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## Editorial

Our annual business meeting was held at the Memorial Hall on Wednesday, 11th May, 1910. The attendance was unusually meagre. The officers were re-elected, and routine business attended to. Mr. A. Peel gave an account of the work in which he is engaged on the Morrice MSS.; and it was reported that the treasurer (who was absent through indisposition) had made substantial progress with his important work on the Indulgence documents. The secretary was instructed to communicate with the secretary of the Congregational Union as to the possibility of an historical volume of the Congregational Lecture, in which several capable persons should collaborate, to signalize the approaching 250th anniversary of the Act of Uniformity.

\* \* \*

We give a hearty welcome to No. 3 of the "Congregational Worthies" series, issued by the Congregational Union. This is a concise but very informing life of *Robert Browne, Pioneer of Modern Congregationalism*, by the Rev. Dr. Powicke. So much additional light has been shed on Browne's life and character by the researches of Messrs. Burrage and Cater that almost everything printed on the subject before 1904 may now be regarded as obsolete. Dr. Powicke has made good use of the fruits of recent research, and has studied at first hand works of Browne's that have never been reprinted. He has quietly ignored several alleged facts, which rest only on doubtful tradition, and has used his own judgement on some points on which his views will not command universal assent. In particular, he rejects Dr. Dexter's opinion of Browne's mental disorder, and also the generally received tradition that he died in prison. His argument on this point claims serious attention. Dr. Bayly, as quoted by Collier, alleges that Browne was excommunicated for contumacy by Bishop Lindsell at Northampton, and at that time was an "old gentleman." This has generally been looked on as a mistake in the name of the bishop, and the excommunication assigned to a date earlier than Browne's submission to the established order. But at that time he was not "an old gentleman"; while on the other hand the first visit of Lindsell to Northampton as bishop was in the interval between Browne's last committal to prison and his death. Still more important is Dr. Powicke's con-



## The Attercliffe Academy

**A**TTERCLIFFE, now a part of the city of Sheffield, was in the seventeenth century a detached village, about a mile and a half N.E. from the parish church. From November, 1686, to July, 1689, it was the temporary seat of Frankland's academy; where during that brief space no fewer than fifty-one students were enrolled. But "the Attercliffe academy" was a distinct institution, which may fairly be regarded as an offshoot, though not, as it is sometimes represented, a continuation, of Frankland's.

It may be well to premise a brief account of early Nonconformity in and about Sheffield. During the later years of the Commonwealth the vicarage was held by the devout and high-minded James Fisher. He was assisted by three curates, Matthew Bloome, Rowland Hancock, and Edward Prime. To Bloome especially belonged the charge of Attercliffe chapel-of-ease, which had been erected in 1629. All four of these worthy men were ejected by the Act of Uniformity, and all suffered much persecution. Under the Indulgence of 1672 Bloome was licensed to preach in his own house at Attercliffe; and Hancock to preach in his house called Shercliff Hall.

On 16th July, 1676, a Congregational church was constituted, of which Bloome and Hancock were joint pastors, and which in a short time comprised fifty-two members. For convenience, especially after the revocation of the Indulgence, Shercliff was the usual place of meeting; but in 1681 the society divided, Mr. Bloome and his people meeting at Attercliffe. After the death of the two ministers, in 1685 and 1686 respectively, the societies reunited at Attercliffe; where the church continued with varying fortunes till about 1750, when it became extinct. It was shortly after Mr. Bloome's death that Frankland came to Attercliffe; but it does not seem that he held any official relation with the church there. A Rev. Nathaniel Baxter, an ejected minister, father of one of his pupils, was accustomed to preach to the congregation; but neither did he assume the pastorate. Meanwhile a nominally Presbyterian, but really Congregational, church persisted, in spite of persecution, in holding its own in Sheffield. It consisted of adherents of Mr. Fisher, who went out with him from the parish church. He was driven away, however, by the Five Mile Act, and

soon afterwards died. His successor was the Rev. Robert Durant, the ejected minister of Crowle, who held the pastorate from 1669, till his death in February, 1678. At first the society met in the house of Dr. Fisher, son of the late vicar; but about a month before the death of Mr. Durant a regular meeting-house, called "the New Hall," was built. For about three years the pulpit was variously supplied; the Rev. Edward Prime, one of the ejected curates, appearing among the occasional preachers. At length the Rev. Timothy Jollie (youngest son of the Rev. Thos. Jollie, the ejected minister of Altham, Lancashire) was called to the pastorate.

Timothy Jollie was born at Altham in 1656; entered Frankland's academy at Rathmell on 27th August, 1673; studied also in London, but under what tutor we are not informed; and commenced his pastorate in Sheffield in April, 1681. He was ordained in the Presbyterian manner in the house of Abel Yates; the officiating ministers being his father, Oliver Heywood, Rowland Hancock, and Matthew Bloome. The date is variously given as April 25th and 28th; there appears to have been some difficulty and delay, owing to some of the more rigid Independents objecting to the Presbyterian form of the service.

Young Jollie's preaching soon attracted attention, and as a natural result called forth persecution. Twice during the first two years he was imprisoned, his goods were seized, and his wife, a daughter of Mr. Fisher, shamefully treated. After 1683, however, he seems to have been undisturbed, and soon gained popularity as a preacher, so that the congregation at the New Hall rapidly increased. There can be little doubt that during the residence of Frankland at Attercliffe, 1686-89, the young pastor and his old tutor would be hearty friends and frequent companions; and on the removal of the latter Jollie would discern an educational void which it might be desirable to fill. He therefore began to receive pupils, some of whom aided him in his pastoral labours. In 1691 Attercliffe Hall, late the abode of a Nonconformist family named Spencer, became vacant, and Jollie took it on a lease. He named it "Christ's College," and his pupils soon became very numerous. As early as November, 1700, he wrote to Oliver Heywood: "Forty-six hopeful young ministers are gone forth from mine eye to do service in the Lord's vineyard." It is questionable, however, whether from an academical point of view the enterprize was an unqualified success. Several of Jollie's students speak of him in terms of the warmest affection; but one cannot resist a suspicion that his loveable disposition, and his extraordinary power as an elocutionist, induced them to overlook some serious defects. It is really amusing to read his funeral sermon, preached by his pupil and assistant Mr. de la Rose; expatiating on "his genius, masterly and grand, elevated and curious"; "in the air of his countenance

a just temperature of admirable sweetness and majesty"; "his quick apprehension, his amazing invention, his diction, his elocution, the vast but even flow of his affections, together with his uncommon presence of mind, and the agreeableness of his person, all conspired to make him one of the most consummate orators of this age"!

In fact Jollie seems to have been intellectually timid, and lacking in exact scholarship; to have been a pious, genial, but somewhat narrow-minded man; with much natural eloquence, a tuneful voice, elegant gestures, and a special aptitude for pathetic utterance. One of his pupils, Joseph Mottershead, makes the almost incredible statement that "the tutor forbade the mathematics as tending to scepticism and infidelity; though many of [the students] by stealth made considerable progress that way." More reliable is the account given by Dr. Benjamin Grosvenor: "He was a man of an excellent spirit, of great spirituality of mind and sweetness of temper. The orders of the house were strict and regular, and few tutors maintained them better and with so little severity. The defects in his instruction as to classical learning, free philosophy, and the Catholic divinity, were made amends for to those who were designed for the pulpit by something those pupils who had any taste took from him in his public performances."

Unfortunately we have no account of the course of studies pursued at Attercliffe, nor any complete list of the students. Two fragmentary lists, one in a pamphlet by Giles Hester, 1893, and one in a MS. at New College, yield between them about sixty names. But the total must have been much larger; for beside the forty-six mentioned in the letter to Heywood, Mottershead says that in his time there were thirty-six, "many of whom turned out considerable men in Church and State." It need scarcely be said that not all were students for the ministry, and probably not all Nonconformists.

We proceed to give a brief account of the more conspicuous of Jollie's students; premising that, owing to the fragmentary character of the lists, there can be no attempt at chronological order.

First we may notice the tutor's two sons. Thomas, the elder, was chosen minister of the Independent church at Bradfield, Norfolk, in May, 1711, and ordained there in June following. In May, 1726, he succeeded his cousin John Jollie at Wymondhouses, Lancashire. He formed a branch of that congregation at Oakenshaw. In 1737 he removed to Cockermouth, and died there 8th June, 1764.

His brother Timothy, born 1691, after his father's death assisted his successor, John Wadsworth. Afterwards, about 1720, he went to London as assistant to Matthew Clarke at Miles Lane; on whose death, in 1726, he succeeded to the sole pastorate, which he held for thirty-one years. He died on 3rd August, 1757, at the age of sixty-five.

Two lay students next claim notice : John Bowes, who was a lawyer, and rose to the dignified position of Lord Chancellor of Ireland ; and Nicholas Saunderson, who presents a remarkable example of perseverance under difficulties. He was born at Thurlston in 1682, and lost his sight by small-pox when only twelve months old. He was sent to the free school at Penistone, where he made great proficiency in classical learning. He was only a short time at Attercliffe, as the bent of his mind was toward mathematics, which, as we have seen, was by no means a leading subject of study in Jollie's academy. He was sent to Cambridge, where he delivered mathematical lectures to crowded audiences. He was created M.A. by royal mandate, and was appointed Lucasian professor of mathematics in 1711. He simplified some of the mathematical studies of Sir Isaac Newton, and published original works, which were of value in their day. He received the degree of LL.D. in 1738, and died the following year.

Another notable name in connection with the academy is that of Dr. Thomas Secker. He was born at Sibthorpe, Nottinghamshire, in 1693 ; and studied for the ministry first under Jollie at Attercliffe, and then under Samuel Jones at Gloucester and Tewkesbury. He seems to have removed thither in his eighteenth year ; and a letter written by him from Gloucester to Dr. Watts is valuable as descriptive of the studies and inner life of the old dissenting academies. At Gloucester he had as a fellow student the renowned Joseph Butler, author of the *Analogy of Religion* ; and it is not unlikely that this association had something to do with loosening his hold on Nonconformist principles. However, he preached as a candidate at Bolsover, but failing to get an invitation to the pastorate he qualified as a medical practitioner, and conformed to the Established Church. Having "taken orders," he evidently gained the favour of some influential patrons, for he became rector of Houghton-le-Spring, prebendary of Durham, king's chaplain, rector of St. James', Westminster ; and in 1735 bishop of Bristol. Thence in 1737 he was translated to Oxford, and in 1758 was appointed archbishop of Canterbury. He is described as "conducting himself with great dignity, munificence, and proper severity against any laxity in the morals or manners of the clergy. Though unfriendly to Methodism, which he deemed subversive of Church order, his ecclesiastical principles were fairly liberal ; his doctrinal position was what would now be called "Evangelical Broad Church." His numerous works were long popular, but are now almost forgotten. He died in 1768.

At least two students, probably more, who received part of their training under Frankland at Rathmell, removed to Attercliffe after his death. One of these was David Some of Market Harborough, the friend and (for some time) senior colleague of Dr.

Doddridge. He died 1737. The other was Dr. John Evans, a Welshman by birth, but whose active and useful life was spent in this country. He was born at Wrexham in 1680, received the rudiments of education in London, entered at Rathmell on 26th May, 1697, and removed to Attercliffe after the death of Frankland. He was ordained at Wrexham, 18th August, 1702, Matthew Henry taking part in the service. The principal scene of his ministry, however, was in Hand's Alley, Bishopsgate, as colleague and successor to Dr. Daniel Williams. Later, New Broad Street chapel was built for him. On the death of Matthew Henry he took part in completing his *Commentary*; his portion being the Epistle to the Romans, which Dr. Doddridge pronounced the best English exposition of that epistle then extant. He published a series of *Discourses on the Christian Temper*, which continued to be reprinted far into the last century. But perhaps his most important service, at least for these later days, was the great body of material which he collected, which formed the basis of Neal's *History of the Puritans*; and the statistical account of the dissenting congregations of his own day, between 1718 and 1729, which is preserved in Williams's Library. "No public man of his day commanded the respect of his brethren in the ministry more than Dr. John Evans. He died 23rd May, 1730, saying as his last words: 'All is well!'"

Samuel Wright, D.D., was the son of James Wright, the ejected minister of Retford. His mother was a member of the Cotton family, which produced more than one minister of eminence. Samuel was twice at Attercliffe; first as a school boy, and then, after an interval spent at another school, as a student for the ministry. He was minister of Carter's Lane Presbyterian church, London, and was much followed as a preacher. He also took part in completing Matthew Henry's unfinished *Commentary*, his share being the Epistle of James. His various publications were widely read, especially *A Treatise of that being born again without which no man can be saved*. Other works of his were: *On the Deceitfulness of Sin* and *The Great Concern of Human Life*. His sermons were highly commended by Doddridge. He died in 1746.

It would have been no little honour to Attercliffe to have trained the tutor of Doddridge, even if it had no other claims to distinction. John Jennings, of Kibworth, in Leicestershire, was the son of a minister of the same name, ejected from Hartley Waspall, Hants. He received his education partly from his father and partly from Jollie. The father, who occupied his later years as a schoolmaster, conceived the idea of a home seminary for Nonconformist students who were excluded from the Universities; the son carried it out. The Kibworth academy only subsisted for seven years, 1715 to 1722; but to the breadth and thoroughness of the teaching its most illustrious alumnus bears ungrudging testimony. If Jollie

was not himself a great scholar, he knew how to train men who became great teachers.

Side by side with the tutor of Doddridge must be placed the colleague of Watts. Samuel Price, however, came to Attercliffe after having received part of his education under the ever memorable Samuel Jones of Brynlywarch, who died in 1697, when his pupil's training was still incomplete. Mr. Price became assistant to Dr. Watts in 1703, and co-pastor in 1713; outliving his more eminent colleague, and dying in 1756.

Another London pastor from Attercliffe was Dr. Benjamin Grosvenor. He was born in London on 1st January, 1676; experienced spiritual awaking in very early life; became a member of a Baptist church at the age of fourteen, being baptized by the venerable confessor, Benjamin Keach, in whose house the boy began to preach privately, and by whom he was encouraged to study for the ministry. He was one of Mr. Jollie's earlier pupils, entering the academy in 1693. While at Attercliffe he changed his views both as to baptism and Church polity, becoming a convinced Presbyterian. His Baptist friends, having in vain striven to reclaim him, granted him an honourable dismissal; and in 1699 he became assistant to Mr. Oldfield at Maid Lane, Southwark. In 1704 he was ordained as pastor of the church meeting in Crosby Hall, where he ministered for forty-five years. He had great popularity both as a preacher and as a controversial lecturer. His published works were numerous, running to nearly thirty titles. Failing health compelled him to spend the last nine years of his life in retirement; and he died on 27th August, 1758, in his 83rd year.

Another respectable, though less eminent name, is that of Joseph Mottershead. He was born in Cheshire in 1688, and after leaving Attercliffe spent a year with Matthew Henry at Chester. From 1710 to 1712 he preached at Kingsley in the same county; was ordained at Knutsford on 5th August, 1712; and was pastor at Nantwich from 1713 to 1718. It was at his house in Nantwich that Matthew Henry died on 22nd June, 1714. From Nantwich he removed to Manchester in 1718, and ministered there during the long term of fifty-three years. During the latter part of his life there were doubts as to his orthodoxy, owing mainly to his perhaps too generous acknowledgement of the skill in debate of his son-in-law and colleague John Seddon, who had become an avowed Unitarian. Mr. Nightingale, however, in his *History of Lancashire Nonconformity*, gives reasons for at least a verdict of "not proven." Mr. Mottershead died at the age of eighty-three, on 4th November, 1771.

