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Editorial

The annual meeting of our Society will be held in the Council Room, Memorial Hall, on Wednesday, 11th May, 1910, at 4 p.m. It is hoped that a good attendance of members may be secured.

* *

The Congregational Union has published a short *Life of Sir Harry Vane the Younger, Puritan Idealist*, by Prof. F. J. C. Hearnshaw, LL.D. This enthusiastic champion of civil and religious freedom is little understood by the general public, who commonly regard him as an impracticable dreamer, elevated into a martyr by the malice of Clarendon and Charles II. As an aid to a truer conception of a noble—if somewhat inconsistent—man, we cordially recommend this little sixpenny volume, and hope it will have a wide circulation.

* *

We have seen with much pleasure an illustrated pamphlet on *Congregationalism in South Africa*, by the Rev. Alban E. Heath, of Vryburg, issued by the Congregational Union of the Dominion as a Jubilee souvenir. The story not only of the Union, but of the churches and missions within its bounds, is told with needful brevity, but so as to compel the grateful exclamation "What hath God wrought!" Some reference to political events was inevitable, and with regard to some of those events there may reasonably be diverse opinions; but it must ever be an outstanding fact in South African history that two Congregational missionaries, John Mackenzie and John Smith Moffatt, stand prominent among Empire builders, as the men by whose instrumentality Bechuanaland and Rhodesia came under the sovereignty of the British crown. Yet of far greater importance is the spiritual work of the churches; which, we are told, now number 95, with 243 outstations and 91 ministers, a large staff of evangelists, and above 14,000 church members. The pamphlet, of only 40 pages, contains 28 portraits, and views of 20 churches in almost every variety of architecture.

* *

Two or three years ago the Rev. Ira Boseley published a history of the Independent church which during the Commonwealth worshipped in Westminster Abbey. The second of its pastors, the

Rev. John Rowe, was evicted at the Restoration, and, dying in 1677, was buried in Bunhill Fields. Until recently his tombstone was in a deplorable state and the inscription illegible. But Mr. Walter W. Law, of New York, formerly of Kidderminster, having read Mr. Boseley's book, undertook to restore the tomb, which has been done under Mr. Boseley's direction. The restored monument was dedicated on 17th March, with prayer by the Rev. R. Wardlaw Thompson, D.D.; after which a meeting was held in Wesley's "Morning Chapel," City Road, addressed by Dr. Garvie, Dr. Newton Marshall, the Rev. J. E. Flower, M.A., the Rev. R. J. Evans, M.A., the Rev. F. Hastings, and the Rev. Ira Boseley. The stone, which is near the tombs of Owen and Bunyan, bears the following inscription in leaded letters:—

SACRED TO THE MEMORY
OF
REV. JOHN ROWE, M.A.,
OF
THE INDEPENDENT CHURCH
WESTMINSTER ABBEY
who died on 12th October, 1677; aged 52 years.
Mr. Rowe was Successor to
Rev. William Strong, M.A.
whose body was cast out from the Abbey at
'the Restoration' in 1662. He continued his
oversight of the Church at St. Bartholomew's
the Great, in Smithfield.
The Bodies of his Sons, Rev. Thomas Rowe
and Rev. Benoni Rowe, also repose beneath
this stone; and that of Rev. Theophilus
Gale, M.A., lies near at hand.
'The Righteous shall be had in everlasting
remembrance.'
'They that be wise shall shine as the bright-
ness of the firmament, and they that turn
many to righteousness as the stars for ever
and ever.'

Restored by
Walter W. Law, Esq^{re}.
Briarcliffe Manor
New York

11th February, 1910.

* * *

Students of Metropolitan civic history will welcome the publication, by Mr. J. C. Whitebrook, of *London Citizens in 1651, being a transcript of Harleian MS. 4778*. This MS. consists of 798 autograph signatures of members of 22 City Companies, obtained—for what purpose does not appear—toward the end of 1650 or beginning of

1651. Among the signatories is one John Milton, of the Coopers Company, whom Mr. Whitebrook very confidently identifies with the poet. He says: "It would be strange if any other of his name, a contemporary, wrote a hand so similar . . . this simple fact, evidenced by the list, adds considerably to our knowledge of the poet." Elsewhere he adds: "John Milton, it appears, had the opportunity of earning a respectable livelihood, but became school-master and poet by trade. None of his biographers note that he was ever a Cooper."

It is perfectly certain that the author of *Lycidas* and *Areopagitica* was never a cooper, nor a handicraftsman of any kind. But as it

① John Milton

② John Milton

③ John Milton

was not incredible that the Foreign Secretary of the Commonwealth might have accepted honorary membership in a City Company it seemed worth while to compare the MS. with his undisputed signatures and autographs. This was easy, by the aid of Sotheby's *Ramblings in Elucidation of the Autograph of Milton*; and through the courtesy of the British Museum officials our readers are now enabled to make the comparison for themselves.

Of the annexed facsimiles, No. 1 (from Sotheby, xvi. 3), is the poet's signature attached to a petition "to the Hon^{ble} Commissioners for Sequestrations," dated 1650. [The small *t* is not quite correctly formed, being too short, and the dot too small and too low.] It will be seen that the *ſ* is quite separate from the *o*, and the *l* has no loop; these features are characteristic of *all* the poet's writing, except a very few specimens written when he was nearly blind. No. 2 is from the *Harleian MS.* 4778; the *ſ* is differently formed, and connected with the *o*, the *M* has an added flourish, and the *l* is looped. No. 3 (from Sotheby xviii. iii. 2), is the

signature of John Milton of the parish of St. Dunstan's-in-the-East, Captain and afterwards Major of the Trained Bands; who is named at various dates from 1647 to 1660. We think our readers will have no difficulty in deciding that Mr. Whitebrook is mistaken, and that the signature in question is that of the Captain of Trained Bands, not of the author of *Eikonoclastes* and *Paradise Lost*. None the less the public are indebted to Mr. Whitebrook for a very interesting publication, and one of permanent value.

It may be added that the lists shew a remarkable paucity of "canting" names; only four are found to which this term could possibly apply, and in two of these the propriety of its application is doubtful. These are Grace Hardwin—common as a woman's name, but unusual for a man, wax chandler; Constant Waddington, poulter; Baptist Sutton—common in French and Italian, but rare in English, glazier; and Humilistian Hynd—query if badly written for Humiliation, cooper.

Appended to the transcript are lists of ¹ The Grand Jury Pannel of the Middlesex Quarter Sessions, October 1661, containing 49 names; and the juries for the trials of ² Edward Fitzharris, 1681, ³ Lord William Russell, 1683, ⁴ Henry Cornish, 1685, and ⁵ Titus Oates, 1685.

Hugh Peters, Patriot and Philanthropist

“And here is Hugh Peters his scrip,
Filled with the tumultuous petitions.”
Old Ballad

AMONG the many victims of royalist vengeance who suffered after the Restoration, probably none was the object of such malignant and unreasoning hatred as Hugh Peters. The cause is not easy to understand. It is probably true that he advocated the execution of the king, and it is certain that he indicated his gratification at the sentence in terms more forcible than discreet. But if these were crimes, Milton and many others were equally criminal; and he took no active part in the king's trial. Possibly his extensive, sometimes Utopian, schemes of social reform provoked the royalists; his earnest advocacy of toleration embittered the narrower class of Presbyterianism; and his habitual jocosity, not always kept under due control, made it easy to caricature him to the mob as a mere pulpit buffoon. Whatever the cause, his enemies, not content with taking his life, set themselves laboriously to murder his reputation, charging him with almost every imaginable vice without a shred of evidence; and the evil tradition has come down almost to our own days, with only a few occasional protests. Happily full justice has at length been done to his memory, in the exhaustive and sympathetic life contributed by Professor C. H. Firth to the *Dictionary of National Biography*. From this it may be convenient to cull a few leading facts and dates.

Hugh, younger son of Thomas Dyckwood *alias* Peters, is commonly said to have been born at or near Fowey; but was baptised at St. Ewe, 29th June, 1598. At the age of fourteen he was sent to Trinity College, Cambridge; graduated B.A., 1617-8; M.A., 1622. About 1620 he was spiritually awakened by a sermon at St. Paul's; but was led to full decision by the eminent Puritan divine, Thomas Hooker. For some time he lived in Essex, and in 1624 married Elizabeth, widow of Edmund Reed of Wickford, whose daughter of the same name became the wife of John Winthrop, junior. He completed his theological studies in London, and was a hearer of distinguished Puritan preachers, such as Gouge, Sibbes, and Davenport. Being ordained and licensed by Bishop Montaigne of London, he was appointed lecturer at St. Sepulchre church, where his earnest and popular preaching was abundantly fruitful. He was also concerned in the work of the Puritan feoffees for purchasing impropriations. Being charged with some unspecified heterodoxy, he found it necessary to make a "submission and protestation" to the bishop in August, 1627; but as he could not practice rigid conformity he deemed it prudent, in 1629, to emigrate to Holland. There he made the acquaintance of the eminent Presbyterian scholar John Forbes, with whom he travelled in Germany. He seems to have become chaplain to Sir Edward Harwood, who fell at Maestricht; and afterwards minister of the English church at Rotterdam, as colleague with William Ames. He preached Ames's funeral sermon in 1633, and had a hand in the publication of his posthumous *Fresh Suit against Roman Ceremonies*. By this time he had come into close association with the Brownists; and soon after drew up a "Church Covenant" of fifteen articles, which he commended

to his hearers. This was reported to the English ambassador while Laud was endeavouring to enforce uniformity on the English churches abroad, and disputes arose which led Peters to resolve on settling in New England. He had long been connected with the Massachusetts patentees, and as far back as May, 1628, had signed their instructions to Governor Endicott.

He arrived at Boston in October, 1635; was admitted a freeman of Massachusetts, 3rd March, 1635-6, and minister of Salem the 21st December following, soon after which his wife died. He was a popular and successful preacher; apparently less liberal in his views than in later years, as he took part in proceedings against both Mrs. Hutchinson and Roger Williams. He was also active in public affairs; strove to appease disputes between English and Dutch settlers, urged the local government to find a remedy for unemployment, joined with others in building one of the first ships of the New England fishing fleet, and in a time of distress bought a cargo of provisions which he sold below market price. Being now a widower, he married one Deliverance Sheffield; she was the mother of his only child, Elizabeth, soon after whose birth she became insane.

In 1641 he returned to England as one of the agents of the colony; but not fully succeeding in the object of his mission he accepted the post of chaplain to the forces in Ireland (June to September, 1642). On the fall of Laud he jocosely proposed that the ex-prelate should be transported to New England; it might have been well if the proposal had been carried out. In September, 1643, he was sent on a diplomatic mission to Holland, at which he had little success. As a preacher, however, he was a most valuable public servant, exercising a wide influence as army

chaplain, and winning many recruits for the parliamentary cause. He sometimes had more sombre duties to fulfil, as when he attended at the execution of Richard Challoner and Sir John Hotham. During the campaign of 1645-46 he was perpetually active; it is said that before every assault he preached a preparatory sermon to the storming party; he also acted as Fairfax's confidential agent and war correspondent. On 2nd April, 1646, he preached a thanksgiving sermon before parliament: *For the Recovery of the West*. This only of all his sermons was printed in full; it is in many respects an admirable discourse for the occasion, but is of such inordinate length that it took the present writer two hours to read it aloud by the fireside! Peters was a warm advocate of mutual charity in controversy, and of general toleration. He used jocosely to say that disputants ought to dine together, and that all should be punished who spoke against either Presbyterian or Independent until they could define the terms aright. Probably his large hearted tolerance and his genial and sometimes broad humour were the chief reasons why he was so cordially hated by the sterner Presbyterians. After the war he urged social reforms and union with foreign Protestants.

During the quarrel between the army and the parliament he vigorously supported the cause of the former; and is said to have had a hand in drawing up the *Army Remonstrance*. He also published *A Word to the Army and Two Words for the Kingdom*, in which he suggested various desirable reforms which he afterwards more fully elaborated. He had at least two interviews with the king, and gave him advice to preserve himself from danger. During the second Civil War he took the field again, doing good service at Pembroke and Uttoxeter. He preached sermons during the

king's trial, which were afterwards held to implicate him with the other regicides; but he took no active part in bringing about the catastrophe, shewed practical kindness to several imperilled royalists, and was a witness on behalf of the Duke of Hamilton. On the establishment of the Republic he designed to return to New England, whither his afflicted wife had gone in 1645; but first illness and then various entanglements prevented. In August, 1649, he accompanied Cromwell to Ireland, returning in October. In South Wales he did good service in commending the Engagement. He did not go to Scotland; but was present at the battle of Worcester, and thought Cromwell so unduly elated that he told a friend "he will make himself king." None the less was he an ardent Cromwellian to the last. From December, 1650, he was chaplain to the Council of State and preacher at Whitehall. The following year his *Good Work for a Good Magistrate* was printed; probably on account of this he was appointed one of a "committee for reformation of laws"; but being no lawyer he exposed himself to ridicule by some grotesque mistakes, for which he was furiously denounced by Prynne. He opposed the war with the Dutch in 1652-3, and endeavoured to bring about peace with more zeal than discretion. During the Protectorate he was chiefly occupied with preaching and evangelistic labours; and in 1654 was appointed one of the "triers." During the later years of the Protectorate he was less prominent, owing to ill health; and once expressed a fear that he might outlive his faculties. In July, 1658, he visited Dunkirk, and hoped to be appointed chaplain to the garrison there, but was disappointed.

