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Transactions

of the

Baptist Historical Society.

Benjamin Stinton and his Baptist Friends.

IN 1697 the Particular Baptist church at Goat Yard Passage, off Goat Street, Horsleydown, published certain articles of faith, signed by the male members. These include Benjamin Keach, the pastor, Thomas Stinton, and Benjamin Stinton the teacher. It is apparently the first time that Benjamin Stinton appears in any public act; five years earlier he was not one of the delegates to the Assembly. At this time, despite the office he held in the church, he was but twenty-one years of age, having been born on 2 February, 1676-7. At that time Benjamin Keach had for nine years been pastor of the church, and we may guess that Stinton senior named his son after him. The ties of friendship between the families evidently were close, for Thomas Stinton married Elizabeth Keach on 29 May, 1690, George Barrett (late of Jessey's church) officiating; and Benjamin married Susanna, another daughter of Benjamin Keach in 1699, Richard Adams officiating at Devonshire Square (Rippon, III, 453). As the youngest daughter, named Rebekah, married another member of the church, Thomas Crosby, who incorporated biographical notices of his father-in-law and his brother-in-law in the fourth volume of his history, we are exceptionally well informed on some personal matters.

Benjamin Stinton had had no advantages in education, which indeed were hardly available to Baptists under the Stuarts; but the example of Keach was before him to encourage private study, and with tuition he made some progress in language and literature.

As early as 1697, after some previous attempts, the London Particular Baptist churches formed an Association, remodelled in 1704, and thus Stinton was in contact with all the metropolitan leaders. He may possibly have known the venerable William Kiffin, whose course was not run till 1701, or Thomas Harrison of Loriners' Hall and Hercules Collins of Wapping and William Collins of Artillery Lane; he must have known Samuel Mee of

Flower-de-Luce Court, a split from his own church; all these died in 1702. From 1704 he was in regular touch with all the Calvinistic Baptist ministers of Southwark and London. Among them may be mentioned Richard Adams, colleague and successor of Kiffin at Devonshire Square, with Mark Key; these men like Keach had begun as General Baptists and had changed their views soon after coming to town. The venerable Hanserd Knowles had died when Stinton was but fourteen years old, and his church was at this time just about to call David Crosley, a famous evangelist in Yorkshire and Lancashire. At Pinners' Hall every Saturday a church gathered under the learned Joseph Stennett, fast making a name in literary and court circles. At Joiners' Hall lingered another veteran of the persecution period, Joseph Maisters, who once had ministered in Cheshunt. In Alie Street, Elias Keach had been followed by John Nichols. At Little Wild Street, John Piggott was pastor; and at Paul's Alley, Richard Allen; two more recruits from the General Baptists. In Shadwell, Nathanael Wyles was pastor; and in Limehouse, Leonard Harrison. On his own side of the river, Edward Wallin was at Flower-de-Luce, Richard Parkes at Collier's Rents, where, as at Limehouse, Keach had promoted the building of the meeting; and there was a cave of Adullam at Winchester House near St. Mary Overies Dock, apparently with a weaver named Midlane as the chief.

Although there were other Baptists in London, the ecclesiastical differences between the Particulars and their older brethren the Generals was too deep for any official co-operation at this time, especially as the General Baptists were in the throes of a severe doctrinal controversy. Nevertheless we know that Stinton did maintain friendly relations with some of them: about 1705, he helped at Hart Street, Covent Garden, and at Glass House Yard off Goswell Street; a butcher named Nathanael Foxwell was pastor of another church close by Stinton's own church at Horsleydown, and the two shared the use of the same baptistery.

On 25 March 1706 an important meeting was held of the Association, whose original Minutes have been perused for this information. Amongst other matters, it was agreed that a Baptist History was badly needed, and the meeting commended the matter to Joseph Stennett. He was at this time 43 years old, had been well educated at a grammar school, and was acquainted with several languages both European and Asiatic, so that he had for some time earned his living as a schoolmaster in London, and had acquired some reputation for his translations, both in prose and verse, and for his proficiency in a new line, the writing of

hymns to be sung at sacramental services. In controversy, both oral and written, he had made his mark, and his thanksgiving sermon on the victory at Blenheim had procured him a gift from Queen Anne.

Here then was a scholar, quite competent in point of learning; but like many subsequent students, he found it one thing to accept a commission of this kind, and another to fulfil it. Indeed he diverged from a history of the Baptists to consider a history of Baptism, and sketched out a portentous enquiry into the rabbins, the liturgies, the fathers before the council of Nicæa, mediæval heretics, the reformation leaders, and all subsequent controversies on baptism. The result was that he accomplished nothing, and any materials he had accumulated would probably have been useless for a history of the Baptists. Except for some matters almost within his own knowledge, to be mentioned later, we are not sure that he did anything to fulfil the wishes of his brethren. It is unfortunate that the same will-o'-the-wisp lured Robert Robinson in after days. Happily what is important to know on these points has in our own day been published by Professor Newman as a History of Anti-Pædobaptism till 1609, so that future students may be free to concentrate on what concerns English Baptists.

Meanwhile from 1706 the Association was pledged to help Stennett in accumulating historical material. Now in July of 1704 Keach had passed to his reward, and Stinton was reluctantly obliged to take up his mantle as pastor of Horsleydown. When we scan the occupations of the Baptist pastors in London, with the unfriendly light cast on them by Marius D'Assigny in 1709, we see that all but three or four earned their living by manual work; a cooper, a hatter, a journeyman shoe-maker, a tinsmith, a ribbon-weaver, a life-guards man, a tailor, a glazier, a tallow-chandler figure in his list. Of ministers presumably educated, such as D'Assigny dignifies with a "Mr." we recognise Crosley—whom we otherwise know to have been a mason, and who was just about to become a farmer again—and John Gale, who was about to answer Wall's History of Infant Baptism with effect, and Nathanael Hodges. Stennett could hardly hope for any substantial help except from these few and Stinton; for books he could have recourse to a good library collected at Paul's Alley or the Barbican, where the church formally granted the use to the Society now instituted at the Norwich Coffee House for encouraging the ministry.

Stinton of course had other friends, and when on the accession of George I, the committee of the Three Denominations was revived, he was elected to the place left vacant by the death of

Stennett in 1713. He summoned a meeting of all Baptist London ministers for this matter, and his own journal enables us to add to the names already given:—Thomas Kerby of Goswell Street, John Maulden and John Savage at Mill Yard, John Taylor at Duke Street in the Southwark Park, David Rees now at Limehouse, Edward Elliott now at Wapping, John Skepp the successor of Crosley, Abraham Mulliner at White's Alley, Lewis Douglass at Virginia Street, John Noble at the Hall of the Tallow-chandlers, Joseph Jenkins at High Hall, and Ebenezer Wilson at the Turners' Hall. Out of this meeting grew at once a club to meet monthly at the Hannover Coffee House, and the Minutes of this club have been perused lately with great interest, especially as to Stinton's doings at first. He deliberately tried to draw together all the Baptists, ignoring the theological distinction of Particulars and Generals. But in the whole group we discern no more of any literary ability.

In Stinton's new capacity as one of the three Baptist leaders he was thrown into contact with the Congregational and Presbyterian leaders, including the famous Doctor Williams, whose library was destined to be such a treasure to all Nonconformists. Dr. Jeremiah Hunt was now pastor of a leading congregation at Pinners' Hall, containing both Baptists and Pædobaptists; among the former was the Hollis family. Thomas Hollis was greatly benefitting Harvard College in Massachusetts, and fortunately had some denominational and patriotic feeling. When in 1715 he gave a hundred guineas to the poor of fourteen Baptist churches, he chose Stinton as his almoner; next year he paid most of the expenses in building a baptistery at Paul's Alley, while Stinton with Foxwell and others united in repairing the old baptistery in Southwark.

During 1717 we find Stinton with Foxwell, Hodges, and Mulliner ordaining Joseph Burroughs at Paul's Alley, also joining with Burroughs, Gale, and Hodges in a letter to Bromsgrove on a minute point of Greek scholarship involved on the question of immersion. Though he personally had a friendly feeling to the General Baptists, his church this same year took a prominent part in founding the Particular Baptist Fund.

His life, so full of promise, and displaying a geniality consistent with a firm hold on essential truth, came to an abrupt and premature close in February 1718-9, eight days before the great synod at Salters' Hall which rent every denomination on the Arian controversy. A Particular Baptist minister conducted the funeral service in an Independent meeting house, and his body was laid to rest at the General Baptist burial ground in the Park.

Stinton's Historical Researches.

THOMAS CROSBY, brother-in-law and deacon to Stinton, has left two candid testimonies as to the source of his own well-known volumes. In his fourth volume, on page 365, he wrote of his pastor:—"He had been for some years collecting materials, in order to write an History of the English Baptists, from the beginning of Christianity down to the present times, but did not live to digest in order even those he had collected, except the Introduction, giving an account of the different opinions concerning the first rise of the Baptists, which I have published in the preface to my first volume entire." The first volume had originally been all that he contemplated, a work complete in itself; and references in these pages are to it unless the contrary is indicated. In that volume of 1738, he had made frank acknowledgment of Stinton as his chief informant, but he had rather a different idea of the scope. At page xvii he wrote:—"The design of the reverend Mr. Benjamin Stinton's History being to give an account of the English Baptists only, he thought it might not be improper, and did intend to introduce it with some account of the origin of their opinion, and who have been reported to be authors of it." It is quite possible that Stinton, like Stennett, had not thoroughly decided on his plan. And the conjecture is tempting, that Stinton had inherited, not only the vagueness of Stennett, and his general plan, but also his materials. In any case he collected many papers, as will presently appear, and on his death they passed to Crosby, as the latter avows on page i. Crosby in turn employed his spare hours, in the best manner he could, "to digest the materials in their proper order, and supply the vacancies; till at length, at the request of two worthy Baptist ministers, both since deceased [Mr. Wallin of Flower-de-luce and Mr. Arnold of Goat Street] I communicated them to the Reverend Mr. Neal . . . and he had them in his hands some years. . . . But I was surprized to see the ill use Mr. Neal made of these materials . . . in less than five pages of his third volume." Neal's work was issued in 1731-2, professing to deal only with the Puritans, Baptists were over his horizon; but Crosby was so offended at his neglect that it "revived my resolution to compleat this Treatise, in the best manner I could, for a publication." Hence Crosby's work is avowedly based upon the materials collected by Benjamin Stinton.

This is an age when we like to go back to sources. Luke's work has been dissected, with the help of one known source; Chronicles has been subjected to the same treatment; a more complicated problem fascinates many, to separate the Hexateuch into component parts by different schools or individuals, all unknown and of undeclared existence. The study of Crosby's work from this stand-point is inevitable.

We are fortunate in possessing some of the very MSS. used by him. What appears to be a revision, not far removed from the actual copy sent to the press, was discovered and studied some years ago by the present writer, who, as far as he knows, is the first to make generally known that it may be seen at Dr. Williams' Library, where other modern students have certainly studied it. It is a quarto, "tub" size, bound in parchment, and lettered on the side, No. IV; after eleven blank leaves, follow 173 pages written on both sides. They are unlined, though a red line marks off a margin on either side, the outer being occupied with dates, and the upper centre containing the page number in red. The title runs:—"A | JOURNAL | Of the Affairs | of the ANTIPÆDOBAPTISTS | Beginning with the Reign of King George, whose Accession to ye Throne | was on ye First of August, 1714 | As the same was kept, | By Benjamin Stinton." The present writer proposed to make a transcript for the Baptist Union, but after copying a large part, found that Crosby had followed it so closely, that it was practically in print already. Indeed while the MS. Journal is in the first person, Crosby often contented himself with the briefest change into the third—and once forgot to make even that! Page 107 of his fourth volume is slightly varied from "On the 4th of August, A Letter Sign'd by Mr. Tonge of Salters Hall, was sent to Mr. Allen, Mr. Hodges & my self desiring us to meet &c."

Stinton proceeds to give the rules of the monthly club; but Crosby omits, and on page 109 states that it soon dwindled and came to nothing. (This was a plain error, as the Minutes prove; in 1736 the society was flourishing so far as to obtain a new folio book for its records. Crosby reflects that the society would have done better had it added laymen to its numbers; a matter on which Ministers' Fraternal have their own opinion.) But while Crosby omitted here and there, and inserted other matter, this book makes it quite clear that he was accurate in acknowledging that his work was mainly founded on Stinton, both order and words being generally retained. Pages 113, 114, 115, with their want of connection, are all due to Stinton's journal, while 117-141 are almost verbatim from it, though Crosby omits the letters that

Lowrey produced from Scotland, and moralizes for nine pages following. At page 150 he avowedly returns to his history and copies seven pages of this Journal, just inserting a fling at Neal, who was much on his nerves. A few transpositions also occur, for the sketch of Ebenezer Wilson promised by Crosby on page 160 actually occurs at the corresponding point in the Journal, and when it does come at page 326, is simply Stinton's account slightly enlarged. On page 160 Crosby introduces a correspondence with the Pennsylvanian Baptists: the Journal here has six pages blank, evidently to contain the English letter, while the signatures are given in the Journal, though Crosby omits them on page 164. The American letter he had transposed to his first volume at page 122, where it is quite out of place. These letters will prove to be of interest on another question. The Journal continues with an arbitration at Angel Alley, Thomas Ridgway's church, which Crosby omits here, as also a list of Hollis's gifts to Pennsylvania; but practically everything else is in Crosby's fourth volume, and if that volume were deprived of what is taken from the Journal, the second and third chapters would barely exist.

Now this Journal of Stinton's does not absolutely profess to be the autograph, when the title-page is closely examined; it may well be only a transcript. But it does profess to be only the fourth volume of a set. The enquiry is natural where the other three volumes are; unhappily the answer is not yet known.

The quest for more Stinton material is, however, not in vain. Dr. Angus had acquired a mass of valuable books which he bequeathed to Regent's Park College on condition (beside a pecuniary consideration) that it should be catalogued. Fulfilling this condition in 1903, Principal Gould discovered among them another small quarto, with almost exactly the same title, but varying in the last clause "Kept by me, Benja: Stinton." It proved to be the original of the copy in Dr. Williams' Library; but it also proved to contain a continuation by Crosby to February 1719, and was in the writing of the two men. Now in this autograph, the reference to the Pennsylvanian correspondence includes a statement that Stinton had put a copy of it "in my Collection of Historical Matters."

From these phenomena in the Williams Library and the Angus Library, the present writer and Mr. Champlin Burrage independently turned attention to a third manuscript now the property of Principal Gould, having been copied by and for his father, George Gould of Norwich. After careful study of this, the important parts of this were copied by the present writer line for line early in 1905. On the first page is the title:—"A

REPOSITORY of Divers Historical Matters relating—to the English Antipedobaptists. Collected from Original Papers—or Faithful Extracts.—Anno 1712—I began to make this Collection in Jan: 1710-11.— Each student at once inferred, on finding that number 26 in the collection was this very American correspondence, that the "I" of the Repository was Stinton.

Confirmation of this theory poured in abundantly. The collector was evidently a Baptist, for the material is not such as an opponent would select and preserve. He was a London Baptist, since except for one document dealing with Keach and another dealing with his friends at Aylesbury, the horizon is London; the exceptions point direct to Keach's circle. In the years 1710-1712 there were only two London Baptists who were betraying any interest in history, now that Stennett was dead; the other man, James Richardson by name, was confining his attention to the history of the General Baptists, whereas this collection relates to both denominations; Stinton has placed himself on record as trying to bring both together. Stinton had received a poor education, corrected by private study in languages; this manuscript has just those slips in grammar and spelling, when the collector himself furnishes titles, that accord with such a limited education. The twenty-third document tells of a church often confounded with the Independent church in Deadman's Lane, and the collector shows how it became extinct in 1705: Stinton helped baptize the Independent minister in 1715, and his own funeral sermon was preached in that building: Crosby was at some pains to show the absurdity of confusing the two churches.

Further, we can compare the sources acknowledged by the anonymous collector in the titles printed below, with the sources available to Stinton, and note frequent correspondences. Documents one, two, and four were obtained from Richard Adams: Adams was not only a member of the same Fraternal, but was associated with Stinton in several exceptional occasions. Number three is not acknowledged, but points to the London Particular churches, including that church of which Adams was the pastor. Number five is taken from Strype. In these days a Londoner might be content with knowing that Strype was ready in the Museum whenever wanted, but there was no such public library then, and a Baptist who got the loan for a time might be glad to extract at once a paragraph. The same remark holds as to number six, taken from Wall's History of Infant Baptism, published in 1705, and D'Assigny's Mystery of Anabaptism Unmasked, published in 1709. Numbers eight and nine are from Tombes'

Review, a book of the previous century by a learned clergyman who adopted Baptist principles. Number ten from Edwards, eleven, thirteen, sixteen, twenty, from Fuller's Church History, twelve from Burnet's second volume published in 1681, are all from rare or expensive books which Stinton might borrow, but might not care to buy. Number fourteen is from Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, "Vol 3. p.625." below which reference is another, "Fo. Edit: 1719. Vo. 3. p. 359." Now the folio edition was apparently (not certainly) published after Stinton's death, but the first reference is to the original edition of 1674 issued during his life time. Number fifteen is from Grantham who published in 1678; as in the case of number three, the passage is not extracted; obviously this book was on the collector's shelves: now the Confession and Grantham are exactly the sort of treatise that a Baptist would procure. Number seventeen is from a book published in 1676 by Edward Hutchinson. Number eighteen is quoted from Francis Bampfield's biography published in 1681. Number twenty-one is "Taken from Manuscript found among Mr. Keach's Papers after his Death, which as he informed me when alive &c." Now Stinton was Keach's colleague and son-in-law. Number twenty-two is taken from the London Gazette, which mis-spells the name of "Stanet": a marginal note corrects this to Stennett, exactly the sort of note Stinton could add. Number twenty-three is taken out of the book of a Southwark church which disbanded in 1705, some going to one church and some to another: Stinton was evidently in a position to get the loan of that book, he was a friend and neighbour of one of the pastors mentioned. Number twenty-four "I received from Mrs. Bowles, daughter to Mary Jackman . . . Apr: 10. 1715." Now George Jackman, a Baptist of the same type as those with whom the story is concerned, in 1715 was Elder at Lyndhurst, and was in London during June at the General Baptist Assembly, meeting Richardson the other Baptist antiquary. There is no direct contact of Mrs. Bowles and Stinton yet proved, but they moved in the same orbit, while Keach was another obvious medium through whom they might be acquainted, as his own punishment was akin to that of the twelve Aylesbury Baptists, in time and place and reason. Number twenty-five is a letter of 1651 signed by thirteen men including Thomas Patient, a friend of Kiffin's, and Edward Hutchinson, the source of number seventeen. Number twenty-six is the Philadelphia letter of 1715, mentioning the work of Elias Keach in America, and a previous letter to B[enjamin] K[each] replied to by Mr. B. Stinton. Number twenty-seven is a reference to the 1656 Confession, which is not copied: this is again the sort

of pamphlet that a Particular Baptist might be inclined to buy. Number twenty-eight is a General Baptist document of 1660, with no source acknowledged: but Adam Taylor refers to it at I. 188 as incorporated in a book of that date by Henry Jessey: thus it falls into the same group as documents one and four, ultimately due to him. Number twenty-nine is really extracted from a book by John Robinson of Leyden, published in 1614. Number thirty appears to be taken from the reply by J. Peirce of Exeter to a book by Dr. W. Nichols: the reply was issued in Latin during 1710, and in English during 1717.