There is only one more of the Attercliffe students who demands any lengthy notice; but he is probably, with the exception of Secker, the most conspicuous of them all. This is the celebrated

Thomas Bradbury, who has been rather aptly called "the C. H. Spurgeon of the 18th Century." He was born near Wakefield, and was the subject of early religious impressions, due at least in part to some serious words spoken by his father. His first tutor is said to have been Thomas Dickinson of Gorton, who became Heywood's successor at North Durham. He passed through a course of instruction at Attercliffe, where he must have been one of Jollie's earliest pupils; for on leaving the academy he went to Leeds as tutor in the family of Thomas Whitaker, minister of Call Lane, for whom he occasionally preached. During 1697 and 1698 he preached at Beverley, but "not as a candidate." Thence he went to Newcastle-on-Tyne to succeed Timothy Manlove, who had been co-pastor with Richard Gilpin of gracious memory. Next he removed to Stepney, as assistant to a Mr. Galpin; from which post he was called to be pastor of the church in Neville's Court, Fetter Lane. Here he made his mark, and became one of the best known preachers in London. A strenuous upholder of evangelical orthodoxy, there was about him a good deal of conservative Puritanism; witness his devotion to the old metrical psalms, and his undisguised contempt for what he called "Mr. Watts's Whims." But these oddities may well be forgiven, as well as his rasping style and occasional coarseness of language, in view of his devotion to the cause of civil and religious liberty. "Bold Bradbury," as Queen Anne called him, represents the right sort of political dissenter. It was not that politics crept into his religion; his religion permeated and controlled his politics. Every year, on the fifth of November, he preached a political sermon; not on the misdeeds of Guy Fawkes, but in celebration of and thanksgiving for the glorious Revolution. These sermons were published, and are full of strong common sense on the nature and foundations of constitutional government. When we read them we cannot wonder that he enjoyed the friendship of the freedom loving bishop Burnet. We all know the story, how in the dark days of the Schism Act Burnet met Bradbury in Smithfield, and remarked on his sombre countenance: "Yes [said Bradbury], I was thinking whether, if the call came, I should have the faith to follow in the footprints of the martyrs who suffered here." Equally familiar is the story how, in consequence of a private signal arranged by Burnet, the accession of the Protestant House of Hanover was first proclaimed from the pulpit of Fetter Lane meeting-house. Less generally known is the tradition, handed down by one of his grandchildren, that a plot of some influential Jacobites to assassinate him was only frustrated by the awakening conscience of the man who should have carried it into effect. Bradbury, however, was pugnacious by nature; and this habit of his led him into difficulties in ecclesiastical matters. Dissensions arose at Fetter Lane; there was a division, and part

of the congregation went with Bradbury to New Court, close by (the site is now covered by part of the Law Courts), where he succeeded the witty Daniel Burgess, and where at length he ended his days. He died on the 9th September, 1759, in the 82nd year of his age, and the 64th of his ministry.

The lives already briefly narrated might suffice to render the name of Jollie, and the academy of Attercliffe, honourable to all generations. We will barely enumerate the other students, whose names have been handed down to us, placing them in alphabetical order.

- Jeremiah Aldred, of Moreton
- Timothy Aldred, Morley
- John Alwood, Sutton, nr. Mansfield
- William Bagshaw, Stannington
- John Barker, Salters' Hall, London
- Thos. Baxter, assistant to Dr. Colton at York
- Peter Bradbury, brother of Thomas, Buckinghamshire and London
- John Brook, Norwich
- John Brooks, Wakefield (?)
- Thomas Cooper, Hoghton Towers
- John de la Rose, Sheffield
- John Dobson, Walsall
- Joshua Dunn, physician at Cambridge
- Thomas Fletcher, Mansfield
- John Front, Barnsley
- Jeremiah Gill, assistant to Jollie; afterwards Hull
- John Godwin (no information)
- William Harris, D.D., Poor Jewry Lane, London
- Isaac Hawkins, Wakefield
- John Holtham, York
- Thos. Ibbotson, Chesterfield
- John Jones, Hatherlow
- Edward Kendrick, Bala
- John Kendrick, Wrexham
- John King, Newport, Salop
- Bartholomew Loftus, Rotterdam
- William Moulton, Mill Hill, Leeds
- John Needham, Hitchin (Baptist)
- James Newcome, died just after leaving the academy, May, 1695
- John Owen (no information)
- Rees Price, Bridgend; formerly with S. Jones at Brynlllywarch
- Kirkby Reyner (also studied under Benion at Shrewsbury), Amsterdam, and Bridge Street, Bristol
- J. Reddid, Whitby
- Ambrose Ridsdale, Gainsborough

Samuel Saunderson, Bedford  
 Silas Sidebotham, Wheelock  
 John Sladen, Horsley Down  
 John Smith (no information)  
 (? Another) Smith, Coventry  
 Joseph Sutton, Hull  
 — Symmons, Stepney  
 John Wadsworth, Sheffield; Jollie's successor in the  
 academy  
 William Whitaker, Scarborough  
 Ebenezer Wilson, Turners' Hall, London  
 Thomas Wilson, Rotherham  
 William Wilson (his brother), Rotherham  
 Hugh Worthington, Ormskirk, Lancs., and Dean's Row,  
 Cheshire

On these names it is to be observed: (1) that not more than three or four appear to have accepted the "new theology" of that day, the Arianism which in the next generation became for a time dominant in so many of the dissenting churches; and thus prepared the way for Unitarianism, the blight under which a large number of them perished; (2) That of the names handed down to us a good proportion did not, so far as is known, become ministers. And the unrecorded names, in the twenty-three years during which Jollie conducted the academy, must have been very numerous. Also the few cases where we have data to fix the age at which the students entered shew that while some were far advanced in adolescence others were very young, mere boys of fourteen or fifteen. From all this we gather that here, as elsewhere, the academy combined the objects of a divinity college with those of a grammar school. Youths, probably not all of them Nonconformists, were sent to the academy for advancement in general education, with a view to miscellaneous professions, much as they would have been sent to some of the Scottish Universities. If I am not much mistaken it was no uncommon thing, seventy or eighty years ago, for boys of thirteen or fourteen to be entered as "bairns" at Aberdeen; (3) The later Stuart persecution had the effect, indirectly, of putting an end to the old antagonism of Presbyterians and Independents; the "Happy Union" of 1691 exercised an influence reaching far beyond London; and in the provinces the distinction of Presbyterian and Independent came to be almost ignored. But in London, unhappily, the Union was broken up by the Crispian controversy, so that separate Presbyterian and Congregational funds were constituted for benevolent purposes. Prior to 1696 Jollie, who was a Presbyterian, received several students who were aided by the Presbyterian fund; but none after that date. We may, therefore, regard Attercliffe as from that time a distinctly Congregational academy. Jollie died

on Easter Sunday, 28th March, 1714, at the age of fifty-eight. After his death an unhappy dissension arose in the congregation of which he was pastor. He had been successively assisted in his pastoral duties by three of his students : Mr. Gill, who removed to Hull in 1697 ; Mr. Wadsworth, who removed to Rotherham in 1701 ; and Mr. de la Rose, who was his assistant at the time of his death. A majority of the communicants desired that Mr. de la Rose should succeed to the pastorate ; but a majority of the hearers, supported by the trustees, preferred Mr. Wadsworth. After painful disputes a separation took place, and Nether chapel was built, of which Mr. de la Rose became pastor. Mr. Wadsworth succeeded Mr. Jollie at the Upper chapel, and carried on the academy. But already its glory was departed. We know practically nothing of its condition under his management ; nothing of how long it survived, or of the number of its pupils. Only four names of ministerial students are on record : Ebenezer Fletcher of Coventry ; Winter of Derby, who afterwards conformed ; another Winter of Walsall ; and Dobson of Walsall. For a while Timothy Jollie, junior, was his assistant ; he left about 1720, and others followed, the last being Mr. Wadsworth's son, Field Sylvester Wadsworth. He had been a pupil of Doddridge, but departed from the evangelical faith, and became a decided Unitarian. Whether the elder Wadsworth was an Arian or not is uncertain ; but the probabilities point in that direction. He retired, through failing health, in 1744, and died the following year. But long before this the academy had been discontinued ; *when* we have no information.

## The Brownists Faith and Beliefe Opened

(B.M. 669 f. 4 : 67)

Some that pretend most Faith, have least, who say  
That their Beliefe is pure, yet will not pray  
*I beleeve*

This illegitimate Sect is neither just  
In their owne way, nor will impose their trust  
*In God.*

A Spirit which can guide them they have got,  
They'l grant no other conduct, who know not  
*The Father Almighty.*

They'l make a Chaos of the Church, to see  
(Their errors being compos'd) whether he be  
*Maker of Heaven.*

Thus they tempt their Creator, and dare say  
They are more holy, and not made of clay  
*and Earth,*

They are inspir'd from Heaven, and thus they flout  
The holy Scriptures, and with it play both out  
*and in.*

They'l grant no worship to our Lord, nor show  
Any (though decent) reverence unto  
*Jesus*

They will derive their names from *Browne* and *Tom*,  
Nor doe they so care to extract it from  
*Christ.*

*Plulo* laughs at them, promising that he  
Who will persist thus in that way, shall be  
*his only son.*

But (O !) illuminate their errors now  
Father of Heaven, and Earth, and still be thou  
*our Lord.*

## The Brownists Faith

What is not theirs is Romes, and popish drosse ;  
Hence came the tumult about Cheapside Crosse  
*which was.*

Thus is our Church condemned without hope.  
To be reformed, for 'twas (they say) by th' Pope  
*conceived.*

They've bin so long from Church, that they've forgot ;  
But barnes and stables sure conceiv'd were not  
*by the Holy Ghost.*

They hate the nomination of Masse,  
Nor will they observe the rules of him that was  
*borne of the Virgin.*

They'l have no Brothers name to be called *Dave*,  
Nor Sisters Mal, cause of the Romish *Ave*  
*Mary.*

They're charitable, the naked they will see  
Cover'd, and none (unlesse a Sister) now shall bee  
*suffered under.*

Some will reforme religion, and some  
To crucifie Christ's Church, would even become  
*Pontius Pilate.*

Some preach in tubs, that scarce become a chaire ;  
The Bishops primacie in *Lambeth Faire*<sup>1</sup>  
*was crucified*

The publike Liturgie is condemned by most,  
The Book of Common prayer is almost  
*dead and buried.*

When Prophet *Hunt*<sup>2</sup> did in the Gallery prate  
In Christ Church, and sent to Counter gate  
*he descended.*

These Amsterdamaian tunes which they do sing  
In Conventicles, will them shortly bring  
*into hell.*

When *Spencer*<sup>3</sup> preacht, and did his word fulfill  
He in his text continued untill  
*the third day.*

<sup>1</sup> *Lambeth Faire, wherein you have all the Bishops' Trinkets set to Sale.* A satirical tract, 11 pp. 4to., 1641.

<sup>2</sup> James Hunt, a fanatic who gave himself out for a prophet, and caused several disturbances in 1641-2.

<sup>3</sup> John Spencer; see his *Apology* at p. 364.

When Hunt came from the Counter, went agen  
To the Old Exchange, and Westminster, O then  
*he rose againe*

These speake by inspiration, and are wise,  
Their Doctrin's dull, as if it did arise  
*from the dead.*

When How<sup>4</sup> rose from his Coblers balke, and teach't  
His fond opinions in the Pulpit preacht,  
*he ascended.*

Those that will thus their soules health rashly venter,  
To rob abused *Levi*, shall not enter  
*into heaven.*

They are as fierce as Hercules with his Club ;  
The chiefe among them's placed in a tub  
*and there he silleth.*

At the left hand there sits a holy mother,  
And there is likewise placed a purer brother  
*at the right-hand.*

Thus are their new assemblies all abhorr'd,  
And thus they doe prophane the sacred word  
*of God—*

We live and move by him that sits on high,  
Whom I acknowledge seriously to be  
*the Father Almighty.*

Marler<sup>5</sup> for preaching a Brownisticke text  
Was sent to th' Gate-house, and to Tyburne next  
*from thence he shall come.*

But stay, disturbers of the time ; I know  
Your manners, but who authorized you  
*to Judge.*

Retract your foolish rage, I humbly crave ;  
Doe not proceed to censure and deprave  
*both the quick and the dead.*

Why doe you nourish th' Amsterdamian brat,  
For (loe) 'tis not your sect confusive that  
*I beleeve in*

<sup>4</sup> Samuel How ; a shoemaker, pastor of a church in Southwark ; author of *The Sufficiency of the Spirit's Teaching without Human Learning* ; died 1640.

<sup>5</sup> "Marler the Button Maker," in Aldersgate Street ; see foot of p. 301.

346 The Brownists Faith and Beliefe Opened

Thou Brownianisme that our religion mainst,  
Thou often dost protect the sinne against  
*the holy Ghost.*

He that can teach five houres inspired from high,  
Denying Common-prayer Booke shall be  
*the holy.*

Most words of Popish Monuments are fram'd,  
Religion's Romish too, if it be nam'd  
*Catholike.*

A Church to them's Apocrypha ; a tree,  
A Barne, or Stable they esteem to be  
*Church.*

When the brethren, sisters, and brownistick Elves  
Doe meet together, then they call themselves  
*The Communion of Saints.*

They'l not confess, nor yet absolve ; they'l be  
Competitors for the truth, and so deny  
*the forgiveness of sinnes.*

When they should exercise their talent, and do move  
By the Spirit to a sister, oh then they love  
*the resurrection of the body.*

Since they such obscure places will inherit,  
Denying all good workes, they cannot merit  
*the life everlasting.*

And since they'r led by the Spirit, oh then withall  
May th' Spirit lead them unto Tyburne all.  
*Amen.*

## The Tombs in Bunhill Fields

“No pain, nor grief, nor anxious fear  
 Invades these bounds ; nor mortal woes  
 Can vex the forms that slumber here ;  
 And angels watch their soft repose.”

*Watts*

THE name of Bunhill Fields originally comprehended the entire space between Chiswell Street and Old Street, forming a part of the ancient manor of Finsbury. Somewhere in this area, as shewn in the earliest extant map, was a tumulus, which in the fourteenth century was noted by tradition as an ancient burial place. This appears to have been called “Bone-hill,” whence the transition was easy to “Bonhill” and “Bunhill” fields.

At a very early date—how early we are not informed, but not later than 1104—the manor was granted to the “prebendarius de Holiwell et de Finesbiri” (Holywell and Fensbury) in the cathedral of St. Paul, London. In 1315 the then prebendary, Robert of Baldock, granted his property in the manor to Sir John Gisors, Lord Mayor, and the commonalty of London, at a yearly rent of twenty shillings. This is supposed to have been in return for some services rendered to the church ; and as for the above named consideration the prebendary gives “for himself and his successors all his right and claim” to the property, it looks very much like a grant in perpetuity. In view of subsequent transactions, however, it would seem that Robert of Baldock had gone beyond his legal powers.

The ground thus granted to the mayor and commonalty was then unenclosed ; and the archers of old London took possession of it for their exercises. There the bowmen of Cressy and Agincourt were trained ; and thither in later times the London ‘prentices came out to practise archery and broadsword. In 1498 the area between Chiswell Street and Old Street, a little over 11 acres, consisting of gardens and orchards, was definitely set apart for military exercises ; and a part of it has retained the name of “The Artillery Ground” to this day.

There are some indications that interments took place from time to time in the vicinity of the old “Bone-hill” ; and in 1549 a large quantity of human remains—tradition says more than a thousand

cart loads—were removed thither from the charnel house of St. Paul's. It has been argued that these bones would surely have been deposited in a "consecrated" place; but there is no record of any ceremonial consecration, then or at any other time. Possibly the reformers of that date were of opinion—like a sturdy Non-conformist of three hundred years later—that it would suffice "to consecrate this ground by depositing in it the remains of a good man."

By 1553 the grant of 1315 had either been set aside or disregarded; for in that year the estate was leased to the Corporation for 90 years, at a rental of £39 13s. 4d. Eight years later St. Paul's was set on fire by lightning and greatly damaged. The Corporation voted the cost of twenty fother of lead towards the necessary repairs; and in consideration of this benefaction "the prebendary demised the Finsbury property to the Corporation in two leases of seventy years each, to commence at the expiration of the lease already existing. By this means the city had the property for 215 years; and it was naturally esteemed by them very little inferior to freehold.<sup>1</sup> Whether burials took place in the ground between this time and the Restoration is a little uncertain. Some writers assert it as a fact, as there is, or was, a stone inscribed "Debora Warr, Nov. 10, 1623"; "but this may have been the date of the decease of a person whose body was re-interred here."