He preached Cromwell's funeral sermon from the text: "Moses my servant is dead." The

deposition of Richard Cromwell greatly distressed him; he said it was "very sinful and ruining." During Monk's progress from the north he preached before him at St. Alban's; but on the meeting of the Convention Parliament he was beset by enemies on every side. On 11th May, 1660, the Council of State ordered his arrest; a similar order was issued by the House of Commons on 7th June; and together with Joyce he was excluded from the Act of Indemnity on the monstrous and easily disproved pretext that they were the king's actual executioners! For a few weeks he remained in concealment, but was arrested on 2nd September. During the next few weeks, fully assured that his death was resolved on, he wrote his best known work, a truly pathetic autobiography, entitled: *A Dying Father's Last Legacy to an Only Child*. A perfunctory trial on 13th October issued in a predetermined condemnation. The next day he preached his last sermon to his fellow prisoners, on Psalm xlii. 11. It is said that he confessed to some fear that his courage might fail at the last. On 16th October he was put to death with every possible aggravation of shameless cruelty; yet he met his end not only with dignity and calmness, but in the full assurance of faith.

His works number about twenty-one separate publications, besides a few of doubtful authenticity. Most of them are small, some mere prefaces and dedications (see list in the *Dictionary of National Biography*). Others ascribed to him are undoubtedly spurious. His widow survived till 1677, being supported by charity. His daughter married in America, and left descendants, some of whom are said still to survive, but the pedigree is disputed.

We next proceed to give a brief summary of the

treatise on which Peters's claim to be remembered as philanthropist and social reformer chiefly rests. It is a small 12mo of 128 pages, of which the title page is as follows :

GOOD WORK | FOR A GOOD | MAGISTRATE |
 OR | A short Cut to great quiet | BY | Honest,
 homely, and plain English | Hints given from
 Scripture, Reason | and Experience, for the regu-
 lating | of most Cases in this Com | monwealth. |
 Concerning *Religion; Mercie; Justice;* | *By H.P.* |
 PROV. 14. 34. | *Righteousness exalteth a nation;*
but sin is a | Reproach to anie People | LONDON |
 Printed by *William Du-Gard*, Printer to the |
 Council of State, 1651.

The Dedication, dated 7th June, 1651, is "To the Supreme Power, and all true Patriots under them." The treatise is described as "the scribblings of two friends divided by place to satisfie each other about som practicable pieces of several kinds, especially looking at Religion, The Poor, Justice, Law, Navie, Merchandise." Addressing the Remnant of the Long Parliament, the writer says "Your Honours know you are the Remainders of much winnowing : you know as your travels have been great and dangerous, so verie successful : you know to whom you are indebted : this good we have already under you, that men may be as good as they can, but not as bad as they would. You may feel assured the highest Libertie *England's* gape's for is an open daie once in a year or two to choos a well-charactered Representative, who may tread in your steps of faithfulness and truth. . . . Republicks sow the seed of their ruine in faction, which wise men saie cannot be cured but by frequent elections, and cleer and plain dealings betwixt men in place. . . . Who can say a Government of so many praiers and tears should perish ? When after ages shall read written on your doors, and practised by you and your successors :

**This hous hate's sin, love's peace, and vice corrects,
 Maintein's just Lawes, and honest men protect's."**

Next follows a letter of two pp. to "my deare friend J.F.," whom Peters acknowledges as joint author with himself.

The Prologue affirms that the means ordained of God to bring a nation to the utmost possible happiness are :

1. True Religion, maintained and advanced by the Magistrate, and walked in by the People.
2. True Mercie towards the Poor, practised and advanced both by Magistrates and People.
3. True Justice and Righteousness amongst both Magistrates and People, and towards other Nations."

I. For the Advancement of Religion he desires additional colleges in Cornwall, Wales, Yorkshire, &c. But these are less urgent than thorough reform of the existing universities. There should be great simplification of rules ; celibate fellowships should be abolished, and many idle ceremonies about matriculation and Commencement. He would even dispense with academic costume ; "let scholars live as other men for apparel." The main object of every college should be "the preparing and fitting younger people for some service in reference to their country" ; mere scholarship should not be accounted an end in itself. A certain number of colleges, say eight at Cambridge, might be reserved entirely as divinity schools, each of which "may have in it a Church of Christ," *i.e.*, be organised as a Congregational church. Students should be welcomed rather for godliness than for intellectual smartness ; scholarships should provide for the maintenance of such "where we finde them at plough or trade, which are godlie and tractable." All the funds of each college should be pooled, and out of the common stock should be paid first the salaries of the tutors, and next such students as are certified fit for the ministry should be maintained as itinerant preachers until they are settled. To these colleges should be transferred such students from other colleges as decide for the ministry. Advice is given as to theological training, which should include homiletics and casuistry.

The other colleges should be devoted to general learning. Their funds should also be pooled, and after payment of the tutor's salaries should be available for travelling fellowships.

Though an Independent, Peters did not rely on the voluntary principle in Church finance. Ministers should be maintained by the State ; the tithe or equivalent rent charge being paid into the hands of elected trustees, who should allow the minister a stipend according to his place, condition, and family. Provision would be available for ministers' widows ; and the fund would also suffice to help the poor.

Beside the parish ministers, provision should be made for itinerant preachers of real ability. Others, settled in every great town, should be able to conduct public controversy, for which

periodical arrangements might be made. Penalties should be ordained by the State for "abuse either in word or deed" in controversy; and these should be imposed by the moderator on any controversialist who used reproachful or unseemly language in debate.

The State should "countenance and take into special protection all the Churches of Christ who hold but so much fundamental truth as denominates them such." Every Church should deliver to the magistrate "a book of the Articles of their Faith, . . . and promise the magistrate, also publickly, to walk peaceably together therein."

Steps should be taken "to provide maintenance for Learned men in all Languages and Learning what can be; especially for churches that are poor." If the magistrate see cause he may "exhort and stir up the Churches to keep close to their own principles." Finally, care should be taken "to advance such to all places of power, honour, and wealth, who are purest in their profession and practice of true Religion, both towards God and man." On the difficult question how parish ministers are to be chosen no suggestion is made.

II. He next deals with Mercy to the Poor. "A general rule must be that the poor may have their commodities taken off at a marketable price, else they will rather beg or steal than work." "The Council of Trade should be the Merchant for the State, and in all counties to have a stock ready to buy at the usual rate the commoditie of the Labourer." All vagabonds, and such as make a trade of begging, if able to do any kind of work, should be set to work, or punished. If provision be made that all may be set to work that are able and willing, there will be no excuse for begging or stealing. Suitable work may be found for such blind and lame persons as are capable; the sick and unable should be maintained in hospitals. The public alms, either of churches or other, should be dispensed to "Truly poor Families and persons." In every town there should be "a Lombard (or bank of lending) appointed" —explained as practically identical with the French *mont-de-piété*. The property of orphans, held in trust for them, would furnish capital for this, and would have good security. There should be "a Chamber or Court to keep secure and advance the estates of fatherless children"; the same should also administer the property of intestates.

Small coinage, such as farthings and half-farthings, should be so large as to have their value in copper; this would check private coining for profit, and save the poor from the loss of very small coins. For the like reason no coin of mixed metal should be of less bulk than a sixpence.

There should be "freedom of dwelling, trading, and protection,

{mercie also,] to all strangers; to make little or no difference, as the Lord of old commanded His People."

There is great need of some course to be taken respecting small debts, that men be not imprisoned indefinitely for small liabilities. No householder should be taken until after judgement and execution against his goods; but if he conceal them he may be arrested, only the creditor must allow him a bare subsistence.

No stranger (not a dweller in the town) should be taken to prison, nor any suit begun, until the parties appear before the "Peacemakers" of the town [see below]; if these fail to conciliate, let the debtor be put in security to answer the debt if he can; else to deposit a sum varying according to the debt and his ability; whereupon he should have liberty within the town, but not to go out of the town till judgement be given. If he leave the town before the debt is paid, the deposit is forfeited to the poor, and the creditor may at once sue or arrest him. Extortions practised on prisoners of fees, heavy charges for food, unwholesome lodging, etc., are to be prevented. Precaution needs to be taken against overreaching of widows and simple or uneducated persons by agreements, underwriting of bills, and the like.

None should be pressed for military or naval service unless in some great exigency, which will not arise if soldiers and sailors be adequately paid.

An industrial school should be set up in every town, where all poor orphans shall be taught to read and write, and to work at some trade whereby they may earn a living.

III. Justice is more indispensable to a State than Mercy or even Religion. But Justice hangs on Law, of which a short model is proposed :

^a In every town a Register should be kept of all lands and houses therein, with their owners, and all alienations thereof. This should be yearly transferred in duplicate to the County Town, for security in case of fire. ^b All contracts for "money or lands, buying or selling by any writing," should bear a threepenny or sixpenny seal. ^c In every Town and Hundred three Conciliators—he calls them "Peacemakers"—should be elected yearly; these should be the legal arbitrators in all civil disputes, and no suit should be commenced until these had failed to settle the business. ^d For Parliamentary Elections Peters has a notion of a limited number of Electors, chosen out of the whole body—say twenty out of a thousand; these chosen men to select the Representative—something as in the election of a Russian Duma. If these are equally divided, "then to balloting"; which from the context evidently means decision by lot. ^e All entails should be

abolished ; men should be at liberty to bestow their estates as they please. Daughters should have equal shares with sons ; but the eldest son might have a double portion.

As to a *Body of Laws*, the foundation should be, not obsolete precedents, but the moral and judicial precepts of Moses, and Solomon's "Rules and Experiments." If this were done, "I am fully satisfied with what the Supreme Power shall give out daily, yea, though they daily alter something, if for the good of the whole." Lawyers should be paid by the State, not by fees ; "why should expenses in law be thus bottomless?" Fees of Physicians should also be regulated by law, and "help commanded upon a known price ; I know they cannot suffer by it." Wills should be acknowledged by the next two justices, before whom they should be proved without charge, and entered in the Parish Register. If all this were done, it might be as well "to burn all the old records, yea, even those in the Tower, the Monuments of Tyranny." (I fear Peters was no better historian than he was a lawyer ; no wonder this crude suggestion aroused the fury of pedantic Prynne.) No lawyer should plead before any committee. Summons should be left at men's houses, "and not such a nest of bailiffs maintained, an army of caterpillars, the worst of men employed that way." A quaint proposal, perhaps one of Peters's jests, is that instead of seizing goods for debts or taxes, the debtor's door should be taken away, and his house left open ; "the shame and danger hereof will urge sudden payment."

The next section treats of *Rules of Justice*. "None can be free of great injustice who by persecution for Religion takes away Liberty of Conscience from any whose principles or practices are not dangerous to the Government, Peace, Propriety and Good of the Commonwealth." It is unjust to keep untried persons in prison, or to detain any long in prison before sentence. Delays in civil suits are often more harmful than an unjust judgement. A Grand Committee should be appointed to gather opinions "how true justice may be best obtained, how damages and hurts may be best prevented, how all suits be best hindered, but when begun . . . how soonest and best ended." No way is so good to attain speedy justice as "to put in all places of judicature men that fear God and are lovers of justice, precise in their promises and performances." "Things must be so ordered that no man nor court of men be always above justice, or so powerful but that he may be called to account." "Let no Person, City, Court, etc., have any privilege that may bring damage or hurt to the Commonwealth, or to any particular man." Again Peters reverts to his favourite notion of official "Peacemakers." Five or seven fit men should be appointed yearly in every City, Town, and Hundred, to determine all civil suits, three of them to be a quorum. There should be no appeal from these in small matters ; but in weighty

matters an appeal may lie to a full court, all the members being present ; these may confirm or annul the judgement, unsuccessful appellants to pay costs. If any will appeal to a superior court, let him deposit the sum in dispute : but no appeal should be taken out of the county.

Judges should have the advice of experts whenever necessary. Every man should plead his own cause, unless he desire the aid of a friend. No paid Advocate or Attorney should be allowed in any suit for a less sum than £60 ; and the employment of an Advocate should not debar the client from speaking. All testimonies should be taken by notarial writing under oath ; but parties may be called for oral examination.

All officers of the Law, Judge, Advocate, Sergeant, or Jailor, should be paid by salaries, not fees. Plaintiffs in suits manifestly unjust for the purpose of extortion should be fined in proportion to the sum demanded ; part of the fine might be awarded to the defendant. In great cities, especially London, there should be several courts ; so that usually " all suits may be ended in a week." There should be special courts for various kinds of suits, naval matters, disputes about money, about agreements in writing, between masters and servants, etc. " And better the judges sit, though they have nothing to do, than hundreds daily waiting on them, and know not when they shall be heard." No suit should be heard by a single magistrate. Suspected witnesses should be examined privately ; perjurers and corrupt magistrates should be severely punished. None should be imprisoned for debt before sentence. Imprisoned debtors who cannot pay should be set to work off at least part of the debt.

The same magistrates should deal with civil and criminal cases, *except such as are capital*. No suspected person should remain in prison more than a day or two without examination. No malefactor should escape punishment ; but it must be inflicted so as " rather inclining to mercy than cruelty, and always with a merciful heart." No person or court whatever should have power to pardon a convicted criminal. No difference should be made between citizens and foreigners, Jews or Gentiles, either in civil or criminal cases. No child should be disinherited for the crime of his parent.

