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Transactions

of the

Baptist Historical Society.

Memorials of the Treacher Family.

AMONG the families which gave strength and support to the General Baptist cause in seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries, was that of the Treachers. Three generations at least of that family stoutly defended the faith, and two ministers of that communion, in the early half of the eighteenth century, came from this stock. By inter-marriage with other families professing the same liberal theology, and by their generous benefactions, the Treachers did much for the propagation of non-Calvinistic Protestantism in days when it was less popular than now.

The family of Treacher, or Tracher, or Trecoer, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was distributed along the contiguous borders of the counties of Herts. and Bucks., chiefly in the villages of Chesham, Amersham, Berkhamstead, and Bovington, a neighbourhood in which Wycliffe and the Lollards exerted an abiding influence. Another branch of the family flourished in Oxfordshire, from which came Sir John Treacher, Mayor of Oxford.

According to Fox's Acts and Monuments (vol. ii., p. 39) in the year 1521, Isabel Tracher, wife of John Tracher of Chesham, was "detected" and "admonished" because "she came not to the church oftener on the week dayes," but followed her business at home; for cursing the Priest, and because "she proposed to set her daughter to Alice Harding, saying that she would teach better than many other." In the same year John Tracher of Chesham was "denounced" for that he taught this saying of Jesus, "Blessed be they that heare the Word of God and keepe it," also

because he taught the eight beatitudes in English. Likewise William Trecoer of Amersham was "detected" for "keeping Thomas Erowe in his house on Easter and Christmas day because he would not come to church." Thus the Treachers were early associated with anti-clericalism and Nonconformity; but some members of the family adhered to the Church.

Thus in Urwick's "Memorials of Nonconformity in Herts.," we find (p. 386) that in the sixth year of James I., James Treacher was Church warden at Bovington when Cadwallader Morgan was minister in that Puritan stronghold. Here, in the later years of Elizabeth, Wilcocks, the fellow-sufferer with John Field and the learned Thomas Cartwright, had ministered under the protection of the Mayne family and of Lady Bacon (See Urwick, pp. 382-392). Another member of the family, Samuel Treacher, of Chesham, born about 1650, was a strict Churchman, but married a lady (Anne) who is¹ described as "a worthy member of the Baptist Congregation."

Of this Samuel Treacher and his wife, the Rev. Samuel Fry (*loc. cit.*) says: "They had several children, and, as it often happens, the children embraced different sentiments; but what might otherwise have been a disadvantage, was wisely improved" by their son John Treacher,² "as it led him to an early and impartial enquiry after truth, which terminated in his embracing the truth in the love of it." The further account vouchsafed by Mr. Fry of this John Treacher is that "it pleased God to dispose his mind in some measure to a suitable preparation, he, at about the age of twenty years, made a cheerful and public profession of the Christian religion, and on that profession was baptiz'd by Mr. John Russell, then pastor of that people (in Chesham); he had not long been planted in the house of the Lord, but his profiting appeared to many. And his constant delight in, and attendance on, public worship, prayer, and religious conferences, joined with his natural good genius, con-

¹ The Christians' Consolation and Hope, a sermon on the death of the Rev. Mr. John Treacher, by Samuel Fry, London. E. Gardner, 1756.

² The children of Samuel and Anne Treacher, of Chesham, according to a pedigree in my possession, were, besides John, b. 1680—Hannah, b. 1686, Wardell, Anne, b. 1701, and William. The latter married and had four sons, William, 1739-1807, Samuel, b. 1742, John, b. 1745, and Daniel, 1747-1794. From the last named are descended the Treachers of Wycombe and Brighton and the Moretons. The parish registers of the Church at Chesham contain numerous baptisms, marriages and burials of Treachers between 1560 and 1664.

tinued to his great improvement, and was so conspicuous that he was early asked to be more publicly useful; and at twenty-two years of age (1702) was prevailed upon to preach before a congregation of ministers and brethren, so highly satisfactory that he was soon after chosen by the Church to assist in the ministry of the gospel. This he did with considerable success, many acknowledging him the instrument of their conviction and conversion, and others of their encouragement and comfort in religion. It was always his aim to be an ornament to the religion he professed, and to inculcate it by an inoffensive and exemplary conduct. The more conspicuous features of his life were his unaffected humility and patience under the difficulties and afflictions of life, demeaning himself with cheerfulness and resignation. His quiet, peaceable, forbearing disposition shone in a most resplendent light throughout his whole conduct; which, as it in some measure qualified him for it, so it occasioned his being often called to the good office of arbitration, both in the Church and amongst his other friends and acquaintance; in which, however difficult task, he was generally successful. And as he was of a meek and quiet spirit, so he enjoyed quietness, composure, and serenity of mind even to his last moments. As a minister of the gospel, he flourished therein, bringing forth acceptable fruit to a good old age."

Wilson ("History of the Dissenting Churches, 1814," vol. iv., p. 182) says he had gathered from "an old memorandum" that this Mr. John Treacher was representative of the Church at Berkhamstead, at the General Assembly held in White's Alley (Moorfields) in 1703,³ that it is probable that he was at that time settled at Berkhamstead in the pastoral office, and that he continued there for a considerable number of years.

I have also obtained from the Minutes of the Meetings of the Bucks. Baptist Association 1726-1776, some extracts which show that Mr. Treacher attended, as representative, the meetings of the "Messengers, Elders, and Brethren, Representatives of the several congregations of General Baptists," held on April 7, 1724, at Aylesbury. He again attended there on March 30, 1725, and on April 30, 1738, he was asked to "supply" the congregation at Aylesbury once a month.

In 1738 he was still at Berkhamstead, and apparently badly off, for White's Alley Church took up a collection for him. In 1745 he left Berkhamstead to succeed Mr. Hands at the Park Meeting-house of the General Baptists in Southwark. This

³ Also in 1702. See Minutes of General Assembly of General Baptist Churches, Whitley, vol. 1, p. 76.

ancient Meeting-house in the Park, Southwark, dated from 1674, and was where John Bunyan (1628-1688) preached when he was in London. It was one of the five churches linked together by the Pierce Johns trust and united in observing "the six principles." According to Wilson, of all the ministers who held office here from its foundation down to 1800, Mr. John Treacher was "the most considerable." From 1745 to 1755, according to the Minutes of the General Assembly, Mr. John Treacher represented the Park Congregation each year at the Annual Meeting at Horsleydown, and signed the records. In this last year, 1755, he met Mr. Richard Dendy, who was sent up by the congregation of General Baptists at Horsham. The fact is interesting since the Mr. John Treacher's son Benjamin married Miss Sarah Dendy, the daughter of Mr. Richard Dendy, of Horsham, thus connecting up the Buckinghamshire and the Sussex groups of General Baptists. A son of this Mr. Richard Dendy, also named Richard (and brother to Mrs. Benjamin Treacher), married Anne, the daughter of John Caffyn, of Clayton, a member of the family of the great propagandist of Sussex, Matthew Caffyn (1628-1714). Richard Dendy (senior) and the Rev. John Treacher both died the next year, 1756, and in 1758, for the first time, the Rev. Benjamin Treacher (son of John) attended the Annual Assembly.

The last days of Mr. John Treacher are thus described in the Rev. Samuel Fry's *éloge*. "He was confined to his bed near four months, and was oftentimes attended with the most acute pains. His discourse of his supports and comforts was very entertaining to those about him; he was blessed with an humble, but firm and unshaken persuasion of the divine approbation, through the mercy of God, and the mediation of Jesus Christ, often urging the words of the text that he had good hope through grace; his affectionate regard for his children and their offspring, led him frequently to put up ejaculatory petitions for them, particularly that they might highly prize the means of grace, and fruitfully improve them. He was frequently delirious towards the close of his life; in these intervals the pleasing and transporting views presented to his imagination, without a mixture of melancholy and dreadful apprehension; he met the final stroke, and took an everlasting farewell of this transitory state, a state of continual disappointments and causes of pain and trouble, he rests from his labours and is fallen asleep in Jesus."

The title page to this funeral address runs thus: "The Christian's Consolation and Hope considered, in a sermon occa-

sioned by the Death of the Reverend Mr. John Treacher, late Minister of the Gospel in Duke Street, in the Park, Southwark; who departed this life, April 12, 1756, in the 76th year of his age. Preached at the above Place, April the 25th by Samuel Fry. Published at the request of the Relations. London, Printed for E. Gardner, near the Cross-Keys Inn, Grace-church Street, MDCCLVI."

John Treacher married Elizabeth ——, and had nine children, four sons and five daughters, several died in infancy. The sons were: John, born 1706, Daniel, born 1709, John, born 1712, and Benjamin, born 1722. The daughters were: Mary, born 1705, Elizabeth, born 1707, Martha, born 1715, and Hannah, born 1717. Mary married 1st Chapman, 2nd Groombridge, Daniel married and had two children, Daniel and Hannah.

Little is known of the elder sons, but an account of the Rev. Benjamin Treacher, who was born at Berkhampstead, is given by the Rev. Charles Bulkely in a sermon preached at Fair Street, Horseleydown, Southwark, on September 14, 1766 (Printed by J. Buckland, Paternoster Row), and entitled "The Rational Assurance of a Dying Pastor." Mr. Bulkely says: "We may, with the greatest propriety say of the late reverend Mr. Benjamin Treacher, that he '*knew* whom he believed.' He had in his earliest years a strong thirst after religious knowledge, in so much that on account of the daily attendance given to a secular engagement he was then under, the duties of which, notwithstanding all his ardour in the pursuit of mental acquisitions, were performed by him with the utmost fidelity. He used to devote a considerable part of the night to study, reading and contemplation; nay, not unfrequently the whole of it, content only with taking some transient rest by lying down in his clothes at the approach of day. By this means it was, together with the habitual cultivation of his understanding, and the application of his mind and thoughts to religious and moral subjects that he acquired any great degree of discernment in them, and a deep-felt, penetrating conviction of the reality and importance of things sacred and divine, and to this I think we may, in consequence of a blessing from on high accompanying his endeavours, principally ascribe that compassion, firmness, and alacrity in the ways of God, which formed the aspect and general tenor of his conversation. Such being his relish for things sacred and religious, we can little wonder that he should have, in those early years, as he said he always had, a strong inclination to the ministry. It was with great concern that he reflected upon a particular circumstance in his father's family which he thought might be likely to interfere with the prospects

and expectations of this kind he had indulged. Providence, however, was pleased to open a way for his appearance in the character of a preacher, when he was about twenty years of age; and it was with great acceptance he acquitted himself in it.⁴ His first stated employment in this character was at Chesham, in the county of Bucks., not far distant from Berkhamstead, in Hertfordshire, where he was born, and he was, after a while, by the very numerous congregation of antipædobaptists assembling at Chesham, invited to the exercise of the pastoral care amongst them, in conjunction with another, the Rev. Mr. Sexton, then standing in that relation to them; but for some particular reasons, this invitation he thought proper to decline. So far, however, he complied with the desires of that Society as to agree, notwithstanding his distant residence in town, to the stated service of the congregation twice in a month, which agreement he very punctually, and with the greatest fidelity, performed for the space of ten years, at which period, upon the death of the late Rev. Mr. Joseph Morris, he was invited by the Church, then meeting in Glasshouse Yard, Goswell Street, but now assembling in this place, to be their pastor, and this invitation he accepted. And in this situation he continued for the remaining ten years of his life; yet, according to mutual agreement, not wholly quitting his connection at Chesham, though less frequently officiating there. My own situation, as you will immediately apprehend, did not allow me many opportunities of attending his public services as a minister, yet judging by those which have occurred to me, by what I knew of his principles, and by what I have been witness to in the general tenor of his conversation, I believe I may safely venture to affirm concerning them, what that renowned martyr, John Huss, of Bohemia, who, when surrounded with the faggots that were just ready to be set on fire about him, declared concerning his own "sermons and outings" (see Goodwin's "Life of King Henry the Fifth," book III., p. 139) 'that they were all directed to the converting of men from sin to God, and to bring them to heaven.' But our worthy friend did not think it enough to acquire for his own part just principles in religion, or even to be employed in making a just representation of its truths to others. It is well known that he did by his life and practice 'adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things,' and that 'his conversation' was in every respect 'as becometh the gospel of Christ.' He was serious without affectation, zealous without

⁴ He preached the Sermon at the Representative Meeting of General Baptists at Amersham in 1755.

bigotrie, candid without indifference, cheerful without levitie, humble without servilitie, resolute and persevering without obstinacie, prudent without hypocrisie or guile, and attentive to the necessary concerns of his life without suffering his affections to be wholly engrossed by the objects and pursuits of it. He *knew* that 'one thing was indeed needful,' the grand concern of religion and another life. And to this, with the greatest sinceretie and inviolable attachment, he devoted his own affections, and endeavoured to excite in the minds of others the same attention to it" . . . "Our worthy friend had, at a very early stage of his distemper, some strong forebodings of what was indeed the issue and result of it, and of that event, which we on our own behalf, as all who knew him most so justly now lament; and accordingly he discoursed to those who were about him. Nay, it is remarkable that about six weeks before this attack, and when to all appearance he was in his usual health, he expressed himself in a very particular manner to a friend in the country as to some impressions of this sort, which he had thus upon his mind, and even repeated these apprehensions to the same friend afterwards by letter. And on the very day fortnight preceding his death, having been on a visit to the same place, he was observed to take leave of this and other friends in a manner particularly affectionate, after having at that time likewise expressed himself in conversation to the same effect. But it was on the Sunday before his death, when, alas, the violence of his disorder gave to all about him but too much reason to apprehend the same, that he desired his children to be called up, and when surrounding his bed, bid them a solemn farewell, telling them he believed that he himself should soon be taken from them, and in a manner best adapted to their tender years, recommending it to them to be serious and good, he particularly urged upon them a dutiful and loving conduct towards their mother. To you, the members of his church, I hope what we have been insisting upon may be of use towards composing your minds into a suitable resignation to the rule of heaven, under this very affecting loss you have sustained, for, as he himself expresses it in a little tract he published about twelve years ago, which I suppose to be his only publication, intituled '*A Dissertation upon the moral perfections of the Supreme Being*' having been before inculcating the same general principles, 'hence' (p. 26) 'we may conclude, that the Supreme Being justly commands our constant trust in His Providence, and our universal obedience to his will, not from the principle of *sovereignty and mere attractiveness*, but from the harmonie, beauty, and rectitude of his conduct towards all his

creations.' And there is no doubt but that from sentiments like these he derived that happy composure of mind, which, amidst the vicissitudes and various trials of human life, seemed always to attend him."

Three metrical elegies on the death of the Rev. Benjamin Treacher have been reprinted by Mr. Arthur Hall in his "Three Generations of a Godly House" (1896). One, at least, of these he traces to the pen of Miss Elizabeth Rolt, of Chesham, whose "Miscellaneous Poems" were published in 1768. The verses in each of these elegies which have a personal reference are as follows:

"Revolving years unfold the book of fate;
 Each day what armies leave this mortal state.
 TREACHER the debt has paid which all must pay;—
 Here lies his brittle tenement of clay,
 The soul set free, ascends to worlds sublime,
 Explores new realms beyond the bounds of time.

