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antiquities or relics as may exist in their respective neighbourhoods, together with the names and addresses of their owners or custodians. At the same time information as to the likelihood of a loan being granted, if applied for, would be helpful.

The objects we have in view are chiefly of these classes :

1. *Documents* : Early Church Covenants ; Certificates and Licences ; Church Records ; Autograph Letters, etc.
2. Baptismal Basins ; Communion Plate ; Communion Tokens ; Ancient Collecting Boxes, etc.
3. Personal Relics of past leaders and preachers ; Bibles and other books of personal and historic value, especially such as contain autographs.
4. Portraits, whether paintings or engravings ; views of ancient Meeting-Houses which have ceased to exist ; views of Churches and other places either directly associated with the history of our congregations, or with political and national events bearing on our fortunes.

The formation of a catalogue of such objects (even if nothing more were achieved) would be highly desirable ; but it is hoped that its compilation would lead to the assembling of many interesting and valuable objects for exhibition in London.

* *

Our Autumnal meeting will be held in Bristol on 7th October. Arrangements are not yet sufficiently complete for a more detailed announcement.

* *

We have just received an interesting pamphlet, by Mrs. Skinner, of Rayleigh (Essex), containing the story of Abraham Caley, the ejected minister of that parish. We hope in our next issue to give a brief account of this forgotten worthy ; meanwhile we commend "Caley of Rayleigh" to our readers, all the more as the proceeds of its sale are devoted to the erection of a Caley Memorial Hall in connection with the Congregational church in the village. The publishers are C. Fell & Son, 179 Great Dover Street, S.E., and the price is sixpence net.

* *

We have several times referred to the so-called "canting names" which were in occasional use—though less frequently than is often supposed—in the seventeenth century. Mr. Fred. S. Thacker writes : "In the S.P.D. vol. for 1655, p. 588, the following appears : 'June 5. 1655. Pass issued to Firm-in-faith Knight, Mary Hewerton, & their 2 children, to Holland.' I do not remember seeing this particular Christian name before."

* *

On p. 143 of the current volume of *Transactions* (ll. 12-14) it is stated that the Pitts meeting-house, Tiverton, appears to have been built for Rev. John Moore about 1707. In a serial called *The English Presbyterian*, no. vii, July 1834, p. 186, we find it stated that Mr. Moore was minister not of Pitts meeting, but of a small society which separated from the Steps congregation in 1700. His meeting house was in Peter Street, and ceased to be used for worship after his death. After serving as a "pound house" and a theatre, it was rebuilt in 1781 to serve as a Methodist chapel.

* *

Erratum in our last issue : On p. 214 delete line 11 from bottom.

Congregational Historical Society Balance Sheet for 1913

CREDIT.					DEBIT.						
	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
Jan. 1st. Balance at Bank ...	11	4	11		Printing <i>Transactions</i> :						
Subscriptions including arrears ...	56	7	0		Vol. V continued ...	1	12	6			
Donations	2	7	0		„ VI, 1	27	16	2			
Sale of <i>Transactions</i>	1	15	9		„ VII, 2	22	9	6			
									51	18	2
					Reminders and Postage ...				1	3	7
					Notices of Meetings :						
					May	0	16	2			
					October	0	17	6			
									1	13	8
					Official Notepaper				0	17	6
					Hire of Council Room, Memorial Hall				1	1	0
					Subscription to Baptist Hist. Soc. ...				0	5	0
					Stamped Cheque				0	0	1
									56	19	0
					Balance at Bank				14	15	8
									£71	14	8
									£71	14	8

Ledger examined with vouchers and certified correct,

April 16th, 1914.

B. D. W. GREGORY,

Nonconformist Places of Worship Registered under the Toleration Act

To the Editor, Congregational Historical Society

Sir,

Mr. Nichol's article is a welcome reminder of the official records awaiting adequate examination. May I add that they will amply repay it, and that the original documents in the Sessions Houses will often be made accessible freely. At Wakefield, Mr. Shipley of Sheffield has examined the West Riding books, and has reproduced many of the more striking entries in his *Baptists of Yorkshire*. At Preston I have, in concert with Dr. Nightingale, been through the original rolls down to 1720, and he has tabulated every entry; I have reproduced some of the notifications in *Baptists of North West England*. At Chester also I have made a more cursory examination, and have published a few results.

In 1829 the constables of townships were ordered to make returns of the number of places of worship for dissenters, and of the number of people frequenting them. This was an entirely independent census, and its results are well worth comparing. Whether they were ever printed I do not know, for I have been to the originals for my county, which are most minute. They take no notice of the point whether the places were registered or not. May I suggest that places were not "licensed" under the Toleration Act, as they were under the Indulgence of 1672; they were certified by householders to the clerk of the peace or the diocesan officials, who were then bound to enrol, having no discretion to refuse, as Mr. Nichol points out. The householder might have a copy of the enrolment if he chose, but this was not a licence.

After the printed return of 1853, another valuable return was made in July, 1882, of buildings registered under the Victorian Acts; it shews 14,573 buildings of the Established Church, 21,343 of various Free Churches.

W. T. WHITLEY.

Samuel Smith of Stannington

THERE is in the possession of Mr. R. E. Leader, of Thorndene, Oakleigh Park, a MS. volume, chiefly in the handwriting of Rev. Samuel Smith of Stannington, Yorks. (d. 1761.) Mr. Smith was born about the time of the Revolution, and spent his youth in the neighbourhood of Altham, Lanc. He became a member of the church at Sparth, in the parish of Clayton-le-Moors, about a mile and a half s.w. of Altham. A house there had been licensed under the Indulgence as a Presbyterian meeting-place; and later a Congregational church was organized there by Rev. Thomas Jollie, who ministered there as well as at Wymondhouses. He was succeeded in the dual pastorate by his nephew, John Jollie, junr. (son of John Jollie ejected from Norbury, Cheshire.) Young Samuel Smith appears to have profited by the ministry of John Jollie of Sparth, to have been a student under Timothy Jollie at Attercliffe (though his name is not found in the imperfect roll of Attercliffe students), and to have settled in 1713 at Stannington, where he ministered till his death, 48 years later. According to Evans's list, the Stannington congregation in 1718 numbered 350. Towards the end of the eighteenth century the church became Unitarian, and so continues. The MS. contains above twenty documents, many of them of little or no interest. There are private memoranda, some in Latin, others in shorthand; cash accounts; notes of sermons by various

preachers, etc. ; a treatise on Grammar in the form of a catechism, occupying 24 pp. ; and "Some short notes concerning Mr. John Jolly," 11 pp. This last refers to the ejected minister of Norbury ; but it is mere panegyric, affording no biographical facts which are not given in the Nonconformist Memorial. Five of the documents however seem of sufficient interest to deserve reproduction.

I. Minutes of two church meetings, held in 1700, apparently at Wymondhouses.

Upon a just survey of their present state, and a prudent prospect as to the future, the Lord's worthyes of old have, when their departure hath been at hand especially, provided the best the(y) could accordingly : this hath been the practice of Pastors with their people, both under the old and new Testament, tho' our meanness every (?) in comparison be altogether unworthy to be mentioned with such extraordinary persons yet there seems to be somewt. of the like necessity in our case & a parity of reason as to our practice.

Besides the success of the Gospel among us, the comfortable continuance of y^e Pastor a little longer, & the success of endeavours for a necessary subsistence to his successor may much depend thereupon.

The consideration of these things hath moved us to consult together what is our duty in our present circumstances, and to conclude as follows :—

At a Church Meeting upon the 5th of the 2^d M. 1700 to enquire into the state of this Society it was unanimously conclude(d) by those present—

That we are under sensible visible cooling, declining as to spirituals (namely) in not attending the Church Meetings, or not sending our lawful excuse ; in not communing of the word & things of God as formerly ; in the want of public spiritedness for the good of all and zeal for the cause of God.

That it should be propounded to y^e rest of the Society to be considered whether it be not our way solemnly to renew our Repentance & our Covenant ; that the threatening tokens of divine displeasure as to the Pastor's distemper might be removed if the Lord see it good : that our Covenant & Communion may be confumed & continued (God willing) however.

At a more full meeting afterward these things were accordingly propounded and assented to.

That which remains is our Agreement about the particular

Articles to be instanced in, wth reference to the Renewal of our Repentance & of our Covenant ; that this be thro' the Mediator of the New Covenant, his blood of atonement and prevailing Intercession, yea by the supply and Influence of his Spirit as our head ; that it be with a beleving humble and thankful acknowledgment of his Grace who holds our soul in Life, that there be yet any Remainers of Spiritual life with us in the dead time, particularly as to Church State : and withal that we have such a ful(l) free reserve thereof with the Lord who—Jesus Christ—is the fountain of life. Now let Him so direct our work in truth that it may be an everlasting Covenant he makes with us.