Instead of hanging thieves, galleys should be built to row continually between Gravesend and Queenborough ; and therein thieves should be kept for two, seven, or ten years, or for life. And since drunkenness is the root of many mischiefs, let drinking of healths be forbidden on penalty of twelve pence, half to the informer and half to the poor.

Military Force is necessary to the existence of the State. Care should be taken to put " into all offices, both in garrison and field, godly and trusty men whom the State may rely on." No men of

bad character should bear the sword ; all such should " be turned out of the service, for such are plagues to provoke God's wrath : they will brag much, and when it comes to fighting will do little." All officers and soldiers must be truly and justly paid, " for by good payment you may have choice of soldiers, and may keep them in good discipline." " Do justly in advancing to offices in the army and garrisons such as are deserving men, and have longest and faithfully served the State ; and not to put in friends that never were soldiers, or other men for money." Store houses must be near at hand, and well provided with all sorts of ammunition, well looked to both in war and peace. " All Commissions and Orders pass in the military channel, and all soldiers give account to the General, and the General to the State. No interfering with them and the civil government." (This is ambiguous ; he probably means that the army should be in due subordination to the civil power.)

As to Fiscal matters. Much expense might be saved by abolishing needless pomp and ceremonial. Many public offices might be filled by voluntary unpaid service. Indirect taxation is costly [a Commonwealth tariff imposes duties on about a thousand different commodities] ; if it were abolished a whole army of officials might be spared. Instead, let there be a yearly direct tax on " each according to his rents, estate, trade, and handicraft ; and a place appointed in each town where everyone shall bring the money they are taxed at." Payments might be annual or quarterly. A tax on burials, weddings, christenings, and feastings is suggested, whereon men make such great expense, of which half might as well go to the State.

" Great would the advantage be both to the State and particular towns, to have a rich public stock ; as a well monied man that is prudent, by God's blessing gets up above his neighbours, so would it be with a rich State." The advantage would be that the State could make prompt payments, buy all things for ready money, be able " to lend to any neighbour nation, and take strong holds for security," and be always ready for defence, or to " assist any nation oppressed, by which often whole provinces are gained ; for as Christ saith to him that hath, using it well, shall be given." But to this end the State must be thrifty as well as diligent ; as " no man can grow rich that will be gallant and costly at first. No people will be unwilling to pay any taxation when they but see that it is well used and improved ; but if States will go upon profuse charges when they are poor, and keep thieves that steal the public stock continually, no marvel if people be unwilling."

There are many ways to gather more money by Excise and Customs ; he would heavily tax all that use coaches, " and so for Hackney-men, according to discretion."

Encouragement should be given to silk weaving, countenance being given "to the undertakers, of what nation soever, provided they be bound to set only our English poor to work, and bring over into England but a certain number, not exceeding a hundred, to teach our nation the manufactures aforesaid." The weaving of gold and silver lace and thread should either be totally forbidden or restricted to "persons of quality," when it should be subject to a tax. The importation of foreign lace, whither of silk or thread, should be absolutely prohibited, so that if lace is used at all, at least the English poor should make it. He concludes this section by urging the defacement and recoinage of all clipped coin.

The magistrate should seek to promote the happiness of the Commonwealth :

- ^I By the advancement of Learning.
- ^{II} By the improvement of Nature.
- ^{III} By encouragement of Arts.
- ^{IV} By increase of Merchandise.

I. "Lord Verulam hath propounded many excellent things, and more may be added by other learned men." Among literary desiderata are indicated "Another Martyrology, continued from Queen Mary's time to the death of the late king"; and a record, names being suppressed, of "the Experiments Ministers and others have in several cases of Conversion, and other cases of Desertion, with the quieting of souls, and means thereto."

II. Again, many of Lord Verulam's "excellent and learned problems, experiments, and speculations" are commended. To these may be added the cutting of canals and improving rivers for inland navigation; the improvement of commons, and reclaiming of land from the sea; encouragement (on the lines of our modern patent laws) for new inventions and improvements. "A rich public stock in every town and city may be laid out in the improvement of nature, to the great profit of the revenue of the town, and greatly to the common good." Days of public prayer and thanksgiving are recommended in this connection.

III. Rewards, honours, and privileges should be conferred on inventors and improvers of arts and manufactures. "All means to buy materials at the cheapest prices must in a special manner be endeavoured"; so that whatever Customs duties there may be, raw material is not to be taxed. All possible care should be taken for the cheap transport of goods, whether by land or water. All workmen whose earnings fall below a statutory limit should be free from taxation; the limit varying according to number in family. No guild or company of artists or tradesmen should be able to hinder anyone from practising a trade, or demand any payment for the freedom thereof. There is also a suggestion of a yearly competition for some kind of prize or honour for the

greatest skill in each particular trade. And there should be public prayer for the blessing of God on arts and sciences.

IV. It is important to maintain peace at home and abroad, as far as possible; and above all things to keep the sovereignty of the sea. Some suggestions are made about the regulation of the navy which are of no modern interest. The minimizing or abolition of Customs duties is advocated as tending greatly to the increase of trade, somewhat inconsistently with previous recommendations. It would greatly promote trade if all disputes among merchants and mariners about shipping, freights, etc., could be quickly and cheaply adjudicated. "Let foreigners and strangers, Jew and heathen, have full as just, speedy, and cheap justice as any." Means should be found to prevent excessive rates of interest; and a scheme is outlined for a public banking establishment, similar to that of Amsterdam. Suggestions follow about coinage, currency of foreign money at fixed rates of exchange, public weigh houses, sworn brokers, and a scheme of publicly guaranteed marine insurance. Fraudulent bankrupts should be punished as thieves; for "one bankrupt doth more hurt than twenty thieves that are put to death."

Finally, there are several projects for the material improvement of London; including the widening and repaving of narrow streets, precautions against fire (no wooden houses to be rebuilt or repaired), and the construction of spacious quays on both sides the river, one to reach from London Bridge to Wapping, with suitable warehouses, etc.

In a brief postscript are recommendations concerning the regulation of printing. This should be under the control of the State, and the number of printing houses limited. "All books fit for public view" to be licensed, and "that all popish and offensive books, libels, and loose pamphlets may be suppressed." Copyright to be strictly protected; and foreign printed editions of English books to be excluded.

There is a quaint suggestion that every girl and woman between the ages of ten and sixty be required to do a monthly task of spinning, to be registered in her parish. "The business of the Fens needs great encouragement to this end for Flax."

Among the miscellaneous hints, expressed very briefly, are that marriage should be regarded as a civil contract "which preachers, *qua* preachers, have not to do with": that notice of marriage be posted for three weeks or a month at the church door or in some public place: and that local courts might "hear and determine matters tending to divorce."

Such, in brief, are the suggestions of Hugh Peters for political, fiscal, and social reform.

They exhibit a strange mixture of shrewdness and simplicity. Some are crude and impractical to the verge of absurdity ; some have long since been carried out with great benefit to the community, and are so familiar that we can scarcely think of them as reforms that once needed to be contended for ; some again, such as the project of a differentiated income tax, have only of late come within the range of practical politics ; and some, it may be, await well deserved realization in a distant future. Peters was not always consistent with himself, and he was subject to the limitations of his age. He perceived the advantages of free trade, and yet in some cases favoured stringent measures of protection. He was evidently entangled by the ancient fallacy that the wealth of a nation increases in proportion as it can accumulate silver and gold. He would maintain a strict censorship of the press, in the interest of public morals ; failing to perceive that almost any government, if able, would suppress as "offensive" whatever writing was hostile to its own policy. And while strenuous in support of religious liberty for all "Churches of Christ who hold but so much fundamental truth as denominates them such," he would deny it to Papists. But when all due allowance is made for ignorance, prejudice, and even eccentricity, *Hugh Peters's Scrip* is a marvellous programme of social reconstruction ; calculated, it may be, rather for the meridian of New Jerusalem than of London in the seventeenth century, but none the less entitling its author to a high place among the patriots and philanthropists of England.

The Morrice Manuscripts in Williams's Library

ONE of the most valuable memorials of the earlier Puritanism is the rare volume, printed (probably at Edinburgh) between the years 1590 and 1593, and entitled: *A Parte of a Register, contayninge sundrie memorable matters written by divers godly and learned in our time*. It consists of forty-two treatises, most of them reprints, but several not otherwise extant; the earliest dated 1566, and the latest 1588. A brief account of this collection is given in *Trans.*, i. 44-56.

The title, *Part of a Register*, naturally suggests that the unknown editor had collected other documents, which for some reason he was unable or unwilling to print. That such was the case is practically certain from the existence among the *Morrice MSS.* in Williams's Library of a MS. (two vols. bound in one) in an Elizabethan hand, entitled: *The Seconde Parte of a Register*. This, with sundry *Loose Papers* (so described, but now bound together), partly in an Elizabethan and partly in a more modern hand, formed part of the collection made by the Rev. Roger Morrice, M.A., the ejected vicar of Duffield, in Derbyshire. Of him Strype, the well known ecclesiastical historian, says he was "a very careful enquirer into ancient records"; and elsewhere commends him as "a very diligent collector of ecclesiastical MSS. relating to the later history of the English Church, whereof he has left vast heaps behind him; and he favoured me with his correspondence." Morrice, who was some time chaplain to Denzil,

Lord Hollis, died on January 17, 1701, and is buried in Bunhill Fields. Under what circumstances his "vast heaps" of MSS., or a considerable portion of them, came to Williams's Library is unknown.

The Seconde Parte of a Register and the *Loose Papers* were transcribed under Morrice's direction into a huge folio volume of 896 pages, referred to by him as the *Rough Calf MS.* from the nature of its binding. This was freely utilized by Neal in the first volume of his *History of the Puritans*; and Brook, in his *Lives of the Puritans*, printed nearly one eighth of its contents. Unfortunately neither of them recognized "that a MS. ought to be copied word for word to give its full value; they love to paraphrase."

Neal, moreover, describes the *Rough Calf MS.*, with which alone he was acquainted, as "a large manuscript collection of papers faithfully transcribed *from their originals in the University of Cambridge*, by a person of character employed for that purpose." The words italicized are almost certainly inaccurate. He adds that it was communicated to him by Dr. Benj. Grosvenor. The volume contains above a hundred documents of great historical interest, which have never been fully utilized, nor, until quite lately, thoroughly examined.

It is therefore matter for congratulation that a member of our Society is engaged in a thorough and exhaustive examination, not only of the *Rough Calf MS.*, but of the collections from which it was transcribed. Mr. A. Peel, B.A., Research Scholar of Leeds University, has taken this matter in hand, and there is reason to hope that he will be encouraged to lay the results of his examination before the public. To promote this desirable end, by indicating *some* of the treasures that lie hidden in the volumes, we append a few rough notes

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jotted down some years ago in the course of a very hasty glance through the pages of the folio. The passages printed in full by Brook are indicated; those partially quoted or referred to by Neal are denoted by N.

Page	10.	Reference to Brocklesby, "the first put out of his living for the Surplice," 1565.
"	11-17.	References to Dean Turner.
"	18.	Imprisonment of Hawkins; Letter of Thos. Lever, 1568. N., 250.
"	20-21.	A Letter to Mr. Knox.
"	22-25.	Letter of Wm. White, to Grindal. N., 247.
"	26-56.	Examinations, etc., of Axton, 1570. N., 256-61. <i>Printed by Brook.</i>
"	57-60.	David Whitehead against the Vestments.
"	61-65.	A Supplication to Queen Elizabeth, about 1562.
"	66-68.	Causes and Reasons of Separation from those who use relics of Popery.
"	69-71.	A Similar Document. N., 246.
"	72-73.	Practice of the Lord's Supper as used at Berwick by Knox.
"	73-82.	Letter of Knox to the Congregation at Berwick.
"	83.	Statement of Objections to the Surplice.
"	84-88.	Certain Arguments for the Disproving of all those Ceremonies, etc.
"	89-90.	A Supplication to the Parliament.
"	90-93.	Alcock's Supplication and Appeal to Parliament, 1571. N., 271-2.
"	93-108.	The Ecclesiastical Discipline of the Reformed Churches of France.
"	109.	An Extract out of the Acts of the National Synod at Rochelle, 1571.
"	110-113.	Certain griefs justly conceived of Bp. Jewell's Sermon.
"	113-116.	An Answer to Bp. Horne's argument for the Ceremonies.
"	117.	Suspension of Deering, Field, Goodman, Wyburn, &c. N., 280.
"	119-132.	Confession of Faith of John Field, 1572. N., 285, 288-91.
"	132-137.	Particulars relating to Thos. Wilcox. <i>Printed by Brook.</i>
"	138-147.	Exceptions to be taken against those Articles proposed to be subscribed unto.
"	147.	(Ejectments in Northants., Warwickshire, Leicestershire, Norfolk, and Suffolk referred to; but no details.)