In youth my guide, in riper years my friend,
 Thy good example all my steps attend;
 Unnumber'd acts thy faithful friendship prove,
 A friendship firmer than a brother's love.
 In manners social, and in mind sincere,
 Affections warm, in understanding clear,
 Celestial truth explored with warm desire,
 The Christian's zeal without the bigot's fire;
 Not sour, though pious, no affected mien;
 Candid, yet steadfast; cheerful, but not vain;
 Willing his Master's business to perform,
 Nor fear'd the blustering wind, or driving storm;
 Dispensed around to souls the living bread,
 Informed the doubting and the hungry fed;
 The drooping cheer'd, alarmed the base and vain,
 And taught backsliders to return again;
 Constrained the sons of pleasure to give ear,
 And made e'en superstitious votaries fear.
 The faithful SERVANT all the Churches found
 His praises just the Churches all resound;
 The fatal loss fair virtue's sons deplore,
 And mourn the bright and shining light's no more."

Another elegy, in the style of Pope, "on the much lamented death of that faithful minister of the Gospel, Mr. Benjamin

Treacher, who departed this life September the 2nd, in the forty-fourth year of his age," contains the following:

"Alas! too soon I heard what most I dread—
The great, the good, the god-like TREACHER'S dead!
O dreadful scene! that fills my heart with woe,
'Tis friendship bids the pensive tears to flow.

In him how did the social virtues shine,
And beam'd their splendour with a ray divine;
His sense was so refin'd, he was—but what?
Say all that's great in man, and he was that.
Alas! his character's by far too grand
For my faint, languid muse to understand;
Benevolence adorned his noble breast
With every grace and god-like virtue blest;
The Eternal Mind he strove to imitate;
Generous, relieved the poor and desolate;
He bid their tears be void, their fears be mute;
Imparted comfort, heard the orphan's suit,
His breast with true philosophy inspired,
His friends they lov'd, his enemies admir'd.
So spoke his soft, his well-instructed tongue,
That on his words some sweet attraction hung.

Why must this gracious man by death depart?
And fall a victim to his piercing dart?
Then CHESHAM friends to sinking grief attend
For you have lost a great, a gracious friend.
Sure, 'twas some seraph took a human face,
And lowly stooped to bless our mortal race."

The third, entitled "An Epitaph," is dated, Chesham, September 20th, 1766, and is as follows:

"Stay, my gay friend, let tears of crystal hue
Descend thy cheeks—they're to his memory due.
Here rests a tenement, secure from strife,
But the fair Tenant's ripen'd unto life.
The fabric faints, and the great soul survey'd
The pleasing breaches sinking Nature made,—
Pleas'd with its freedom, swiftly soars on high,
Thro' ether, far beyond the ambient sky."

Another allusion to the Rev. Benjamin Treacher is found in Miss Rolt's poem, "A Dialogue between the Dead and the Living," dedicated to Endymion, who, speaking from the Shades, is made to say:

"I know your much lov'd TREACHER, and rejoice,
And hear, if proper, his delightful voice."

Mrs. Benjamin Treacher (née Dendy) survived her husband twenty-three years, and resided with her third son, Dendy Treacher, an apothecary, at Stamford, being buried in St. Michael's, Stamford, in 1789.

The other children were Benjamin, John, and Joseph. Benjamin, the eldest, married (December 1785) Miss Vinsor, of Islington; he died in 1799 at Sloane Street, Chelsea, and was buried in Clerkenwell Church. Joseph, the youngest, was born February 8, 1765. He was shot by Highwaymen on his twenty-first birthday, February 8, 1786, and was buried in Worship Street Chapel, in the family grave.

Dendy, the third son, to whom reference has been already made, was born in 1758, died unmarried in 1793, and was buried with his mother at St. Michael's, Stamford.

The remaining son, John Treacher, survived them all. He was born September 11, 1755, and died September 17, 1838. During his long life he played an important part in connection with the General Baptist community, of which his father and grandfather had been ministers, and he himself was, for half a century, the Deacon and chief supporter of Worship Street Chapel, the headquarters of the General Assembly of the General Baptists in London.

On page 151 of "Tracts, Sermons, and Funeral Orations," by John Evans, D.D. (September, 1825), is the following note. "September 22, 1717. Mention made (*i.e.*, in Church Books⁵ of Worship Street Chapel) of a General Baptist Church in the Park, Southwark. It still exists under the care of the Rev. Mr. Farrant, author of a discourse on Baptism,⁶ in which there is a happy union of talent and liberality. The old meeting house has been given up, and a neat place of worship erected in its vicinity. In the burying ground adjoining to the old meeting, and now

⁵ These Church Books, it appears from page 194, were, in 1825, in the possession of Mr. John Treacher, son of the Rev. Benjamin Treacher.

⁶ Query: John Farrent, Immersion of Believers the Baptism of the New Testament, 1822. [Ed.]

built on,⁷ lies interred a worthy minister of our persuasion, the Rev. Benjamin Treacher, who died in the year 1766, sincerely regretted by the church to which he belonged. He wrote an excellent little piece on the 'Moral Perfections of the Deity,' showing that they were all founded on the broad basis of universal benevolence, and had for their prime object the welfare and felicity of mankind. His funeral sermon, preached and published by the Rev. Charles Bulkley, pays a just token of respect to his benevolence and piety. It is to his son, John Treacher, Esquire, that the present volume is inscribed."

The ministrations of the Rev. John Treacher, senior, and the Rev. Benjamin Treacher, extending over a period of sixty-four years (1702-1766), recall the group of General Baptist Chapels which existed in London in the XVIII. century, viz., at the Park, Southwark, and at Fair Street, Horsleydown, on the south side of the Thames; and those at White's Alley, Moorfields, at Paul's Alley, Barbican, and at Glasshouse Yard, Goswell Road, on the north side of the Thames. With several of these chapels on both sides of the river the Treachers, father, son, and grandson were associated.

An interesting account of these General Baptist Chapels in London is to be found on pp. 133-207 of the work by the Rev. John Evans, already referred to. More recently, Dr. Whitley, in his introduction to volume I. of the "Minutes of the General Baptist Assembly" (1908), has endeavoured to unravel the tangled skein of the story of these meeting-places. On page lii, he states that the original building in Winchester Park was replaced about 1760 by another edifice in Duke Street. It appears from the Rev. Samuel Fry's funeral oration on Mr. John Treacher, that this was delivered on April 25, 1756, at the Duke Street Meeting-house; and the Rev. John Treacher is described on the first page as late Minister of the Gospel in Duke Street, in the Park, Southwark. The Minutes for 1761, however, set forth the necessity "of rebuilding the same," as if this were only just being undertaken.

The history of the rise of this little community of Arminian, or non-Calvinist Nonconformists, from their earliest days of surreptitious gatherings in private houses, through the time of the Marian persecutions, during the prosperous years of the Commonwealth, and the reaction of the Restoration, to an assured toleration under William III., is a theme of absorbing interest, and one that

⁷ On p. 202 of same work it appears that this burial ground known as Dead Man's Place was the oldest cemetery belonging to the Dissenters in London or its vicinity.

is attracting systematic investigation by several inquirers. Not less curious and instructive, though far less gratifying, is the story of the involution and declension of this remarkable community from the height of their prosperity in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Their chapels, which had been distributed widely in England and Wales, after several crises, merged into other connections, or, dwindling in numbers, gradually flickered out, so that at the present day, except in the south-east of England, notably Kent and Sussex, the lineal descendants of these General Baptist Chapels are few and far between. The lives of the Rev. John and the Rev. Benjamin Treacher, with that of John Treacher, the son of Benjamin, yet to be referred to, cover the years 1680 to 1838, the period of greatest activity of the little community with which the three generations of this family were so closely identified.

Dr. Whitley reminds us that "the first General Baptist Church in London, or in England, was that brought by Helwys and Morton from Amsterdam in 1611," and that the earliest Churches with a definite habitation were that of White's Alley, Moorfields, and another in Southwark. The earlier meetings of the "persecuted" and "privy" congregations of London took place in private houses, lofts, and ships. It was not until after the period of exile in Holland (1605-1611) that recognised meeting-houses for regular worship were inaugurated, and it was then, as Masson, in his "Life of Milton" truly asserts, that "this obscure Baptist congregation seems to have become the depository for all England of the absolute principle of Liberty of Conscience expressed in the Amsterdam Confession."

This "Confession" of the Anglo-Dutch Anabaptists claimed that "the magistrate is not to meddle with religion, or matters of conscience, nor compel men to this or that form of religion, because Christ is the King and Lawgiver of the Church and Conscience." Masson truly surmises that contact with the Dutch Arminians may have helped the Church of Smith and Helwys to this "first expression of the absolute principle of Liberty of Conscience in the public articles of any body of Christians."

These English Baptists found an *affinité de cœur* with the followers of Menno Simons, or Mennonites, who were settled at Amsterdam, and during the eighteenth century there was much community of interest between the Arminians of Holland and this liberal group of Nonconformists at home. The Collegiants of Rhijsberg, who, in 1660 welcomed the "rejected" Spinoza to their meetings, by their "remonstrance" against Calvinism, the breadth of their views and the simplicity of their faith owned a

natural kinship with the General Baptists of England who so heroically "maintained the strife" on behalf of the same liberal ideals at home. A relationship between the General Baptists and those holding Socinian or Unitarian views was thus early traceable, and while in organisation they had some affinity with Presbyterians and Friends, they departed further and further from the Brownists on the one hand and from the Calvinistic Baptists on the other. These questions of doctrine and Church government were, however, often the occasions of discussions among them, and of not a few secessions; some of the Churches, like that of the Park, Southwark, passed over eventually to the New Connexion, while several of the London Churches gradually merged into that Communion, which became the centre and focus of the General Baptists for the Kingdom, and provided the *locus* for their annual assemblies, viz., Worship Street Chapel, Shoreditch.

Of this Chapel Mr. John Treacher the second, the son of the Rev. Benjamin Treacher and Sarah Dendy, was, for more than half a century, Deacon;⁸ the Church books formerly in his possession⁹ are now preserved by the Rev. W. Harvey Smith, who has obligingly allowed me to peruse them and take some extracts from them.

These records open with the statement that "the General Baptist Church which, in the year 1698, met in Glasshouse Yard, Goswell Street, under the pastoral care of Thomas Kirby, removed from thence in 1764 to the meeting-house in Fair Street, Horsley Down, and continued there till 1768; it then removed to Paul's Alley, Barbican, and remained there till 1780, when it finally removed to the new-built meeting-house in Worship Street, near Finsbury Square."

John Treacher, the second of the four sons of the Rev. Benjamin Treacher, was born on September 11, 1755. He was articled to Mr. Aberdein Drysalter, of Bishopsgate. On April 15, 1779, he married Elizabeth, daughter of Samuel Sharpe, of the firm of Kirke and Sharpe, of Bishopsgate Street, who resided at Ware (Herts.). Her mother was a Hathaway, and associated by tradition with the family of Shakespeare's wife.

He became a member of the Wheelwrights' Company and of the Tallow Chandlers' Company,¹⁰ and in connection with the

⁸ Evans Tracts Sermons on p. v.

⁹ Ibid p. 194.

¹⁰ On enquiry at the Hall of the Company in Dowgate Hill, City, I learnt that the records show that at a Court held on 7th January, 1802, "Mr. John Treacher, of Paternoster Row, Tallow Chandler, was made free by redemption" and having paid his Livery and Steward's fine was elected on the Livery.

latter industry carried on a very successful business at 43, Paternoster Row, and in Bermondsey, from about 1780 to 1820. In 1797 he was elected to the Common Council of the city of London for the Castle Baynard Ward, and served on the Corporation till 1826. He was a member of the Bridge House Estates and other Committees, and one of the Commissioners of Sewers. He was one of the original Proprietors, or Founders, of University College when that institution was inaugurated in 1827 as the University of London. In 1829 Mr. Treacher obtained a grant of arms from the Heralds' College with the following charge:

"Per chevron gules and azure on a chevron between three boars' heads coupé argent, a cross flory enclosed by two grasshoppers respecting each other vert. Crest a boar's head coupé gules armed or, in the mouth a dragon's sinister wing argent. Motto: '*Æquam servare mentem.*'"

Mr. Arthur Hall, in his "Three Generations of a Godly House" (Wertheimer, Lea, & Co., 1896), has some minor biographical details of Mr. and Mrs. John Treacher.

From a miniature in my possession he appears a clean-shaven man of about 60 or 70, with bright blue eyes; white hair drawn back from a high forehead into a pigtail; a benevolent and kindly expression lights up his countenance, and his dress is Quaker-like, and of brown cloth.

He seems to have been highly esteemed by his fellow-citizens, and was Chairman for many years of a Committee of Merchants who met at the New England Coffee House.¹¹ A silver inkstand with the following inscription is also in my possession. "Presented to John Treacher, Esq., by the Society held at the New England Coffee House, as a small token of Respect and Esteem for his invaluable services as Chairman for near twenty years. 1820."

The following information concerning John Treacher and his relations I have gleaned from the records of Worship Street Church Book.

May 2, 1773. Among the persons who have, upon profession of faith, been baptized and admitted as members of the Church, is Mr. John Teacher (with nine others). He was then eighteen years of age.

¹¹ This Coffee House was situated in Threadneedle Street (59 and 60) adjoining the Cock Tavern, long celebrated for its soups. According to Timbs, the New England Coffee House was early last century the rendezvous of the Barings and Rothschilds and a focus of information of foreign trade from all quarters of the globe.

In 1778, John Treacher nominated, with Stephen Dendy and three others, trustees of three houses in White Horse Alley, Cow Cross Street, Smithfield.

January 2, 1780. "Mr. Dendy Treacher has likewise been baptized and received into Communion of this Church." (This was John Treacher's younger brother, then aged twenty-two.)

The same year John Treacher, of Paternoster Row, is appointed a Trustee in respect of the South Sea Annuities.

March 7, 1784. The signatures of Joseph (youngest son of the Rev. Benjamin) and Dendy Treacher are attached to the Records.

February 19, 1792. John Treacher appointed to invite the Rev. John Evans to the pastorate. This was in succession to the Rev. Elthanan Winchester, the Universalist, who left Worship Street for Parliament Court, where he was succeeded by Vidler of Battle, and W. J. Fox (South Place Chapel).

May 5, 1802. In the list of twenty-four members of the Church (in all) there appear the names of John Treacher and John Treacher junior (eldest son born 1781).

September 14, 1825. John Treacher being the only surviving deacon, two more were appointed.

May 14, 1826. John Treacher is one of the two representatives appointed to the Annual Baptist Assembly.