1. As to the recovering of our first Love, the doing of our first works, as in the case of the Church of Ep[h]esus, the strengthening of what remains, the filling up of our works before God (not only as to matter but manner & measure) as in the case of the church of Sardis. That we may yet be revived and our days renewed as of old ; our shortcomings being made up, our backslidings being healed.

2. Our constant attendance at all meetings wherein we are concerned, unless we have such excuse as we can stand with before God, & our sending sufficient excuse in convenient time to the Pastor, or to the meeting in his absence ; yea, our being present in Spirit & pursuing the design of the meeting according to our capacity however ; y^t so the house of God may not be forsaken, either thro' our not attending, or not attention in the case.

3. Not only our meditating on but mutual conversing of the word of God, of y^e things of God, & our own experiences thereof for each other's edification ; that so whilst we speak often one to another, our blessed Lord may not only hearken to us but join with us and make our hearts burn with holy affections, as it was with the two disciples when conferring together, especially if we be upon the word of Christ or y^e Love of Christ as y^e most warming subjects.

4. As to our Love as Brethren in Ch : Relation exercising the graces and doing the duties thereof in that spirit of Charity w^{ch} is the very soul of our communion, puts spiritual life and heat into all our performances : the want whereof makes us appear to be dead & unprofitable, w^{ever} our forme or name may be.

5. [*A blank space in the MS. equivalent to about 130 words.*] In case of offence as to dealing with each other according to the rule of y^e Gospel, so plainly laid before us, y^t we neither divulge it to others nor sit down with the offence in the neglect of our duty, lest the offended party prove an offender also, & the scandal be further propagated ; lest also the Lord cast us off for not casting out the Achan if y^e neglect be general.

6. Our concernedness for the cause and Church of God in general, for the work of Reforming and healing in particular : that

we do not betray the common Interest and so our own true Interest withal ; yea, tho' we seem to be alone, as to standing in the breach wrestling for the blessing.

7. As to Catechizing & instructing our families by the best means we are capable of, yea, admonishing & exercising of discipline there according to our capacities, y^tso our Families may be little Churches & nurseries of piety ; All in the Lord & the Lord in all, as our Rule and end.

Any guilt upon any of us or among us in the aforesaid instances, either as to shortcoming or backsliding, especially if there be a walking contrary ; we do humbly confess to be much aggravated under our profession and priviledges, after we have been so afflicted and delivered also.

Concerning our failing in any of these things, or anything else that we are conscious to ourselves of, we do most seriously and solemnly profess our sincere repentance ; beseeching the Lord our God for his dear Son & great name's sake, to pardon the same hitherto, and help us henceforth. We do also, (thro' his grace) resolve and promise as in his presence & as we must give account to him, to reform all in our several capacities for the future, that so he may remove the tokens of his displeasure, and return to us in mercy, wherein he hath withdrawn himself : y^t he may continue us to be a people to himself in communion together, even when our Pastor shall be removed, & that our priviledges may be still continued to us, yea to ours also with a blessing.

But if we now take the name of God in vain, & if after all this (w^{ch} God forbid) we shall deal falsly in the Lord's Covenant, in not cleaving to the Lord & to each other in the Lord with purpose of heart both as to closer union & communion in the Spirit & order of the Gospel, we tremble to think what the woful consequences thereof will be, according to what we find denounced in threatenings & verified in Examples throughout the whole word of God.

Yet whilst we behold the severity of God on those who fel[1] thro' their unbelief, we should withal behold his goodness towards them who continue therein. So that we would take those encouraging exhorting words of the Prophet, as spoken to us also, amidst our godly jealousy, of our own infirmities, & our holy fear of God : viz. fear not (*i.e.* distrustfully, discouragingly,) tho' we have done all this evil, yet turn not aside from following the Lord (*i.e.* with another spirit & fully as Caleb and Joshua did), but serve the Lord with all your heart ; for the Lord will not forsake those who are indeed his people for his great names sake : because it hath pleased him to make you his people, but I will teach you the good & right way : only fear the Lord & serve him in Truth with all your heart, for consider how great things he hath done for you.

In the Name and Spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ we, as a Church

of Christ, in the first place solemnly owning and standing to the faith & order of the Gospel professed among us ; we do also in the next place all of us unanimously testify our cordial consent, & faithfully covenant to all as aforesaid, by holding up our hands and saying Amen.

Signed wth the consent of the rest of y^e society by us
30th of 5th m :
1700

Tho : Jolly, <i>Pastor</i>	}	<i>Elders</i>
Robt. Whitaker		
Wm. Sellar	}	<i>Elect.</i>
John Holker		
Henry Chadwick	}	<i>Deacons</i>
Charles Ryley		
Tho : Haworth		

II. My Letter to Mr. J. J. as a return of thanks for lending me a book of De Laune's.

(This is immediately preceded, in the MS., by a summary of De Laune's "Plea for Nonconformists," which occupies 13 pages.)

Good S^r, I thank you for your sending me
De Laune his Plea for Non-Conformity.
Of late I've read some controversies held
Betwixt y^e Con. & Non.—which my head fil'd
With dubious thoughts of several kinds ;
I said, so many men so many minds.
I have of late talk'd with some Opponents
Which of their way gave me Intelligence.
But more I knew the worse I lik'd their way.
De Laune has made me like it worse, I say.
I see my cause is good to separate
From her that doth so much adulterate :
Nor is my Faith pin'd on an others sleeve,
Which to be safe I never can believe,
But on God's word, our only Rule of Faith,
Which perfect is, as holy David saith.
Humane Inventions are Vanity,
Therefore pleasing to God y^e cannot be.
Then for my only Rule I'll Bible take
A way that's pure & sure I'll not forsake.
March 27. 1708. Saml Smith.

III. A Short Confession of Faith, by S.S. (not dated ; probably 1708 or-9).

I believe in one God Almighty, maker of Heaven & Earth. I believe him in his Attributes to be God blessed for ever, holy just

& true, merciful & gracious, self-sufficient, eternal without beginning or end, Omniscient, Omnipresent, immutable, immortal, invisible &c. I believe y^o Trinity in one Essence.

I believe in Jesus Christ y^o only Son of God, y^t he is God & man & y^o Mediator between God & Man : y^t all power in Heaven & Earth is given him, & he is made Head over all things to his Church. I believe he came into the world to save sinners & to be an expiatory Sacrifice for Sin, he suffered not for his own sins, he knew no sin, but for y^o Sins of Mankind as ye Saviour of the world, & purchased a conditional gift of free pardon to all y^t will believably accept it. I believe his Humiliation, as birth, sufferings, Death, & burial ; & his Exaltation, as his Resurrection & Ascension, y^t he sits at the right hand of God Almighty, & from thence he shall come again to judg the Quick & y^o Dead ; & then all penitent Believers shall be justified, but all impenitent wicked unbelievers shall be condemned.

I believe in the Holy Ghost, y^t he is God, y^o third person in the blessed Trinity, one in Essence with the Father & the Son. I believe y^t the Holy Ghost is the great Agent & advocate of Jesus-Christ on Earth, by his works to be his witness, & to plead his cause, & to communicate his Grace : that the Holy Ghost was the Author of those many uncontrolled Miracles by wth the Gospel of Christ was sealed to y^o world, & y^t he was given by Christ to his Apostles & Evangelists, & y^t the Holy Scriptures, y^o old & new Testament commonly called ye Bible are the Word of God. I believe y^t it is the work of y^o Holy Ghost to Sanctifie all God's Elect.

I believe a Holy Catholick Church : that God has a holy Society in the world, gathered & sanctified by y^o Holy Ghost, separated from y^o unbelieving ungodly world. I own y^o Communion of Saints. I am for Pastoral Discipline. I believe y^t all true Christians, being united to Christ Jesus by his Spirit & by Faith, ought to be united to one another in love.

I believe the forgiveness of Sin ; tho' I cannot say positively y^t my sins are actually forgiven, yet I firmly believe that there is forgiveness for all sincere penitent Believers.

I believe the Resurrection of the Body, the Immortality of the soul : & Life everlasting for all those y^t have an interest in Christ Jesus & who make it their chief care & business to seek it.

