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Joseph Allein.

Editorial

THE Annual Meeting of the Congregational Historical Society was held at the Memorial Hall, London, on May 8th, 1913. The Rev. B. Nightingale, M.A., was voted to the chair.

As the Rev. John Brown, B.A., D.D., was compelled to relinquish the office of Chairman, the Society not desiring to break entirely the official connection which had so happily existed between him and its organisation, elected him unanimously to the honorary office of President.

The following appointments were then unanimously voted: Chairman, Rev. B. Nightingale, M.A.; Treasurer, Rev. Prof. G. Lyon Turner, M.A.; Editorial Secretary, Rev. T. G. Crippen; Secretary, Rev. Wm. Pierce. Reports, editorial and financial, were read by Mr. Crippen and Prof. Turner, and adopted, and an interesting conversation took place on various methods of extending an interest in the work of the Society and of adding to its membership. The issue of the *Transactions* was discussed, and it was agreed that the publication of these valuable and interesting records should be determined by the state of the Society's funds; it being confidently expected that there would be means of sending out at least two numbers annually. It was felt that the members themselves could render valuable service in commending the Society to persons in their own districts.

Suitable references were made to the loss sustained by the Society through the death of their esteemed member the Rev. Thomas Gasquoine, B.A.

* *

Our Autumnal Meeting will be held, in connection with the Meetings of the Congregational Union, in Warrior Square church, Southend, on Wednesday, 15th October, at 3 p.m. Our new chairman, Rev. B. Nightingale, is expected to preside; and a paper will be read by Rev. A. Goodall of Ongar, on *Early Independency in Essex*.

* *

Two small volumes lately issued by members of our Society are valuable additions to the not too abundant store of popular books on special aspects of Free Church History, which present plain facts without more partisan colouring than is inevitable.

The first is *The Arian Movement in England*, by Rev. J. Hay Colligan, M.A. It is generally known that at the end of the seventeenth century there was much controversy within the Episcopal Church as to the proper explanation of the doctrine of the Trinity; and that pamphlets and treatises were circulated in defence, some of Orthodoxy, some of Arianism, and some of Socinianism. In the Presbyterian churches, by 1718, Arianism had found several advocates; a fact which provoked a heated controversy in the West of England, which involved the London churches, and which the Salters' Hall Conference, 1719, failed to allay. Thenceforward Arianism spread rapidly among English Presbyterians, and later in the century gave place to Socinianism. Under these conditions many of their churches dwindled and became extinct; while from others orthodox secessions took place, which were organized as Congregational churches. The literature of the controversy is bulky, consisting largely of pamphlets, most of which have passed into oblivion. Mr. Colligan has devoted much labour to the study of this forgotten literature, and has produced a comprehensive study of the whole controversy. Especially he has made it clear that, whatever opinions may be held on the doctrines involved, the movement operated largely toward the extension of religious liberty, not only within the Churches, but in their relations with the State.

* * *

The other volume, entitled *Heresy, Its Ancient Wrongs and Modern Rights in these Kingdoms*, is an expansion of a lecture delivered by Rev. Alexander Gordon, M.A., at Essex Hall. It is a concise review of the conflict maintained by the State against free thought in religion, from 1166, when certain alleged Manicheans were whipped, branded, and banished, to 1813, when the profession of Unitarianism ceased to be regarded by the law as a crime. It is not necessary to be in accord with the author's personal beliefs—about which there is no concealment—to appreciate this useful little volume; which is crammed with information, so that its value is in inverse proportion to its bulk.

* * *

Laws against Nonconformity which have Stood upon the Statute Book of England, by T. Bennett, LL.D., is a small book for which there was much need, and which will probably come to be regarded as a standard book of reference. While covering much of the same ground as Mr. Gordon's book, it is chiefly concerned with endeavours to enforce submission in matters of religious observance, rather than with attempts to compel uniformity of belief.

We are glad to learn that the public will shortly have the benefit of Rev. A. Peel's researches into the Morrice manuscripts, of which some account is given in *Trans.* iv, pp. 294 flg. His book will be issued from the Cambridge University Press, and is already in the hands of the printer.

* *

We are indebted to Mr. C. Tite of Taunton for the portrait of Joseph Alleine which accompanies this issue. Portraits of that saintly confessor are rare. The original of the one now reproduced is amongst the Hope collection in the Bodleian Library. It presents every indication of being authentic and contemporary.

* *

In the *Transactions* of the BAPTIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY, just to hand, is a remarkable paper on John Canne, well known as the author of *A Necessitie of Separation*. Canne is generally supposed to have been a Baptist; but Mr. C. Burrage, who has discovered several of his autograph letters, shews reason for doubting this, and believes that he continued in fellowship with the "Exiled Church" at Amsterdam to the end of his life.

Of the Name of Puritans

[A few years ago I had for a short time in my custody a MS. commonplace book, of about 250 pp., which from the handwriting and general contents I assigned to some date between 1620 and 1640. Most of the contents were very uninteresting; but the ensuing treatise, which occupied 13 pages of the MS., appeared worth transcribing, and perhaps also worthy of publication. There was nothing to indicate either the author or the copyist.—T.G.C.]

I. CONCERNING the name and derivation thereof.

2. How many sorts of puritans there be, and to whome properly it doth belong.

3. How the name puritane came first up, and how it hath bin always taken amongst honest men amongst us.

4. How religion is abused by this name, both by papists and atheists.

1. The name of puritane is an upstarte, a name of yesterday, an[d] after birth that hath not long seene the sunne; a möster, as Doctor Humfrey one of the greatest schollars of the land in this time affirmeth, who was the first that writte concerning the matter, neither good lattin[g] nor good english. is it like then to prove well that hath so bad a beginninge. Yet a great Rabbin of the west, Bowling over the puritans of the east, hath found out y^t w^{ch} Dr. Humfreys could not, whoe telleth us y^t this word puritane is compounded of 2 fyers, such is there skill in alcumey; of purre w^{ch} is fier in Greeke an[d] tane w^{ch} is welch for fier; having learned belike of Chittery there neyghbour to put it into there lettany, and this it is, ab igne greco et ab igne wallico libera nos, ut ab igne Gallico. The word noe doubt comming of purrie signifying pure; so that puritane is one altogether pure, and soe some in former times have termed themselves, as Novatus was the first of that sect, and after him many more.

2. Of these puritanes the(re) be 4 sorts, sayth Dr. Humfreys:—

1. Hereticall, ancient;
2. Papisticall, not unlike;
3. Anabaptisticall, new and late;
- (4). Evangelicall, and they very good.

(1.) There were divers sorts of these heritiques. Novatus the first, and many after, as Pelagius, &c: The Donatists, whoe held the church perfect in this life: Jovinianists, that a man cannot

sinne after regeneration : and many other such like, whoe hold opinions contrary to the faith.

(2.) Are papists, who take up there former errors ; all there priests, Monkes, Friers, are holy and pure, especially the Jesuits holy. Dr. Humfrey call(s) them puritane-papists, there life an holy seraphycall angelicall life ; the holy father the pope, nay, he is godlinesse it selfe.

(3.) Anabaptisticall : there are divers sorts of these. Some are of a more temperate spirit (as Dr. Humfreys sayth,) who will not wync because of the Corruptions of our Church, whoe are, to p. 2] be pittied, meaning the Brownists, whome Dr. | Perkins, Mr. Greenhame, Mr. Josias Nichols, and Sr. Francis Hastings speakes very bitterly against, but they only began in Dr. Humfrey His day, and were not knowne by y^e name. There are others amongst them w^{ch} all good men speake most bitterly against, the king especially, viz., the family of love ; and from these came all the slaunders against honest men. These hold when once they be in the lovely being, whatsoever they doe is not sinne ; there flesh sinneth, but they in y^e spirit doe not. All the scriptures are but carnall things, all the world prophane. These preferred a petition to his Maiestie at his comming in to the land. These are the mightiest enimies of y^e puritanes that are, as they say, as there you may see. There weere many about y^e Courte ; whether any now God knowes. I am sure the Country doth encline very much to such opinions, w^{ch} is indeede meere Athisme. And some Politicians seeke to bring in Popery that way as by the tayle : As Cacus drew Hercules oxen into his Cave by the tayle.

(4.) The 4th sorte is Evangelicall ; and such a puritie X(t) out of his gospell hath comāded that we strive unto, viz., to be Xward (?) and holy as he is holy ; w^{ch} shall never be perfectly obtained unto in this world ; and this is y^t which is layd to the Charge of honest men. The three former we detest to y^e pitt of hell, sayth Dr. Humfrey ; and so say all good and honest men.

3. How this name came up, and how it is esteemed of by y^e state. First y^t the beginning of reformation in king Edward his dayes, the Comunion Booke was translated by Mr. Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, etc ; and other not approving yt there began contention, and great parties were taken on ether side : and in Q. Mary Hir dayes of both sides fled into Francford, beyond the seas ; where they not agreeing about there service, some would have the fashion of England and others refused, and soe they seperated. In Q. Elizabeths time coming againe into England, such as followed the booke of there service w^{ch} was comāded there, were advanced into high places ; others lived heere and there, some using some not using the same, and having liberty promoted the gospell by all meanes in all places ; and all men came to the church, papists and

all, for the first tenn yeares of the Q. Raigne ; inso much as there was not a recusant in England in all that time. The p. 3] Preachers being earnest | and therein doing much good, men began to flock to sermons and singing of psalmes &c., as in Josias Nichols is plaine : the Divill began to rage, and to stir up Papists and Atheists ; and the greater sort of the people, being old Barrells that could Hold noe new wine, they began to scoffe and deride, calling them the holy bretheren, holy sisters, &c. pure and unspotted bretheren, and specially men of great place began to picke holes in there preachers coats y^t did not as the law required, and accused them to the Bps. and to the state. The Pope and his cleargie seeing the people of England began more and more to embrace the gospell, and some complaints made against these hott preachers, the Pope then sent out a Bull to com[m]and all Catholiques not to goe to Church upon paine of damnation, nor to obey the Q. shewing y^t shee was an[d] Heritique, and they might lawfully take armes against hir. Whereupon the state began to looke about, and y^t they might not be at variance among themselves began to take away all occasions of contention ; and all these Ministers weere urged to a subscription about the yeare 1571 : and heereupon y^t Admouition to the Parliament was written, and the great contention between Cartwright and Whitgift after Bp of Canterbury beganne ; yet some what pacified by B^{pp} Grindall, and so much good done for 5 or 6 yeares.

1571
Subscription

This was now the first plunge ; and here againe the Papists were madd, and were ever plotting like to the 3 seditions in Jerusalem, Eleaser Simeon and Jehocanan, ever busiest plotting when there was most stirr. After this Arch B^{ps} decease came out a new subscription universally imposed and enforced upon y^e Ministers throughout y^e whole land in 3 Articles Anno 1584 ; and divers were suspended, some deprived, in divers shires, as Cartwright & Paget, Melancton Jewel, and divers others. Here was shewing writting, Preaching, Challenging, bookes, sermons : great men as ye Earle of Lechester (*sic*) upheld some of there men then called puritanes : this was meat and drinke to y^e Papists. In the midst heereof was the conspiracie of Babington, Touchbourne, etc : and then came in Champion and the Jesuites, and a mighty company of treasons were a working ; and after came the Spanish Navy, yet still God was mercifull to the land. Presently upon this all being stilled, out came Martin Marpelit, Anno 1588, a folish Jester (as Josias Nichols his booke who speaks basly of him) abusing many of great and reverend place. Then the Brownist began to separate and kept Conventicles. Hacket, Coppinger, Arthington attempted new reformation. Then the state began to be very strict, and a mighty storm arose in all shires. If any had

1584
Another
Subscription

but the name of a puritane, or lookt y^b way, he was had
 in question, and some of the judges, by name Justice
 Anderson, began to be most earnest against this sort of
 men ; insomuch that many Justices of peace feared, and yet bear (?)
 the name of Puritane ; and all the slanders that could be
 p. 4] were | rayled against honest men, w^{ch} made the harts of
 papists and ppliane wrechcs to leape for joy. The violence
 of this storme being overpast, the heat began to alay by little and
 litle, and y^e rather for y^t the Earle of Essex began to com in to
 favour and Creditt, who favoured honest men : this continued some
 six yeares together ; behold then an[d] other policye of Sathun :
 Some few yeares before the Q. died, it fell out that some headdy
 and giddy spirits in Scotland, being sawcy w^{ch} the king there, by
 reason of the comīng over of Penry & some Anabaptist and familist,
 thereupon presently the Conspiracy of the Earle Gowrie (who
 favoured the forward preachers) followed. The king beganne to
 distaste such sort of men ; and watson the preist and others of his
 consorts, knowing how the game went there, and perceiving how
 the Jesuits were like to domineere over them, and Laboured to
 bring in the Infanta of Spaine. He writte against the Jesuits his
 Quodlibets, and mad them most odious in all mens eyes, whose
 booke nowe tollerated in England in great policy, good men not
 knowing the mistery thereof beganne to suspect what might be the
 issue of it. Sir Francis Hasting then writt a booke encouraging all
 Englishmen against the Pope and Spaine. Josias Nichols writte
 his booke then. In the midst of all this the Q. dieth, Anno 1602.
 Then there was great hope of all sides ; the Papists for tolleration
 at least, y^e Reformists for reformation. Then there was a petition
 made unto the king under the name of a thousand Ministers, against
 the Bps and Corruptions of y^e Church ; the Bps Deanes and Uni-
 versities tooke them in hand, as knowing the kings mind incensed
 in Scotland against such men : they writte, speake, preached, and
 so set the whole land awork against those men. And after there
 Conference set forth, a subscription was urged under ye kings
 name, and many were deprived : and soe it continued, and the
 Papists continued there plotts afore beganne, and then the gun-
 powder treason was set on foote. It pleased God to allay y^t heat,
 and what now doth the Divill ; doth he not stirr up the papists
 beyond the seas againe to rayse many bitter things against
 preachers, and honest men that stand for any goodnes. Now they
 begin to writte against the king, especially against Puritans ; they
 are still in with this in all there writing, that the king was a Puritane
 in Scotland and hath changed his religion &c. Therefore
 p. 5] to tell you how the state took that name of | Puritans, and
 doe now at this day, not in any disgrace but only for distinc-
 tion, in y^t they differ in some small poynts concerning outward
 discipline ; and this shalbe manifested by all the best writers, yea

by the king himselfe from the beginning of the name unto this day, clearing the reformed Churches, againste whom the Papists urge that name especially.

Dr. Humfrey the 10 yeare of his Matys reinge wrotte a tract in Latin against the Bull of Pius Quintus, then when this name was first broached, and he among (sic) the rest being taxed, made his Apologie for himselfe and all other soe termed; these are his words: "we will say nothing for ourselves; a Bp shall speake for us, who writting to a great Counsellor of state, told him that "y^e queene had none y^t weere more faithfull, more trusty, more "loving subjects then such as weere falsly termed Puritans." Dr. Fulke, y^e greatest writer against Papists, as Josias Nichols notest Plea of the innocent Pag: 83: sayth "Also the Contention of "those whom he calleth Puritanes in England is not [soe
Sic: ? if
omit(-) "great] now about soe great matters that any such divisions "neede to be feared w^{ch} may cause dissolution of the kingdome"; w^{ch} Bristow himselfe sayth, motive 40th. "that all the "Protestants in England be in a manner in heart all Puritanes"; confessing hereby against himselfe that there can be no deadly contention between these that in heart are all one. All wth one consent in there writtings against Papists in those times justifie them to be honest men and good subjects, and y^t they differ and dissent only about round and square, white and black, in small matters.

