

Thomas Lambe, Soapboiler, and Thomas Lambe, Merchant, General Baptists

THE AUTHOR of the life of Thomas Lambe in the *Dictionary of National Biography* has conflated into one the lives of two men of this name, both General Baptists, apparently on the ground that Baptists invented one Thomas Lambe in order to cover up the lapse of the other from their denomination. That there were two men rather than one is easily established, but it is more difficult to be confident which of the two appears in the public documents of the denomination in the 1650s. Since both men were pastors of their congregations and important leaders among the General Baptists, the attempt to sort them out affords an insight into the situation of the General Baptists in London in the mid-seventeenth century.

Thomas Lambe was a common name, and references to the name must always be treated with caution. I have found several Thomas Lambes in the context of religious radicalism at the time of the puritan revolution, but without confirmatory evidence I would be reluctant to identify any of them with the two subjects of this essay. There was, for instance, a Thomas Lambe acting as a propagation lecturer in Wales in 1651 and 1652, and another, a Baptist, serving as a chaplain to Colonel Hunke's regiment in Ireland at the same date. In 1658 yet another Thomas Lambe was appointed chaplain to the *Nantwich* on the basis of a certificate from three prominent Independents.¹

Contemporaries were aware of the problem, more so perhaps than historians. Henry Denne sought to distinguish the two Lambes connected with the General Baptists by referring to "Lamb Senior, Lamb Junior", presumably senior and junior in the faith.² I have found only one place in which the two Lambes appear simultaneously as pastors of their respective congregations, and here they are clearly distinguished. In a pamphlet protesting against the persecution of the Socinian John Biddle in 1656, among the churches endorsing the protest were "the Congregation in fellowship with Mr. Thomas Lamb, and Mr. William Allin" (that is, Lambè the merchant), and "the Congregation in fellowship with Mr. Thomas Lamb in Hounds-ditch".³ The two men were themselves aware of the possible confusion of identity. Lambe the soapboiler, on the title page of his *Absolute Freedom from Sin* in 1656, described himself as "Thomas Lamb Servant of Christ and his Church in the Gospel dwelling at the Sign of the Tun in Norton-Fallgate, London", and for good measure dated his preface "From my sojourning place in Norton-Fall-gate, London". Lambe the merchant announced to the world on the title page of his *Truth Pre-vailling* in 1655 that it was "By Thomas Lambe Merchant, once belong-

ing to the Congregation whereof Mr. John Goodwin is Pastor, now a servant to the Church of Christ meeting in Lothbury." Finally, William Walwyn the Leveller, who knew both men well in the 1640s, spoke of his friendship with Lambe the merchant while the latter was still a member of Goodwin's church; when he referred to the soapboiler, Walwyn was always careful to specify "Mr. Thomas Lamb of the Spittle", that is, of Spitalfields, just next door to Norton Folgate.⁴ This evidence refutes the *Dictionary of National Biography* and establishes the distinct identity of the two Lambes in a definitive way.

Both men were General Baptists, and each made an important contribution to the denomination. But their careers were very different. The Thomas Lambe who is usually described as a soapboiler or oilman may represent a lingering survival of the early generation of General Baptists led by Thomas Helwys and John Murton. He appeared first at Colchester in Essex, where he was in trouble late in 1639 with the Court of High Commission. Committed by the Court to the Fleet prison in London, he was released on bail in June 1640 on condition that he refrain from preaching, baptizing, or frequenting conventicles; the mention of baptizing is unusual and perhaps a hint that Lambe was already a Baptist.⁵ There was an old separatist tradition in Colchester, and one of its early spokesmen, John Wilkinson, had written against the Baptist principles of John Murton in the second decade of the seventeenth century; the manuscript was finally published by a friend of Wilkinson's in 1646.⁶

The Royalist Bruno Ryves reported the presence of Brownists and Anabaptists in Colchester in 1642, at the beginning of the civil war. That there might be more in this report than mere Royalist abuse of their puritan opponents is suggested in another passage of Ryves' gossip, where he said that at Chelmsford "they have amongst them two sorts of Anabaptists: the one they call the Old Men or Aspersi, because they were but sprinkled; the other they call the New Men, or the Immersi, because they were overwhelmed in their Rebaptization".⁷ This is unusually specific, and it points to the presence of Baptists in Essex before the practice of baptism by immersion became common among the General Baptists.