Now having made a brief Confession of my Christian Faith, & being convinced of my wretchedness & miserableness, being grieved that I have sinned against such a God ; yet I have encouragement y^t if I will but return to him with all my heart I shall find mercy & acceptance with him in & through Christ Jesus. Wherefore renouncing the Devil, the World, & the flesh, & everything y^t stands in opposition to God, I do here take the Lord Jehovah, Father, Son, & Holy Ghost, for my portion & chief good ; & do hereby give up myself, body & soul, for his servant, promising

& vowing to serve him all y^e days of my Life. I desire to receive y^e Lord Jesus Christ as he is offered to me in the Gospell, & do here solemnly join my self in a Marriage Covenant to him, promising not to allow myself in any known Sin, nor in the neglect of any known Duty. I subscribe to all God's Laws as holy, just, & good, & solemnly take them for the Rule of my thoughts, words, & actions; & now having an earnest desire, (if it please God) to seal this my Covenant, together with my pious resolutions and engagements, at the Lord's Table.

IV. A Church Covenant.

Sparth, May 2^d 1708

We who thro' the exceeding Riches of the Grace & Patience of God do continue a Church of Christ, being now assembled in his Presence in the name of the Lord Jesus, after humble Confession of our manifold breaches of the Covenant before the Lord our God, & earnest supplication of Pardoning mercy thro' the blood of the Lamb, & deep acknowledgment of our great unworthiness to be own'd the Lord's Covenant People, also acknowledging our inability to keep Covenant with God; or to performe any Spiritual Duty unless the Lord Jesus do enable us thereto by his Spirit dwelling in us, and being awfully sensible that it is a dreadful thing for sinful dust and ashes personally to transact with the infinitely glorious Majesty of heaven & earth, we do in humble confidence of his gracious assistance & acceptance thro' Christ, each of us for ourselves & jointly as a Church of the living God one with another Covenant in manner following:—

We do give up ourselves to that God whose name alone is Jehovah, Father, Son, & Holy Ghost, the only true & living God, & to our blessed Lord Jesus Christ as our only Saviour, Prophet, Priest & King over our souls, and only Mediator of the Covenant of Grace; Promising (by the help of his Spirit & Grace) to cleave to God as our chief good, & to the Lord Jesus Christ by Faith & Gospel Obedience, as becomes his Covenant People for ever.

We do also give up our Offspring unto God in Jesus Christ, avouching the Lord to be our God & the God of our children, & ourselves with our children to be his People, humbly adoring the grace of God, that we and our Offspring with us may be the Lord's.

We do also give up ourselves one to another in the Lord, & according to the will of God, freely binding ourselves to walk together as a right order'd congregation & Church of Christ, in all the ways of his worship, according to the Rule of his holy word; promising in Brotherly Love to watch over one anothers Souls faithfully, & to submit ourselves unto the Discipline & Government of Christ in his Church; & duly to attend all the Ordinances

which Christ has Instituted in his Church, & commanded to be attended by his people according to the Order of y^e Gospel.

And whereas certain evils have been taken notice of as provoking to the Majesty of Heaven, for which the Lord has, & justly may continue a controversy against us, as an expedient to the Reformation of these evils, or whatsoever else has provoked the eyes of God's glory amongst us, we do freely promise as in the presence God :

First, that we will (Christ helping) endeavour every one of us to Reform our heart & life, by seeking to mortify all our sins, & labouring to walk more closely with God than ever yet we have done, and will continue to worship God in Public, Private, & Secret, & this without Formality or Hypocrisy, and more fully & faithfully than heretofore to discharge all Covenant Dutys one to another in Communion.

Secondly, we promise also to walk before God in our Houses with a perfect Heart, & that we will uphold the worship of God therein continually, according as he in his word requires, both in respect of Prayer & Reading the Scriptures, & we will do what in us lyes to bring up our Children for Christ ; & will therefore as need shall be Catechize, Exhort, & charge them to the fear of God, and endeavour to set an holy example before them, and be much in Prayer for their Conversion and Salvation.

And lastly we promise to keep our selves from the sins of the Times, & in our places to endeavour the Suppression thereof, & take care so to walk y^t we may not give occasion to others to sin or speak evil of our holy Profession.

Now that we may observe & keep this sacred Covenant, & all the branches of it inviolable for ever, we depend wholly on the Power of the Eternal Spirit of Grace, & on the free mercy of God & merit of Christ Jesus ; & where we shall fail there to wait upon the Lord Jesus for Pardon acceptance and healing for his names sake.

Signed in the Presence of y^e Holy Angels, & of God's People on Earth.

By

S.S.

V. A Short Scheme of necessary Studies in order, with choice books under each head ; by Mr. Wats of London.

I Languages

1 Latin.

Cambridge Dictionary

Oxford Grammar

Kennet's Roman Antiquities

Echard's Roman History, 2 vols 8vo

- Virgil, Notis Manutii
 Horace, ejusdem
 Tullii opera omnia
 2 Greek. Scapulae Lexicon
 Busby's Greek Grammar
 Leusden's Greek Testament 8vo
 Leusden's Compendium
 Lee's [? Leigh's] Critica Sacra, folio with
 Septuagint [Supplement
 Potter's Antiquities, y^o best edition
 Homer's Iliads &c
 Isocrates & Demosthenes.
 Sylvenus on the first book of Homer.
 Xenophontos Cyropaedia
 3 Hebrew. Mercaeri Lexicon
 Bythner's Lyra
 Leusden's Compendium Veteris Test.
 Biblia Hæbraica Athiae
 Lee's [Leigh's] Criticks on the old Test.
 Goodwins Moses & Aaron.

II Geography

- Gordon, Geographical Grammar
 Denets (?) Four Quarters; & others

III Chronology

- Strauchey
 Helvetii Tabulae

IV History

- Collier's Dictionary & Supplement
 Ductor Historicus, 2 vols
 Baker's Chronicle
 Rushworth's Collections
 Echard's History of England.
 Chamberlayne, Angliae Notitiae
 Book of Martyrs, Abridged
 Monthly Mercurys.
 Turner, Providences

V Philosophy in General.

- Shawin? Lexicon, for the old
 Harries Dictionary, for the new.
 Wells' Arithmetic
 Pardie's Elements of Geometry
 Cartesii Opera
 Locke's Essay

Particularly

- 1 Logick. Ars Cogitandi
 Le Clerc's Logick
- 2 Ethicks. Puffendorf; De jure Naturali et Gentium
 " De officio hominis et civis
 Baxters Reasons—the first part.
- 3 Physicks. Le Clerc's
 Gibson's Anatomy
 Boyle's Works, Epitomized
 Ray on Works of Creation
4. Divinity. Poole's, Latin and English.
 Clark on the Bible
 Cambridge Concordance
 Grotius, De Veritate Christianae Religionis
 Nicol's Conference with the Theist
 Oxford Bible with margin
 Calvin's Institutes.
 Turretini Opera, 4 vols
 Limborch do, folio
 Theses Sedanenses et Salmurienses.
 Amesius, Casus Conscientiae
5. Poetry. Cowley's Works
 Milton's Works
 Buchanans Works.

There can be little doubt that "Mr. Wats of London" was Isaac Watts, who in 1707 had published the first edition of his *Hymns and Spiritual Songs*. How his "scheme of necessary studies" came into the hands of young Smith does not appear; but it seems a reasonable conjecture that it may have been through the tutor, Timothy Jollie of Attercliffe; of whose curriculum we have no record, but whose tutorial qualifications appear to have been slender (see *Transactions* iv. 334-5), and who may quite conceivably have sought advice from the popular young preacher and poet.

Note on Stannington Chapel

Stannington is a hamlet in the chapelry of Bradfield, four or five miles from Sheffield. A small chapel was built there about 1652,

it is supposed by Richard Spooone ; who by his will, proved 26th May, 1653, left a house and 15 acres of land to feoffees in trust to apply the proceeds towards the support of a "a preaching minister." Such minister was to be approved by a majority of the feoffees, or by "three of the next neighbouring ministers to the said town," for "honesty of life, soundness of doctrine, and diligence in preaching."

Isaac Darwent was minister from 1657 to 1662, when he was silenced by the Act of Uniformity. He retained possession of the chapel land till he was driven away by the Five Mile Act. From that time to the Revolution there were six or seven conforming ministers ; and between 1684 and 1689 a terrier of the glebe land belonging to Stannington chapel was exhibited at the archbishop's visitation. But after the Toleration Act the chapel seems to have reverted to Nonconformist management.