The Gould manuscript contains two other collections of Baptist material, which however are not to our immediate purpose, the first thirty being obviously one collection, and numbered consecutively, unlike the remainder. It is these thirty which were entitled the Repository. Several of them are from people well known to Stinton; several are from books printed before his death but too expensive for a Baptist minister to purchase easily; all of them are from sources available to Stinton.

But when we note that practically all the thirty numbered documents in this Repository (to say nothing of some unnumbered sections following in the Gould manuscript) are worked up into Crosby's history, in just the same fashion that the avowed Journal of Stinton was worked up; when we observe that these cover 138 foolscap pages of small writing, and so bulk far more largely than that fourth volume of the Journal; when we remember that Crosby acknowledged he was indebted to Stinton as the collector of the materials of which a great part of his treatise was formed, and did not acknowledge any other source for his first volume—then we see the two ends of the argument meet, and Stinton to be undoubtedly the collector of the thirty numbered documents.

Meanwhile Mr. Burrage found among George Gould's books an anonymous quarto written in two hands, containing biographies of eminent Baptists, of which most were worked up into Crosby's history. From various considerations he identified the two hands as Stinton and Crosby. But the former referred to a certain letter signed H.H., and says, "I have therefore put it into ye Collection of Originals Numb: 7." As the seventh document in the Repository is this very letter, Mr. Burrage came to the same obvious conclusion that the collector was Stinton.

Every condition meets in this man, and no other name has been suggested as a possible collector. Hence it may be regarded as established that Stinton not only kept a Journal, of which part still remains to be discovered, but also in 1710-1 commenced to gather historical matters, which he began to copy out in 1712.

Records of the Jacob-Lathorp-Jessey Church 1616-1641.

THE first document in Stinton's Repository covers nearly twelve pages foolscap. It has a series of dates down the outer, or right, margin; these enable us to see that the manuscripts of Mr. H. Jessey which were avowedly the sources, had not been digested. First is an introduction as to Mr. Henry Jacob, leading up to his forming a church in 1616, whose story pauses with his successor leaving England in 1634. Then comes an episode arising from the accession of a group from Colchester in 1620, who provoked discussions ending with the dismissal of a group in 1633; to which is added a note as to a similar dismissal in 1638. The main thread is then resumed at 1636 and carried on to 1641. The episode is recurred to, with an account of what happened in 1630. And Stinton closes with the disappointing remark that there followed several sheets with names and dates—which he forebore to copy out! In six cases there are dates on the left margin; we may guess that these were absolutely original, and that those on the right margin were added by Jessey or Adams or Stinton; but we can hardly check that guess. The two series of dates do not conflict with each other.

As to the pedigree of these papers, so poorly arranged. Stinton says he received them from Richard Adams. Adams was a clergyman ejected from Humberstone after the Restoration, who opened a conventicle at his home in Mount Sorrel, and in 1672 was licensed to preach there as a Congregationalist. In 1689 he was Elder of the General Baptist church at Shad Thames, yet attended the Particular Baptist Assembly as Elder, thus traversing the same ground as that covered by Keach twenty years earlier. Keach's church was close by, and we may think that Keach was not passive in these strange proceedings, for we know that a formal complaint was laid against him for similar conduct in 1697. In 1690 Adams succeeded Dike as colleague with Kiffin at the Particular Baptist church in Devonshire Square, the Shad Thames church promptly returning to its former associates. At the P.B.

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Assembly of 1692 Kiffin and Adams represented Devonshire Square, Keach represented Horsleydown. In 1701 Kiffin died and Adams became sole pastor, obtaining a colleague next year in another ex-General Baptist, Mark Key. At the 1704 P.B. Association Adams and Key, Keach and Stinton were all present as officers of their churches. Thenceforward Adams and Stinton were often associated, as in 1715 at the baptism of Jonathan Owen of Deadman's Lane, or when Stinton handed Adams five guineas of Hollis's benefactions, or when the two churches subscribed in 1717 towards the baptistery at Paul's Alley, or united next year in founding the P.B. fund. Even in their deaths they were not divided, both passing to rest in 1719. Therefore Stinton is thoroughly credible when he says he got these papers from Adams.

Stinton says they were manuscripts of Jessey. Was Adams in a position to assure him of this? Jessey died in 1663, Adams at that time was in Leicestershire, and the only point of similarity is that both were University men, ejected from the establishment. But out of the church to which Jessey ministered, had sprung several churches, one of which became the Devonshire Square church of which Adams was chosen pastor. It has indeed been said that Jessey's own section joined this, but the present writer has vainly searched the Devonshire Square books for confirmation. We do know that members frequently went from Jessey's church to that which came under the pastoral care of Adams, the latest case being Nathanael Crabb, between 1674 and 1689. Therefore Adams had ample means for knowing the writing of these manuscripts, and as Jessey died a bachelor, his papers were more likely to be passed on to brethren in the faith than to relations.

Finally, was Jessey in a position to know the facts in these manuscripts? To this the answer is that they record the early history of Jessey's own church from its origin in 1616 till his own association with it.

The chain of evidence is therefore complete in that the alleged story of transmission is possible and probable; and as all the men were of probity, as the records were always in the keeping of those who were sympathetic, we may proceed to their study with the expectation that any collateral information will harmonize and illustrate.

Numerous students have bent their close attention to these papers, especially from America where one point involved has raised great discussion. Most of them indeed knew the records only in the pages of Neal or Crosby or Gould, but at least they accumulated material relevant. No one can afford to overlook the books referred to by Doctors Dexter, Whitsitt, Christian,

Jesse Thomas, Lofton and others, even when he has unearthed many of them for himself and has added more.

The intrinsic importance of the records may be judged when we recollect that in America the Established Churches (Congregational) at Barnstable and Scituate were linked with the church whose origin is dwelt upon; while in England it gave rise to several, of which two have a continuous chain of history back to the life-time of Jessey:—the Strict Baptist church which till this year was worshipping in Commercial Street, and the Baptist church of "Devonshire Square," now worshipping in Stoke Newington. These records explain the origin of all four churches, and of the once famous "Cripplegate-meeting," also Baptist, and of others whose subsequent history is lost in the sands. Indeed, in 1711 there was hardly a single Particular Baptist church in London which did not owe its origin at first, second, or third hand to this church, as will appear when our study of these documents is ended.

A REPOSITORY of Divers Historical Matters
relating to the English Antipædobaptists. Col-
lected from Original Papers or Faithfull Extracts.

ANNO 1712.

I began to make this Collection in Jan: 1710-11.

·Numb: 1

Page 1.

The Records of An Antient Congregation of
Dissenters | from w^{ch} many of y^e Independant &
Baptist Churches in London took their first rise: |
ex MSS of M^r H. Jessey, w^{ch} I rec^d of M^r Rich.
Adams.¹

¹ The title is due to Stinton. From his time the origin of the church was nearly a century distant, so that he might well call it an ancient church. He might perhaps have said that it was the oldest church which was represented in his day. In 1909 there is no Congregational church which has succeeded in showing its descent from Jacob; the latest discussion is in the Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society, 1905 and 1906. Even when Stinton wrote, every English descendant of this church seems to have evolved into a Baptist society, such as the meetings at Wapping, Walbrook, Artillery Lane, Devonshire Square, Cripplegate, and Tallow-chandlers' Hall.

Of Mr Jacob the *Chief* beginner of this Church
his Works & proceeds about this Way.²

Henry Jacob a Preacher, an eminent man for Learning, having wth others, often & many ways, sought for Reformation, & shewed the Necessity thereof in regard of the Church of England's so far^r remoteness from y^e Apostolical Churches in his 4 Assertion dedicated to King James, & he ¹⁶⁰⁴ made an offer of Disputation therein.

² Henry Jacob was an Oxford graduate, ordained, but unbeficed. It may illustrate the evolution of a Puritan into an Independent to augment the few notices of his books here prefixed to the story, from the researches of Dr. Dexter and his son Morton Dexter, checked by the Museum catalogue, as also from the discoveries of Mr. Champlin Burrage, notified in October, 1907, through the Baptist Review and Expositor.

Like many other Puritans who objected to the ritual in Elizabeth's Prayer-Book, and to the episcopal government in England, he found it convenient to go abroad. At Middelburg, apparently, he published under his initials, in 1598:—"A Treatise of the Sufferings and Victory of Christ in the worke of our redemption, declaring . . . that Christ after his deathe on the crosse went not into hell in his soule. Contrarie to certain errours, publiklie preached in London; anno 1597." At Middelburg he was in touch with the Separatists, for Browne and Harrison had had a church here between 1581 and 1584, while the local English chaplain, Francis Johnson, had been won over to somewhat similar principles so that he resigned, and after imprisonment in London, where Jacob had vainly argued with him, he found his way this year to Amsterdam where he shepherded a flock of some three hundred Separatists, to which the 1592 church of Barrow had expanded. Against them Jacob during 1599 issued anonymously:—"A defence of the Churches and Ministry of England. Written in two treatises, against the reasons and obiections of Mr. Francis Johnson, and other of the Separation commonly called Brownists. Published especially for the benefit of those in these parts of the Low Countries." And bound with it, "A Short Treatise concerning the truenes of a pastorall calling in pastors made by praelates. Against the Reasons and obiections of Maister Francis Iohnson, with others of the Separation commonly called Brownistes." Next year he had to fight on the other hand, and issue, still anonymously, A defence of his first book "for answere to the late writings of Mr. Bilson, L. Bp of Winchester."

The death of Queen Elizabeth opened a new era, when the Puritans hoped much from a Presbyterian king. Jacob was active in promoting the great petition for reform, and a copy of a letter of his from Wood Street in London, asking for signatures may be seen in the Epistle Dedicatorie of The Answere of the Vice-Chancellor, etc. in Oxford. The petition came to nothing; James in his capacity as Supreme Governor of the Church of England made several changes in the Prayer-Book, but not what the Puritans wanted. He then ordered absolute uniformity, with the alternative of being silenced. Jacob was not an incumbent, but the new Stuart drill would cut off all hopes; so he tried once more, and published under his own name after June in 1604 the first book here alluded to:—"Reasons taken out of God's Word, and the best humane testimonies, prouing a necessitie of reforming our churches in England." This naturally led to his imprisonment.

In the Clink, a jail in Southwark controlled by the bishop, he had more leisure for literature, and besides petitioning for release and offering promises and bail on

A Humble Supplication to his Majesty (viz) King ¹⁶⁰⁹
 James for permission to enjoy y^e Government of
 Christ in lieu of humane Institutions, & abolishing
 that of the Antichristian Prelacy, as more opposite
 to Monarchy, & to his Royal Prerogative: And
 haveing set forth

An attestation of y^e most famous & approved ¹⁶¹⁰
 Authors witnessing wth one Mouth y^t each Church
 of Christ should be so independent as it should

4 April, 1605, he corrected "The Second humble Supplication of many faithfull Subjects in England, falsely called Puritans directed to ye Kings Majtie, 1605," which however never found its way into print till 1907. He also drew up a catechism, "Principles & Foundations of Christian Religion," far more compact than Bacon's or Nowell's or even than Ponet's. About April 1606, the time having expired during which he promised to be silent, he began writing a defence of his book, pointing out that it had not been answered.

We are indebted to Mr. Burrage for grouping these documents, which show that Jacob was already nearly as far advanced as John Smith, "the ringleader of the Separation" in Lincolnshire. He held that a visible church was constituted by a free mutual consent of believers joining and covenanting to live as members of a holy society together; that such a church should elect its ministers—a pastor or bishop, elders, and deacons—and then as a rule leave these guides to prepare and direct everything. In other words, he was not an Episcopalian, nor even a Presbyterian in the sense of wanting synods, but he accepted Calvin's original idea, of a congregation governed by its officers: in English phrase, he was a Barrowist, not a Brownist.

Out of prison, he was able to publish again, and in 1606 he made "A Christian and Modest Offer of a most Indifferent Conference, or Disputation, about the maine and principall Controversies betwixt the Prelats, and the late silenced and deprived Ministers in England: tendered by some of the said Ministers to the Arch.bb. and Bb., and all their adherents." Nothing came of this, and in 1609 he presented to James the Humble Supplication here mentioned; James read a copy, and made notes on the margin, but did not heed it. Jacob therefore emigrated again, and at Leyden met John Robinson; in 1610 he published two more books here noted, "The Divine Beginning" and "A Plaine and Cleere Exposition of the Second Commandement." (It may be noted that the date in the margin to the former of these seems to have been transposed with that above; and on the other hand that the latter book escaped the careful search of Dexter.) In 1611 he expanded the Divine Beginning, as is here observed—the only known copy being at the Bodleian, so that again this author is very well informed. And that same year on 4 September he wrote a letter from Middelburg subsequently published as a "Declaration and Plainer Opening of Certain Points, with a sound confirmation of some other, contained in a treatise intituled" The Divine Beginning. In 1613 according to Dexter, perhaps in 1612-3 which tallies with this MS. if we transpose two dates, he issued the attestation which showed he had shaken himself free not only from Episcopacy but from the developed Presbyterianism of France and Scotland, declaring explicitly that "a true Church vnder the Gospell containeth no more ordinary Congregations but one." His own evolution was now complete in theory, and this manuscript describes how he persuaded others, and led some on to practice.

have y^e full Power of all y^e Church affairs entire within itselfe: And Published

The Divine Beginning & Institution of a Visible ¹⁶¹² Church, proveing y^e same by many Arguments, opening Matth: xviii. 15 wth a declaration & fuller evidence of some things therein: And having published

[2] An Exposition of y^e Second Co^mandement, ¹⁶¹⁰ shewing that *therein now is required a right [2] vissible Church State & Government independent. ¹⁶¹⁰

He having had much conference about these ^[Neal uses at II. 96.] things here; after y^t in y^e low Countries he had converse & discoursed much wth Mr Jn^o Robinson late Pastor to y^e Church in Leyden^s & wth others about them: & returning to England In London he held many several meetings wth the most famous Men for Godliness and Learning (viz) Mr Throgmorton, Mr Travers, Mr Wing, Mr Rich Mansell, Mr Jn^o Dod. (to whom Dr Bladwell was brought y^t by his opposition y^e Truth might y^e More appeare) these wth others haveing seriously weighed all things & Circumstances Mr Jacob & Some others sought y^e Lord about them in fasting & Prayer together: at last it was concluded by y^e Most of them; that it ware a very warrantable & commendable way to set upon that Course here as well as in Holland or elsewhere, whatsoever Troubles shall ensue. H Jacob was willing to adventure himselfe for this Kingdom of Christs sake; y^e rest encouraged him.⁴

³ John Robinson died in 1624-5, so that this manuscript was begun after that date, and was not exactly a contemporary diary.

⁴ Mr. Shakespeare has pointed out the importance of this statement. The Brownist churches had been frowned upon by the Puritans; but much had happened since 1580. Even twelve years before, John Smith of Lincoln had failed to convince Dod Hildersham and Barbon that Separatism was desirable; but almost directly afterwards Dod had been suspended from his living, and was now silenced altogether. That Dod was incumbent of Fawsley, where were printed some Marprelate Tracts, of which Job Throkmorton denied being

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The Church Anno 1616 was gathered

Hereupon y^e said Henry Jacob wth Sabine Staismore, Rich Browne, David Prior, Andrew Almey, W^m Throughton, Jno Allen, M^r Gibs, Edw^d Farre, Hen Goodall, & divers others well-informed Saints haveing appointed a day to seek y^e Face of y^e Lord in fasting & Prayer, wherein that perticular of their Union together as a Church was mainly comended to y^e Lord: in y^e ending of y^e Day they were United, Thus, Those who minded this present Union & so joyning together joynd both hands each wth other Brother and stood in a Ringwise: their intent being declared, H Jacob and each of the Rest made some confession or Profession of their Faith & Repentance, some ware longer some ware briefer, Then they Covenanted together to [3] walk in all Gods Ways as he *had revealed or [3] should make known to them⁵

the author. But the Mr. John Dod named here is more probably the incumbent of Coleman Street and now of Coggeshall, destined soon to be silenced by Laud. Hildersham was now on bail, and in 1616 was fined £2000, so absconded till 1625; Neal tells us that he opposed the proceedings of Jacob. Of Smith's Barbon little more is known, but by 1640 another Barbon of stronger convictions was in touch with this church. Walter Travers was the famous Presbyterian leader, provost of Trinity College in Dublin till 1598; in 1612 he presented a plea to the Privy Council, opposed at once by his former antagonist Hooker. Richard Mansell, minister of Yarmouth, had been imprisoned since 1604 for refusing the oath *Ex-officio*.

The persecuting Bancroft died in 1610, and was succeeded by Abbott, a Calvinist, who proved more tolerant. So within a year or two, Helwys and Murton brought over some of Smith's disciples to London, where they formed what is apparently the first Baptist church in England. In 1612 Helwys challenged the Establishment as the Mystery of Iniquity, and incidentally blamed flight from persecution. This stung John Robinson at Leyden, who replied in 1614. Murton returned to the matter next year in his *Objections Answered*, saying "That hath been the overthrow of religion in this land, the best able and greater part being gone." The return of Jacob was a manifest response to this call.