The transition from sprinkling to immersion as the mode of baptism among the General Baptists cannot be reconstructed with precision. What few hints there are point to Thomas Lambe and to London. We know that Lambe was dipping his converts in the Severn by late 1641, probably anticipating by a few weeks the inauguration of immersion by the Particular Baptists in London in January 1642;⁸ and in 1642 the important General Baptist leader in London, Edward Barber, published his *Small Treatise of Baptisme, or Dippin*. There is no reason to suppose that either Baptist group was copying the other in instituting immersion. If Lambe's practice of immersion was among the earliest such occasions in his denomination (and we cannot be sure of this), it would seem most reasonable to suppose that immersion had become a matter of common discussion among the separate churches in London in 1641, and that the existing General Baptists

and the future Particular Baptists proceeded to implement the practice in different ways. There is a further hint of this in the only other reference I have found to sprinklers and dippers among the General Baptists. In 1656 the Quaker Martin Mason identified his General Baptist opponent Jonathan Johnson as a "sprinkler" and distinguished him from another congregation of "dippers" in Lincoln; the Quaker implied there was bitter feeling between these two groups.⁹ In 1630 Archbishop Laud had complained of the number of "anabaptists" in Lincoln, and "one Johnson a baker" was reported to be their leader.¹⁰ By inference (and this might be verified by a more careful reading of his later pamphlets than I have yet been able to give them), the leader of the dippers in Lincoln was presumably Henoeh Howet, another redoubtable opponent of the Quakers who had also been a General Baptist as long ago as 1630.¹¹ Both the source and the date of his conversion from sprinkling to dipping are suggested by his imprisonment in London in 1640 by the Court of High Commission.¹² In Lincoln it is clear that an established General Baptist community was divided by the new practice, and this is presumably also the explanation for the presence of *aspersi* and *immersi* in Chelmsford. This strengthens the possibility that there was an early General Baptist community in Essex. The threads of these widely separated and very faint traces all cross in London on the eve of the puritan revolution, and Thomas Lambe of Colchester stands at the centre of the web.

The principal significance of the Court of High Commission in Lambe's career was to shift his sphere of activities from Colchester to London on the eve of a great revolutionary upheaval. Lambe was to become one of the important minor actors in the coming revolution, although his significance has been overlooked by historians preoccupied with the more secular Levellers or the more colourful members of the lunatic fringe. As a General Baptist pastor in London, as the first of the great itinerant evangelists of the revolutionary period, and as a key figure in the radical political movement that sustained the Levellers, Lambe's range of activity in the 1640s was immense, scarcely less important than that of the well known John Lilburne, and considerably more so than that of Gerrard Winstanley, whose works have appeared in two modern editions and who appears as the central figure in Christopher Hill's recent *The World Turned Upside Down*. In this book, despite its professed concern with "radical ideas during the English Revolution", the name of Thomas Lambe does not appear.

It is, admittedly, difficult to establish more than the bare outlines of Lambe's career, although these are clear enough in the 1640s. He was an active General Baptist at the beginning of 1641, when he was arrested along with other General Baptists whose meeting at White-chapel had caused a riot.¹³ It is not certain whether he was yet the pastor of his own congregation, but he was prominent enough to serve as an evangelist. Late in the year he travelled to Gloucestershire at the invitation of separatists there to explain his Baptist principles. Here Lambe demonstrated that determined self-confidence that was to make the lay preaching of the revolutionary period so successful. His

offer to preach in the parish church at Cranham in the temporary absence of the parish minister being rebuffed, he preached in private houses to such effect that "shortly after in an extreme cold and frosty time, in the night season, divers men and women were rebaptized in the great river of Severn".¹⁴ Lambe described himself, in a subsequent letter to his Gloucestershire converts, as a "messenger of Jesus Christ, put apart to teach the Gospel grace",¹⁵ thus anticipating by more than a decade the establishment of the office of Messenger as a supra-congregational officer of the General Baptist denomination.