On May 20, 1827, John Treacher, J. Evans, and J. C. Mearns were authorised to sign a petition for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. There is also this note: "We have also, in conjunction with the afternoon congregation, a Fellowship Fund for the support of Unitarian and General Baptist Principles."

And on May 18, 1828, another note says: "Looking to our peculiar situation as the only Unitarian General Baptist Church in the Metropolis."

On March 25, 1838. Mr. Treacher is mentioned as the last surviving trustee of the Brentford estate.

On November 18, 1838 there is a reference to his death thus: "The decease of the aged and respected friend, Mr. Treacher, for so many years a member and deacon of this Church, having occasioned a vacancy in the Pierce Johns Trust."—He was also one of the managers of the General Baptist Ministers' Fund.

On February 17, 1839, at the Annual Congregational Meeting, it was resolved: "That the present meeting cannot omit to record its deep sense of the loss sustained by this congregation in the death of the late Mr. Treacher, and recognises in the

judicious testamentary bounties of the deceased for individuals and objects connected with the congregation, the zealous interest always taken by him in its welfare."

On May 21, 1839. In the Records of the General Assembly of the Churches of the Baptized Believers meeting at Worship Street, the following appears: "We have to pay a suitable mark of respect to the memory of an aged servant of God who has been usually present on this occasion, and who was present, at least during the service, at the last assembly. We mean Mr. Treacher; whose great age and growing infirmities had obliged him for some years to give up the offices which he held connected with this Church and with the Education Society, as well as other Baptist funds, but whose heart was interested in that form of Christianity generally adopted amongst us to the period of his last illness, and from a firm belief in which he derived comfort and composure during the acute suffering with which it pleased our Heavenly Father to visit him. We refer with confidence to the state of Mr. Treacher's mind and the strength of his convictions, for a test of the value of those religious principles which our Church has long, by Divine Providence, publicly avowed. Descended from two General Baptist ministers, who in succession laboured in the ministry in this Metropolis, he had partaken of the Christian knowledge and refinement and also of the composure which a settled mind and a matured belief in the Gospel is calculated to impart; and has left an example which will redound greatly to the honour of his numerous descendants who shall be wise enough to imitate it. A tribute to the memory of Mr. Treacher, as well as to that of his father, once minister at this Church, was paid by the Rev. B. Mardon, and by the liberality of the relatives of the deceased he has been enabled to print a sufficient number of copies of the same to supply the many families connected with Mr. Treacher and also any other friends who, from respect to his memory, may be anxious to possess a copy."

Mrs. Gripper,¹² of Whatlington (Sussex), has in her possession a Bible printed in 1718, on the fly leaf of which are the following entries: "Bought of the Rev. Samuel Fry's widow by Benjamin Treacher, in the year 1765, for the use of his wife, Sarah Treacher." Also, "John Treacher, son of Benjamin and Sarah Treacher, of Bermondsey Street, Southwark; born September 11, 1755; married April 15, 1779, at the Church of St. Gregory, City of London, to Elizabeth Sharpe, daughter of Samuel and

¹² Grand-daughter of John Treacher.

Sarah Sharpe of Bishopsgate Street. Issue of the above marriage: 1. Eliza, born February 10, 1780, died March, 1792; 2. John, born January 30, 1781, died October 21, 1812, married, no issue; 3. Samuel, born July 3, 1782, died January 29, 1814, unmarried; 4. Benjamin, born December 23, 1784; 5. Sarah, born May 29, 1787; 6. Joseph, born April 17, 1790; 7. Edward, born February 1792; 8. Rebecca, born March 9, 1794; 9. Maria, born July 2, 1796; 10. Eliza, born May 9, 1802; 11. Henry, born February 19, 1804. All registered at Dr. Williams' Library, Red Cross Street."¹³ Also, "My dear wife, Elizabeth, died on Sunday morning, May 18, 1834, at three o'clock, in her 75th year.—J.T."

On pages 196-207 of Dr. Evans' work, already quoted, are to be found descriptions of Worship Street Chapel and its cemetery. Here, says he, "are no attractions for the multitude. The General Baptists are a plain people; they make no pretence to superior sanctity. Universal redemption and adult baptism are the unfashionable badges of their religious profession. Their only ambition and highest gratification are to be attired in the garb of Primitive Christianity." The Chapel contained four tombs; those of the community dying before 1780 were buried in Dead Man's Place, Southwark, the oldest cemetery belonging to the Dissenters in London or its vicinity. According to Dr. Evans, the first tomb was that of the Lowdell¹⁴ family, the second that of the Treachers, and in regard to the latter, Dr. Evans says:

"*Second tomb.* Here lies the body of Joseph Treacher,¹⁵ of Bermondsey Street, Southwark, who died the eighth of February, 1786, aged twenty-one years. A youth of most unblemished character. He was the son of the late Rev. Benjamin Treacher, formerly pastor of the General Baptist Church at Glasshouse Yard, and which, in the year 1780 was removed to this place.

"Here also lies Sarah Treacher Mercer,¹⁶ daughter of Robert and Sarah Mercer (née Treacher), of Stamford Street, who died the thirty-first of March, 1812, aged four months.

¹³ Then the Registry Office for births of Nonconformists.

¹⁴ On p. 207 of Vol. II of Dr. Whitley's 'Minutes of the General Baptist Churches in England' (foot-note) referring to Worship Street it says "This church was one of the strongest, numbering at this time the Lowdells and Treachers in its fellowship. From 1783 to the present century it claimed the privilege of catering for assembly meetings."

¹⁵ He was shot by highwaymen near Coldbath Fields.

¹⁶ The Mercers were a General Baptist family of Sussex (Ditchling and Sedlescombe).

"Sacred to the memory of Mr. John Treacher, junior,¹⁷ of Paternoster Row, who departed this life on the 21st of October, 1812, in the 31st year of his age, to the deep regret of his afflicted parents.

"Also to the memory of Lieut. Samuel Sharpe Treacher, brother of the above, and Commander of H.M.S. Holly, who was wrecked on the rocks of St. Sebastian, upon the coast of Spain, the 29th of January, 1814, aged 30 years.¹⁸

"Henry Treacher Bowden, second son of John and Rebecca Bowden (née Treacher), of Aldermanbury, died 28th March, 1817, aged six days.

"A lovely boy, Henry Treacher Hall, son of Mr. and Mrs. Hall (née Treacher) of South Place, Finsbury, about five years old, was lately added to the inhabitants of this tomb.

"In the second tomb is also interred Garnault Bowles,¹⁹ the only son of Edward and Anne Sarah Treacher, of Burton Crescent, who died June 3rd, 1828, aged two years and six months. This lovely and promising boy was endeared to his relatives by the uncommon sweetness of his disposition; the recollection of his mild countenance, pleasant voice, and engaging manners, will ever be retained by his parents with fond affection, and with grateful delight will they think on the extraordinary ability, fortitude, and composure with which he terminated his distressing illness, which thus cut him down as a flower of the field, and blasted all the fond ambitious hopes of his parents from him in this life. Previous to the commencement of his illness, which lasted nearly three months, he had learnt to repeat, correctly, the Lord's Prayer, the Belief, and several of Dr. Watts' beautiful hymns, besides various pieces of poetry. Farewell, dear departed child! Thy sorrowing parents have shed

¹⁷ On p. 420 of Dr. Evans' book is a sermon by Rev. Joseph Fawcett read on the decease of Mr. John Treacher, junr., "taken in shorthand by the late Mr. Joseph Treacher and altered by the late Mr. John Treacher, junr." Some specimens of his shorthand are in my possession.

¹⁸ On pp. 471-490 of Dr. Evans' book is a memorial sermon on Lieut. Samuel Sharpe Treacher, with a brief biography and an account of the disaster by which he met his death. A portrait of him hangs at Myddelton House, Waltham Cross, the house of his nephew, H. C. B. Bowles, Esq., D.L., J.P.

¹⁹ Edward Treacher and Henry Treacher, sons of John Treacher, of Stamford Hill, each married a Miss Bowles, both daughters of Henry Carrington Bowles, who married a Miss Garnault, of Huguenot extraction, and related to Sir Samuel Romilly. See *Life of Sir Samuel Romilly* (reprinted from Huguenot Society's Transactions, 1908) by W. J. C., p. 5.

on thy tomb the tears of ardent affection. Christian resignation forbids them not, for Jesus wept at the grave of Lazarus. Those who knew thy mild virtues and witnessed the serenity with which thy short day closed, will think of them with pleasure, and regret thy seemingly premature death; but, cheered by the hopes of the Gospel, they look forward to a state where that intellectual and moral process, which commenced so promisingly here, will, under better auspices, be carried on to perfection—when all that affection, love, and friendship prized will be restored to their embrace. The following verses were presented to his disconsolate parents by the Rev. W. F. Davis, M.A.:

“The sun which makes the violets bloom
Once cheered his eye now closed in death;
The hand which wanders o'er his tomb
Was once his vital breath.

“Though scenes terrestrial pass away,
Though sun and moon and stars shall wane—
I heard a voice from heaven say:
'Thy child shall live again.'”

The remains of these and other descendants of John Treacher, of Stamford Hill, and his wife Elizabeth (Sharpe), and of Mr. and Mrs. Treacher themselves, were removed in 1877 from Worship Street Chapel, when that church was demolished under an improvement scheme, effected by the Metropolitan Board of Works, to Woking Cemetery. Over them a Sarcophagus, with the Treacher coat of arms and the names of all those there buried, has been erected by Captain Henry Carver Treacher, a grandson of Mr. John Treacher.

I have avoided reference in detail to members of the family now living or who are within living memory as inappropriate to the pages of this review. Some account of them is to be found in the papers collected by the late Mr. Arthur Hall, to which reference has been made; should time and opportunity permit, I may, elsewhere, continue into contemporary periods the above fragmentary notes; suffice it to say that the descendants of the line dealt with in these pages are numerous and not wholly undistinguished.

WILLIAM J. COLLINS.

Baptist Churches till 1660.

THE following county list attempts to gather together the contemporary evidence as to early Baptist Churches. The great majority came into being after the outbreak of the Civil War, but any earlier evidence is referred to here. Many churches claim early dates, but have nothing except tradition on which to substantiate their claims. Yet it is probable that more evidence can really be produced, and it is with the hope of eliciting this that the following provisional summary is compiled, and that a few probable traditions are referred to.

At this time the appropriation of a building for worship was most excessively rare, cities like Bristol being obvious exceptions. Hence a church is often known by the name of several villages, the cases of Rutland, Leicester, and Northampton giving great variety of names.

The General Baptists, marked here*, began in England as early as 1612; the Particulars not before 1633. Yet by the close of the Commonwealth, the former seem to have had only about 115 churches, as against 131 of the Particulars. The errors which certainly occur in these lists are as likely to affect one section as the other; and we may infer that Calvinism had already shown its ability to attract and to organize.

BEDFORD.

Bedford, open membership. 1650 John Gifford. Early records published in Brown's "Life of Bunyan."

Eversholt. 1653 at Berks Association.

*Luton and Kimpton. 1655 Gritton met George Fox, whose journal see.

*Potton and Dunton. 1653 members of Fenstanton lived here. Stevington. 1655 Stephen Hawthorne.

*Sundon. 1651 Thomas Partridge and Samuel Tide signed the Midland G.B. confession.

BERKS.

- Abingdon. 1652 original member of the Berks Association. See Salt, "Gleanings from Forgotten Fields." John Pendarvis, B.A., 1655 represented at Bridgwater and signing letter to Ireland.
- Faringdon. 1657.
- Henley. 1652.
- Longworth. 1656.
- Reading. 1652.
- Wallingford, see Pyrton in Oxford 1653.
- Wantage. 1653 joined the Association. Pendarvis is *said* to have lectured here in 1642. Church book says, not contemporary, that it began about 1648. In 1653, June, the Church of Christ at Wantage and Grove petitioned Cromwell that the Steward and M.P. for Abingdon had locked them out of the Town Hall, contrary to recent usage. Robert Keate and fourteen others sign.

BUCKINGHAM.

- *Aylesbury. Stephen Dagnall at Assembly 1654.
- Haddenham. At Berks Association 1653.
- Newport Pagnell. John Gibbs.
- *Soulbury. Joseph Keach at Assembly 1660.
- *Stony Stratford. John Emerson of Cosgrove and William Fortnell of Paulerspury leased and built in 1657.
- *Winslow. 1654 and 1656, John Hartnoll at Assembly as Messenger.
- *Wycombe.

CAMBRIDGE. See the Fenstanton correspondence, especially page 105.

- *Cambridge. 1654.
- *Ely, Littleport and Stretham. 1654.
- *Melbourn, Royston, Hawson and Thexfield. 1654. Grey of Thexfield.
- *Soham and Burwell and Wicken. 1654.
- *Stretham. 1656. John Tabram.
- *Warboys and Chatteris. 1647 William Dunn. 1655 and Thomas Chapman.
- *Wilbraham and Balsham. 1654.
- *Wisbech. 1655. Edmond Smith, Israel Cave.
- *Wood Ditton. 1654.

CHESHIRE.

Hill Cliffe. See the Hexham correspondence, pages 291, 323, 357, showing that a church existed in Cheshire

before April 1653, and that in 1654 it dated from Warrington in Lancashire. There is no contemporary evidence that it existed before this era, and it only acquired a foothold at Hill Cliffe about 1660, by the instrumentality of William Morris from the church at Manchester.

*Nantwich. In 1653 the Baptists of Shrewsbury were wont to come here for baptism.

Warford became the centre for a group who met in the east from as far back as 1652, according to tradition written at a much later date in the church book.

CUMBERLAND.

Carlisle. 1653. Elder and most of his people become Friends. See George Fox, Journal, I. 166, 179.

Great Broughton. 1652 agreed with the Independent church at Cockermouth to differ on the question of baptism. 1654 John Wilkinson the pastor turned Quaker.

CORNWALL.

Trele vah near Penryn, Thomas Tregoss? The Falmouth church book assigns the beginning of the cause to the daughter of George Kekewich, governor of St. Maurs castle, being baptized in the sea about 1650; but acknowledges that in 1658 no minister went to the Association at Dorchester. Tregoss was at St. Ives 1657, at Mylor 1659, retired to Budock near Penryn 1662.

DERBY.

*Parwich, near Dovedale. In 1652 a letter to Cromwell was signed by John Row and John Tomlinson on behalf of a church here.

Derby. On 1.1.54 Robert Holpe and William Tomblinson wrote to Cromwell on behalf of the Derby and Burton church. In June 1655, Henry Davis and Will Tomlison signed the agreement of certain churches at Moreton in the Marsh, which originated the Midland Association.

DEVON.

Dalwood. 1655 at Bridgwater meeting.

Dartmouth. 1655 was visited by Henry Jessey; at Bridgwater meeting.

Exeter. 1655 was visited by Henry Jessey.