Abraham Dawson, who ministered from 1689 to 1696, made only partial use of the Book of Common Prayer. In 1696 Thomas Marriott gave an additional endowment of land to the chapel, and induced the feoffees to concede to him the right of nominating a minister. He nominated William Bagshaw, a student from Jollie's academy ; who was succeeded in 1713 by Samuel Smith. Both Bagshaw and Smith read parts of the Liturgy, administered baptisms according to the Prayer Book ritual, and reported them for insertion in the register of the chapelry of Bradfield. But in 1742 Mr. Marriott's nephew, with others, erected a new chapel a few yards from the old one (which was much out of repair), but on a site *not* forming part of the Spooone benefaction. The old chapel, being abandoned, soon fell to ruin and was cleared away. Thenceforward Mr. Smith entirely discontinued the use of the Prayer Book, and in reporting his baptisms noted that they were performed "according to the dissenting way."

Mr. Smith's successor, John Hall (1761-79) at first professed orthodoxy, but afterwards became Arian. On his removal the trustees wished to appoint another Arian minister ; but the congregation so strongly objected that they yielded, and appointed Josiah Rhodes from the Heckmondwike academy. After his removal in 1785 the feoffees appointed Edward Gibson, a Unitarian ; whereupon most of the congregation withdrew, some to the nearest Episcopal church, and some to Queen Street chapel, Sheffield. Since then all the ministers at Stannington have been Unitarian.

In 1825 an attempt was made to claim the Spooone endowment for the Established Church, but we believe without success. (See Sheffield Pamphlet of that date, "The Church of England and the Independents versus the Unitarians.")

T.G.C.

Calamy as a Biographer

IN his article on Samuel Clarke (1599-1683), ejected from the living of St. Bene't Fink, Edmund Calamy (1671-1732) speaks thus of his works: "tho' it must be own'd they are not calculated for the Nice and Curious, yet this cannot be deny'd, that they have bin very Useful to Persons of a Middle Rank." Samuel Palmer (1741-1813), who discards Calamy's brief account of Clarke, substituting a much longer one, founded on Clarke's autobiography, nevertheless borrows from Calamy the judgment that his writings "have been very useful especially to persons of the middle rank." Whether the late Sir Leslie Stephen was a person of middle rank, I shall not offer to decide. In the *Dictionary of National Biography* he says: "Clarke was a learned and industrious writer, and his original biographies are frequently valuable. He takes as an appropriate name for a biographer the anagram 'Su[c]kall-Cream.'" I go further. Some may perhaps fancy I am partial to Clarke, seeing that he too had the honour of being a Warwickshire man. Indeed we were at the same Grammar School, and sat in the same curiously carved mediaeval stalls, though not in the same year. He entered when he was thirteen, I left when I was thirteen; so I suppose I preceded him.

Clarke's *Lives* (of which the English series alone (published between 1652 and 1683) extends to two quartos and three folios, devoted to divines and

laity, including some ladies, and often adorned with portraits) open to us, as no other collection does, a personal knowledge not only of the outer but of the interior man, both of the earlier and of the later Puritans. Many or most of his *Lives* had been separately published by their original authors. Clarke does not rewrite them, he contracts them; but he is no mere abridger. His narratives are full and rich, he is a master of the art of that skilful and sparing reduction which loses none of the vital spirit, and omits no point material to the impression of character. To lay down a folio of Clarke and take up an octavo of the painstaking *Lives of the Puritans* (1813) by Benjamin Brook (1776-1848), is like passing from orchards and gardens to seek recreation in a paved quadrangle, with a string across, on which raiment hangs drying or dry.

Even greater is the contrast, when you compare Clarke with Calamy. Take one of the few cases in which Calamy refers to Clarke as his authority. Since Clarke is able to give to John Machin (1624-1664) thirteen-and-a-half folio pages, while Calamy can only find room for two small octavo ones, we expect exactly what we find, namely that Calamy furnishes the compressed statistics of Machin's career, followed by a general characterisation. Palmer here expands to two-and-a-third larger octavo pages, with Clarke's help. "He spent his youth," says Palmer, "in vanity and sin." This is mere moralising. What Clarke says is: "Being taken from school he was employed about Husbandry for some years, and followed some youthful recreations. In particular he was given to cockfights." There is the picture. Certainly in later life Machin, remonstrating with some who were addicted to the sport, explained that this particular recreation is vanity and sin, naïvely

adding: "I that have tryed both, find these the better waies."

Calamy's first experiment in biographical work was in connection with the autobiographical *Reliquiae* (1696) of Richard Baxter (1615-1691). This, though he withheld his name, he furnished with a Contents-table and an Index; though he did not redeem it from its far too numerous misprints. He had been assistant in the ministry to Matthew Sylvester (1636?-1708), Baxter's literary executor; and having with some difficulty obtained access to the manuscript, he decided that omissions were desirable. This, to Sylvester, was tampering with "a sort of a sacred thing." Calamy, with neat cleverness, began by pointing to Baxter's eulogy of Sylvester, and asking "how he could, with decency, let that stand . . . when he himself was to be the publisher." This broke the ice. Sylvester let Calamy pen the requisite modification, and by degrees and with much difficulty allowed the deletion of a dream of Baxter's, further particulars of his bodily disorders and medical treatment, some other things that were too mean, some few reflections on persons and families of distinction, and sundry reflections on Dr. John Owen (1616-1683). Of these latter the main reflection (on Owen's alleged hand in the deposition of Richard Cromwell) Sylvester would not expunge, unless disproof of the charge could be furnished by Madam Owen; who simply resented the application. The inclusion of this paragraph gave great offence. Baxter, I am convinced, was misled though Palmer seems to credit the charge. Disproof, sufficient to my mind, was given in the *Memoirs* (1721) of Owen's life, by John Asty (1672-1730), to which Calamy was one of the subscribers.

Calamy's work in this revision is a tribute to his tact, caution and persistency. It exemplifies a

policy of reticence which modern biography often carries very far. It also exhibits a leading characteristic of Calamy's own method as a biographer. His own title-page assures us that he is essentially an abridger. He came prominently before the public in 1702 with an *Abridgment* of Baxter's autobiography, continuing the story till Baxter's death. In this *Abridgment* we get Baxter's statements in the first person reduced to Calamy's language in the third; so that little of the vivid savour of Baxter is left. Some of Baxter's finest thoughts are not represented at all. Yet Calamy's dumpy octavo was much more widely read than Sylvester's unmethodical folio (largely a mere morass), and the full charm of Baxter's self delineation (especially in the first part of the work) was hardly realised till the last century, first by Coleridge, then by Sir James Stephen, who introduced the book to Dean Stanley. Only four years ago a remarkable section of it, and that the finest, was admirably edited by Bishop Jayne (who reproduces, however, a curious misprint).

Whether he took the right way or no, it is clear that Calamy's repressions were actuated by a sensitiveness as regards the good repute of Baxter. This is proved by the shrewd and, indeed, sly pains with which he got a sight of the proofs of Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, then (1702) in the press, that he might either soften or support Baxter, in case Clarendon at all clashed with him. To Oxford he went incognito, and, after some failures, got hold of a periwig-maker, of whom he enquired "whether he could find me out a workman . . . whose circumstances were low and strait, and who found it hard to provide for his wife and children, and to keep the wolf, as we say, from the door, that upon the prospect of a little good eating and drinking, and a piece of money in his

pocket, might be prevailed with to help me to the sight of the printed sheets of Lord Clarendon." The periwig-maker found him a Dutch compositor "whose straits were great"; this Dutchman, after some parley, brought him with great secrecy "some part of the copy, and all the sheets that were at that time printed off." Calamy saw, what of course he could not say, but what has been abundantly proved in modern times, that the original manuscript was interpolated and erased in several places. He also saw "no great difference in matters of fact between my Lord and Mr. Baxter." "My Dutchman," he adds, "seemed not ill-pleased with the entertainment I gave him, and with what I put into his hands at parting. And my booksellers, on acquainting them with what I had done, made no difficulty of reimbursing me. This passage, among several others in my life, convinced me that a silver key, rightly applied, would let into such things as people, at first view, were apt to think could not be come at."

After all, the most significant feature in this *Abridgment* was its augmentation. The part by the author most prized, and giving him most trouble, the section which worked up an ecclesiastical ferment that is not yet entirely subsided, was the famous *Chapter IX*, which fills 313 of the 700 pages, and deals with the Ejected Divines at large. Calamy's preface plainly shews that his main object in the publication was this *Chapter*. He had two reasons for it. First, to meet the aspersions cast, especially by Anthony Wood (1632-1695), on the *characters* of the Ejected. Secondly, to rectify ideas as to the *number* of the Ejected, minimised, as though amounting to no more than about five or six hundred, by such writers as Samuel Parker (1640-1688), afterwards James II's Bishop of Oxford and President of

Magdalen, the complacent soul who, asked "What was the best body of divinity?" replied "That which would help a man to keep a coach and six horses was certainly the best."