Lambe's congregation in Bell Alley, Coleman Street, became the most notorious sectarian church in London during the English civil war. Whereas other sectarian congregations met secretly in private houses to avoid the attention of hostile mobs, Lambe's church met openly and admitted casual observers freely. The meetings are vividly described in the pages of Thomas Edwards' *Gangraena*:

"Many use to resort to this Church and meeting, the house, yards full, especially young youths and wenches flock thither . . .

"But to return to Lamb and his Church in their Church-meetings, they have many Exercisers [preachers], in one meeting two or three, when one hath done, theres sometimes difference in the Church who shall Exercise next, 'tis put to the Vote, some for one, some for another, . . . ; in this Church 'tis usual and lawful, not only for the company to stand up and object against the Doctrine delivered when the Exerciser of his gifts hath made an end, but in the midst of it, so that sometimes upon some standing up and objecting, there's *pro* and *con* for almost an hour, and falling out among themselves before the man can have finished his Discourse.

"... In the latter end of the Lords day many persons, some of other separate Churches, and some of our [parish] Churches will go to this Lambs Church for Novelty, because of the disputes and wranglings that will be there upon questions, all kinde of things started and vented almost, and several companies in the same room, some speaking in one part, some in another".¹⁶

The Presbyterian Edwards was deeply shocked at this behaviour, but his description conveys something of the excitement and vitality of what might be described as the earliest revival meetings in the modern Anglo-Saxon world. The Lord Mayor of London promptly made a test case of Thomas Lambe when Parliament finally passed the ordinance against lay preaching in the spring of 1645, only to give up any attempt at regulating the sectarian preachers when his prosecution of Lambe failed before the parliamentary committee.¹⁷

Towards the end of the civil war the church moved to Spitalfields, where it experienced a significant division. A minority of the members withdrew to form a separate congregation because they were convinced that in imitation of the primitive way the laying on of hands should be administered to all baptized believers and not merely to church officers; this division was to haunt the General Baptists in the next decade. Lambe was on the losing side in the long run, and his influence in his denomination was to suffer eclipse.¹⁸

Conventional puritans like Edwards were shocked because Lambe taught the doctrine of general redemption which gave his sect the name of General Baptists. In Lambe's case this took the form of an acceptance of the Arminian criticism of the Calvinist predestinarian orthodoxy; he stated his argument in *The Fountaine of Free Grace Opened*, published at the beginning of 1645 in the name of "The Church of Christ in London falsely called Anabaptists". The attraction of this doctrine was that it substituted for the mysterious operation of God's grace a doctrine of human accountability that gave meaning and purpose to the moral strivings of the individual human being; the doctrine of general redemption, that Christ died for all men rather than for a predestined elect, gave assurance that such strivings were worthwhile.

Lambe the soapboiler was the greatest of the itinerant evangelists of the 1640s, anticipating by a decade the famous Quaker itinerants. During the civil war he can be traced in Gloucestershire, Norfolk, Essex, Surrey, Hampshire, Kent, and Wiltshire, leaving behind everywhere in his wake a series of outraged parish ministers who published pamphlets or wrote to Thomas Edwards to complain about these disorderly proceedings. He also recruited and trained other men who became scarcely less famous as itinerants, notably the former clergyman Henry Denne, the notorious Samuel Oates, and Jeremiah Ives.¹⁹

Lambe was inevitably drawn into the political turmoil of London in the 1640s, and he became one of the key men in organizing support for the Leveller movement. The meetings of his church were easily penetrated by informers, one of whom revealed to the House of Commons the existence of the "great petition" of the Levellers in the spring of 1647. The informer's report, entered in the *Journals* of the House, tends to confirm Edwards' reports of two years earlier about the meetings of this congregation; I quote it here because it has not hitherto attracted notice:

"Mr. Boys was called in: Who said, That he heard that divers dangerous Doctrines were delivered at the 'Spittle: He went to hear what they were: That, in one Place, there was a young Man, who endeavoured to prove Free Will. There was likewise another Person who preached (one Mr. *Lambe*) who had before him (after he had ended his Sermon and his Prayer) Two or Three Sheets of Paper; That another Person, that sat over-against him, read a Petition; and that he corrected him in reading it, in many places; and that divers People subscribed it: Some Six subscribed it in his Presence: That there was some Hundred or Six-score Hands subscribed. That he had this printed Copy of the Petition from a Woman that was reading it"²⁰

When the Commons ordered the suppression of the Leveller petition, it was "Mr. Thomas Lamb of the Spittle" who, according to Walwyn, organized popular demonstrations in its defence.²¹ Lambe was loyal to the Levellers to the bitter end of their movement two years later. When the Particular Baptist pastors repudiated the imprisoned Leveller leaders early in 1649, Lambe challenged them pub-

licly to debate their act with him.²² His associate Henry Denne, who had campaigned in the second civil war as a cornet in a cavalry regiment, was one of the leaders of the Leveller revolt in the Army in May 1649. When Cromwell caught the mutineers at Burford, Denne repented of his mutiny and recognized the force of Cromwell's plea that the saints must remain united; he preached a sermon to this effect in Burford church, "howling and weeping like a crocodile", in the words of a Leveller critic.²³ The collapse of the Leveller movement ended the exuberant and optimistic phase of Lambe's career. I will return to the later period of his life after looking at a very different kind of man.

Thomas Lambe the merchant was established in London at the beginning of the puritan revolution, for he was able to invest fifty pounds in the Irish Adventurers in 1642. A linen draper in Cornhill and a radical puritan, he joined John Goodwin's gathered church when this was organized in 1643 or 1644 and eventually became an elder in this congregation.²⁴ William Walwyn was one of his business associates and became his friend, but the friendship broke up when Walwyn ventured to criticize some of John Goodwin's books.²⁵ Since Goodwin was Arminian in doctrine, it is understandable that when members of his church became interested in believer's baptism they turned to the General Baptists. There was, however, a social difference between Goodwin's congregation, composed of merchants and influential (if radical) City politicians, and the General Baptist congregations composed of London tradesmen. This explains why the conversion to Baptist views of Lambe and some of his friends in Goodwin's church was due not to any of the London General Baptists but to Samuel Fisher, a former clergyman who in 1649 abandoned a living reputedly worth two hundred pounds a year to become the most prominent General Baptist evangelist in Kent.

Fisher first converted William Allen, another merchant in Goodwin's church, and Allen in turn converted his close friend Thomas Lambe and other members to believer's baptism. This at least is the story told by Lambe's wife Barbara several years later when Lambe and Allen came to doubt the wisdom of their careers as General Baptists and it suited the Lambes to place the initiative on Allen's shoulders. Lambe and Allen at first accepted the idea of mixed communion and remained members of Goodwin's church, but in 1653, according to Barbara Lambe, Allen decided that mixed communion was unlawful, and her husband again "was led farther". The two men, members of one of the most substantial of all gathered churches in London, "finding not where to find any society in that Engagement where they could have such means of Edification as they had left", decided to organize their own congregation with twenty members of Goodwin's church who shared their views. Mrs. Lambe's remark reveals their attitude to the numerous General Baptist congregations of London.²⁶

The new General Baptist church met under the joint charge of Lambe and Allen in Lothbury, not far from John Goodwin's church in Coleman Street, and by the time of its dissolution five years later

included over a hundred members. The establishment of the new London church was a major triumph for Samuel Fisher, and this perhaps encouraged him to initiate the organization of a national association of General Baptist churches. At any rate, in September 1654 the first General Assembly of the denomination met in London, with Fisher and a group of Kent men heading the list of Messengers, and with Thomas Lambe and William Allen prominent among the elders in attendance.²⁷ In the proceedings of the Assembly, Lambe and Allen raised the question "whether the congregations under laying on of hands might have communion . . . with those baptized communions, that were not under it"; the Assembly answered with a negative.²⁸ The Londoners presumably raised the question in the hope of healing the division on this question among the London churches and bringing within the national association men like Lambe the soapboiler who opposed laying on of hands. That it was the merchant rather than the soapboiler in attendance at the Assembly is clear beyond question.