When, in 1650, the Commonwealth authorities offered the lands of the dean and chapter for sale, the Corporation bought them, and thus became, as they intended and believed, absolutely and unconditionally lords of the manor. But after the Restoration this and similar transactions were annulled, without any return of purchase money. Indeed, the Corporation must have deemed themselves fortunate in being able to retain the lease at the old rental, of the payment of which in 1664 the record is still extant. As to the exact order of events about this time authorities are at variance. It is certain that Bunhill Fields were leased to one Henry Tindal, that part of the ground was laid out for building, and part enclosed for a burial place. This was done in 1665, during the mayoralty of Sir John Lawrence; but the gates were not finished till the following year. The enclosing wall was erected at the cost of the city. Defoe understood that "the Great Plague Pit was excavated near this spot, for the reception of bodies for whom no room could be found in the churchyards." Maitland (1739) says that the ground was "set apart and consecrated as a common cemetery for the interment of such corpses as could not have room in the burial grounds in the dreadful year of the pestilence. However, it not being made use of on that occasion, the said Tindal took a lease thereof, and converted it

<sup>1</sup> *Official History of Bunhill Fields Burial Ground.*

into a burial ground." Others give 1661 as the date of Tindal's lease. Whatever the date it was soon turned by him to profitable account. The earliest known interment under this tenancy is indicated by a stone inscribed "Joannes Seaman, natus 6 Feb<sup>1</sup> 1665, ob. Jul<sup>1</sup> 23, 1665." Query, may not this have been a grandchild of the learned Dr. Lazarus Seaman? As to the alleged consecration, there is no record or proof of it; while in its favour it is urged that on a stone in the original wall the place was called a "church-yard"; that Drs. Tillotson and Stillingfleet, dean and canon respectively of St. Paul's, attended a funeral there in 1682<sup>2</sup>; that several distinguished clergymen, including at least one bishop, officiated there; and that latterly the Corporation appointed a clergyman of the Established Church as permanent salaried chaplain: on the other side it is argued that, if the ground had been consecrated, all Nonconformist services within the enclosure would have been illegal. The name "Bunhill Fields" in the 17th century comprehended a much larger space than the burial ground and the artillery ground. It included a small Quakers' burial place, considerably to the westward, adjoining what is now called Roscoe Street; where the remains of George Fox were laid to rest in 1690. The original "Tindal's Ground," on the other hand, was smaller than the present enclosure. Becoming inconveniently full, it was enlarged about 1700 by the addition of that portion which lies north of E. and W. line seventy-six on the plan. Tindal's lease expired about 1712 or 13; many offers were made to the Corporation for the ground, and ultimately it was leased to one James Browne for sixty-one years at twenty shillings a year, with a fine of £900. Browne also covenanted to complete the wall round the northern extension, and to allow the use of the place to "none other purpose" than a burial ground; especially that it should not be used, as formerly, as a "tenter field."

In 1717 a pamphlet was printed for E. Curll, purporting to give *Inscriptions on the Tombs in the Dissenters' Burial Place near Bunhill Fields*. This tract became so rare that a copy in the possession of Sir Charles Reed, F.S.A., in 1866, was believed to be unique.<sup>3</sup> It has since been reprinted by order of the Common Council (*Bunhill Fields Burial Ground; Proceedings in Reference to its Preservation, 1867*). It contains seventy-five inscriptions, eighteen in Latin, three partly English and partly Latin, and the rest wholly English. Very few of these are now traceable, and unfortunately the tract does not indicate the location of particular stones.

After Browne the lease was held by Elizabeth Fetherstonhaugh, who is said to have laid out the street on the north side of the

<sup>2</sup> It was the funeral of Richard Fairclough, ejected minister of Mells, Somerset.

<sup>3</sup> This was a mistake; the Congregational Library has two copies.

ground, now called Featherstone Street, with the profits derived from the burial ground in about eight years! This is probably an exaggeration; but the fees at that time amounted to over £700 a year. Possibly this large revenue induced the Corporation in May, 1781, to take the management of the property into its own hands.

As the expiration of the leases negotiated in 1561 drew near, it became necessary to make arrangements for the future. The Finsbury estate was generally in a neglected condition, a large part of it being described as "now the resort of idle and disorderly persons." A grand improvement scheme was carefully elaborated, the central feature of which was the laying out of Finsbury Square. As a needful preliminary to this scheme, terms for a new lease were arranged with the then prebendary, Christopher Wilson, D.D., afterwards Bishop of Bristol. In 1765 the City Lands Committee reported to the Common Council that they had "agreed with the prebendary to join in an application to parliament for an act to enable the prebendary and his successors to grant a lease to the City of the prebendal estate, from Christmas last, for a term of ninety-nine years, renewable at the expiration of seventy-three years, by adding fourteen years, to make up a term of forty years; and afterwards every fourteen years in like manner for ever." An Act, known as The Finsbury Estates Act (9 Geo. iii. cap. 61), was accordingly obtained; but, whether by some extraordinary blunder or by discredibly sharp practice, the italicised clause designed to secure the perpetuity of the lease, though in the Bill and referred to in a side note, was omitted from the Act as finally passed. How this came about is a mystery which has never been elucidated; the City authorities evidently believed at that time that they had secured a permanent tenure; but when the time came for renewal of the lease, the representatives of the lapsed prebendal estate availed themselves to the full of the advantage which accrued to them by the blunder or trick, and declined all proposals for renewal. These representatives were the Ecclesiastical Commissioners; and the unearned increment which they thus, quite legally, appropriated was enormous, including the improved value not only of the Bunhill Fields cemetery, but of Finsbury Square, Finsbury Circus, Wesley Chapel, Moorfields Tabernacle, and the whole region round about.

In 1789 there was a considerable falling off in the receipts from fees charged for interments, owing to an apprehension on the part of the public that the ground might at some future time be diverted to other uses. This and other related matters were discussed in meetings of the City Lands Committee, at which the Bishop of Bristol as an interested person was present. A report of this committee was adopted by the Common Council on 1st February, 1788; in accordance with which public notice was

given of the resolution of the council : " That no alteration shall at any time hereafter be made by or under the authority of this court by building on the said burying grounds, or either of them, or any part thereof ; but that the same and every part thereof shall at all times hereafter remain for the purpose of burials only in such manner as hath been accustomed for many years past." At the same time a list of fees was adopted and published, a caretaker appointed ; and " the length and breadth of each ground [ordered to] be described by figures in numerical order," *i.e.* the figures indicating the intersection lines, many of which still remain. At the same time steps were taken for the due preservation of the register of burials, both as to the past and the future. This register, in twenty-nine volumes, covering the whole time from 1713 to 1852, is now among the non-parochial registers at Somerset House.

Confidence being restored by the above quoted resolution, Bunhill Fields became, even more than before, the recognized burial place for London Nonconformists. But already many of the monuments were decayed, gravestones broken, and inscriptions fast becoming illegible. A few years later the Rev. Dr. Rippon, minister of Carter Lane Baptist church, Tooley Street, undertook to transcribe all such inscriptions as were then legible, designing to publish them with biographical notes. On this labour of love, like a veritable " Old Mortality," he spent his leisure during several years, but never completed the task. The result of his patient toil, in six MS. volumes, is preserved in the library of the Herald's College.

In 1842 the Corporation endeavoured to repair the error of 1769, by promoting a bill to legalize the sale of the Finsbury estate, on terms agreed upon with the dean and chapter of St. Paul's. The effort failed ; but it is worth recording that in estimating the sale price " the burial grounds were taken in the valuation *as of no worth*, and were, in fact, excluded from the calculation."<sup>4</sup>

In 1849 an aged Baptist minister, the Rev. J. A. Jones, published a volume entitled : *Bunhill Memorials : Sacred Reminiscences of three hundred ministers and other persons of note who are buried in Bunhill Fields, of every Denomination ; with the Inscriptions on their tombs and gravestones.* The "reminiscences" vary from mere transcripts of epitaphs to brief memoirs occupying several pages. Two hundred and fifty-six inscriptions are given, twelve of them taken from various records (the stones having disappeared or become illegible), the rest copied from the then existing monuments. Twelve of the inscriptions are given in Latin with translations, two being represented by translations only. The actual location of two hundred and sixty-one interments is

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\* *History of Bunhill Fields Burial Ground.*

indicated by the intersections, including all ministers whose resting places were certainly known. Over seventeen no stone was placed or remaining. There are also notices of thirty-nine worthies who were known to have been buried within the enclosure, though the exact place is unrecorded. The book is of real and permanent value, as affording the only means, hitherto easily accessible, of ascertaining the position of particular graves; and it has been freely used in constructing the plan which accompanies this paper.

By an order in council issued in 1852 further interments in the ground were prohibited. It was high time; for since 1665 there had been deposited within an area of less than four acres upwards of 120,000 bodies, rather more than six to every square yard of surface. In other words, the burials represented six layers of bodies covering every foot of the enclosure.

The lease of 1768-9 expiring at Christmas, 1867, the entire Finsbury estate then fell into the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. As this date approached, much anxiety was felt about the future of what Southey had called "the *Campo Santo* of the Dissenters," and on 9th June, 1864, a memorial was presented to the Common Council, praying that all necessary steps might be taken to preserve the ground from desecration. Fifty-six names were attached to the memorial, including those of J. Remington Mills, Samuel Morley, George Hadfield, Sir Francis Crossley, Sir S. Morton Peto, Sir Edward Baines, Dr. Thos. Binney, Dr. E. B. Underhill, Sir Jas. Risdon Bennett, W. McArthur, Thos. M. Challis, and C. E. Mudie. The memorial was supported by another from the churchwardens, overseers, and many inhabitants of the parish of St. Luke's. In response to these memorials negotiations were undertaken, but without any satisfactory result, the commissioners declining to concur in any arrangement, except on terms of sale and purchase. In November and December, 1865, the Common Council unanimously resolved that they were "willing to accept the care and preservation of the ground on behalf of the public"; and appointed a committee "to watch the proceedings in reference to this question, and to take such steps therein as they may think requisite." This committee reported on 6th December, 1866. From the correspondence it would seem that the commissioners felt it their duty to the Established Church to *assert*, if not to *enforce*, the sacred rights of property. The four acres, which in 1842 had been treated as worthless, were now, in 1865, appraised at "confessedly more than £100,000"; and there had been a disposition to accept an offer (subsequently withdrawn) of £10,000 from a Mr. Ivimey as "a liberal settlement of the question." Ultimately it was arranged that the fee simple of the ground should remain with the Ecclesiastical Commissioners; but that it should be preserved as an

open space for ever, and that the City should undertake the responsibility of its preservation and management. These terms, by the help of a committee of the dissenting deputies, were embodied in an act of parliament, which was passed without opposition in the summer of 1867. The ground was then put in decent order, trees planted and walks laid out; and it was opened to the public "for recreation and promenade" by the Lord Mayor on Thursday, 14th October, 1869. The successful issue of this movement was largely due to the persistent efforts of Sir Charles Reed, F.S.A.

It is a singular coincidence that the enclosing wall was built in the mayoralty of Sir John Lawrence, 1665; and the ground was formally devoted to public use by Sir James Clarke Lawrence in 1869.

The number of tombs or graves now traceable is nearly 6,000. In the Guildhall Library is a record, prepared by Mr. George Rogers under the direction of the City Lands Committee, containing an accurate copy of every inscription which was legible in 1868. This record accompanies a large plan, measuring thirty-seven inches by fifty-two, which shews the exact location of every stone. Unfortunately, however, the intersections are not given; instead, the area is divided into twenty-five sections or squares, and the graves in each section are numbered consecutively. This arrangement affords very little aid to a visitor in determining the situation of any particular tomb. The small handbook which is sold on the ground gives a number of the most interesting inscriptions, and sketches of thirty-eight monuments; but the accompanying plan only locates forty-four interments, and is thus quite inadequate as a visitor's guide.

It has several times been suggested that it would be desirable to print the entire Bunhill Register. But a little reflection will shew that the labour and cost of editing and printing above 100,000 entries, most of them names of obscure persons, would be quite out of proportion to any possible advantage to be gained thereby. Moreover, the registers only begin with April, 1713; so that the interments of greatest historic interest, those of the ejected ministers and the later Puritan worthies, are not recorded. It is, however, much to be wished that the registers should be thoroughly examined, and all those entries extracted which are of any importance to the history of the Free Churches, or to the Metropolis in general.

In the annexed plan all the tombs are marked, according to the intersections, which are located in the *Bunhill Memorials*; and a few others which seem to be of public interest. The total number of names is three hundred and fifteen, of which two hundred and sixty are names of ministers. The tombs are considerably fewer, because it frequently happens that one tomb represents several

interments. Thus with Bunyan (133) lie John Strudwick, Robert Bragg junior, and others unnamed; Thankful Owen lies with Thomas Goodwin; John Evans and Thomas Morgan with Daniel Williams, Thomas Belsham with Theophilus Lindsey, &c., &c. The sign ‡ indicates that though the place of burial is known, there is no stone to mark it. The sign \* is affixed to the names of ministers ejected by the Act of Uniformity, 1662.

## Location of Tombs

No. on Plan	Name	Year	Denom.	Location	Intersection	
					E & W	N & S
15	Addington, Stephen, D.D.	1796	Ind.	Miles Lane ... ..	41	65-6
67	Aldridge, William	1797	Ind.	Jewry Street ... ..	24	47
200†	Alexander, Daniel	1709	Pres.	Crosby Square ... ..	24	1
162†	Allen, John, M.D.	1774	Pres.	New Broad Street, etc.	73	17
24	Amory, Thomas, D.D.	1774	Pres.	Old Jewry ... ..	26-7	62
28	Anderson, William	1767	Bapt.	Grafton Street ... ..	44	59
28†	Asty, John	1729	Ind.	Ropemakers' Alley ...	42	59
99	Atley, Henry	1822		Missionary to Lascars	32-3	37-8
116	Ball, John	1811	Ind.	Jewry Street ... ..	125	33
52	Barber, Joseph	1810	Ind.	Aldermanbury Postern	78	9
55	Bayes, Joshua	1746	Pres.	Leather Lane ... ..	66	51
55	Bayes, Thomas, F.R.S.	1761	Pres.	Tunbridge ... ..	66	51
17†	Beasley, John	1811	Ind.		72	67
102†	Beau, Peter	1831			5	37
45	Belsham, Thomas	1829	Unit.	Hackney ... ..	114	51
109	Benson, George, D.D.	1762	Pres.	Poor Jewry Lane ...	62	35
185†	Betts, John Thomas	1847		"A lover of good men"	11	5
53	Biggs, Elizabeth	1733		(Fine monument, erected by father to his daughter) ... ..	68	54
53	Biggs, William	1738			"	"
122†	Billingsley, John	1722	Pres.	Crutched Friars ... ..	101	32
7	Bolton, John	1821	Bapt.	Goswell Street ‡	14	67
80	Bradberry, David	1803		"A preacher of the Gospel 42 years" ...	121-2	43-4
14	Bradbury, Thomas	1759	Ind.	New Court ... ..	40	66-7
39	Bradford, John, A.B.	1805	Ind.	City Chapel, Grub St.	116-7	60
151	Brand, Thomas	1691	Epis.	Oxford, Philanthropist	19	21
151†	Bragge, Robt., senr.*	1704	Ind.	Pewterers' Hall ... ..	20	22-3
133	Bragge, Robt., junr.	1737	Ind.	Lime St. (Paved Alley)	25-6	26-7
129	Brine, John	1765	Bapt.	Curriers' Hall ... ..	51	29
2	Broadfoot, William	1837	Pres.	Tutor, Cheshunt Col.	43-4	78
49	Brown, John	1816	Ind.	Cumberland Street ...	95-6	54
198	Brooksbank, Joseph	1825	Ind.	Haberdashers' Hall ...	48-9	1
138†	Brooksbank, William	1751			5	35
131	Buck, Charles	1815	Ind.	Grub Street ... ..	36	28-9
133	Bunyan, John	1688	Bapt.	Bedford ... ..	25-6	26-7
23	Burder, George	1832	Ind.	Fetter Lane ... ..	39	62
11	Burford, Samuel	1768	Bapt.	Goodman's Fields ...	24-5	64-5
134	Button, William	1821	Bapt.	Dean Street ... ..	21	28-9
13	Buxton, Thos. Fowell	1795		Kinsman of the philanthropist of the same name ... ..	25-6	67