Honiton. 1655 was visited by George Fox. I. 261, and by Jessey.

- Loughwood near Kilmington. 1653-4 meeting-house erected; list of 219 members and resideners in the church book. George Allome prominent.
- Luppitt. 1655 at Bridgwater meeting. Thos. Collier ordained General Superintendent. 1656, Edmund Burford and Samuel Ham signed Confession.
- Plymouth. 1648. Abraham Cheare.
- *Tiverton. 1626. Corresponded with Amsterdam, see Evans II. 26-51. In 1628 the following were fined as Anabaptists: Richard and Charity Berry, Israel Cockram, John Gibbons, James and Isabel Tappe, John Tucker, Webbe of Cove.
- Totnes. 1655 at Bridgwater meeting.

DORSET.

- Dorchester. 1655 visited by George Fox. I. 261. Visited by Henry Jessey. 1658 Association held here; 300 people presided over by Collins [sic. but query Thomas Collier, who in 1655 was ordained General Superintendent in the West.] A report by three spies is in the Thurloe papers.
- Lyme. 1655 visited by Henry Jessey and at Bridgwater meeting. 1656 Abraham Podger signed Confession.
- *Mintern. 1656 John Miller at Assembly.
- Poole. 1645? founded by Thomas Collier gathering fourteen members. 1655 W. Baily seceded to the Friends. Fox I. 261. Association of 1659 to be held here.
- Weymouth. 1655 visited by Henry Jessey.

DURHAM.

The appointment of Thomas Tillam, a member of Knowles' church in Coleman Street, to be lecturer at the abbey church in Hexham, resulted by July 1652 in the formation of a Baptist Church including members from Durham, which by 1660 styled itself the church of Eadsbridge on Derwent, and is represented now by the two churches, Hamsterley and Wolsingham, Rowley and Blackhill. The early records were printed in 1854 by Dr. Underhill. On 28 April 1653, John Jopling [the jailer], B [not P in the printed edition] Hobson and others wrote from Durham to congratulate Cromwell on the declaration of the officers. See Nickolls, Original Letters. On 11 Jan 1654-5 a letter to Cromwell was signed by Tillam, and by Richard Orde, John Ward, elders.

ESSEX.

Henry Jessey in 1653 visited more than thirty churches in Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk: but he did not say they were Baptist, and we well know his width of sympathy. The context shows that they were Fifth Monarchy churches, and not all of these became Baptist. Only one of these can be identified, by Tillam taking his suggestion and removing here.

Colchester. 1656. On 29 May the Mayor and Aldermen obtained leave from the Council (lord president Lawrence a Baptist) to appropriate a convenient place for Tillam and his church to meet in.

Harlow and Matching appear in 1662, so there must have been a movement here before.

GLOUCESTER.

Bourton on the Water. In June 1655, Henry Collins, John Michell and Anthony Collett signed the Articles which formed the Western Association. A few months earlier, Anthony Palmer [rector], Richard Buzzell, William Minchine, Richard Lawrence, and John Hanman wrote to Cromwell on behalf of a church here. It seems a different body, and it is unlikely that it and its associates at Oddington, Stow and Winchcombe, were Baptist.

Bristol, Broadmead. 1640. Early records published in full.

Bristol, Pithay. 1652 represented at the Bridgwater meeting. 1653 received Thomas Munday and James Teague. Henry Hynam teacher.

*Bristol General Baptist. Pithay expelled Jane Williams and Mary Prosser "for owning and practising corrupt principles." See Broadmead 41 note.

Chipping Sodbury. 1655 at Bridgwater. 1656 James Nobs signed the Somerset Confession.

Cirencester. 1655 visited by Jessey. Letter to Cromwell signed by William Daves, Giles Watkins, Giles Griffiths.

Forest of Dean. 1653 wrote to Hexham, William Skinne, John Mills.

Gloucester. 1658 joined the Midland Association.

Hanham. 1658 Pithay began work here.

Kingstanley.

Moretton in the Marsh. 1651 Daniel King dedicated a book to the friends here. 1655 John Mayo and John Man signed at the Midland Association.

- Natton Seventh-day. John Cowell in 1677 described his experiences here from 1661 for ten years.
- Netherton near Fairford. 1653. Richard Harrison, Paul Frewen, William Drew. These same people with Robert Currier, Thomas Beard, Francis Smith, Francis Manning, wrote to Cromwell on behalf of the church at Dymock.
- ?Oddington. 1654 wrote to Cromwell. William Tracy [rector] and William Butler are unknown in Baptist circles. Thomas Paxford in 1672 took out a licence for Baptist worship at Finstock.
- ?Stow on the Wold. 1654 wrote to Cromwell. William Beale [rector], Thomas Tidmarsh, Timothy James.
- Tewkesbury. 1655. John Bryan, Samuel Toney.
- ?Winchcombe. 1654 Cromwell. Cornshaw Helme [incumbent], John Yeates, William Trap, Timothy Jordan.

HEREFORD.

The churches in this county seem to have been dispersed as curiously as in other parts, but also show traces of two, if not three, types of teaching which kept apart people in the same vicinity, although the whole number of Baptists seems to have been trifling.

Bredwardine, branch of Hay in Brecon. 1656 at Welsh Association.

Hereford. 1653 wrote to Hexham. R. London, Charles Powell, Steven Chamberlin. 1656 sent to Welsh Association at Brecknock, Richard Harrison [of Netherton in Gloucester 1653] signing "An Antidote &c."

Leominster. Two churches are discernible here, both sending a letter to Cromwell in concert with others in this county and in Gloucester.

- (1). John Tombes, John Patshall, John Wancklin, Francis Hay, Richard Burke junior. This church dated from "Leomington" to Cromwell, and from "Lintile" to Hexham in 1653. But Joshua Thomas copied from the church book that the formal constitution was only on 25 September 1656 in Patshall's house; so perhaps Linton, a village eastwards, was the previous meeting place of the semi-organised people.
- (2). A second church at "Leomington" with sixteen members wrote to Cromwell at the same time. On 17 September 1657 it applied successfully to the Midland Association at Alcester for admission. This is probably the society

with which Edward Price was afterwards connected, having members also in Hereford.

- *(3). Rowland Head of Nether Marsh was prominent in another group which stickled for the laying on of hands. As William Pardoe afterwards preached to it, it was probably General.

Weston under Penyard. 1653. John Skinner, John Street, John Skinner, Thomas Rudge.

Wormbridge. 1653. John Bell.

HERTFORD.

*Barnet. 1660 John Wells at Assembly.

*Berkhamstead. 1654 and 1656. Thomas Monk at Assembly as Messenger.

Hemel Hempstead in 1653 and 1654 sent messengers to the meetings of the Berkshire Association. George Kendall, M.A. the vicar, had been imprisoned in 1644 for admitting men to his pulpit to preach against infant baptism, and for declining to baptize the infants of his parishioners.

Kensworth also sent to that Association in 1653. The vicar Edward Harrison was head of the Baptist church, and became Elder of Petty France afterwards.

Watford separated from Wapping about this time, the local men being Richard Coleman, George Eve, John Crawley, John Reeve.

HUNTINGDON.

Fenstanton. 1645. Henry Denne, Edmund Male, John Denne, James Disbrowe, and Thomas Coxe the chief and first members. Many members lived in Cambridgeshire, and after the separation of those at Warboys from this church, they united with others at Chatteris in that county.

KENT.

On 25 May 1653, nineteen churches wrote to nominate a member to the Nominated Parliament; most were Baptist, all are given here.

Adisham. 1653. Charles Nicholls, David Austin.

Ashford. 1653. Ralph Fremly, M. Savory.

*Ashford. 1654. Samuel Fisher, M.A. at Assembly.

*Benenden. 1653. George Hamond, William Wickham, 1654 and 1656 George Hamon at Assembly.

Bethersden. 1653. John Fitneyes, William Spicer.

Biddenden. 1653. John Henden, William Greene.

- Brenchley. 1653. Matthew Person, Humphrey Milles.
- *Canterbury. 1653. Richard Beacham, Thomas Jarman.
Wrote to Fenstanton November 1654.
- Cranbrook. 1653. John Rabson, John Weller.
- *Cranbrook. 1653. Nathanael Rowe, Robert Tompson.
Rowe at Assembly 1654 as Messenger.
- Dartford. 1653. Nicholas Lockyer, Robert Joseph.
- *Dover. 1660. Richard Hobbs, Edward Prescott. This church had members all along the coast; Sandwich and Deal, Hythe and Folkestone soon hived from it.
- *Eythorne. William Giles, minister here 1792-1827, told Ivimey that there was proof of their existence as a church in 1624.
- *Feversham. 1654. John Parsons at Assembly.
[?Frittenden] near Cranbrook 1653. Richard Rabson, William Stead.
- *Maidstone. 1656. Joseph Wright at Assembly.
- Marden. Francis Cornwell M.A., the vicar, won over in 1644.
- Orpington. 1653. John Browne, Henry Whittacar.
- Rolvenden. 1653. Robert Miller, William Kinge.
- Romney. 1653. William Barworth, Jeffrey Neve.
- *St. Mary Cray. 1650. First entry in the Bessels Green book. John Reeve attended Assembly 1660, perhaps in 1654.
- *Sevenoaks. 1653. William Jeffery, John Cox. Jeffery at Assembly 1654 and 1656 as messenger.
- *Smarden. 1644 first entry. Richard Kingsnoth.
- *Speldhurst. 1653. John Car, William Jeffery.
- *Spillshill. 1663. Richard Kingsnorth, Andrew Hilles, Kingsnorth at Assembly 1654 as Messenger. He and Christopher Blackwood were supposed to be first ministers in 1645, by a deacon who in 1726 took much pains with the early history.
- *Staplehurst. 1653. Robert Joy, William Jowles.
- Westerham. 1653. Samuel Dawlin, M. Thorpe.

LANCASHIRE.

- Manchester. 1649 John Wigan housed the church in the Gate-house of the Earl of Derby's mansion [Chetham Hospital] opposite the Collegiate Church. J. Jones another minister. First church in the north.
- Warrington. 1653 heard of as already existing; see Cheshire, Hill Cliffe.

LEICESTER.

- *Bitteswell. 1651. Thomas Morris, Thomas Townsend.
This is the cause known now as Sutton in the Elms;
see article in Transactions I., 181.
- *Broughton. 1647 George Fox was present at Baptist
preaching.
- *Earl Shilton. 1651. Thomas Webster, Nathan Jones.
- *Gumley. 1652. William Burditt, John Coles. Compare
Theddingworth.
- *Leicester. 1651 and 1652. Coniers Congrave, Thomas
Rogers. 1656; William Inge and Thomas Christian
engaged at Stamford for the church.
- *Markfield. 1656. Association at Stamford sends visitors.
- *Mountsorrel. 1651. Robert Fielding, William Kendal. 1652
Edward Smith.
- *Normanton. 1651. William Parker, William Wilde.
- *Sileby. 1655. George Fox met Baptist here.
- *Theddingworth. 1651. William Poole, William Burdett.
See Gumley.
- *Twyford. 1665. John Bull and twelve others wrote to
Fenstanton.
- *Waltham. 1651. John Parker, Henry Redgate.
- *Whitwicke. 1651. George Moore, Robert Hebb.
- *Wymeswold. 1651. Richard Ley, William Francke.

LINCOLN.

- *Alford in South Marsh. 1651 by tradition.
- *Blankney. 1651. George Allen, John Lucas.
- *Boston. 1651. Richard Crawford, Edward Cock.
- *Bourn. 1657 received a letter from Samuel Loveday, given
in the Fenstanton records, page 224.
- *Bytham, 1656. Association at Stamford sent visitors.
- *Coningsby and Tattershall. 1651. John Lupton, William
Codlyn. 1654 Lupton at Assembly as Messenger.
- *Epworth and Butterwick. 1660. John Norfolk signed an
Apology to Charles II.
- *Goulceby. 1651. Thomas and Richard Drewry.
- *Killingholm. 1656 and 1660. John Wood at Assembly.
- *Kirton-in-Lindsey. 1663. John Kelsey in prison at
Nottingham.
- *Langtoft and Thurlby. 1651. Robert Pecke, John Beaver,
Robert Dyer. 1656. Division as to laying on of hands
(Fenstanton 203).
- *Leasingham. 1651. Robert Thompson, Richard Machyn.
1654 Thompson at Assembly.

- *Lincoln. 1651. Valentine James, John Johnjohns. 1660 William Paine at Assembly. This church wrote to Amsterdam on 5 September, 1630; Evans II., 44. It probably sprang from the influence of John Smyth.
- *North Willingham. 1651. Ralph James, Daniel Chesman.
- *Scotter.
- *Spalding. 1646. Henry Denne preached here.
- *Stamford. 1656. Association met here.
- *Surfleet. 1651. John Lacy, Robert Massey.
- *Swineshead. 1651. William Barnes, William Hart.
- *Welby. 1651. Thomas Everard senior, Robert Angleshaw.
- *Westby. 1651. John Allen, Robert Cock.

LONDON.

Before 1653 the movements of members and of churches were rather kaleidoscopic, and it is quite possible that some of the earlier groups are really the same as some later groups, meeting elsewhere.

Within the Walls.

- *Bell Alley, Coleman Street. 1647. Edward Barber, Thomas Lamb, &c. This was recognised by opponents as the chief church, and Denne under its auspices did evangelise many counties. It is probably due to the work of Thomas Helwys, who lived in Spitalfields in 1612; the earliest trace of this group is in Lamb's house at the Spital, though Barber is known in 1641. Later on it went to White's Alley. It died out at Peckham about 1900.

Broad Street, Glaziers' Hall. 1644. This home was not certainly occupied till 1649, when the church took the lead among the Particular Baptists, sending members out to Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, carrying on a vigorous correspondence, and in 1653 undertaking a general enquiry into the state of all sister churches. Edward Roberts was then chief. Thomas Gunne and Thomas Mabbatt were leaders at first.

Coleman Street. 1646. Hanserd Knowles and Thomas Holms. The place of meeting is uncertain before 1652. The church may be the same as that of Phelps and Heath in 1644. It entertained the great Assembly of 1689 on the Broken Wharf.

- *Coleman Street (? but place not really known). 1652. John More head of a church, succeeded at Christmas by Dr. Chamberlen. Probably parent of "Mill Yard" Seventh-day.

Convocation House, south-west of Pauls. 1657. John Simpson obtained an order from the Council to have this site granted for the use of his church.

Gracechurch Street. John Child had a church here, but the date is uncertain; probably he was at Newport Pagnell in 1669, and the existence of this church before is problematical unless it be connected with Paul Hobson. Child's conforming nearly wrecked it, but it may have joined the Chequer church.

Great Allhallows, Blackfriars. 1653. John Simpson, with Jessey, Knowles, Samuel Highland, Vavasor Powell, Christopher Feake. This was a constant centre of the Fifth Monarchy party.