⁵ This final clause is noteworthy. John Smith in his last book had said: "This is the quintessence of the separation, to assume unto themselves a prerogative to teach all men, and to be taught of no man. Now I have in all my writings hitherto received instruction of others, and professed my readiness to be taught by others." Jacob now followed his example, and avowed himself ready to follow as God should make known to them. Four years later, Robinson the disciple of John Smith, also advised his church "if God should reveal anything to us by any other instrument of his, to be as ready to receive it, as ever we were to receive any truth by his Ministry."

This method of covenanting is thoroughly Puritan, and is based on the Old Testament

Thus was the begining of that Church of which proceed, they within a few Days gave notice to the Brethren here of the Antient Church.⁶

After this Hen Jacob was Chosen & Ordained

with such precedents as that of Nehemiah. Those who studied the New Testament usually found out that mutual covenanting is not advised, and that the New Covenant is accepted by a believer in the act of baptism. For a thorough treatment of this Puritan custom, see Burrage's "Church Covenant Idea."

⁶ The church founded in 1592 after a less formal existence, had acquired the title "The Ancient Church" when this manuscript was written. For in 1634 John Canne in publishing his "Necessitie of Separation From the Church of England, proved by the Nonconformists Principles," styled himself "Pastor of the ancient English church," most of whose members then lived "in Amsterdam." The expression is not only accurate, but technical, and evidently refers to the fact that other churches had arisen, but this was the senior. Even by Stinton's day, however, it had disappeared, and the prestige was transferred to Jacob's church.

In 1616, as in 1596, the Ancient Church had members both in London and in Amsterdam, though there is no sign of any officers resident in England. The Ancient Church was Barrowist, its confessions of 1589 and 1596 are well known. When they are compared with the confession put out by Jacob's church now, to be seen at the Bodleian or at Dr. Williams' Library, it is evident that the Ancient Church was far more positive, while the Jacob church was like Milton's lion, only half extricated from the soil whence it sprang. Professor Williston Walker has not even included Jacob's Confession in his ample volume setting forth The Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism. The brethren of the Ancient Church felt the difference; they had not been consulted, they were not asked to come and bless the formation, they were only notified afterwards. As late as 1624 they hesitated about acknowledging Jacob's as a true church. Their scruples included that Jacob's people went to the parish churches sometimes; with a hit at Jacob and his book on the Second Commandment they inferred that Jacob's people were idolaters. They objected also to Jacob's covenant as false, and were not willing to recognise Sabine Staesmore and his wife unless it was renounced, and a new one made. Robinson argued these points, sent a copy of much correspondence on the matter with Amsterdam, and decided that Jacob's was a true church.

Inattention to the contrast between the two churches has led to confusion in some writers, and even when the light had dawned, the tradition lingered as far as to suggest that Jacob's church may have eventually absorbed the Ancient Church. Of course anything may have happened, but no shred of proof has been adduced, and we shall show the probability that the Ancient Church merged into the 1621 church of Hubbard, at some date soon after 1632.

This document mentions the following places where Jacob's church met on specified occasions; 1632 Blackfriars, 1636 at Mr. Digby's, within the jurisdiction of the Lord Mayor, 1637 Queenhithe, 1638 Barnaby Street, 1640 Tower Hill, 1641 at brother Golding's and at Nowel's, within the jurisdiction of the Lord Mayor. Not one of these places suggests Southwark. Lambeth is mentioned in 1639, but only as the scene of trial and sentence. The High Commission records of 1634, at folio 376 describe John Lathrop as of Lambeth Marsh, a fact noted by this writer five years ago; but this only gives the residence of the pastor, and will hardly go far to prove that his church habitually met in Southwark. Indeed the evidence suggests that at this period it had no habitual meeting place, but used members' houses. As for the later period, 1653-1678, the Hexham and Broadmead Records prove it then met in Swan Alley, Coleman Street, north of the Thames.

Pastor to that Church, & many, Saints were joynd to them.⁷

The same Year y^e said Hen Jacob wth y^e advice ¹⁶¹⁶ & consent of the Church, & of some of those Reverend Preachers before said published to y^e World

A CONFESSIO & PROTESTATION in the Name of certain Christians, therein showing where- in they consent in Doctrine wth y^e Church of Eng- land, & wherein they ware bound to dissent, with their evidences from y^e Holy Scriptures for their dissent in about 28 particulars viz

- | | |
|---|------------------------------|
| 1. Christs offices. | 15. Mixt Multitude |
| 2. Scriptures all Suffic : | 16. Humane Traditions. |
| 3. Churches Distinction. | 17. Traditions Apostolick, |
| 4. Visibile Church. | 18. Of Prophecy. |
| 5. Synods and Counsels | 19. Reading Homilies. |
| 6. Cathol. Church Politick. | 20. Christs descent to Hell. |
| 7. Provincial Church. | 21. Of Prayer |
| 8. Parish Chu. Bondage. | 22. Holy Days so called. |
| 9. L. Arch. Bps. L. Bps. | 23. Marriage, Burying, |
| 10. Makeing Ministers | Churching, &c. |
| 11. what Comūnion w th them. | 24. Ministers being Magis- |
| 12. Pluralists. No residents | trates. |
| 13. Discipline Censures | 25. Lords Days Offerings. |
| 14. Pastors Number & Power | 26. Tiths Church Dues |
| | 27. Magistrates Power |
| | 28. Necessity on us to obey |
| | Christ rather than |
| | man herein. |

With a Petition to y^e King in y^e Conclusion for Tolleration to such Christians.

- [4] *At y^e Same time also he published a Collection of 14 Sundery Reasons. 20 & 4 Conclusions proveing how necessary it is for all Christians to Walk in all y^e Ways & Ordinances of God in purity, in a right

⁷ If the Church of England was no true Church, episcopal ordination was null and void. Such had been the obvious conclusion of John Smith and other Separatists, and Jacob accepted it. He was chosen and ordained anew.

Church way. part of them were made by Mr Wring the Preacher.⁸

About eight Years H. Jacob was Pastor of y^e Said Church & when upon his importunity to go to Virginia, to w^{ch} he had been engaged before by their consent,⁹ he was remitted from his said office, ¹⁶²⁴ & dismissed y^e Congregation to go thither, wherein after Years he ended his Dayes.¹⁰ In the time

⁸ The British Museum contains the anonymous tract, "A Collection of sundry matters, tending to prove it necessary for all Persons actually to walke in the use and practise of the Substantial Ordinances." Possibly the Mr. Wring who collaborated in this, is the Mr. Wing who was consulted before the church was founded. Neal took this view, from this document. Hence we infer that the reading Wing is not original.

⁹ The growing power of Bishop Laud, and his rigorous drill into uniformity, augured ill for absolute Separatists. As early as 1611 the idea had occurred to the Puritans that they might settle in the new colony of Virginia, and the London Company sent out a small band under Sir Thomas Dale, who settled at Henricopolis, named after the Prince of Wales. In 1618 Elder Blackwell took out a band of Separatists from the Ancient Church in Holland. Next year Captain Christopher Lawne planted another important Puritan Colony on the creek that still bears his name. In 1620 Robinson's church from Leyden followed these precedents, but was carried to a different part of the coast, to starve in New England. By 1621 Edward Bennett had planted two hundred people up the James River; his relation William Bennett, a Puritan, seems to have gone as their preacher. Nearly opposite Daniel Gookin settled another Puritan colony the same year, and named it, after his friend Captain Newce and their Irish home, New Port Newce. Close to Bennett's group came in 1622 Nathaniel Basse with another Puritan band. So important were these, that in 1629 Richard Bennett and Basse appeared in the House of Burgesses to represent Warrosquoyacke County. Other details as to the early Puritan settlements here can be found in Latane's Johns Hopkins study, "Early Relations between Maryland and Virginia," or in Dr. Dill's study of it in the Baptist Review and Expositor for April 1907. Now in 1619 the first legislative council met, at James City, a few miles inland from James Town; with local self-government and many Puritans, it is no wonder if many Puritans thought of a wholesale emigration to this hospitable colony. James also saw the risk of a wholesale revolt and a practically republican government, so confiscated the charter in 1624 and ruled the colony by his own governor on his own lines. What with outrageous revolutions of this kind, and with the great Indian massacre of 22 March 1622-3, much trouble attended that State and people from 1620 onwards. A census taken in February 1623-4 revealed only 1275 people living, 370 having died. Puritan emigration slackened, and when it was resumed in 1630, it was directed to New England and not Virginia, under cover of a new charter, to a trading company, and not to lords proprietors.

¹⁰ There is real difficulty about this statement of Jacob's actual emigration, and his death in Virginia. The dates are uncertain; for the side-note is evidently based upon the text, and that only says "about" eight years; and the number of years he spent there is left blank. Counting back "about 9 Years" from June 1634, we get about June 1625 as the beginning of Lathorp's pastorate. The interregnum was "a Year or two," which takes us to about Christmas 1624, with a margin of six months on either side, as the end of Jacob's pastorate. So the manuscript is quite self-

of his Service much trouble attended that State & People, within & without.

After his Departure hence y^e Congregation remained a Year or two edifying one another in y^e best manner they could according to their Gifts received from above, And then at length John Lathorp sometimes a Preacher in Kent, joynd to y^e said Congregation; And was afterwards chosen and Ordained a Pastor to them, a Man of a tender heart and a humble and meek Spirit serving the

consistent. The question is whether when his pastorate ended, he actually went to Virginia and died there.

On this point Dr. Dexter said in 1879 that he had searched all available records in vain for further light upon the port of debarkation, the post of labour, the cause of death and the place of rest. The writer has followed up this enquiry, with the help of many more documents than were available to Dr. Dexter, and is equally at fault. But whereas the myth had sprung up that Jacob even founded a town called Jacobopolis, he can at least explode this. In the earliest days there was discussion as to the name of the first town; the colony was called after the Virgin Queen, so it was thought an obvious compliment to call the town after her successor. There was wavering between James Town and James City, both ultimately adopted for the port and the capital; but on 18 August 1607 we find in the Colonial State Papers that a Dutchman writing a Latin letter, latinized the name and dated from Jacobopolis. Hence this name has nothing to do with Henry Jacob.

The Dictionary of National Biography tells rather a different story as to Jacob's death, and careful scrutiny of the original documents confirms it in the main. On 5 October 1622 Henry Jacob made his will, avowedly because he was going to Virginia; and the will benefits his sons on condition that they too come to Virginia by the end of May next. So far this bears out the statement here that he had been engaged to go thither before 1624. This will however was proved on 5 May 1624 by Sarah his widow, Mr. Harris of Newgate being proctor. The "proctor's act," which would state something as to date and place of death, is not in the registry, and there is only the ambiguous statement that probate was granted to Sarah Jacob, relict of Henry Jacob, of St. Andrew, Hubbard. First, this may only mean that Sarah was of the London parish, which indeed seems the case by the entry here for 1632. Or it may mean that Henry was still domiciled in London, without implying anything as to the place of his death: the writer knows a will signed by a man who had lived for several years in New York and had not stirred out of America, yet described himself as an Englishman domiciled in London, where the will must be proved. Or it may mean that Henry actually died in London, either having never left it, or having returned after a visit to Virginia. Now St. Andrew, Hubbard, is a tiny parish under the shadow of the monument commemorating the fire of 1666 which burned down the parish church. Most fortunately the records were preserved; they date from Elizabeth's reign, are very full and very legible. In the years 1622-1624 there is no mention of any Jacob, and we may fairly conclude that Henry Jacob did not die in that parish. If he died in Virginia early in 1624, his will would have to be proved in the English court. The "about eight years" should really be "six," and the blank in this line should be filled with "two."

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Lord in the ministry. about 9 Years to their great Comfort.¹¹

1632. the 2^d Month (called Aprill) ye 29th Day 1632
being ye Lords Day, the Church was seized upon
by Tomlinson, ye Bps Pursevant, they ware mett
in ye House of Hump: Bornet, Brewers Clark in
Black: Fryers, he being no member or hearing
abroad, At w^{ch} time 18 were not comitted but
scaped or ware not then present.¹²

[Neal uses
II. 315.]

¹¹ The pastorate of Lathorp was marked by two swarms hiving off from the church, as detailed below, one between 1620 and 1630, the other in 1633. But the narrative at this point is concerned only with the troubles from without, which led to the emigration of Lathorp. Bishop Laud was translated to London in 1627, so that they were now directly under his jurisdiction; and when he was re-translated in 1633 to Canterbury, he exerted his metropolitan rights and his rights as a Privy Councillor and as a High Commissioner so that he still dealt directly with all conventicles in London.

¹² In the records of the Star Chamber and High Commission, published by the Camden Society as volume 146, we get the trial resulting from this capture. On May 3 the prisoners specified were John Latroppe their minister, Humphrey Bernard, Henry Dod, Samuell Eaton, Granger, Sara Jones, Sara Jacob, Pennina House, Sara Barbon. Susan Wilson, besides divers others unnamed. It was admitted that Barnett, the brewer's clerk at whose house they were taken, himself went to church. Dod had been warned before—was he related to Dod the nonconforming minister? The prisoners came from different places; Essex (our records mention Colchester), St. Austin's, St. Martin's le Grand, St. Botolph's, Aldgate, Isleworth and St. Saviour's. It was not the first time they had been known to meet: Lambeth (evidently Lathorp's own house), St. Michael of the Querne, St. Austin's, Old Jewry, Rotherhithe, and other remoter places. By May 8 a further batch was brought up, Mark Lucar of St. Austin's, John Ireland of St. Mary Magdalen's in Surrey, Toby Talbot, William Pickering, Mabel Milbourne, William Atwood, Samuel Howe, Joan Ferne, Elizabeth Denne, Elizabeth Sargeant, John Egge, Henry Parker, John Woodwyne, John Melbourne, Elizabeth Melbourne, Thomas Arundel of St. Olave's, William Granger of St. Margaret's in Westminster, Robert Reignolds of Isleworth. These are distinguished from attenders on two other conventicles, dealt with also that day.

These records tally very closely with the story of the church, and give the names of the eighteen who at first "thought to have escaped." Some of the church afterwards attained a little importance, notably Samuel Howe, Mark Lucar and Praise-god Barbon.

It may be convenient to reproduce Mr. Pierce's list of the prisons in London, as most of them concerned our friends. London proper contained the Tower, where prisoners of the High Commission were tortured occasionally; the Fleet, used often by the Star Chamber; Newgate, the Compter in the Poultry, and the Compter in Wood Street, all three under the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs; Bridewell close to Blackfriars, for disobedient apprentices, pick-pockets, strumpets, etc: the bishop also had in his palace adjoining St. Paul's, a Coal Hole which he used for his own prisoners. Across the river were five more; the Southwark Compter, the Marshalsea, the White Lion (an old inn), and the Queen's Bench, all on the east of the main street; the Clink, an old prison for keepers of brothels who exceeded the license given them by the bishops of Winchester, on the

About 42 ware all taken & their names given up. Some ware not comitted, as Mr^s Bernet, Mr Lathorp, W. Parker, Mr^s Allen &c Several ware comitted to the Bps Prison called then the New [5] Prison in Crow a merchants *house again) & [5] thence Some to ye Clink, some to ye Gathouse, & some that thought to have escaped he joyned to them, being in Prison togeather viz
 John Lathorp Mr Sargent Widd Ferne Sam Hon Sam House Sister House Bro^r Arnold Mr Wilson John Woddin John Milburn Marke Lucar Mr Crafton Mr Granger Henry Parker Mr Jones H. Dod, deceased, a Prisoner Mr Barbone Mr Jacob Mr Lemar.

1632 Elizab. Milburn, about 26 comited ye 12th of ye 2n^d Month (called May 12th) being ye Lords Day.¹³ Just a fortnight after was ye Antient Church so seized upon & two of them comitted to be fellow Prisoners with these. The Lord thus tryed & experienced them & their Friends & foes ye Space of some two Years, some only under Baill, some in Hold: in w^{ch} time ye Lord Wonderfully magnified his Name & refreshed their Spirits abundantly, for I. In that time ye Lord opened their mouths so to

street from Deadman Place to St. Mary Overies. At Westminster, over two gateways into the abbey precincts, was the Gate-house, very convenient for both Star Chamber and High Commission.

¹³ The text is avowedly difficult to read here and invites skill to supply the gaps and to punctuate aright. It is by no means clear why the date 1632 is given in the left margin, when it had already been given in the text, and when at that place it had also been noted in the right margin. Again at the former place we have the ordinary reckoning—the second month called April—while here the second month is called May, and the 12th of May cannot be the Lord's Day if the 29th of April was. It would be tempting to suppose that the new paragraph in the present text represents a new paper; but the court report shows that Elizabeth Melbourne was one of those brought up on 8 May. Whatever else needs doing, the full stop after Lemar's name seems wrong, and the contraction 2nd is certainly an error for 3rd, though even then the dating is slightly wrong. As to the names, there are several trifling slips, all of which can be rectified from the Court Records except that of Ralph Grafton, which is here spelt with a C, and presently appears as Ghofton. For all names, reference should be made to the list compiled in a later article.

speake at ye High Commission & Pauls & in private even ye weake Women as their Subtill & malicious Adversarys ware not able to resist but ware asshamed.

2. In this Space ye Lord gave them So great favioir in ye Eyes of their Keepers yt they suffered any friends to come to them and they edifyed & comforted one another on ye Lords Days breaking bread &c.
3. By their Holy & Gracious carriage in their Sufferings, he so convinced others yt they obtained much more favioir in the Eyes of all Such generally as feared God then formerly, so that many ware very kind & helpfull to them, contributing to their Necessities, some weekly sending Meat &c, to them.
4. Their Keepers found so sure in their promises that they had freedom to go home, or about their [6] Trades, or buisness *whensoever they desired, & set their time, & say they would then returne it was enough without the charges of one to attend them.¹⁴
5. In this very time of their restraint ye Word was so farr from bound, & ye Saints so farr from being scared from the Ways of God that even then many ware in Prison added to ye Church, viz

Jo. Ravenscroft	Sarah.....	Willm.	Widd. White
Widd. Harvey	Hump. Bernard	Thos. { Harris	Ailce
Mary Atkin	G. Wiffield	Jane {	Eliz } Wincop
Thos. Wilson			Rebec }

6. Not one of those that ware taken did recant or turne back from the truth, through fear or through flattery, or cunning Slightes but all ware ye more strengthened thereby,

[Neal here deserts this MS. and garbles number 23.]