The General Baptist congregation of Lambe the merchant proved to be short lived. The story of its dissolution is revealed in a series of letters from Barbara and Thomas Lambe and William Allen to Richard Baxter; Baxter was the recipient of these confidences because his well known advocacy of church reunion among radical puritans provided a convenient justification for Lambe and Allen as they moved away from the exclusiveness of the primitive way as practised by the General Baptists. Their uneasiness began with the defection of Samuel Fisher to the Quakers in 1655. William Allen may have taken the lead again. He was more intelligent and more original than Lambe; in a pamphlet in 1655, for instance, he turned the tables upon the heresiographers and Seekers by boldly finding in the heretical tradition of the Middle Ages and the Reformation evidence "to prove there hath been a continuance of a true Church and a right administration of Ordinances, even from the Apostles days down to this very time in which we live".²⁹ The first public sign of disaffection to the General Baptists appeared in April 1658 in Allen's preface to a group of devotional sermons, where he urged his fellow General Baptist pastors to abandon their hostility to the parochial ministry and to consider the advantages of a clerical life devoted to study and meditation.³⁰ In August Barbara Lambe wrote to Baxter without her husband's knowledge to report problems of conscience troubling her husband and to ask Baxter's advice.

Lambe's doubts had begun with Fisher's defection; increasingly, "disrelishing the Practices, and Assertions of some, in unchurching all besides themselves", he began to question the rightness of his own way. But he was also troubled by "one Thought that he had espied in his Heart" in the midst of his doubts. The General Assembly of 1656 had decreed that mixed marriages were unlawful, and it had occurred to Lambe, who was apparently not confident of finding suitable mates for his daughters within the General Baptist congregations, "that to break the Neck of those strait Principles which would not permit any to Marry but to those in their own way, would be a Freedom in res-

pect of his Daughters in their Marriages (who are but now Ten and Eleven Years of Age)". Overcoming his scruples, Lambe cautiously began to voice his doubts about exclusiveness to his congregation, but he met fierce opposition. He hesitated to rejoin John Goodwin's gathered church, for "I should leave the Poor, and go among the Rich, that minded more the adorning of the outward man than the glorious Gospel of Christ ordinarily"; but the last letter from Lambe printed in the *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, written on 15 January 1659, reveals his congregation on the edge of dissolution. He had been reconciled with Goodwin's church shortly before. He continued, however, to minister to "the poor People I now serve, being not yet well lodged in some safe Place"; but half his congregation had ceased to attend his sermons on the unity of the universal church, and he expected to be excommunicated at a meeting of General Baptist pastors in a few days' time.⁸¹ The fuller collection of manuscript letters from the Lambes and Allen in the Baxter correspondence preserved at Dr. Williams's Library provides a few additional details, indicating that it was not a simple thing to dissolve a congregation. In April Lambe finally submitted his resignation as elder and the congregation formally voted its own dissolution, but Allen adds, "it was desired that we would continue preaching to them til midsummer, so as probably we may".⁸² By summer the congregation had disappeared and Lambe had severed his relations with the sectarians (including probably Goodwin's gathered church), but Allen struggled on as a key figure in negotiations to unite sectarians with each other and with parochial Christians like Baxter. These negotiations were doomed in the turmoil of 1659, and in 1660 Allen published his own *Retraction of Separation*. The primitive way had proved incompatible with the mercantile class of London.