Lothbury. Thomas Lamb and William Allen, Calvinists, had a church here till Baxter persuaded them to break it up. The tracts on the matter indicate about 1650-1663 as the period of its existence, roughly.

*Old Jewry. Jeremiah Ives, who in 1647 had been committed to prison by the House of Commons for an "Independent" plot, in 1655 published against infant baptism. The cause disappeared with his death in 1675.

*Stone Chapel, west end of Pauls. 1653. Here Captain Edmund Chillenden gathered a church in June, and here in 1658-9 took place the debate as to the Sabbath between Jeremy Ives on the one hand, Tillam, Chamberlen, and Coppinger on the other.

Swan Alley, Coleman Street. In 1645 Henry Jessey, who had been pastor of a church for eight years, was baptized, and the church thenceforward settled to Mixed Communion. In 1652 this is disclosed as the place of meeting by a letter to Hexham. The church disappeared after 1678.

Without the Walls.

Bishopsgate Without, Devonshire Square. This church was founded in 1633, but only adopted Baptist principles at a later date, Samuel Eaton who died in 1639 being one of the first baptized. In 1644 William Kiffin joined this church, and was soon its leader, as he remained till his death. As early as 1638 the church was worshipping here, and a building was erected wholly for its use about 1653: on or near the same site it met till the move to Stoke Newington in 1871.

- *Bull Stake Alley, Whitechapel. The circumstances under which this Seventh-day church arose are obscure. It obtained notoriety when its pastor, John James, was executed for preaching treason, and one of his quarters was stuck up opposite the meeting-house. It probably is the church of John More and Peter Chamberlen, mentioned in 1652; and is almost certainly the church which in 1691 bought the premises in Mill Yard, and now worships at Canonbury every Saturday.
- *Chequer without Aldgate. The letters of congratulation to Cromwell include one from this church signed by 14 men, including Samuel Oates and Edmund Chillenden. Under Charles II, Henry Danvers seems to have carried over to Calvinism. It dissolved in 1760.
- Cold Harbour, Wapping. 1633. John Spilsbury was the first Calvinist to adopt "re-baptizing" on confession of faith. The Watford records show this was the place of meeting about 1643. In 1644 George Tipping and Samuel Richardson were helping Spilsbury. The church in 1909 was displaced from Commercial Street.
- *Dean Street. 1660. William Russell at Assembly. This place first known about 1697, when it was given up for High Hall.
- *Dunning's Alley, Bishopsgate. When John Griffith died in 1700, his funeral sermon said he had been pastor for 54 years. He attended the Assembly in 1654 and 1656 as Elder. The church was declared dead by 1730.
- Paul's Alley, Barbican. John Gosnold, M.A., Master of the Charterhouse, gathered a Baptist church. It probably met in the Charterhouse during the Commonwealth, and then took a lease of a building erected for a play-house or music-house, which never obtained a licence. The church dissolved 1768.
- Petty France. 1642. The leaders in 1644 were Kilcop and Webb; Benjamin Cox came by 1646, and Edward Harrison of Kensworth probably after 1657 when he resigned that vicarage. By 1662 the church was meeting in a house in Petty France, adjoining Moorfields. To-day it and the Devonshire Square church meet at Stoke Newington.
- *Shad Thames. 1646 is given as the date when John Clayton gathered his people here; but as Daniel Featley in 1645 declared that Anabaptists had met near him for twenty years, and as we know that Elias Tookey did

Early Baptist Churches

in 1624 secede with eighteen others from the church of Helwys, this church is probably entitled to claim continuity back so far. It meets to-day in Deptford, Church Lane, the oldest existing Baptist church in England; Unitarian.

*Southwark. 1652. In that year William Rider separated some people from an older society. His successor, Benjamin Keach became a Calvinist; those who adhered to the man built at Horsleydown; those who adhered to the old principles apparently built at the Park. The two churches are represented by the Metropolitan Tabernacle and Borough Road.

*Stepney. 1660. Stephen Tory at Assembly.

*Tower Hill. 1655. Samuel Loveday wrote to Fenstanton at this date from this place, but had probably gathered his church earlier, as he was prominent from 1641. The church to-day has just given up its premises at Commercial Road East.

Two churches are very obscure; they are only known in 1644 and 1646; there is no hint where they met, or how they developed. Hobson and Gower headed the one, and both were soon working at Newcastle; perhaps their church lost its separate identity. Sheppard, Munday, Tipping, and Waters are members of the other, Tipping being asked to supply Watford at some date unknown.

NORFOLK.

Ingham. 1653 is claimed as the date of embodiment, with John Woolstone as pastor. No documents seem to survive earlier than the licence in 1672.

Norwich. 1653. John Tofte and Daniel Bradford signed to Cromwell about this date. And a little later, Timothy Armitage and John Eyre sent another letter. The apparent inference is that not only was there the Congregational church which in 1644 had separated from the Yarmouth brethren, and in 1647 had called Armitage; but also a second church already existed before his death in 1655. Yet in 1654 Bradford was chosen deacon of Armitage's church, and in February 1655-6 he and Tofte signed a letter sent by that church and entered in its book. In June 1656 the Yarmouth church bewailed the divisions and breaches, and about March 1656-7 a conference was held at Norwich acknowledging that some had quitted on account of baptism. The Norwich

Congregational book has no entry between January 1656-7 and May 1663, when we find that Tofte was still deacon, but it is implied that Bradford had ceased to be. And in October 1667, after long abstinence from meeting, Bradford was declared no longer a member. It is not easy to interpret these notices and explain the ambiguous relation of Tofte and Bradford to their old church and to a nascent Baptist Church. The ambiguity lasted till at least 1680, when the Yarmouth church still spoke of "the Church of Norwich" as if there were but one; though beyond all question there were two meeting-places in 1669, and they were separately licenced in 1672, Bradford declaring himself Baptist. In view of this, the prima facie reading appears correct, and the Baptists had organised themselves within, yet somewhat apart from, the others as early as 1653, while yet their leaders were willing to accept office in the old church even later.

Norwich Seventh-day. 1656. The troubles of this date referred to by Yarmouth are explained by the fact that by August, Christopher Poolye had held two baptisms at Beccles. From that date till 1668 he haunted the district, being reported to the king as the grand dipper in Norfolk. Brabourne left £10 to a Seventh-day church here, to be distributed by Poolie, one of the elders.

Pulham St. Mary. 1645-6 Wildman was labouring here. By 1647 a Baptist church was fully organised. About 1654 Samuel Prentice, Thomas Benton, and Walter Reyner signed two letters to Cromwell. Benton senior held the chapelry of the parish!

Stratton is mentioned in 1647 as having a Baptist church. The rector here was Thomas Benton junior. One or other Benton afterwards became pastor of the Congregational church at Wattisfield.

Wymondham. 1653. The letter to Cromwell hence was signed by Christopher Poolye and Thomas Manfield.

Yarmouth has another obscure origin. In 1624-1626 the bishop was busy punishing several "Anabaptists" for keeping conventicles; but the name seems used loosely, for some of them subsequently joined the Congregational church, having their children baptized on account of the parents' faith. Before that time of union there was a member of the Congregational church, Thomas Tracy, who as late as 1651 had a child christened. After the

appearance of Pooly he was expelled "as one that did make divisions" on the ordinance of baptism. Thus 1657 seems to be the time when Baptist teaching was rife here. The next glimmer is when in 1672 he was licenced, with others; the presumption is that some kind of church life had been kept up. Under the influence of Grantham at Norwich, there appeared a General Baptist church here, which probably absorbed these Calvinists.

NORTHAMPTON.

- *Newton, [near Kettering] to be stirred up in 1656 by messengers from Stamford. See Fenstanton Records, page 196.
- *Peterborough. 1653 called in by Langtoft and Thurlby. 1656 John Dargen, Isaac Spence and Christopher Bell sign the circular letter from the Association at Stamford.
- *Ravensthorpe. 1651 Benjamin Morley and Francis Stanley sign the Confession. 1652 Stanley and Robert Teaslow write to Cromwell. 1656 Morley and Stanley appointed at Stamford.
- *Wakerley, with Thorpe in Rutland. 1651 James Tentoft and Anthony Snell junior sign the Confession. 1656 Snell and others invoke Fenstanton, as Thorpe casts off laying on of hands.

NORTHUMBERLAND.

- Hexham. 1652 church founded by Tillam. Early records printed by the Hanserd Knollys Society. John Ward and Richard Orde first elders. In 1655 the members toward Derwent hived off under John Ward.
- Newcastle. Owned by Hexham as the only church in those parts at all earlier. Thomas Gower (of London 1644), Paul Hobson (witnessing a marriage at Hexham 1653), Captain Simpson, Captain Mason, and Robert Blenkinsop some of the chief members, of whom Gower seems the most permanent.

NOTTINGHAM.

- *Nottingham. 1650. George Fox met a Baptist soldier hence; 1654 Rice Jones turned from Baptists to Ranters and opposed him; 1656 John Kirby at Stamford engaged for the church. Colonel and Mrs. Hutchinson won by a cannonier.

*Rempstone. 1656 to be stirred up by Kirby. 1654 a Reeve attended the Assembly; it may be William Reeve of this place.

Wingford.

OXFORD.

Coate and Longworth. 1656, December 12; ninety-six members separated amicably from the church at Abingdon: John Coombe, John and Thomas Jones heading the list.

Hook Norton. 1655 James Wilmot and Matthew Taylor signed at the formation of the Midland Association.

*Horley. 1651. John Danvers, John Numan sign the Confession of the Midland General Baptists.

Oxford. 1653 joined the Berkshire Association.

Pyrton. 1653 joined the Berkshire Association.

Tetsworth. 1653 entertained the Berkshire Association in March.

Watlington. 1653 joined the Berkshire Association.

Wormsley. 1652 October 8, Berkshire Association formed here.

RUTLAND.

*Burley. 1651 John Freeman and W. Dalby signed the Midland Confession. 1653, called in to assist Langtoft and Thirlby.

*Thorp. 1651 James Tontoft and Anthony Snell sign for Thorp and Wakerley. In 1656 Robert Ward and James Tiptaft here oppose laying on of hands, and trouble ensues (Fenstanton 206).

*Tixover. 1651. Abraham Day and Matthew Lay sign.

*Twyford. 1656 to be stirred up.

*Uppingham. 1656 invited to subscribe to expense of messengers (Fenstanton 196).

*Whitwell. 1656 George More engages to subscribe.

SALOP.

*Bridgnorth. 1652 James Brown and Thomas Jefferyes write to Cromwell.

*Shrewsbury. 1653, August 13. Timothy Seymour baptized at Nantwich and added to the church—here?

SOMERSET.

Bridgwater. 1655 scene of important meeting. 1656 Alexander Atkins and Tobias Wells sign the Confession drawn up by Collier.

Chard. 1655 at Bridgwater; visited by Jessey. 1656 Robert Channon and John Sprake.

* Hatch. 1655 at Bridgwater. 1656 George Parsons. Montacute. 1656 Thomas Bud.

Paulton. Robert Hell is named at the beginning of the church book as having gathered the church in the latter part of Oliver's times.

"Ryden." 1656 Robert Adridge.

Somerton. 1655 at Bridgwater; visited by Jessey. 1656 William Scriven and William Anger.

Stogumber. 1655 at Bridgwater. 1656 William Hare.

Taunton. 1655 at Bridgwater; visited by Jessey. 1656 Thomas Mercer.

Wedmore. 1655 at Bridgwater. 1656 Thomas Urch and Richard Coals.

Wells. 1655 at Bridgwater; visited by Jessey. 1656 David Barret and Thomas Savery.

Wincanton. 1656. Blaze Allen and Ambrose Brook.

STAFFORD.

"Berryhill." 1652 to Cromwell; Thomas Hamersly, John Slacke.

*Burton on Trent. 1652, Robert Clarke, Thomas Wright. 1655, Robert Holfe and William Tomblinson for the Derby and Burton church.

*Litchfield. 1652, Robert Prittie, Francis Silvester.

*Shugborough. 1652, Edward Hill, William Sherbrooke.

*Stafford. 1652, J. Darnen, Edward Love.

*Walsall. 1652, Thomas Cumberlidge, Robert Stokesbury.

SURREY.

*Croydon. 1660 Francis Smith was at Assembly; whether he was yet connected with this town is uncertain.

*Elstead. 1656 John Wheeler at Assembly as Messenger. Kingston. 1653 joined the Berks Association.

SUSSEX.

*Chichester. 1654 James Sicklemore at Assembly as Messenger.

*Horsham. 1654, 1656, 1660 Matthew Caffin at Assembly as Messenger.

WARWICK.

Alcester. 1655 Thomas Arme and Stephen Wade signed at the formation of the Midland Association.

*Coventry. 1626. One of the five General Baptist Churches disclosed by the correspondence with Amsterdam.

Coventry. 1643 Benjamin Cox disputed on baptism with Baxter.

*Easenhall. 1651. John Onely and Will Perkins signed Midland Confession.

*Marston. 1651. Richard Wills and Thomas Jeffes signed Midland Confession.

Warwick. 1655 Daniel King and Henry Vincent signed at the formation of the Midland Association, the preparatory meeting having been here on 3rd May. George Fox found Baptists here the same year.

WILTS.

Calne. Western Association.

Devizes. 1649 evangelists began to meet, with Mr. and Mrs. John Freme.

Porton, Chalk, Stoford, Amesbury, Sarum, and Wallop. 1655 organised, John Rede, Henry Pen, and Edward Bundy to administer ordinances.

*Salisbury. One of five churches corresponding with Amsterdam in 1626. Evans II, 26.

Southwick or North Bradley. 1655 dismissed a member to Porton. 1656 William Crabb and Nicholas Elliott sign Somerset Confession.

Trowbridge.

WORCESTER.

Bewdley. 1653 Thomas Bolstone, Philip Mun, and Robert Goodlad wrote to Hexham. In September 1658 the church joined the Midland Association. John Eckels supposed to have been baptized here by John Tombes, who held the living for a year or two not later than 1650. At what precise time he transferred his energies to Bromsgrove is uncertain.

*Netherton near Dudley. 1654, a baptism recorded in the church book.

Pershore.

Worcester.

YORK.

Horton near Bradford. 1655 to Cromwell. David Lumbey, John Clayton.

Pontefract.

Stokesley. 1653 William Kaye the parish minister and nineteen others were baptized by Tillan of Hexham.

BRECKNOCK.

Brecknock. 1656 entertains Association, which publishes "An Antidote."

Hay. 1650. Thomas Watkins and Walter Prosser. 1654 Charles Garson also. 1656, Bredwardine in Hereford and Clydach, branches.

Llanafan. Evan Bowen and Thomas Evans.

Llangorse. 1656 John Edwards? At Association.

CARMARTHEN.

Carmarthen entertains 1651. 1654 Robert Morgan and Rhydderch Thomas. William Thomas in the county.

GLAMORGAN.