Dr. Barloe, noe friend to puritanes in his hot blood, about y^e time appoynted by y^e state to answer against some Popish articles, when he comes to answer our diversities heere in England between Puritans an(d) Protestants, hath this similitude. The hedghogge (Plinie reports) laind (sic) loaden wth nutts and fruits, if the least filbert fall of, will fling downe all the rest in a pettish humour, and beat y^e ground for anger wth his bristells. The gospell amongst us, like the fier of Mount Hecla recorded by Zuicius, w^{ch} dranke up all watters, and devours all wood cast upon it, but cannot consume flax and towe, hath dispersed the grosser heresies of Popery and supperstition, though thes flaxen rags of ceremonyes and shewes lie glowing in the embers of some mallicious and hott spiritts not consumed.

About this time came forth y^e kings booke to his sonne in Scotland: heare what he sayth, ptesting on his honour "As to the "name of puritane I am not ignorant y^t the stile thereof doth pperly "belong only to the vile sort called y^e Family of Love, p. 6] "because they thinke themselves only pure | and without "sinne, the only true church; of whome I principally meane "when I speake of Puritans. Partly to give this stile to such braine "sicke and heady preachers as participats to much wth there "humours, maintaining the above mentioned errors, not only agree- "ing wth the generall rule (?) of Anabaptists, in contempt of ye Civill "Magistrate, and leaning to there owne Dreames and Revelations,

“but particularly wth this sort, in accounting all men pphane that
 “swear not to there fantaseys in making for every particular
 “question of y^e pollicy of y^e Church as great comotion as if the
 “article of the Trinity were called in question ; and he that denyes
 “there grounds, let him not be worthy to enjoy the benefit of
 “breathing, much less to participate wth them of of (*sic*) the sacra-
 “ments ; and before that any of the grounds be impugned, let king
 “and people, law and all be trod underfoote : such holy warres
 “are to be p^rferred to an ungodly peace ; no, in such cases Xian
 “Princes are not only to be resisted unto, but not to be prayed
 “for, &c. But on the other part. I p^test upon mine honour I
 “meane it not generall of all preachers, or others, that like better
 “of the single forme of Pollicy in our church, then of the many
 “cerimones in the Church of England, that are perswaded that
 “there Bps smell of a papall supremacy, that the surplice, the
 “cornered cap, and such like, are ye outward badges of popish
 “errors. Noe, I am so farre from being contentious in these things
 “(wth for mine owne part ever esteemed as indifferent) as I doe
 “equally love and honour the grave men of ether of these
 “opinions.”*

4. Now upon what just grounds men peaceable[ly] and
 quitt (*sic*) and conforming to the lawes are branded with these termes
 of reproach let it be shewed ; for none such, in the opinion of these
 before and after, deserve it, but rather the contrary to be cherrished
 and encouraged in all such conformity, howsoever they may be
 yet of other opinion concerning indifferent things. These things
 had their beginning from Papists, and none but Athesticall protest-
 ants reproach quiet men wth it.

After the kings com^{ing} in heare (?) w^{ch} was sayde : and first to the
 Papists petition answered by Gabriell Powell the Bp. of London's
 Chaplaine, noe great freind to the Puritans ; who in his Epistle to
 the reader saith that he was moved in conscience at the vile dealing
 of the Papists, who were not ashamed to the kings highnesse to
 traduce our Church from Puritnisme (*sic*) and Athisme. And the
 Petitioner coming to shew how the mayne of the Realm for religion
 consists of 4 parts, Protestants, Puritants (*sic*) Athists and
 p. 7] Chatholiques, and crave as much favour as is shewed | to
 others of contrary religion, meaning the Puritans : is
 answered, and so say (?) all, y^b it is a manifeslannder (*sic*) of Xian
 church and state, and flatt untruth, that such liberty is granted them
 in there severall religions ; shewing that the dissention betweene us
 is only concerning matters of ceremonyes and discipline, wch
 belong rather to the Pollicy of the church then to faith and doctrine ;
 and that Puritane is a name only to the Anabaptists and Familians,

* On the above long extract (somewhat abridged) from the preface to King James's
Basilikon Doron, it is to be noted that it was written in 1599, before James became King
 of England.

w^{ch} our Church and state doe noe way favour. And after againe the Petitioners, urging that Puritans and Athists being of contrary religion to protestants; and yet are tollerated &c, it is answered, Puritans as they term them are not contrary to protestants in religion as before.

After him see Doctor Sutlift (*Sutcliffe*) his answer unto Calleson, whoe dedicated his booke to y^e king, and in his 8 boke the 5 chap: pag: 363, shewing the diversities of opinions in England, there being Calvenist, Lutherans, Puritans, Protestants, Zwingliangs, Bezaites, Anabaptists, Brownists, Family of Love, &c., and how out of these diversities of opinions an[d] Athist[s] may easily draw his discourse, because there are so many sorts therefore will they believe none. Mr. Sutcliffe against this scrupulus (?) survey answereth, cap: II, pag: 103, Anabaptists, Libertines, Brownists, Martennists, Familey of Love, Dāned crew, we generally condeme; the rest are names of slaunder devised by the papists.

Dr. Andrewes Bp. of Ely ye Kings Chaplaine y^e answers Bellarmine and all the great Papists in defence of the kinge and ye whole land in his last booke against Bellar: cap: 5 pag. 123 saith the religion of the puritanes, w^{ch} have noe religion of there owne pper or peculiar; it is only discipline that they stand for; w^{ch} notwithstanding I would have generally to be understood of Puritanes, and of such amongst them who, howsoever they are a little to much addicted to there discipline, in all other poynts they are wise wth sobriety: who although they are to much in love wth their platforme, yet in all other poynts of doctrine they are very sound; and againe, Puritans are such as differ from us in outward forme of Government, not in religion, w^{ch} is an(d) may be y^e same where the outward forme of goverment is otherwise. 224 In matters of fayth, nether we from them (whom he calleth Puritanes) nor they from us doe differ. 267 if a man doth differ in a little ceremony, Ceremoniotū (ubi nefas nullū abundare) if he abound in his fancies [? sences] (w^{ch} a man may lawfully doe) forthwith he cryeth out an other religion, the king liath altered his religion. 352 in all poynts sound but that they leane a little to much to the opinions of an other sect. soe the king himselve in his Apollogie for the oath of allegiants [*sic*], translated into divers languages.*

p. 8] Although I doubt not but y^e every honest and godly reader, whether he doth way my counsaile in this place ^{The Kinge} where I speake of Puritans, or the end of my treatise where I speake unto princes of my profession, will easily judg that by the name of puritanes none other are understood than people and subjects whoe living under my dominion have refused to be obedient to my lawes; but for the reformed churches abroad, they nor their government are meant. For my owne parte I am throughly resolved not to meddle with other men's matters, but to leave other

* We have not been able to verify this quotation.

reformed churches to their Xian libertie : nay I am soe far from judging hardly of them y^t on the contrary I thinke that according to the liberty w^{ch} Xt hath appoynted unto us, that it is granted to every Xian Kinge, Prince, and Comweale to prescribe an[d] outward forme of government for ecclesiasticall matters, as shall come neare to his civill government, soe they swarve not a yott from the the [sic] ground of fayth and Religion. God forbid therefore y^t I should judge those w^{ch} God hath exempted from my

Rom: 14. 18 jurisdiction, or fall into y^t w^{ch} being taken out of y^o Apostle is written in the forefront of my booke, let us not therefore judge one an other any more ; w^{ch} for my parte I promise and p^oesse, and hope and desier to be performed by the(e) that art an[d] honest man, and reade^t this booke.

Dr. Feild. Dr. Feild, Page the 1. 2. of his answer and examination of ptended proofes for Romish religion and recusancy, saith that howsoever y^o Pampletr blameth Puritanes only, yet in truth he equally condemne^t all Protestants for Puritanes. [sic] And where as the Pampletr alleageth Dr. Sutcliffe, Dr. Done, Feild, Willet, Wotton, Middleton, &c. y^t they teach there is noe substantiall, essentiall, or matteriall poynt of difference in religion betweene p^oestants and Puritanes, but they are of one church, fayth, and Religion : Answereth for his owne parte he never wrot^t any such thing, but what if I had written, sayth he, y^t there are some materiall differences betweene Protestants and Puritanes as it pleaseth him to stile them, yet not so essentiall or substantiall but that they may be of one Church, Fayth, and Religion. Are there not greater differences betweene Papists, who will be angry if they be not esteemed to be of one Church, Faith, and Religion. Pope John the 22th though(t) the soules of the just should not see God till the generall resurrection : And y^o French wth the whole Universitie of Paris condemned the same opinion as hereticall.

The Arch : Bp. deales very favourablye wth thim, as was of late reported to an honest man. Dr. Abbots at y^e Act. 1613 willed men to leave of(f) that name of Puritanes wronging of Calvin : Dr. King Bp of London reprooved a minister sharply for saying he would preach against the Puritanes, and told him, if he ever heard he did he would punish him for it.

p. 9] The Civill Magistrate deales favourably with them, as of late at a Quartr Sessions, an[d] honest Minister branded wth that name of reproach a justice of Peace answered at the Bench that they wronged him, sainge he conformed to the state and government of ye Church.

The L Cheife justice the L. Cooke at an Assise held in Coventry approved them honest men that conformed. And one y^t would be a great man in the Towne, be(ing) asked what he thought of such and such by name (That are called Puritanes) he answered that if there were any honest men in the towne they weere them.

Dr. South, a Counselor betwene Mr. Johnson and some of the Towne branded wth this name, justified them to be honest men, and willed him to use them kindly, wishing that he had some such under his chaarge. And it is a slaunder to our religion and the state to brand them wth such names that conformes, and giveth advantage to Papists.

Docter Collins in his booke written in latten against
 († *Endymion Porter.*) Enderion, pag: 247. heere what he sayth concerning Puritanes, questioned by him. The Kings M^{ty} affirmes in y^e p^rface to his sonne, that he found more faith in the bordering theeves then in Puritanes. Bee it soe; doth the king at any time accuse the French of perfidiousnesse, who (if I be not deceived) do submitt themselves to the Kings Authoritie, as not any other more willingly in the whole Xian worlde. The very cleare marrow of puritanisme doth raigne there, if in any place.

coll: I beleeve you meane the p^ressours of Xian religion that are most forward. stoute, and of a singular zeale and unconquered constancy, vertue and honesty, and off wonderfull caution and circumspection in the whole carriage of there life. For Puritane indeed is the name of a sect wth the King; & doth note those w^{ch} doe arrogate unto themselves purity before others ridiculously, and say, as the Prophet hath it, Depart further of (f) for I am purer then thou: which sort is so ancient y^t we doe read they were condemned in the most first ancient counsels [*sic*], the Nicene and y^e Constantinopolitane by the name of Catheroie. But to you those are Puritanes w^{ch} stoutly denijng the corruptions of the age, and the stincke of your superstitions, doe search after God wth a sincere heart; of the w^{ch} sorte of people the Lord himselfe sayth: "if you separate the pretious from the vilde." Jer: 15. 19.

End: The Calvenist are a turbelent kinde of people, and it is a wonder y^t they had not burit the whole kindome of France, or overthrowne or brought it to utter ruine. As coll. Beza, Farrell, and Virett. But ours are unquiett, thou sayest. Tell me, thou varlett, where in ours are unquiett: let passe all vagaries and alleag[d] any speciall crime: Tell wherein Beza, Farrell, and the rest have offended, unless p. 10] they have cast out the strong man possessing the house | by the power of a stronger. &c. What is so contrary to a desperate mind as the preaching of the truth, w^{ch} our Saviour hath compared to a sword and to fier. Chrisostome saith "I have not fier in my hand, but I have doctrine more vehement than fier for heat [?]"^o; Otherwise those most holy men, excellent devines w^{ch} are be fore named, have not bin troublesome to any one, not only by the hand, but not with any light footesteppe tending that way; None of w^{ch} did ever make the streetes of any citty run with blood, or make a massacre an Item to that bloody night.

Parsons
against
Sir Francis
Hastings. You are wount to deride and laugh at us as men following delight and effeminate-ness, and breathing out noe manly-nesse, much lesse troubling or tormoyling; w^{ch} although it was a false accusation, yet it overthrowes y^t of yours heere.

David Owing B^{lor} of Divinity having māy bitter things against Puritanes, by name charging Calvin, Beza, Farrell, Viret, and divers latter writers, whome he coupleth wth y^o Popish faction, to agree together, for y^o coercion, deposition, and killing of Kings, is answered by that of Dr. Coll: before, and also by Sampson Price Preacher to y^o city of Oxford in his Sermon at Pauls Crosse, Anno 1613, intituled London's warning by Lauodiceas [*sic*] Lukewarm-
Pag: nesse. Such [?] of blessed Calvin; soe shall I never stille
33 them: they would never yeald to any king y^t would draw them from God. Their speeches may be wrested, but never any true inference collected y^t y^oy p^tended treason. They have Poysoned soules therefore who by a Popish conceite of Herod and Pilate reconciled would bring these worthy instruments of Gods Church wthin y^o compasse of any bloody desinge. Lett such learne to follow the rule of Tertullian; if they have any knowledg to employ it to witnes truth, not to helpe falshode.

This David Owen his booke, for the maine of it is nothing else but Certaine lies and slaunders, w^{ch} the Jesuits heretofore have charged Calvin and Beza and the reformed Churches wthall. And the very selfe same particulars are answered by Dr. Bilson Bp. of Winchester, long before this Owen his booke came forth, as heere it followeth:—

Owen: pag: 46 John Calvin inst: lib. 4 chap: 20 sect: 31. Puritanes turne his conditionall conjunction into an illative.

Dr. Bilson: pag. 606 Calvin, so well knowne by those that weere learned and wise, that a few snarling friars cannot impeach his name, though you never so wretchedly pervert his words.

p. 11] Beza in his Confession &c.

Owen pag. 48 You have already belied Calvin, and now you take the
Bil. pag 510 like courses wth Beza and the french churches. There speeches can be noe detraction of Calvin his words if they did leane that way w^{ch} you make them, as they doe not; and therefore this is but friars trick to abuse both writers and

pag. 511 readers. We will give you his undoubted judgment, out of his own workes, quite against that you slaunder him with.

Owen Epist. dedicat. Beza demure in comūni coetu; the outlandish churches in London concluded: Beza: Episto: 24 et pag: 49; thesis Genevensis episto. dedicat.

Bil: pag 513 The divill himselfe can shew noe greater mallice then to pervert y^t w^{ch} is well spoken and to force a lude sence of his owne on an other mans words: it is evident they never meant y^t if the magistrate once violate God's due the

Pag: 518

people might depose him. The manifold formes of Comon-

wealths make divers men speake diversly of y^e magistrates sword. They may lawfully resist him and by force reduce him to the ancient and received forme of gover(n)ment, or else expell him as a Tirant and sett another in his place by the right and freedome of the country.

Pag: 514 What soverangty the people of Israell had over their Kings is a question among the learned.

Owen: Epist Dedicat. et pag: 47. Concerning Goodman,

BII: pag: 516 The party you name when the wrote thought not Q. Mary to be a lawful prince, w^{ch} particular and false supposall beguiled him. Goodman's opinion, w^{ch} himselfe

Owen: pag: 48 long since hath disliked is noe way serviceable for your seditions. Were it a poynt of doctrine or parte of faith, it had not yet small shew [?] to charge the rest wth one man's verdict; but a singular and superfluous assertion, it

Concerning Knokes and answer by Bilson
hath noe more ground then if I pronounce all [?] Popes Conjurers and Athists, because John the 12th and Silvester the 2 were soe.