¹⁴ There are many other instances of jailers being thus complaisant to religious prisoners, Bunyan's case being well known. Samuel Eaton in particular profited by his parole being taken, as will presently appear.

7. When in y^e time of their Sufferings, M^r Davenport had so preached that some brought the Notes of his Sermon to these, as if it ware to condem their practice, & would have them answer them if they could: they sent a letter to him desireing he would Send them his own Notes to avoid mistakes hoping that either he might inform them or they him in some things discover to him w^t was made known to them, He loveingly performed it, they having perused his Notes, wrote back to him a large answer; after his receipt thereof he never did comūnicate with them any more, but went away when y^e Sacrament day came, and afterward preached, publickly & privately for y^e truth, & soon afterward went to Holland, where he suffered somewhat for y^e truths sake, & then went to New England where he now preacheth the same Truth that these do here, 'though there without such Persecution.¹⁵
8. The Answers of M^{rs} Jones & Some others in y^t [7] time of their *Sufferings are not¹⁶ yet Extent for y^e Comfort and Encouragement of others against taking that Oath ex officio against false Accusers.¹⁷ Their Petitions to his Maj^{ty}.

¹⁵ John Davenport made his mark in New England, and Mather's History supplies a few details. He had been of Brasenose, a B.D., and was at this time incumbent of Coleman Street, which he resigned in 1633, going to Holland, where he joined the English church in Amsterdam—not the Ancient church of which John Canne was Elder. but the Puritan church housed then and now in the Bagijnhof. He was removed from this church because he objected to the promiscuous baptism of children—evidently wishing it confined to the children of members. He returned to England, helped get the charter for the trading company of Massachusetts Bay, arrived in New England 1637 and died on 15 March 1670. He never became a Baptist, and as "he now preacheth the same Truth that these do here," it follows that this manuscript was written by a pædobaptist—which Henry Jessey was until 1645.

¹⁶ The word "not" should apparently be "even."

¹⁷ Queen Elizabeth as Governor of the Church of England, appointed not a single Vicar-general like Thomas Cromwell, but a High Commission. She empowered any six commissioners to summon anybody suspected, and to examine them "upon their corporal oath," that is, laying their hand on a Bible and swearing. If they would not take that oath, the commissioners might imprison them as long as they pleased. Since this oath

Sarah Jones her Grievances given in & read openly at ye Cōmission Court.

Her Cronicle of Gods remarkable Judgments & dealings that Year &c wonderfull are the Lords works its meet he should have all ye Praise.

After ye Space of about 2 Years of the Sufferings & Patience of these Saints they ware all released upon Bail (some remaining so to this day as Mr Jones &c, though never called on)¹⁸ only to Mr Lathorp & Mr Grafton they refused to shew such favoiur, they ware to remain in Prison without release.

At last there being no hopes yt Mr Lathorp should do them further Service in ye Church, he having many motives to go to new England if it might be granted After the Death of his Wife he earnestly desiring ye Church would release him of yt office w^{ch} (to his grief) he could no way performe, & that he might have their consent to goe to new England, after serious consideration had about it it was freely granted to him

Then Petition being made that he might have ¹⁶³⁴ Liberty to depart out of ye Land he was released from Prison 1634, about ye 4th Month called June,

was administered by virtue of the office held on the commission, it came to be popularly called the Ex-officio oath. No accuser need appear, the material for accusation was extracted from the suspect: the chief difference between this court and the Inquisition was obviously in name. The system came to the notice of Lord Burghley in 1584, but despite his protests, it was continued by Whitgift, and a petition of the Commons that same year was equally ineffectual. The Millenary Petition of 1603 did little to check it, except that the commission to Bancroft in 1611 limited it to those who were already definitely accused. But Laud on the other hand widened its extent, for in 1584 the Commons spoke of it as administered to clergy alone, but now laymen also were invited to criminate themselves. In 1641 when the High Commission was abolished, it was thoroughly provided that no person whatever exercising ecclesiastical power should even tender to any person whatever an Ex-officio oath, on pain of £100 fine and treble damages to the person aggrieved. So Sara Jones won her cause.

¹⁸ This parenthesis suggests that the document was written about 1641; for in that July the High Commission was abolished, and the remark was needless in view of the altered situation.

& about 30 of the members who desired leave & permission from y^e Congregation to go along with him, had it granted to them, namely, M^r Jo: Lathorp, Sam. House, John Wodwin, Goodwife Woodwin, Elder & Younger, Widd: Norton, & afterwards Rob^t Linel & his Wife, M^r & M^{rs} Laberton, M^{rs} Hamond, M^{rs} Swinerton¹⁹

1620 joyned those wth M^r Jacob, these inhabiting in Coulchester (though an old Church of y^e Separation was there) *viz Joshua Warren, Henry January, [8] St Puckle a Manasses Kenton, Lemuel Tuke &c who afterwards by Consent became a Church. Tuke left them & is a Preacher at Dry.²⁰

1630 M^r Dupper had been of this Congregation he¹⁶³⁰ wth Tho: Dyer y^t was one of them & Daniel Chidley y^e Elder these

¹⁹ The Acts of the High Commission enable us to expand this. On April 24 John Lathropp was enlarged on bond to appear in Trinity Term, and not to attend private conventicles. On June 12 Sarah Jones the wife of Thomas Jones of Water Lambeth refused to take oath to answer articles—precisely as this manuscript says—and was therefore committed to the Gate house, but was afterwards discharged on bond for her appearance. Then, and on June 19 and on October 9 Lathorp did not appear, and orders were made to certify the bonds and to attach him. On the last occasion Samuel Eaton was joined with him. And on February 19, 1634-5 they were both accused of having kept conventicles. That was the official view of the fact declared here, that the congregation did meet and grant leave to about thirty of their number to emigrate with Lathorp. It will be noted that nothing like thirty names are given here; either the paper was mutilated—for the next paragraph is quite a new topic—or else Stinton was tired of copying names, as he avows at the end of the whole document. As Mr. Lathorp disappears off the horizon of this church, it is only needful to say that he sailed on 31 August—a point evidently unknown to the High Commission—landed at Boston on 18 September, and took charge of churches in the old colony (not the new Massachusetts colony) at Scituate and Barnstable.

²⁰ Essex had been a stronghold of the Elizabethan Puritans; in Dr. Usher's edition of the Minutes of the Dedham Classis 1582-1589 he gathers the names of 55 ministers in this county, all organized in opposition to the bishop, eight being of Colchester itself. It is significant how silenced Puritans were on the high road to keep conventicles, that one of these was George Tuke: Lemuel Tuke in the next generation goes further. This was what John Canne urged on Ames was the logical course. Even under Edward, when a Dutch church settled at Colchester, an English tanner there had been convicted of heresy; now these elements combined and precipitated a church. It again becomes clear that Jacob's type was not of the former Brownist type, for some people in Colchester would not join the old Separatist church, but joined him; and presently most were dismissed to form a second church in Colchester.

joyned together to be a Church, Mr Boy joyned himself to them & Mr Stanmore Benj: Wilkins, Hugh Vesse, John Flower, Bro: Morton, & his Wife, John Jerrow.²¹

1633. There haveing been much discussing these denying Truth of y^e Parish Churches, & y^e Church being now become so large y^t it might be prejudicial, these following desired dismission that they might become an Entire Church, & further y^e Comunion of those Churches in Order amongst themselves, w^{ch} at last was granted to them²² & performed Sept 12. 1633 viz

[Gould quotes on page cxxii.]

Henry Parker & Wife
Widd: Fearne Marke Lucar Hatmaker
Mr Wilson Mary Milburn Tho^s Allen
Jo: Milburn
Arnold

To These Joyned Rich. Blunt, Tho: Hubert, Rich. Tredwell & his Wife Kath:, John Trimber, Wm Jennings & Sam Eaton Mary Greenway——Mr Eaton with Some others receiving a further Baptism.²³

²¹ For fuller detail of the 1630 movement we must compare the last section of these records. Dupper from Colchester took the radical view that the parish churches could not be regarded as true churches, and that all intercourse with them must be explicitly renounced. Jacob had founded his church with the approval of several parish clergy, and a member now had his child christened at the parish church. Canne declined to recognize such a wavering body as a sister church, taking exactly the view that the Ancient church had taken in 1624, for as will be seen when studying the fourth document, he was now the pastor of this Ancient church. Dupper urged them to come out boldly, and they evaded the issue in revising their covenant. So he and a few others quitted and established themselves on the basis of the Ancient church and Canne. This was a secession, and Dupper's friends apparently did not hold communion with the body they left.

²² After three years, discussion cleared the air to the extent that a third group quitting on the same principle, were granted an amicable dismission. They also held communion with Canne's Ancient church and Dupper.

²³ A fresh point was started by Samuel Eaton. If baptism in the parish church was not valid, he himself was unbaptized, and the covenant could not replace baptism. So when he quitted Lathorp's church for Lucar's, he received a further baptism on profession of his faith. This was exactly the same advance that John Smith of Lincoln had made when he recognized not only with Barrow that the Church of England was the Beast of

Others joyned to them,
 1638. These also being of ye same Judgment wth Sam.
 Eaton & desireing to depart & not to be censured
 our intrest in them was remitted wth Prayer made
 in their behalfe June 8th 1638. They haveing first
 forsaken Us & Joyned wth Mr Spilsbury,²⁴ viz

[9]	*Mr Peti. Fener .	W ^m Batty	[9]
	Hen. Pen	M ^{rs} Allen (died 1639)	
	Tho. Wilson	M ^{rs} Norwood	

[Gould
ends.]

Revelation, but that her baptism on the forehead was the Mark of the Beast. It is not said whether Eaton found his way to this view direct from the Bible, or whether he read a copy of Smith's book on the point. But we do know that for his further baptism he went to Spilsbury. What act was baptism, did not apparently trouble any one yet.

Gathering together from the State Papers the facts known about Eaton later than those mentioned in notes 12 and 19, we find that he was a button-maker of St. Giles without Cripplegate, and that on 5 May 1636 his case was referred to the High Commission. Two years later, a clergyman imprisoned for debt petitioned Laud about him, asseverating that this schismatical and dangerous fellow, committed to Newgate by Laud, had held conventicles in jail, and had been allowed to preach openly; he had affirmed often that baptism was the doctrine of devils, &c. [a misapprehension of Eaton's objection to baptism in an apostate church]; the jailor had listened, and had even let Eaton out to preach at conventicles. [This confirms precisely the statements in these papers.] On 25 August 1639 Eaton was buried in Bunhill Fields by two hundred people who asked no help from any parish clergyman.

The memory of him lasted for two or three years as a Separatist leader, and the contemporary lampoons carefully distinguished him from Samuel Eaton the minister of New Haven in Connecticut in 1639, who returned about 1641, and after preaching in Chester and Knutsford, founded the Independent church at Dukinfield near Manchester.

²⁴ Within five years a different church came to light, clustering around John Spilsbury, of entirely independent origin. For other early information about him we depend on John Taylor's scurrilous rhyme published in June 1641, A Swarme of Sectaries:—

Also one Spilsbery rose up of late
 (Who doth, or did dwell over Aldersgate)
 His office was to weigh Hay by the Trusse
 (Fit for the pallat of Bucephalus)
 He in short time left his Hay-weighing trade,
 And afterwards he Irish Stockings made:
 He rebaptiz'd in Anabaptist fashion
 One Eaton (of the new found separation)
 A zealous Button-maker, grave and wise,
 And gave him orders, others to baptize;
 Who was so apt to learne that in one day
 Hee'd do't as well as Spilsbery weigh'd Hay.

Taylor mentions six other leaders of conventicles in his satire, while in The Brownists' Synagogue we get fifteen more names, all different from our group, but with the express acknowledgement that besides these local groups, the arch-separatists, the demy gods who

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²⁵Other Persecutions besides the Persecutions before^d

The Good Lord Jesus gave, (Satan still envying ye Prosperity of Zion, stirred up against this Church) several Tryalls afterwards wherein still ye Lord gave occasion of Triumphant in him; It's good to record & bring to remembrance our Straights & ye Lords Enlargements, Experience works Hope & Hope maketh not ashamed because ye Love of God is shed abroad in our hearts. to instance in

²⁶John Trash was taken by Rag at Mr Digbeys ¹⁶³⁶ & not Yelding to Rags general warrant, was had to

preached everywhere were Greene the feltmaker and Spencer the coachman; from the next document we know that their headquarters were in Crutched Friars. Thus we have here in 1639 a group of nine whose lines are intertwined, showing how little Laud's repression availed:—

1. The Ancient Church of 1592, London and Amsterdam, at this time under John Canne.
2. The old Separatist Church of Colchester.
3. Our Jacob-Lathorp-Jessey Church of 1616.
4. Its daughter at Colchester under Lemuel Tuke.
5. The secession of 1630 under Dupper.
6. Another daughter of 1633, including Mark Lucar and [Green] the hatmaker, to which Samuel Eaton joined presently.
7. The Old Colony daughter of 1634 at Scituate, under Lathorp.
8. Spilsbury's church, known by 1638.
9. Green and Spencer's church in Crutched Friars, founded in 1639 by division from 6.

These all fall into two groups; 3, 4 and 7 were mediating, willing to admit communion with the parish churches; the rest declined to acknowledge them in any way. This was also one difference across the Atlantic between the Puritans of Massachusetts of the "New England way," and the earlier Plymouth church from Leyden. The Colonial State Papers of December 1634 preserve a letter intercepted from James Cudworth at Scituate, saying that their pastor Lathorp had just arrived, and contrasting the methods of the Old Colony with "the presbyterial government as it seems established" in Boston and the New England towns. It is well to remember that Lathorp's First Church at Scituate is to be distinguished from a second established there on the New England lines, though Scituate was not then in Endicott's territory.

²⁵ Apparently the fore-going section, 1620-1638 was misplaced by Stinton in copying; he speaks of "several sheets," not of a stitched book. The section between the lines, 1636 to 1641, continues the topic of persecution which was suspended at 1634. It will be observed that the personal note "Us" first appears under the date 8 June 1638: Henry Jessey first met this church about 1635, and became pastor in 1637. We note the same "us" presently under date 21 January 1637-8.

²⁶ On 31 August 1639 it was reported that Mrs. Traske, a Sabbatarian, had lain in the New Prison or the Gate House for eleven years. It is implied here that Trash belonged to this church. The "Mill Yard" Sabbatarian Baptist church, which has lost

y^e L. Mayor & was comitted to y^e Poultre Counter for ten days & then was released upon Bail, wanted his health & was shortly after translated.²⁷

11th Month (vulgarly January) y^e 21 day at Queenhith (where M^r Glover, Mr Eaton, Mr Eldred¹⁶³⁷ & others ware wth us)²⁸ after Exercise was done, by means M^r the overthwart Neighbour, Officers & others came, at last both y^e Sheriffs, & then Veasy y^e Pursevant who took y^e Names; The Lord gave such Wisdom in their Carriage y^t some of their opposers afterwards did much favour them & bail'd them. The next Day Veasy the Pursevant got Money of some of them, & so they ware dismissed, 4 ware comitted to y^e Poultre Counter viz

R. Smith M^{rs} Jacob. S. Dry

3 Month 8th Day At M^{rs} De Lamars Veasy wth ¹⁶³⁸ others came upon them in Barnaby Street by Male all taken 4 bound to answer at High Comission. viz Br. Russell & Cradock

11th Month at Lambeth M^{rs} Lovel & M^{rs} Chit-¹⁶³⁹
 [10] wood by Doctor *Featly were sent to Kings Bench, [10]
 & by Doctr Lands direction bound to y^e Assizes

2 Month Vulgo April 21. At Tower Hill at ¹⁶⁴⁰
 M^{rs} Wilsons where some ware seeking y^e Lord wth

its records, claims Trask as member, and on the strength of him claims to have originated in the reign of James. In 1645 Ephraim Pagitt, who knew him well, stated his opinions as that it was not lawful to do anything forbidden in the old Law, nor to keep the Christian Sabbath. He had been pilloried at Westminster, whipped thence to the Fleet, and imprisoned there three years before he recanted. See Heresiography, p. 124.

²⁷ John Ragg or Wragg, Veasy, and Male, were pursuivants of the High Commission, mentioned here and in the court records. This church was well posted on matters of law, for the point was raised that a general warrant, specifying no names, was invalid; John Wilkes long afterwards established the point.

²⁸ Eaton belonged to another church now, but the relations between that and "us" were avowedly friendly, as had not been the case with Dupper's church or the Ancient Church.

fasting for y^e Parliament²⁹ (like to be dissolved unless they would grant Subsidies for Warrs against y^e Scottish) by procurement of Male y^e Arch Prelates Pursevant, Sr W^m Balford Leutenant of y^e Tower sent theither H Jesse (who he found praying for y^e King as he told his Mag^{ty}) M^{rs} Jones, M^r Brown wth others about 20.

Then Sr W^m asked his Magesties Pleasure concerning them who would have them Released but Dr Laud y^e Arch Bishop being Present desired the men might be bound to y^e Sessions w^{ch} was perform & no Enditement being there against them at their appearance they were freed. 1641

Also 6 Month 21. at our Brother Goldings by y^e Constables Means, Alderman Somes came who took y^e Names of M^r Puckle & John Stoneard, y^e Constables carried them with M^r Golding, M^r Shambrook & some others to y^e Mayor who bound them to y^e Sessions, from whence their Accusers being called then to take y^e Protestation wth their Parishoners none appearing against them they were freed.³⁰

Also 6 Month 22^d day at the L Nowers house, 1641
y^e same L. Mayor Sr John Wright came Violently on them, beat, thrust, pinched & kicked such men or Women as fled not his handling, among others M^{rs} Berry who miscarried & dyed the same week & her Child. He comitted to y^e Counter H.

²⁹ William Kiffin was apparently present, to judge by his autobiography. As he is not named here, the inference is that to the writer he seemed of no special importance. As in 1643 Kiffin routed Jessey in argument, we infer that the document was penned before then.

³⁰ With the fall of the High Commission, the officers had to rely on the Lord Mayor or the Sessions or the House of Commons. Neither officers nor Puritans approved of Separatism: toleration was only secured in January of 1640-1 after a leading case before the House of Lords, mentioned in a later document. The intolerance of the Puritans was constant, and led in the end to Colonel Pride purging the House of Commons, since they were by stealth passing an ordinance to imprison for life or execute all Baptists and some others.