Calamy had an excuse for entering thus upon his combination of vindication and calculation, in the fact that Baxter, in his autobiography, had drawn out, very briefly and without biographical particulars, the characters of those of the Ejected whom he had personally known. He had done this in 1672, before the Indulgence of that year, and the actual number of characters touched by Baxter number 105, not to count mere names having nothing distinctive attached to them. This series Calamy proceeded to expand, in his memorable *Chapter IX*. He gives an interesting account of his materials.

First, as regards *numeration*. Not till his *Chapter* had passed the press was he able to gain access to the very rare *Exact Catalogue Of The Names of Several Ministers Lately Ejected out of their Livings In Several Counties of England, Because they could not Conform for Conscience sake. London. Printed in the Year, MDCLXIII*. This catalogue contains only the names of Ministers ejected in London and in the counties of Cumberland, Devon, Durham, Essex, Herts, Lancashire, Northumberland, Surrey, Westmorland, Wilts. It has the merit of distinguishing, in several of these counties, those ejected from sequestrations and those ejected under the Act. Calamy is not quite fair to it. He does not recognise that it is evidently the work of a Nonconformist doing his best. He complains that it gives merely the names of the Ejected for London and nine counties (in fact, ten), "but has not a word of all the rest, and yet bears the title of an *Exact Catalogue*." So it does, but an exact catalogue of "several ministers" in "several counties."

Calamy's own basis for ascertaining the number of the Ejected was a collation which he made of four manuscript lists; one, by William Taylor (*d.* 1705?), son of an Ejected Minister (though Calamy thought otherwise) compiled while chaplain to Philip, Lord Wharton (1613-1696); two, received from an Ejected Minister, Roger Morrice, M.A. (1628-1702), the compilers not stated; a fourth, "received from another hand." In making the collation he was assisted by information and advice, obtained from individuals orally or by letter, for "places with which they were best acquainted." He states that he "had not the curiosity" to add up the total of names, though he constantly speaks of two thousand as "mentioned from the first." The earliest actual calculation known to me is that of William Rastrick (*d.* 1752) whose *Index* was presented to Calamy (after 1727) and was used by Palmer. This makes the number 2257. Calamy's own volumes yield 2465 names, omitting duplicates, and counting the after-conformists. Palmer's volumes contain 2480 names, including only 230 after-conformists, but adding new entries, thus making 2250 stalwarts. It is now known that all these calculations are under the mark, every county that has been thoroughly searched yielding fresh names; though those of the Ejected who, neither conforming nor resorting to other ways of living, maintained a Nonconformist ministry, were not more than 1800.

Passing, in the second place, from the calculation to the *vindication* of the Ejected, it is to be noted that Calamy does not depict them as without blemish, nor does he profess to supply in every instance a life-outline, or even a character-sketch. The Ejected Henry Sampson (1629?-1700) who became M.D. of Leyden, and ended his days as a Fellow (honorary) of the College of Physicians,

“had taken much Pains in a Design of that Nature: but,” says Calamy, “he lay’d a Plat-form that was too wide in Compass for any one Man’s Life.” Calamy had no access at this time (1702) to Sampson’s papers. He consulted printed lives and funeral sermons, obtained manuscript memoirs from “divers Friends in City and Country,” and, like Baxter, drew upon his personal knowledge. Thus he was able to contribute particulars of 522 persons, the rest being merely names. In regard to the result of his labour, he frankly says: “I desire no Man to rely on it any farther than as the best Account I could give, upon the best information I could obtain,” and further avows “’tis but a Specimen of what I intend, unless the better performance of others make my pains needless.”

The 1702 *Abridgment* was soon sold out, and made a great commotion. Its appearance, shortly after the death of William III, was interpreted as a challenge to the High Church views of Anne. There was talk of censuring it in Convocation. Calamy’s booksellers offered to give a purse of gold to anyone who would bring this about. Simultaneously, Charles Goodall (1642-1712), a lay physician, and John Walker (1674-1747), clergyman at Exeter, conceived the idea which was carried out a dozen years later in Walker’s *Attempt Towards Recovering an Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy . . . in the late Times Of The Grand Rebellion* (1714). Walker’s motley list of names, including schoolmasters, tots up to 3334; but, following the computation of a previous writer, Thomas Long (1621-1707), he suspects that 10,000 would be nearer the full figure. Walker is always a truthful man, and usually an angry man; hence at the mercy of story-builders. No doubt he did honestly suspect that his sufferers were some 10,000 strong; just as he permits him-

self to suspect that all those of the Ejected, whose characters Calamy had not sketched, were bad characters. Meanwhile, pamphleteers and correspondents assailed Calamy and his "Dissenting Saints" in unmeasured language. Even relatives and friends of the said saints lost their tempers, if a proper name or a place-name had a letter amiss. Nothing was ever known to ruffle the equanimity of Calamy. He never forgets that he is a gentleman, a distinction which seldom seems to enter into Walker's self-consciousness. Sure of his own fairmindedness, Calamy records these objurgations with a quiet relish. "After all," says he, "I must freely own, I have met with as fair Quarter, as could well be expected." Whenever he addresses himself to the defence of his work, caution, candour, common sense, a facile pertinence and smooth retort are his arms of precision.

A second edition of his *Abridgement* (note the change of spelling) appeared in 1713. In this, the story of Nonconformity is continued beyond Baxter's death to 1711. *Chapter IX* is taken out. Enlarged to 845 pages, it forms a second volume with separate title: *An Account Of The Ministers, Lecturers, Masters and Fellows of Colleges and Schoolmasters, Who Were Ejected or Silenced After The Restoration in 1660. By, or before, the Act for Uniformity.* By rights he should now have issued the *Abridgement* and the *Account* as separate publications. As it was, the two volumes did not sell. Prejudice was still rampant in ecclesiastical circles; public interest in the whole subject had dropped. Walker's promised *Examination* of Calamy never appeared. Calamy, ever ready to amend, accumulated materials for another edition of the *Account*, but no further edition was called for. Hence his supplementary matter, in itself of extreme value, was brought out in 1727 in the

worst possible form, namely as a series of Notes to the *Account*, and called a *Continuation* of it. This *Continuation* is divided into two slender volumes with one pagination. To help the sale, the second volume is padded with a reprint of Calamy's *The Church And The Dissenters Compar'd, as to Persecution* (1719)—this, which exposes the methods of Walker, needs reprinting to-day—and his *Remarks*, published for the first time, on the *Essay On The Thirty Nine Articles* (1715) by Thomas Bennet (1673-1728).

To return to the *Account*. Its arrangement as well as its substance shews improvement on the *Chapter*. The counties are now arranged alphabetically ; in the *Chapter* they come anyhow, and you have to fish for the county you want, by help of the table of contents. Calamy had now the use of Sampson's papers, the idea of their separate publication being evidently abandoned ; they are now lost—lost to sight and knowledge at any rate. Sampson helped him for most counties, particularly for Warwickshire ; he, like Clarke, was one of my old schoolfellows. Calamy used also the manuscript *Icones Sacrae* by John Quick (1636-1706), now in Dr. Williams' Library ; and had notes, covering the whole field, by Samuel Stancliff (1630-1705) and Richard Stretton (1632 ?-1712) of London, Joseph Hill (1625-1707) of Rotterdam, and William Taylor, then at Newbury ; besides special correspondents for several counties, whom he names, and information sent by "even some clergymen of the Church of England." I note that most of Calamy's correspondents were nominal Presbyterians ; the only exceptions known to me being Isaac Noble (*d.* 1727) of Bristol, and James Forbes (1630-1712) of Gloucester, pioneer of the Happy Union, whom he describes as "a strict Calvinist, and Congregational : But of a Catholick

Temper." I have not observed any reference to Baptist correspondence. Calamy's term is Anabaptist. He mentions, as at Bristol, "a Society of sober *Anabaptists*," and elsewhere says of Joshua Head: "an *Anabaptist*; but a worthy Man." One of his longer and most sympathetic biographies is that of Henry Jessey (1601-1663), but he does not allude to the circumstance that Jessey was a Baptist: an omission repaired by Palmer, whose account of Jessey departs widely from Calamy's.