Princes may be stayed from tyrinie by there owne
Pag: 521 Realmes, though not deposed: where in 6 or 7 lines are fully answered the 37 leaves of Owen against the reformed Churches. Dr. Bancroft in a sermon at Paules X upon the 1 of John 4 'Dearely Beloved believe not every sperite' &c. maketh a large discourse against the new platforme, and to show how dangerous it is like to prove to the state, he alleageth what hath bin done in forraine parts by many whom he there nameth; concluding Pag: 80 that whatsoever hath bin done abroad is laboured to be put in execution at home; and Page the 83 hath 'I do verily feare that except good order be taken, and that in time, these p. 12] things will grow to some extremities': | where we see no crime alleged all this while.

Earle of Salisbury in answer to certaine Scandalous Papers, 1606.

"And now for an answer to your proscriptions, wherein you seeke soe much to diverte mee from suspecting those whome you call puritanes to be author of this slaunder. I have only this to say; that you should never have needed to put yourselfe to soe much Paines for that perswasion, seeing nether the regular Protestant, nor those that are unconformable to the present discipline of the Church can ever be justly charged to have mixed their private differences with any thoughts, much lesse any acts, of bloody Massacres."

Englands second sumons, by Thomas Sutton at Paules X 1615; one highly comended by ye Lord Cheife Justice of England when he had done. Pag: 98 sayth "which conclusion may serve to stopp the stentorious mouth, and pare [?] the satericall and bloody pencills of some men, who in all there learning can find none that either disquiett or endannger the Church; but the strict P(r)esciscian who cannot swallow downe some of our seremonyes, and therefore

employ their whole strenght, and spend their whole life, in humbling them, who are brought allready to the lowest nadire, as if they had swept and purged the church of all hir impostumes, where as yet our churches hang full of Romish spiders, who in the Italion cobwebbs would strangle our English soules. God forbid that ever my Penne should Patrone any peevisish Sismatiques; only it weere to be wished that some men would not heerein place their felicity, to count this their greatest service to God and the church, to trounce and ferret a few poore and dispised men; but rather that they would rayse hue and cry after lukewarme professours; and carnall Gospellers, and close Athlists, and sleepy sibberites [*i.e.* Sybarites]; that they would keepe Romish fier from our English tinder. These, these are the traytours, Sinons that trouble our church; these are the wormes that breed in the body, and these the impostumes that desease the wombe of our mother. Such hot frensies are Novatianisme and Catharisme and Brownism, we seldome or never heard of in this frozen Climate of yron age wherein we live: most of our deseases are cold eclipses, dead Apoplexies, and Slumbering Lethargies; and surely happy should be the penn that might but wound one of these disturbures, and happy should be the tounge that might discomfitt one of these Pyoners" [?]

p. 13] "I am pswaded there was never poore persecuted word since mallice first seized upon the damned Angels, and the graces of heaven dwelt in the heart of man, that passed through the mouths of all sortes of unregenerated men wth more distastefulness and gnashing of teeth than the name of Puritane doth at this day; which notwithstanding as it is now comonly meant, and ordinarily proceeds from ye spleene and spirit of Prophanes and goodfellowship is an[d] honourable nickname that I may soe speake of Xtianity and grace."

Mr. Bolton
3 Edition of
true happy:

Dr. Douham
Abr. Tricall:
Pag. 72.

Which saying of his is seconded by Dr. Douham (*Downame*) whose words allsoe by him are alleaged: and even in these times the Godly live among such a generation of men, as that if a man doe but labour to keepe a good conscience in any measure all though[t] he meddle not with matters of state or discipline, or Ceremonies, (as for example if a minister diligently [*sic*] preach, or in his preaching seeke to proffitt rather then to please, remembering the saying of the Apost: If I seeke to please men I am not the servant of Xt Gall: 1: 10; or if a private Xu make conscience of swearing, sanctifying the sabbath, frequenting sermons, or abstaining from the comon corruptions of the time;) he shall be straitway [be] condemned for a Puritane, and consequently be lesse favoured than a Carnall Gospellour or a close Papist."

Samuell Ward, Ba^{lre} of Divinitie at a sermon at Ipswich at a generall visitation, intituled a Coale from the Altar, "In the

Primitive Church all mutinies and contentions weere layd to the charge of the Martirs ; true it is, where zeale is there is opposition, and soe consequently troubles. Christ setts this fier on earth, not as author but by accident. The theife is the author of the fray, though the true man strike never so many blowes ; but the Ahabs of the world trouble Israell, then complaine of Eliah ; & The papists will blow up the state, then father it upon the puritanes. It is not for a wise man to beleeeve the tithes of the tales and slaunders which fly abroad of the zealous ; Lewde men would faine strike at all goodness through their sides."

Earle of
Salisbury.
Awn. Scan-
dalous
papers 1605.

"They have sought with Nero to sett Roome on fier,
and after to lay the blame upon Xians."

Samuell Warde pag: 40. I hope the states puritane,
and the comon Puritane be two creatures ; for wth that
stafle the multitude beates all that are better then themselves, and
lets fly at all that have any shew of goodnesse."

Dr. John Stoughton the Elder

TO most readers of Puritan history or divinity the name of John Stoughton merely recalls the predecessor of Calamy at St. Mary's, Aldermanbury ; or at most a Puritan preacher of exceptional eloquence, who shared in the sufferings consequent upon persecution carried on by Laud and the High Commission. A closer study of his career may shew more clearly what obstacles beset those who founded the Puritan colony in Massachusetts.

Of the place or date of John Stoughton's nativity nothing is certainly known. But from conjecture from the contents of a list of fellows and members of various colleges at Cambridge (B.M. MSS. Add. 5851), and from the suggestion furnished by consociation, more than once, of the names of Stoughton, Cudworth, and Rich, it seems highly probable that he was a son of Thomas Stoughton, vicar of Great Coggeshall, in Essex ; and that he was born about 1589. He had two brothers : Thomas, afterwards a New England magnate, and Israel, of whom more hereafter.

Thomas Stoughton, the elder, suffered for some kind of Nonconformity, and was deprived about 1607. He was succeeded by Ralph Cudworth, fellow of Emmanuel College, who was presented to the benefice by Robert, Lord Rich. Cudworth is noted in the Composition Books, under date 21 January, 4 James I (*i.e.* 1607 N.S.), as "newly vicar" ; but he remained only a short time, removing to Aller, in Somerset, and being succeeded on 8th

March by John Heily. The dates of Stoughton's deprivation, and of Cudworth's resignation, as given in Anthony à Wood's *Fasti*, differ slightly from those in the Composition Book and in Bancroft's *Register*; but those above extracted are doubtless accurate. Thomas Stoughton seems to have remained in Coggeshall for some years after his deprivation; for the baptismal register of the parish contains an entry: "Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Stoughton, March 20, 1613/4."

John Stoughton entered Emmanuel College in 1607. The choice of a college indicates that his family was Puritan; and the fact of his entry as a sizar shews that means were exiguous. This is easily explicable if his father had lately suffered deprivation. His lack of spiritual wealth was recounted by himself long afterwards, in a letter to his old tutor, William Sancroft of Withersdale, sometime Master of Emmanuel, who died in 1637:

"I think often" he writes in November, 1615, "upon that which once you said, that I was the worst pupil that ever you had; a hainous crime, and yet as true and yet more hainous, when I consider the occasion of these words, which were upon my negligence at prayers."

Curiously enough, in the same Harleian MSS. there exist letters from Ralph Cudworth, who had been Sancroft's tutor, deploring minor faults of his pupil, the holes he wore in his hose, and his over indulgence in fruit. Sancroft, who had so little care of worldly things, became Master of his college; whereas Stoughton, who would not say his prayers in the beginning of his life, nearly ended his days in gaol for desiring to say them in unorthodox fashion in later years.

Prior to the date of Stoughton's letter above quoted, he had graduated Bachelor of Arts in 1610, and Master of Arts in 1614. To complete the details of his academical career, he became

Bachelor of Divinity in 1621; Fellow, and finally, in 1626, Doctor, of Divinity. During his fellowship he preached before King James I at Trinity College, Cambridge, on the Happiness of Peace. The sermon lacks no courtliness of phrase; but it is plainly directed against the Spanish alliance, the French alliance, or any other alliance that would, in Stoughton's opinion, tend to place again upon the nation the yoke of Rome.

What may have been his opinions about the affairs of his own day is of little interest in ours. But it is difficult to believe that greater pulpit orator ever jewelled a sentence to more curious beauty than Stoughton. Each phrase shines with elaborated work consciously wrought. Indeed, as revealed by his sermons he must have been of parts nothing short of extraordinary. In rare moments, behind the brilliance of rhetoric there glows and burns the passion of the love of God. For the most part his addresses are couched in language of striking dignity, always melodious, often convincing. The scholarship revealed, sentence by sentence, makes of their contents a treasury of patristic learning, classified under the head that the preacher was considering, and a storehouse of quaint lore and anecdote. In one of his sermons is first found the tale of a lady in Marian days, who, despairing of her salvation, threw to the ground the mirror that she held in her hand, saying that as surely as it would be broken so surely her soul would be damned. And Stoughton, averring that the mirror remained perfect to his day, used the story to teach his audience a lesson of trust, that they and he might in their human image reflect the indestructible splendours of God.

In the summer of 1624 Ralph Cudworth, already mentioned, died at Aller, probably somewhat

suddenly. He left four children: James, Ralph, John, and Elizabeth. His wife Mary, who also survived him, was of the famous house of Machell, and had been the nurse of Henry, Prince of Wales, the son of James I. On 24th August Dr. Stoughton was presented to the rectory of Aller, a college advowson which had accrued to Emmanuel in 1586 by gift of the Earl of Huntingdon.

Not long after his settlement at Aller, Dr. Stoughton married the widow of his predecessor, with whom his life had already been strangely tangled. His care of Cudworth's children was such as to reflect all possible credit upon his scholarship and humanity. In 1632 his stepson Ralph, afterwards the most famous English philosopher of the Cambridge school, was sent to Emmanuel; and Stoughton was able to boast that he went thither as well grounded in school learning as any of his age had ever gone to an university.

In the same year, 1632, Stoughton removed to London; being appointed incumbent of St Mary, Aldermanbury. About the same time James Cudworth set sail for the Massachusetts colony, as would appear likely in the ship *Charles*, which carried Hatherley. The foundation of this colony was largely the work of John White, minister of Dorchester. Of this extraordinary man the *Dictionary of National Biography* contains an interesting notice. To the Puritan Nonconformists of his day he bore a relation not unlike that which the late Dr. F. G. Lee had with the more advanced of the Tractarians. Like Lee, White anticipated changes in the doctrine and practice of the Church of England, which should render possible the ministrations of his disciples within her fold. While sympathising with their refusal to conform to aught that might offend their conscience, White

seems to have been quite unable to find in mere Nonconformity any ground of justification for the constitution of Separatist bodies. In the most interesting of his pamphlets, *The Planter's Plea*, he expressly denies sympathy with separation. His great influence over large congregations enabled him to extract from them considerable sums, which, augmented by gifts and legacies from sympathisers, he devoted to the purposes of his colony, and the relief of ministers distressed for Nonconformity. In one case he anticipated the device of the Simeon Trustees; for the aid of nonconforming ministers he bought the advowson of Seaton—whether that in Devon or in Rutland I am by no means sure. The Calendars of the Domestic State Papers indicate the former; but a conjecture that the latter is intended is favoured by the fact that Stoughton's stepdaughter, Elizabeth Cudworth, married Josias Beacham, the rector there.

This stepdaughter was living in London when a letter was addressed to Dr. Stoughton by one James Forbes. Whether he ever received it is uncertain; it may have been intercepted in transit, or seized at the time of his subsequent arrest. However, it is among the Domestic State Papers of 1633-4, indorsed as "discovering the correspondence held by Dr. Stoughton with some irregular fugitive ministers, living about Amsterdam and the parts beyond the seas."¹ A second indorsement calls attention to the "scandalous passages" contained in the letter referring to the States. Much of Forbes's correspondence has relation to the plans of Dury, an enthusiast who hoped to unite the Protestant bodies of the continent and the Church of England in one Anti-Roman organ-

¹ A Report concerning these ministers is contained in S.P.D. cccr, 103. I have summarized its contents in C.H.S. *Trans.*, vol. 5, p. 290.

ization. To this end he visited Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, corresponded with Sir Thomas Roe, and sought to avoid the ill graces of Laud ; all to equally little purpose, save that this busy friend of the influential great occasionally accomplished indiscretions sufficient to justify suspicion of his friends. The beneficiary of White, the friend of fugitive ministers (among whom was Hugh Peters), might reasonably incur imputations of disaffection ; and the intercourse with Elizabeth had peculiar significance to those who remembered the Puritan complicity with designs to replace James I by Arabella Stuart. Dury was carefully watched ; his letters from abroad, as those addressed to White and Stoughton, were read, and detained or forwarded according to their contents. This, at least, is suggested by the contents of the Domestic State Papers.

On 8th April, 1634, Forbes condoles with Stoughton on the prolonged illness of his wife. She died before 4th August of that year. Under that date another detained letter to Stoughton, from John Browne of Brampton, refers to her death. Browne also records that the Earl of Holland, sitting as Justice in Eyre at Gloucester, had raised great fines on those who had destroyed the woods in the Forest of Dean : "The Vicar General," he proceeds, "has likewise returned, and has raised a good sum for procurations, licences, etc. He pressed the use of the ceremonies, standing up at the Epistle and Gospel, bowing at the name of Jesus, etc. At Charminster Mr. Dyke, minister of the place, told the people that the Right Reverend Father in God, Sir Nathaniel Brent, had given a strict charge that they should all bow at the Name of Jesus, and that there was more reason that they should bow at the Name of Jesus than the Name of Christ, because there were

false Christs spoken of, but no false Jesus." If this letter seems harmless to us of this day, it must be remembered that intent to alter the form of religion established was an offence in a cleric of Laud's period. If to this intent could be added proof that Stoughton had collected and managed funds for those Puritans whom the Government regarded not only as schismatics but as disloyal subjects, a charge would certainly lie in the Court of High Commission.

Part of the evidence was supplied by a letter of December, 1634, from one Mercy Huffam, who, writing to Martha, Lady Young, besought her to use her daughter Lady Wentworth's influence with Stoughton "to impart a small portion of those Christian bounties which should come into his hands to the writer, in respect of her great wants."

If grounds for suspicion still lacked, Stoughton's precautions would have suggested to the vigilant agents of the Government that he had somewhat to conceal. Sir Thomas Wroth wrote to him from Petherton Park in September, apparently of 1634, a letter that plainly indicated intention to resist further persecution of Nonconformity by those means of armed rebellion to which resort was actually made only a few years later. He says that he has received the doctor's affectionate letter by his, the writer's, wife, but she had been better welcome if she had brought the doctor along with her in her coach. Plain as daylight to Sir John Lambe and his fellow plot-smellers would be the true interpretation: "You have committed yourself all too cautiously (because you have but written). Yet had you accompanied my wife, so that we might speak face to face, you had been the better welcome, as joined in company with her, her associate in the same enterprise." The writer

then proceeds as follows: "I collect by what you wrote that all things go on from worse to worse in your parts, and the face of affairs where I am hath as unpleasing an aspect, so that I see no hope of amendment, nor are the churches abroad (for aught appears to me) like to have any sudden rest. . . . It will argue some patience if we quietly suffer usquam ad rerum amissionem, but it will be a great evidence of true Christian resolution if we suffer usque ad sanguinis effusionem for preservation of faith and a good conscience."