Jessey, Mr Nowel, Mr Ghofton, & that night bound them to answer at y^e House of Comōns where they appearing he let it fall.

[11]

*COVENANT RENEWED.

[11]

Whilst Mr Lathorp was an Elder here some 1630 being greived against one that had his Child then Baptized in y^e Common Assemblies,³¹ & desiring & urging a Renouncing of them, as Comōnion wth them, Mr Can also then walking Saints where he left Mr How (he going wth Some to Holland)³² He desiring that y^e Church wth Mr Lathorp would renew their Covenant in Such a Way, & then he with Others would have Comōnion wth them. Mr Dupper would have them therein to Detest & Protest against y^e Parish Churches, Some ware Unwilling in their Covenanting either to be tyed either to protest against y^e truth of them, or to affirm it of them, not knowing w^t in time to come God might further manifest to them thereabout Yet for peace Sake all Yelded to renew their Covenant in these Words

To Walke together in all y^e Ways of God So farr as he hath made known to Us, or shall make known to us, & to forsake all false Ways, & to this the severall Members subscribed their hands.

After this followd several Sheets containing y^e Names of y^e Members of y^e said Congregation & y^e time of their admission.³³

³¹ This makes clear that in 1630 the church had not arrived at the point of renouncing all fellowship with the parish churches. For christenings, weddings and funerals even to-day, many people who habitually worship elsewhere, still resort to them.

³² For discussion of this mutilated sentence, and its remarkable implications, a further document must be consulted. It misled Neal into confusing this church with that of Hubbard How, and More; see his History, II. 316.

³³ Though Stinton unfortunately was too tired to copy mere names and dates, we can recover several, which will be appended presently to a sketch of the church.

Rise of the Particular Baptists in London, 1633-1644.

THIS document has been entitled by many Americans the Kiffin Manuscript, because Crosby twice refers it to William Kiffin, at pages 101 and 148. But Crosby gives no voucher for this authorship, whether of handwriting or of any oral information; and as he used the document 37 years after Kiffin's death, it is better to disuse a title which begs a question, and to look at the internal evidence.

The story relates to the same church as before, that which Jacob founded and had Lathorp for its second pastor; but it narrates further developments. After a brief statement of the events in 1633 and 1638, it shows how the church divided amicably, and how 53 members in the two companies decided to adopt Dipping as the only scriptural form of baptism. An epilogue touches another church with a different origin, which however associated itself with these in issuing a Confession during 1644.

Kiffin's name occurs once near the beginning, and again as one who signed the Confession. There is no avowed "me" in the text.

Probably all the facts narrated lay within Kiffin's knowledge. He seems to have published his first pamphlet in 1645, another in 1649, another in 1660, besides more substantial works in 1681 and 1692. Also he left a manuscript autobiography, written in 1670 and 1693, which was edited by Ivimey in 1833. There is some probability that such a man might pen a few pages as to the biography of his own church, and its cousins.

Taking the autobiography and carefully neglecting all Ivimey's additions, we get the following skeleton:— Born in 1616, he was apprenticed in London during 1629, and two years later was roused to an interest in Puritan preachers, such as John Davenport and John Goodwin of Coleman Street; but was perplexed at Davenport and Hooker going abroad and not staying at the post of duty. About the age of 22 [that is, about 1638, a date

unaccountably misquoted in America], he joined an Independent congregation, and married a member of it. [From the family tomb we know her name was Hannah, and she was born about 1616.] He was mobbed once when leaving worship at Towerhill. Having talked and studied the subject, he was baptized [i.e. dipped, for this is what the word meant to him in 1670]; no details of time place or circumstance being given. In 1640 he was arrested at Southwark, and put in the White Lion prison; but as the prosecutor got into trouble with the House of Lords, was released. Then came a serious illness. In 1643 he went to Holland and started a trade in woollen cloth which laid the foundation of his fortunes.

Comparison with the story below, shows only one discrepancy, as to the date of his imprisonment. We know from a pamphlet published by Daniel Featley, an ex-official of the High Commission, that on 17th October 1642 Kiffin was free, and well enough to debate with him in Southwark, where Featley held a benefice. It rather startles us to find the acknowledgment:— "For the 39 Articles I know not what they are, I never saw them that I remember:" and he made a slip in putting Jacob more than 2000 years before Christ. Featley reproached him with being an illiterate Artificer. But Kiffin was well able to discuss two points, the baptism of infants, and the right of laymen to preach, as to which some amusing evidence is quoted in the notes to the next document.

The date of Kiffin's baptism is interesting. In 1670 he said that he was arrested in 1640 but was released because Justice Mallett the prosecutor was himself imprisoned by Parliament. But his date here is wrong, the state papers show that it was in August 1642 that Mallett was arrested. This rectification makes his autobiography fall into line with his statement in 1681 that he had practised Strict Communion "for these forty years," the context implying that he had never wavered on this point. Hence we get the true sequence:— 1638 joined a congregation which on one occasion was mobbed at Tower Hill, i.e. 21 April, 1640. Discussed baptism, and was immersed about 1641. Imprisoned at the White Lion in Southwark, and released after July 1642. Debated with Featley in Southwark during October 1642. Seriously ill. Went to Holland 1643.

The Tower Hill incident is another undesigned coincidence between the autobiography and the Jessey Records. It shows also that Kiffin was a member of the Jessey church, as the Knowles debate implies. It is remarkable that he was not among the 53 baptized by Blunt and Blaiklock, perhaps he came to a

speedier decision than did the people here mentioned, and perhaps the question of an administrator gave him no concern.

But there is not enough evidence to show that Kiffin wrote this paper. And when we reflect that he apparently did not share the scruples of these 53, or at least that he was baptized on another occasion, we wonder if he was sufficiently interested to record their names, in a way that almost implies that the transaction seemed important to the narrator. Moreover Stinton was in contact with Kiffin between 1697 and 1701, and he never suggests that Kiffin was the author, it was left for Crosby a generation later first to suggest it, and then a few pages later to treat his suggestion as a fact.

The name of Jessey has been suggested as the author; and although Stinton did not put it forward while prefixing it to two other papers given him from the same source, it is worth examining. Despite certain discrepancies which must be scrutinized closely, the events under dates 1633 and 1638 tally in this paper with those in the "Jessey Records;" and this paper reads as if it had been intended to carry further the story already given. Jessey's name occurs once. As he was not baptized till 1645, the theory that he penned this paper in 1644 will satisfy all conditions that are obvious. But the evidence is of that kind that supports the guess of Apollos as author of the epistle to the Hebrews—a late guess, with slight coincidences. All that it seems safe to say is that Jessey might have written this, while there were many obscurer men who were equally able to do so. From any member of his Mixed Communion church, the paper might emanate, and might pass into the hands of Adams.

But if we take the first document, and place the intrusive section of 1620-1638 at the end, we get there two distinct topics; First the troubles from outside, 1616 to 1641; Second the discussions within, 1620 to 1638. This second document then opens out a third topic, to which the second leads up; the adoption of immersion and the evolution of the Seven Churches. We shall see that our third document completes an orderly story by a fourth topic; the abandonment of infant baptism within Jessey's church. When we note how these papers are consecutive (as soon as we rectify one dated displacement), we are more inclined to attribute them to one author, namely, Henry Jessey.

Authorship is less important than accuracy. It will be found in the notes that the story here dovetails almost perfectly, both with the records in document one, and with known facts. It also explains to some extent why the Seven Churches clung together as Seven for several years; not only might they linger affection-

ately on the coincidence with the Revelation, not only did they agree largely in doctrine, but they all sprang from one movement, five of them were directly descended from the church of 1616, and the other two were early connected with it.

The phraseology of the anonymous *Life of Jessey*, published in 1671, more than suggests that these papers were used in the compilation.

There is a piece of evidence bearing on this church published in November 1644. Its title runs:— *To Sions Virgins: Or, A Short Forme of Catechisme of the Doctrine of Baptisme, in use in these times that are so full of Questions. By an Ancient Member of that long agoe gathered Congregation, whereof Mr. Henry Jacob was an Instrument of gathering it, and the Pastour worthy of double honour, Mr. John Lathroppe succeeding him, now pastor in New England: and the beloved Congregation, through God's mercies sees her Teachers, waiting when God shall give more Liberty and Pastours according to his own heart, praying the Lord of the harvest to thrust forth Labourers into his harvest.*

Now by 1644 the church had divided into two, one section under Barbon, one under Jessey. But the title suggests that the catechism was written when there was no pastor, when there was not sufficient liberty to have one.

Yet as soon as we look at the contents, we find that two distinct topics are matters of eager discussion in this circle, the act of baptism, and its subjects. The author's position is that the minister is to dip his hand, and to pour clean water, sprinkle and wash the sinner, and so it is fully baptized. And this he defends at length, so that we can see the matter was burning, and all the details had been up for discussion. Then he claims that all the children of Sion's citizens have a right to baptism, because they are of the kingdom; this position also he defends at length. Then he returns to the topic of dipping, which was in the forefront, and after arguing against it, he concludes that it is vain to baptize again; let them take heed that teach, these new truths as they call them, these new forms, or newly taken up.

Such topics in 1637 within this church are more advanced than any other evidence would imply, and agree far better with the date of publication, November 1644, a month after the Confession that stipulated for dipping. Of course it is possible that a catechism written in 1637 was edited to suit a more advanced stage in 1644. But on the whole the later date seems to fit all the circumstances; only the title shows that the proceedings of Jessey, who by that time had abandoned pouring, and had been beaten in open debate by Knowles and Kiffin, as we shall presently

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see, had so far excited the ire of this ancient member, that he omitted all reference to him, and almost implied that Jessey was to be recognized as only a Teacher, not a Pastor after her own heart.

*Numb: 2

[12]

An Old MSS, giving some Acco^{tt} of those Baptists who first formed themselves into distinct Congregations, or Churches in London. found among certain Paper given me by Mr Adams

Sundry of y^e Church whereof Mr Jacob & Mr John Lathorp had been Pastors, being dissatisfied 1633
1633wth y^e Churches owning of English Parishes to be true Churches desired dismissal & Joyned together among themselves, as Mr Henry Parker, Mr Tho. Shepard,¹ Mr Sam^l Eaton, Marke Luker,² 1633
[Crosby uses very freely, I. 148, also III. 41.]

¹ There are two or three men of this name at this period. The minister of Cambridge in Massachusetts is of course not the man; place, date, doctrine and social rank all distinguish him clearly. And probably the carpenter of St. Andrews in London, who on 16 May 1637 was in some kind of trouble with the High Commission, is not the man. For three other facts about a third man fit well with these notices:—On 15 October 1635 Thomas Sheppard of St. Olave's in Bermondsey, a leather-dresser, was brought before the High Commission as a Separatist. About 1639 he was still a prisoner in the Marshalsea. In 1644 he was colleague with Thomas Munden, mentioned further in this document, signing the Baptist Confession, where his name appears as Skippard. In 1646 he was replaced by George Tipping, who two years before had been Spilsbury's colleague. He has left no other trace in literature.

² The name of Lucar at this period reminds us that Cyril Lucar, patriarch first of Alexandria and then of Constantinople, was in friendly relations with James I. and Charles I., having been bred a Calvinist. It was in gratitude for their kindness that he sent the famous Alexandrian manuscript of the Septuagint and the New Testament, now lodged at the British Museum. The name sets us wondering whether our Mark Lucar was connected with his family. When we turn to the Harleian Society's Visitation of London in 1568 by Clarenceux, augmented after 1613 by William Camden, we find the Lucar family prominent enough to bear arms, but apparently only of brief residence, for the pedigree begins with Emanuel Lucar of London, Esquire, who married Elizabeth the daughter of Paule Withipole, by whom he had children: Emanuel, Henry, Mary, Jane. Then he married Joane the daughter of Thomas Turnbull, by whom he had: Ciprian, Martha, Mary, Mark, and John. This is apparently our Mark. The names have a slightly Hellenistic flavour. Now the Greeks have never abandoned immersion as the only act of baptism; and if Mark Lucar had any Greek blood in him, and Greek relations coming to see him, there was an easy means of the attention being drawn to this detail. He is well known in America as an original member of the First Baptist church at Newport, Rhode Island, formed in 1644.

& others with whom Joyned Mr W^m Kiffin.³
 1638. Mr Tho: Wilson, Mr Pen, & H. Pen, &
 1638³ more being convinced that Baptism was not for 1638
 Infants, but professed Beleivers joyned with Mr
 Jo: Spilsbury y^e Churches favour being desired
 therein.

³ Kiffin avowedly joined this group under other circumstances; from his autobiography we learn it was in 1638, though apparently after Eaton's death they were able to join Jessey. The two lists of 1633 may be compared.

Records.	Old Manuscript.
Henry Parker and wife.	Henry Parker.
Widow Fearné.	
Mr. Wilson.	
Marke Luker.	Marke Luker.
Mary Milburn.	
John Milburn.	
Arnold	
[Green], Hatmaker.	
Thomas Allen.	Thomas Shepard.
[Eaton afterwards]	Samuel Eaton.
	&c.

The High Commission records show that Eaton was a member in 1632, and we infer from these two entries that he was dismissed during 1633, but after 12 September. Other information as to these people is collected in the reconstituted church roll further on.

A similar comparison of the 1638 lists gives:—

Peti. Fener	Mr. Pen
Henry Pen.	H. Pen.
Thomas Wilson.	Thomas Wilson.
William Batty.	and
Mrs. Allen.	three
Mrs. Norwood.	more.

"Peti. Fener" is clearly wrong; whether "Mr. Pen" is right is more than doubtful. When Mr. Gould of Norwich copied the same autograph of Stinton which Keymer copied, he read here Peti. Ferrer; see "Open Communion" cxxii. But when we turn to the High Commission records, we find that on 5 May 1636 Dr. Featley was to try and persuade John Fener to conform; on 21 and 25 January 1636-7 John Fenner was asked to abjure, he being mentioned in Anabaptist company; on 1 February 1637-8 John Fenner was still in the Gate-house as a Separatist. On the whole, John Fenner seems the best reading, which may best explain all the variants. That Stinton did not try and harmonize, speaks well for his fidelity.

A third comparison is useful. The Jessey Records say that these six were of the same judgment with Eaton; this manuscript says that they were convinced baptism was not for infants, but for professed believers. This confirms the supposition that Eaton did not quit at the same time with Lucar, and that the ground of his separation was slightly different. We infer that many in Spilsbury's church shared Eaton's views in 1638.

1640
 3^d Mo: The Church became two by mutall con- 1640
 1640sent just half being wth Mr P. Barebone,⁴ & y^e [Neal
 other halfe with Mr H. Jessey⁵ Mr Richard Blunt uses, III. 126.
 wth him being convinced of Baptism y^t also it ought Crosby
 to be by dipping y^e Body into y^e Water, resembling uses, I. 102.
 Burial & rising again. 2 Col: 2. 12. Rom: 6. 4. Gould
 had sober conferance about⁶ in y^e Church, & then quotes, cxliii.]
 wth some of the forenamed who also ware so con-
 vinced:⁷ And after Prayer & conferance about
 their so enjoying it, none having then so so prac-

⁴ Praise-god Barbon was a leather-seller dwelling at the Lock and Key, in Fleet Street. On 19 December he "had a conventicle of Brownists in his house," about which a pamphlet was published. He followed a different line from Jessey, and in March 1642, shortly after the baptism here detailed, he preached "a discourse tending to prove the baptisme in or under the defection of Antichrist to be the ordinance of Jesus Christ." This called out an answer, written as Dr. Christian has shown, by R. Barrow, to be seen at the Angus Library; and this on 14 April 1643 elicited a reply from Barbon to show not only that Baptism was the ordinance of God, but that the baptism of infants was lawful. Perhaps he did not carry with him all his church, for on 30 August 1654 several of his members signed a declaration "concerning the Kingly Interest of Christ &c." whose promoters were chiefly Baptist. This was called out by the ending of that Nominated Parliament on whose roll Barbon's name stood first. In any case, he and his church pass over the horizon of these papers here, for the discussions soon after May 1640 raised a totally new point with which he had no sympathy.

⁵ The story clusters round the group that adhered to Jessey. While the punctuation is ambiguous, we are probably to understand a period after Jessey's name, as indeed Gould read, and interpret the next clause as that "Mr. Richard Blunt, who was with him, being convinced &c."

From the Life of Jessey we know that this division of the church was on 18 May 1640, and that each half renewed its covenant.

Of Richard Blunt we lose sight in 1646, when Edwards tells us, in his *Gangræna* III. 113, that by 5 June the church of Blunt, Emmes, and Wrighter had gone to pieces. As he did not sign even the Confession of 1644, his church may have broken up even by then.

⁶ Mr. Gould of Norwich, transcribing the same manuscript of Stinton, copies these references as "Col. ii, 12: Rom. vi. 4:" see his "Open Communion and the Baptists of Norwich," cxliii. Crosby at I. 102, prints "2 Colos. ii. 12. and Rom. vi. 4." Here is another instance where Gould and his employee differ in minute details. A minute comparison of the whole paragraph shows other variations in every line, such as in Gould's transcript:—Sober Conferance about it; and instead of &; none having then so practised: all the variations being of the most trivial description, and not affecting the sense.

⁷ Blunt and his friends based their view on the interpretation of Scripture. But some of the 1633 and 1638 groups had also come to the same conclusion: they may have been led by considering the plain direction of the Prayer Book, or by the continuous usage of the Greeks, or by the same scriptural consideration. In any case, by 1640 the question was rife outside Jessey's own church.

tised in England to professed Believers,⁸ & hearing that some in y^e Nether Lands had so practised⁹ they agreed & sent over Mr Rich. Blunt (who understood Dutch) wth Letters of Comendation, who was kindly accepted there, & returned wth Letters from them Jo: Batte a Teacher there,¹⁰ & from that Church to such as sent him.¹¹

*They proceed on therein, viz, Those Persons y^t were persuaded Baptism should be by dipping y^e Body had mett in two Companies, & did intend so to meet after this, all these agreed to proceed alike together.¹² And then Manifesting (not by any formal Words or Covenant) w^{ch} word was scrupled by some of them, but by mutual desires & agreement each Testified:¹³ Those two Companyes did set apart one to Baptize the rest; So it was solemnly performed by them.