No doubt Calamy had his prejudices; yet these facts exemplify rather his prudent sensitiveness to the prejudices of others, and his tactful turning of awkward corners. Though, as early as 1704, he had frankly acknowledged that his own ideal of ecclesiastical polity might be construed as "a meer *Independent Scheme*," yet he was now writing with intent to catch the eye, and influence the judgment of men to whom the term Independent was redolent of political associations, and in whom the name Anabaptist was still provocative of panic fears. Hence, in his biographies, he carefully avoids using the one, Congregational is his habitual term (though he does speak of a man who "was a *Presbyterian*, an *Independant*, every thing that prevail'd"), and takes occasion as has been seen, to qualify the other. "Sober" is a desirable and a Scriptural qualification; when Palmer turns Calamy's "sober *Anabaptists*" into "a society of moderate Baptists," I think he misses Calamy's point, and almost reminds us of the man who thought consistency was very well, in moderation. Calamy could find only one Socinian among the Ejected, and that was one more than he wished for. Of William Manning (1630?-1711) he says: "A Man of great Parts and Learning: But he fell into the *Socinian Principles*." Calamy's own *Thirteen Sermons* (1722) on the Trinity became a

leading authority with contemporary Presbyterians of Ireland, in regard to knotty points of that doctrine.

Unless we keep steadily before us the main purpose which directed and animated Calamy's biographical work, we shall fail to realise properly either his merits or his deficiencies. He has, especially in the *Continuation*, a certain number of biographies which are pretty full. His easy style does not readily lend itself to the practice of putting very much in small compass; it is leisurely, even when most pointed and graphic. He does sometimes bring a man so vividly before us that we say: This is a speaking likeness. He now and then records revealing traits of speech and action which go some way towards the making of a portrait. More often he is content with a mere epitome, rarely giving even a whole skeleton, often a few bones of a career, a spectre clothed with a dispassionate and somewhat conventional characterisation. Doubtless in many cases he had to contend with a lack of sources for more; but there were other contributing causes. Himself essentially a man of his own time, the period in which the Ejected flourished was already ancient history to him, with ancient manners. The little things that give life and colour to the delineation of human beings, he often thinks too trivial for his aim. Yet no man could have better furnished such. One would not expect to see reflected in his sketches either the heights or the deeps of spiritual experience that move us in the pages of Clarke. These things, perhaps, were even beyond Calamy's range; though he has said of Baxter the finest thing that was ever said of him: "He talked in the pulpit with great freedom about another world, like one that had been there, and was come as a sort of an express from thence to make a report concerning it."

This, however, is in his *Historical Account of My Own Life*, which remained unprinted till 1829, unindexed till 1830. He had written this autobiography with the greatest care; I have been privileged to explore three successive revisions of it, in his autograph. Here he does let himself go; every page is full of character, his gossip, never ill-natured, is always fresh and charming; and there was no foolish reticence about the man who, seated in view of a far-stretching landscape in the North of England, was impelled to remark that it "was a pleasant place for a pipe of tobacco and a glass of October"—to fetch which requisites a Tory lady, welcoming the cry of nature, immediately despatched her footman. Many an illuminating touch, not found in his *Account* or its sequel, improves our knowledge of some of the Ejected, as we see them, alive, in his *Own Life*. Take, for example, the details of his intercourse at Oxford with Thomas Gilbert (1613-1694), who, in the *Account*, is treated merely as a highly learned divine. "Though he appeared to be in his element when dealing with those crabbed writers, he would sometimes be very facetious and pleasant in conversation." Among much more about him: "He was very purblind . . . I have called upon him in an evening, and found him at supper upon a dish of buttered onions, on which he fed as savourily, as if he had been feasting the greatest dainties." One thinks of Whitefield, luxuriating on cow-heel; and on the other hand one recollects that boon Calamy, at "Winandermere," observed that this was the lake "so famous for the fish called charrs, which come potted to London, and are reckoned so very delicious." I was asked, the other day, if there was anything known about John Ker, M.D. (1639-1723 ?) the early Nonconformist Tutor. Plenty, I said; and more-

over, Calamy paints him in very human tints in his *Own Life*. This, then, is a work to be read, and re-read; while the *Account* with its *Continuation* is a work to be consulted; it is a starting-point for further enquiry and for patient and continued research.

A word about good, honest, plodding Palmer. The first thing and the main thing to be noted is that *The Nonconformist's Memorial*, drawn up at the suggestion of Job Orton (1717-1783) is not Calamy; and though it purports to be Calamy "Abridged, Corrected, and Methodized," with additions, it must be admitted that the additions are the best parts of it. Of Palmer there are two editions, and both have to be consulted, the first edition being in some respects superior to the second. I gather that this first edition (two volumes, in 1775, originally issued in parts) did not readily sell, seeing that it was reissued in 1777, and again in 1778, with new titlepages. The second edition (three volumes, in 1802-3) actually on the title-page of its first volume dates "the Act of Uniformity, Aug. 24, 1666." The misprints in the figures of the Index to this edition are a terror; the typographical errors in the body of the work are vexatious. Among Palmer's *additions* must be mentioned the engraved portraits which, in the first edition are very fine; but in the second edition are very poorly re-engraved. As a *methodizer* of Calamy, Palmer has the further merit of arranging alphabetically in each county the livings from which ejections were made; also, of stating with approximate correctness the nature, and often the value, of the preferment (these particulars are chiefly taken from Rastrick). As a *corrector* of Calamy, Palmer leaves many errors and misprints as he finds them; and at times is quite wrong, when he thinks he is setting Calamy

right. As an *abridger*, he substitutes vapid English for Calamy's pregnant and often racy turns of phrase; and omits very important documents, preserved to us by Calamy alone.

Though it was hardly a work for which he was specially fitted, we none the less owe a great and lasting debt to Palmer for his *Nonconformist's Memorial*. He is not for students; but he has done much to bring home the story of the Ejected to the minds of modern men; and his labours were dictated by a genuine reverence and love for the spirit which actuated their self-sacrifices.

As regards that spirit, "some," as Calamy quotes from Henry Sampson, "have called this Stubbornness: But if they would give themselves leave to make their Remarks on Human Nature, it would not be difficult to perswade them; that Poverty, and Anxiety to feed the Mouths of a number of craving Children, would make the stubbornest Mind tender and pliable, if there were not something of a Principle to confirm and bear them up." Indeed, as Calamy himself rightly says: "There is something more than Human in it." Well might Milton declare: "I never knew that time in England when men of truest religion were not counted *sectaries*."

ALX: GORDON.

Kinsfolk of Robert Browne in Cambridgeshire

IN *Transactions* vol. ii, pp. 151 fig., is a comprehensive account, by Rev. F. I. Cater, of the ancestors and descendants of Robert Browne. From this we gather that Anthony Browne of Tolethorpe and his wife Dorothy Boteler had seven children, of whom however only four are specified. These are (1) Francis, (2) Philip, (3) Robert, (4 and 5) sons unnamed, (6) Dorothy, (7) a child unnamed.

With reference to this unnamed youngest child we are indebted to Rev. A. C. Yorke, rector of Foulmere, Cambs., for the following interesting communication.

“In 1603³/₄ the Rev^d Henry Brampton was presented to the rectory of Foulmere by Sir Thomas Skinner, goldsmith and alderman of London. Mr. Brampton and nearly all his family died of the plague, or of smallpox, in an awful visitation that fell on Foulmere in 1609. Apparently Mr. Brampton moved in patriarchal style, with his father and other kindred. On 28th August, 1604, was buried Henry Brampton the elder, ‘father of the minister.’ A month previous, 25th July 1604, was married ‘Thomas Wallis of Grate Gransden and Frances Brampton d^r of John Brampton and Johan Browne his wief, dr of Anthonie Browne Esquire of Tolethorpe.’

“Here then is a distinct and explicit statement that the Johan in question was (1) daughter of Anthonie Browne of Tolethorpe, (2) ‘wief’ of

John Brampton, and (3) that they had a daughter Frances. All this falls in with your 'seven'; and her name and Frances tally with the family tradition. John Brampton must have been brother or uncle to Henry Brampton the rector of Foulmere. Presumably, as we have the father *in loc.*, we may write him down as brother.

"If Johan was born after the four you name—Robert being born about 1550—we may place her birth about 1560, which would make her, if living at the time, some 44 or 45 years of age. Frances Brampton, if then 18 years old, would have been born about 1586. That was the year of Robert's recantation and appointment to St. Olave's school. It was five years before his institution as rector of Achurch. He died 1633, some 24 years after Henry Brampton.

"At the other end of Robert's 'Newfangledness'; Dry Drayton, where he was in 157⁸/₉, is but 13 miles from Foulmere; and Bennet's church, Cambridge, where he was in 1579-80, is but 9 miles distant. The Bramptons were apparently at Foulmere by 1597; for in that year Henry is curate under John Freake, absentee rector, and son of Edward Freake who was bishop of Norwich 1571-84. (Edward Freake had been rector of Foulmere 1561-70.) Foulmere was therefore within the Brownist atmosphere.