The clause last quoted can bear only one interpretation. The law provided no method whereby the blood of Puritans could be shed in their preservation of the opinions they conscientiously held. Blood could be shed only in the course of armed resistance, inspired by a spirit of resolution that had renounced patience as untimely. This rendering and paraphrase may appear forced. Yet, if the letter were but mere regret of the tendencies of the Laudian government, was it necessary to commence the letter "Worthy Doctor," but, in the mode of a conspirator, to superscribe its cover "Sir Thomas Wroth to Lady Elizabeth Cleere at her house in Coleman Street." The import attached to this superscription is evidenced by the nature of the indorsement of the letter now included among the Domestic State Papers: "A dangerous or seditious letter sent by one Thomas Wroth to Doctor Stoughton, but to colour the matter directed to a lady in Coleman Street."

The nature of the design to which Stoughton refused to commit himself is partially shewn by an exhibit that formed part of evidence tendered against him thereafter in the Court of High Commission (D.S.P., cclxxx., 65). Who was the author of this paper is unknown. Some similar paper is alluded to by Forbes in an earlier letter

(cclviii., 62), as having been forwarded to Sir Nathaniel Rich to shew to Stoughton. The contents of the later document embraced the explicit statements: "That it is the duty of God's people to separate from the Church of England, because the offices and officers thereof received their life and being, not from the power of Christ but from an ecclesiastical state that is Babylonish and procreated by her that sitteth on many waters. Secondly, It is the duty of those who separate to set up the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and constitute themselves a body for the performance of his visible worship."

To hold these opinions and to retain a salaried position in the Babylonish body would be impossible for a sincere and honest man. Probably Stoughton wavered between two opinions, awaiting the sign that should point the true Sacrifice of God, before he withdrew from the company of the priests of Baal.

All through this year, 1634, he recognised his peril. Henry Whitfield, a disaffected cleric who retained his cure, warned him in March that he was like to be questioned. At the same time he asked of Stoughton whether he could find a young man as curate who could read prayers and help in the administration of the sacraments, but who need be no preacher. For him he offered 20^{li} per annum, and, if Stoughton could help him, he might send to Mr. Stone in Cateaton Street. The delightful candour of the statement that preaching just then was accounted at no great rate, and the paltriness of the salary offered, excuse the irrelevance of the quotation of the latter part of the letter.

Meanwhile, amidst the complex of dubiety of action and disaffection of mind, both White and Stoughton sufficiently shewed that they knew

whither their courses tended. White exercised over his followers enormous influence. By this influence gifts and legacies were secured, of which now he and now Stoughton was trustee ; in either cases to uses quite indefinite. Hester Powell writes to Dr. "Stoton" under date 3rd June, 1635, thanking him that he had been the instrument of her comfort and standing in Curry Rivall (three miles from Aller), theretofore destitute of the means of grace, and desiring one John Adams to pay to Stoughton the money that the writer's sister, Philippa Hill, had bequeathed to him in her last will and testament, fifty pounds. For the words of her will :

"Item I do give and bequeath unto Mr. Doctor Stoton of London, being late of Aller in the countie of Somerset. And Mr. John Whitte of Dorchester ministers of the word of God to be disposed of by them to such good uses as they shall thinke fitt one hundred pounds."

Out of this sum Mrs. Powell beseeches Stoughton to remember Mr. Paviore of Langport (two miles from Aller), who stood in great need of outward means.

Of what sums White and Stoughton were legatees, the subsequent proceedings against them will shew, yet in the matter of the particular receipt concerning which they were finally accused they may have been innocent. This sum, which Stoughton alleged was the collected portion due to his stepchildren from their mother's estate, was suspected by the Court of High Commission to be a sum collected for the fugitive and disaffected ministers beyond the seas in New England. The course of many letters indicate that a part of the sum, by no means inconsiderable, would have made its way to New England. Stoughton was in communication with his stepson, James, who had been among the earliest of the settlers in Scituate,

and with his brother, Captain Israel Stoughton. Lack of ordinary necessities compelled the early settlers to seek for themselves the disbursement of sums left behind in England in the hands of friends. It was not for the treasonable propagation of Brownist or Presbyterian doctrine that Stoughton disbursed his stepson's money in England, and forwarded the produce to the New England settlements, but for the putting of clothes on Mrs. Cudworth's back, and tools in her husband's hands. Yet, of course, Stoughton, sharer of so many confidences, was fully apprised of the hopes of those whom the Government then viewed as potentially disloyal, and who justified expectation in aftertime by returning from Massachusetts to smooth the way to the scaffold for their former persecutors.

In 1634, however, the colony was occupied rather with intestine differences than by any memory of the causes that had driven them from England. The Antinomian heresy, the Indians, and a stubborn soil had all contributed to vexation. Governor John Winthrop had frankly termed Captain Israel Stoughton "a troubler in Israel," and the worthy captain wrote a long letter in May, 1634, to his brother to acquaint him with the fact. Much in the letter has interest for those whose pulse would beat none the quicker for any recountal of the woes of the Stoughtons.

Mr. Patrickson, Cradock's agent, it says, had come in the spring. The settlers' hopes were frequently aroused by the news of ships that were to come in the summer, but save that one that had borne Patrickson none had arrived. "I am willing," Israel Stoughton proceeds, "to wait a while before writing of some occurrences here. You will hear many of them. Believe not all of them as reported with aggravation. Captain Indicott did deface the

cross in the banner upon his own private head, and is now left out of place of government."

This refers to an act that had caused much controversy in the colony. A banner had been borne, apparently by the State militia. Upon this banner was a cross. The sight of the heathenish, Babylonish emblem was naturally grievous to the Christian minds that found their spiritual sustenance in occasions of meticulous differences. The cross was cut from the banner, and was presumably more visible than ever, subsequent to its removal.

"That part," says Stoughton, "that so deeply condemned the simple use of a cross in banners, had (*i.e.* would have) overborne and crushed the other party, though the bigger, by force. The greater part of the ministers had washed their hands of the deed." In view of the general iconoclasm of later years, testimony to the good sense of the refugee ministers is pleasant to record. One at least of those most averse from the approbation of the deed was Hooker, to whose exertions the defeat of the extremists in the councils of the colony was due.

This Hooker had been, apparently, assistant minister to Mr. *John* Forbes, when that latter was minister to the merchants in the Netherlands. Of Hooker it is recorded that in that post he used no set form in the administration of Baptism, the Lord's Supper, or Marriage; and in his church at Delft would not baptise children, because he could not be assured of the faith of their parents.

The third paragraph of Stoughton's letter enters into details of the manner of the government of the colony. For one whole year after he had come to New England, the government was solely in the hands of the assistants, the people chose them magistrates, and then they made laws at their

discretion. Later, it appears, money was wanted, and inquisition was made into the constitution prescribed by the patent, then in the possession of Winthrop. In the May preceding the date of the letter, Stoughton was chosen a comitty by his town, and by the committee chief speaker (there being three speakers). The office of assistant he did not accept. A second general court was held in the August following, not for the making choice of magistrates, but for the making of laws. There Stoughton opposed the negative voice for magistrates. This negative voice was a device that would have necessitated unanimity among the legislators as a condition prior to the promulgation of a law. On the matter of this opposition to the negative voice Stoughton had consulted Mr. Ludlow, an assistant, and his fellow townsman at the New England Dorchester.

In the March following, a third council was held to debate the troubles that had arisen in consequence of the action commonly reputed to have been Endicott's—the defacing of the banner. At this Stoughton was again comitty and speaker, “though this time not chiefe.” In his stead was “Mr. Bellengum, a great man and a lawier.” “I was asked,” Stoughton says, “to give my opinion in writing about the negative voice, which for a long time I refused until three men of our church came to me in the name of Mr. Warhum our pastor saying the ministers were to meet about it, and they pressed my conscience that I sinned if I refused. I gave but one sheet of paper, and on it twelve reasons.”

Mr. Cotton, who had preached at first for the magistrates having a negative, desired the paper, took it home, and in the simplicity of his heart sent the reasons to Mr. Winthrop. At the court forthcoming, to Stoughton's utter surprise, he was

accused of writing a book against the magistrates. "This," said Mr. Winthrop, "is the man that hath been the troubler of Israel: such a worm as that of which Mr. Hooker hath spoken in his sermon, an underminer of the State, and yet who but Mr. Stoughton in the eye of his country." Winthrop added that he had from a special friend (probably Dr. Wright) a letter of good report of Stoughton, that he was a man worthy of Winthrop's acquaintance; nevertheless Stoughton had never come near him. Wherein Stoughton acknowledges that Winthrop spake truly, and that he had been "somewhat fayling through shamefulness and a natural failing that way."

His paper was read. The lack of a comma made of one portion of his reasons such strange boasting, that, until the paper was returned to Stoughton to peruse, he could not believe that he was rightly accused. He had also called the assistants, not magistrates, but ministers of justice, and he pleads the custom of London and its printed oath for freemen. O London, never known save by thy exiles, unblessed mother of all things blessed, here arose one who amidst all his weaknefs sang thy song in a strange city, and quoted thy doings as precedent sufficient for him, thy child, against fierce ministers and savage governors. Captain Israel Stoughton, be thy old faults what they may, thou didst ring Bow Bells first and valiantly in the ears of Red Indian and savage Devonian and call on both to understand its music. Peace be to thy ashes.

Stoughton's letter proceeds with the placid tolerance that the memory of London had evoked:

"I confesse some words were very playne English such as to some is offensive. I desired it should be burnt for peace sake. So yt business ended, yet so they caused it to be recorded yt such a thing was burnt as weak and offensive."

Finally, Stoughton was forbidden any office for three years. "It should be too tedious," he proceeds, "to relate to you the private passages of Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker, Mr. Ward and many other ministers about this business."

The great general court followed upon 6th May, 1634. One Mr. Haynes was chosen governor, "a very Godly man." Stoughton writes of his enemy, Winthrop, in his downfall :

"He is indeed a man of men, and a worthy magistrate, notwithstanding some few passages. He esteems the cross a gross idol. His doings concerning me furthred his downfall."

Israel Stoughton's town petitioned on his behalf that the order of the court might be deleted, "for he held no Anabaptisticall opinions upon magistracy."

He concludes his letter with a request to his brother to tell all these things to their mother for her satisfaction. Otherwise the contents of the letter are private : save that they may be used for vindication, if necessary.

Israel Stoughton has never received the vindication he desired. The facts of his life are related in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Such relation can never form a vindication—in the case of many of us the bare relation would be a posthumous outrage. Summarised and interpreted, the life reads thus :—

He emigrated to Massachusetts in 1630, aided in the foundation of Dorchester, became one of the first freemen in 1633, and wrote a book very displeasing to the general court. He saved the hangman the work of burning his production publicly, by declaring it pernicious privately, was declared incapable of holding office for three years ; and did not do so, in fact, for a good eighteen months.

Then he laid down his feeble pen and took

up a very offensive sword, wielded with equal indiscretion. His conduct of the campaign against the Pequot Indians was marked neither by ability nor by humanity. In conjunction with Captain Endicott he had an opportunity at a later period of essaying his talents as a diplomat, and was one of the Massachusetts commissioners in boundary disputes that had arisen with Plymouth.

In 1643, and, again in the following year, he visited England, became lieutenant-colonel in the parliamentary army, and fortunately died at Lincoln before he could display, on his native soil, the military and civil qualities that had distinguished him, alike with heathen and with Christian, with friend and foe, as a troublesome and brutal fanatic.

The verdict is justified by the evidence heretofore published, but what Stoughton wanted his mother to believe is probably, poor fellow, what he desired—and bungled.

Another troubler of the lesser Israel unjustly maligned was the Captain John Endicott, who was said to have effected that mutilation of a banner bearing a cross, of which James Cudworth bears witness in the letter following. I have transcribed it, without abbreviation, because of its interest to New England people :

“Citewat, the ... of december, 1634.

“Dear Worthey sur, my Bounden duty and earnest affectione in the bowells of love to you remembered and alsoe to my most deare mother, the Lord who is the searcher of the heart and treyer of the Raynes knows that I doe unfaindly desier the peace, prosperity and well fare both of your soules and bodieyes as of mine owne. These are to let you understand that I have received your godly and peyous letter full of grace and holsum exhortations, which arguis your unfaind desieres and continuall endeoures for the good of my soule. And indeed I have cause if euer any had to bless the Lord that euer

I saw you, for under God you have been the gretest instrument of good to mee in the world, and since my absence from you the care you had of mee with your paynes in labouring with mee is frequent in my mind and due take a depe impretion in my soule and have bine an instrumentall cause of workinge mee nerer unto and walking Closer with the Lord and more and more to see the Vanity of all these outward thinges and that fullness which is in Christ Jesus.

"I desier that you will be as frequent in your letters as you may for I finde a grete dele of swetnes in them, for they put a greadele of quickening life and edge unto my affection and you know the best in this life are subiect to grow Cold in our perfection that wee dayley neade some exortation and consolation both to provoke to the practice of holy thinges and to soport us in the time of temptation or Affliction that we may wade thorow all the difficulteyes of this short life with Cheerfullness of harte labouring to make some benefit to our soules of all the Lord's dealinges with us whether they be merseyes that they may alure us or Chastisementes that they may correct and amend us ore Judgementes that they may terify us or Afflictions that they may Resine us so that at lenght wee may bee more than Conquerors ouer all oure Coruptions so that wee may serve the Lord with the hole man and worshipinge him acordinge as he has Reueled in his holy word walkinge in the way and order of the gospell *standinge fore the purity of his ordinance* and as Moses would not part with nor leaue a chose behinde for of those he was to serve his god, so not to part with one of *the ordinances but to be Redye to laye downe our liue for them for with these wee must serue our God.*

The underscoring indicates the passages in which sedition was discerned by the Government official who perused the passages, pen in hand. Had, not Dr. Stoughton, but James Cudworth, been in peril from the contents of this letter, but little sympathy could be felt for the culprit. His letter contains no passage that rises from the level of the trite, commonplace formulae of the preachers whom he heard weekly. To inflict them upon a man of the calibre of Stoughton, who was capable of expressing them with charm that disguised their repetition, was nothing short of the impertinence of deliberate boredom. Yet, in war and action,

James Cudworth did his part manfully and cleanly. If he talked copy book headlines uncouthly, he lived them gracefully. With this so much of a protest against a man who was not only much in earnest, but who insisted upon declaring it most repulsively upon all occasions, I will let him resume :

"I am very sory to hear of your sicknes : my prayers shall and have bin Continually to the Lord for you. I sall intreate you to bear with pasience what the Lord shall lay upon your labouringe to make a santifide use of all his dealinges and in all things submitinge yowre willes unto his and then all things shall worke together for the best unto those that loue him.