- P. 148-151. Petition to the Queen for Relief of Conscience.
 " 151-153. Bishop of Lincoln's Defence of Ceremonies.
 " 153-157. Objections to Conformity, 1583. N., 402.
 " 157-158. A Prisoner's Petition. Queries on Romans 14c.
 " 159. An Order to be used in Training up and Exercising
 Students in Divinity.
 " 160-168. Faults of the Book (? of Common Prayer) gathered
 by Mr. L. (? Lawrence).
 " 168-170. Certain Notes of Corruption in the State of the Church.
 " 170-176. General Inconveniences of the Book of Common
 Prayer; and Divers Abuses to be Reformed,
 1566 or -7. N., 235-7.
 " 176-178. Examination of Wm. White, 1573. N., 317-21.
Printed by Brook.
 " 178-181. A Brief of such things as obscure God's glory. *W.W.*
 " 181-188. Several Letters of William White.
 " 189-190. That the Church of England is not a Perfect Church,
 as some men suppose.
 " 191. Particulars about Sanderson. *Printed by Brook.*
 " 191-202. Supplication of Deprived Ministers, 1576. N., 349-50.
 " " Particulars about Stroud, Wake, and R. Johnson.
 N., 206, 313-18.
 " 203. Orders about the Exercises called "Propheying,"
 and their Suppression, 1577. N., 352.
 " 206. Of Scarcity of Preachers, 1586. N., 479.
 " 207. Petition to the Queen.
 " 208-213. A Bill for the Reformation of the Ministry, 1584.
 N., 456.
 " 213-215. A Bill for the Restoration of Christian Discipline,
 1584. N., 456.
 " 215-225. Extracts from Mr. Fletcher's Sermon, 27 July 1575,
 with his answer to his critics.
 " 225-241. The Answer to a certain Privy Reply or Invective of
 Mr. Fletcher, curate of Rye.
 " 245. Letter of Abp. Grindal to the Queen, 10 Decr., 1576.
 N., 357.
 " 253-256. Suspensions in Norfolk, 1576. N., 347.
 " 272-290. Fenner: Suppression of Prophesyings; Suspensions
 in the Diocese of Norwich. N., 355-6, 364.
 " 300-302. Cornwall and London Petitions respecting scarcity of
 Preachers, 1578. N., 365-6.
 " 303-308. Dyke.
 " 314. J. Hill.
 " 323-334. Supplications of divers Suspended Ministers, 1583-4.
 N., 401, 404-5. *Part printed by Brook.*

 " 395. Suspensions, 1583-4.

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- P. 396-406. Citations. Examinations of Underdowne. *Printed by Brook.*
,, 410-420. Troubles of G. Gifford of Malden. N., 435.
,, 420-422. Citation of E. Morley. N., 417.
,, 429. Reasons against Legality of Articles published by Whitgift. N., 397.
,, 434-437. Suspensions in Suffolk, &c., 1583-4. N., 400.
,, 455-457. Brayne's Case. *Printed by Brook.*
,, 457-463. Other Suspensions. Egerton.
,, 465-466. Bill Concerning Subscriptions of Ministers. N., 451-2.

The above rough notes will serve to indicate the contents of about *half* the MS. Of the remainder our memoranda are too fragmentary to be of interest. It may be added, however, that pp. 684-747 contain an elaborate survey of the condition, as to the qualifications and characters of ministers, etc., of several whole dioceses about the year 1586, together with lists of Puritan ministers who had been suspended in Lincolnshire and Essex. This survey fully justifies the complaint, frequently but vainly repeated, of a great scarcity of capable or even tolerable preachers throughout wide districts of England. Pages 753-781 contain details respecting Giles Wiggenton and John Udall; these are quoted by Brook, but not printed at length.

The gentleman who is working on this precious MS. has it in his mind to deal with its contents in a manner similar to that followed in the Calendars of State Papers in the Public Record Office; that is, to print in full those documents or parts of documents which are of the greatest importance, and briefly to indicate the character of those which are of less interest. We earnestly hope he will be able to bring his self-chosen task to a successful conclusion; and that his finished work will receive from the public such a welcome as it richly deserves.

London Conventicles in 1641

IN Dale's *History of Congregationalism*, pp. 362-3, we read: "In 1631 Bishop Hall had written . . . that there were *eleven* Separatist congregations in or near London; he now (1641) told the House of Lords that in London and its immediate neighbourhood there were no fewer than *eighty* of these congregations of sectaries, 'instructed by guides fit for them, cobblers, tailors, felt-makers, and such like trash.'" Allowing for the bishop's fine aristocratic contempt for "such like trash" as quite natural under the circumstances, it is most likely true, as is admitted by Dr. Dale, that "most of the Congregationalists left in England after the sailing of the *Mayflower* were obscure and illiterate people." Of the alleged eighty congregations of Separatists we are fairly well acquainted with five: (1) the Baptist church gathered by Helwyss about 1611 or 12; (2) the Congregational church gathered by Jacob in 1616; (3) the Congregational church gathered by Hubbard in 1621; (4) the Baptist secession from Jacob's church, led by Spilsbury in 1635; (5) the friendly separation from No. 2, led by Barbone in 1640. Of the rest our historians have no definite knowledge. We are therefore dependent on such information as may be gleaned from the pamphlets, mostly hostile and anonymous, which were printed soon after the meeting of the Long Parliament. By far the most important of these is the following (British Museum, press mark E. 172. 32):

The | Brownists | SYNAGOGVE | or a late | DISCOVERY |
of their Conventicles, Assemblies, and places of meeting, | Where
they Preach, and the manner of their | praying and preaching, |
With a Relation of the Names, places, and Doctrines of | those
which doe commonly Preach | The chiefe of which are these |

{
Green, the Felt maker
Marler, the Button maker }
Spencer, the Coachman }
Rogers, the Glover }

Which sect is much increased of late within this | City. | 4
Kingdom divided cannot stand. | Printed Anno Dom 1641. |

1

THE BROWNISTS SYNAGOGUE ;

— or, —

A DISCOVERY OF THEIR CONVENTICLES AND ASSEMBLIES.

The distractions of these times are not unknowne to be caused by the Copiousnesse of Sects, Religions I cannot terme them least I should disallow of that Axiomaticke of *K. James* of blessed Memory, for he acknowledged but two Religions, the good and the bad, and those were the Protestants and the Papists, the Protestants the true, and the Papists the false ; but these are a Company of erroneous Sectarists, and Haereticall opinions, crept in amongst us, like so many weeds in a pleasant Garden ; what good counsell hath our Saviour given us, and how little use doe wee make of it ; he bids us take heed lest we be led away with the Doctrine of false Prophets, *Math. 7. 15*, yet how apt are we to believe the Traditions of men.

(1) How many Sects and Schismes are lately sprung up here in this Kingdome, that they (like to the Plagues of *Egypt*) have overrun the Land, but namely the *Brownists*, the Brothers of the Separation, beare the greatest sway, to what an height of impudency have they of late aspired into, being upheld by too many of that sect, they like the *Philistines* bring their *Goliath* to fight their battels ; But there is no doubt, but there will arise a *David* of truth to beate down their violent and fantasticall Doctrine, by which so many simple Disciples are seduced ; further these our Sectarists will abide no degrees in Schooles, all humane Learning must be layd by, Academies are to them abominable (?). Nay herein they comply with the Papists, whose Doctrine they pretend utterly to abhorre, who hold that ignorance is the mother of Devo[2]tion. And of these opinions was How, that Notorious Predicant Cobler, whose body was buried in the high-way, and his Funerall Sermon was preached by one of his Sect in a Brewars Cart. Such an Anti-Bishop was *Eaton* the famous *Button-maker* in *St Martins*, but because they are translated from life to death : I leave them.
(?) Hence come those violent outrages and Sacrilegious disorders

committed in the Church, even in the time of Divine Service, and hubbubs and strange tumults raised, where reverend silence ought to be used; by laying violent hands upon the Minister, rending his Hood frō his neck, and tearing the Surplice from his back, he hardly escaping in his own person from being torne in peeces; and even when the Psalme is singing, and the Preacher ready to goe into the Pulpit to deliver his Sermon; as likewise rending the Railes from before the Communion Table, chopping them in peeces, and burning them in the Church Yard: and this to be done without authority, commission, or order, in a riotous manner ⁽²⁾, taking upon them further power then Justice requireth. ⁽³⁾ I hope the *Parliament* will take into their wise and grave considerations and pious care, the peace of the Church, and not suffer it to be clouded or eclipsed by these mists and errors of darknesse and ignorance; my prayer is, & let it be the prayer of all good Christians, that these *Egyptian* Locusts that swarme in every corner of this City and Kingdome may be expelled, that we may enjoy the light of the Gospell. ⁽³⁾

Let me, Gentle Reader, not be prolixious, and I shall here relate unto thee the names, and places where these illiterate preachers live, and make their assemblies, with the unlearned Doctrines and opinions they hold.

The first man that I begin with shall be an Irreverend Glover, whose name is *Richard Rogers*, living nigh *Whitecrosse-Street* in the Suburbs of *London*, in *Blew-Anchor-Alley*; he oftentimes doth call a Congregation as he termes it, and at his own house tels them what they should doe, which is to continew the Church where the Relicks of Religion meet, and [3] to separate themselves from it, and gather themselves to those which doe feed the holy flockes, which doe abhorre that Diabollie function of the Bishops, which are nothing but Altarwise; the Spirit, he tells them, moves him, and so proceeding he tells them what first comes into his mind; his Apologie is that he speaks nothing, but that which the Spirit gives him utterance for.

Then there is one *Jeremy Manwood*, whose Doctrine is to be heard in *Goate Alley* nigh the same street; who doth commend the opinion of those w^{ch}, being Seperatists, to [? do] abhorre the Society of the Wicked. Once in a fortnight doth he teach. Also there is one *Edward Gyles*, whose holy Brothers meet together in *Checker-Alley* nigh the same place. His Doctrine is this, That the gilded Crosse in *Cheapside* is an Idolatrous Crosse, for many adore and worship it as an Idoll, and that it is an Eyesore to their uprightness, and ought to be abolished. He teacheth every first day of the moneth.

There is also a Button-maker in *Aldersgate-Street*, whose name is *Marler*, which doth seldom misse once in a weeke; and his opinion is, That every man should follow his owne calling: why

then doth he robbe *Levi* of his due? Why doth he dare to reckon himselfe among the Children of the Prophets? His answer to which proposition is, because they prove droanes, wherefore he to show himselfe a laborious Bee doth supply their places.

Also there is one *John Tucke*, whose Associates have their Convocation in *Fleet-lane*; and his opinion is, That the Booke of Common Prayer had its first Originall from the Masse. *Humphrey Gosnold* doth teach nigh *Tower-hill*; who doth keep his haire long, because he would not be knowne to be a Precisian. He telleth his holy assembly, that those Pipes, or Organs, which are set up in *Paul's Church* and other places, makes more noyse with their roaring than all the Bulls of *Basan* did, when *Ogg* their king passed them by in triumph.

Fonas Hawkins a Fisherman is a provoker to Seperation, and liveth in *Chick-lane*.

[4] *John Brunley* in *Chancery Lane* is another Zelote, which doth exhort his Brethren to follow him; twice in a weeke he teacheth; the women, his holy and zealous sisters, well affect him.

Roger Kennel, a *Yorkeshire* man, doth draw a Company to him, nigh the *Royal Exchange*; his opinion is, none can be saved, but those who are of their Elect.

Edward Johnson, a *Chandlor*, is the teacher to the Society which Assemble together in *More-lane*, and holdeth these tenents:—that the house, field, or wood wherein their Congregation meets, is the Church of God, and not the Churches we meet in, because the good and bad come both thither, neither is it lawfull to have any Society with the wicked. *John Bennet* is he which teacheth nigh *Love lane* in *Westmin[ster]*. He disalloweth of humane Learning: his reason is this, some of Christs Apostles were Fishermen, when he called them.

George Dunny is the man which doth teach in the *Minorities*. He tearmeth his holy Brothers and Sisters the seperated Saints, from the Prophane Church, wherein Idols have bin worshipped, and where Copes and Surplices, the garments of the Babilonish Whore, is still worne.

Charles Thomas, a *Welchman*, doth teach in *Warwick-lane*, once in a fortnight: as he holds none lawfull to be amongst the Prophets, but those who were inspired by the Spirit, so no man is fit for their holy service, but devout men, and who is familiar with the Spirit.

Alexander Smith doth teach in the Congregation which gather themselves together in *Shorditch*; whose opinion is, no man ought to teach but whom the spirit moves; and for this one reason may we set ourselves against those Schollers, as Bishops, Deanes, and Deacons, which strive to construe the Scriptures according to the translation of the *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Latine*, which last language stinkes like a peece of Biefe a twelve moneth old, yet new salted.

Edmund Nicholson teacheth in an Alley in *Seacole-lane*; hee sayes they are the Elect and pure in Spirit, chosen vessels of honour, and not of this world.

[5] But now I come to the two Arch Separatists, *Greene* and *Spencer*, both which are accounted as Demy-Gods. They keep no constant place, but are here and everywhere: the one of them is a Felt-maker, which is *Greene*, the other a Coachman; both which called an Assembly upon *Tuesday* being the 28. of Septemb. in *Houndsditch*. The tenor of his doctrine was this: That the Bishop's function is an Anti-christian calling, and the Deanes and Prebends are the Frogs and Locusts mentioned in the Revelation; there is none of these Bishops (saith he) but hath a Pope in their bellies, yea they are Papists in grain, they are all of them unleavened soules, and we have turned them over to be buffeted by Satan—and such like S[c]hismaticall Phrases, as the evill Spirit moves him.

But let all judge, was not this an excellent simile of the Reverend Coachman, which having occasion to make use of a place, which sayes Ye shall be like unto Kings and Queens, which he did apply to those which were gathered together to his Sermon; hee calleth the men there Kings, the women Queens, saying that it was an absurd thing for a King to keep company with a slave, or one of the black-guard, or for a Queen to keepe company with a kitchen-stuffe wench, so it was an unseemly part for any of that holy Assembly to keepe company with a Reprobate, one of the wicked, or one which did accord with the late Innovations raised by the Corporation of Prelacy: which similitude, whether it were Religious let all good men judge. For the whole needs no Physitian; wherefore it is requisite in some cases that those which are piously affected should keepe cōpany with those that are in a wrong way, that by their admonitions the wicked might learne to tread the pathes of the Righteous. But I forbear to speake any more of his Doctrine.