# The Tombs in Bunhill Fields

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No. on Plan				Intersection E & W N & S
66	Boulton, William	... 1799	{Prot. Dis.}	Dublin ... .. 9 49
154	Cartwright, Joseph	... 1800	Ind.	Lant Street ... .. 49 22·3
186	Chandler, Sam., D.D., F.R.S.	... 1766	Pres.	Old Jewry ... .. 4 5 8·9
35	Chevalier, Thos., M.D., F.R.S.	... 1824		Sergeant Surgeon to King George III ... 101 55
181	Chin, John	... 1839	Bapt.	Walworth ... .. 15 145
5	Child, (A.)	... n.d.		(Fine poetical epitaph) 11 69
47	Clark, George	... 1832	Ind.	Ponder's End ... 95·6 49·50
97†	Clarke, Sir Robert	... 1770		59·60 42
97†	Clarke, Sir John	... 1782		59·60 42
38	Clayton, John	... 1843	Ind.	King's Weigh House 118 59
38	Clayton, William	... 1838	Ind.	Saffron Walden ... " "
119†	Coates, John	... 1831	Pres.	" " 111 26·7
97†	Collet, Joseph	... 1725		Governor of Fort George, India ... 59·60 42
148†	Collier, Abel	... 1695	Ind.	Halstead ... .. 8 17
87	Conder, John, D.D.	... 1781	Ind.	Tutor, Homerton ... 105 41·2
66†	Cooper, William, M.D.	... 1779		5 47
66†	Cooper, John, M.D.	... 1782		5 47
81	Crole, Anthony	... 1803	Ind.	Founders Hall ... 127·8 41·2
138	Cromwell, Richard	... —		See p. 360 ... .. 14 33
139	Cromwell, Henry	... —		See p. 360 ... .. 14 29
171	Cruden, William, M.A.	... 1785	Sc. Pr.	Crown Court ... .. 46·7 11·2
104	Dale, John	... 1757	Ind.	Faversham ... .. 34·5 35
91	Davies, Edward	... 1812	Epis.	Coychurch, Glam. ... 78 38
61	Davies, John	... 1821	Ind.	Hare Court ... .. 52 51
37	Dawson, Alfred	... 1835	Ind.	Dorking ... .. 115·6 55·6
119†	Dean, Joseph	... 1834		Chelwood, Somerset 83·4 35
126	Defoe, Daniel	... 1731	Ind.	Political writer and novelist ... .. 60 27
202	Denham, David	... 1848	Bapt.	Southwark ... .. 14 1
124	Denham, Thomas	... 1838	Bapt.	Whitechapel ... † 76 22
61†	Dewhurst, John B.	... 1812	Unit.	47·8 56
132†	Dornford, Josiah, J.P.	... 1810		31 28·9
191	Dowars, William	... 1795	Bapt.	Goodman's Fields ... 60·1 7·8
193	Dukinfield, Sir Samuel	... 1768		60 2
187	Duncan, John, LL.D.	... 1814	Sc. Pr.	Peter Street ... .. 21 7·8
74	Durant, George	... 1812	Ind.	Lay preacher ... 90·1 48·9
193†	Eades, John	... 1786		61 1
170	Eames, John, F.R.S.	... 1744	Ind.	Tutor, Moorfields ... 50 12
121†	Edwards, John	... 1837		111 30·1
97	Emlyn, Thos.	... 1743	Arian	Victim of a shameful persecution ... 54 43
41	Erskine, Lady Ann	... 1804		Colleague of Countess of Huntingdon ... 120 59
167	Evans, John, D.D.	... 1730	Pres.	New Broad Street ... 65 11
72†	Fell, John	... 1797	Ind.	Tutor, Homerton ... 70 48
127†	Field, William	... 1816	Ind.	Mortlake ... .. 54 23
88	Fisher, Daniel, D.D.	... 1807	Ind.	Tutor, Homerton ... 107 42·3
184	Fleetwood, Charles	... 1692	Ind.	Lieut.-General ... 10 10
180	Fleming, Caleb, D.D.	... 1779	Unit.	Pinners' Hall ... 24 13·4
94	Flexman, Roger, D.D.	... 1795	Pres.	Bermondsey ... .. 58 38
177	Flower, Thomas	... 1767	Bapt.	32 16·7
69	Ford, John, LL.D.	... 1806		Manager of Countess of Huntingdon's chapels 32 49

No. on Plan					Intersection E & W N &
190†	Ford, William	...	1783	Ind.	Miles Lane ... 53 5
96†	Foster, James, D.D.	...	1753	Unit.	Old Jewry ... 60 42
125	Franklin, Jonathan	...	1833	Bapt.	Redcross Street † 67 23
127	Freer, Richard	...	1823	Ind.	Cumberland Street ... 53-4 28
44	Furneaux, Philip, D.D.	...	1783	Pres.	Clapham ... 115-6 51
120†	Gale, Robert	...	1843	Ind.	Hoxton ... 113 28-9
176	Gale, Theophilus, M.A.*	...	1678	Pres.	Haberdashers' Hall ... 30 13-4
96	Gibbons, Thomas, D.D.	...	1785	Ind.	Haberdashers' Hall ... 57 41
183	Gifford, Andrew, D.D.	...	1784	Bapt.	Eagle Street, Holborn 14 11
102	Gilchrist, William	...	1684		4 5 41
12	Gill, John, D.D.	...	1771	Bapt.	Carter Lane, Tooley St. 20-1 65-6
21†	Gilson, David	...	1805		63 62
110†	Goode, John	...	1831	Ind.	66-7 29
173	Goodwin, Thomas, D.D.*	...	1679	Ind.	Fetter Lane ... 35 9-10
104†	<i>Graham, Captain Walter</i>	...	1758		Drumkil, Perth ... 26-7 34
30†	Green, John	...	1768		68 58
29	Green, William	...	1802	Ind.	Castle Street, Reading 42 57-8
60	Gregson, Abraham	...	1770		50 54
42	Greig, George	...	1830	Sc. Pr.	Crown Court ... 129 58
105	Griffiths, John	...	1798	Ind.	White's Alley and Brigstock ... 32 32-3
165	Grosvenor, Benj., D.D.	...	1758	Pres.	Crosby Square ... 71 11
200	Guyse, John, D.D.	...	1761	Ind.	New Broad Street ... 30-1 1
200	Guyse, William	...	1759	Ind.	New Broad St., assist. 30-1 1
90	Gwennap, Joseph	...	1813	Bapt.	Piccadilly ... 89 41-2
30	Hall, Archibald	...	1778	Sc. Pr.	Well Street ... 71 56-7
77	Hall, Christopher	...	1786	Bapt.	Spitalfields ... 109-10 49
58†	Hargrave, Timothy	...	1793		Brentford ... 58 55 6
22†	Harper, Thomas	...	1832	Ind.	Adelphi ... 45 63-4
89	<i>Hardcastle, Joseph</i>	...	1819		First Treasurer of London Missionary Soc. 101 38
196	<i>Hardy, Thomas</i>	...	1832		Political reformer ... 52 1
44	Harris, Rice, D.D.	...	1795	Pres.	Hanover Street ... 115-6 51
167	Harris, William, D.D.	...	1746	Ind.	Crutched Friars ... 65 11
40	Harris, William, LL.D.	...	1830	Ind.	Tutor, Highbury ... 121 60
26†	Harrison, John, D.D.	...	1798		22 55
50	Hart, Joseph	...	1768	Ind.	Jewin Street ... 82 54
184	<i>Hartopp, Dame Mary</i>	...	168--	Ind.	Mother of Sir John Hartopp; third wife of C. Fleetwood ... 10 10
149	Hayward, Samuel	...	1757	Ind.	Silver Street ... 18-19 18
47†	<i>Hinkley, Henry, M.D.</i>	...	1779		Treasurer of Royal College of Physicians 97 51
20†	Hirst, Charles	...	1834	Ind.	Leeds, not in charge ... 62 68
75	Hitchin, Edward	...	1795	Ind.	White's Row ... 92 47-8
120	Hockley, William	...	1833	Ind.	Tabernacle Connection 112 28-9
73†	Hollis, Benjamin	...	1749		75 49
148	Hopkins, Thomas	...	1787	Bapt.	Eagle Street ... 11-2 17
111	Horne, Wm. Wales	...	1826	Bapt.	Aldersgate Street † 69 33
191†	<i>Horsman, Gabriel (or Gilbert)</i>	...	1733		Bencher of Lincoln's Inn 63 4
191†	<i>Horsman, Samuel, M.D.</i>	...	1751		63 4
30†	<i>Hort, Thomas</i>	...	1756		Chief Accountant to Honble. East India Company ... 71 58
165†	<i>Howard, John and Ann</i> { 1742 & } { 1731 }				Parents of the philanthropist ... 70 7

No. on Plan				Intersection E & W N & S
197	Hughes, James ...	1844	C.M'th.	Jewin Crescent ... 49-50 1
108	Hughes, Joseph, M.A. ...	1833	Bapt.	First Secretary Bible Society ... 5 <sup>S</sup> 35
101†	Hume, Abraham, M.A.*	1707	Sc. Pr.	Drury Lane ... 4-5 41
119	Humphries, William ...	1808	Ind.	Hammersmith ... 112 24-5
107†	Hunt, William ...	1770		... 53 37
106	Hunter, Henry, D.D. ...	1802	Sc. Pr.	London Wall ... 44 34
93†	Hurriion, John ...	1731	Ind.	... 66 41
9	Hutchings, Thomas ...	1827	Bapt.	Unicorn Yard ... 9-10 63-4
98	Hyatt, John ...	1826	Ind.	Tabernacle Connection 43 38
6	Ivimey, Joseph ...	1834	Bapt.	Eagle Street ... 13 68
59†	Jackson, Matthew ...	1771		... 55 55-6
88	Jenkins, Dr. ...	1780	Pres.	Tutor, Carmarthen ... 101-2 41-2
54	Jenkins, Joseph, D.D. ...	1819	Bapt.	Walworth ... 65 53-4
189	Jenky, William*	1684	Pres.	Jewin Street ... 25-6 5
164	Jennings, Nathaniel ...	1814	Ind.	Islington ... 74 11
83	Jerment, George, D.D. ...	1819	Sc. Pr.	Oxendon Street ... 119-20 41
110	Jones, John Andrew ...	?	Bapt.	Author of <i>Bunhill Memorials</i> ... 68 33
17	Jones, William, A.M. ...	1846	Sc. Bap.	Windmill Street ... 67 70-1
171†	Jupp, Richard ...	1799		30 years architect to Honble. East India Company ... 49 14
71	Kello, John ...	1827	Ind.	Bethnal Green ... 60 49-50
57	King, Thomas ...	1847	Bapt.	Bedford ... 63 53-4
143	King, William, D.D. ...	1769	Ind.	Hare Court ... 5 23
20	Kippis, Andrew, D.D., F.R.S. ...	1795	Unit.	Westminster ... 55 67
172†	Kirkman, Lemuel ...	1820		... 47-8 8
19†	Langford, William, D.D. ...	1775	Ind.	King's Weighhouse ... 60-1 69
95†	Lardner, Nathaniel, D.D. ...	1768	Pres.	Jewry Street ... 55 38
95	Lardner, Richard ...	1739	Pres.	Hoxton Square ... 54 38
162	Lawrence, Samuel, D.D. ...	1760	Pres.	Monkwell Street ... 70 14-5
172	Lawson, Robert ...	1771	Sc. Pr.	London Wall ... 47-8 11-2
9†	Legrand, Peter ...	1764		Canterbury ... 12 65
160	Lilley, Westfield ...	1798		Noteworthy epitaph on a child ... 66 16
158	Lindsay, James, D.D. ...	1821	Pres.	Monkwell Street ... 50 17
45	Lindsay, Theophilus, M.A. ...	1808	Unit.	Essex Street ... 114 51
157	Llewelyn, Thomas, I.L.D. ...	1783	Bapt.	Occasional preacher... 49 18
131†	Lobb, Theophilus, M.D., F.R.S. ...	1763	Pres.	Haberdashers' Hall ... ? 35 27
79	Loveday, John ...	1795		Left all his property for charitable purposes 128 46
68	Luson, Jane ...	1816		Aged 116 years ... 25 48
190	Lyndall, Samuel ...	1836	Ind.	Grandfather of Olive Schreiner ... 57 7-8
112	Macgowan, John ...	1780	Bapt.	Devonshire Square ... 79 33-4
65	Madden, Thomas ...	1819	C.M'th.	Aldersgate Street ... 29 50-1
73	Marriott, Thomas ...	1724		Clerk of the Pleas in H.M. Court of Exchequer ... 72 47
115	Martin, John ...	1820	Bapt.	Keppel Street ... 95 35-6
76	Maurice, William ...	1802	Ind.	Fetter Lane ... 99-100 46-7
135†	Meredith, Thomas ...	1755		... 19 27-8
121	Messer, Benjamin ...	1772	Bapt.	Grafton Street ... 108 27-8
117	Meyer, John Henry ...	1796	C.M'th.	Adelphi... ... 125 28

No. on Plan					Intersection E & W N & S
19†	Miles, Henry, D.D., F.R.S.	1763	Pres.	Tooting ...	61 69
116†	Mitchell, Eli ...	1834			† 120 34
91†	Mitchell, John ...	1756	Ind.	Nightingale Lane ...	84 39
50†	<i>Moncreiff, Wm. Wellwood,</i> <i>L.L.D.</i> ...	1813			86 52
16	Moore, Francis ...	1839	Ind.	Vauxhall ...	50-1 72
103†	Moore, Joseph ...	1807			22 35
1	Morell, Thomas ...	1840	Ind.	Tutor, Coward College	59 77-8
1	Morell, Jas. David ...	1837	Ind.	Not in charge ...	59 77-8
201	<i>Morley, John</i> ...	1848		Father of Samuel Morley, M.P. ...	16 2
185	Morrice, Roger, M.A.* ...	1701	Pres.	Collector of Historical Records ...	10 9-10
167	Morgan, Thomas, LL.D	1821	Unit.	Librarian, Williams's Library ...	65 11
153	Muir, David ...	1780	Ind.	Wapping ...	33 22-3
3	<i>Nasmith, David</i> ...	1839		Founder of London City Mission ...	27 70
95	Neal, Daniel, M.A.	1743	Pres.	Historian of the Puri- tans ...	54 38
105†	Neeley, Samuel ...	1812		Islington ...	28 33
141	Newman, Thomas ...	1758	Pres.	Carter Lane ...	7 27
149†	Nicholson, Isaac...	1807	C.M'th.	Pell Street; sometime tutor at Cheshunt ...	20-1 18
26	Nicol, William, D.D.	1821	Sc. Pr.	Swallow Street ...	14 54-5
72	Oates, William ...	1828	Ind.	Little Alie Street ...	61 47-8
80	Offgood, Ezekiel ...	1800			122 42-3
60†	Oldfield, Joshua, D.D.	1729	Pres.	Maid Lane ...	53 54
19	Orme, William ...	1830	Ind.	Camberwell ...	62 69
50	Owen, John, D.D.* ...	1683	Ind.	Leadenhall Street ...	17-8 20
173	Owen, Thankful* ...	1681	Ind.	Fetter Lane ...	35 9-10
84	Parker, John Kennett ...	1818	Ind.	Barking ...	118 41
25	Palmer, Thomas ...	1840	Ind.	Jewry Street ...	8 59
58	<i>Page, Dame Mary</i> ...	1728	Bapt.	Epitaph describes re- markable affliction	57 54
7	Penny, John ...	?	Bapt.	Portsea ...	† 14 67
125†	Philips, Samuel ...	1775			65 25
147	Phillips, Maurice ...	1822	Ind.	Harpenden ...	13 18
70	Pickard, Edward ...	1773	Pres.	Carter Lane ...	35 49
155†	Piercy, J. S ...	1843	Epis.	Chaplain B.F. ...	53 22
32	Platt, Wm. Francis ...	1831	Ind.	Holywell Mount ...	76-7 56
146	Pomfret, Samuel ...	1721	Pres.	Gravel Lane ...	15 20-1
140†	Pope, Michael ...	1788	Pres.	Leather Lane ...	5 26
64	Powell, Thomas ...	1829	Bapt.	Mitchell Street ...	28 51
48	Powell, Thomas, jun. ...	1846	Bapt.	Peckham ...	94 52
199	Price, Samuel ...	1756	Ind.	Bury Street ...	45 1
199	Price, Rd , D.D., F.R.S.	1791	Arian	Hackney ...	45 1
85	Price, Rees ...	1815	Pres.	Chalfont ...	116 38
51	Priestley, Timothy ...	1814	Ind.	Jewin Street ...	78 55
101	<i>Pringle, Thomas</i> ...	1834		Author and philan- thropist ...	6 42
178	<i>Prudence, James</i> ...	1668		The oldest inscription legible in 1849 ...	37 18
195	<i>Pugh, Hugh</i> ...	1840		Welsh Harper ...	54 1
27	Radford, Joseph ...	1803	Ind.	Virginia Street ...	23 59
135	Ralph, Edward ...	1818	Ind.	Maidstone ...	18 29
193	Rawlin, Richard ...	1757	Ind.	Fetter Lane ...	60 2