Aberavon. 1654 entertains Association.

Bridgend. Thomas Joseph, ejected from Llangeinor.

Cadoxton. Captain Jenkyn Jones was Vicar.

Gelligaer. 1649-50, David Davis the incumbent from Ilston.

Glyncorwg. Howell Thomas ejected hence.

Ilston. 1650 entertains Association. 1654. John Myles, Morgan Jones, William Thomas, Morgan Jones, Harry Griffith, John Davis, Hugh Matthews.

Laleston. Morgan Jones succeeded Theodore Price in the living; died before 1660?

Llange.

Llanharan. 1650 at Association. 1653 under the name Llantrisant sends to meeting at Abergavenny. 1654 entertains; David Davis, Thomas Joseph, Howel Thomas, Thomas Jones. [Thomas: Address to the Reader p. v. expressly rectifying.].

Llanmadock in Gower. The other Morgan Jones, "an honest ploughman," was ejected from the living.

MONMOUTH.

Abergavenny. 1653 William Pritchard, Richard Rogers and Anthony Hare wrote to Hexham. Entertains Association, has Tombes over from Leominster to dispute with Craggs and Vaughan. 1654 Pritchard, Richard Rosser, Anthony Harry, Thomas James, and Richard Jones. 1656. Abbot, the ejected vicar, was a Baptist.

Llangwm. William Milman, "a Sabbatharian Anabaptist" itinerating in the county, settled here after 1660.

Tredunnoch. 1656. Walter Prosser ejected hence.

MONTGOMERY.

Newtown. Captain Vavasor Powell, baptized about 1655.

PEMBROKE.

Rushacre. Seat of Griffith Howell, who died in 1706, early convert of William Jones of Carmarthenshire.

The Bunyan Christening, 1672.

ON 16 November, 1672, Joseph Bunyan, ye son of John Bunyan, was "baptized" or christened at the parish church of St. Cuthbert's, in Bedford. Was this the child of the great John Bunyan, or the child of his son?

Dr. Brown had little doubt on the matter when he wrote his standard life, and his opinion that Joseph was the child of the Dreamer has been accepted on both sides of the Atlantic, by Baptists and by Pædobaptists, though not without challenge, especially since the discovery of new facts which Dr. Brown himself communicated. This paper will present three reasons for believing that Joseph was his grand-child. One reason is a matter of dates and places, the others are matters of consistency between profession and practice in the church over which he presided, and in himself.

Much of the evidence is derived from parish registers, and it is important to notice that in the period under review, these were kept under three successive systems. The general system dates from 1538, when Thomas Cromwell enjoined parish ministers to institute registers. This injunction was supplemented by Elizabeth with a second, ordering that every year the incumbent should copy the whole of the year's entries, and send to the bishop. But an antiquarian tells us that "no injunction was more completely set on one side and broken; early transcripts are simply conspicuous by their absence." So when the Long Parliament was setting things in order during 1645, an Ordinance directed that the minister of every parish or chapelry should, in a fair register book of vellum, enter the name of each child christened, of the parents, of the time of birth and of christening. But the ministers were restive under the changes, and the Nominated Parliament completely altered the system. It was enacted that by 22 September, 1653, the rate-payers should choose a "Parish Register," to whom should be handed over all existing books. In future he was to enter publications and marriages,

births and burials; nothing was said about christenings, and for the next few years there is no official record of any christening. And the yearly transcript was no longer ordered, so that the sole contemporary evidence from 1653 to 1659 or 1660 is the entry of birth, made by the elected registrar. But when the old minister got back, or when a new conforming minister was installed, the old system of Elizabeth revived, having never been altered by royal authority. Unfortunately, the old carelessness revived also, and nothing is more tantalising than the absence of records where they might be reasonably expected.

Now Bunyan was born in November, 1628, and christened at Elstow parish church. No record is known as to the date or place of his first marriage. He was enlisted as a soldier, and as the war was virtually over by the beginning of 1646, that is the earliest probable date for his wedding. So his first child might perhaps be born in 1647, but no record is known.

His daughter Mary was christened at Elstow parish church on 20th July, 1650. In 1654 the registration of christenings had ceased, but among 24 entries of births made that year at Elstow, we find "Elizabeth, the daughter of John Bonyon, was borne 14th day of April, 1654." By this same wife he had two other children, John and Thomas: concerning the date and place of their birth, no record is known. It is clearly possible that this child John was born before 1650, though there is no evidence on the point.

A side issue may be noticed, that in 1660 Christopher Hall, the restored vicar of Elstow, copied the parish registers of 1650-1660, and forwarded the copy to the archdeacon's registry in Bedford, where it is more easily seen than the original. But Hall falsified his copy in one important respect, substituting for the word "borne" the word "christened" systematically, as if children were always christened on the day of their birth! Of course, in face of the original, the copy is worthless as evidence, and it is not necessary to waste time on the charge that Bunyan, while a member of a Gathered Church, had Elizabeth christened.

From the well-known and pathetic interview with Justice Hale in August 1661, we learn some more domestic history. Bunyan married again after August 1659. When he was apprehended in November 1660, his wife was dismayed at the news, "fell into labour and so continued for eight days." She was delivered, but the child died. Next year she was in charge of four small step-children, apparently John, Mary, Elizabeth, and Thomas. She herself is known to have borne a daughter Sarah, who in

1686 was married at St. Cuthbert's; but no record is known of this birth, whether in a parish register, or a church book, or a family Bible. Nor indeed, apart from the very entry we are investigating, is any entry known of the birth of any child of her's. Here is another illustration that records are decidedly scanty, even after the settlement of 1662.

From November 1660 till Bunyan's pardon on 17 May, 1672, with perhaps one short interval, he was technically in prison under the Conventicle Act of Elizabeth. This did not hinder his attending church meetings occasionally, or even his being chosen Elder and receiving the right hand of fellowship in a full meeting, December 1671. The laxity of jailers then is striking to us now, but is well attested in this and other cases. The laxity of course was exceptional, and practically as well as technically, Bunyan was in prison twelve years. So it may well be asked, if while Bunyan was legally and actually a prisoner in the county jail, he could also be regarded as a legal householder in the town.

In October, 1670, a parish subscription was made for poor Christians captive at Algiers. The system was common to send "briefs" to parish ministers from the bishop or from the Council, calling for such subscriptions: in many cases at a somewhat later date, the dissenting congregations made similar voluntary collections, but at this date they were themselves utterly illegal and were being constantly fined, so that they were in no position to contribute. On this occasion fifteen parishioners of St. Cuthbert's in Bedford subscribed, including "John Bunnian." Apparently this is the first time that this parish is mentioned in connection with the Bunyan family, whose elder members continued to live at Elstow for years after this. That this subscriber should be our Bunyan is highly improbable; he was a prisoner, he would not hear the brief read at St. Cuthbert's parish church, he had not so much money as would enable him to be one of only fifteen subscribers. Probably then we find here his son John Bunyan junior, who might now be twenty-three years old.

Moreover, the hearth-tax list for 1670-71 for St. Cuthbert's parish includes a John Bunyan, the legal occupier of a house in this parish. A prisoner could hardly be a house-holder and a tax-payer; this will clearly be the man who subscribed in October.

Bunyan was pardoned on 17 May, 1672, and was speedily at liberty, but there is no evidence where he took up his dwelling. Six months later the crucial entry was made. St. Cuthbert's, Bedford, 1672. Baptized Joseph Bunyan, ye son of John Bunyan, Nov. 16th. The prisoner who met his church in December, 1671,

may evidently have met his wife in February, 1672; but the probability is quite equal that John junior had married before this; and to this point we turn next.

John junior did marry and have at least one son, for he bequeathed property to his grand-daughter Hannah Bunyan. A tablet to her memory in "Bunyan Meeting" assigns her birth to 1694; if this date be correct, her father must have been married not later than 1693 and can hardly have been born later than 1675; so that John Bunyan junior must have been married by 1674, and may easily have been married earlier. But there is no record of his marriage, nor of any fact about Hannah's father, Christian name, birth, baptism, marriage, or death—(unless indeed the tablet has stated her age wrongly, and she be the third child of the very Joseph we are considering, about whom and whose two eldest children we are fairly well informed)—nor of any more of the family history of John junior, whether he had other children, &c. As all the known facts connect him with St. Cuthbert's parish, whose registers are not alleged to be in bad order, and as until 1693 he did not declare himself a dissenter, this absence of records is rather surprising, and decidedly disappointing. Any tangible fact here, which may yet be discovered in some distant parish where he wooed his wife, may convert much probability into certainty. But so far we are only entitled to say that John, junior, was married not later than 1674, and there is no reason against believing that he was married by 1670, when he may have been as much as 23 years old. His father, at the age of 22, certainly had a daughter, and Joseph had a son before he was 23.

Returning to certain fact, we know that in 1673-74, the list of 47 parishioners in St. Cuthbert's, assessed to the hearth-tax, included one, and only one, John Bunyan. Nor has a second assessment of any other John Bunyan been found. It is most reasonable to identify this tax-payer with the man who paid in 1670-71, and with the parishioner who subscribed in 1670, and with the parishioner who let his child be christened in 1672; that is, as we claim, with John Bunyan junior. There is no evidence to show where Bunyan senior lived at this time. His wife and children must have lived somewhere, and quite possibly lived in the house for which hearth-tax had been paid in 1670-71; but that would not prove that he was then, or was now, the legal occupier.

In October, 1672, he did become part-owner of a barn with a piece of land adjoining, in the parishes of St. Paul and St. Cuthbert; but this was for the purposes of worship, and it has

never been suggested that he and his wife lived in the barn. And since his name does not even stand first on the list of joint owners, it would be rather unnatural to hold that the part-ownership of these premises, in two parishes, would justify the description of him a month later as of St. Cuthbert's.

While we lack evidence as to where he lived, we have not even any evidence that he yet became a householder. He may well have lodged (when at home, for he travelled much, and was preaching at Leicester in October) in the house occupied by his son; close parallels to this are afforded by facts pleaded before Revising Barristers every year. The first evidence as to his abode is afforded by his arrest in 1675, when he was committed to the town jail, not the county jail, and therefore belonged now to Bedford. Then on 23rd December, 1685, he made a deed of gift to his wife, and described himself therein as of St. Cuthbert's. But this does not settle either the ownership of the house at any time, or the date when he took up his abode here. As to the son's abode, by his will in 1728 he left to Hannah the house in St. Cuthbert's, now occupied by Mr. Symonds, and the lease of the house where he was living. One such lease had been taken in 1705, another in 1716; but as the second had expired in 1727, there must have been a third; and perhaps there was one prior to 1705. We do not know when he moved there from St. Cuthbert's, we do not know when he bought the St. Cuthbert's house, we do not know when he began to live there. But the theory that he was occupying it, and was the legal occupier, in 1672, fits all the facts known.

As a John Bunyan was assessed here in St. Cuthbert's when the great Bunyan was in prison; and as John Bunyan junior may have been married by 1670, and certainly was by 1674, this line of argument renders it highly probable that the christening was for the child of the house-holder, John Bunyan junior.

We turn now to see whether the christening of a son is congruous with the principles of the church of which Bunyan was now Elder.

The church deliberately ignored the question of baptism within its own borders. When Gifford, the first pastor, died in 1655, he left a charge, warning the church to be indifferent as to externals; and one of the four points specified was baptism. Next year Sister Linford withdrew from it 'upon the account of baptism,' while Brother Crompe withdrew his proposal to join for the same reason. Thenceforward there is no reference to the ordinance in the church book (extant only in copy) till the year 1690. Bunyan, in a later book, to be quoted presently,

states that during 1657 several brethren of the baptized way assembled and sought to break them in pieces, merely because the members of this church were not in their way all baptized first. And in June, 1672, when he was Elder, the church refused to transfer Mrs. Tilney to a church which required baptism as a condition of church-membership.

If the church thus deliberately kept true to its principle of neutrality on this point, it was quite emphatic on non-conformity to the parish ministrations. On 13 November, 1668, Bunyan and another member were bidden by the church "admonish Brother Merrill concerning his withdrawing from the Church, and his conformity to ye world's way of worship." And on 21 April, 1671, by Bunyan's advice, the church excluded Robert Nelson because "in a great assembly of the Church of England he was openly and profanely bishoped after the Anti-Christian order of that Generation; to ye great profanation of God's order." Confirmation then, was inconsistent with membership in this Church. Equally so would be infant baptism by an Anti-Christian minister.

Another case occurred in 1674, when a member wished to join Jessey's old church, which had gone over to the strict communion position; this was felt a very unkind cut just after Bunyan had quoted Jessey as supporting him, and the church refused to transfer her. But, it may be said, Bunyan was the Elder of the church; would they discipline him? Let us see. On the very day that he was called to that post, other men were called to the ministry, including Nehemiah Cox. This man was of a good family, which, two generations earlier, had given a bishop to Ely. His own father, Benjamin, had thrown up a living for conscience sake, and had laid a good foundation of evangelical truth in this very town of Bedford; he then had gone to London and had taken a foremost place among Baptists there. Now on 7 May, 1674, this Nehemiah Cox, a minister of the church, was publicly charged in full meeting with words and practices tending to make rents and divisions, and he had to apologise. Would then a church, which in 1668, 1669, 1671, 1672, and 1674 dealt thus with its members, even with an officer, have connived at the scandal of its Elder sending his child to be christened at the anti-Christian church in 1672.

It may be objected that while Bunyan himself did not arrange the christening, nor approve of it, yet there is no reason against his wife doing this, without his knowledge. Such a solution has actually been proposed of late, and therefore it ought to be tested. Little need be said as to the general relations

between husbands and wives in that day, and the likelihood that any wife would thus defy her husband's wishes. We know something of the loyalty of this wife to her husband by her affecting appeal on his behalf. And we know well the earnest way in which this church watched over the life of its members. When the New Testament stipulates that an Elder must be able to keep order in his own household, this church could hardly condone weakness in a man who winked at his wife's act, or tolerated her revolt against his authority.

Moreover, there would have been a worse than merely local scandal. In 1672 and 1673 Bunyan was involved in a keen controversy with some London Baptists on a point closely touching infant baptism. And this brings us to the third argument, that he was never challenged publicly as inconsistent from any side, and that he betrays no sense of inconsistency at any time, or of any need of explaining his doings.

About May, 1672, he prefaced and published his Confession of Faith. This dealt expressly and minutely with the open-communion position of his church; the title declared "that though I dare not communicate with the Open Profane, yet I can with those visible Saints that differ about water baptism." To the reader he declared that "neither can I in or by the superstitious inventions of this world, consent that my soul should be governed in any of my approaches to God." He had, of course, to speak much of baptism, and there is not a word to show he approved of infant baptism; on the contrary he said plainly, "he must be a visible saint before, else he ought not to be baptized." "None ever received it [baptism] without light going before, unless they did play the hypocrite." "It is a sign to the person baptized, and an help to his own faith; he should know by that circumstance that he hath received remission of sins; if his faith be as true as his being baptized is felt by him."