"In 1636 John La Mott, merchant, of London, purchased the lordship of Foulmere with the advowson, finding as rector the Rev. John Morden, a peppery Royalist. In 1643 Manchester's committee extruded Mr. Morden as 'a scandalous minister'; and Dr. Watson, a Presbyterian, was appointed by Mr. La Mott Honeywood, a brother of Judith, wife of Nicholas Strode, *miles*. The articles of presentment against Mr. Morden (B.M. Addl. MS. 15,672) shew strong Independent touches; and

the like Independency would not brook Dr. Watson, who, on the plea of neglecting the rectory buildings, was deprived in 1645, and Rev. Ezekias King appointed in his place. Mr. King is the real founder of the Independent congregation in Foulmere. But, I take it, the leaven was first placed in the lump through the connection with Robert Browne and his family between 1578 and 1609. Beyond that I cannot go; and the point of real interest is in 'Johan, dr. of Anthonie Browne of Tolethorpe,' whose husband's brother was whilom curate, then rector of Foulmere."

It is with some regret that we confess inability to accept Mr. Yorke's affiliation of modern Non-conformity in Foulmere to the early Brownists or Puritans. But Ezekias King, after his ejection, was licensed as a Presbyterian preacher at Hornsey, Middlesex, on 15th May, 1672. No mention of Foulmere is found either in the Sheldonian return of conventicles in 1669, among the licence documents of 1672, in Evans's list, 1718 corrected to 1729, or in Thompson's list 1773. We must therefore, failing some definite evidence to the contrary, accept the traditional date of the Congregational church, viz. 1780 or-81.

A Rare Separatist Pamphlet
The "Advertisement" of Jean de l'Ecluse

In the Bibliographical List appended to Dexter's *Congregationalism of the Last 300 Years* we find the following:

"1611. J. de l'Ecluse—Advertisement against Mr. Brightman, etc. [Paget's Arrow 193: Hanbury i. 260,343]." This indicates that Dexter knew of the book only from the references in Paget and Hanbury, had not seen it, and could not locate a copy, notwithstanding his familiarity with the treasures of the British Museum, Bodleian, and other libraries. Arber, in his *Story of the Pilgrim Fathers*, p. 114, mentions "A Shield of Defence against the Arrows of Schism shot abroad by J. de l'Ecluse in his advertisement against Master Brightman, 1612" (a very rare tract, of which the only copies known are two in the Bodleian); and he adds "L'Ecluse's Advertisement is apparently a lost book."

Fortunately it is not so completely lost as Dr. Dexter and Prof. Arber supposed. There is a copy, perhaps unique, bound up with some treatises of H. Ainsworth's in the Congregational Library. Even if the tract were of no intrinsic value, its extreme rarity and its association with the Exiled Church would afford valid reasons for its reproduction: but in fact it is an interesting illustration of that irreconcilable Separatism which prevailed among the early Barrowists, which was rebuked by R. Browne in his lately discovered *Retraction*, and was distinctly repudiated by John Robinson.

Thomas Brightman, against whom the tract is directed, was a Conforming Puritan of the type of Bernard of Batcombe. He was born at Nottingham in 1556, entered Queen's College, Cambridge, 21st February, 1576-7, became Fellow of his college 30th May, 1586, and afterwards rector of Hawnes, Bedfordshire. He disapproved of prelacy, and subscribed the *Book of Discipline*, but was strongly averse to Separation. His published works are a Commentary on the Revelation, one on the Song of Songs, and another on Daniel; all on lines which would find little favour in the present day, but which gained for him something of the reputation of a prophet. Of the seven churches in Asia, he regards the first four as typical of the whole Church in successive ages until the Reformation; Sardis represents the Lutheran churches, Philadelphia the Reformed, and Laodicea the English. Seals, trumpets, and vials are all historical periods or events; stars and angels are usually—not always—individuals, as Constantine, Pope Boniface, Wiclif, Luther, etc.; the angel of the sickle is Thomas Cromwell, the angel that had power over fire is Cranmer, the angel of the waters is Cecil, and the seventh trumpet announces the accession of Queen Elizabeth! The Song of Songs is dealt with in a manner equally fantastic. Brightman died, very suddenly, on 24th August, 1607.

Jean de l'Ecluse was a Frenchman, a native of Rouen, and by trade a printer. Coming to Amsterdam he became connected with Giles Thorp, an elder of the Exiled Church, who printed a good deal of Puritan and Separatist literature. It was presumably through this connection that he was brought into the fellowship of the English Separatists; and after a time was himself elected to the eldership. He had a hand in the translation

as well as the printing of Brightman's book ; and the complete freedom of his literary style from any trace of French idiom is remarkable. Scarcely less remarkable is the occasional substitution of a plural for a singular verb : a grammatical solecism usually deemed characteristic of East Anglian folk-speech. Entries in the public records of Amsterdam shew that l'Ecluse was married no less than four times (see *Transactions*, vol. ii, pp. 162-168.) His third wife was probably a sister of Mrs. Bradford, one of the *Mayflower* Pilgrims, who was accidentally drowned off the coast of New England. On the disruption which took place between the followers of Henry Ainsworth and Francis Johnson, l'Ecluse adhered to the former ; and after Ainsworth's death he presided for a time over the congregation, or perhaps over a section of it. In 1616 he was described as a schoolmaster. The time of his death is unknown.

AN
ADVERTISEMENT

TO
EVERIE GODLY READER OF

Mr. Thomas Brightman his book.

namely,

A REVELATION OF THE APOCALYPS.

In which advertisement is shewed how corruptly he teacheth, that notwithstanding all the sinns & abominations that are in the Church of England, and by him shewed, yet that it is blasphemous to separate from it.

I King. 18. 21

How long halt yee between two opinions? If the Lord be God, follow him ; but if Baal be he, then go after him.



Imprinted in the yere 1612

AN EPISTLE

[3 page]

To the Reader



GENTLE Reader, the causes that have moved mee to put forth this short writing, are chiefly three; the first, the glory of the Lord my God, who as he is holy, so dooth he require that all his people should be holy, in all manner of conversation: and that all those that call upon the name of Christ should depart from iniquity. 2 Tim. 2. 19. The second, the fervent desire which I have of the salvation of mens soules, & gayning of them unto God; the means whereof being, in shewing unto them their erring from the truth, and to convert them from going astray, out of the way. The third, is in respect of my self; for having had a hand both in the translating* and printing of M.B. book, and there being in it, as I am fully perswaded, & as by the grace of God I shal shew, out of the holy scriptures, errors and abberations from the truth of the living God; If I had held my peace and sayd nothing, I could not have cleared myself from partaking with other mens synns; and so should have done, contrary unto that holy commandement of the Apostle to Timothy.

Lev. 19. 9.
1 Pet. 1. 15.
26.

1am. 5. 10. 20.

1. Tim. 1. 22.

To the end therefore, that the reader may the better perceive the thing intended in this writing, namely, how corruptly Mr. Brightman, dooth leach, nol to separate fro the Church of Engl. notwithstanding all the corruptions which he shews to be in her; this is the order that I shall observe, to wit, that first I will set down some of the particulars whereby he blames that Church of England, for partaking with the corruptions and manner of government of Antichrist. Secondly I shall shew some of the praises, which notwithstanding these corruptions, he gives unto the same. And thirdly what is the collection or conclusion that he gathers thereupon: which having done I shall also declare my mind concerning these things. And thus (Christian Reader) I shall comit the approving, or censuring of all, to thy godly wisdom, grounded upon the canon and holy writings of the holy Prophets and Apostles.

Fare well.

Thine as thou art the Lords.

[The signature, if there were any, is cropped off. Ed.]

* This phrase, together with marginal notes on pp. 5, 6, 8, suggests that the Commentary must have been first written in Latin. Ed.

An Advertisement concerning M.

[5 page]

Brightman upon the Apocalyps



OR to come therefore unto the matter I will begin with that which is written in the 103 page of his book, translated into English, where he shewed the most fearful estate of the Church of England in these words: *I could not but mourn from the botto^me of myne heart when I beheld in her, Christ *lothing us, and very greatly provoked against us.*

The second blame which he layeth upon the back of the Church of England is, that the *most mighty King Henry had expelled the Pope, but reteyned the popish superstitions;* pag. 104 of the sayd book.