⁸ This statement is that by May 1640, the dipping of professed believers was not yet practised—of course, to the knowledge of these people and of the writer about 1644. Nothing is said about dipping infants, which was the legal method, and was still practised in various parts. These people had already adopted the "baptism" of believers, but now were attending to the further question what act was baptism.

⁹ Dipping had been disused on the Continent generally for a long time; but the Collegiants had revived it at Rynsburg since 1619, as had also some Poles and Swiss at an earlier time.

¹⁰ John Batten taught a congregation of Collegiants at Leyden, according to Barclay, who cites no evidence. Dr. Lofton quotes Professor Rauschenbusch finding Jan Batte mentioned in the *Geschiedeniss der Rhynsburgische Vergadering*, as one of the early and prominent teachers. Dr. Christian gives the title of this book as "*Historie Der Rijnsburgsche Vergadering . . . MDCCLXXV*", and confirms Barclay by translating from it a reference to Jan Batten from Leiden as a usual speaker at the meetings before 1618 which resulted in the organization of the Collegiants, who restricted themselves to immersion.

¹¹ The conferences, the journey of Blunt, his own baptism and his return took several months, and the next date is 1641, even towards the end of the year.

¹² The High Commission was abolished during 1641, so that there was practically no check on the increase of Separatism. Again therefore the numbers increased so that a further division was possible, of those who intended to adopt immersion from those who were indifferent on the matter. Of the former there were enough to form two groups, though they acted together on this occasion.

¹³ It is noteworthy that as more scriptural views of baptism obtained, the Old Testament revival of covenanting was objected to.

Mr Blunt Baptized Mr Blacklock y^t was a Teacher amongst them, & Mr Blunt being Baptized, he & Mr Blacklock¹⁴ Baptized y^e rest of their friends that ware so minded, & many being added to them they increased much

[Gould
ends
quotation.]

¹⁵The Names of all 11 Mo. Janu: begin

Richard Blunt	Sam. Blacklock	Tho Shephard	}
Greg. Fishburn	Doro Fishburn	his Wife	
John Cadwell	Eliz. Cadwell	Mary Millisson	
Sam. Eames	Tho. Munden		
Tho. Kilcop	William Willieby,		
Robert Locker	Mary Lock		
John Braunson	John Bull		
Rich. Ellis	Mary Langride		
W ^m Creak	Mary Haman		
Rob ^t Carr	Sarah Williams		
Martin Mainprise	Joane } Ann }	Dunckle	
Hen: Woolmare	Eliz. Woolmore		
Rob ^t King	Sarah Norman		
Tho. Waters	Isabel Woolmore		
Henry Creak	Judeth Manning		
Mark Lukar	Mabel Lukar		
Henry Darker	Abigal Bowden		
*Eliz Jessop	Mary Creak		
	Susannah King		

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41 in all

¹⁴ Mr. Blacklock seems to have escaped recent notice, and the present editor believes he is the first to draw attention to the Clarke Papers, published by the Camden Society, wherein we read that on 5 July 1647 Samuel Blacklocks laid an information against the committee of the London militia, and that on 28 December 1648 he was one of sixteen who presented a protest to the generals, others being John Lilburne and Richard Overton, both known in Baptist circles: Lawrence and Luke Blacklock are fairly well known in the publishing trade then, and in colonial emigration.

¹⁵ Many of these people figure in the High Commission Court, as will be seen in the annotated list below. The most important of them are Thomas Kilcop, Mark Lukar, Thomas Munden, Thomas Sheppard, all of whom became Baptist leaders.

11.* January 9 added¹⁶

John Cattope	George Denham
Nicholas Martin	Tho: Daomunt
Ailie Stanford	Rich Colgrave
Nath Matthon	Eliz Hutchinson
Mary Burch	John Croson
	Sybilla Lees
	John Woolmoore

^o11th month understood as appears above! & this was Jan'y 9th.

thus 53 in all

Those that ware so minded had comunion ¹⁶⁴⁴ together were become Seven Churches in London.¹⁷

Mr Green wth Cap^t Spencer had begun a Con- ¹⁶³⁹gregation in Crutched Fryers, to whom Paul Hobson joynd who was now wth many of that Church one of ye Seven.¹⁸

These being much spoken against as unsound in ¹⁶⁴⁴ Doctrine as if they ware Armenians, & also against Magistrates &c they joynd together in a Con- fession of their Faith in fifty two Articles w^{ch} gave

Se ye notes at ye end of ye Confession.

¹⁶ These dates are January 1641-2, a fact often overlooked, so that most writers speak of 1641 as the year, whereas modern usage would speak of 1642. Thus the discussion in this circle lasted for twenty months before it issued in action. We must carefully remember that the horizon of this writer is London, and that the question of immersion may have arisen elsewhere quite independently.

¹⁷ As Jessey and his group continued for a while to "baptize" infants, though adopting immersion in 1643, and as they did not insist on immersing all believers, they remained outside the circle of the Seven.

¹⁸ This sentence has been read carelessly by Crosby at I. 149 and by many others. It does not say that the Crutched Friars congregation was Baptist in 1639; it does not say that Hobson joined it then; it does say that "now"—evidently 1644 as the context shows—Hobson and many of that church had formed one of the Seven. There is no evidence that Green ever was immersed. But Green was repeatedly linked with John Spencer the coachman; by 1658 Spencer was a Baptist, and a Captain, objecting to Richard Cromwell's succession as the Clarke Papers show. In 1669 he defiantly preached at Hertford, and in 1672 he took out a license to preach at Cheshunt. It is not clear when he became a captain; in April 1642 he was not an officer in the London regiments. Thomas Gower was third captain in the sixth or orange regiment, and did good service for Baptists wherever he went, though Hobson proved a traitor.

The notice inserted here shows how a congregation descended through Green in 1633 from the Lathorp church, had in 1644 given rise to one of the Seven.

great satisfaction to many, that had been prejudiced.¹⁹

Thus Subscribed in y^e Names of 7 Churches in London.²⁰

W ^m Kiffin	}	Tho: Gun	}	Paul Hobson	}
Tho: Patience		Jo: Mabbet		Tho: Goore	
Geo: Tipping	}	John Web	}	Jo: Phelps	}
John Spilsbury		Tho: Kilcop		Edward Heath	
Tho: Shepard	}		}		}
Tho: Munden					

¹⁹ The Arminian or General Baptists had been in London since 1614 when Helwys and Morton brought them to Spitalfields. They were known to Featley twenty years before 1644, in Southwark. It was therefore important for this new body of Calvinistic Baptists to dissociate itself explicitly both from them and from the Continental Anabaptists. The Westminster Assembly in 1643 was told to revise the 39 Articles, and this apparently gave the hint to the Seven to draw up their own Confession. It was published during October 1644. Thenceforward it did something to allay prejudice, though Featley still warned his readers that there were many others who did not agree with it. The side note refers to Cox's appendix to the edition of 1646; this is probably due to Stinton. Dr. McGlothlin has shown that this appendix, and some significant alterations in the text of the Confession, were to meet the criticisms of Featley, as indeed Samuel Richardson had expressly stated in his Brief Considerations.

²⁰ It is not said that there were any country churches which agreed; probably the Londoners at this time knew of no other Calvinistic Baptist churches. The Jessey church would not agree with the articles on the ordinances, while the churches of Barber and Lamb were strongly against the Calvinism here.

The signatures here may be compared with those in the printed edition of 1644, reproduced exactly by Underhill at page 17. There are several trifling variations of spelling, only the names of Hobson and Heath being accurately copied. One rather remarkable variant is the second group, which really is John Spilsbery, George Tipping, Samuel Richardson. Three signatures are exceptional, and we rather wonder why this group does not figure first, as Spilsbury was certainly prominent before the others. In the third group we get Shepard as against the printed Skippard, which may point to a correction by one who knew the man and the name.

Debate on Infant Baptism, 1643.

HANSERD KNOWLES, or Knollys, wrote an autobiography in 1672, which was completed and published by his friend William Kiffin in 1672. It is however obscure as to the circumstances under which he became a Baptist, and even in 1895 Dr. Culross supposed it was before 1641. This manuscript shows that the problem of Infant Baptism only arose for him in 1643, and was not settled till next year. This explains why his signature does not appear to the confession of 1644, and why it does appear in 1646. His previous history is easily summarised.

Born 1598 in Lincolnshire, in a district already Puritan and presently to be Baptist, he lived from 1613 at Scartho near Grimsby, his father being rector. In 1629, being a pensioner of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, he was ordained Deacon and Presbyter by Bishop Dove, and then became Master of the Free School at Gainsborough, where the memory of John Smith may still have lingered. In 1631 he became incumbent of Humberstone, near to his father's living. But Puritan scruples intensified, and feeling that he could not admit to communion every parishioner irrespective of character, he resigned his post in 1633. Bishop Williams was sympathetic, and allowed him to lecture wherever opportunity offered. But about 1636 he felt no free to do even this by virtue of his episcopal ordination, so renounced it and remained silent. From his spiritual troubles he was delivered by the preaching of "one Mr. How"—query, our Samuel How the cobbler—and became an avowed sectary. This led to his imprisonment under a warrant from the High Commission. But the jailer set him free of his own accord, so that he went to London and preached as he found an opening. Under Laud this was difficult, so he emigrated in April 1638. In Boston, New England, he found an even worse state of things so far as coercion went, and moved to Piscataqua or Dover, where he formed a Separatist church. But the appearance of another minister of more ritualistic tendencies provoked trouble, and in 1641 he returned to England. In 1642 he opened a school on

Tower Hill, and presently was appointed to the Free School in St. Mary Axe. Nothing is said of any parish work, only of preaching to the soldiers. This manuscript implies that he became a member of Jessey's church.

The manuscript also clears up one or two other points. As late as 17 March 1643-4, both Knowles and Kiffin were members of Jessey's church; unless Kiffin was called in from the outside, a procedure adopted afterwards but apparently not at this date. Now by 16 October 1644, when the Confession was published, Kiffin was officer of another church; so we get the foundation of this within narrow limits. Again, the secession of Knowles and of Blunt is spoken of as if it were one movement; but Knowles was a member still on 17 March 1643-4, therefore Blunt was still a member of Jessey's church when he in January 1641-2 immersed Blaiklock and others. This quite agrees with the fact that Jessey during 1642 accepted immersion as the only baptism, though he still administered it to infants: the act of baptism was agreed upon within Jessey's church by 1642. Again, besides the questions (1) Who should be baptized, (2) What is baptism, there emerged (3) Who should baptize? Six and twenty people, apparently on about 29 May 1644, were convinced that they ought to be baptized on profession of their belief, but hesitated to whom they should turn. Their own Elder was himself unbaptized, even on his own premisses: Spilsbury had no known pedigree of baptism; Blunt's group derived its baptism from a somewhat Unitarian society of Dutchmen. Nine of them at last concluded that any one fit to teach and evangelize was also fit to baptize.

By about 1645 secessions were taking place to Knowles and to Kiffin, who were clear against Infant Baptism. Jessey discussed with Pædobaptists, and was not convinced by them, so on 29 June 1645 he was baptized by Knowles, and introduced Believers' Baptism in his own church. Then six of those who had seceded returned. But as Jessey clung all through life to Mixed Communion, not insisting on Baptism as a condition of fellowship, he found his affinities with Tombes and Bunyan; not with Knowles and Kiffin. His own church only fell into line under his successor James Fitten.

The debate here recorded is interesting as showing how slowly the trained clergy could abandon their traditions, and how an unsophisticated layman taught them in a clear-cut proposition. It may be summarised in five sentences:— (Jessey): Besides the clear Gospel ordinances, draw an inference from the church of Abraham. (Knowles): Abraham had a seed, not a church. (Jessey): Those who were in a covenant are entitled to its token. (Knowles): The token is an express ordinance of God, and is not

naturally or always linked with the covenant. (Kiffin): Neglect the Old Testament altogether, to learn what Christ ordained, and go to the New only.

Kiffin's clear common sense led to other Old Testament imitations being abandoned. The Separatists had been very fond of covenanting together when they formed their churches, but Knowles replying to Bastwick in 1645 declared the practice of some churches in London was simply to insist on three terms of communion: Faith, Repentance, and Baptism, and nothing else. They did not urge or make any particular covenant with members on admittance.

This document shows that Knowles was not quite clear on infant Baptism even in the early months of 1643. Some students have assumed that he became an Anabaptist when in America, forgetting that if this had been so, the Puritans of Massachusetts would probably have said so at the time. They were not silent about Roger Williams. The fact that under Presbyterian rule in London he yet was made master of the Free School, was rather against this early dating. The one phrase that seemed to support it was, "Some godly Anabaptists as, namely, Hanserd Knollys . . . of Dover, who afterwards, removing back to London, lately died there." This certainly suggests that Knowles was an Anabaptist at Dover in New Hampshire: but two points ought to be noted. First, many men in their progress away from tradition towards New Testament truth, did adopt baptism on profession of their faith, before they came to the conclusion that infant baptism was needless: such men, while yet in this half-way position, were called Anabaptist; and Knowles may have reached this precise point at Dover. Second, these words were published by Cotton Mather in 1702, sixtyone years after Knowles left the colonies, forty-nine years after he certainly did abandon infant baptism: is it a bad mistake of Mather to fore-shorten the perspective?

Numb: 4

An Account of divers Conferences, held in y^e [Crosby
uses
at I. 311.] Congregation of w^{ch} Mr Henry Jessey was Pastor, about Infant baptism, by w^{ch} Mr H. Jessey & y^e greatest part of that Congregation were proselited to y^e Opinion & Practice of y^e Antipedobabptists.

being an old M.S.S. w^{ch} I rec^d of Mr Adams, supposed to be written by Mr Jessey, or transcribed from his Jurnal.

1643

About Baptisme. Qu: 'Ans:

Hanserd Knollys our Brother not being satisfied for Baptizing his child, after it had bin endeavoured by y^e Elder, & by one or two more; himselfe referred to y^e Church then that they might satisfye him, or he rectify them if amiss herein; w^{ch} was well accepted.¹

[Gould quotes this paragraph on page cxxix.]

Hence meetings ware appointed for conference about it at B. Ja: & B. K.: & B. G.:² & each was performed wth Prayer & in much Love as Christian meetings (because he could not submitt his judgment to depend on wth its power: so yelded to) Elder³ The maine Argument was from these fower conclusions

1. Those in Gospel Institutions are so set down to us. those not cleare⁴
2. What ever Priviledg God hath given to his Church as a Church is still given to all Churches.
3. God hath once given to his Church as a Church

¹ Within this church, the successive questions mooted in connection with baptism were these:—1630, Dupper, and 1633, Lucar: Is "baptism" by the parish clergy sufficient, or must there be a new "baptism" on profession of belief? 1640, Blunt, Kilcop, Lukar, Blaiklock, Munden, Skippard: Is anything baptism except immersion? Now arises a complement of the first question; 1643, Knowles: May infants be baptized at all? And in the course of discussion there arose a fourth; 1644?, Knowles: Is any qualification for the administrator needful except ability to teach and evangelize?

² Brother Jackson and Brother Knowles and Brother Golding; as may be gathered from the lists below.

³ Jessey.

⁴ Article XXVII. peremptorily says that the baptism of young children is to be retained in the church. Knowles asks why. Jessey admits it is not clear, and is not a gospel institution, but looks further back; herein he throws over the statement that is is "most agreeable with the institution of Christ."

Believers' Baptism had been accepted by John Smith thirty years earlier, and had been practised in London by the followers of Helwys and Tookey; it had been adopted in this circle by Eaton about 1633; it had been brought to general notice by the reversion to dipping. But hitherto there had not been any general move against the baptism of infants, nor any defence of it needed since 1624. Now however Barbon began a defence in April 1642, to which Kilcop answered at once that only Christ's disciples or believers were to be baptized. A[ndrew] R[itor] and R. B[arrow] supported him, while Wynell, Chidley, and Blake condescended to defend their church. But when Stephen Marshall

this Priviledge *to have their Children in a Gospel ¹⁶ covenant, & to have its token in Infancy. Gen: 17.

7. 10.

4. Baptism appears to be in ye rome of Circumcision

Conclusion: to be now to Churches Infants
 H.K.⁵ Ans: To ye third on wch ye weight lyes, that it wants ground & proof from Scripture. That Gen: 17 proves it no more to be given to a Church as a Church, for their Infants to have the token of of Covenant in Infancy, then for the Churches Servants all bought wth money &c without exception of Religion to be Baptized; & yt not only ye Chil: but Childrens Children to many Generations though neither Father nor Grandfather ware faithfull must be Members, for thus was it wth Abrahams posterity. therefore this was not with it as a Church, but as Jewish or as peculiar to Abrahams Seed Naturall. Unless we may say of the Children of such wretches, that certainly ye Lord is their God & they his People, contrary to I Cor: 7. 14.

Elder All such as we ought to judg to be in Gods Ma:covenant, under promises should have ye token Mi:⁶of ye Covenant. Thus of ye Infants of Believers especially Church members.

Ans: To ye first proposition or major its not ye Covenant yt intrests to ye token of itselfe, but Gods Institution, proved thus.

preached in Westminster Abbey in August 1644 on the subject, it was useless to pretend that the matter was one of tradition, and pamphlets poured from the press for the rest of the year. The most important was issued on 16 October, being the Confession of the Seven London churches.

⁵ Hanserd Knowles.

⁶ To debate in syllogisms, with their major and minor propositions, was a necessary part of every university man's training. On 17 October 1642, Dr. Featley had said to a company of Baptists including Kiffin, If you dispute by Reason, you must conclude Syllogistically in Mood and Figure, which I take to be out of your Element. In this

1. The Lords Supper is a token of the New Covenant, it must be to such children as being in Covenant, if Argument good.

2. Enoch, Methusala, Noah, Sem, were in Covenant, & to be judged So, & Abraham at 75 Years old, & Isaac at two days old; these then must have Circumcision, if major be sound, but not so.

besids being in Covenant there must be a word of Institution touching the time & adjuncts—&c

B.Ki⁷ In Gospell times wherein all these are; New,
 Argument there are new subjects, Gentiles, a new way of taking them in; new Ordinances, *new time to ¹¹⁷ them, as y^e Lords Supper So Bap: As we must not goe to Moses for y^e Lords Supper, its time, Persons to pertake &c but to New Testament, so we must for Baptism. now in New Testament is no Institution for Infants baptism.