# The Tombs in Bunhill Fields

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No. on Plan					Intersection E & W N & S
142	Ready, Martin ...	1805	Bapt.	Peckham ...	14 27
118	Rees, Abraham, D.D., F.R.S. ...	1825	Arian	Old Jewry; editor of an encyclopaedia ...	122 25
130	Reynolds, John ...	1803	Ind.	Camomile Street ...	49 29
128	Reynolds, John, M.A. ...	1792	Bapt.	Curriers' Hall ...	53 29
126†	Ridgley, Thomas, D.D. ...	1734	Ind.	Three Cranes ...	61 27
4	Rippon, John, D.D. ...	1836	Bapt.	Carter Lane, Tooley St. ...	13 70
2†	Robertson, Joseph ...	1837			49-50 78-9
153†	Rosewell, Thos., M.A.* ...	1692	Pres.	Jamaica Row; tried for treason ...	36 20
153†	Rosewell, Samuel, M.A. ...	1722	Pres.	Silver Street ...	36 20
182	Ross, William ...	1808	Ind.	Shadwell ...	13 13-4
152	Rowe, John, M.A.* ...	1677	Ind.	Ej. Westminster Abbey ...	30 20
152	Rowe, Thomas ...	1705	Ind.	Girdlers' Hall ...	30 20
152	Rowe, Benoni ...	1706	Ind.	Epsom and Fetter Lane ...	30 20
140	Russel, Patrick, M.A. ...	1746	Sc. Pr.	Crown Court ...	4 28
179	Rutledge, Thos., D.D. ...	1818	Sc. Pres.		33 19
180†	Rule, John, A.M. ...	1775			24 11
74†	Saunders, John ...	1822			89 50
18	Saunders, Thomas ...	1806	Ind.	Coventry ...	64 70
194	Savage, Samuel M., D.D. ...	1791	Ind.	Bury Street ...	56 1
169	Say, Samuel ...	1743	Pres.	Westminster ...	57 12
62†	<i>Seward, Benjamin</i> ...	1753			44 52
62†	<i>Seward, Elizabeth</i> ...	1754		Mrs. Seward left large sums to various charities, mostly among Dissenters ...	44 52
145	Sibley, Manoah ...	1840	Swedenborgian		11 22
144	Simpson, Robert, D.D. ...	1817	Ind.	Tutor, Hoxton ...	9 22
110	Skepp, John ...	1721	Bapt.	Curriers' Hall ...	68 33
165	<i>Smith, Captain Humphrey</i> ...	1715			71 11
46	Spilsbury, Fras ...	1782	Pres.	Salters' Hall ...	106 51
188	Stafford, John, D.D. ...	1800	Ind.	New Broad Street ...	21 4
22	Stennett, Samuel, D.D. ...	1795	Bapt.	Little Wild Street ...	47 64
113	Stevens, John ...	1778	Bapt.	Red Cross Street ...	81 35
11†	Stinton, Samuel ...	1769			26 64
137†	Stockell, Samuel ...	1750	Ind.	Red Cross Street ...	14 33
133	<i>Strudwick, John</i> ...	1697		Friend of Bunyan, who died at his house ...	25-6 26-7
137	<i>Stothard, Thomas</i> ...	1834		Distinguished painter ...	20 33
114	Swain, Joseph ...	1796	Bapt.	Walworth ...	84 30
59	Sowerby, Thomas ...	1819	Bapt.	Battle Bridge ...	57 55
192	Taylor, Thomas ...	1831	Pres.	Carter Lane ...	71 3
192†	<i>Taylor, Charles</i> ...			Editor of <i>Calmet's Dict.</i> ...	65 3
56	Taylor, Dan ...	1816	G. Bapt.	Whitechapel ...	57 51
85†	Taylor, William ...	1792			116 35
82	<i>Terry, Garnet</i> ...	1817		Engraver to the Bank of England ...	125 39
93	Thomas, Timothy ...	1827	Bapt.	Devonshire Square ...	70 42
103	Thomas, Thomas ...	1819	Bapt.	Sch'lmaster, Peckham ...	29 36
132	Thompson, Josiah ...	1780	Bapt.	Bristol ...	29 27
11†	Thompson, Josiah (2) ...	1806	Bapt.	Clapham ...	26 64
161	Toller, Thomas ...	1795	Ind.	Hoxton Square ...	70 15
36	Towers, John ...	1804	Ind.	Barbican ...	105 58
195†	Towers, Joseph, LL.D. ...	1799	Pres.	Highgate ...	51 2 or 3
175	Towle, Thomas ...	1806	Ind.	Aldermanbury ...	35 11
43	Townsend, John ...	1826	Ind.	Founder of the Deaf and Dumb Asylum ...	120 51

No. on Plan					Intersection			
					E & W	N & S		
155	Trotman, Nath.	...	1793	Ind.	White's Row	...	50	20
62	Trotter, John, D.D.	...	1808	Sc. Pr.	Swallow Street	...	42	54
102	Turnbull, Geo.	...	1783		Hammersmith	...	6	39
63	<i>Tutt, Thomas</i>	...	1801		Noteworthy epitaph	...	30	51
10	Upton, James	...	1834	Bapt.	Church Street, Blackfriars Road	...	18	64
168	Vowell, Geo.	...	1794	Ind.	Potters Pury	...	62	14
150	Walker, Sayer, M.D.	...	?		In the tomb of John Owen	...	17-8	20
156†	<i>Walker, Benj.</i>	...	1843		Lieutenant R.N.	...	54	20
68†	Ware, Ebenezer	...	1826			...	28	46
27†	<i>Ware, James, F.R.S.</i>	...	1815			...	30	56
152†	<i>Watkinson, M.D.</i>	...	1783		Physician St. Thomas' Hospital	...	28	21
159	Watts, Isaac, D.D.	...	1748	Ind.	Bury Street	...	60	14-5
31	Waugh, Alex., D.D.	...	1827	Sc. Pr.	Wells Street	...	71	56
31	Waugh, Alex., jun., M.A.	1824	Sc. Pr.	Miles Lane	...	71	56	
174	Wavel, Rich., B.A.*	...	1705	Ind.	Pinners' Hall	...	33	10
90†	<i>White, William</i>	...	1801		Lieutenant R.N.	...	81	43
87	Webb, James	...	1782	Ind.	Fetter Lane	...	105	42
8	Webb, Joshua	...	1820	Ind.	Hare Court	...	1	64
100	<i>Wesley, Susannah</i>	...	1742	Epis.	Mother of J. and C. Wesley	...	18	42
34	Weybridge, Francis	...	1834	Ind.	Cheshunt	...	90	57
34	Weybridge, John, M.A.	...	1835	Epis.	S. John's Col., Camb.	...	90	57
163	Wilkinson, Watts, A.B.	...	1840	Epis.	S. Margaret's, Lothbury	...	74	13
92	Wilks, Matthew	...	1829	Ind.	Tabernacle	...	70	38
122	Wilks, Washington	...	1832	Bapt.	Great Alie Street	...	101	28
167	Williams, Daniel, D.D.	...	1716	Pres.	Hand Alley	...	65	11
78	Williams, Griffith	...	1826	Ind.	Gate Street	...	122	44
136	Williams, Thomas	...	1843	Ind.	Rose Lane	...	18	31
166	Williams, William	...	1847	C.M'th.	Jewin Crescent	...	71	12
139†	<i>Willoughby of Parham, Henry, Lord</i>	...	1775	Pres.		...	8	32
139†	<i>Willoughby of Parham, George, Lord</i>	...	1779			...	8	32
115†	Wilson, Daniel	...	1784			...	103	35
21	Wilton, Samuel, D.D.	...	1778	Ind.	King's Weighhouse	...	54	67
14	Winter, Richard, D.D.	...	1799	Ind.	New Court, Carey St.	...	40	67
14	Winter, Robert, D.D.	...	1833	Ind.	New Court, Carey St.	...	40	67
123	Wise, John	...	1814	Ind.	Christchurch	...	100	25
33	Woodgate, Richard	...	1778	Ind.	Jewin Street	...	86	60
156	Worthington, Hugh	...	1813	Pres.	Salters' Hall	...	58	20
107	Young, Robert, D.D.	...	1813	Sc. Pr.	London Wall	...	51	35

### Note on the Cromwell Tombs : 138, 139

The names of Richard and Henry Cromwell are somewhat delusive. Henry, for whom 139 was constructed, was a grandson of the Great Protector, and a major in the army. He died and was buried at Lisbon in 1711. His widow, Hannah Hewlings, granddaughter of William Kiffin, and two of their children are interred here. His son, Richard Cromwell, erected 138 as a family

memorial; beneath it are interred *his* son, William Cromwell (died 1772), and others of the family. Two other sons of Major Henry Cromwell occupy another vault near at hand, which has not been identified.

In conclusion, we give a list of about one hundred and twenty ministers and other prominent persons known to lie in Bunhill Fields, whose monuments have perished, or over whom no memorial has been placed. All those are given whose names appear in the *Bunhill Memorials*. Of many the long obliterated epitaphs are preserved in print or in MS. Many of them might probably be located (and doubtless others, whose names are of metropolitan or even national interest), by a careful examination of the registers at Somerset House.

Allen, Ebenezer	...	...	1753	Chelmsford
Allen, Richard	..	...	1719	{ Gen. } Paul's Alley { Bapt. }
<i>Abbot, Mordecai</i>	...	...	1699	{ 7 day } Receiver General of Customs { Bapt. }
Andrews, Mordecai	...	...	1749	Ind. Artillery Lane
<i>Bache, Samuel</i>	...	...	1687	Lieutenant Colonel
Bagshaw, Edward, M.A.*	...	...	1671	Formerly Master of Westminster School
Bannister, John	...	...	1811	Ind.
Barbone, Praise God	...	...	1680	Ind. Active in the Commonwealth Parliament
?Barker, John	...	...	1762	Pres. Salters' Hall
Bayard, Henry	...	...	1666	
<i>Beer, William, M.D.</i>	...	...	1806	
Bennet, Joshua	...	...	1726	
Bentley, William	...	...	1751	Spitalfields
<i>Blake, William</i>	...	...	1827	Artist and Poet
<i>Blenner-Hayset, William</i>	...	...	1699	Lt. Col. "A lover of arms, and of Christian and English Liberty."
<i>Brown, John</i>	...	...	1767	Captain, R.N.
Bruce, Samuel	...	...	1737	Ind. Hare Court
Bures, Thomas	...	...	1747	Pres. Silver Street
Clark, Matthew	...	...	1726	Ind. Miles Lane
Coad, Joseph	...	...	1806	
Cole, Thomas, M.A.*	...	...	1697	Ind. Silver Street and Pinners' Hall
Colley, Benjamin	...	...	1767	
Collins, John*	...	...	1687	Ind. Lime Street
Collins, John, junr.	...	...	1714	Ind. Lime Street
Cotton, Thomas, M.A.	...	...	1730	Pres. St. Giles
Coningham, James, M.A.	...	...	1716	Pres. Haberdashers' Hall
<i>Cox, Nehemiah, M.D.</i>	...	...	1689	
Dawson, Thomas	...	...	1694	
Dent, Henry	...	...	1694	
Doolittle, Thomas, M.A.*	...	...	1707	Pres. Monkwell Street
Doolittle, Samuel	...	...	1717	Pres. Reading
<i>Dunton, John</i>	...	...	1733	Pres. Bookseller and Publisher

Dyke, Daniel, M.A.*	...	1688	Bapt.	Devonshire Square
<i>Enfield Richard</i>	...	1791		Town Clerk of Nottingham
Fairclough, Richard, M.A.*	...	1682		Ejected minister of Mells, Somerset
Faldo, John*	...	1690	Ind.	Plasterers' Hall
Fancourt, Samuel	...	1768		
Fidoe, Anthony*	...	1714	Pres.	Great St. Thomas
<i>Foche, Sir John</i>	...	1701		
<i>Fordyce, John, M.D.</i>	...	1760		
Fowler, Jacob	...	1757	Ind.	Assistant, New Court
Foxon, John	...	1723	Ind.	Haberdashers' Hall
Gale, John	...	1721	{ Gen. } Bapt.	Deptford
Gammon, John	...	1699		
Godwin, Edward	...	1764	Pres.	Little St. Helen's
Godwin, Peter	...	1747	Ind.	Aldermanbury Postern
Gosnold, John*	...	1678	Bapt.	Paul's Alley
Green, John	...	1768?		? if General Baptist of Elim Court
<i>Green, Joseph</i>	...	1780		Late one of H.M. Council at Boston, Mass.
Greig, Joshua	...	1768	Pres.	Walthamstow
Gyles, James	...	174- (?)		
<i>Harper, Richard</i>	...	1765		Left above £3,000 to Nonconformist charities
Harper, Thomas	...	1832		
Harwood, Edward, D.D.	...	1794		Bloomsbury
Holme, Benjamin	...	1691		
Hook, William*	...	1677	Ind.	Formerly Master of the Savoy
Howell, Francis, A.M.*	...	1679	Ind.	Lime Street
Hubbard, John	...	1745	Ind.	Stepney
Hussey, Joseph	...	1726	Ind.	Petticoat Lane
Jacob, Joseph	...	1722	Ind.	Turners' Hall
Jeames, John	...	1694		
Jessey, Henry, M.A.*	...	1663	Bapt.	Southwark
Jollie, Timothy	...	1757	Ind.	Miles Lane
<i>Jordan, Joseph</i>	...	1768		Many years H.M. Consul in Spain
Kello, James	...	1790	Pres.	Little St. Helen's
Key, Mark	...	1726	Bapt.	Devonshire Square
Kiffin, William	...	1701	Bapt.	Devonshire Square
?Knollys, Hanserd	...	1691	Bapt.	Thames Street
Lambert, James*	...	1689	Pres.	Maid Lane, Southwark
Loder, John*	...	1673	Ind.	Silver Street
Maisters, Joseph*	...	1717	Bapt.	Joiners' Hall
Marnar, William	...	1691	{ Gen. } Bapt.	Southwark
Marriott, Richard	...	1696		
Mather, Nathaniel, M.A.*	...	1697	Ind.	Dublin and Lime Street
Maty, Paul	...	1787		
May, Samuel	...	1694		Chaplain to Sir W. Waller
May, William	...	1755		
Miller, David	...	1757		Hammersmith
Mitchell, Thomas	...	1720	Ind.	Stepney
Naylor, Jas.	...	1708	Ind.	Assistant, Hare Court
Nesbit, John	...	1727		
Ness, Christopher, M.A.*	...	1705	Pres.	Salisbury Court
Newman, John	...	1741	Pres.	Salters' Hall
Newman, Samuel	...	1735	Pres.	Assistant, Salters' Hall
Palmer, Anthony*	...	1678	Bapt.	Pinner's Hall
<i>Paterson, Thomas</i>	...	1796		Lieutenant-Colonel
Patrick, John	...	1791		