While thus clear on baptism being for believers only, he was equally clear as to the Established Church. It was objected that his principles would lead him to have communion with the members of Antichrist: if a visible saint might yet stand a member of that sinful number. He replied, "You suppose an impossibility, for it cannot be that at the same time, a man should visibly stand a member of two bodies diametrically opposite one to another." In his application he introduces one of the open profane asking, Why cannot we be reckoned saints also? we have been christened, we go to church, we take the communion. And he replies, "Poor people! This will not do, &c."

This book called forth an answer by Paul and Kiffin, who asked why if he stickled so for holiness as the term of communion, he indulged the members of his church in many acts of disobedience. It would have been a far more stinging question why he let his own infant be christened. The christening of November, 1672, was not done in a corner, and Bunyan had enemies enough for this to be reported if it had been his son. Why did not Paul and Kiffin taunt him with this personal disobedience instead of with conniving at the disobedience of others? But so far were they from this, that Kiffin, when re-publishing in 1681—the original is not accessible—explains that his argument is with “Dissenting Brethren, of the Baptized way only,” who grant “that the Administration of Baptism by Rantism, or Sprinkling in Infancy, is disorderly.”

To this book Bunyan replied in 1673, and shows that by a slip in argument, Kiffin apparently grants his own position, “if a man do repent him of his christening in his childhood, he may be received into fellowship without submitting to baptism; but I will not strain you too far.” Christening, then, is a thing to be repented of, in Bunyan’s opinion. In his seventh argument he implies that he and Kiffin are at one against “those expositors that expound certain Scriptures for infant baptism, and that by them brand us [Bunyan and Kiffin] as anabaptists.” Again he speaks of “the brethren which refuse to be baptized as you and I would have them.”

Then he comes to the charge that he indulged his people in acts of disobedience, and asks that one be specified: the response is, In the sin of infant baptism. To which Bunyan replies, “We indulge them not; but being commanded to bear with the infirmities of each other, suffer it; it being indeed in our eyes such.” Infant baptism is in Bunyan’s eyes an infirmity, if not a sin, in 1673.

Yet no one ever jeered at him for committing that very sin last year, or objected that he let his wife commit it.

And infant baptism by a parish minister would be doubly wrong in his view, as it involved dealing with Antichrist, and calling in the help of one of a “gang of rabbling, counterfeit clergy,” as he had publicly styled the parish ministers in his *Justification by Faith*, published in February, 1671-2.

Kiffin, then, never charged Bunyan with committing the sin of infant baptism; his church never disciplined him for having intercourse with antichrist. There is no word that one of the “counterfeit clergy” rejoiced in having this effectual recantation of the hard phrase. Nor—and this is more important

—is there any sign in the abundant literature by Bunyan himself that he repented of any flagrant inconsistency, or that he was one who, in the midst of a controversy closely touching infant baptism, “did play the hypocrite.”

But John Bunyan junior was in quite a different position. Deprived of a father's care after the first years of boyhood, he had never taken any step towards identifying himself with his father's church; nor indeed did he join it till 1693, when the days of persecution were over. That he should take a son to be christened at the parish church would be such a normal thing that no one would comment on it. Certainly it was out of harmony with his father's wishes; but then, his father was the exception. Few people would be so ungenerous as to laugh publicly at Thomas Kerchever Arnold for being unable to persuade his children to follow in his footsteps; or as to taunt John Bright if a son of his conformed to the usual custom rather than to his father's singular views. The matter might pain Bunyan, and his words to Kiffin may have been written with this very incident in mind, Being commanded to bear with the infirmities of each other, we suffer infant baptism; it being indeed in our eyes an infirmity; but in theirs they say a duty, till God shall otherwise persuade them. If this is the way he felt towards a fellow-member, he could hardly feel very differently towards a son, still in the bonds of antichrist.

Legal demonstration there is none, either way. The moral probability is extremely high that the man whose child was christened in 1672 was not the Elder of the Gathered Church, but his son John Bunyan junior.

W. T. WHITLEY.

A Marriage Certificate of 1673 or 1674 is on an early page of the ancient Mill Yard Church book, and shows that Seventh-day Baptists, Calvinist and Arminian, were on friendly terms:—These are to certifie all whom Itt may Concern that Mr ffrancis Bampheild and damaris Town were Married upon ye 23 of Sept: according To the Rule of gods word: wherof we are wittnes. whose names are under written

Will: saller
Joh: Coats

Chris: nicholson
Henry: soursbey

Baptist Literature till 1688.

(Continued from page 60.)

WILLIAM ALLEN, Tradesman, of London.

1655 A Doubt Resolved, or Satisfaction for the Seekers. pp ii. 38.
British Museum. Nottingham College.

R. BARROW.

1642 A Briefe Answer to a discourse Lately Written by one P[raisegod] B[arbon] to prove Baptisme under the defection of Antichrist to be the Ordinance of Iesus Christ, and The Baptizing of Infants to be agreeable to the Word of God. Wherein is Declared (from his owne grounds) that true Baptisme and a false Church are inconsistent, and cannot stand together: And also maintained, That the Baptizing of Infants hath no authority from the Scriptures. pp 18.

Angus Library.

1646 A brief Answer to R[ichard] H[ubberthorne] his Booke entitled, The True Guide. Wherein are proved that the Baptisme of Water is a distinct Baptisme from the Baptisme of the Spirit. By R. B. a well-wisher to the truth. pp ii. 38.

Museum.

DAVID BRAMLEY, joined in the address of Baptist Ministers in London on 3 April, 1657, urging Cromwell not to be called King.

1647 The Preachers Plea.

Museum.

1647 Christ's Result of His Father's Pleasure: or, his Assent to his Father's Sentence: wherein is shewed, both the nature and danger of prudence in naturall men.

Museum.

WILLIAM BURDETT. In 1651 he signed the General Baptist Midland Confession on behalf of the church at Theddingworth, Leicester. The following work may be by the same man.

1650 A wonder of wonders; being a faithful narrative and true relation of one Anne Green . . . hanged in the castle yard in Oxford . . . and afterwards . . . recovered . . . With the manner of her tryal &c.

Museum.

ROBERT BURNAME. In 1679 he signed the "Orthodox Creed" of the General Baptists. He may be the author of

1645 A Remonstrance; or, a necessitated vindication of Robert

Burnham against two false scandalous libells maliciously scattered in the name of Elizabeth Burnham his wife &c.

Museum.

WILLIAM BURNET. In 1672 he was licensed to conduct worship for the "Anabaptists" in the house of William Longhurst at Chertsey. The following book provoked rejoinders from George Whitehead in 1668 and 1673.

1668 The Capital Principles of the People called Quakers Discovered and Stated out of their own Writings . . . The Conclusion being an Exhortation to keep close to the Scriptures. pp 60.

Museum.

JOHN BURTON. Being a member of the Bedford church, he signed Epistles printed with Bunyan's "Some Gospel Truths opened" in 1656 and with his "Vindication" next year.

MATTHEW CAFFYN. Studied at Oxford. Yeoman-farmer at Southwater, near Horsham. Elder of the General Baptist Church there. "Messenger" for Kent and Sussex. Involved in three great controversies, with the Quakers, with a farmer and fellow-member, with Joseph Wright of Maidstone and Thomas Monk of Aylesbury as to his views on the personality of our Lord. The earlier quarrels seem to have made him chary of expressing himself in print on the last topic, as his pamphlets called forth vigorous rejoinders.

1656 The Deceived, and deceiving Quakers discovered. Their damnable Heresies, horrid blasphemies, mockings, railings, unparallel'd Deceit, and Dishonesty laid open. In the discovery of which is made known the pure use of the Holy Scriptures (which by them is denied), the true Christ, and how he justifies, his second coming proved not to be already (as the Quaker affirms). Also the Resurrection from the dead, and the Eternal Judgment, and several other particulars that Saints are required to be stedfast in. Set forth especially for the good of those that are called out of the World, into the primitive order of the Gospel, but may be usefull for all people. pp 84.

Devonshire House.

1660 Faith in God's Promises the Saints best weapon, To which is annexed, The great error and mistake of the Quakers, concerning the true Christ and how he is said to be in his people; and concerning the rule of mankind, in which their former extravagancies are laid open and confuted.

Devonshire House.

1674 Envy's bitterness corrected with the rod of shame: or, an Answer to a Book lately Published by Richard Haines (a person withdrawn from) Entitled, New Lords, New Laws; Wherein is shewed such an Image of Envy, as in late Ages hath not appeared, by his

heaping up false accusations, and abusive Expressions to a great number, with Malicious Insinuations, thereby to provoke (if possible) the Civil Magistrate to have suspicious thoughts of the Innocent, with a great Out-Cry of Usurpation and Tyranny, proved to have no other Foundation but his own evil Imaginations, and so neither Lords, nor New Laws. Wherein also the several Persons therein Accused, are in Righteousness quitted, to the Shame of the Accuser. pp 33.

Bodleian.

1675 A Raging Wave Foming out his own Shame. Or, An answer to a Book lately Published by Richard Hains (a person withdrawn from) Entitled, A Protestation against Vsurpation. . . . Wherein also the Church of Southwater by him contemptuously rendred Papistical in their act of withdrawalment from him, is vindicated and cleared, &c. pp 28. Bodleian.

JOHN CANNE. Succeeded Henry Ainsworth at Amsterdam as pastor of the Ancient Church till his death in 1667, supporting himself as a printer and druggist. Published books hostile to king Charles and was fined by the city fathers. Returned in 1640 and evangelised as a Baptist. Editor of a paper favoured by Cromwell. Fifth monarchy man. Compiled marginal references to the Bible.

1633 The Way to Peace; or good Counsel for it. Preached . . . at the Reconciliation of certain Brethren, between whom there had been former Differences.

1634 A Necessitie of Separation from the Church of England, prouoed by the Nonconformists principles &c. pp 264.

Angus Library. Bodleian. Congregational. Museum.

1639 A Stay against Straying. Or an answer to a treatise intituled The Lawfulness of hearing the Ministers of the Church of England: By J. Robinson [of Leyden]. Wherein is proved the contrarie, viz.: The unlawfulness of hearing the ministers of all false churches. pp 142.

Angus Library. Cambridge. Museum.

1641 The Informer: or a Treatise to shew what Authority and Government is lawfull and true according to the Scriptures, etc. Also Here is added a briefe discription of the true visible Church of Christ &c. pp 41.

Trinity College, Cambridge.

1641 Syons Prerogative Royal: or, a Treatise tending to prove that every particular congregation hath from Christ absolute and entire power to exercise in and of herself every ordinance of God, and is an independent body, not standing under any other Ecclesiasticall authoritie out of itself: by a wel-wisher to the truth. pp 64.

Museum.

1642 The Holy Bible . . . VVith most profitable Annotations . . .

which [Genevan] notes have never before been set forth with this new translation [of 1611]; But are now placed in due order with great care and industrie. [First edition printed abroad; no apocrypha: folio].

Bible House.

1643 Zion's Joy in her King, coming in His Glory.

Angus Library.

1643? Guide to Sion. [Mentioned by Hanbury, ii. 337.]

1644? [Bible, with marginal references. Earliest accessible edition 1647, then 1653 with copyright, 1662 &c., &c.]

1647 The Grand Informer. Or The Prerogative of Princes, Priviledge of Parliaments, Propriety of the Subject, and Power of the Magistrate in point of Civill government fully asserted, &c.

Angus Library.

1649 The Golden Rule or Justice Advanced, wherein is shewed that the Representative Kingdom, or Commons assembled in Parliament have a lawfull power to arraign and adjudge to death the King for Tyranny, Treason, and other Misdemeanors: being a clear and full . . . justification of the legal proceedings of the high court of justice against Charles Steward &c.

Angus Library. Museum. Dr. Williams' Library.

1649 The Snare is broken. Wherein is proved by Scripture, Law and Reason, that the National Covenant and Oath was unlawfully given and taken; and what ever may be probably pretended or objected for it, is fully answered and refuted. Here also is vindicated the Parliaments later proceedings: shewing the Grounds and Principles of the London Ministers to be weak and unsound; and as their Accusations and Charges against the State, false and scandalous. Moreover, something is said against Violence in Religion, and the Duty of the Civil Magistrate about Worship and Church-Government. Published by Authority. pp 48.

Angus Library. Museum.

1649 The Discoverer, wherein is set forth to undeceive the Nation the reall Plots and Stratagems of Lieut. Col. John Lilburn, Mr. William Walwyn, Mr. Thomas Prince, Mr. Richard Overton and that partie.

Museum.

1649 The Discoverer, being an Answer to a Book entitled "England's New Chain, the second part, discovered." The Second part. pp 80.

Museum.

1649 The Improvement of Mercy; or, a short treatise, shewing how, and in what manner, our rulers and all well affected to the present Government should make a right and profitable use of the late great victory in Ireland.

Museum.

1650 Emanuel, or, God with us. Wherein is set forth England's great Victory over the Scots Armie in a Battle at Dunbar.

Angus Library. Museum.

1653 A Voice from the Temple, to the Higher Powers; Wherein is shewed, That it is the work and duty of Saints to search the Prophecies of Holy Scripture which concern the Latter Times; and, That Jesus Christ will reveal the Understanding of them, near the end of their Accomplishment. And so much, is here clearly proved; and the Objections to the contrary, answered. Also, several Prophecies are here opened, concerning The time of the End: and what is the present Work of the Lord in the World; and wherein the Saints, whether the Higher Powers or others, are to move and follow Him. Likewise, what will be the work of the Lord forward, and all along, from year to year. till the Mystery of God be finished, both among the Christian-Gentiles and Jews. [With epistle to the Right Honourable Colonel Robert Overton, Governor of Hull, and his religious Lady.] pp 39.

Angus Library. Congregational Library. Museum.

1653 A Second Voyce from the Temple, to the Higher Powers: wherein is proved that the Decrees and Institutions of Popes and Popish Counsels which have been established by the law of the land, and have been continued and confirmed throughout divers Ages by several Acts of Parliament against Jesus Christ; in the Way and order of the Gospel—the same yet standing—ought by the present supream authority of this nation to be taken away. Moreover, here is showed some particular Decrees of Popes which have been established by several Acts of Parliaments, namely, a National Ministry, Tithes, Prohibiting men from public preaching of the Gospel unless elected and ordained after a Popish manner, etc. All which, as they are the Institutions of Popes formerly confirmed by the Law of the Land, are now to be abrogated. pp 32.

Angus Library. Museum.

1656 Truth with Time: or certain reasons proving that none of the seven last plagues, or vials, are yet poured out: . . . Likewise, an answer to the said reasons; with a reply, etc.

Congregational Library. Museum.