During the heyday of Lambe the merchant and his church, Lambe the soapboiler is almost invisible. This eclipse may be due in part to the collapse of the Leveller movement in which Lambe and his associates were so closely involved. If this was so, then they were exceptional among the General Baptists, for the denomination as a whole, after faltering briefly in the face of Seekers and Ranters, entered a period of vigorous growth with the establishment of the English republic in 1649. A more likely explanation for Lambe's eclipse is that he and his associates conservatively resisted the laying on of hands as this became the common practice of General Baptist congregations in the 1650s.⁸³ There is a glimpse in the *Fenstanton Records* in 1655 of our "brother Lambe of London" trudging the road to Peterborough, reminiscent of the old evangelism.⁸⁴ In 1656 Lambe published his substantial book, *Absolute Freedom from Sin*, to establish his doctrinal position.

As the horizon darkened towards the end of the Protectorate, Lambe and his friends recovered something of their old spirit and once again began to appear prominently in London. Jeremiah Ives upset the great rivals of the General Baptists, the Quakers, by using their own disruptive tactics against them in their own meetings.⁸⁵ Henry Denne

returned to Lambe's church in London to launch a new evangelical campaign in 1658; his most famous dispute, with the Anglican Peter Gunning, was held on two days "before thousands of people".³⁶ This restored pre-eminence is evident in the joint *Apology* of the Particular and General Baptists in 1661 repudiating Venner's rebellion, where the names of Denne and Lambe are the most prominent of the General Baptists.³⁷ This was, however, almost the last public appearance of Lambe the soapboiler. The last trace of him I have found is in 1663, when he was imprisoned for attending a conventicle.³⁸ According to Thomas Crosby he died in 1673.

Of the two Lambes, the soapboiler was much the more important in the life of the General Baptist denomination. But in unscrambling the references to the two men, we must also recognize that the career of the soapboiler received a severe setback of some sort in the 1650s, and that the establishment of the national association of the General Baptists was the achievement of Samuel Fisher working in conjunction with Lambe the merchant.

NOTES

¹ Thomas Richards, *A History of the Puritan Movement in Wales from . . . 1639 to . . . 1653* (London, 1920), pp. 77, 145, 259; St. J. D. Seymour, *The Puritans in Ireland* (Oxford, 1912), pp. 52, 72; *C.S.P.D. 1658-9*, pp. 5, 401.

² [Henry Denne], *A Contention for Truth* (London, 1658), To the Reader. Although published anonymously, this pamphlet is almost certainly by Denne.

³ *To the Officers and Souldiers of the Army . . . a sober admonition from some sighing souls* [London, 1656, dated by George Thomason], p. 3.

⁴ William Walwyn, *Walwyn's Just Defence*, reprinted in William Haller and Godfrey Davies, eds., *The Leveller Tracts 1647-1653* (New York, 1944), pp. 355, 356, 374, 391-2. For additional evidence for the presence of Lambe the merchant in Goodwin's church, see note 24 below.

⁵ *C.S.P.D. 1639-40*, p. 286; *C.S.P.D. 1640*, pp. 391, 432; for a reference to "Tho. Lambe an Oilman", *Lords' Journals*, VII, 97.

⁶ John Wilkinson, *The Sealed Fountaine opened* [London, 1646, dated by George Thomason].

⁷ [Bruno Ryves], *Mercurius Rusticus* [1646], pp. 1, 21.

⁸ Thomas Wynell, *The Covenants Plea for Infants* (Oxford, 1642), To the Christian Reader. Lambe baptized converts in the Severn "in an extreme cold, and frosty time"; the dating is uncertain, but Wynell (p. 70) refers to a subsequent letter from Lambe to his Gloucestershire converts in which he mentioned an intention to go to Norwich in February 1642. The interval between the baptisms and Lambe's subsequent letter is unknown, but even if it was short the circumstances point to late 1641 as the probable date for these events. I am grateful to Dr. Barrie White for correcting a mistake about the date for the Particular Baptist adoption of immersion.

⁹ Martin Mason, *The Boasting Baptist Dismounted* (London, 1656), p. 7 and *passim*.