Pearce, Dr. John	...	1784		Stoke Newington
Powell, Vavasor, M.A.	...	1670	Bapt.	Itinerant
Rogers, James	...	1769		
<i>Ritson, Joseph, F.S.A.</i>	...	1803		Antiquarian
Robinson, Benjamin	...	1724	Pres.	Little St. Helen's
Sharp, John	...	1681		
Sheffield, John	...	1728?	Ind.	Bethnal Green?
Sheldon, William	...	1763		Romford
<i>Shore, John</i>	...	1752		Sergeant Trumpeter to H.M.
Sleigh, Thomas	...	1747	Pres.	Highgate
<i>Smith, Capt. John</i>	...	1698		Treasurer of St. Thomas's Hospital
Smith, Moses...	...	n.d.		"Little Zoar Chapel"
Stennett, Joseph	...	1758	Bapt.	
Stretton, Richard, M.A.*	...	1712	Pres.	Haberdashers' Hall
Stubbes, Henry, M.A.*	...	1678	Pres.	Leather Lane
?Sylvester, Matthew, M.A.*	...	1708	Pres.	Charterhouse Yard
Sendall, George	...	1716	Pres.	Moorfields
Smith, Francis	...	1691		Several times imprisoned before the Revolution for political pamphlets
Taylor, Christopher...	...	1723	Pres.	Leather Lane
Tomkins, Martin	...	1755	Unit.	Stoke Newington
<i>Twisleton, Elizth</i>	...	1673		"Eldest daughter of Ld. Visct. Fynes, Say and Sele"
<i>Upton, Nathaniel, M.D.</i>	...	1686		
Venning, Ralph*	...	1673		Lime Street
Vincent, Nathaniel, M.A.*	...	1697	Pres.	St. Thomas, Southwark
Vowell, Benjamin	...	1757		
Walker, Roger	...	1757		
<i>Ward, John, LL.D., F.R.S.</i>	...	1758		Professor of Rhetoric, Gresham College
Weaver, Samuel	...	n.d.		Pinner
West, Edward, M.A.*	...	1675	Ind.	Ropemaker's Alley
Wilcox, Daniel	...	1714(?)	Pres.	
<i>Wilson, Joseph</i>	...	1844	Ind.	"Times" Printing Office; elder at Finsbury Church
Wilson, Samuel	...	1750	Bapt.	Goodman's Fields
Wickins, William*	...	1699	Pres.	Newington Green
<i>Yeoman, Thos., F.R.S.</i>	...	1781		

NOTE.—It is not absolutely certain that the persons indicated by (?) lie in Bunhill Fields; but as Mrs. Knollys was interred here in 1671, and Mrs. Sylvester in 1701, it is most likely that their husbands were laid to rest beside them. John Barker is said by W. Wilson to lie in Hackney Churchyard; but the Guildhall list of Bunhill inscriptions gives his name and date.

## John Spenser's Apology, 1641

**A**MONG the Conventicle preachers mentioned in *The Brownists' Synagogue*, 1641 (see *Transactions*, iv. 300), is John Spenser or Spencer, who was accustomed to preach at Houndsditch.

We know nothing of him beyond what is there stated, and what may be gathered from the following pamphlet, except the contemptuous references of several contemporary writers, who call him "the coachman," "the horse-rubber," etc. One pamphleteer speaks of him as having followed several lowly avocations, amongst others that of a serving-man. (It is to be feared that the Church has not yet quite purged herself of the "fine aristocratic contempt" for those who earn an honest living in what are called "menial" employments.)

This early vindication of the liberty of prophesying is evidently the work of an imperfectly educated man, the grammar being often very faulty. Nevertheless, it exhibits so clear a discernment of Scriptural teaching on a point on which Puritans and prelatists were equally astray, that it is a wonder that it has never been reprinted. The original is in the British Museum, press mark E. 172-4. It is a small 4to of 8pp., abominably printed, the punctuation being exceptionally bad. We present it *literatim*, only correcting the punctuation and capitals, and supplying in brackets words or letters obviously omitted.

A SHORT | TREATISE | CONCERNING THE | lawfullnesse  
of every mans | exercising his gift as God shall | call him there-  
unto. | By *John Spenser.* | LONDON | Printed for *John Spenser,*  
and are to be sold by *T. Bates* | in the *Oldbailey.* 1641

The gifts of the Spirit are in every one for the good of the whole body, and that there is no private gifts, nor private Christians that wee reade of in Scripture. To proove at large out of the word of God, (which shall bee that which [we] shall guide all our actions by,) that what gift soever the Spirit giveth, it is for the good of the whole body; and so according to its' place in the body, the measure of grace received, he is to use it for the helpe of his fellow members, to the edifying of the body.

I may bring for the further clearing of this truth, the judgements of many worthy Divines, *Calvin* speaking of the Communion of Saints hath these words; *The Saints which are gathered together into the fellowship of Christ with this condition, that what ever benefit God bestowes upon them, they should continually communicate one to another.* *Ursinus* on Communion of Saints hath these words: *That all receiving one who beleeveth are in common partakers of Christ & all his graces, as being his memb[er]s, and then that every one ought readily and chearefully to bestow their gifts and graces which they had to the common commoditie and safe[ty] of all.* *Master Perkins* on the Creede, from our Union with Christ, and our union and communion one with another saith; *That a Christian though he be the freest man upon earth, yet he is a servant to all men, and especially to the Church of God, to doe service to the members of it by love for the good of all.* And this good is procured when we convey the gifts of God bestowed on us to our brethren, which is done in five waies. First by example, secondly by admonition, thirdly by exhortation, fourthly by consolation, fiftly by prayer, all which he openeth and presseth to this purpose. *Master Bolton* in his general directions for a comfortable walking with God, is full and large for this: but to prove it by severall Scriptures; in *Romans* 12: 6, Having then gifts according to the grace that is given to us, whether Prophesie let us prophesie, let us according to the proportion of faith: the first of *Cor.* 12 and the 9. But the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every one to profit withall: *Ephes.* 4: 11, 12, And he gave some to be Apostles, some Prophets, some Evangelists, and some Teachers, and some Pastors for the edifying of the body of Christ: *Ephesians* 5. and the 11, Wherefore comfort yourselves together, and edifie one another, even as yee doe. *Heb* 3: 13, But exhort one another daily while it is called to-day, least any of you be hardened through the deceitfulness of sin. *1 Cor.* 14, 31. For ye may all prophesie one by one, that all may learne and all bee comforted; in the first of *Peter* the 4 and the 10, As every one

hath received the gift even so minister the same one to another as faithful stewards of the manifold graces of God. Thus you have all these places to prove the lawfulness of all to exercise the gifts as God shall give them opportunity with conveniency; and also the judgements of many worthy Divines. Now we shall shew you the reason of it, why every one ought to communicate of what God hath bestowed on them for the good of the whole body. The first reason is because God hath commanded it. The second reason is, because it was the very end of God's bestowing these gifts upon us, for the edifying of the body of Christ. The third reason is from our neere union and communion one with another. The fourth reason is from our brethrens right to it, they have all right to our gifts and abilities. The fifth reason is, it is the way to enlarge our owne gifts and abilities. The sixth reason is, God's glory and the Saints example. The seven[th] reason is because of our enemies wiles, and sathans malice, all calling for it at our hands.

Now to answer certain objections that are brought against the unive[r]salitie of this truth.

The first objection is this, that none ought to preach but those in office, none else may properly be said to Preach.

To this I answer, that when the dispersed Christians were scattered in that persecution it is said that they went about preaching, and the hand of the Lord was with them, and great multitudes beleaved and turned to the Lord. *Acts 11: 19, 20, 21.* But some object and say, that this is not such preaching as is mentioned in *Rom 10: 14, 15*; but it is manifest and cleare that they strive about words to no purpose at all; for there was that very Preaching, and that very sending, as is there mentioned in that tenth to the *Rom* and the 15, for that preaching of the dispersed Christians was made necessary for the working of faith, else the text saith not right, in saying they beleaved.

But some further object, and say, that these were all Church officers, and so might Preach wherever they came.

To this I answer, that it could not be so, for wee never read in all the whole booke of God, that all the members of a Church was officers; but this is aparent, that all the members were scattered, only Apostles, as you may see it in the 8 of the *Acts*, the first. I shall give you another instance in the fourth of *John* and the 39. It is said that many of the Samaritans beleaved at the report of the woman. If it be so, then one of these must needs befall those that hold that none ought to Preach but those that are Church-officers, and [? either] that this woman was a Church-officer, and so a Harold and an Imbassador, and so sent and so Preached, or else that the spirit was mistaken that sed they beleaved.

Another instance we have of one who was no Church officer, and yet a Preacher and a publisher of the Gospel, in the eighth of

*Luke* and the 38, 39, the man out of whom the devils were cast out; Christ sent him away, and bid him declare what great things he had done to him, and the text saith that he went and preached in the Cities. It is manifest that this man was no Church-officer, and yet a preacher of the Gospel. Againe, what think you of Moses desire, when he desired that all the Lord's people were Prophets, either Moses, say you, jeared or else he wished that all good people were Church-officers, which could not be. *Numb.* 11, 29. What think you of *Saul* in the first of *Sam.* 6, 10; And when they came thither to the hill, a company of Prophets met them, and the spirit of God came upon him and he prophesied: so also the 19 of *Sam.* and the 20, and *Saule* sent messengers to take *David*, and when they saw the company of the Prophets prophes[y]ing and *Samuel* standing as appointed over them, the spirit of God was upon the messengers of *Saul*, and they prophesied all; see in the 24 verse, "and he stript off his clothes also and prophesied. Now none of these were Church-officers. But they further object, and say, that these had an extraordinary spirit given them, and therefore might. To this I answer, that none had this extraordinary spirit, but those that penned the Scripture, or that was able to worke Miracles. But these, it is apparent in the *Acts*, and in these places, had not such a Spirit as worked Miracles, or that penned Scriptures; and yet Prophesied.

Againe, to this I answer, that such a Spirit as they had is promised to the people of God, in our dayes, in the second of the *Acts* and the 18. And one my servants and one my handmaids I will power out in those dayes of my spirit, and they shall prophesie. But to this promise some answer, that it was made good in the Apostles times, and we must not looke for the making good of this promise in our days. To this I answer that in the Apostles times, they were called the last times; but if then they were the last dayes much more now. And so [we] may look for the fulfilling of the promise, and we ought also to pray for the making good of it.

The second object[ion] is this, for none, unless he be skild in arts and tongues, is fit for the worke of the menistrie. To this I answer that the scriptures doth plainly affirme, that the true understanding of scripture comes not by humane learning, by arts and tongues, but by the spirit of God. In the first *Cor.* 2. 12, 13. Now we have not received the spirit of the world, but the spirit which is of God, that we might know the things which are freely given us of God: which thinges we speake, not with the words which mans wisdome teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth us, comparing spirituall things with spirituall.

Secondly I answer, that the naturall man cannot find out these things, be he never so well qualified with all humane wisdome and learning. In the first of *Cor.* 2. 14, But the naturall man

perceiveth not the things of the spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him, neither can he know them, because they are spiritually deserned. In the first Chap. and the 20 ver., where is the wise, where is the Scribe, where is the disputer of this world? hath not God made foolish the wisdom of this world?

Thirdly I answer that the want of furniture in [?] and] skill and [?] in] arts and tongues, shall not hinder any from this knowledg when the Lord is pleased, in the holy meanes apointed, to send forth his spirit, with such illuminations and infusions into the soule: in the first of *Cor.* 2. 10 [F]or the spirit searcheth all things, ye[a] the deepe things of God: in the 15 *vers.* But he that is spirituall, judgeth all things.

Fourthly I answer, that God counts it his glory sometimes to hide this thing from the wise and prudent, and to reveale them unto babes and sucklings—such that are destitute of humane learning in arts and tongues, which must needs be the meaning of that plase in the 11 *Matt.* 25.

Fiftly I answer, that there is not only grounds, and principles of saving truths, given to such as are destitute of humane learning, and the like, but to understand a Proverbe, and the interpretation, of words of the wise, and there darke saying. *Proverbs* 1. 6, 7, *Psalme* 25. 12.

Lastly I answer, that the Apostles, desiring that others might understand these things, prayed to God for them, not that God would give them skill in arts and tongues, though it might be desired in those that want it; but that God would give them the spirit of wisdom, and revelation in the knowledge of his Sonne. *Ephes.* 1. 17

Thus you have the second object[ion] answered, as God hath enabled me.

The third object[ion] is this, that none ought to exercise these gifts in such a publike way but those that have a call to it.

To this I answer that all the call mentioned of in holy Scriptures was the peoples great necessity, and their great willingness to heare them and receive them: And the aprobaton of godly ministers. And all this I have had for my call. But if none might Preach the Gospell unlesse he had the consent of all, none should preach amongst us. That is for the 3. object[ion].

The fourth object[ion] is this: that it may happily be lawfull in a mans family, but not in a Church (I speake in the world's language); their reason is, because one is publike, and the other private. And God hath given a private spirit, and this to private men to exercise privately with. He hath also given a publike spirit, and this is for publike persons, which they call themselves, for a publike use.

To this I answer, that there is no members of the body of Jesus Christ but is of the same nature of the whole, a publike

member of a publike body ; and the spirit proceeding from the head to every member is one and the same spirit, and his gifts of like nature, publike gifts of a publike spirit, for the good of the whole body ; And so in its place, according to its measure to be used, whatever gift it be ; that so though the members be many yet the body is but on[e], every on[e] member of the head, and all members one of another ; and though the members have severall officies, yet every member in the body hath some officie, and usefull gift, and that not for its owne profit alone, or the profit of two or three members next it, but for the good of the whole body ; God having so placed the members in the body, that the chiefest cannot say to the meanest, I have no need of you, nor the meanest cannot also say to the chiefest, I am not to care for you ; but every member to have the same care one of another ; though this care bee manifested diversly, according to the severall officies they have in the body, and the severall gifts given it for the discharge of the same. For though in respect of the Politie of Congregated bodies, the more part are out of officie, yet as we are all one body in Christ, and members on[e] of another, there is never a member out of office, and that for the service of the whole. There are now [? no] more private Christians then private members of Christ ; neither in any other sense can they properly be called private Christians, then they may also be called private members of Christ ; seeing that in the whole booke of God we finde no such phrase as private Christian, or private Spirit.

Thus have I laboured, as the Lord hath helped me, to discover the lawfullnesse of my practice, both publike and private ; I have laboured to answer all the objections that I ever had against it, unlesse it be this, that though it be lawfull, yet not at this time, and that for this reason, because happily it might hinder the worke of reformation.

To this I answer, that in the worke of reformation it is necessary that all errors should be brought to light, and that all truths should be discovered. This I finding out of Gods word to be an error that is held commonly amongst us, that rather then any man should be a publisher of the Gospel of Christ, unlesse he were skild in arts and tongues, and sent forth by our Prelates, thousands of our meeting houses should be shut up, and the people starved for want of foode, though God hath abundantly provided for them ; I thought no time so fit to publish this truth by my practise as now at this time, when God hath given us such glorious hopes of a glorious reformation, and when so many of those that pitties poore soules to see them lie in ignorance and blindness, and have power in their hands to redresse it. Therefore I thought no time so seasonable as this time, and thus have you all the objections that are brought against me answered.