But to proceed to show the manner of their assembling, or rather dissembling.

In that house where they intend to meet, there is one appointed to keepe the doore, for the intent to give notice if [6] there should be any insurrectiō, warning may be given them.

They doe not flocke all together, but come 2. or 3. in a company; any man may be admitted thither, and all being gathered together, the man appointed to teach stands in the midst of the Roome, and his audience gather about him.

He prayeth about the space of half an houre, and part of his prayer is, that those who come thither to scoffe and laugh, God would be pleased to turne their hearts; by which means they thinke to escape undiscovered.

His Sermon is about the space of an houre, and then doth

another stand up to make the text more plaine, and at the latter end, he intreats them all to goe home severally, least the next meeting they should be interrupted by those which are of the opinion of the wicked. They seeme very stedfast in their opinions, and say, rather then they will turne, they will burne. Now I have discovered their Teachers, their meetings, and the manner of their meetings, I conclude, praying to God that he would put it into the minds of some well-affected Christians, to complaine of them to the higher powers, the Honourable and High Court of Parliament, for unless they be prevented and suppressed, it is to be feared that this Kingdome will never be free from Divisions, disturbances, and distractions, which God of his great mercy ever defend.

FINIS.

NOTE.—The references (1), (2), etc., are given in view of a subsequent paper.



REV. WM. BULL
1738-1814

The Newport Pagnell Academy

ON the 11th October, 1764, "Mr. William Bull was ordained to the Pastoral care" of the Independent church at Newport Pagnell. Baptised at Irthlingborough on the 17th December, 1738, and having received his training at the Daventry dissenting academy, then under Dr. Ashworth, Newport Pagnell was his first and as a matter of fact his only charge.

Soon after his settlement at Newport, his congregation being small and his income limited, some £37 10s. a year only, he started a school, some of his scholars, notably Sir John Leech, Master of the Rolls, attaining important positions.

Not only did Mr. Bull give ordinary instruction in this way, but as the years went on he was from time to time requested to prepare young men for the Christian ministry.

Early in the seventies Mr. Bull became acquainted with the Rev. John Newton; but it was not till about 1777 that his well known friendship with him may said to have commenced, and it was not until 1782 that the idea of the formation of the college, or academy as it was first called, was bruited.

On 17th April, 1782, however, Mr. Newton writing to Mr. Bull from Hoxton says: "Mr. Clayton¹ lately called upon me to tell me that many persons are seriously thinking of establishing a new academy, upon a liberal ground for preparing young men for the ministry—in which the greatest stress might be laid upon truth, life, spirituality; and the least stress possible upon modes, forms, and nonessentials—that it must be a moderate distance from London—that in fact Newport was the place fixed upon for the sake of one Mr. Bull who lives there, and who it was hoped would accept the superintendency. He said some talked of a much larger sum, but that he himself made no doubt but so far as £500 per annum would be readily subscribed to promote so good a design. He then said it was his request and the desire of many of his friends that I would draw up a plan for the forming such an academy, and likewise that I would write to you upon the subject. The design met my hearty approbation as it stood connected with Mr. Bull, who I said appeared to me the most proper person I could think of to undertake it. As to my drawing up a plan I half promised to write my thoughts of it—that is I

¹ Rev. John Clayton, senr., of London.

mean to tell Mr. Clayton, by letter, how I should sketch out such an Institution if I lived in Utopia or Otaheite and could have the management of things my own way. If they can pick any hints worthy of notice from such an attempt, they shall be welcome to them ; but to draw a formal plan how an academy should be regulated in this enlightened age and country, and to hit such a medium as might unite and coalesce the respectable Dissenters and Methodists, who seem willing to promote this business, might savour too much of presumption in one who was never either at university or academy himself, but rather spent the time which other young men employ in study, in the wilds of Africa. However . . . I shall wish to hear from you first, expecting that a sketch would to a measure illuminate me and qualify me for the undertaking . . . It is a service I have long wished to see you more fully engaged in, and am not willing to see that time which might be better employed taken up in the instruction of boys."

On 2nd May Mr. Newton writes Mr. Bull : "My work grows upon my hands, and is likely to be a volume ; and, after all, not what Mr. Clayton asks for—an academy for England, but for Utopia." And on 25th May Mr. Newton after referring to the completion of his task² says : "The scene of my play is laid in Utopia ; the acts or heads, are four :

I. The situation, why not too near the metropolis, nor too far from it, but about a moderate day's journey of fifty or fifty one miles.

II. The choice of the tutor. I will not tell you that it is your picture drawn from the life. It is sufficient if I have hit off a general idea of what you wish to be.

III. The choice of pupils. Why they must be serious, capable, and having desires already towards the ministry upon just and solid grounds.

IV. Their studies and line of conduct. What they are to learn and do ; and what they are not to learn nor do. If this part should be thought a satire upon some academies, I can honestly say I did not intend it as such. I do not mean to meddle with anybody's affairs but my own ; I set out with a simple desire of tracing the clue of truth whithersoever it might lead me."

Writing again on 20th June Mr. Newton says : "This will seem an awkward business all round to some persons. What apology can Mr. Clayton make to many Dissenters for applying to a clergyman for a plan of an academy ? And what can the poor cleric say to some people in his line for chalking out the plan of a dissenting methodistical academy ? How will the staunch Taber-

² The scheme is published *in extenso* in the Rev. John Newton's works.

nacle folks like his inuendos against some of their popular, loud, powerful preachers? I think this poor speckled bird will be pecked at by fowls of every wing."

The poet Cowper took a lively interest in the project, to which he refers in one or two of his letters to Mr. Bull, and from further letters from Mr. Newton it appears that the negotiations for the formation of the new academy progressed as smoothly as might be expected, though the scheme was criticised in various quarters. A band of supporters was formed in London, Mr. Bull was appointed tutor, and received his first student and had the academy in working order in the spring or summer of 1783.

For several years the institution was supported by voluntary contributions; but among the subscribers was the well known John Thornton of Clapham, Surrey, and he so approved its objects that in January, 1786, he generously offered to undertake the entire charge of its maintenance. His interest in the work was indeed so great that by his will dated 2nd April, 1790, and proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury on 23 November following, he made this bequest: "It is my desire that the Reverend William Bull may have it in his power to continue his usefulness in bringing up educating and forming youth for the Ministry either for the Church or on the Dissenting plan or any other purpose he may best approve and think most proper, therefore I do hereby give and bequeath unto the said Reverend William Bull during the term of his natural life one Annuity or clear yearly sum of two hundred pounds."

In 1786 the Rev. Samuel Greatheed, F.S.A., who had prosecuted his studies under Mr. Bull's tuition, was appointed to assist him in the work. On Mr. Greatheed's retirement in 1789 to take charge of a church at Woburn, Beds., mostly raised by his instrumentality, the Rev. Thomas Palmer Bull, who had also been a student under his father the Rev. W. Bull in the academy, succeeded him as assistant tutor.

Mr. Greatheed was originally in the army and attached to the Engineers. He lived at Newport Pagnell some nineteen years and married a Miss Ann Hamilton of that place in 1788. He was a man of great ability, one of the founders of the London Missionary Society, and first editor of the *Eclectic Review*. His friend the poet Cowper speaks of him as "a man of letters and taste, meek and learned as Moses." His wife died 28th August, 1807; and after a second marriage he left Newport and went to reside at Bishop's Hull, Somerset, where he died 15th February, 1823.³

As Mr. Thornton's legacy was to cease on the death of the Revd. Wm. Bull, the friends of the institution met in London at the New London tavern on 12th March, 1812, and resolved to take the necessary steps to prevent its dissolution.

³ Vide Newton's letters to Bull pp. 209, 210.

The meeting was attended by "several respectable Ministers and lay Gentlemen"; the former including Messrs. Chapman of Greenwich, Elliot of Devizes, Hillyard of Bedford, and Raban of Wallingford, all of whom had received their ministerial training at Newport Pagnell. A letter was read from Mr. Greatheed commending the methods of training adopted at the academy, expressing the hope that "it will remain on the same liberal footing as at first established—that is, to admit young men of promising qualifications for usefulness, in whatever line their future services of Christ may be directed. Their studies and their consciences being thus unfettered, their attention is the more likely to be directed solely to their own advancement in genuine piety and scriptural knowledge, and in qualifications for usefulness to others; and their judgment as to the forms and sentiments by which the Church of Christ is diversified, to be decided by the most mature examination. Such a liberty would probably be impracticable in most situations, but at Newport it has been tried with success, and sorry should I be if it were abridged."

The meeting then approved certain rules which were submitted to it to perpetuate the academy, and then and there formed a society, designated the Newport Pagnell Evangelical Institution, with that end in view. It was among other things decided to have a committee of twenty-four members residing at or near London, and that members of the society residing in or near Newport Pagnell should form a corresponding committee for transacting needful business on the spot.

A meeting of the friends of the institution was held at Newport Pagnell on 1st July, 1812. "Two public services were performed and a number of resolutions passed."

"In the Morning Service, the Revd. William Tomlin of Chesham prayed before Sermon: Rev. Richard Elliot of Devizes preached from Luke v. 4—6: Rev. William Chapman of Greenwich, Secretary to the Committee in London, delivered a Statement of Proceeding and Plan of the Institution: Rev. R. Morris concluded with prayer.

"The business of the Afternoon was conducted at the Dining Room, Saracens Head; John Foster Esq. was appointed Treasurer to the Newport Committee to receive moneys and transmit them to Henry Thornton Esq. the Treasurer of the Institution; Rev. Joseph Ward was appointed Secretary of the same Committee; and other speakers included the Reverends S. Hillyard of Bedford, M. Castleden of Woburn, T. Eisdell of Biggleswade, M. Evans of Aylesbury, D. W. Aston of Buckingham, R. Morris of Hockliff, W. Tomlin, W. Chapman, R. Elliott, and J. Smith of Redbourn.

"In the Evening Service the Rev. S. Hillyard prayed before Sermon: Rev. William Chapman preached from 2 Cor. v. 18: Rev. T. Eisdell concluded with prayer.

The subscription appeal seems to have been well responded to, and thenceforth for many years much of the difficulty as to the financial aspect seems to have vanished; though from time to time anxiety was felt on this head, and for some years before the institution was closed there was a falling off, and investments had to be realised to pay balances due to the treasurer.

The balance sheet for instance for the years 1814—1815 (May to May) shewed that the subscriptions and donations received in London were £197 : 2 : 0, and at Newport &c. £82 : 1 : 9; while the collections (£48 : 19 : 6 of which came from Reading) amounted to £57 : 19 : 6, and interest from investments was £5 : 3 : 9; so that the total income was £342 : 7 : 0. The tuition and other expenses were in all £227 : 11 : 4.

In 1825 the income apart from legacies was £397 : 11 : 0 and the expenditure £400 : 6 : 3.

In 1839 the figures were £363 : 17 : 4 and £487 : 6 : 0 and in 1849 £357 : 5 : 8 and £525 : 8 : 7.

To return however to the academy itself. In a "Summary, Statement, and Plan" issued in 1813 it is stated: "The students have steadily attended lectures on the temper and conduct suitable to the Christian Ministry, as also on Logic, Ecclesiastical History, Jewish Antiquities, and Divinity; all which they copy in shorthand for future reference. They are taught the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew Languages; to which a brief course of Experimental Philosophy, illustrated by suitable apparatus, is added. The Holy Scriptures are daily expounded to them, with reference to various works on Biblical Criticism. Being also habituated to visit the Sick, and to preach in some of the adjacent villages, and to surrounding destitute congregations, they reduce to practice the instruction they receive. . . . By this means, also, in several parts of Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire, Huntingdonshire, and other neighbouring counties, where evangelical doctrine was not preached, new congregations have been raised; others, which had fallen into decay, have been restored; and the stated ministers in the vicinity have, by seasonable and effectual co-operation, been encouraged to extend their labours and greatly to enlarge their usefulness."

The Revd. William Bull died 23rd July, 1814, and the Revd. T. P. Bull thereupon became sole tutor of the college.

Some account of the Rev. Wm. Bull has already been given in the pages of these *Transactions* (266—268 *ante*). He was in his time a well known man and much sought after as a preacher. He was, too, president of the Bedfordshire Union of Christians from its formation in 1797 till the time of his death. He does not however appear to have been the author of any particular works, though he wrote the preface to "Poems translated from the French of Madame de la Mothe Guion by the late William Cowper Esq.," 1801, and was responsible for the four papers for 18 Jan., 10 & 16

Feb., and 1 Dec., which appeared in a new edition of Bogatzky's *Golden Treasury* issued about 1790. [A MS. translation of the Psalms from his hand is in the Congregational Library.—Ed.]

The Rev. T. P. Bull was chairman of the Congregational Union in 1835, and published *One hundred and twenty nine letters from the Rev. John Newton to the Rev. William Bull*, 1847, and *A brief narrative of the Rise and Progress of the Independent Church at Newport Pagnell*, 1811; he was also concerned with Thos. Adkins in a work entitled *A Form for the Solemnisation of Matrimony*. He died 11th March, 1859.⁴

For many years the usual number of students was six, but after about 1825 the number was generally seven. In the report of the committee of examination read at the anniversary meeting held at Newport Pagnell 20th May, 1829, it is stated that they "have received the Lectures which the Students have written in theology, church history, philosophy, and English composition. They also find that considerable attention has been paid to a perusal of many of the best works of history, biography, logic, the *belles lettres* &c. In the classical department the same appearance of attention was manifested." The same document also calls attention to the fact that "in addition to their studies, seven neighbouring villages have been constantly supplied by the Students, who in their Home Missionary exertions, exclusive of frequently supplying regular congregations, have travelled on foot during the year, not less than 3,198 miles."