1657 The Time of the End: Shewing, First, until the three years and a half are come (which are the last of the 1260 dayes) the prophecies of Scripture will not be understood concerning the Duration and Period of the Fourth Monarchy and Kingdom of the Beast. Then Secondly, When that Time shall come, before the expiration, the knowledge of the end (or that there shall be time no longer) will be revealed by the rise of a little horn, the last Apostacy, and the Beast slaying the Witness: contemporizing The Characters of which little Horn, the last Apostacy and Beast (as the Scriptures show them) are here faithfully opened; and the Application left to the Wise. pp 275.

Angus Library. Congregational Library. Museum.

1658 The Time of Finding, shewing when the Lord will be found and by whom; and, when there will be no Time of Finding: Also, the Persons are described who shall not find the Lord though they seek him with Tears. Likewise, some Reasons why the Lord had suffered his Work and Good Old Cause to be stopt; and, how it shall be revived again. Also, Something is here showed about the Manner how it shall be revived, and the Time when. pp 296.

Angus Library. Congregational Library.

1658 A Narrative, wherein is set forth the sufferings of John Canne . . . John Belcher . . . called (as their News Book saith) Fifth Monarchy men; that is how eight of them were taken in [Swan Alley] Coleman-street, Month second—called, April,—Day first, 1658, as they were in the solemn Worship of God and by the Lord Mayor sent Prisoners to the Compter in the Poultry. Also, Of the Arraignment of Wentworth Day and John Clarke at the Sessions in the Old Bailey: And how, the rest, after three Weeks Imprisonment and more, were discharged in their Court. Published by a Friend to the Prisoners, and The Good Old Cause they suffered for [not expressly claiming to be Canne himself] pp 16. Museum.

1659 Certain Reasons taken out of Doctor Burgess his Case concerning the buying of Bishops Lands, which are as full and directly against Tythes, as to what he applied them. Likewise a Query to William Prynne. [Appended to Osborne's Indictment against Tithes.] Devonshire House.

1659 A Seasonable Word to the Parliament Men. Likewise a watchword, how they prefer not again such persons to places of trust who have lately betrayed the Priviledges of Parliaments, and the just Rights of the People, into the hands of a single person.

Museum.

1659 A Twofold Shaking.

[1659 The Acts and Monuments of our late Parliament; or a collection of the acts, orders, votes, and resolves that hath passed in the house. By J. Canne, Intelligencergenerall.

This skit, in two parts, was really by Samuel Butler, of Hudibras fame.]

1662 The Holy Bible . . . with marginal notes.

Museum.

1664 The Holy Bible . . . with marginal notes [and no apocrypha].

Museum.

1682 The Holy Bible . . . With marginal notes, shewing Scripture to be the best Interpreter of Scripture.

Angus Library. Bible House. Museum.

Review.

Original Records of Early Nonconformity under Persecution and Indulgence: printed, classified and indexed by Professor E. Lyon Turner.

For many years past, students of nonconformity have been aware that there was much valuable material available at Lambeth Palace and in the Record Office, which would enable the laborious work of Calamy to be augmented and corrected. Biographers and county historians have frequently had recourse to these sources, and extracts have often been printed. But seven years ago the Congregational Historical Society inspired Mr. Turner to undertake a complete presentation of all the documents, and after most painstaking toil, the whole may now be purchased from Mr. Fisher Unwin, in two massive volumes totalling over 1,380 pages, for two guineas. They must be consulted by every one who is dealing with the period 1665-1676; and with Dr. W. A. Shaw's History of the Church 1640-1660, they give such first-hand information as will enable many shaky foundations to be underpinned or replaced.

Other students have of course been at these papers; the official Calendars of State Papers have summarised and indexed half of them; and Mr. Bate, of Liverpool University, recently published a study of these summaries with geographical indexes. We have for years had a complete copy of all the Lambeth entries relating to Baptists, and have long proved its value in linking scattered notices. But the accurate reproduction in type will supersede all previous work. Mr. Turner has taken the utmost pains to ensure accuracy, checking his proofs at every stage by comparison with the originals, and having special type cast to represent curious contractions.

Three sets of returns are now printed, with a fragment of a fourth. The first set is a series of reports sent to Archbishop Sheldon in 1665 from the Bishops of St. Asaph, St. David's, Bristol and Exeter, as to physicians, schoolmasters and ministers ejected in 1662. An Act of 1664 had made it illegal to hold conventicles for three years, and Sheldon was determined to enforce this Act, so he sent out enquiries to all his suffragans, and some of their replies have been preserved. The second Act had a similar origin, [for when the Act expired, conventicles opened widely: Sheldon sent out renewed orders,

requiring this time detailed accounts from every parish, what meetings were held, of what sect, how many frequented them, of what quality they were and who were the chief abettors, who were the teachers? The tone of the returns is fairly represented by two extracts, put in modern spelling:—

Diocese of Exeter, Archdeaconry of Exon, Westbeare Deanery. John Symonds, Practitioner in Physic in Farringdon, is a person of no note or learning an Anabaptist, and one that keeps conventicles; he is neither licensed nor conformable.

Diocese of Ely, Cambridge Deanery, Fulborne All Saints. At the house of Thomas Mascall, labouring man, Anabaptists, not above twenty when most, poor people, women and girls most; teacher, Edward Hancock, a mean farmer. The conventicle near Whitehall in a house fitted for it is their especial encouragement; see the return.

This last note is one of many signs that the Lambeth records are only copies made from the original returns of the clergy; the present writer has sought for these originals, but they are not known at Lambeth; possibly they might, in some intermediate form, be at the diocesan registries. And since not half the returns for the Province of Canterbury are here, and few for the Province of York, there are still opportunities at centres like Rochester, Bristol, Gloucester, Oxford, Peterborough, Hereford, St. David's, Lincoln, and other archidiaconal registries.

The third set of returns is from three Entry Books of the Privy Council. King Charles II. found the Nonconformists were so exasperated by the persecutions of Sheldon, that when the Dutch war broke out he could not count on their support. Colonel Blood persuaded him to issue a Declaration of Indulgence, and for several months in 1672 and 1673 licenses were issued to Protestant Dissenters to hold worship in their houses, or to teach on licensed premises. The books contain the original applications, correspondence between the government offices and such agents as Blood, records of the licenses issued, receipts for them, and several licenses not actually taken over. The whole of this valuable information has been printed at length, and it gives light on the situation from the side of the dissenters themselves.

We have already given a study of the Baptist facts, in volume I., pages 156-177. Mr. Turner repeats and generalises our caution on page 165, that many Baptists were content to be registered as Congregationalists; he has not noticed our instance on page 176, that blunders were made and Baptists were entered as Presbyterian.

Such facts rather detract from the value of the patient work he has done in classifying the whole mass of facts. His method has been to group first by counties; this however is slightly spoiled by arranging the counties in geographical sets, where it is inevitable to separate some which are closely associated—York and Nottingham, Shropshire and Hereford, Buckingham and Herts., Lincoln and Norfolk, etc. Fortunately an admirable table of contents will quickly guide the student. But the same idea is more trouble-

some when within the county returns the classification is by topography and not by alphabet. And then the cross-classification into Presbyterian, Independent, Baptist and Quaker is of doubtful value, because of inaccurate descriptions; and it even obscures the study of the county. It is much to be regretted that a series of county maps, which are ready, could not be added because the cost was too great and the response of subscribers was too meagre. We would willingly have sacrificed pages 631-1227 to obtain instead the maps, and indexes of places and people referring direct to the original text.

The indexes as they stand are complete for every person and place mentioned, and it is easy to track out all the history recorded here. More than that, special type is used to indicate the ministers ejected 1659-1662, so that the limits are slightly extended. This of course is not of much value to a Baptist student, but for Congregationalists has much interest.

Indeed the comparison with Calamy, however useful in most cases, has led to a number of singular conjectures in dealing with Baptist entries. It seems to have been sufficient to find an unappropriated name in Calamy for Mr. Turner to query whether the man is not the same. A typical instance is that of Edward Hancock. There was a clergyman of that name ejected from Bristol, whom Mr. Turner identifies as licensed at Haresfield in Gloucester, and at Bathford in Somerset; he also identifies him in 1669 as reported from Bathford; Bath Easton, Bath Weston, Monckton Combe, Beckington, Dunkerton. Yet as if that were not enough, he identifies him also, without any query, to be the mean farmer reported in 1669 as teaching Baptists at Fulborne in Cambridge, as we have quoted. There are dozens of such assumptions or queries as to Baptists, and we cannot agree with more than two or three, though we welcome the invitation to study.

Mr. Turner's method of classifying breaks down badly in Somerset and Wales, where he has very few denominational data, but masses of facts. His articles for the Congregational Historical Society in 1905 and 1906 show the great pains he took to study on the spot; but he has neglected the valuable paper of Henry Maurice in 1675, which he quoted once; and our own study, whose results were given in our volume I at page 174, has therefore naturally left his opinions unchanged.

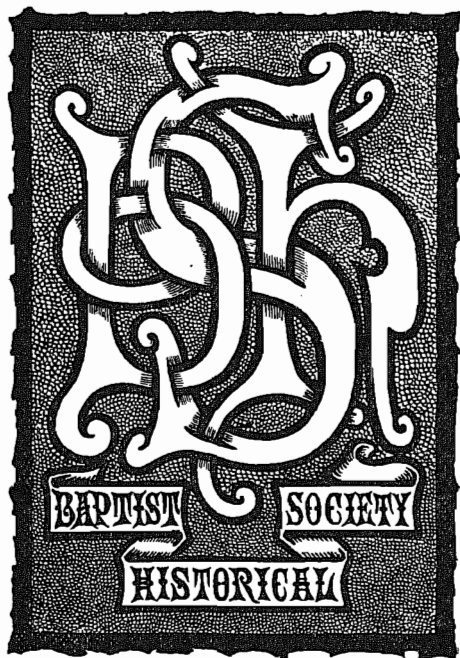
If in these points we regret wasted energy and must warn against classes of error, yet these are the exceptions. The rule is that this work is deserving of all praise, and that we now have most invaluable records, reproduced with the utmost accuracy.

W. T. W.

Transactions
of the
Baptist
Historical
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In Memoriam.

The Baptist Historical Society, in the entirety of its membership, has mourned the death of two men who were not only stalwarts of the faith, but likewise keenly interested in the investigations to which these pages are devoted.

The Rev. James Stuart was a Member of Committee, and His Honour Judge Willis was a Vice-president of the Baptist Historical Society.

The Rev. James Stuart, who studied at Rawdon College and Glasgow University, had been in the pastorate for the long period of forty-five years; for two-thirds of that time at Watford, where he exercised a deep and lasting influence. In the larger world of denominational interest—including the Committee meetings of the Baptist Historical Society—Mr. Stuart proved himself a counsellor of great value; and being a man of literary taste, with a happy facility as a writer, he made a decided impression upon the journalistic enterprise of the Baptist body. He was for many years editor of *The Baptist Magazine*; also a contributor to *The Freeman*, and its successor, *The Baptist Times*. Mr. Stuart combined intellectual culture with a singularly genial disposition; and he was “a man greatly beloved.” Among the various works which he gave to the world, many will treasure “Beechen Grove Baptist Church, Watford: Memorials of Two Hundred Years and More”; for therein they will continue, in some measure, to have fellowship with “Stuart of Watford.”

His Honour Judge Willis, K.C., B.A., LL.D., though held in high esteem throughout the Baptist denomination, had also a distinctive reputation in the legal and political worlds. He was called to the Bar in 1861, when already a graduate of London University. Later on he took the degree of LL.D. in the same University, and for several years was Examiner in Common Law. In 1877 he became Queen's Counsel, and for a time had a seat in Parliament. He wrote books on legal questions; and from 1897 to the time of his death he was Judge of County Courts. His

Honour was not only a man of law: his life was profoundly dominated by the Christian verities, and he was peculiarly interested in Baptist history. His large heart was ever stirred by stories of persecution, ancient and modern, and he was not slow to express his indignation at the wrongs which, from time to time, have been visited upon witnesses for Christ; whose great crime has consisted in a conscientious refusal to accord to state-devised forms and ceremonies the homage and obedience which are due to New Testament ordinances. His Honour had an unsurpassed acquaintance with the writings of John Milton, and was a great admirer of the hymns of Dr. Isaac Watts. Another favourite author was Thomson, of "The Seasons" fame; while on the Shakespeare-Bacon controversy the judge expressed his views in volumes which manifested great critical acumen. He was President of the Baptist Union in 1907, having been a personal member for over thirty years. As a Vice-president of the Baptist Historical Society, he was ever ready with sound advice and practical encouragement.

J. W. THIRTLE.

Jottings.

William Giles, teacher of Charles Dickens, has been the object of one or two queries lately. His public career was as follows. Between 1794 and 1798 he began in the ministry at Dartmouth, not ranking as full pastor at the latter date. In 1809 he was called to Lymington, where he had the happy experience of uniting two churches and founding some out-stations in the New Forest. When the curate of Boldre preached on Baptismal Regeneration, he not only opposed, but published his rejoinder. Moving to Chatham in 1817, he kept a school in Clover Lane, which from 1819 to 1821 was attended by a lad destined in after years to immortalise the town, and to transfer some of Giles' traits to the pages of his novels. A Unitarian Baptist minister in 1826, and Robert Hall next year pleading for open communion, called him again into print. Going on deputation for the Irish Society to Preston in 1833, he was called to the pastorate there, and at once attacked an evangelical churchman on the disestablishment question. After several years' good service to the Lancashire Association, he was called to the original Liverpool church in 1842, lately weakened by the departure of those who required open-communion, under C. M. Birrell. The purchase of the premises by a railway company in 1846 gave the signal for his retirement, and his last years were spent at Seacombe and Ashton. Two sons, another William, and John Eustace Giles, entered the Baptist ministry.

Some Baptist Churches in Lancashire and Yorkshire held an Associated Meeting at Barnoldswick about 1695; in 1719 there was a re-organisation, another in 1757, and another in 1787. Fifty years later the Association divided into two, which held a joint jubilee meeting in 1887. Home Mission work was put on a new basis in 1810, and the centenary of this was celebrated last year. The nucleus of all this movement was in the Rossendale Valley, and the Bacup Church recently kept its bicentenary: we are glad to hear that Mr. Overend is about to publish a sketch of the history. The organisation of 1719 took place at Rawdon, and it is appropriate that Principal Blomfield should be preparing an account of the movement east of the Pennines, to be incorporated in a special issue of the Yorkshire handbook, with other historical articles.

John Treacher, of Berkhamstead, was in some difficulty at the beginning of 1712-3. On the last day of 1712, the church of Ford and Cudington was planning its meetings for January, and sent Brother Meakes to preach at Kingston on the 25th; the pastor afterwards added a note, Think of brother Treacher. And when the next meeting was held on the 30th, it was agreed that a motion be made among friends about brother John Treacher's request. But what this was does not appear.

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The Secretary will welcome any indication of error or omission in the above list.

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