That which occasioned me to put these few lines forth to the

view of the world, hath beene by the importunity of many that beare goodwill to Sion, and to this truth ; also the evil aspersiones that are cast upon me for this my practise, I have h[e]ard a noyse, but I have seene as yet nothing out of the word of God that might dissuade me, but rather perswade me, and to incourage mee in the way to go on, by none that object against it. To this day could I never procure any faire reasoning of any person whatsoever, though I have exceedingly sought it, to heare their grounds what they have against it. Could it be made aparent out of Gods word, that it were unlawfull for me to goe on in this way, or that there were no neede of the discovery of Christ in the world, or that the people did not earnestly desire it, I should cease with joy and rejoycing of heart ; but so long as there can be nothing found in Gods word against it, and seeing the great necessities of the people and their great willingnesse calles for it, I shall bee willing to suffer what God shall please to inflict upon me for the same. Yet I am perswaded, though I be trodden under foot, yet this truth shall flourish & spread itselke forth in the world to the amasement of all that doe oppose it : and thus according to what light the Lord hath bestowed on mee out of his free love in his Sonne, I have for the satisfaction of some published these few lines to the world.

JOHN SPENSER.

FINIS

## How a Dark Corner of Wiltshire was Evangelized

**H**IGHWORTH is a small town—formerly a borough—near the north-east corner of Wiltshire, 77 miles from London. Its population in 1801 was given as 2,328 ; in 1831 it had reached 3,127 ; in 1901 it was reported as only 2,047, but this excluded three villages formerly reckoned as belonging to the parish. It occupies the centre of a circle of six miles radius, on the circumference of which lie the towns of Cricklade, Lechlade, Faringdon, and Swindon. Within the area thus defined are about 26 villages and hamlets, mostly small, of which 18 have either parish churches or chapels belonging to the Established Church.

During the Civil War one Major Hen fortified the parish church of Highworth, and attempted to hold it for the king ; but was compelled to surrender, with his garrison of 70 men, to the parliamentary forces on 27th June, 1645. About a month later there was a sharp skirmish in the neighbourhood, in which many were slain on both sides. The district seems to have been remarkably free from Puritan influence. In the whole of the 21 parishes and chapelries of which Highworth is the centre, not a single minister was displaced by the Act of Uniformity ; nor was there a single meeting licensed under the Indulgence in 1672. Quakerism had few representatives ; only two Quakers are named by Besse as being penalized in the entire circuit, one at Rodbourn Cheney and one at Stanton. About 1720, according to Evans's

list, there were a Presbyterian and a Baptist meeting at Faringdon, but none in any other parish of the district ; and the whole area seems to have been untouched by the early Methodists. Whatever, therefore, may have been the moral and religious conditions prevailing there after the first half of the eighteenth century, the whole credit or discredit belongs to the Episcopal Church.

The commencement of the Dissenting interest in the town of Highworth may be traced to the year 1777 ; when Mr. Robinson, of Ilsley, Berks., came to the place to superintend the enclosure of the common field. His mind having been previously enlightened by the Spirit of God, his house soon became a Bethel ; and the gospel of the grace of God was proclaimed in it by a Mr. Dilworth, probably from the same neighbourhood. For how long he continued his occasional services, and whether any person assisted him in his labours of love, are alike uncertain ; but after a few years the town was visited by the Rev. Benjamin Wase, formerly a student in the Countess of Huntingdon's college at Trevecca. His labours were at first limited to open air services, chiefly at the cross in Eastrop. Like his divine Master he had to endure much opposition from ungodly persons ; but the more they persecuted the more he prayed and laboured for their everlasting welfare. At length, through the interposition of a pious friend at Faringdon, one Thomas Webb was induced to have his house licensed as a place of worship. Here Mr. Wase preached for four or five years ; after which the house of John Hedges in Swindon Street was licensed, where the services were regularly conducted till 1788, the meetings in Eastrop being discontinued.

The next step forward was the purchase of a house at the west end of High Street ; which was

fitted up as a place of public worship, and opened on 15th July, 1788. The preachers were: in the morning the Rev. James Dyer, Baptist minister of Devizes; in the afternoon the Rev. — Sloper, Independent minister of Devizes; and in the evening the Rev. B. Wase. This aroused the enemies of the gospel to more active opposition; men were employed to interrupt the services and annoy the peaceable attendants by loud talking, music, etc. On one occasion a person in mock clerical attire, seated on an ass with his face toward the tail, rode up the street with the intention of entering the chapel, but was restrained by a respectable tradesman who, although a High Churchman, was so disgusted with the mockery that he felt it his duty to interfere. Some attempts were made to punish the offenders, but those who had the administration of the law were themselves likeminded, and no redress could be obtained from that quarter. "On being thus disappointed, the pious few resolved to remove their cause from an earthly to a heavenly court; they accordingly addressed the throne of grace, and there they found relief; for God Himself inter-vened on their behalf, and demanded the attendance of the chief persecutor at the bar of judgement."

Mr. Wase continued his ministry in the town and neighbourhood until 1790, when he was succeeded by the Rev. A. Stumphousen, who came hither to encourage his worthy friend, and remained about a year. This bold and energetic servant of Christ considerably daunted the spirit of opposition; but persecution although checked was not destroyed. It again burst forth on the removal of Mr. Stumphousen to Wootton Bassett in 1791, to the great annoyance of his successor, the Rev. — Garrett. This gentleman only remained about a

year, being followed in 1792 by the Rev. — Bartholomew. This worthy man, deeply moved by the moral destitution that prevailed at Cricklade, removed thither, and at length succeeded in erecting a chapel in that town. He did not long survive the accomplishment of this object, and it was believed that his death was hastened by anxiety of mind, occasioned by the many difficulties that beset him. His successor at Highworth was the Rev. R. Hawkins, said to have been a follower of the once famous William Huntington. He ministered from 1793 to 1797; and after him the Rev. W. Friend held forth the Word of Life from 1797 onward. As to the length of his ministry there is some uncertainty, local tradition says about nine years, but the list of deceased ministers given in the *Congregational Year Book* of 1850 places his death in 1801. We next meet with the name of the Rev. G. Waring, who collected money and in 1809 built a chapel at Broad Blunsden. He left the following year, and for about ten years the pulpit was supplied chiefly by lay preachers. By the end of that time the interest was at a very low ebb, chiefly through the chilling influence of Hypercalvinism, which had for some time occupied the pulpit, and now characterized the religion, of the few who still attended the services on the Lord's Day.

The Home Missionary Society was constituted in 1819, and Highworth was the second station which it took under its fostering care. Mr. Henry Larter was sent down to labour in the town and neighbouring villages, including South Marston, Great Coxwell, Longcot, and Shrivenham. On the first Sunday he had a morning congregation of 60; in the evening the chapel was crowded, and about 100 persons were unable to gain admittance. After a few months he wrote, under date 1st February,

1820: "The state of religion in this part . . . is truly awful. . . . I have recently been making a calculation of the population within ten miles of Highworth, which I have found to consist of not less than 25,000 persons, residing in about 60 towns and villages; and of this great number not more than 5,000 are privileged with the preaching of the gospel. On 20th February Mr. Larter was publicly recognized as an evangelist at Sion chapel, London; the Revs. J. Irons, J. Cobbin, and B. Rayson taking part in the service.

Trouble soon arose from persons of Hypercalvinistic sentiments, and many hard speeches were directed against the preaching that was now introduced; until the parties, finding that their attacks were in vain, withdrew to worship elsewhere. But it would seem that some of the evil leaven remained for several years afterwards.

As the neighbouring villages were expected to share in Mr. Larter's labours, towards the close of the year he licensed cottages at Langford and Filkins for preaching. In 1821 his labours were still further extended by the opening of a place at Fernham, which he supplied himself; also at Clanfield and Littleworth (eight or ten miles distant) which were alternately supplied by him and the Rev. D. Holmes of Faringdon. The two also jointly supplied stations at Little Coxwell and Stanford, which had previously been opened by Mr. Holmes. A Sunday school was commenced at Highworth; and religious tracts were distributed in some of the villages. In other villages such distribution was of little use, as but few of the people were able to read.

In August, 1820, at a meeting held at Wootton Bassett, a branch Home Missionary Association was formed for North Wiltshire; of which Mr. Larter was appointed secretary. The local con-

tributions towards his salary for the first year amounted to £11 14s.

On 16th April, 1822, Mr. Larter was publicly ordained at Highworth "by prayer and laying on of the hands of presbytery." The Rev. E. Mantell of Swindon gave an introductory address; the Rev. T. Edkins of Nailsworth received the minister's confession of faith; the Rev. J. Leifchild of Kensington offered the ordination prayer; the Rev. D. Holmes of Faringdon delivered the charge. Mr. Leifchild afterwards preached to the people; and other parts of the service were conducted by the Revs. Mann of Tetbury, Church of Fairford, Clark of Lechlade, Evans of Malmesbury, Lowrie of Cricklade, and Canon of Shal-bourn.

On 2nd July in the same year three men and five women were constituted a Congregational church. The church covenant was as follows: "We will strive together for the good of the cause we have espoused, by strengthening our minister's hands, seeking each other's spiritual good, using our influence to bring souls to Christ in every Scriptural way, and sincerely aim at Christian union and brotherly love." The election of deacons was deferred until twenty members should be enrolled.

In 1822, circumstances caused preaching to be discontinued in some of the villages; whereupon attention was directed to Upper Stratton, which was thenceforth regularly supplied with a gospel ministry. Meanwhile quiet progress was made; the minds of some were enlightened, and some were added to the church. In the next year (1823) Mr. Larter reported to the Home Missionary Association that spiritual results were visible in eight villages which he had visited. In April of that year meetings were regularly held at Shrivenham,

Langford, and Littleworth, where the people paid for rent and lighting; a little later it was the same at Fernham and South Marston. An awakening was reported at Filkins, whence four were received into the Baptist church at Lechlade—besides four a year or two previously. In July, twelve members were in fellowship at Highworth; and on 16th October a Highworth Auxiliary to the Home Missionary Association held a meeting, at which sermons were preached.

In 1824, however, the peace of the church was disturbed by the rekindling embers of Hypercalvinism, and three members were separated from its fellowship. (There are notes of similar troubles in 1837, 1845, and 1847.) Towards the close of this year a judicious visitor from London called attention to the incommodious and dilapidated condition of the chapel, and urgently recommended the erection of a building more substantial and convenient. Steps were at once taken to carry out the recommendations, and the new chapel was opened on 29th September, 1825. The Rev. T. Edkins of Nailsworth preached in the morning from Exodus viii. 19: "This is the finger of God"; the Rev. G. Mantell of Swindon in the afternoon; and the Rev. C. Hyatt of London in the evening from 2 Cor. iii., 18. The devotional services were conducted by the Revs. Holmes, Lowrie, Hyatt, Mantell, Slater and Edkins. The collections amounted to upwards of £41. The chapel was capable of seating 300 persons, and the schoolroom was designed for 100 children. The cost was £600, of which nearly £300 was contributed locally. It is on record that, soon after the opening, the morning and evening congregations averaged 200, with nearly 100 children in the Sunday school; there was a Sunday school library, Reading Society of 13 members, a

Benevolent Fund, and a Circulating Book and Tract organization which visited 150 cottages once a fortnight. In that year the local contributions to the Home Missionary Association (which paid Mr. Larter's stipend) was about £70.

Other villages, as Bourton and Marston, and later Bishopstone and Hannington, were brought within the sphere of Mr. Larter's ministry; most of the stations having preaching once a fortnight. After a few years some of the more distant villages were given over to other hands; and the stations at Littleworth and Little Coxwell were relinquished "in consequence of the valuable labours of the clergyman who had been appointed to the curacy of the two hamlets."

A few notes from the church book during the remaining years of Mr. Larter's ministry may be of interest.

In October, 1831, it was agreed that a plan should be drawn up for the regulation of the village prayer meetings. The plan specified: <sup>a</sup>That members who reside in the villages be recommended to form prayer meetings where desirable; <sup>b</sup>That the services be confined to reading the scriptures, singing, and praying, no other service to be introduced except by consent of the pastor; <sup>c</sup>No person to be requested to engage in the services except he be a member of a Christian church; <sup>d</sup>Meetings not to exceed an hour and a half.

In March, 1834, it was "Resolved to send Brother Jarvis into the villages to read a sermon." About the same time a sort of Mutual Benefit Society was formed among the church members. On 1st August of that year a special thanksgiving service was held for the emancipation of the slaves in the British Colonies.

Good Friday, 1835, was kept as the anniversary of the church. The engagements were prayer

meeting at 7 a.m.; church meeting at 10 a.m.; public prayer meeting in the afternoon; and "a Sermon as usual" in the evening. At the church meeting it was stated that "£90 having been paid to Mr. John Phipps for the piece of ground in front of the chapel, the debt is increased to £202 4s. 9d."

In May of that year "H. Green, junr. was solemnly commended to God on his going to Cirencester to receive preparatory instruction under Rev. J. Clapp, to enable him to enter Highbury College on September 1." On 4th January, 1836, "Francis Henry Green" was "dismissed honourably; receiving instructions for the Christian ministry." Mr. Green settled at Moreton-in-the-Marsh, where he died in March, 1844, aged 33.

On 29th January, 1838, a special prayer meeting was held on behalf of "persecuted saints in Madagascar."

From this point to the end of Mr. Larter's ministry the records are missing. His successor writes: "The minister continued at his post, and notwithstanding many personal and family trials he shunned not to declare the whole counsel of God." Many of those who professed attachment towards his person and ministry became disaffected; some left altogether, after conducting themselves in a very unworthy and unchristian manner in endeavouring to expel him from his office. Notwithstanding all this, the Lord upheld him by His grace; and it was not till 1847 that his path appeared plain, and he felt it his duty to leave a charge which he had faithfully endeavoured to serve for the long period of 27 years." His later difficulties appear to have been caused by persons of antinomian sentiments. Some such persons established a small Baptist chapel in Highworth, and others obtained control of the

chapel at Great Blunsdon. Occasionally such notes as this appear in the church-book: "departed from the faith into Antinomianism." Mr. Larter removed to Maiden Newton, Dorset, in 1847; and thence in 1853 to Langford, where he died, after a season of severe affliction, in October, 1862, aged 70.

His successor was the Rev. Thos. Gilbert, from Wheathampstead, where he was ordained 23rd April, 1841. He had studied at University College, London; and had considerable knowledge of medicine, so that "he was able to minister to the bodies not less than the souls of the poorer people committed to his care." After his death one of the members wrote concerning him "A holy fragrance has always surrounded the memory of his ministry in this town—a ministry which constituted one of the brightest epochs in the history of the church."

Mr. Gilbert entered on the pastorate on 3rd October, 1847. Six months later the chapel was closed for enlargement. It was reopened 20th July, the congregation worshipping meanwhile in a large room of the old workhouse (now the vicarage!). The improvements cost £207. In 1848 a British school was established at the workhouse. The foundation of the present school building was laid on 4th July, 1849, when a treat was given to about 200 day and Sunday scholars. The building was opened 1st November, when a meeting was addressed on the subject of education by the Revs. Soper, Frise, Pillgrem, and Wills. The site was given by Mr. W. H. Hayes, one of the deacons; the date of the trust deed being 1st February, 1850. The cost of the building was nearly £300. The day school was continued till about 1880, when, owing to changed conditions, it was deemed no longer necessary. The building is still used for Sunday school purposes. In

December, 1850, an organ was presented to the church by Mr. Saunders.

A burial ground had been provided behind the school; the first interment took place 7th February, 1850. The following September Mr. Thos. Noyes preached before the church, preparatory to being accredited as a student for the ministry. He studied at Edinburgh; and after a ministry of 25 years died at Creaton, aged 52.

Some interesting notes are found in a diary kept by Mr. T. Angell, one of the deacons. Amongst these it is stated that in the first four years of Mr. Gilbert's ministry about 60 members had been added to the church, which then numbered nearly 100; on one occasion 75 had been present at communion.