The villages in question were probably those of Astwood, North Crawley, Stoke Goldington, Sherington, Bow Brickhill, Bradwell and Great Linford; and the assistance rendered by the students was unquestionably a great factor in raising and maintaining the Nonconformist causes of the locality.

One of the paragraphs of the next report, 1830, runs: "The objects of this Institution are not merely to procure pious itinerants, but such minds as are capable of receiving that literary furniture, which, under the direction of divine influence, will enable them when called on to meet the opposers of the truth as it is in Jesus, and to contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints; avoiding all the alluring flourishes of art, or aiming at effect, (a practice too common with young preachers) but studying to shew themselves approved of God, workmen who need not be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth, and deeply imbued with a sense of the value of immortal souls."

In 1831, when the Rev. T. P. Bull had been tutor for 42 years and the duties of the office were beginning to press somewhat hardly upon him, his son, the Rev. Josiah Bull, A.M., was appointed assistant tutor. A little later, namely, on 1st October, 1833, the

⁴ Vide pp. 268, 269 *ante* for some notes as to him and his portrait.

Rev. Josiah Bull was ordained co-pastor with his father of the Newport Pagnell church. He was author of the well known *Memorials of the Rev. William Bull*, 1864; *John Newton, an Autobiography and Narrative*, 1868, and *Letters by the Rev. John Newton*, 1869. He became sole pastor of the Newport church on his father's death, and owing to ill health retired from the active ministry on 31st March, 1868. Eventually he went to live at Nottingham, where he died 27th December, 1885.

In 1840 the old designation of the institution was altered to Newport Pagnell College or Evangelical Institution for the Education of Young Men for the Christian Ministry.

On 29th June, 1842, at the 30th anniversary meeting, the resignations of the Revds. T. P. Bull and Josiah Bull, who had acted as tutors for 53 years and 11 years respectively, were accepted; the former feeling compelled "by the infirmities of advancing age to relinquish the office," and the latter entertaining "the conviction that he could not, with satisfaction to himself, sustain the combined offices of tutor and pastor, especially as the duties of the latter office were then increasing upon him."

It was decided to appoint one tutor in their place, the Rev. John Watson of Finchley, then late co-pastor with the Rev. T. Lewis of Islington, being selected for the post.

A special meeting of the friends of the institution was held at the Independent chapel, Newport Pagnell, on 26th October, 1842, for the purpose of recognising Mr. Watson as the newly appointed tutor, and also to present a memorial from the ministers educated in the institution to the former tutors, the Messrs. Bull.

The morning service was commenced by the Rev. W. Chapman of Greenwich with reading and prayer; after which the Rev. J. Watson delivered a discourse^b on "the several departments of study, which it might be, on the whole, most desirable to pursue in the evangelical institution."

The Rev. T. P. Bull having offered prayer, Thomas Piper, Esq., the London treasurer, presented, in the name of students educated in the institution, an elegant clock to the Rev. T. P. Bull; and Marsh's *Michaelis* to the Rev. Josiah Bull. From the speeches made on the occasion it appeared that upwards of eighty young men had up to that date received instruction in the college, and that there were then more than fifty who were preaching the Gospel either in this country or in distant lands. It was also stated that there were then six students; that the whole expense of carrying on the institution was £500 per annum; and that there was an annual deficiency of £150 for which an appeal had to be made to the public.

The service was closed with prayer by the Rev. C. Gilbert of

^b This was, with an account of the services and a history of the institution, afterwards printed and published in 1843 by John Snow of Paternoster Row.

Islington, and a discourse was delivered in the evening by the Rev. J. Leifchild D.D., from 1 John iv 1 & 4.

For the years 1844 and 1845 the reports of the committee of examination of the students were signed by the Rev. Wm. Alliott of Bedford, and were of a satisfactory character.

In July, 1847, the Rev. John Watson handed in his resignation of the post of tutor, he having been appointed to preside over a similar institution at Hackney.⁸ His successor was the Rev. Wm. Froggatt, then of Morpeth, who entered on his duties about February, 1848, a service for the purpose of introducing him being held on 26th January, and an address on the Christian Ministry, afterwards printed, being then delivered by him.

A little before Christmas, 1847, there were, as the *Nonconformist* of 15th December, 1847, has it: "Breezes in Academic Groves." "Mr. Batchelor, one of the half dozen gentlemen under a course of tuition and training at Newport Pagnell for the Christian ministry, had engaged, in compliance with an express invitation, to deliver at Stony Stratford, during a brief academic recess, a public lecture on the question of Church Establishment. Placards containing a syllabus of the topics which the lecture would comprise, and duly announcing particulars of time and place, were posted in Stratford, one of which coming under the notice of Mr. Watson, the tutor, Mr. Batchelor was strongly urged to forego his intention. The reasons submitted to him not appearing sufficiently cogent he declined acting upon the advice founded upon them. A committee was summoned. Mr. Batchelor refused to appear before it, unless the rest of the students, who looked upon the matter as one involving the freedom of all, were called up with him. The students, however, at the request of the committee, drew up a statement of the liberty of action they claimed for themselves." In such statement they averred that if they complied with all the positive requirements, rendered obedience to all the expressed regulations, and realized in their characters and acquirements the objects of the college, they ought to be left free to discourse, either publicly or privately, on any question with which they thought the interests of the Kingdom of Christ were intimately connected. The statement was signed by all the students. Mr. Batchelor then appeared before the committee and was informed that a resolution had been passed by them prohibiting the delivery of the lecture. He however persisted in his determination to deliver it, and thereupon resigned his connection with the institution. Three of the other students supported his views and followed his example by resigning.

The *Nonconformist* remarks: "God's truth can only be efficiently proclaimed by truthful men—and the worst of errors is less to be

⁸He died January, 1859; his death being occasioned by an omnibus accident.



Rev. S. GREATHEED, F.S.A.



Rev. JOSIAH BULL.



Rev. JOHN WATSON.



Rev. WM. FROGGATT.

dreaded than habitual unfaithfulness to convictions. . . . The restraint put upon conscience in the academic hall is seldom put off in those wider spheres of duty, where the temptations to imprison truth are more numerous and more powerful. . . . With numerous and rapidly increasing exceptions dissenting ministers are behind their flocks in a hearty appreciation of the great questions of the times. . . . The particular question too is precisely that of all others respecting which young men, qualifying themselves for the ministry, ought to be exhorted to deal with honestly. . . . The young men at Newport Pagnell . . . ask nothing which they could surrender without doing wrong to their own consciences—and the institution which refuses their request, unless it reforms itself, will be looked upon by the next generation as one of the most curious illustrations of the combined benevolence and narrow-mindedness of bygone days.”

In a subsequent issue of the *Nonconformist* the matter is again referred to in the light of facts submitted by the institution, but the editor's views are not much varied, and he observes: “Doubtless it may happen that contributions from gentlemen holding the Establishment principle find their way to the funds of the Newport Pagnell institution: but if the price paid for them must needs be silence or unfaithfulness on the most important question of the age, we doubt the wisdom, the propriety, and the catholicity too, of being parties to any such arrangement.”

The occurrence is referred to at length in the 36th report of the institution, and it seems clear that the difficulty largely arose from the fact that the college was dependent on funds gathered from a “constituency divided upon this particular method of aggression on State Churches.”

Mr. Batchelor delivered his lecture, speaking for two hours and “giving a most thrilling and eloquent address,” while the other students who left with him also addressed the assembly.

“One of the students who did not sympathize with his brethren in the course they thought proper to pursue” remained in the house, and other candidates were soon afterwards admitted to fill the vacancies.

This unfortunate event has been dealt with somewhat exhaustively, as it was the beginning of the end of the Institution; the methods, rules, and regulations of which, despite the undoubted excellence of the tutors and well meaning efforts of the committee, were becoming out of date.⁷

The year 1848 and most of the year 1849 passed tranquilly; but in November of the last named year there was another “unhappy disturbance.”

⁷ On an impartial review it would seem that all parties concerned in these unhappy transactions were seriously in fault. A good rule is, or was, in force in some of our colleges, that no student should deliver any public lecture or address unless with the consent of a tutor.—Ed.

The facts seem shortly to be that, Mr. Froggatt the tutor having gone to London for a few days, Mr. Williams, one of the students, left the institution in his absence and on his return declined to explain exactly where he had been and what he had been doing. Four of his fellow students sympathised with him, and they all resigned, remarking in a letter dated 22nd November, 1849: "Newport Pagnell college again sits solitary and desolate. Again have those who were wont to meet beneath its roof been scattered, and now its walls once more remain almost without inhabitant."

The *British Banner* of 28th November, 1849, prints letters from the tutor and the students, and proceeds in a leading article to deal strictly with the students, stating that they "had acquired the most preposterous notions of their own independence, had become morbidly sensitive to everything in the shape of authority, and on their tutor firmly resisting their encroachments they actually memorialised both him and the committee for his removal from office. The committee of course indignantly repulsed them, very properly insisting on the maintenance of discipline, and voted full confidence in Mr. Froggatt." The article goes on to state very candidly how "wrong—entirely wrong—most seriously wrong" the students were.

The *Nonconformist* of 5th December, 1849, on the other hand, states that it seems clear that the occurrences are "but an abrupt termination of conflicting views and feelings previously ripened by causes not yet ostensibly set forth. They are so trivial in themselves that one is compelled to regard them not as causes but as signs merely of mutual antagonism. . . . We have seen nothing to cast a shadow upon the personal character of the tutor, and we deprecate as cruel and tyrannical the attempt made by others to ruin the reputation and future prospects of the students." The writer proceeds to deal adversely with the system whereby students were fenced round "with precise regulations intended to shape their conduct," such a system being "hurtful to their characters exactly in proportion to the conscientiousness with which such regulations are enforced."⁸

In view of all the unpleasantness arising from these incidents, from the falling off of subscriptions, the depletion of the funded property of the institution, and the feeling then rife in favour of the amalgamation of even the larger colleges, it is not surprising that at a united meeting of the London and country committees, held at the college on 12th June, 1850, it was, after an all-night sitting, resolved to dissolve the institution and affiliate it "to some other college, so as to retain to a considerable extent its individual character, management, and resources."

⁸ Mr. William Rogers Bull, the father of the writer, always used to say that "the troubles arose because the students were not allowed to have mustard for breakfast"; and it is evident that a general notion was prevalent that the rules were unnecessarily strict and irritating."

The decision was announced at the thirty-eighth anniversary meeting, held at Newport Pagnell on 19th June, 1850, the Rev. Josiah Bull stating that pecuniary difficulties had arisen which occasioned a vast diminution in the vested property, which was exhausted, and that it was impossible to continue.

The Cheshunt college committee was thereupon approached, the then students (Messrs. Alfred Henry New and Thomas Yeo) transferred thereto pending negotiations, and the Newport Pagnell college, after an existence of some 67 years, ceased to be.

The negotiations in connection with the transfer took some little time, and it was not until June, 1853, that the Cheshunt committee reported that "the amalgamation of the Newport Pagnell college with Cheshunt college is completed."

The delay was partly caused by an application which had to be made to the Court of Chancery with regard to a legacy of £1,000 3% Consols, which was bequeathed to the Newport college about 1835 by John Bradley Wilson, Esq., of Clapham Common, subject to the life interest of Mrs. Wilson therein. Mrs. Wilson apparently died just about the time that the college was dissolved, and eventually the court, having ordered the payment of the bequest to Cheshunt, £731 3s. 8d. was received from this source. Other cash, amounting to £146 19s. 9d. was also handed over by the Newport treasurer, so that in all £878 3s. 5d. was received. Out of this sum various liabilities of the defunct college and legal charges were paid, leaving a balance of £566 10s. 11d. to be carried to the Cheshunt coffers.

The library of 1,700 volumes was also transferred and one of the payments is £6 15s. 3d. for its removal.

During the whole of its existence the work of the college was carried on in the house and premises at the rear, situate in the High Street, Newport Pagnell, and which were first the property of the Rev. William Bull, and then of his son, the Rev. T. P. Bull. The premises were at one time occupied and owned by John Gibbs, the founder of the Newport Pagnell Independent chapel, and in view of the persecutions to which he was subjected, it is interesting to note that when, about 1819, certain alterations were being carried out, a small room, or closet, about four feet square, was discovered between two walls at the side of a large old chimney. It had evidently been a hiding place, for the only entrance was from a trap door beneath, which was concealed from view in the old fashioned chimney place. In the room were found some coat buttons, two tobacco pipes with very small bowls, and some silver coins.

The house is now used as the manse, and owned by the chapel trustees.* The studies which were at the rear were demolished some years since.

* A view of it faces page 260 *ante*.

Much of the foregoing information is taken from the annual reports issued by the college committee, and from the same source the list of students is in the main compiled. Some of the dates of death are taken from the *Congregational Year Book*; others, with details of pastorates, the Rev. T. G. Crippen has been good enough to add; while the information as to the Cheshunt negotiations has been kindly supplied by the Rev. Henry Johnson.

