tinkers, Turncoats, Tossput Knaves,
Of Thieves, and scape-thrifts many a one,
With bouncing Bess and jolly Joan,
With idle boys, and journeymen,
And vagrants that their country run;
Yea, Hobby horse doth hither prance,
Maid Marrian, and the Morris-dance.
My summons fetcheth far and near,
All that can swagger, roar, and swear.
All that can dance, and drab, and drink
They run to me as to a sink.
These me for their commander take,
And I do them my black guard make.

I take away all fear of evil,
 Of sin and hell, of death and devil ;
 I tell them 'tis a time to laugh,
 To give themselves free leave to quaff,
 To drink their healths upon their knee,
 To mix their talk with ribaldry.

I bid men cast off gravity,
 And women eke their modesty.
 Old crones that scarce have tooth or eye,
 But crooked back and lamèd thigh
 Must have a frisk, and shake their heel
 As if no stitch nor ache they feel.
 I bid the servant disobey,
 The child to say his parents nay ;
 The poorer sort that have no coin
 I can commend them to purloin.

Let preachers prate till they grow wood,
 Where I am they can do no good.

[No doubt the old May-games, like all other popular festivities, were often attended with disorder, and sometimes gave occasion for scandal. But to accept Hall's diatribe as generally applicable would be as unfair as to take Hudibras for the portrait of an average puritan.]

167. The Nonconformist Memorial also mentions, as a work of Hall's, *A Scripture Discourse of the Apostacy of Antichrist*. It does not appear as his in the British Museum Catalogue ; nor is it named by Moore as published in his lifetime.

The ancient free school at King's Norton, after long decay, had ceased to exist, and the building (which is believed also to have been the dwelling-house of the Chantry clerks) was in a dilapidated condition ; so that the books, after near 220 years, had suffered much from damp, while some of them had altogether disappeared. It was, therefore, proposed in 1880 that those which remained, about 600 volumes, should be bought for the Birmingham Central Free Library. Legal obstacles interfered with this project ; but an alternative proposal : that they should be lent to the Birmingham Free Library Committee for an indefinite period, appeared quite feasible. Accordingly in 1892 an arrangement for their removal and safe custody was negotiated by S. Timmins, Esq., J.P., F.S.A., on behalf of the Archaeological Section of the Midland Institute ; and the books were catalogued by W. S. Brassington, F.S.A. Since then they have been readily accessible to students in the Central Free Library.

The ancient clergy and school-house at King's Norton was repaired by public subscription in 1893, under the leadership of the vicar and curate, the Revs. Digby A. C. Preedy and W. B. Atherton.