Also I understand that there *is like to be 20 li. lost by walter gamblinge*² if it be so I know it is the lordes doinge and if I consider what haue I that I haue not receued from the Lord, nay what have I deserued, shurly nathing but eternall wrath and condemnation, therefore let him doe with his owne as seemeth good in his eyes. I thank the Lord it is no trouble but rather ease of Rejoycing when I way a temporal life with a spiritual gayne, when the Lord is pleased even to befole me there that I could not manage my affeyeres with Comfort, even as if the Lord should say it is but a foly to a tempe anythings afote heare : I will take away thy abilities, thou shalt not be able to go thorow stich with anything heare, but thou must goe far from thine owne land and fatheres house aud there will I Reveale myself unto thee and there shalt thou honer worship and serue me as I shall Reveal to thee out of my sacred word. I doe ingeniously freely confesse to you now the Lord has brought mee hether and in a small measure made me acquainted with his weyes and how and in *what manner hee will be worshipped*. In all, though heare bee many difficultyes to be undergone yet I account it *a excelent mersey that the Lord has brought mee to see that which my forefatheres desired to see but could not : to see so many Churches walking in the way and order of the gospell Injoying that Christian liberty that Christ has purchased for us*, and to relate to you that which yeet I have nat Conserning the estate of New England heare and these Churches

² The witnesses to the nuncupatory will of Ralph Cudworth (b. 1572, d. 1624), 116 Byrde are Margaret Wroth, Anthony Earbery, Thomas Gamlyn. Walter Gamlyn was probably a relative of the latter.

1. Plymouth wheare Mr. Smith is Pastur ; no techer.
 2. Bostone ; Mr. Willson, Pastur ; Mr. Cotton, teacher.
 3. Dorchester ; Mr. Wareham, P. ; Mr. Mavoricke, T.
 4. At Yorke's Bury ; Mr. Weelds, P. ; Mr. Elyot, T.
 5. At Charlestowne ; Mr. Jeames, P. ; and Mr. Cosson
sines he is now gone thether too bee there teacher.
 6. At Newtowne ; Mr. Hoocker, P. ; Mr. Stowe, teacher.
 7. At Waltertowne ; Mr. Phillips, P.
 8. At Salem ; there pastor, old Mr. Skelton : there is
Mr. Williams who does exorsies his giftes but is in
no office.
- So at Ipsidge a plantation made upe this yeare, Mr.
Ward, P. ; Mr. Parker, T."

Against the above list (into which, as into a few other parts of the letter, marks of punctuation have been intruded in this printing, for the clearer signification of the purport to the reader) the Government official, who has underscored elsewhere, has placed a bracket, and has appended the comment: "Greate Newes out of New England touching the presbyteriall government as it seems established there."

J. C. WHITEBROOK.

[To be continued]

The Oldest English Missionary Society

(Communicated, in substance, by Dr. J. Massie, J.P.)

THIS honourable designation is justly due to the little known "Corporation for the promoting and propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England," commonly called "The New England Company." From a History of the Company, privately printed for circulation among the members in 1871, the following brief narrative is condensed.

The Commons of England in Parliament assembled, having "received certain intelligence that divers the heathen natives of New England had, through the blessing of God upon the pious care and pains of some godly English, who preached the gospel to them in their own language, not only of barbarous become civil, but many of them forsaking their accustomed charms and sorceries and other satanical delusions, did then call upon the name of the Lord"; an Ordinance was passed on 27th July, 1649, constituting a Corporation for the purpose aforesaid. It was to be called "The President and Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England." It was to consist of a president, treasurer, and fourteen assistants, as named in the Ordinance. It was to have power to purchase or acquire land not exceeding the yearly value of £2,000, and any goods or sums of money whatever. A general collection was to be made through all counties, cities, towns, and parishes in England and Wales, for the purposes of the Cor-

poration. (See Scobell's *Acts and Ordinances*, 2nd pt., pp. 66 fig.) The collection amounted to £11,430.

William Littleton, Esq., by his will dated 28th July, 1653, gave to the Corporation a rent charge of £20 per annum on certain lands at Aston, Herefordshire.

On 16th August, 1653, Thomas Bedingfield sold to three members of the Corporation, Richard Hutchinson, W. Mullins, and Ed. Winslow,* lands in Suffolk for the use of the Corporation.

The property consisted of the manors of Eriswell and Chamberlain's in Eriswell, with two manor houses and a water-mill; the demesne lands of the manors, *viz.*, 2,460 acres of arable, 152 acres of meadow and pasture, and 17 acres of carr ground; two free warrens estimated at 2,000 acres, with the game and stock of conies; and four fold-courses, with liberty of folding for 2,240 sheep. The purchase price, £7,000, was paid by Bedingfield's appointment to Robert Lowther on 23rd November, 1653.

The Corporation also bought, before 1657, three houses in Bucklersbury (London), one in Knight Rider Street (London), and a house called Suffolk Place, with 120 acres of land, at Plumstead, Kent; the aggregate price being £4,430.

After the Restoration it was assumed that all the legislation of "the late times"—since the outbreak of the Civil War—was null and void. On 7th February, 1661/2, therefore a *new* "Company for Propagation of the Gospel in New England and the parts adjacent in America" was incorporated by royal charter. The persons named in the

* Winslow was one of the original *Mayflower* pilgrims, and several times held office as Governor of Plymouth Colony; Mullins is mentioned as one of the first born in the colony, to whom grants of land were made in 1640; Hutchinson is less easily identified, he *may* be the R.H. who figures among 38 colonists disarmed in 1638 through fear of disturbances on the banishment of Mrs. Ann Hutchinson.

charter as constituting the Company were 45 in number; eight lords, including Clarendon and Monk, four doctors of physic, ten aldermen of London, and twenty-three citizens of London. Among the latter is Richard Hutchinson, whose is the only name that appears in *both* the charters, 1649 and 1661/2. Still, it is clear that the new Company was intended to be a legalized continuation of the old one; for at the very first meeting of the court it was ordered that "the Seal of the late reputed Corporation . . . be altered as soon as conveniently it may, and as much of the Title of the New Charter put into the Inscription as it will admit of."

From the payment of the purchase money in 1653 to the Restoration, the New England Company received the rents and profits of the Eriswell estate. But soon afterwards Bedingfield repudiated the Contract, and pretended to grant leases, etc., of parts of the property; shamelessly boasting that he had all along expected a Restoration, and hoped that thereupon the Corporation would be adjudged void, and he should have his land again!

In Michaelmas term, 1662, Winslow being lately dead, Mullins and Hutchinson brought an action against Bedingfield to recover possession of the estate. Bedingfield alleged that the property was of much greater value than the amount paid; whereupon the plaintiffs offered, if he could sell it to better advantage, to accept in settlement the £7,000 with interest, and to account for all rents and profits by them received. This offer being rejected, judgement was given for the plaintiffs; in pursuance of which the estate was, in 1664, legally conveyed to Hutchinson and Mullins, and by them to the Company.

The London and Plumstead properties were

conveyed to the Company by the original vendors or their representatives in 1662, 1664, and 1665 respectively. The Littleton rent charge was the subject of considerable litigation; but was at length recovered by the Company, and afterwards (in 1688) sold to a member of the Littleton family.

In 1670 the Company received, under the will of William Penoyer, an annuity of £10 out of the rents of certain property called "Vance's," in Norfolk. And in 1695 it acquired by the will of the Honourable Robert Boyle (who was the first governor under the new incorporation) a rent charge of £90 per annum on the manor of Brafferton, Yorks, and certain lands thereabout; in trust to employ £45 per annum toward the salaries of two ministers to teach the natives in New England; and to pay the other £45 per annum to the President and Fellows of Harvard College in New England, for the like purpose.

The Rev. Daniel Williams, D.D. (the well known Presbyterian minister), who died in 1716, by his will dated 26th June, 1711, gave to the Company the reversion of an estate in Essex; on condition that £60 per annum should be divided between two well qualified and pious persons, to be nominated from time to time by his trustees, to preach as itinerants to the blacks and pagans in the West Indies; and the residue to be paid to Harvard College to promote the evangelization of the Indians. The reversion fell in on 24th September, 1745, and the Company entered on possession of the estate.

Other properties were acquired at various dates before 1775, including an estate at Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts; likewise Exchequer annuities, South Sea stock, etc. The Massachusetts estate appears to have been lost during the War of

Independence; however, it had ceased to belong to the Company by 1787.

As to the work done by the Company: In the original (1649) charter "The Commissioners of the United Colonies in New England for the time being, by themselves or such as they should appoint," were authorized to receive money, etc., acquired by the Corporation, and dispose thereof "in such manner as shall best and principally conduce to the preaching and propagating of the Gospel of Jesus Christ among the Natives, and also for maintaining of Schools and Nurseries of learning for the better education of the children of the Natives." By the new charter (1662) the Company were empowered to nominate "such and so many fit and meet persons, residing in or near any of the colonies or plantations in New England to be Commissioners on behalf of the Company," and to make such arrangements as they might deem best with ministers, schoolmasters, and others. The Company was required to present an annual statement of their accounts to certain officers of State, if demanded.

At the second meeting of the reconstituted Company of which we have any account, in 3rd April, 1662, £800 was voted "for carrying on the printing of the Bible in the Indian language* in New England, and other business there in order to the propagating of the gospel among the heathen natives." A week later it was reported that £500 of the money was already paid. The Commissioners were to call to their assistance all such persons, whether ministers or others, that may be useful to them in their meetings. They were to send an estimate "how much the remainder of the Bible that is yet to print would cost"; but were

* This was John Elliot's translation. The language is now quite extinct.

to practise strict economy, because "the greatest part of their revenue is unrighteously withheld from the Company": no doubt by Bedingfield. Robert Boyle was desired to use his best endeavour with the the Lord Chancellor for a general contribution.

The printed extracts from early minutes are largely taken up with matters relating to property. Only here and there we find particulars of actual work. An important minute occurs on 17th February, 1698; on which day a letter was read from William Stoughton and Increase Mather, reporting the death and disability of several of the Commissioners in New England. Thereupon six new Commissioners were appointed, *viz.*, Cotton Mather, Nehemiah Walter, Samuel Sewell, Peter Serjeant, John Foster, and Thomas Banister. The important point is that both the Mathers and Walter were *Congregationalists*. At the same meeting a letter was read from Lord Bellemont, proposing to provide "five itinerant ministers to preach the Gospel to the Five Nations of the Indians." Mons. Boudet, recommended by Mr. John Quick, was to be one of the five; the other four were to be sent from Harvard College, to be chosen by the Commissioners there; £60 per annum was granted toward their salaries. There can be little doubt the "Mr. John Quick" was the *Presbyterian* minister who in 1662 was ejected from Brixton in Devon, and who was greatly interested in the French Protestant ministers.

Two years later, 11th June, 1700, it was arranged that Lord Bellemont should choose such itinerant ministers as were needed; the grant was to be £80 per annum for the next three years.

On 22nd February, 1720, the Commissioners were urged to use their utmost interest with the Governor and Council of New England to remove

obstacles that had hindered their work ; especially that encroachments on the bounds of the Indians' lands may be prevented. If the Commissioners should think proper to ask the Home Government for orders to that effect, the Company would heartily support them.

The payments for itinerant preachers seem to have been somewhat intermittent, and their success not great.

Difficulties were inevitable on the outbreak of the War of Independence ; and on 19th May, 1779, the Company resolved "that the court did not think themselves warranted by the Charter in remitting money to New England, so long as that country is in arms against His Majesty and their fellow subjects." They did, however, continue the Boyle annuity to Harvard College down to 1782.

After the recognition of American Independence, the Company, having taken counsels' opinions, resolved that they could not safely execute the trusts of their charter in any part of America out of the king's dominions. Considering that the province of New Brunswick had formerly been accounted a part of New England, they transferred their operations thither. But at various times they paid several sums to their late agents in the American States "by way of bounty and compassion."

Payments were made to Harvard College on account of Dr. Williams's Trust down to 1785. After that time the income was allowed to accumulate till 1808 ; in which year a Chancery scheme was confirmed applying the Williams Trust Estate "towards the advancement of the Christian religion amongst Indians, Blacks, and Pagans in some or one of His Majesty's plantations and colonies." In like manner the Boyle annuity was, by legal process in 1792 and 1794, diverted to a "Society

for the Conversion and Religious Education of the Negro Slaves in the British West India Islands."

The records of the Company during many years are largely taken up with litigation and the varying of investments. In July 1815 the Lords of the Treasury called on the Company for a statement of accounts, and a further statement was demanded in 1823. The Charity Commissioners also instituted inquiries in 1820. Meanwhile the value of the Eriswell estate was greatly increased as a result of enclosures in 1811; and by 1842 the net income of the Company exceeded £2,100. Much of the record is not exhilarating; there is litigation about tithes, about game, about personal matters. An extraordinary claim was raised against the Company in 1838; Sir Henry Bedingfield, Bart., presented a petition to the House of Commons, alleging that certain estates in Suffolk belonging to his ancestors had been confiscated, and the proceeds vested in trustees for promoting the spread of the Gospel in New England; that the object in view no longer existed, the rental was not applied to the purpose; and he "prayed the House to take the matter into its consideration." The member who presented the petition moved for a return of the property and accounts of the Company; but the motion was very decisively rejected.

In 1869 the Eriswell estate was sold for £120,000, which was invested in consols and other Government stock: and the income of the Company from its various investments in the following year was about £5,000.

The New Brunswick enterprise was, on the whole, unsatisfactory; and in 1870 the principal work of the Company was carried on in Canada;

small grants being made for educational purposes in Jamaica and South Africa.

There are several indications that the work of the Company, during the greater part of its existence, has been in principle unsectarian. The original members of the 1649 Corporation were undoubtedly Puritan or Independent: Winslow was certainly an Independent. The two Mathers and Walters were also Independents. Daniel Williams was a Presbyterian; and Harvard College was a Puritan foundation. For many years the Episcopal Church has been predominant in the management and work of the Company, though the local reports for 1869-70 furnish several pleasing instances of friendly co-operation with Methodists, Baptists, and Moravians.

The subsequent course of events is thus briefly summed in the *Christian World* of 17th July, 1913:

A few years ago there was some uneasiness due to representations from "a high authoritative source" that it would be well to make the monopoly less marked by admitting a Nonconformist or two to the governing body. The Dissenting Deputies were invited to make a nomination, and they named Mr. Evan Spicer. He found himself unable to serve, and then Mr. Massie was nominated. To him exception was taken because of his identification with the Liberation Society. The Deputies resented the objection, but nominated instead Mr. G. A. Hardy. He also was rejected as not *persona grata*, and the Deputies then laid the case before the Charity Commissioners. These have decided that the charter of Charles II virtually constituted a trust in favour of the Church of England. So the "Church of England," which regards disendowment as "robbery," scooped up this revenue contributed by Puritans of the Commonwealth period for work to be done by New England Puritans!

"Convey, the wise it call."

Works by the three Nottingham Worthies :
John Barret, John Whitlock, and William Reynolds

(Contributed by Mr. S. Jones, Williams's Library.)

Some account of these ministers, ejected from Nottingham churches in 1662, may be found in *Trans.* v, 227 flg.

[*B.M.*—British Museum. *C.L.*—Congregational Library. *D.W.L.*—Dr. Williams's Library. *Carpenter*—Carpenter, B., *Early Presbyterianism in Nottingham* [1862]. *Creswell*—Creswell, S.F., *Collects. towards the hist. of printing in Notts*, 1863. *Term Cat.*—Term Catalogues, 1668-1709, ed. Edw. Arber, 3 vols., 1903-1906.]

- 1658 *The Vanitie and Excellency of Man* : in two (Reynolds
 (1) Sermons preached at the Funerals of the (Whitlock
 Honourable Francis Pierepont, *etc.*, 4to. pp
 [10], 24, 44, [20], London : for J. Rothwell,
 1658.