A few of the students whose names are given, though they afterwards claimed Newport Pagnell as their college, did not complete their full course there. It is believed that the Rev. James Grosvenor, of Castle Cary, Somerset, who wrote the writer in December last, and the Rev. Alfred Henry New of Croydon are the only surviving Newport students.

List of Students

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|---------|------------------|--|
| 1782 | William Buttfild | - Particular Baptist. Thorn, near Dunstable. Died March, 1778. |
| | John Goode | - Independent. White Row, London. Died 1831, aged 77. |
| | Eli Fordham | - Relinquished the ministry. |
| | Thomas Bull | - First vicar of Renhold, Beds.; then rector of Elveden. |
| 1783 | W Sparkes | - Died some years after leaving academy. |
| | Isaac Gardiner | - Independent. Ordained at Cambridge, 1789; Potters Pury; died there 1822. |
| 1784-96 | Samuel Greatheed | - Independent. Woburn, Beds.; later resided at Bishop's Hull, Somersetshire, where he died 15th February, 1823. |
| | Samuel Hillyard | - Independent. Old Meeting, Bedford, 12th June, 1792; died 4th March, 1839, aged 69. |
| | John Scroxton | - Baptist. Broomsgrove, Worc. |
| | Robert Cottam | - Curate of parish of Broomsgrove. |
| | Thomas Gardiner | - Independent. Stratford-on-Avon, March, 1797; died 1820. |
| | William Bull | - Independent. Went to America; in 1843-44 a subscription of £5 was sent by him to the college, he then having long been incapacitated from regular service. |

- John Millard - - Baptist. Stevington, Beds.
 James Higgs - - Independent. Banbury, April, 1797;
 Witney, Oxfordshire; then Ches-
 hunt; died 1829, aged 66.
 John Savage - - Independent. Farnham, April,
 1797; died September, 1798.
 John Clement Bicknall Independent. Weldon, Northants.;
 later Crick; died 23rd November,
 1848, in his 80th year.
 Thomas Palmer Bull Independent. Newport Pagnell;
 died 1859.
 William Evans - - Independent. Wells.
 Thomas James - - Died at academy, 23rd Feb., 1795.
 John Hillyard - - Sent as missionary to Twillingate,
 and laboured there and at St.
 John's several years.
 1796 Richard Fletcher - Independent. Bicester, 29th May,
 1799; died there, 1832, aged 67.
 1797 James Raban - - Wallingford, 1804; afterwards re-
 sided at St. Alban's, London, and
 Stanstead; died 1851, aged 77.
 Rutton Morris - - Independent. St. John's, Newfound-
 land, 1801; died there 1842.
 1799 Richard Elliott - - Independent. Devizes, 1803; died
 there 1853, aged 72.
 1801 John Smith - - Independent. Introduced to college
 by the Rev. Rowland Hill; God-
 manchester, then Redbourne,
 Herts., 1812, where he laboured
 for 37 years, and died 13th Jan.,
 1848, in his 73rd year.
 1802 William Chapman - Independent. Sandwich, 1800;
 then Tabernacle, Greenwich,
 1807, where he ministered for 40
 years. He died 26th July, 1848,
 aged 71.
 1803 Samuel Hobson - Independent. Maulden, Beds., 25th
 March, 1808, laboured there 33
 years; died at Ampthill, January,
 1841.
 John Hoppus - - Independent. Yardley Hastings,
 Northants. Died 31st August,
 1837, aged 76, after labouring
 there 35 years.
 1805 Joseph Ward - - Independent. Resided Newport
 Pagnell and preached occasion-
 ally. Died 2nd June, 1828, aged 57.

- 1805 William Tomlin - Baptist. Sandwich, 1809 ; later Chesham, Bucks.
Shadrach Jackson - Independent. Old, Northants., 1809; died 1817, aged 34.
- 1808 Francis Humberstone - Established Church. Died Kingston, Jamaica, 1819.
- 1809 Christopher Bell - Independent. Gave up ministry.
Robert Biggers - Independent. Gave up ministry.
Joseph Gravestock - Independent. Towcester, 1814 ; afterwards of Old, Northants.; died at Dunstable, 1868 ; aged 80.
- 1810 Isaac West - Independent. Harrold, Beds.; Sunbury ; Christian Malford ; died 1854, aged 77.
- 1812 John Wilson - Independent. Winslow, Bucks.
- 1813 George Slade - Independent. Market Lavington ; later Corsham, Wilts.; died there 1874.
William Campbell - Left to go into Established Church.
Samuel Barrows - Supplied as an itinerant at Yaxley. Later Market Bosworth, Leics.; then Shanklin. He died in Isle of Wight, 4th Feb., 1848.
- 1814 Joseph Pinkerton - Independent. Weedon Beck, 6th July, 1819 ; then of Totteridge. Died 6th March, 1835.
Jonathan Edwards - Assisted Mr. Biggs, Devizes ; then Independent church, Cocker-mouth.
- 1816 John Chappell - Independent. Yaxley, Hunts.
- 1817 Thomas Hackett - Died while a student, 4th June, 1821.
Joseph Brooks - Baptist. Ridgmount.
William S. Hawkins - Independent. Churchover, War. ; Towcester.
Charles Gilbert - Independent. Stony Stratford ; Islington ; died 1878, aged 80.
William Sherman - Independent. Brent, Devon ; Plymouth.
James Slye - Independent. Potter's Pury ; died 1876, aged 81.
- 1821 Obed Parker - Independent. Kilsby ; Standon ; Adderbury, 17th October, 1837 ; Deddington ; died there 1870, aged 78.
- 1822 J. W. Wayne - Independent. Hitchin, then Cratfield ; died there 1855, aged 61.
Joseph E. Freeman - Independent. Leatherhead ; died Hoxton, 1878, aged 82.

- Nun Morgan Harry - Independent. Banbury, 25th April, 1827; then New Broad Street, London. Died October, 1842, aged 42.
- 1823 Geo. Bull Phillips - Independent. Harrold; died 1861, aged 64.
- 1824 Josiah T. Jones - Independent. Aberdare; died 1873, aged 74.
- 1825 Josiah Bull, A.M. - Newport Pagnell; died 1885.
Edward Adey - Baptist. Leighton Buzzard.
Thomas James Davies Independent. Royston, then Tintwistle; died April, 1843.
- Henry Kidgell - Independent. Byfield; went to Australia, 1852; died there 1866.
- Thomas Kilpin Higgs Independent. Chinsurah, East Indies, L.M.S. Left England July, 1830, died 4th December, 1832, aged 29.
- 1826 John Williams - Independent. King's Sutton; then Newhaven; died 1889, aged 89.
- 1827 William Spencer - Independent. Holloway Chapel, Islington; then Devonport; Rochdale; Hertford; Nottingham; died in London, 1871, aged 67.
- 1828 Henry Madgin - Independent. Duxford, 19th July, 1832; Tiverton; Upminster; died 1869, aged 63.
- 1829 Thomas Boaz, LL.D. Independent. Calcutta; died Brompton, 1861, aged 55.
Samuel Hillyard - Independent. Runcorn; then Bedworth; died 1877, aged 68.
John Tarras Cumming Independent. Camberwell, Surrey, 22nd April, 1834; then Hammer-smith.
- 1830 George Stonehouse - Baptist. Middleton Cheney, 25th September, 1833; Chipping Norton; then Australia.
Thomas Wilson Bridge Independent. Buckingham, 24th Sept., 1834; died 16th October, 1837.
- John Ashby - Independent. Thetford, 6th July, 1837; then Stony Stratford; died 1863.
- 1831 Edward D. J. Wilks - Independent. Ponder's End, Mid.; Buckingham; then Manchester; died in London, 1879.

- 1832 Thomas Kennerley - Independent. Burton-on-Trent, 24th June, 1835; Mitcham; died 1870, at Gravesend, aged 62.
- John Millis - - Independent. Lavenham, 10th May, 1835; died Bedford, 1893, aged 89.
- John Protheroe - Independent. Bulford, Wilts.; died about 1880.
- John Bromiley - - Independent. East Bergholt, 5th April, 1837; died in Isle of Wight, 22nd October, 1840.
- 1833 George Wilkins - Independent. Rendham, 2nd Aug., 1837; Clapton; died 1887, aged 76.
- 1834 Samuel Harris - - Independent. Falkenham, Suffolk, 25th July, 1837; then Clare; afterwards Australia.
- John Spencer - - Independent. Hingham, Norfolk; Manningtree, 11th November, 1840; Cawsand; Hambledon; Garstang; Kirkby Lonsdale; Inglewhite; died at Barrow, 1894, aged 83.
- 1834 Henry Coleman - Independent. Wickham Brook, 2nd May, 1838; Halesworth, Suffolk; Penryn; died at Southampton, 1882, aged 73.
- 1835 Rupert Pontifex - Independent. Edgware.
- James Spong - - Independent. Yardley Hastings, 10th Oct., 1838; Woburn; then Southgate Road, London; died at Staines, 1884, aged 72.
- 1836 G L Smith - - Independent. Brackley; Halesworth; Sion Chapel, London; died 1856, aged 49.
- 1837 David Martin - - Independent. Creaton, 28th April, 1841; London; Oxford; died 1885, aged 70.
- John Davies - - Independent. Linton, 20th July, 1841; Albany Chapel, London; Brentford; Walthamstow; died at Hampstead, 1886.
- John Taylor - - Independent. Hounslow, 12th Apr., 1843; died there, 1845.
- Thomas Clarke - - Independent. West Indies.
- Philip Henry Cornford Baptist. West Indies.
- 1838 Frederick Holmes - Independent. Alton, Hants.; died there, 1888.

- Ephraim Perkins - Independent. Milborne Port ; died 1908.
- William R. Lewis - Independent. Brackley ; then St. Neot's ; died Sandhurst, 1871, aged 53.
- 1839 David Thomas, D.D. Independent. Chesham ; then Stockwell ; died at Ramsgate, 1894, aged 83.
- John Moss - Independent. Baldock ; Sittingbourne ; Trowbridge ; died at Gravesend, 1873, aged 66.
- 1841 W. H. Hine - Countess of Huntingdon's. At college for period of probation only. Brandeston ; Milverton ; Kidderminster ; then Basingstoke ; died 1897, aged 76.
- 1843 H. H. Morris - Resigned 1843.
- William Webb - Died while a student early in 1844.
- James Young - Independent. Marsh Gibbon ; Orsett ; Braunton ; St. Austell ; Faringdon ; Bovey Tracey ; Codford ; Topsham ; died there, 1887, aged 70.
- Thomas Thomas - Independent. Weldon, 25th May, 1848.
- Joseph Whiting - Independent. Wareham ; Isleworth ; Bideford ; Stroud ; Croydon ; died there 1875.
- John E. Drover - Independent. Wincanton ; died there 1895, aged 78.
- Robert Simpson - Independent. Left college Jany., 1844 ; Wilton.
- 1844 Jonas E. Evans - Independent. Lofthouse.
- John Adams¹⁰ - Newtown, Montgomery.
- George Prince Joyce¹⁰ - Leamington, 1848 ; Fetter Lane, 1851 ; Sheffield, 1853 ; Glasgow, 1859 ; Blackheath, 1878 ; Newcastle, 1884 ; Weston - super - Mare 1887 ; died there 1903, aged 79.
- 1846 J. W. C. Drane¹⁰ - Guisborough ; Hanley Tabernacle, Potteries ; Ipswich, Queensland, where he died 23th December, 1864, aged 41.

¹⁰ Resigned in 1847.

The Newport Pagnell Academy

- Henry Davies - - Lavenham, Suffolk ; died there
1877, aged 60.
- 1848 Thomas Roberts - Wendover, Bucks.; died 1906, aged
81.
- James Grosvenor¹¹ - Durban ; Street ; Tetbury ; Curry
Rivel ; Castle Cary, Somerset.
- Alfred Henry New¹¹ - (Transferred to Cheshunt). Leam-
ington ; Wigan ; Bushey ; Barns-
bury ; South Norwood ; Addis-
combe.
- John Corbett Adams -
- John R. Wolf - -
- Charles Williams - Resigned with four others.
- Albert Foyster - - Eastbourne ; died 1898, aged 70.
- H. Coleman - - Ashby, Northants. (?)
- Tho. Yeo - - (Transferred to Cheshunt). North-
allerton ; Gloucester ; Langport ;
Mountain Ash ; died at Cardiff,
1890, aged 63.

FREDK. WM. BULL.

¹¹ Still surviving.

The Free Church Pageants

TWO recent publications have come to hand which would have moved many of our worthy ancestors to "holy anger and pious grief." To them all dramatic representations were as obnoxious as the foulest comedies of the Restoration period. Such, however, was not the mind of Milton; and we, like him, have learned to discriminate between things that differ.

The Rev. Wm. Pierce, of Northampton, has published a book of the words of an *Historical Pageant of Northampton Nonconformity*, which has lately been exhibited with great success. The book clearly displays the author's intimate familiarity, not merely with the history, but with the habits of speech and thought, of the times and persons presented. There is no pretence of dramatic unity; just three groups of three scenes each, dealing with (1) John Penry and the secret press, 1588-93; (2) The Act of Nonconformity and origin of Congregationalism in Northampton, 1662-75; (3) The Life of Philip Doddridge, 1708-43. In the first section we have Sharpe the bookbinder, stitching the Marprelate tracts, when neighbours come in to tell of rejoicings for the defeat of the Spanish Armada; next, Penry takes leave of his wife and her parents, and sets out on his last journey to London; finally he is seen in prison, awaiting execution. In the second section the Rev. Jer. Lewis, vicar of St. Giles's, leaves his church for the last time on 17th August, 1662; after an interval of twelve years the Rev. S. Blower is seen accepting a call to the pastorate of Castle Hill Independent church; next, he with his congregation are engaged in worship during the great fire which devastated the town in 1675. The third section presents, first, Doddridge as a child, learning Scripture history from the Dutch tiles in the fireplace; next, Doddridge as a youth, gratefully accepting the offer of his old pastor to assist him in his studies; and lastly, Doddridge with his family and students, receiving a visit from Colonel Gardiner.