¹⁰ William Laud, *Works* (London, 1853), Vol. V, Part II, p. 326.

¹¹ Henoeh Howet, *The Beast That was, & is not, & yet is, looked upon* (London, 1659), p. 37 and *passim*.

¹² *C.S.P.D. 1639-40*, p. 426; *C.S.P.D. 1640-41*, p. 384.

¹³ *Lords' Journals*, IV, 135, 138; J. C. Jeaffreson, ed., *Middlesex County Records*, III, 113.

¹⁴ Wynell, *Covenants Plea*, To the Christian Reader.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

¹⁶ Thomas Edwards, *Gangraena* (London, 1646), I, 92-94.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 94-95.

¹⁸ The evidence for this division of Lambe's church is given in my book, *The Triumph of the Saints: The Separate Churches of London 1616-1649*, to be published shortly by Cambridge University Press.

¹⁹ Wynell, *Covenants Plea*, To the Christian Reader, p. 70; John Stalham, *The Summe of a Conference at Terling in Essex* (London, 1644); Edwards, *Gangraena*, I, 92-3, 181; III, 30.

²⁰ *Commons' Journals*, V, 112.

²¹ *Leveller Tracts*, pp. 355-6.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 374.

²³ C. H. Firth and G. Davies, *The Regimental History of Cromwell's Army* (Oxford, 1940), pp. 110-114; Henry Denne, *The Levellers Designe Discovered* (London, 1649).

²⁴ The sources for the membership of Lambe the merchant in John Goodwin's congregation in the 1640s, when Lambe the soapboiler was at the head of his own church, are substantial: Richard Baxter, *Reliquiae Baxterianae* (London, 1696), Appendix III, p. 51 (Barbara Lambe's letter to Baxter, 12 August 1658); *An Apologetical Account, of some Brethren of the Church, Whereof Mr. John Goodwin is Pastor* (London, 1647), p. 11, includes Lambe's name; *Two Hymns, or Spirituall Songs, Sung in Mr. Goodwins Congregation on Friday last being the 24. of Octob. 1651* ([London], 1651), p. 8, prints "Mr. Lambs Song or Hym". See also *Leveller Tracts*, pp. 391-2. For Lambe's Irish investment, see K. S. Bottingheimer, *English Money and Irish Land* (Oxford, 1971), p. 185.

²⁵ *Leveller Tracts*, pp. 391-2.

²⁶ *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, Appendix III, p. 51.

²⁷ *The Humble Representation and Vindication of many . . . belonging to severall of The Baptized Churches in this Nation* (London, 1654).

²⁸ Intercepted letter of John Abell, 4 September 1654, in John Thurloe, *A Collection of State Papers* (London, 1742), II, 582-3.

²⁹ William Allen, *A Doubt Resolved, or Satisfaction for the Seekers* (London, 1655), pp. 17ff.

³⁰ William Allen, *A Glass of Justification* (London, 1658), preface.

³¹ *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, Appendix III, pp. 51-3, 59, 64-5.

³² William Allen to Richard Baxter, 18 April 1659, Dr. Williams's Library, Baxter Correspondence, Vol. IV, f. 270. In a letter of 12 July 1659, printed in *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, Appendix IV, pp. 90-1, Allen warned Baxter that Lambe was now worried about separation from Rome.

³³ The evidence for this judgement is presented in my unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, "General and Particular Baptists in the Puritan Revolution", (Harvard University, 1960), pp. 442-3, 469-72.

³⁴ *Fenstanton Records* (Hanserd Knollys Society, London, 1854), p. 153.

³⁵ Jeremiah Ives, *Strength in Weakness* (London, 1655); *The Quakers Quaking* (London, 1656); *Innocency above Impudency* (London, 1656); James Nayler, *Weakness above Wickednes* (London, 1656).

³⁶ [Denne], *Contention for Truth*.

³⁷ *The Humble Apology of some commonly called Anabaptists* (London, 1661), p. 14.

³⁸ *Middlesex County Records*, III, 329.