[Each sermon has also a separate title-
 page as follows :—]

(1) *The Vanitie of Man, in his best Estate.*
 By William Reynolds.

(2) *The Upright Man and his Happy End.*
 By John Whitlock.

[*D.W.L.*, *B.M.* (N.B. The Brit. Mus. has only
 separate copies of the two sermons, without
 the general titlepage.) *C.L.*]

- 1661 *The Benefit of Afflictions to the People of God.* Whitlock
 (2) Opened and applyed in a Sermon preached
 at the Funerall of Mrs. Winnifrid
 Pierrepont. By John Whitlock. 4to. pp.
 [12], 38, [7], London : M. Simmons, 1661.
 [*D.W.L.*]

- 1663 *England's Remembrancer* : being a Collection (Whitlock
 (3) of Farewel-Sermons, preached by divers (Barret
 Non-Conformists in the Country. 8vo. pp.

[8], 510, 78, London, Printed in the Year, 1663.

[Sermons I and II on Rev. 3, iii are by Whitlock. Sermon III on Phil. 2, xii and Sermon IV on I Kings 18, xxi are by Barret. (vide Calamy.)] C.L.

- 1674 *Good Will towards Men, or a Treatise of the* Barret
(4) *Covenants.* By a Lover of Truth and Peace.
[Preface signed 'J.B.'] 8vo. pp. [8], 494,
[9], London: for Samuel Richards in
Nottingham, 1675.

[C.L., D.W.L.]

(Term Cat. Michaelmas 1674.)

See also below: 1678. *God's Love to Man.*

- 1675 *Fifty Queries, seriously propounded to those that* Barret
(5) *question, or deny Infants Right to Baptism.*
By J. B., sm. 8vo. pp. [6], 26, London, for
Nevil Symonds and Jonathan Robinson,
1675.

[D.W.L.]

(Term Cat. Michaelmas, 1675.)

[See Baxter's *Reliquiae* III, 187; Barret's
Christian Temper p. xv.]

- 1678 *The Christian Temper.* By John Barret. 8vo. Barret
(6) pp. [16], 423 (misprinted 223), London: for
J. Robinson and S. Richards in Nottingham,
1678.

[C.L., D.W.L.]

(Term Cat. Easter 1678.)

- (7) *God's Love to Man, and Man's Duty towards* Barret
God: manifested in several Discourses on
the Covenants. By John Barret. 8vo. pp.
[8], 494, [9], London: for S.R. [*i.e.* Sam.
Richards] and are to be sold by Jonathan
Robinson, 1678.

[C.L., D.W.L.]

(Term Cat. Trinity, 1678.)

[This is another issue with a fresh title-page
of the unsold sheets of *Good Will towards*
Men 1675; even the Addenda and Corri-
genda are left uncorrected.]

- (8) *Much in a Little: or, an Abstract of Mr. Baxter's* Barret
plain Scripture-Proof. With a few Notes
upon the Antiqueries of T.G. By the same

hand that wrote the Fifty Queries. sm. 8vo. pp. [4], 70, [6], London: for Tho. Parkhurst, 1678.

[D.W.L., B.M.]

(Term Cat. Trinity, 1678.)

- 1680 (9) *The Rector of Sutton committed with the Dean of St. Paul's, or, a Defence of Dr. Stillingfleet's Irenicum, &c., against . . . the Mischief of Separation.* By the Author of the *Christian Temper*. 4to. pp. [4], 80, London: J.D. Barret

for Richard Janeway, 1680.

[D.W.L., B.M., C.L.]

(Term Cat. Michaelmas, 1680.)

- 1681 (10) *A Reply to the Reverend Dean of St. Paul's Reflections on The Rector of Sutton, &c.* By the same Hand. To which is added, *St. Paul's Work Promoted*. [The 'Reply' proper, which ends on p. 96, is signed 'John Barret']. 4to. pp. [4], 127, London: J.D. for Richard Janeway, 1681.

[D.W.L. (2 copies.)]

(Term Cat. Trinity, 1681.)

[Sig. O1 (pp. 97-98), probably blank, has been removed from both D.W.L. copies.]

- 1698 (11) *That Great Duty, and Comfortable Evidence* Whitlock
[*Keeping ourselves from our iniquity.*] Opened

and applied in some Sermons upon Psal. 18, 23. By John Whitlock. sm. 8vo. pp. [4], 116, [8], London: for Tho. Parkhurst, and John Richards at Nottingham, 1698.

[C.L., D.W.L.]

(Term Cat. Trinity 1698.)

- (12) *A Short Account of the Life of the Reverend Mr. William Reynolds.* Drawn up by . . . John Whitlock . . . Together with the Sermon preached at his Funeral . . . By John Barret. sm. 8vo. pp. [2], 117, [1] ('Errata' pasted on reverse of title) London: for Thomas Parkhurst, 1698. [The Sermon has a separate title-page. Pagination is continuous.]

[C.L., D.W.L., B.M.]

(Term Cat. Easter, 1699, with other works of various dates.)

120 Works by Three Nottingham Worthies

- 1699 (13) *A Sermon preached to the Society for Reformation of Manners, at Nottingham.* On the 25th of August, 1698. By John Whitlock. sm. 8vo. pp. [8], 48, London: for John Richards in Nottingham, 1699.
[D.W.L.]
(Term Cat. Easter, 1699.) Whitlock
- (14) *A Sermon preach'd to the Society for Reformation of Manners in Nottingham.* Novemb. 24th, 1698. By John Barret. sm. 8vo. pp. 59, [3], London: Tho. Snowden for John Richards in Nottingham, 1699.
[C.L., D.W.L.]
(Term Cat. Easter, 1699.) Barret
- (15) *A Funeral Sermon upon the death of Mr. Joseph Barrett, Son of the Reverend Mr. John Barrett.* Preached Aug. 30th. By J. W. Junior [i.e. John Whitlock, Jnr.] To which is added, *An Account of his Holy Life* Being part of an exact Diary written by his own Hand. (Preface signed 'J. W. Junior, Apr. 11, 1699': 'Address to the Reader' signed 'Jo. Whitlock, Senior': Chap. VIII consists of 'A brief Character of him, written by his Father John Barrett.') 8vo. pp. [16], 293, [3], London: for Tho. Parkhurst, 1699.
[B.M., C.L.]
(Term Cat. Trinity 1699; Re-issued with the 'Second Part,' Michaelmas 1699.) {Barret
{Whitlock
- (16) *The Remains of Mr. Joseph Barrett* Being the Second Part taken out of an Exact Diary &c. ('To the Reader' signed 'John Whitlock, Jo. Whitlock Junior, August 22, 1699.') 8vo. pp. [8], 216, London: for Tho. Parkhurst, and John Richards at Nottingham, 1700.
[B.M., D.W.L.]
(Term Cat., with reissue of Part I, Michaelmas 1699.) {Barret (Jos.)
{Whitlock
The above was apparently sold either separately, or bound up with Part I.
- 1703 (17) *Analecta: or Fragments offered (upon Occasion) as a Supplement to a Discourse of the Covenant,* (Printed with this Title *Good Will towards*) Barret

Men An. 1675.) Also Sixty Queries proposed to such as deny the Evangelical Law, &c. By John Barrett. 4to. pp. 84, London: Printed in the Year, 1703.

[D.W.L.]

1704. (18) *A Discourse concerning Pardon of Sin, and the Blessedness of a Pardon'd State.* By John Barrett. 12mo. pp. [8], 184, London: for J. Robinson and Hannah Richards in Nottingham, 1703.

[Creswell, p. 7.]

(Term Cat. Hilary 1704.)

I have not seen a copy of this issue. Besides the date, there are certain small differences in the use of capitals and italics between Creswell's title page and that of the 1704 issue. Probably the latter is either a page for page reprint, or a reissue, possibly with the errata added. (p. 184 may have been originally blank.)

- (19) *Ditto*, [another edition or issue] 12mo. pp. [8], 183, [1] (Errata), London: for J. Robinson and Hannah Richards in Nottingham, 1704.

[C.L., D.W.L.]

(Term Cat. Trinity, 1704.)

1709. (20) *A Funeral-Sermon, preached at Nottingham, occasioned by the Death of . . . Mr. John Whitlock, Sen., December 8th, 1708.* With another Discourse, partly upon the same Occasion . . . By John Barrett. 8vo. pp. 40, London: by T.W. for Nath. Cliffe, 1709.

[B.M., D.W.L. (2 copies)]

(Term Cat. Easter and Trinity, 1709.)

- (21) *A practical Discourse of Secret Prayer, on Matth. vi, 6 . . .* By John Barrett. 12mo. pp. 115, [1], London: for Nath. Cliffe and William Ward in Nottingham, 1709.

[D.W.L.]

1711. (22) *The Evil and Remedy of Scandal.* A Practical Discourse on Psalm cxix, clxv. By John Barrett

Barret. 8vo. pp. [4], 28, London: for Nath. Cliff and Daniel Jackson, 1711.

[B.M., D.W.L.]

- 1713 (23) *Away with the Fashion of this World. Come, Lord Jesus.* Being a Small Legacy of a Dying Minister, to a Beloved People. By the late Reverend Mr. J. Barret. 16mo. pp. 77, [1], Nottingham: J. Collyer, and sold by R. Robinson, N. Cliff and D. Jackson, 1713.

[D.W.L.]

- 1714 (24) *A short Attempt for preserving the Memory, and improving the Death of Three Eminent, Aged, Ministers of Christ, late of Nottingham, viz. Mr. William Reynolds... Mr. John Whillock... and Mr. John Barret.* In two Sermons... By John Whitlock [Jnr.]. 8vo. pp. 65, [1], Nottingham: J. Collyer, and Sold by R. Robinson, N. Cliff and D. Jackson, 1714.

[C.L., D.W.L.]

- (25) *Reliquiae Barreleanae, or, Select Sermons on sundry Pratical Subjects.* By the late Reverend Mr. John Barret. 8vo. pp. [4], 212, Nottingham: J. Collyer, and sold by R. Robinson, N. Cliff and D. Jackson, 1714.

[C.L., D.W.L., B.M.]

Announced in 'Short Attempt' as 'In the Press and almost finish'd.'

In addition to the above, Carpenter ascribes the following to Barret (probably on the authority of Wood's *Athenae*, ed. Bliss iv, 373, note):—

'The Nonconformists vindicated from the Abuses put upon them by Mr. Durel and Mr. Scrivener. By a Country Scholar. 8vo. London: for Thomas Parkhurst, 1679.

This is an expanded edition of '*Bonasus Vapulans*' 1672, and consists of two letters signed 'W.B.' These have been taken to stand for a certain 'William Barrett,' but there seems little doubt that the two books are really by Henry Hickman, to whom they are now usually ascribed.

SUMMARY

1.	D.W.L.	B.M.	C.L.	14.	D.W.L.		C.L.
2.	D.W.L.			15.		B.M.	C.L.
3.	D.W.L.	B.M.	C.L.	16.	D.W.L.	B.M.	
4.	D.W.L.		C.L.	17.	D.W.L.		
5.	D.W.L.			18.			
6.	D.W.L.		C.L.	19.	D.W.L.		C.L.
7.	D.W.L.		C.L.	20.	D.W.L.	B.M.	C.L.
8.	D.W.L.	B.M.		21.	D.W.L.		
9.	D.W.L.	B.M.	C.L.	22.	D.W.L.	B.M.	
10.	D.W.L.			23.	D.W.L.		
11.	D.W.L.		C.L.	24.	D.W.L.		C.L.
12.	D.W.L.	B.M.	C.L.	25.	D.W.L.	B.M.	C.L.
13.	D.W.L.		C.L.				
				25	23	10	15

Shrewsbury Resolutions on the Corporation and Test Acts

THE following document, found among the papers of the late Rev. W. H. Cole of Ashurst Wood, formerly of Bury St. Edmunds, appears to be of some historical interest:

"Shrewsbury, 18th Jany., 1790.

Sir, I take the Liberty of transmitting to you as Chairman of the Associated Body of Protestant Dissenters in my native County, a Copy of our Resolutions here, on the Subject of the Repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts.

Mrs. Lucas joins in respectful Compliments to yourself and your Bro^r with
dear Sir, Yo^r humble Serv^t,
Saml. Lucas.

(Address) John Cumberland Esq^r, Bury, Suffolk.

At a Congregational Meeting of Protestant Dissenters in Shrewsbury held at their Vestry on Swan Hill upon Wednesday the thirteenth Day of January, 1790

Resolved unanimously

i. That as long as the Corporation and Test Acts remain in Force, the Protestant Dissenters consider themselves unjustly deprived of those Rights to which they have a natural Claim with their fellow Citizens.

ii. That they consider these Acts as reflecting a Dishonour upon them, notwithstanding they are as firmly attached to his Majesty's Person and Family—as cordially affected to the Civil Government of their Country—as sincere and hearty Friends to the publick Tranquillity, and as Zealous for the Protestant Religion, as any of their fellow Subjects.

iii. That they particularly consider an Obligation to receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper as a Qualification for Civil Offices, to be nothing less than a Profanation of a Christian Institute, appointed by its Great Author only for Religious Purposes.

iv. That for these Reasons we heartily concur with our Brethren in their intended Petition to the Legislature for the Repeal of the said Acts.

v. That we disapprove of all undue Influence, either on this or any other Occasion, with Respect to the Choice of Representatives to serve in Parliament ; and unite with our Brethren in their Attempt to obtain their Object, only as it is pursued on the Principles of Prudence, Temperance, and Moderation.

vi. That the Thanks of this Meeting be given to the Committee in London, for their former and present Exertions to procure the Repeal of the Acts in question ; and that a Copy of these Resolutions be sent to their Chairman, requesting him to assure them of our Approbation of every Constitutional and prudent Measure to obtain the Repeal of the said Acts, and of all penal Statutes in Matters of Religion.

vii. That a Copy of these Resolutions be likewise sent to Wm. Russell, Esq., the Chairman of the Birmingham Committee, and that he be hereby informed, that every well-concerted Plan for promoting Union among Protestant Dissenters of every Denomination throughout the Kingdom, which "has in View no other than the Religious Interests of the Body," has the entire Approval of this Meeting.

viii. That the Thanks of this Meeting be given to the Chairman for his proper Conduct on this Occasion.

Signed (by Order of the Meeting)

Samuel Lucas, Chairman.

Rev. Samuel Lucas, previously of Walsall, was pastor of Swan Hill church, Shrewsbury, from 1779 to 1797. He was one of the founders of the Salop Congregational Association. He retired from the active ministry, owing to infirmity, in 1797 ; and died on 29th January, 1799.

London Nonconformity in 1810

AMONG the pamphlets in the Congregational Library is *The Protestant Dissenters' Almanack and Annual Register for the Year of our Lord 1811*. It is described as "The Second Year's Impression," and there is a promise that it is "to be continued annually." But as no file of the Almanack is to be found either at Williams's Library or at the British Museum, it seems likely that a promising enterprise was cut short by the monstrous "Almanack Tax" of a shilling for every copy, which was then exacted.

The issue for 1811 contains much interesting information; especially "A Complete List of all the Chapels, etc., in *and near* London, the Times of Services, Names of the Ministers, and their respective Denominations." The total number is 240; arranged in one continuous alphabet, the denominations being indicated by abbreviated titles at the end of each line. In reproducing the list it seems more convenient to group each denomination separately. It must be observed, however, that the group "Calvinist" includes at least two classes of congregations: Independent, with a strong inclination to hypercalvinism; and proprietary chapels where the Book of Common Prayer was used more or less completely, which at that time were commonly called "Calvinistic Methodists."