Quite apart from actual representations, the book is of real value as a means of instruction. It has far more than local interest; and its wide circulation would help our young people to understand, much better than they usually do, what manner of men were the fathers and founders of the "Old Dissent."

The other publication is of a different kind. It is a programme of a much more elaborate exhibition, presented on 2nd and 3rd March last at Wycliffe church, Heaton Norris. It was in four divisions, representing respectively the Mediaeval, Elizabethan, Stuart, and Revolution periods, two of which were exhibited each day. The scheme was, for each period, a pageant introducing the most prominent historical persons of the time, with typical common people—and explained by an interpreter; followed by two or more dramatic scenes. The general outline was as follows:—

- I. Mediaeval Pageant, introducing King Edward III, the Queen, the Black Prince, John of Gaunt, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Chaucer, Langland, Wycliff, &c. Scenes: (1) A friendly gathering interrupted by a begging Friar, (2) Trial of Wycliffe, (3) Wycliffe translating the Bible.
- II. Elizabethan Pageant, introducing the Queen, Leicester, Raleigh, Drake, Hawkins, Frobisher, Shakspeare, Spenser, Ben Jonson, Browne, Barrow, Greenwood, Robinson, Brewster, Bradford, Miles Standish, &c., &c. Scenes: (1) Browne and his Church at Norwich, (2) Browne's last journey from Achurch, (3) Barrowe and Greenwood in Prison, (4) Courtiers reading *Martin Marprelate*, (5) The Widows of Greenwood and Penry conversing, (6) The Pilgrim Church at Scrooby, (7) The Sailing of the Mayflower.
- III. Stuart Pageant, introducing King and Queen, Laud, Strafford, Pym, Hampden, Cromwell, Bradshaw, Milton, Howe, &c. Scenes: (1) Illustrating family divisions during the Civil War, (2) Cromwell selecting soldiers and conversing with a child, (3) Charles II. with Clarendon, Nell Gwynn, and courtiers, (4) Ejection of a puritan minister, (5) Nonconformists meeting in a wood, (6) Trial of Richard Baxter, (7) Escape of C. Waring from prison.
- IV. Revolution Finale—King William and Queen Mary, with Burnet, receiving Dr. Bates and other Nonconformists at Court.

In the first and last scenes a symbolical character, "The Lady Ecclesia," appears much as in the Old Moralities.

The words were chiefly, though not entirely, written by the Rev. W. J. Barton Lee, by whom the whole enterprise was promoted and organised. We believe the book of the words has not yet been published.

Katharine Chidley's
Good Counsel to the Presbyterians

THE name of Katharine Chidley is honourably known as the author of a *Justification of the Independent Churches of Christ*, published in 1641 against "Shallow Edwards" of the *Gangraena*. Some account of her is given in *Transactions* ii. 332. In 1645 petitions were presented to Parliament for the speedy setting up of the Presbyterian discipline, in a form which—if realised—would have fully warranted Milton's assertion that "New Presbyter is but old Priest writ large." Soon afterwards the following paper was put in circulation; its general tone and the signature "K.C." make it pretty safe to conclude that its author was the "audacious old woman" whose vigorous polemic had so infuriated Edwards a few years before. It is a broadside of 72 lines, Roman type; the printed surface measuring 12 inches by 10 $\frac{3}{8}$. The only copy of which we have any knowledge is amongst a collection of broadsides in the British Museum, press-mark 669 f. 10; 39. So far as we know it has never until now been reprinted.

Good Counsell, to the Petitioners for Presbyterian Government, That they may declare their Faith before they build their Church.

The Saints of God being separated from Idolatry and joyned together in the fellowship of the Gospel, have ever enjoyed commission from Christ to practice all the parts of God's true Religion, and also to keep the Ordinances of God from contempt or profanation among themselves. And this power they have from God though with persecution, now, in this time of Parliament. Persecution, I say; not from the Parliament, (further than when they neglect to preserve their peace according to the Law of God) but persecution, as it arose from the Pope, and Bishops in former time primarily; so would it now from their sons, who call themselves Divines, yea, even in the height of it, if they might have their wils, as appeareth by their late Petition, for which there was a publick calling out for hands.

Well was it with the Kings of Israel when they took the counsell of God's true Prophets though few in number, but

such a Clergy which is naturally addicted to persecution cannot be a blessing to any Parliament or Nation, as appeareth by the Scripture. And therefore my desire is, that the Parliament may submit to God for direction and counsell, even to beware of men, especially of false Prophets, or any evill workers whatever they be ; And that all persons fearing God, in the City of *London*, or elsewhere, may blesse God, for fulfilling his promises unto them, that *their eyes enjoy their Teachers*, though in an *upper roome*, as *Christ* and his *Apostles* met. But for the *City of Londons Ministry* (which is so much commended in the Petition) I think their readinesse is, as the rest of that generation in the countreys of the Land : even to find out where their *maintenance* lieth ; and so far are they from keeping Gods Ordinances from pollution and contempt, that [to enjoy their pay] they will walk contrary to a known rule, and expresse command. *Cast not holy things unto dogs* : yet these men (I say) rather then they will want their patrimony, they will constrain all men to partake of the Ordinances of God.

They bewail that *the children should come so neer to the birth, and that there is no strength to bring forth*. But I think the children are sufficiently brought forth unto them. If their means be established upon them, by the Parliament, (as I am informed it is for a certain time :) for I know no other Children they mean, but two, *viz* : MAINTENANCE and POWER : The one they have as *Saul had the fat cattell*, *contrary to God's commandment*. The other they shall never have : for *God will fight against such as fight for them*, as it appears at this day : for they by usurped power ever shed the blood of the *Saints*, and *Martyrs* of *Jesus*, and ever God is making inquisition for the blood which hath been spilt, and the more fiercely they go on to build up a *Babel* with blood ; the more speedily will God come down to see their wickedness and to confound them.

And though they say it is in *fervour of spirit*, for the *house of their God*, and although the Parliament may *bear* with them, at their entreaty, yet God will (in his own time) deal with sinners.

They further complain, that there are damnable errors broached amongst them (that is to say, amongst the *Presbyterians* ; for amongst the people of God none can so soon deliver any point of *false doctrine* but he shall be severely dealt with according to the rule of Christ ;) but the *Presbyters* practice is to preach what they like *without controll*, therefore errors may be broached by them *privilegio*.

But they say, *divers are fallen off within these few years*. But me thinks they do not speak pertinently, for men cannot be

said to fall off which were never on, or from a Government that was never settled, and they themselves say, their *Government is not yet established*.

And these that fly out from amongst them, separating themselves from them, and incorporate themselves into separated Assemblies, are not (as they say they be) such as hold *dammable heresies*, but such abide still amongst the *Presbyterians* themselves; and therefore the Lords people are constrained (by the power of the Word of truth) to separate themselves from such persons, that are (retained in the Church of *England*) godlesse in their lives, and blasphemous in their judgements, yet such persons notwithstanding are (in matters of worship) one with the whole body of the Land; and these be the vessels that the houses of their Gods are yet filled withall. But it is not so with those that separate themselves from them; for they admit not in their societies any that hold blasphemous *errors*, neither do they set up *illeterate persons among them for their Pastors*, as the *Presbyterians* unjustly accuse them. True it is, they *manage their meetings with boldnesse*, because they have some ground to beleve that the *Parliament* will not suffer them to be wronged, for performing the *true worship* to the *true God*, in a peaceable manner, under their protection (as also correction in case they should walk as the *Presbyterians* in their Petition have falsly accused them, saying they *manage their meetings with insolencie*, which is an unjust accusation; And *in contempt of all Authority*, which is also untrue: *To the disturbance of the City*, which is another falsehood: *Every one doing what is right in his own eyes*, which is an unjust affirmation as the rest) for they order their walkings according to the rule of God's Word: But these Petitioners accuse not onely the people, but also the *Parliament*, for they say *every one doeth that which is right in his own eyes, and there is no controll or course to reclaim them*: whereby it is evident they render the *Parliament* very infirm, or carelesse. And the people of God plead not any such priviledge to be *without controll*: but always submitted themselves in duty to the Magistrate's power, which is set up by God, as well *for the punishment of evil doers, as for the praise of those that do well*. Therefore all these Petitioners inferences against the people of God be slanders. And the Religion of God doth not *breed Division*, either in *Kingdom, City, or family* in any civill respect: for Religion teacheth men submission to their Duty. (But this hath been a false accusation of Mr. T. E. long ago, which hath been disproved at large.) Religion (I say) breeds no difference then what was from the beginning, the wicked envying the godly, that their sacrifices are accepted, and theirs rejected,

and thats the enmity which Christ hath put between the two seeds, and it shall be as Christ saith, five in a house, two against three, and three against two. But the cause is envy, and not Religion. And whereas these Presbyterians affirm in their Petition that the *Separates set up illeterato men to be their Pastors*, let that come to the triall, for we desire not to be led by blind guides; Therefore I could wish it might please the Parliament to examine the gifts of such whom these call *illiterate* (that so it may appear how reasonable we are) either by disputation between the Presbyters and them: or by proving them, to give the sence of any Scripture which they shall appoint; and by this it shall appear whether these Presbyterians are true men: for there is never a Minister of the Separation that feareth to set his foot against any Presbyter whatsoever he be, to dispute the case concerning the *matter, ministery, worship, or Government of the Church*, or any principle of Faith which it shall please the *Parliament* to call upon them for the managing of, that so it may appear unto all men who are best informed in the mind and will of God, and by this it will also appear who are the *Orthodoxall Preachers*, and who are the Preachers of *new Gospels*, and consequently who be the *setters of division*, and who they be upon whom their scandalous conclusions fall. And as for *Tolerations of all Religions* I cannot conceive to be proper; for there is but one true Religion, and that is it which hath God's Word for their rule. As for *breaking Sabbaths*, we know the Christian Sabbath now under the Gospel is the first day of the week (commonly called Sunday) or the Lord's day, which we judge ourselves bound in conscience to set apart for the worship and service of God by the Rules of Scripture both Law and Gospel; and are also free to submit to the *Magistrates command* to humble ourselves before God in case of eminent danger, and to give him *publick thanks* for all eminent deliverances, the magistrates command being grounded upon the Word of God.

Therefore the Presbyterians slandering the people of God, will make their reformation the more difficult; for *no man ever set himself up honestly, by accusing of others falsely*.

And as touching our *Brethren the Scots*, we honour them for their parts, and shall remain thankfull unto God for them, or for any helpe we have received from them; yet we can never submit our consciences to be captivated, or made subject to men's wils: for God onely hath power in that case. Yet I speak freely (for my part) I shall not be offended at whatever lawfull Government the Parliament in their wisdom shall set up in the Nation for the preaching of the Gospel, to bring those thousands, and millions of people (who

yet live in ignorance) to the knowledge of God, and obedience of the faith, that so they may become fit matter, even *living stones to be built to God a spirituall house*: for *there can be no true reformation in a State of generall Apostasie, but by seperating the precious from the vile*; and not to impose the worship of God upon a people that are not capable, for that will bring a curse rather than a blessing; Therefore the truly godly ought to arise and be doing, and God hath promised to be with them, and they are not to neglect to worship God for want of the command of Authority, as is the manner of many.

Moreover, these take notice that *God hath rewarded the beginnings of the Parliaments Reformation*; and truly all Christians ought to observe the same; for God useth to reward all those that do his will. And I hope God will still be mercifull to them if Justice be executed by them. And it is to be desired that the wicked may be brought to condigne punishment, and the innocent set free who have lain in prison a long time for worshipping the true God after the true manner, as Mr. *Turner* hath, who is therefore in prison at Westminster; and others who also suffer in the like case, such outbreakings of envy (I am sure) procure no mercy but judgement.

Now that the Parliament may *hasten to set up Christs true discipline which he hath left to his Church*; that is and ought to be the desire of all Christians. But that *the modell* (specified in the Petition) is it, stands the Presbyterians upon to prove. And therefore (in my judgement) it were better for them to make their confession of faith and catechise first, according to the rule of God's Word, and then shape their Church according to that, rather than shape their Church according to the modell, and their faith according to their Church. *Prepare thy work without, and make it fit for thyself in the field; and afterwards build thine house.* Prov. 24. 27.

K. C.[HIDLEY.
Novemb. 7th, 1645*].

* Added in MS. in a hand which seems contemporary.

Watts's Hymn: "When I Survey the Wondrous
Cross"

THIS well known hymn was first printed in 1707. To what tune it was originally sung we are not informed. As far as we can discover the first tune *specially composed* for it appeared in 1738, and was the production of William Tansur of Barnes, a very prolific composer of very commonplace tunes. It occurs in his rare volume entitled *Heaven on Earth*, and though of no great merit deserves reproducing as a curiosity. Possibly some musical connoisseur may be able to report an earlier setting.



The original is printed in three lines, with the *medius* in the C clef.