The being y^e Seed of Abraham, of Godly Parents, would not qualify them for Baptism, Matth: 3. This is y^e Substance of w^t was discussed in all Love for many weeks together.

Issue whereof was y^e conviction of Bro: Iac: & S. K. B. S.⁸ now against Pedobap: & y^e Stagering of more, whereof some searched y^e Scriptures, some prayed earnestly for light, & had such impressions on their Spirits against Pedobaptisme, as they told y^e Elder upon his enquiry, that he could

he rather under-rated their intelligence, for one of them offered him an excellent specimen of Barbara:—

They that persecute good men are ungodly men.

But all your Bishops persecute good men.

Ergo, the Bishops are ungodly men.

To which Kiffin gave a corollary:—

He that is called by Saints to preach, is better called than he that is called by ungodly men.

But I am called by Saints.

Ergo, my calling is better than yours.

⁷ Brother Kiffin. Apparently a member of Jessey's church at this date.

⁸ Brother Jackson, and Sister Knowles, Brother and Sister [Golding].

not but judg there was much of God in it, yet still he then remained in his judgment for it: though thus 16 ware in a weeks space against it: wth little or no speach each wth other. This was about the 17th of 1 Mo 164³/₄ Having had weekly loveing confereance wth prayers from ye midst of 11 Mo 1644⁹

1644. 2. 28: Concluded that to our friends y^t then lived in ye Country (about 12) a Letter should be writt from Church to each wth tender care, exhortation & consolation.¹⁰

1644 1^d & 2 Mo. Haveing sought the Lord wth fasting for those friends that left us, as not satisfied we ware baptized as a true Church & for our And haveing by confereance not satisfied y^m

1644 At Mr Fountains ye Church considered w^t 3.29 further to do, some judged y^t ye Church censure should pass others not

Conclusion was to desire ye Advice of ye Elders & Brethren of other Churches, w^{ch} was done 1644. 3. 27. at Mr Shambrookes where ware present These: Mr Barbone, Rozer, Dr Parker, Mr Erbury, Mr Cooke, Mr Tho: Goodwin, Mr Phillip Nye, Mr G. Sympson, Mr Burrows, Mr Staismore,¹¹

[18] *These by enquiry not Satisfied that in these [18] absenters was obstinacy but tender Conscience & holyness, & not disturbing us in our proceeds advised us

⁹ This is an obvious error of transcription. Gould reads "from the midst of the eleventh month, 1643-4."

¹⁰ This is not the first allusion to the country members, from Isleworth up the Thames to others down in Essex, perhaps even at Colchester still.

¹¹ These counsellors are interesting. Barbon and Staismore had been associated with the church, Daniel Rogers had published a good catechism in 1633, Erbury was labelled or libelled on 11 January 1648 as "the Seeker and Socinian"; the rest were ex-clergy who in Holland had renounced their orders and had formed new churches. They were substantially Brownists, but preferred a new title, Independents. All held to the baptism of infants.

1. Not to Excoṁunicate, no, nor admonish, wch is only to Obstinate. [Gould quotes advice page cxxx.]

2. To count them still of our Church; & pray, & love them.

3. Desire conversing together so farr as their principles permitt them, so waiting till either (1) some come in, or (2) some grew giddy & scandalous their¹² proceed against them, to this we agreed & so parted.

The Names of some of our Dearly beloved Friends y^t scrupled about ye Administrator of Baptisme &c & in tenderness forbore ware these

B. } Jackson	S. Knollys
S. } Jackson	S. Kenaston
B. } Nowell	B. Hen. Jones
S. } Nowell	S. Pickford
S. Bayh	S. Dorrell
B. Berry	Eliza Phillips
B. W ^m Hulls	S. Reves-& afterwards these
S. Phillis Atkinson	Bro: Wade &
S. Eliza Alport	S. Wade

S. Eliza Michael	After some time all these in ye 2 ^d row were satisfied in their scruple & judged y ^t Such Disciples as are gifted to teach & Evāgelize may also baptize &c & ware baptized. ¹³
S. Lydia Strachen	
S. Kathe: Pordage	
S. Goteldy	
S. Agnes Wadinam	
B. } G	
S. } Golding	
S. Kent y ^t dyed	

Some before H Jessey & the rest of ye Church ware convinced against Pedobaptism And hence [19] desired to enjoy it *where they might, & joynd [19]

¹² Gould reads, then.

¹³ The question in those days was very urgent: Granted that a new baptism is necessary, what qualifications are needed in the administrator? John Smith of Lincoln had cut the knot by baptizing himself at Amsterdam. Roger Williams was baptized by Holliman, and then he in turn baptized Holliman. But both Smith and Williams regretted their acts. We do not know how Spilsbury faced the question, and he seems

also, some wth Bro: Knollys, some with B. Kiffin,¹⁴ thus These

B. S. Knollys	B. Ford
B. S. Wade	B. Patshall
B. Carver	S. Dormer
S. Jone Tolderoy	S. Pickford
S. Eliza Phillips	S. Reves
	B. Darel
	B. Blunt

After that H. Jessey was convinced also, the next morning early after that w^{ch} had been a day of Solemne Seeking y^e Lord in fasting & prayer (That if Infants Baptism were unlawfull & if we should be further baptized &c the Lord would not hide it from us, but cause us to know it) First H. Jessey was convinced against Pedobaptisme, & then that himself should be baptized (notwithstanding many conferences wth his honoured & Beloved Brethren, M^r Nye Mr Tho: Goodwin, Mr Burroughs, Mr Greenhill, Mr Cradock, Mr Carter, &c,¹⁵ & wth Mr Jackson, Mr Bolton, &c) And was baptized by M^r Knollys, and then by degrees he Baptized many of y^e Church, when convinced they desired it.

1645
4 Mo.
vulgr
June
29.

Then in time some of those before named returned to communion wth this Church, as

S. Kenaston	B. & S. Wade
B. Hen Jones	S. Dorrell
S. Buckley	S. Huddel als. Levill.

the first Calvinist in England to have re-baptized. Blunt preferred to be baptized by the Collegiants. But even in 1609 Helwys and Morton had declared that Succession was the chief hold of Antichrist, and that the pedigree of an administrator was immaterial. Now several Calvinists saw the matter in the same light.

¹⁴ Therefore after 17th March, 1643-4, when the debate was held, and before 29 June 1645 when Jessey was baptized, Knowles and Kiffin had quitted his church and founded two others. Kiffin's separation was before 16 October 1644 when he had signed the Confession.

¹⁵ These ministers were Independents, and all but Burroughes were afterwards on Cromwell's commission of Tryers, on which Jessey and Tombes also were placed.

The Jacob-Jessey Church, 1616-1678.

FROM the three fore-going papers, we can comprehend the early history of this remarkable church: about 1653 we get another glimpse of it from the correspondence with Hexham, and from 1669 to 1678, we get further insight from the Broadmead Records, both printed by the Hanserd Knollys Society. On the basis of these documents of the church itself, we may briefly tell its story, with touches from other contemporary sources.

It was founded during 1616 in London, where there were at least two other Separatist churches, the Ancient Church of 1592 and the General Baptist Church of 1609. Its sympathies were rather with the Puritans within the Church of England, than with either of these. Its pastor, Henry Jacob, published a Confession and a plea for toleration, but failed to obtain it, so resigned about 1622 intending to emigrate to Virginia.

A second ex-clergyman took charge in 1624, John Lathorp from Kent; in his time troubles arose both within and without; the latter were so serious when Laud came to supreme power that Lathorp agreed to emigrate, and several members went with him in 1634 to New England, where he founded the churches at Scituate and Barnstable. The internal troubles arose with a member from Colchester begging them to renounce all fellowship with the parish churches, and in especial to repudiate the baptism they had there received. They declined, and he left in 1630 with some others. But at the request of the Ancient Church they renewed their covenant. In 1633 another group left, including Henry Parker and Mark Lucar; these were reinforced by Richard Blunt, Thomas Sheppard, and Samuel Eaton, a button-maker of St. Giles, who induced some of them to receive baptism on profession of their faith at the hands of John Spilsbury.

In 1637 a third ex-clergyman took charge of the main stock. Henry Jessey had been deprived of his living in Yorkshire for non-conformity, had come to London in 1635 and had helped this church occasionally. He remained pastor till his death in 1663, by which time the character of the church was greatly transformed.

Until the power of Laud was broken, there were frequent arrests of the members, but they did not hinder great discussions and developments. Six members left almost at once to join Spilsbury, but the death of Eaton in 1639 seems to have brought about the reunion of some. In May 1640 a fresh division occurred, half forming a church under Barbon. That same year discussion arose whether baptism ought not to be immersion, and whether any other act could be so regarded. The result was that in January 1641-2 some fifty members were immersed, and although Jessey promptly adopted immersion as the only act for dedicating infants, thence forward there was a further division and separate worship. On the other hand the church gained another ex-clergyman, Hanserd Knowles, and a young brewer's clerk called William Kiffin who was able to hold his own against the great Dr. Featley in open debate. In 1643 Knowles raised the point whether infants ought to be baptized at all, and after months' debate both he and Kiffin left the church. During 1644 Kiffin's new church and six others joined in a Confession very explicit on all these points, which called forth prompt protest and argument from an ancient member of this church. In the middle of 1645 Jessey himself was baptized by Knowles.

In 1647 and 1651 Jessey joined with Knowles, Kiffin and many other ministers, both Baptist and Pædobaptist, in issuing declarations as to the sobriety of their churches. But neither in 1646 nor in 1651 did he sign the Baptist Confession. In 1653 we find the church at home in Swan Alley off Coleman Street, but having apparently few London friends, for it joined in a letter to Hexham with eight others on the Welsh borders, whose most prominent member was John Tombes. Jessey was sent that year by several churches to visit 36 congregations in the home counties; and he expounded his views on Mixed Communion both in 1650 and 1653. By this time he needed a colleague, and found one in George Barrett. In the Bedfordshire district other Mixed Communion churches were growing, which learned to quote Jessey as justifying their practice. In April of 1657 some Baptist ministers of London begged Cromwell not to accept the title of King, and Jessey signed this request with Knowles, Spilsbury and many others. In 1663 Jessey died, and in the troubles of the times the church declined, till Vavasor Powell owned it was but small.

In 1669 a member was dismissed to the Mixed Communion church at Broadmead, and the correspondence thus initiated carries us on one stage more. A fourth ex-clergyman, Thomas Hardcastle from Yorkshire, was on trial for eldership, but Broadmead also wanted him. A letter of his on 10 March 1670-1

shows that the abandonment of Mixed Communion was being mooted by this church. Early in June a letter was sent signed by seven men including John Abbot, a fifth ex-clergyman. As Broadmead called Hardcastle, this church at last made up its mind and called him on 26 June. In his perplexity, he counselled, not with Baptists, but with three Independent ministers, while the church called in Kiffin and Harrison, another ex-clergyman became Baptist. Finally he broke away without taking formal leave, for which they never forgave him.

They found their fourth elder in his old friend, James Fitten, who was assisted by Henry Forty. This settlement was accomplished by March 1674. Underhill and Ivimey say that it was accompanied by a split, when the baptized and the unbaptized members separated. Their only authority is Crosby, III, 100:—"When Mr. Jessey died, and a difference arose in his church about mixed communion, the Baptists that were against it, fell in with Mr. Forty, than a member of that congregation." Here is a gap of eleven years jumped over, ignorance that Forty was only assistant to Fitten, assumption that he was a member at all. Under the circumstances we may decline to believe the statement that the difference arose at this juncture, for we see by Hardcastle's letter that it arose in 1671. But correspondence with Bedford in 1674 shows that Forty was dissuading a woman from joining that church because they practised Mixed Communion; the Bedford church asserts that some of this church approved it, and asked whether any change of practice had occurred. As Forty had signed the Confession in 1651, which in 1646 had been made explicitly Close Communion, there can be little doubt that between 1671 and 1674 the practice did change. It was at this period that the discussion between Kiffin and Bunyan took place on the subject. Forty left for Abingdon in 1675, and Fitten continued, associating with such Strict Baptists as Kiffin, Nehemiah Cox, Richard Deane and Joseph Morton. These all came into the west during 1676, but evaded a request to come and ordain Hardcastle at Broadmead, though they were on friendly terms with Gifford's Strict Communion church in the Friars. It may be noted that in 1677 the London churches at last gave way on the question of communion, and their confession then (adopted again in 1689) leaves the way open to fraternize with the churches of Jessey's type.

Fitten died, and a fifth Elder was chosen who soon was buried. The church sent a deputation to Broadmead to try and reclaim Hardcastle, but was refused on 8 April, 1678. At this point our information ceases.

Crosby said that when Forty went to Abingdon, his people joined with Kiffin. The date is evidently wrong, and the church books at Devonshire Square do not confirm the statement in the least, at any date whatever.

When in 1689 the Particular Baptist Assembly met, four ex-members of this church came as representatives. Samuel Buttall, who had been here in 1674, had then gone to Bristol, and came from Plymouth in 1689. George Barrett, the Teacher in 1653, came as Elder of Mile End Green. Thomas Dawson who was member here in 1671, represented Keach's church in Horsleydown. And Nathanael Crabb who had continued till 1674, came with Richard Adams from the church at Shad Thames, better known as the General Baptist church of Dockhead or Horsleydown. Since the church as a whole was not represented in 1689, the presumption is that it had disbanded, or had merged into some other. If the latter, the association of Fitten and Nehemiah Cox suggests that Petty France was the church that absorbed it, and as this church in 1727 moved to Devonshire Square, absorbing also Kiffin's church, this theory will explain the statement of Crosby.

It is conceivable that the papers which Stinton received from Adams, had been given to Adams by Crabb. In any case, as they found their way to Adams, who was at Devonshire Square from 1690 till his death in 1719, and as Stinton received them by 1711, it is probably that the Jacob church of 1616 did not maintain a separate existence for a century; while we have no evidence of its activity after 1678.

Two of the State Churches of Massachusetts could trace their origin to it. Not a single Congregational church in England can trace a link with it, though there are two promising points of enquiry; Barbon's group of 1640, known in 1654, and the chance that between 1671 and 1674 any Pædobaptist members who may have survived so long, left the church when Fitten altered its constitution for the last time. But no exploration has yet linked up any subsequent Congregational church with either of these. At Stoke Newington are reunited two or three strands from the frayed cable, while Commercial Street and the old Cripplegate Meeting represent two other Baptist developments.

We are fortunate in having so many early documents relating to this one church. They reveal a most complex story, but there is no reason to think it unusually exceptional. The fermenting period of 1635-1653 may well have thrown up other changing bubbles, only they have burst and left hardly a trace. For as early as 1631, the bishop of Exeter wrote in grief to Laud that he had heard of eleven congregations of Separatists, with

pastors, meeting regularly every Sunday in brewhouses and similar places. Some of these fell into the hands of the High Commission, but only from this church and Hubbard's do we have their own story, thanks to Stinton.

MEMBERS KNOWN, WITH DATES AND REFERENCES.

- B. Broadmead Records, published by the Hanserd Knollys Society; correspondence &c. 1669-1678.
 C. Camden Society, Cases tried by the High Commission, 1634.
 D. Debate between Knowles, Jessey, and Kiffin, 1643.
 H. Hexham Records, published by the Hanserd Knollys Society with the "Fenstanton Records"; correspondence 1653.
 J. Jessey Records, 1616-1641.
 K. "Kiffin Manuscript," 1633-1644.
 S. State Papers; Domestic, unless Irish or Colonial are specified.

Dates are abbreviated by omitting the 16 which marks the century; thus 32 means 1632.

- John Abbot, 70; B. Ejected from Fishborne.
 John Allen, 16; J. 36 May 5, of Southwark, a Brownist, sent to the Gatehouse; S. Thomas Allen, 33; J.
 Mrs. Allen, 32, join Spilsbury by 38, die 39; J.
 Andrew Almey, 16; J.
 Eliza Alport; 44; D. Edmund or Edward Alport was before the High Commission on 23 April 1640; S.
 Brother Arnold, 32, left 33; J.
 Thomas Arundel of St. Olave's, 32; S.
 Mary Atkin, 33; J.
 Phillis Atkinson, 44; D.
 William Attwood, 32; S.
 George Baggott, 53; H.
 Praise-god Barbon, 32; J. On 31 December paid over the shipmoney for New Romney on behalf of Mayor Daniel Duke; S. 40; K. 44; D.
 Sarah Barbon, 32; S.
 George Barrett, Teacher, 53; H. Sarah Barrett, formerly servant to Thomas Patient at Dublin, came to England 1653. Rippon appendix to volume 4.
 Mrs. Barnett or Bernet, 32; J.
 Mr. Bates, 32; S. Gone to Amsterdam.
 William Batty, 12 June 34 to the Gatehouse; C. 38 had joined Spilsbury; J. By 46 had broken the church to pieces, Benjamin Cox disputing against him (Lamb on Predestination). 68, a mask-maker, on roll of Devonshire Square.
 Sister Bayh, 44; D.
 Humphrey Bernard, brewer's clerk in Blackfriars. 32; SJ. Joined church while it was in prison.
 Mrs. Bernet, see Barnett.
 Brother Berry, 44; D.
 Mrs. Berry, 41 died; J.
 Samuel Blaicklock, Teacher, 41-2; K. He was in the councils of the New-Model Army, as the Clarke Papers show. Lawrence Blaicklock was a prominent printer in the Puritan interest. Luke Blaicklock in 1656 was transporting horses to Barbadoes, where the Puritan Richard Basse wanted them.
 Richard Blunt, after 33; J. 40; K. 41? D. 41-2; K. 44; D.
 Christopher Booth, 78; B.