A valuable endowment was constituted on 3rd February, 1853. Mr. W. Saunders by deed of gift conveyed to trustees "for the benefit of the chapel for ever" two freehold cottages in Swindon Street, and a close of pasture land called Grove Close adjoining Church Field; and on the same day Mr. Thos. Angell conveyed to the same trustees, for the same object, two freehold residences in Westrop, and a certain walled garden and close in Eastrop. The two aged deacons, Messrs. Hayes and Angell, died within nine weeks of each other on 7th November, 1854, and 9th January, 1855, aged 76 and 77 respectively.

In July, 1855, the debt of £300 on the school was cleared by donations of £60 each from five persons.

Mr. Gilbert was accustomed to conduct meetings at Inglesham and Watchfield (each 3 miles distant), walking thither with a companion, lantern in hand. At that time there was a chapel at Watchfield, afterwards turned into cottages.

Mr. Gilbert resigned, somewhat unexpectedly,

on 15th March, 1860, and removed to Westbury. Afterwards he retired to Warminster; where he died suddenly in Common Close church, having just taken his seat for worship, on Sunday morning, 24th May, 1894, aged 72.

Regrettable events followed Mr. Gilbert's removal. An invitation having been sent to an unnamed minister and declined, a Mr. T. W. P. Trylder was invited, and commenced his ministry 7th October, 1860. His name does not appear in the *Year Book*, and no details of his pastorate are recorded. Before the end of 1865 he had given place to a Mr. J. E. Judson, who also is omitted from the *Year Book* lists. In June, 1866, mention is made of a church meeting *in the British school*, seven present. Between this date and October the church was involved in a law suit, apparently as to who was legally entitled to the use of the chapel premises. There are memoranda to the effect that on 2nd May, 1867, a church meeting was held "in Zion chapel"; and that at the end of September Mr. Judson retired. Then on 29th September, 1868, a deputation from the *Berkshire Association* (with which the church had been connected until 1861), consisting of the Revs. S. Lepine of Abingdon and D. Martin of Oxford, met the church members; and on their advice it was resolved to disband the then existing church, which was described as "shattered, scattered, and moribund." A new fellowship of 12 members was then constituted, which, with the concurrence of the *Wiltshire Union*, invited the Rev. Wm. Mottram of Crockerton to undertake the task of "building up the old waste places." His brief but highly successful ministry commenced on 3rd April, 1870, and ended on 9th October, 1873. Various improvements were made, financial burdens were lightened, and the church received

into the Wiltshire Union ; to which by its location it properly belongs. On Mr. Mottram's removal to Melksham an invitation was given to the Rev. J. T. H. Poynter, from the Bristol Institute. He ministered from July, 1874, to the end of September, 1876, and then removed to Dartmouth, where his earnest and faithful pastorate was only ended by his death, early in 1910. His successor at Highworth was the Rev. Thos. Toy, from Stalbridge, whose pastorate commenced in January, 1878, and ended with his removal to Uckfield at the end of 1884. Again there are notes of difficulties, dissensions, and withdrawals ; and in August, 1885, the Rev. Thos. Mann of Trowbridge, secretary of the Wiltshire Union, was called in to mediate and advise, with happy results. Thenceforward there is nothing to record but the succession of pastors and quiet progress of the church. The Rev. J. T. Bennett came from Bethnal Green (London) on 25th March, 1886, and retired from active ministry in June, 1898. The Rev. Albert Ore, from Castle Combe, succeeded him in 1899, and removed to Batley (Yorks.) in 1908 ; and the present pastor, the Rev. A. S. Welch, M.A., from Tunbridge Wells, entered on the charge in 1909. The church members are now 54, with 150 scholars and 14 teachers. And it is interesting to observe that, of the seventeen villages and hamlets in which Nonconformist worship was first instituted by ministers or members of Highworth church, no less than eight are now supplied with chapels, either Congregational or Baptist.

## America in "Colonial Days"

THE following letter, kindly furnished by A. C. de Hailes, Esq., of Ilford, appears to have been addressed to the Rev. John Palmer, who was minister at Woodbridge, Suffolk, from 1759 to 1787. The writer would seem, from internal evidence, to be Dr. William Gordon, well known in the American War of Independence. It is only right, however, to say that in the opinion of Mr. de Hailes the handwriting of the original differs appreciably from that of Dr. Gordon as shewn by specimens in the British Museum.

We prefix a brief sketch of Dr. Gordon's varied and adventurous career, derived chiefly from Browne's *Congregationalism in Norfolk and Suffolk*, Bancroft's *History of the United States*, and Harper's *Encyclopedia of United States History*.

He was born at Hitchin in 1720, probably of Scottish parentage: was a member of a church in London, whence he removed to Ipswich, and on 9th October, 1754, he was ordained as co-pastor with the Rev. William Notcutt, whom he had already assisted in the ministry for above two years. On the death of Mr. Notcutt in July, 1756, Mr. Gordon became sole pastor, but his ministry was not, on the whole, highly successful. In July, 1764, he removed to London, succeeding Dr. David Jennings as pastor of the church in Old Gravel Lane. In 1770 he emigrated to America, and in 1772 he became pastor to a church at Roxbury. Keenly interested in colonial politics he became, on the breaking out of the War of Independence,

an ardent Revolutionist; one writer calls him "the Scotchman with an American heart." By one account he was so obnoxious to the British military authorities that a price was set on his head. In 1777 it was proposed to appoint him chaplain-general to the Northern American army; this did not take effect, but he came into close relations with Washington, whom at one time he is said to have served as private secretary. In 1778 he received the degree of D.D. from the college of New Jersey. On the conclusion of peace in 1786 he returned to England, and in 1788 published the book by which he is chiefly known: *The History of the Rise, Progress and Establishment of Independence of the United States of America*, 4 vols., 8vo. In 1789 he accepted the pastorate of the Congregational church at St. Neot's, whence he retired in 1802, spending his later days in Ipswich. He died 19th October, 1807, and is buried in Tacket Street burial ground.

His publications, in addition to his *History*, are an abridgment of Edwards's *On the Religious Affections*, 1762; *A Plan of a Society for making Provision for Widows by Life Annuities*, Boston, 1772; several sermons, one of which, on Lamentations iii. 22, passed through at least four editions; *The Doctrine of Final Universal Salvation Examined and shewn to be Unscriptural*, Boston, 1783; and a paper on *Samson's Foxes* in the *Evangelical Magazine*, 1802.

NEW YORK, December 1st, 1770.

DEAR BROTHER,

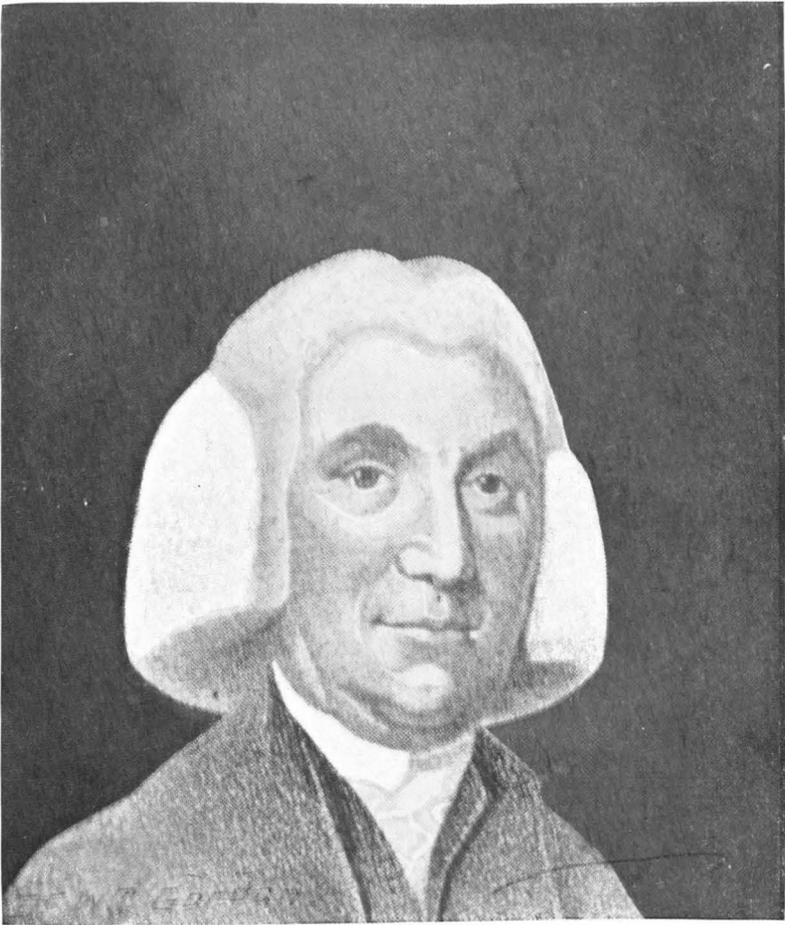
The last Thursday morning I passed through Woodbridge on my way to this city; would gladly have called on you but was under an absolute necessity of declining the attempt. You will ask What Woodbridge? want to know where it is, and what kind of a place: I always had a desire of obliging you, and will there-

fore inform you that we have a Woodbridge on this side the Atlantic in New Jersey, but that it is no ways to compare with the place of your residence. It has no navigable river, but one brick house, and several wooden ones scattered about irregularly. 'Tis in an infantile state, and will never vie with Suffolk Woodbridge excepting in the Presbyterian place of worship, which exceeds yours, and takes the lead of the Episcopal Church. To be plain with you, in these parts the Episcopalians are the underlings and the other denominations are the most respectful [? respectable]. There is something in this pleasing to human nature ; we all like to be uppermost, and yet of how little signification are any advantages of a temporal nature, when we look forward to and consider the heavenly Canaan.

There I hope to meet you, though I have little expectation of seeing you again on earth for many years, if ever. Should a war have commenced, as we suppose here to be the case, there is no venturing for me across the ocean ; and I should be sorry were national affairs to come into that bad state, that might induce you to venture in order that you might find refuge in America. I seem to have come over just in the nick of time. You will in all likelihood have heard of my safe arrival, and had some particulars of my voyage, before this can come to hand, as I wrote to Mr. Turner of Ipswich Nov. 6th by the brig *Harmony*, Captain Rogers of Bristol. Should his letter have miscarried, acquaint him that I sent it.

We have fine clear weather in these parts, and the climate seems to agree with me. What do you think of my seeing grasshoppers skipping about in the fields yesterday night ? I left Philadelphia the Wednesday before, and came up to Mr. Bently at Neshamery or Warminster ; the last Tuesday we came forward for this city, and got here the Thursday evening ; met with much civility from the colonists. They are indeed extremely hospitable. The country is pleasant, I see it at a disadvantage, being winter ; however can venture to expect that it is not equal to England at present, but should it make the rapid progress for a century to come that it has done the past hundred years, 'twill be an amazing place. We see no fallow fields in travelling ; for, having plenty of ground, they do not manure it in the manner of England ; when they have wrought out the heart of one field they betake themselves to another. In some farms near the cities they are beginning to manure. An English farmer, I think, would make better of the ground. Hedges are hardly met with ; they fence with rails.

But to come to something more agreeable : The morals of the people do not appear so corrupt as with you ; places of worship and congregations are large and numerous, and in these colonies the Doctrines of Grace prevail universally : I mean in New York,



THE REV. WM. GORDON, D.D.

the George, and Pennsylvania; I have been in no others. The government of the Church is large Presbyterianism, and not the narrow and bigoted Presbyterianism of Scotland. You will imagine perhaps that I shall turn Presbyterian; where I shall settle I am at present at a loss to determine, but be it where it will shall endeavour to maintain a clear conscience; and so far as I can do that shall, for the good of the Church and the peace of society, become all things to all men—but no further, unless left to my own spirit and the power of temptation, which I hope the Grace of God will prevent.

Be thankful in prayer to the Father of Mercies for His kindness to me and mine, and remember me in your best moments. Mrs. Gordon I left at Mr. Bently's. Pay my respects to all friends—I know Mrs. Gordon would desire the like—with love to self and Mrs. Palmer: shall expect an answer by the first opportunity; write me all the intelligence you can collect in the country that you think will be either amusing or instructive, and forward it to Mr. Thos. Field with the request that he would hasten the same by the first ship. Shall keep a regular account of Dr. and Cr. with my correspondents, shall not allow of long trusts, and expect regular returns.

You see upon what terms you are to correspond, if you approve of them you will shew it to your sincere friend and affectionate brother in Christ Jesus.

WILLIAM GORDON.

By the bye the New Year approaches. I wish you both much happiness in it with an increasing meetness for heaven.

### An Interesting Memorial Recovered

THE Rev. Kentish Bache, of Walford vicarage, Ross, has, at the suggestion of the Rev. Alex. Gordon, kindly communicated the following Latin inscription in memory of one of the ejected ministers. It is on a metal plate, with eight holes for nails; it was found in a chimney at the drapery shop of the late Mr. Tom Southall of Ross; it was sent by him to Mr. Bache for translation in August, 1907, and was returned the next day.

#### JONATHAN SMITH

Sandovici Cantianorum honestis oriundus parentibus ;  
 Vir trium, quæ doctæ p<sup>e</sup>ertim audiunt linguarū pertissim<sup>o</sup> ;  
 Sinceræ Professor Simul Prædicator Fidei ;  
 Purioris ad verbi Norman cultus Amans Tenaxq ;  
 Vitæ integræ omniq, Sandali saltē, labe vacantis ;  
 Mundanis min<sup>9</sup> Comodis quā conscientiæ paci intentas ;  
 Qua Salvâ cū Publice fungi Mincio non ampli<sup>9</sup> licuit ;  
 Juventuti instituendæ Operam haud Inutilem dedit ;  
 Donec oib<sup>9</sup>, qua Agendo qua Patiendo exantlatis prox<sup>to</sup> laborib<sup>9</sup> ;  
 Placidam demum assequutus est in Christo Quietem ;  
 Die Sept xviii An<sup>o</sup> Dni MDCLxxviii Ætat. Suae xLv ;

The Latin, as will be seen, abounds with inaccuracies ; it was probably engraved by an illiterate artisan from a badly written MS. Mr. Bache's translation is as follows :—

JONATHAN SMITH

Of Sandwich, Kent, born of honest parents.

A man highly skilled in the three tongues which are reputed especially learned [*i.e.*, Hebrew, Greek and Latin].

Professor and preacher of a [*or*, the] simple Faith,

Loving and holding the purer worship after the pattern of the Word ;

Of a good life, free from every blot, at least of scandal.

Intent on worldly advantages less than on peace of conscience ;

Which [peace] being secure when he could no more discharge his mission publicly,

He gave useful labour to the instruction of youth ;

Until dying, the last labours both of doing and of suffering being ended,

At length he attained calm rest in Christ,

On the 18th day of September, A.D. 1678, of his age 45.

According to Calamy (*Nonconformist's Memorial*) Jonathan Smith, jun., was ejected from the rectory of Hempsted, Gloucestershire. "After his ejection he continued to preach privately, and taught school at Ross in Herefordshire." He is mentioned in Shaw's *History of the English Church, 1640-1660*, see vol. ii. p. 588. On the issue of the Indulgence Owen Davies, an agent, applied on 26th May, 1672, for five licences — all Congregational — in Gloucestershire and Herefordshire ; the fourth being for Jonathan Smith at his own house in Ross. It is noted as granted on 10th June. There was also an application made, before 22nd May, 1672, by fourteen Congregational ministers living in Gloucestershire, the eighth being Jonathan Smith of Tedbury (*i.e.*, Tetbury). Licence is noted as granted on 29th May for his house at "Tedbury," the receipt for the same being given by Owen Davies on 1st June.

Tetbury and Ross seem too far apart—26 miles in a straight line, and much further by road—for the two licences to refer to the same person ; but no other Jonathan Smith is named among the ejected ministers. Yet the word “junior” being used by Calamy suggests that he knew of a senior Jonathan. Could Jonathan of Tetbury be the father of Jonathan of Ross ?