INDEPENDENT

Barbican Meeting	m. a. e. Tu.	Mr. Gore
Buckingham Chapel, Pimlico	m. a.	Mr. Dunn, e. various
Bury Street, St. Mary Axe	m. a.	Mr. Beck, e. "
Bethnal Green Meeting	m. a.	Mr. Kelloe
†Camberwell Meeting	m. a.	Mr. Berry
Camomile Street	m. a.	J. Clayton junr.
Carey Street	m. a. Tu.	Dr. Winter
Charlotte Street, Pell St., Wapping	m. a. e.	Mr. Stodhert
†Clapham Meeting	m. a.	Mr. Phillips
Colliers Rents, Borough	m. a. Fr.	Mr. Knight
†Deptford Meeting	m. a. Wed.	Mr. Barker
†Edmonton Meeting	m. a.	Mr. Williams
Fetter Lane	m. a.	Mr. Burder, Th. var.
Founders' Hall, Lothbury	m. a.	Unsettled
†Hackney Meeting	m. a.	Mr. Palmer
†Hackney, Well Street	e.	Mr. Collison
†Highgate	m. a. e.	Mr. Porter
†Hammersmith	m. a. e.	Mr. Raffles
Hare Court, Aldersgate	m. a. e.	Mr. Webb
Hoxton Academy Chapel	m. a. e. Th.	Various
†Homerton Meeting	m. a. e. Th.	Dr. Smith
Islington Meeting	m. a.	Mr. Jennings
Jewry Street	m. e. Tu.	Mr. Ball
Jewin Street	m. a. M. Fr.	Mr. Priestley, e. var.
Jamaica Row, Bermondsey	m. a. e. Wed.	J. Townsend
Kensington Meeting	m. e.	Mr. Leifchild
Locke Fields	m. a.	Mr. Clayton
London Road	m. a. e.	Mr. Harper
Mitchell Street, Old Street	m. a.	Mr. Powell
New Broad Street	m. a.	Mr. Gaffee, e. various
†Newington, Stoke	m. a.	Mr. Hodgkins
Pavement, Moorfields	m. a.	Mr. Wall
†Peckham	m. a.	Dr. Collyer
Princes Street	m. a. e.	Mr. C. Buck
Pell Street Meeting	m. a.	Mr. Cloutt
Stepney Meeting	m. a.	Mr. Ford
†Stratford Meeting	m. a.	Mr. Emblin
Staining Lane	m. a.	Mr. Brooksbank

Union Street, Southwark	m. a. e.	Mr. Humphries
Weigh-house, Eastcheap	m. a.	Mr. Clayton, senr.
Wilson Street Meeting	m. a. e.	Mr. Buck
White Row, Bishopsgate	m. a.	Mr. Goode

CALVINIST

Adelphi Chapel, Strand	m. a. e. Fri.	Various
Aldersgate Street	m. e.	Mr. Madden
Aliffe Street Meeting	m. a.	Mr. Shenstone, e. Mr. Oates
Aldermanbury Postern	m. e.	
Artillery Street, Bishopsgate	m. a.	Mr. Hawkesley, e. var.
Baker's Court, Old Gravel Lane	m. a.	Mr. Rutledge
Baker's Court, Holborn	m. a. e.	Mr. Lane
†Barking	a. e.	Various
Bartholomew Close	m. e. Th.	Mr. Latchford
Battle Bridge	e.	Mr. Sowerby
†Camden Chapel	m. a. e. Wed.	Dr. Draper
Church Street, Mile End	m. a. e. Th.	Mr. Evans
Crispin Street Meeting	m. a. e. Tu.	Various
†Crouch End	m. a.	Various
Cumberland St., Shoreditch	m. a. e. Tu., Fr.	Mr. J. Brown
Eagle and Child Alley, Shoe Lane	m. a.	Mr. Pierce
Ebenezer Chapel, Ratcliff Highway	m. a. e. Th.	Mr. C. Hyatt
[Place not specified]	m. a. e.	Mr. Fryer
Gate Street, Lincoln's Inn	m. a. e. M. W.	Mr. G. Williams
Gee Street, Goswell St.	m. a.	Mr. Holland
Grub Street Meeting	Tu.	Mr. Huntington
†Greenwich Tabernacle	m. e. Tu.	Mr. Chapman
†Hampstead Meeting	m. a. e.	Mr. Wraith
Hatton Chapel	m. e. W.	Mr. Smith
Horsley Down	m. a.	Mr. J. Hunt, e. var.
Hope Street, Spitalfields	m. e. Th.	Various
†Homerton Chapel	m. e.	Mr. W. B. Williams
Holywell Mount Chapel	m. e.	Mr. Platt, a. various
Jews' Chapel, Spitalfields	m. a.	Various: e. Mr. Frey
Islington Chapel	m. e. Tu. F.	Mr. E. J. Jones
Islington Union Chapel	e.	Mr. Lewis
Kennington Chapel	m. a.	

Kingsland Road	m. a. e. Wed.	Mr. Campbell
Long Acre Chapel	m. e. Wed.	Mr. King
Mill Yard	m. a.	Mr. Thomas
†Mussel-hill	m. a. e.	Various
New Road, St. Georges	m. a.	Mr. Lyndall, e. var.
Orange St., Leicester Square	m. e. Th.	Various
Old Gravel Lane, Wapping	m. a.	Mr. Hooper
Paradise Row	m. a. e.	Mr. Bennett
†Paragon, Bermondsey	m. a. e. W. S.	Mr. Helmsworth
Paradise Chapel, Chelsea	m. a.	Mr. Pickett
	e.	{ Dr. Duncan
		{ Mr. Buckland
Peter Street Meeting	m. a.	Dr. Duncan, e. var.
Pell Street Chapel	m. e.	Mr. Stodhart
Providence Ch., Little Titchfield St.	m. e. M. W.	Mr. Huntington
Queen Street, Cheapside	m. e. Th.	Mr. Davies
Red Lion Court, Spitalfields	m. a. e.	Mr. Yeerd
Rose Lane, Ratcliff	m. e.	Mr. I. Williams
Salem Chapel, Shadwell Mar.	m. a. e. Tu.	Mr. Vautin
Shakespeare's Walk		Dr. Rutledge
Surrey Chapel	m. e. Tu. F	m. Mr. Rowl. Hill
Silver Street	m. e. Th.	Mr. E. J. Jones
St. Julius, West Lane	m.	Mr. Fowler
Savoy, Strand	m. a.	Mr. Steinkoff
Swan Yard, Lambeth	m. a.	Mr. Francis
†Sydenham Meeting	m. e.	Various
Tabernacle, Moorfields	m. e. M. W. S.	} Mr. Wilks and } Mr. Hyatt alternately
Tottenham Court Chapel	m. e. Tu. Th.	
†Tottenham and Edmonton Meeting	m. e.	Mr. Fowler
†Wandsworth	m. e. Tu.	Various
†Walthamstow Meeting	m. a.	Mr. Collison
Welsh Chapel, Wilderness Row	m. a. e.	Various
West Lane, Walworth	m. a. e. Th.	Various
†Woolwich	m. e.	Mr. Piercy

COUNTESS OF HUNTINGDON'S CHAPELS.

Spa Fields	m. a. e. Tu. Fr.	Various
Sion Chapel, Whitechapel	m. a. e. Th.	Various

PRESBYTERIAN—ENGLISH.

†Brentford	m. a.	Mr. Heinekin
Carter Lane, Doctors Commons	m.	Mr. Tayler
†Hampstead Chapel	m.	Mr. Methuen
Hanover Street, Long Acre	m. a.	Mr. Lane
Leather Lane, Holborn	m.	Mr. Barrett, a. Mr. Evans.
Monkwell Street	m.	Dr. Lindsay
Old Jewry Chapel, Jewin Street	m. a.	Dr. Rees
Salters' Hall	m. unsettled :	A. Mr. Worthington, E. various

PRESBYTERIAN—CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

Bow Lane	m. a. e.	Mr. Jerment
Crown Court, Bow Street	m. a.	Mr. Grieg, e. Tu. var.
London Wall	m. a.	Dr. Young
Swallow Street	m. a.	Mr. Nichol, e. various

PRESBYTERIAN—SCOTTISH SECEDERS.

Miles Lane	m. a. e.	
Oxenden Meeting	m. a.	Mr. Jerment
Wells Street, Oxford Street	m. a. e.	Mr. Waugh

BAPTIST—PARTICULAR.

Blandford Street	m. e.	Mr. Keeble
†Bow	m. a. e.	Mr. Newman
†Battersea	m. e. W.	Mr. Hughes
†Camberwell	m.	Mr. Carr
Carter Lane, Tooley Street	m. a. Tu.	Dr. Rippon
City Chapel, Grub Street	m. e. Th.	Mr. Feast
†Clapham	m. a. e.	Mr. Ovington
Dean Street, Tooley Street	m. a.	Mr. Button
Devonshire Square	m. a.	Mr. Thomas : e. var.
Eagle Street	m. a. e. Wed.	Mr. Ivimey
East Lane, Walworth	m. a. e.	Dr. Jenkin

Elim Chapel, Fetter Lane	m. a. e. Th.	Mr. Austin
Edward Street, Soho	m.	Mr. Symonds
Ewer Street	m. a.	Mr. Crawford
Great Alyffe Street	m. a. e.	Mr. Bayley
Grafton Street	m. a. e.	Mr. Burnham
Green Walk, Blackfriars	m. a. e. Tu.	Mr. Upton
† Hackney, Shore Place	m. a. e.	Mr. Bradley
† Hammersmith	m. a. e. W.	Various
Jamaica Row, Rotherhithe	m. a.	Various
Keppel St., Bedford Square	m. a. Th.	Mr. Martin
Little Wild Street	m. a.	Mr. Waters
Maze Pond	m. a.	Mr. Dore
Obelisk, St. George's Fields	m. a. e.	Mr. Church
† Old Ford Meeting	m. a. e.	Mr. Newman
Prescot St., Goodmans Fields	m. a.	Mr. Stephens
Red Cross Street	m. a. e.	Mr. Wilson
" " " (Seventh Day)	Sat. m. a	Mr. Burnside
Red Cross Street (2)	m. a. e.	Mr. Franklin
Somers Town	m. a.	Mr. Jarman
Store Street, Bloomsbury	m. a. Tu.Th.	Mr. Martin
Trinity Chapel, Battlebridge	m. a. e. Th.	Mr. Sowerby
Unicorn Yard, Tooley Street	m. a.	Mr. Hutchins
{ Windmill Street	e.	Mr. Middleton
{ "Part. Bapt. of the Indwelling Denom."		

BAPTIST—GENERAL.

Church Lane, Whitechapel	m. a. Wed.	Mr. D. Taylor
Deptford, Church Street	m. a.	Mr. Moon
Mill Yard (Seventh Day)	Sat.	Mr. Slater
Worship Street	m.	Mr. Evans: a. un- settled

BAPTIST—SCOTCH.

Cateaton Street	m. e. Fri.	Mr. Ballantine
Meeting House Alley, Red Cross St.	m. a. e.	Messrs. Blake, Jones, and Ballantine

QUAKERS.

Devonshire House	m. e.	Various
Gracechurch Street	m. a.	"

Peel, St. John Street	m. a.	"
Ratcliff, School House Yard	m. a.	"
Southwark, Redcross Street	m. a.	"
Westminster, St. Martin's Lane	m. a.	"

METHODIST (WESLEYAN).

†Barnet	e.	Various
Battle Bridge	e.	"
†Bow	m. e.	"
†Brentford	m. e.	"
†Bromley	a.	"
†Chadwell	a. e.	"
Chandler Street	m. e.	"
Chelsea	m. e.	"
City Road Chapel	m. Tu.	"
†Clapham Common	e.	"
Clerkenwell	e.	"
†Dagenham	e.	"
†Dulwich	m. a. e. W.	"
Friar's Mount	e.	"
†Greenwich	e.	"
Gravel Lane, Wapping	m. e. M. W. F.	"
†Grays	e.	"
Hammersmith	m. a. e.	"
†Harrow	m. e.	"
Hinde Street	m. e.	"
Hoxton Chapel	m. a. e.	"
†Isleworth	a. e.	"
Kentish Town	e.	"
Lambeth Marsh	m. a. e.	"
†Leyton	a. e.	"
Lewisham	m. e.	"
Lombard Street, Temple Bar	e.	"
†Mitchem	m. e.	"
Nine Elms	a. e.	"
Poplar	m. e.	"
Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields	m. a. e. M. W.	"
Ratcliff Square	a.	"
†Richmond	a. e.	"
Rotherhithe	m. e.	"
Saffron Hill	e.	"
Seven Dials	e.	"

Southwark	m. e.	Various
Southwark, Snowsfields	m. e. W. F.	"
Spitalfields, Grey Eagle St.	m. a. e.	"
†Tottenham	m. e.	"
†Twickenham	m. e.	"
Westminster Meeting	e.	"
Wapping	m. e.	"
†Welling	a. e.	"
†Woolwich	m. a. e.	"

METHODIST NEW CONNEXION.

Gibraltar St., Bethnal Green	m. a. e.	Mr. Brown
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MORAVIAN.

Fetter Lane	m. e.	Mr. Church
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SANDEMANIAN.

Paul's Alley	m. a.	
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SWEDENBORGIAN.

Chapel Court, St. Giles	m. a.	Dr. Hodson
Friars Street, Blackfriars	m. a.	Mr. Sibley
York Street	m. a.	Mr. Proud

UNIVERSALIST.

Parliament Court, Bishopsgate	m. e.	Mr. Vidler
Windmill Street	m.	

UNITARIAN.

Crispin Street	m. a. e.	Various
Essex Street, Strand	m. a.	Mr. Belsham
†Hackney, Paradise Field	m. a.	Mr. Aspland
Horsley Down	m. a. e.	Mr. Brown
†Newington Green	m. a.	Mr. Rees
Princes Street, Westminster	m. a.	Mr. Houghton
St. Thomas, Borough	m. a.	Mr. Coates
†Stratford, "Unitarian Fund"	a. Th.	Various
†Walthamstow	m. a.	Mr. Cogan

SOUTHCOTIAN.

Blackfriars Road	m. e.	Mr. Tozer
"House of God," Obelisk	m. e.	Mr. Carpenter

The denominations of the following are not specified:—

Chapel Street, Soho	m. a. e.	Th. Mr. Stollery
Lock Chapel	m. e.	Mr. T. Fry
Lombard St., Temple Bar	e.	Mr. Cuthbert
Princes Row, Spitalfields	e.	
†Stockwell	m. e.	Mr. Jackson
West Street, Seven Dials	e.	Mr. W. Gurney
†Woolwich	m. e.	Mr. Bitterdike

It should be observed that about 60 of the meetings enumerated above (those distinguished by a †) were, in 1810, rather *near* than *in* London ; and, notwithstanding the enormous growth of the metropolis since that date, the same is still true of a few of them. The total is made up of 42 Independent, 64 "Calvinist," 15 Presbyterian, 40 Baptist, and 46 Methodist congregations, together with 26 of smaller denominations, and 7 unspecified. Of the "Calvinist" congregations, several are still flourishing as Independent churches, while some became proprietary chapels in connection with the Established Church. Of the English Presbyterian and General Baptist congregations, three or four might have been quite as correctly described as Unitarian.