- Abigail Bowden, 41-2; K.
- Rice Boy, 30; J. April 37 with Edmund Chillenden and Samuel Richardson helped Bastwick, Burton and Prynne to disperse books against ecclesiastical government; S. Query, descended from Edward Boyes, haberdasher on Ludgate Hill, member of the Ancient church, who died 1594, whose widow married Johnson the pastor?
- John Braunsou, 41-2; K.
- Richard Browne, 16, 40; J. In June 37 a book by Browne "the Anabaptist" was being circulated at Kilsby; S. But this is probably a misnomer for Robert Brown of that neighbourhood.
- [Mary?] Buckley, 45; D. At Michaelmas 1639 Mary was fined £40 by the Star Chamber, and petitioned later to be allowed to pay by instalments. See S. Vol. CCCCLXIV, page 351.
- John Buckmaster, 71, 78; B.
- John Bull, 41-2; K. Weaver. Affirmed himself and Richard Farnham the two prophets which should come in the end of the world. Dead by February 1642, see E 138 (4) at the British Museum.
- Mary Burch, 41-2; K.
Was Thomas Burch descended, who on 26 July 1694 was married by Benjamin Keach? He then belonged to St. Mary Magdalen's parish in Bermondsey.
- Samuel Buttall, 69, 70, 74; B. 80 at Plymouth. 90 Elder there.
- John and Elizabeth Cadwell, 41-2; K.
- John Canne, 30; J. Pastor of Ancient church 1623-1667. See Introduction to the Southwark Story of the Hubbard-How-More Church.
- Robert Carr, 41-2; K.
- Brother Carver, 41?; D.
- John Cattope, 41-2; K.
- Thomas Chapple, 69-74; B. On 12 July 1666 wrote to James Fitton about the King of the Jews [a pretender at Smyrna] and the Grand Seigneur.
- Daniel Chidley, Elder of Colchester, 30; J.
- Mrs. Chitwood, 39; J.
- Richard Colgrave, 41-2; K.
- Nathanael Crabb, 71-4; B. A felt-maker of this name was reported by Edwards (Gangræna, III. 9) as baptizing Samuel Fulcher, an egge-man, about 1646. In 1689 he represented the General Baptist church of Shad Thames at the Particular Baptist Assembly.
- Brother Cradock, 38; J. On 7 July 1638 a man of this name was concerned with Vane in a New England voyage; S.
- Brother Crafton. Mistake for Ralph Grafton.
- Henry, William, and Mary Creak, 41-2; K.
- Bridget Cromwell, Lady Fleetwood, 71; B.
- John Croson, 41-2; K.
- James Cudworth, December 1634 wrote from Scituate that "Lathrop our pastor" had just arrived; Colonial State Papers.
- John Cushmaster. See Buckmaster.
- Thomas Daomunt, 41-2; K. Query, Davenant?
- Brother Darel, 41; D. Compare Dorrell.
- Henry Darker, 41-2; K. Compare Parker.
- Thomas Dawson, 70-71; B. In 1689 represented Keach's church at the Assembly.
- Abigail De Lamar, 32; J. A Frenchman's wife in St. Giles; S. In Barnaby Street, 38; J.
- George Denham, 41-2; K.
- Elizabeth Denne, 32; S.
- Grace Dicks, convented by the High Commission on 23 April 1640 with members of this church, S.
- Mr. Digbey, 36; J.

- Henry Dod, 32; J,S. Still preaching heresy on 25 November 33; S. Died in prison; J. Sister Dormer, 41; D.
- Sister Dorrell, 44, 45; D. Compare Darel.
- Sister Dry, 37; J.
- Ann and Joane Dunckle, 41-2; K. Anne Dunkley was before the High Commission on 23 April, 1640; dismissed as too poor; S.
- Michael Dunwell, 69-74; B.
- Brother Dupper of Colchester, 30; J.
- Thomas Dyer of Colchester, 30; J.
- Samuel Eames, 41-2; K. Citizen and cloth-worker, gave bond on 24 December 1643 for Walwin not to print &c.; S.
- Samuel Eaton, 32; S. 33; K. Rebaptized after 33; J. 37; J. 34-39 in trouble with High Commission; C,S. A button-maker of St. Giles without Cripplegate. August 39 died and was buried in Bunhill Fields; S. In 1643 his widow Elizabeth petitioned Parliament for compensation, reciting her and his wrongs; on 29 April 1633 Tomlyns the pursuivant of Bishop Laud arrested him, and for refusing the Ex-officio oath he was lodged in Maiden Lane. Was rescued by Habeas Corpus. The Archbishop sent him to the Gatehouse in Westminster, whence he was bailed. Was sent back by the High Commission and charged £4. After 18 months was let out on bail. John Rag, pursuivant to the Archbishop, lodged him in Newgate where he died after a year. She had been maltreated by Flamsteed, another pursuivant: S (Vol. CCCXCIX, page 518).
- John Egge, 32; S.
- ?Mr. Eldred, 37; J. Probably not a member.
- Richard Ellis, 41-2; K. The State Papers mention a carpenter of this name in St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, 6 May 1637.
- Mary Evans, convented 23 April 1640 to High Commission with members of this church; S. Edward Farre, 16; J.
- Widow Joane Fearne, 30 and 32; J,S.
- "Peti Fener," mistake for
- John Fenner, 5 May 1636 Featley to see what hope of conformity; S. 21 and 25 January 1636-7 will he abjure? Context alludes to anabaptism; S. 1 February 1637-8 still in the Gatehouse for Separatism; S. 1638; J. 30 May 1639 escaped beyond seas, an Anabaptist; S. 22 June at Amsterdam; S.
- Joane Fernc. See Fearne.
- Gregory and Dorothy Fishburn, 41-2; K.
- Richard Fishborne of London made a will on 30 March 1625, under which the Mercers' Company endowed the Abbey Church of Hexham in 1628, so that in 1651 Tillam the Sabbatarian Baptist was appointed lecturer.
- James Fitten, Elder 73-78; B. On 12 July 1666 a letter to him at Chester was intercepted from Thomas Chapell; S.
- Lady Fleetwood (Bridget Cromwell), 71; B.
- John Flower, 30; J.
- William Ford, 41; D. On 23 April 1640 he was before the High Commission; a belt-maker in Candlewick Street; S.
- Henry Forty, assistant to Fitten, 74; B. Came from Exeter, went to Abingdon 1675. Well known before and after.
- ?Mr. Fountain, 44; D. A member?
- Anne Gells, convented before the High Commission on 23 April 1640 with members of this church; S.
- Mr. Ghofton. See Ralph Grafton.
- Mr. Gibs, 16; J.
- ?Mr. Glover, 37; J. A warrant was issued to arrest him on 13 January 1636-7; of Aldgate; S. Probably not a member.
- Brother and Sister Golding, 41; J. 43; D. 44; D.

- Henry Goodall, 16; J.
 Thomas Goore. See Gower.
 Anne Goring, convented on 23 April 1640 with members of this church; S.
 Sister Goteldy, 44; D. Compare Tolderoy.
 ? Thomas Gower, 44; K. Signed in 1646. Associated still with Hobson in Newcastle and London, 1654-66. Many years in Durham jail. Ever a member of this church?
 Ralph Grafton, upholsterer, in Cornhill, a ringleader. 32; C.J. Fined £200 for refusing the oath ex-officio, and kept in prison for not paying; S. Fine reserved on 18 February 33-4; S. Still in prison 34; J. Still in prison 14 June and 9 November 38; S. Arrested again 41; J. Deposited to a committee of the Lords as to Laud's illegal acts, 20 January 43-4; S.
 William Granger of St. Margaret's, Westminster, 32; C.J. 12 June 34 committed to Gatehouse; S.
 Brother Green the felt-maker. ? Dismissed in 33; J? Head of a church in Crutched Friars, 39; K. Famous as a chief preacher in the lampoons of the day.
 Mary Greenway, in or after 33; J.
 [Thomas Gun of the Southwark church, captured January 40-1, signed 43-4; K. Also in 46.]
 Nathanael Hall, 69-71; B.
 Mary Haman, 41-2; K.
 Mrs. Hammond, to New England, 34; J.
 Thomas Hardcastle, 70; B. Ex-vicar of Bramham, on trial for Eldership. Went to Broadmead without leave.
 Jane, Thomas, and William Harris, about 33; J. Thomas on 7 July 35 was to be kept in Newgate till he paid £500; S.
 Widow Harvey, about 33; J.
 [Edward Heath, 43-4; K. Ever a member?]
 [Paul Hobson, 39 and 43-4; K. Ever a member?]
 Sam Hon. See How.
 Samuel House, 32 and 34; J. To New England.
 Pennina House or Howse or Howes, 32; C.
 Samuel How, 32; C.J. See Introduction to the Southwark Story.
 Thomas Hubert, about 33; J. A schismatic haberdasher of St. Giles without Cripplegate was convented on 15 October 35; S.
 Sister Huddell or Levill, 45; D.
 William Hulls, 44; D.
 Elizabeth Hutchinson, 41-2; K.
 John Ireland of St. Mary Magdalen's, Surrey, 32; C.
 Richard Irish, 74; B.
 William Jackson and wife, 43 and 44; D. In June 41 he petitioned the Commons that in 38 the High Commission had seized Bibles he was importing from Amsterdam, and had fined him £10; asked for the Bibles; S.
 Henry Jacob, 16-24; J. See Introduction.
 Sara Jacob his wife, 32; C. 37; J.
 Mr. Jacob, his son? 32; J.
 John James, 69; B.
 Henry January of Colchester, 20; J.
 William Jennings, about 33; J.
 John Jerrow, 30; J.
 Henry Jessey, 40; J.K. 41; J. 43 and 45; D. 53; H. See Introduction and notes.
 Elizabeth Jessop, 41-2; K.
 [? Francis Jones of Ratcliff, basket-maker. Acknowledged to the High Commission that he was re-baptized; refused the oath; was committed to Newgate, 11 January 35-6; S. Ever a member?]
 Henry Jones, 44 and 45; D.

- Sarah Jones of Water Lambeth, 32; C. About 33; J. 34; C. 40; J.
 Thomas Jones of Water Lambeth, 32 and 34; J.
 Sister Kenaston, 44 and 45; D.
 Sister Kent, died about 44; D.
 Manasses Kenton of Colchester, 20; J.
 William Kiffin, 33; D. 44; K. See Introduction.
 Thomas Kilcop, 41-2 and 43-4; K.
 Robert and Susannah King, 41-2; K.
 Hanserd Knollys and his wife Anne, 43 and 44; D. See Introduction to the Debate.
 Mr. and Mrs. Laberton, to New England, 34; J.
 Mary Langride, 41-2; K.
 John Lathorp, 25-34; J. 32 and 34; C. To New England.
 Sybilla Lees, 41-2; K.
 Abigail Lamar or Lemar. See De Lamar.
 Sister Levill or Huddel, 45; D.
 Robert Linel and wife, 34; J. To New England.
 Mary Lock, 41-2; K.
 Robert Locker, 41-2; K.
 Mrs. Level, 38; J.
 Mark Lucar of St. Austin's, 32; C,J. 33; K. Left 33; J. Baptized 41-2 with Mabel;
 K. At Newport, R.I. in 44.
 ? John Mabbet, 43-4; K. 66 on Devonshire Square books, a wrighter. Ever a member
 here?
 Martin Mainprise, 41-2; K.
 Judith Manning, 41-2; K. Edward Manning in April of 1637 had helped Chillenden and
 Richardson circulate books against the ecclesiastical government; S.
 Nicholas Martin, 41-2; K.
 John Mason, 78; B.
 Joseph Mason, 74; B.
 Nathanael Matthew, 41-2; K.
 Eliza Michael, 44; D.
 John and Elizabeth Milburn, 32; C,J. Left 33; J.
 Mabel Milbourne, 32; C. Known at St. Vedast's in 23.
 Mary Millison, 41-2; K.
 Brother and Sister Morton, 30; J.
 Thomas Munden, 41-2; K. 43-4 with Sheppard; K. In 46 associated with Tipping.
 Sarah Norman, 41-2; K.
 Widow Norton, 34 to New England; J. Compare Morton.
 Mrs. Norwood, joined Spilsbury 38; J.
 Brother and Sister Nowell, 41; J. 44; D. Was he the goldsmith on Holborn Bridge,
 28 April, 37; S?
 William Nuttall, 69-78; B.
 Henry Packer, 32; C. Was this the Colonel who ultimately settled at Theobalds and
 protected Maisters at Cheshunt?
 Henry Parker and wife, 33; K,J. Was he the vintner who on 3 November 40 began a
 long literary career by stating the case of Shipmoney to Parliament, and who
 in January next published a vindication of the Puritans?
 ? Thomas Patience, 43-4; K. In Waterford and Dublin, ordained at Devonshire Square
 66 and died of the plague. Ever a member here?
 Joseph Patshall, about 41; D. Signed 51 Confession.
 Anne Pawle, convented on 23 April 40 with members of this church; S.
 Henry Pen, 38; J,K.
 Mr. Pen, 38; K.
 ? John Phelps, 43-4; K. Ever a member?
 Eliza Phillips, 41 and 44; D.

- William Pickering, 32; C. Was he the petitioner of 2 December 35 to be released as no prosecutor appeared, or was this a man of Stanton Lacy in Salop? Was he the uncle Pickering whom George Fox came to see at the outset of his career, a Baptist?
- Sister Pickford, 41 and 44; D.
- Katherine Pordage, 44; D.
- Mary Price, wife of Edward, a dyer in All Saints, Minories, before the High Commission on 15 October 35, with Sheppard and Hubbard; S.
- David Prior, 16; J.
- Stephen Puckle of Colchester, 20, 41; J.
- John Ravenscroft, about 33; J.
- Robert Reignolds of Isleworth, 32; C.
- Sister Reves, 41 and 44; D.
- William Russell, painter, of Candlewick Street, 38; J. Before High Commission 23 April 40; S.
- Elizabeth Sargeant, 32; C, J.
- William Shambrook, gun-maker in Tower Street, 13 February 40; S. 41; J. 44; D, K.
- Thomas Shefold, 53; H.
- Thomas Sheppard of St. Olave's in Bermondsey, leather-dresser, 33; K. 15 October 35 before High Commission as a Separatist, S. In the Marshalsea about 39; S. Baptized with his wife 41-2; K. Signed 43-4; K.
- John and Ann Smith of Battersea, 69 and 70; B.
- R. Smith, 37; J.
- ? William Snow of Southwark, committed by the High Commission to the Gatehouse as a Brownist, 5 May 36; S. A member here?
- John Spencer the coachman, in Crutched Friars 39; K. A leading preacher in 41. Captain well known in military papers. Preached at Hertford defiantly 69.
- ? John Spilsbury of Aldersgate, before 38; J. 38; K. 43-4; K. Perhaps the first Calvinist to adopt re-baptism. Apparently never a member here. Compare Magdalen Spilsbury convented on 23 April, 40; S.
- Sabine Staismore, 16 to 30; J. In February 17-8 negotiated with the Privy Council for Robinson's church at Leyden; in September 18 was at a conventicle and was betrayed by Elder Blackwell of the Ancient church, so was imprisoned in the Wood Street Counter; Arber's Pilgrim Fathers, pages 295, 279. In 24 desired to join the Ancient church, which hesitated, but was advised by Robinson of Leyden to admit him and his wife. In 30 wrote a preface to Ainsworth's last sermon. On 15 October 35 Sabrina Starsmore was sent back by the High Commission to the Counter in the Poultry; S. Consulted with this church as an outside adviser, 44; D.
- Ailie Stanford, 41-2; K.
- John Stoneard, 41; J.
- Lydia Strachen, 44; D.
- Matthew Strange, 53; H.
- Mrs. Swinerton, went to New England 34; J. Thomasine Swinerton, a widow in Aldermanbury, was before the High Commission on 24 July 39; S.
- Toby Talbot, 32; C.
- Thomas Teballs, a weaver in Bermondsey, before the High Commission on 23 April 40 with Shambrook; S.
- William Thomas, 78; B.
- William Throughton, 16; J.
- ? George Tipping, 43-4; K. Ever a member here?
- Jone Tolderoy about 41; D. Compare Goteldy. George Fox in 55 knew a John Tolderoy, who in 56 renounced the Friends and published "The Foot out of the Snare."
- John Trask, 36; J. Wife in prisons 28-39; S.

- Katherine Tredwell, about 33; J. Convented on 23 April 40, dismissed as poor; S.
 Richard Tredwell, about 33; J.
 John Trimmer, about 33; J.
 Lemuel Tuke of Colchester, 20; J.
 Hugh Vesse, 30; J. Veysey a baker of St. Botolph without Aldersgate, was before the High Commission with his wife Elizabeth, 15 October 35; S.
 Agnes Waddinam, 44; D.
 Brother and Sister Wade, 41 to 45; D.
 George Waddle or Ware, 53; H.
 Joshua Warren of Colchester, 20; J.
 Thomas Waters, 41-2; K. Known afterwards.
 ? John Webb, arrested in Southwark 40-1 with Gun, signed 43-4; K. Turned atheist by 46 according to Edwards. A shoe-maker of this name lived in St. Vedast's on 28 September 30.
 Widow White, about 33; J.
 G. Wiffield, about 33; J.
 Benjamin Wilkins, 30; J.
 Sarah Williams, 41-2; K.
 William Willieby, 41-2; K.
 Thomas Wilson, 32; J. About 33; J. Joined Spilisbury 38; K. On 12 January 43-4 deposed to a committee of the Lords as to Laud's illegal proceedings on the High Commission; S.
 Phillis and Susan Wilson, 32; C. Mrs. Wilson entertained the church at Tower Hill in 40; J.
 Alice, Elizabeth, and Rebecca Wincop, about 33; J. On 9-19 June 19, John Whincop a gentleman in the household of the Dowager Countess of Lincoln, took out a patent for Robinson's Leyden church from the Virginia Company; Arber's Pilgrim Fathers, page 291.
 John Woodwin, 32; C.J. With Goodwives Woodwin elder and younger, went to New England in 34; J.
 Richard Woollaston, about 71; B.
 Elizabeth, Henry, Isabel, and John Woolmore, 41-2; K.

A correspondent desires to obtain pictures of the exterior and interior of the chapel in Maidenhead Court, Great Eastcheap, London, wherein Dr. John Gill closed a thirty years' ministry on March 24th, 1756. The building was erected about 1730, abandoned by the Baptists in 1760, and pulled down in 1800. Communications to Charles Higham, 169, Grove Lane, S.E.

Next issue will contain an annotated list of the contents of Stinton's Repository, and the story there of another old church, 1621-1705. Also a letter from the Secretary of the Friends' Historical Society, and notices of several publications. Dr. Thirtle will read an article on Peter Chamberlen, M.D., at the Annual Meeting on 5th May, and this will be published the same day.