Dissenting Chapels in and near Manchester, 1810

From the Protestant Dissenters' Almanack, 1811

INDEPENDENT.		
Moseley Street	Rev. S. Bradley	m. a. e.
Oldfield Lane	Rev. Jos. Smith	e.
"CALVINIST."		
Grosvenor Street	Rev. W. Roby	m. a. e.
Cannon Street	Rev. — Marsh	m. a. e.
New Windsor	Rev. — Phillips	m. a. e.
PRESBYTERIAN—ENGLISH.		
Cross Street	Rev. R. Harrison and J. Grundy	m. a.
Blakeley	Rev. R. Harrison	m. a.

PRESBYTERIAN—SCOTTISH SECESSION.

Lloyd Street Rev. R. Jack m. a.

BAPTIST—PARTICULAR.

St. George's Road W. Gadsby m. a. e.

York Street various m. a. e.

BAPTIST—SCOTTISH.

Cold House m. a. e.

METHODIST—WESLEYAN.

Oldham Street various m. e.

Bridgewater Street " m. a. e.

Swan Street " m. a. e.

Gravel Lane, Salford " m. a. e.

Failsworth " m. a. e.

METHODIST—NEW CONNEXION.

Oldham Street Rev. — Watson m. a. e.

Red Hall Meeting House various m. a. e.

Bethesda, Pendleton " m. a. e.

Failsworth " m. a. e.

METHODIST—INDEPENDENT.

Band Room, Hanover St. various m. a. e.

Bank Top " m. a. e.

Cooke Street, Salford " m. e.

METHODIST—FREE GOSPEL CHURCH.

Shude Hill Messrs. Hooly and Dewhurst m. a. e.

METHODIST—WELSH.

Oak Street various m. a. e.

FRIENDS.

Dickinson Street various m. a. W m.

SWEDENBORGIAN.

New Jerusalem Ch., Rev. Rich. Jones m. a.

Peter Street

King Street, Salford Rev. W. Cowherd m. a. e.

Christ Church, Hulme Rev. S. Dean m. a. e.

MORAVIAN.

Fairfield m. a.

UNITARIAN.

Moseley Street Rev. W. Hawkin m. a.

Early Nonconformist Academies

A careful examination of the early records of the Congregational Fund Board (see *Transactions* v, 134 fig.) furnishes an appreciable number of names of students, to supplement the lists formerly given. During the first few years of its existence the Board supported students at three, at least, of the old academies, as well as a few under private tuition. Thus we find, between January 1696 and December 1704, the following additional names :

Newington Green (*Thomas Rowe's*), see *Transactions* iii, 277 : Asty, S. Batho, Charleton, John Eaton, J. Evans or Emms, W. Fenner, B. Glassfield, Harrison, Masters, Midhurst, Jas. Naylor, Poke, Tookey, Robt. Watkins.

Brynlywarch (*Samuel Jones, astwd. Rice Price*), see *Transactions* iv, 245 fig. : Binion, Jos. Thomas, Llewellyn Howell, Jonathan (?) Jones, David Rees, ? Morgan.

Attercliffe (*Timothy Follie*), see *Transactions* iv, 334 fig. : Barker, Bentley, Howell Davies, J. Hemingay, Hoskins, J. Phillips.

Saffron Walden (*William Payne*), see *Transactions* v, 81. Doubt was expressed whether there really was any such academy, or whether the few names given were those of private pupils of Mr. Payne. But the C.F.B. records dispel this doubt ; and shew a small grant to Mr. Payne, on 5th Oct., 1696, toward providing domestic convenience for his students. The records also furnish several additional names, viz. : Bennett, Brown, Dormer, Foxon, Keen, Linnet, Meers, Moore, Powell, Jacob Prosser, Mark Putt, Joshua Read, S. Saddington, W. Scott, James Watson, Wells. It is not unlikely that the students at Saffron Walden may have been considerably more numerous ; as the records of the C.F.B. for several years following 1704 are missing, and Mr. Payne survived until 10th July, 1726. Several of his students, 7 or 8 at least, were transferred to the academy at Pinner.

Pinner

Within a few months of its constitution the Fund Board recognized the advantages of an academy under its own direction. Accordingly as early as 13th April, 1696, Mr. Gouge was directed to "write to Mr. Langston about taking young students." Mr. L. was pastor at Ipswich, and instructed altogether six or eight students, some of whom were, on his death in January, 1704, transferred to Dr. Chauncey. On 1st June the Board "Ordered that what students are sent downe anywhere the Treasurer to allow what necessary for their Journey to y^m y^t send y^m downe." On 29th June it was "Ordered that Mr. Mead, Mr. Nesbett, Dr. Chauncey, Mr. Gouge discourse with Mr. Goodwin about educating young Students." This was Thomas Goodwin junior, of Pinner, a son of the more distinguished Puritan divine of the same name (sometime president of Magdalen College, Oxford), and himself a man of considerable learning. His most notable publications were *A Vindication of the Protestant doctrine concerning Justification*, 4to., 1693, and *A Discourse on the True Nature of the Gospel*, 4to., 1695. The first students placed under the care of Mr. Goodwin were two who had received instruction from the Rev. James Forbes at Gloucester. The Board evidently exercised a parental watchfulness over their students, for whom no fixed period of study was prescribed, their allowances being made usually from year to year, but sometimes for a half-year or even a quarter. We have no account of the curriculum at Pinner; but the notices that do occur are not without interest. For example: 15th February, 1697, "Messrs Nisbett and Gouge to discourse with Mr. Goodwin about providing with linen the students who are to be boarded at

Pinner." 7th June, 1697, "Mr. Lobb to examine the students at Pinner, and report." 21st June, 1697, No person to be taken charge of for "University learning" until the Board is satisfied of their "Grammar learning" (*i.e.* ability to read and speak Latin) and general ability. 6th Sept., 1697, Mr. Oddy to be sent to Mr. Goodwin "for one year to study divinity, and shall assist those that are there in the learning of *ffilologie*" [*sic*]. Mr. Goodwin is to take *only approved students*. 13th Dec., 1697 "Ordered that all students who have been or shall be taken care of by the Board, be acquainted that 'tis expected they should be advised by them when and where to be disposed of for public service." (This and similar regulations apply to students at Newington Green, Attercliffe, Saffron Walden, and under private tuition, as well as to those at Pinner.) 10th Jany., 1698, Mr. Oddy to have £30 for one year from 25th Dec. last, in consideration of instructing the young students in philology.

14th March, 1698, Mr. Oddy is urged to settle with Mr. Goodwin at Pinner. But the settlement does not seem to have been quite satisfactory; for on 21st November we find a note "Before any more be paid to Mr. Oddy, an account to be given of what service he has done." On 1st May, 1699, he has a grant of £7 10s.; and on 2nd October he is discharged; to have £5 in full of all demands.

The only other entries of interest, except admissions, continuations, transfers and dismissals of students, and grants of money, are these: 4th March, 1700, "Before any student be taken into our care, his character to be reported on." No student's allowance to exceed £16 per annum. 8th April, 1700, students' allowances to be paid quarterly.

Mr. Goodwin died about 1716; but as the ac-

counts of the Board for some years after 1704 are missing, we cannot tell how long the Pinner academy continued, or what students were instructed there after the date last mentioned. The names we have are the following, arranged in the order in which they first appear in the accounts; those in italic were removed to Pinner from Saffron Walden.

— Wilson ^a	— <i>Wills</i>	<i>Caleb Wroe</i>
— King ^a	— Delemer ^b	<i>John Guyse</i>
— Keith	— Jolly ^b	Stephen Lobb
— Holland	Henry Shepherd	<i>John Green</i>
— Mason	<i>Win. Scott</i>	— Hill
Nathan Hickford	— Shuttlewood?	Jabez Hughes
— Millway	— Bentley ^c	John Phillips
<i>Saml. Saddington</i>	— Tingey	<i>Fas Watson</i>
<i>Theophilus Lobb</i>	— Olive (or Olliffe)	<i>T. Linnet</i>
		— <i>Keen</i>

^a Transferred from Mr. Forbes

^b Grandsons of Mr. Forbes

^c Also at Attercliffe

Hoxton (1)

Hoxton Square, now by no means an inviting neighbourhood, was in the early part of the eighteenth century a residential district, and was in succession the seat of three distinct academies. The first of these might be regarded as in some sense a continuation of the academy at Coventry, of which an account is given in *Transactions* iv, 41. Dr. Oldfield, having accepted a call to the church in Maid Lane, Southwark, removed from Coventry to London in 1700; and Mr. Tong two years later entered on the pastorate of the church at Salters' Hall. The two former colleagues being thus reunited resumed the work of tuition, at first in Southwark, afterwards in Hoxton Square. In this work they were aided by William Lorimer, M.A., and John Spademan. It does not appear

that Tong took any very active part in the work. Oldfield was theological tutor, for which post his qualifications are said to have been "of the first order." He was chairman at the Salters' Hall Conference, and after the disruption occupied the same position among the non-subscribers. "But while he conceived subscription to be inexpedient, he was zealous for the orthodox doctrine; and published his sentiments on the Trinity in a sermon which united principle with practice, and combined the truth of the doctrine with its important use." (Bogue and Bennett, i, 215.) On the other hand a Unitarian writer says he was "moderate and charitable towards those who differed from him, and . . . of no party but that of God against the devil." As a tutor he encouraged free enquiry on the part of his pupils, and was a zealous and firm advocate for civil and religious liberty. His most important publication was an *Essay on The Improvement of Human Reason in the Pursuit of Learning and conduct of Life*. He died in his 74th year, on 8th November, 1729.

William Lorimer, M.A., was born at Aberdeen in 1641, and educated at Marischal College in his native city. At the age of 24 he came to England, and, having received episcopal ordination, he was first curate at the Charterhouse and then vicar of a parish in Sussex. In a short time, however, he came to the conclusion that several things in the canons of the Episcopal Church were unscriptural, and relinquished his benefice. He then travelled on the continent, and on his return became chaplain in a private family at Henley; and, after the Revolution, minister of a Presbyterian church at Lee, in Kent. He had already gained some reputation by an *Essay on The Divine Authority of the Five Books of Moses*; and in 1696 took part against the Antinomian party in the Crispian

controversy. In 1696 he was invited to the Professorship of Divinity at St. Andrew's, and travelled to Scotland to undertake its duties. But the college having been temporarily closed owing to an infectious distemper, he remained some months at Edinburgh. While there he honourably distinguished himself by interceding—though unsuccessfully—for a boy who had been sentenced to death for blasphemy, and whose speedy execution was urged by some of the Edinburgh ministers, lest the king, becoming aware of the facts, should exercise his prerogative of mercy. The boy was hanged, to the eternal disgrace of all concerned in this proceeding; but there is reason to hope that he died sincerely penitent.

Whether entirely through the temporary closing of the college, or in part through disgust at this display of murderous fanaticism, Lorimer abandoned the professorship and returned to London. He took no pastoral charge, but preached occasionally, assisted at ordinations, and shared with Dr. Oldfield in the work of the academy. He was severely orthodox, writing, in his eightieth year; "I have inviolably adhered to the Doctrinal Articles of the Established Church of England." He died 27th October, 1722. He bequeathed part of his library to Marischal College, and the remainder to be distributed amongst poor ministers and students of the Presbyterian order in England. His name, and that of Dr. Oldfield, stand first and second on the list of Dr. Williams's trustees.

The Rev. John Spademan, M.A., was the son of a minister who was ejected from Authorpe in Lincolnshire, and was afterwards pastor of a congregation at Boston. The son, who graduated at Magdalene College, Cambridge, subscribed to the conditions imposed by the Act of Uniformity; but becoming through several years ever more

and more dissatisfied, and unable to fulfil his clerical duties with a good conscience, he resigned his benefice at Swayton, and migrated to Holland. He was for some time pastor of the English Presbyterian church at Rotterdam ; and while resident there made himself useful in many ways to English students at Leyden and Utrecht. After the Revolution he returned to England, and was co-pastor with John Howe at Silver Street from 1696 to 1705. As a tutor he had qualifications of a high order, having few equals in the learned languages, and possessing a competent knowledge of Dutch, French, Italian, and Spanish. He was also well versed in philosophy and history, and thoroughly familiar with current theological controversies ; and, in addition, full of sympathy with young men. Only the day before his death he urged a friend to insist, in his preaching, more on "a new heart and a new spirit" than on doctrines, or even duties. He died on 4th September, 1708. His publications consist only of a few sermons. He was succeeded as classical tutor by M. Capel, who, before the revocation of the Edict of Nantes had been professor of Hebrew and Oriental languages in the University of Saumur.

We have, unfortunately, no account of the alumni of this first Hoxton academy, beyond the fact that fifteen of them were exhibitioners of the Presbyterian Fund. The latest date assigned to any of them is 1711 ; and the institution seems to have come to an end before the death of Dr. Oldfield, perhaps from the operation of the Schism Act. Dr. W. Harris, in his funeral sermon for Oldfield, says : "There was no house in England among the Dissenters which had so great advantages, or where three such learned persons were joined together so excellently qualified for the several parts allotted to them."

Tiverton

The breaking up of the first academy at Exeter (about 1721) led to the establishment of a similar institution at Tiverton. The tutor was Rev. John Moor, a native of Great Torrington, who had been domestic chaplain and tutor in a county family in Suffolk, and had declined an invitation to a pastoral charge in that county. About 1689 or-90 he accepted a call to Tiverton, apparently as assistant to the Presbyterian minister, Rev. Richard Saunders, whom he at length succeeded. He was ordained in July 1691; and the Pitts meeting-house appears to have been built for him about 1707. There he ministered till his death in 1736. Mr. Moor's private diary is in the Congregational Library; but strange to say, though it tells much about his domestic and financial concerns, and the books which he purchased, it gives no information about his pupils. Of these the following list (which may or may not be complete) has been kindly furnished by Rev. G. E. Eyre:

— Bradick

Bernard Dowdell : Tavistock ord. 9 Nov. 1732; d. 1772

Roger Flexman, D.D.: born 22 Feb. 1707/8; entered Ac. 1723; ord. 15 July 1730; pastor at Modbury, Crediton, Chard, Bradford (Wilts), Rotherhithe; d. 1795*

John Gilberts

— Glass : a physician

— Majendie : [Q. was he son of Rev. Andre Majendie of Dartmouth]

— Manston

Richard Moore : Ord. 28 June 1732; d. 7 Sept. 1754

Thomas Rowe : Old Meeting, Poole, 1735—

John Rudge : Pitts Meeting, 1740-49

John Short : Barnstaple ?

Benjamin Stoneman : Ord. 17 June 1731; d. 17 April 1737

Henry Walrond : "A Counsellor" Barnstaple

John Walker : Ord. 9 Aug. 1733

* Mr. Flexman, on quitting the academy in 1730, declined a proposal to remain as assistant to Mr. Moor.

Moor upheld the orthodox position in the Arian controversy, his only published works being *A Calm Defence of the Deity of Jesus Christ*, 48 pp., 2nd edn. 1719; and *The Calm Defence Continued and Maintained*, 140 pp., 1721. Several of his pupils, however, adopted some form of Unitarianism. The academy was not continued after his death; according to Dunsford (*Memorials of Tiverton*) "it became a pound-house for cyder, and afterwards a theatre for strolling players, in which employ it continued occasionally till . . . rebuilt in the year 1781." It is not quite clear what building Dunsford means by "it"; possibly Saunders's old meeting-house, as Pitts Meeting is understood to have continued till 1787.