The third evil wherwith he chargeth that Church of England is, that *there is such a form of Church established as is neyther cold nor hot, but set in the middes, and made of both:* and againe in the same place about 2 or 3 lines after he hath these words: *Hot in deed she is not, whose outward government for the most part is yet stil Romish: in the degrees of their Clergie, in Elections, and ordinations, and whole administration of the Censures: which † mixing of the pure doctrine, and Romish regiment together, maketh this luke-warmness, wherby wee stand in the middes between cold and hot, between the Romish and the reformed Churches, of both which wee are *composed:* and a few lines after he produceth the testimony of the learned and godly Martin Bucer, in a letter of his written to a friend at Cambridge in the year 1550, where he complayneth of the corruption of the Church of England, in these words; *There be some who by most humane wisdom and vanishing cogitations, would joyn together God and Belial, by the leaven of Antichrist:* Such are the words of Martin Bucer: which are thus confirmed by Mr. Brightmans: *These things he did write, which we at this day find by experience too true.* pa. 108 of his book.

4. He maketh the condition of the poor blinde Papists, to be farr better, then the condition of the Angels of the Church of England; in these words, *for in this place Christ preferreth the blinde Papists, before those Angels, who bewitched with ambition and covetousness, doe refuse holy reformation.* pag. 109. And in the 111 pag, speaking of the punishment to be inflicted upon this English Angel for his sinnes, he speaketh also thus of the whole Church.

I

*fasti-
diontem

II

III

temperatio
purioris doc-
trinae.

*conflamur

IIII

It is also to be feared, that the Church may feele some adversitie, through contagion and consenting to. Such as are the Angels, such becometh thee for the most part : and none is so ignorant of the matters, that seeth not playnly, that the whole body is sick of the same disease. And so by his own grant, [6 page] the whole state of that Church to be worse then that of the Church of Rome.

5. In the 112 page he sheweth what is the cause of the lukewarmnes of the Church of England in these words : *In our England the congruency is so manifest, that nothing could have been expressed more lively : for what other cause can we bring of our lukewarmnes, the Popish government mingled with the pure doctrine then the love of riches and honours ? &c.* V

6. Observe also in the same page a short description of the Angel of the Church of Engl. in these words. *But our Bishops are Peeres of the Realme, superiour in honour to many great states : also in riches, company of men and mayd servants, in magnificence of howses, and all the other pomp of the world, equal to any, even the greatest Earles. How rich is the rest of the Clergie ? The Deanes, Arch-deacons, Prebendaries, Chaplains, &c.* And that these and the like are the Angel of the Church of England wherof he speaketh so often in this book, it appeareth by that wich foloweth in the beginning of the page 113 in these words : *Doe not this amplify and increase very greatly the glory of the Church, that her Ministers do shine in garments of silk and velvet, &c.* and also by that which is in pag. 117, thus, *Thou art therefore a begger ô thou English Angel :* comprehending under the name of this English Angel, which he calls a begger, *Curates, Prebendaries, Archdeacons, Deacons & the Bishops themselves,* as it may be plainly seen in the 116 and 117 pages of his book, in which places observe also by the way the manner of entrance into the Ministry of the Church of England, plainly described by Mr. Brightman. VI

7. The seventh charge wherewith he dealeth with the Church of Engl. is to be seen in the 116 pa. thus : *So reprehensions are silent, *naughtines reigneth, the hand of God is heavy upon us, and whither the matter will grow at last, prudent men feare not without just cause.* With which is to be added that which he sayth in the pag. 117, namely that the lawes of Christ are not kept in the Ch : of Engl. in these words : *Wee avayle nothing with our Lawes, where the lawes of Christ are not kept.* VII

8. In the pag. 119 he observeth, that the ordinances concerning the manner of entrance into the Ministry of the Church of England is such, as for which the other VIII

* nequitia
regnat

reformed Churches may be ashamed: thus, *Excellent ordinances indeed; for which the reformed Churches may be ashamed.*

9. He chargeth this Church to have such officers as whose names, | except the Bishops have not been heard in the Church: thus, *What is this auncient use of pronouncing the sentence by them, whose name, except onely the Bishop, have not been heard in deed in the Church, as long as the true honour and dignity of excommunication remaind?* IX [7 page]

The tenth and last charge of his, which I doo here purpose to adde, leaving the rest, because it were too long to relate them all in particular. Shalbe this, written in the pag. 128 of his book, where he makes the Angel of the Church of Engl. a persecutor of the brethren & a deceiver of the Prince. Thus, *Repent of the iniuries which thou hast done to the brethren, in casting some into prison, in turning others out of their goods, in depriving many of the power to preach the word, in reproaching and traducing all with the odious name of Anabaptists, &c. and in the same page a few lines after; thus he speaketh, That was a notable calummie, whereby both thou hast deceived the PRINCE, and also hast procured hatred to thy brethren: &c.* X

These & many the like charges are in his book, wherby he sheweth the fearfulnes of the estate of the Church of England.

Now followeth to shew briefly some of the prayses which he also giveth unto her, wherby as with a salve, he cureth all her soares.

And first in the very title of his Epistle dedicatory to the Churches he writeth *To the holy reformed Churches of &c.* where note that the Church of Britany, that is the Church of England hath this honourable title given her with the rest, *holy reformed*: unto which title add that which also he saith in the 102 pag. of this book, where he maketh the Church of England to be the Antitype of the Church of Laodicea, thus; *The Antitype is the third reformed Church.* I

The second good thing which he sheweth to be in the Church and Kingdome of England is twofold, in the 104 & 105 pages of his book; the first in respect of earthly blessings: second in respect of spiritual: for the first thus he speaketh: *From hence the lawes are in force, judgements are exercised, everyone inioyeth his own; iniuries are restrayned; wantonnes is repressed, &c.* The second is thus, *And to what end were all these good things if we could not have the wholsom doctrine of truth? But ever since the first times of our most peaceable Queen, he hath raised up continually diligent and learned Pastours & Teachers,* II
 double blessing in the Church of Engl.
 Earthly
 Spiritual

who have preached the word purely and sincerely. Neyther at this day are wanting many, by his infinite mercy, who bestow all their labour in imparting to his people the whole will of God, and that pure and uncorrupt from all leaven of falshood. | Adde unto this also the sanctification of these Pastours by Christ in the 106 page, thus ; *But he that is a faithful and true witness, sanctifieth the Pastours with the truth beyond all hope: in whose lipps he dwelleth even hitherto.* [8 page]

3. But in the page 318 he is large in describing the good estate of the Church of England thus : *as it came to pass in our England, to which Christ at the sound of the seventh trumpet, in the yere 1558, gave the most gracious Queen Elizabeth, who againe gave her kingdome to Christ, in rooting out through all her dominions, the most part of the Romish superstitions, and in restoring to her people the sincere and wholesome truth, that wee might worship the Lord our God according to his ordinance.* III

The fourth good thing which he mentioneth to be in the Church of England, is the preaching of the word & the lawful administration of the sacraments, in these words : *These things therefore doo proove, that a double and great good thing doo abide in the English Church, that is to say the preaching of the word, and the lawful administration of the sacraments : In both which Christ bestoweth himself upon his people, keeping a mutual feast with them, he first being received of us by hearing of the word, secondly, entertayning us againe with the supper of his body.* IIII

And thus much touching some of the praises which he giveth unto that Church of England : now let the godly see in these words of his following, what conclusion he maketh hereupon ; which may be read in the 131 pag. of his book thus : *Therefore wicked and blasphemous is their error, who doo fall away so from this church, as if Christ were banished wholly from hence ; and that there could not be any hope of Salvation for them that tarry there. Let them mind here Christ feasting with his people. Wil they be ashamed to sit down there, where they see Christ not to be ashamed ? Are they purer and holier then he ? &c.*

These things being thus set down, it resteth now that according to my promise, I doo also shew my mind concerning them : thus therefore, first to begin with that which I have set for the first charge, which he layeth upon the Church of England ; I desire the reader to observe the word which he useth of Christ *loathing them*, which word of loathing seemeth to be taken from the 95 Psal. ver. 10. where the Prophet speaking in the person of the Lord himself, sayth that fowrty yeres long he had loathed

that generation : saying that they are a people erring in heart, and not knowing his wayes, wherfore he sware in his wrath that they should not enter into his | rest. So [9 page] that by M. Brightmans own graunt this Church of England is in no better estate than were those rebels in the wilderness, all which were consumed and entred not into his rest, as he had sworn.

But that the Lord hath more just cause to loath the Church of England, then that of the Israelites in the wilderness, let the reader observe it in these particulars ; first that that Church had a true Ministry, and true Offices and Officers ; and so hath not the Church of England by M. Brightmans own graunt : Secondly the Officers of that Church never persecuted the faithful Jewes for practising the holy ordinances of God ; as he affirmeth that the Angel of the Ch. of England dooth, those that will not submit to their government. Thirdly, their government was not a mixt government partly of the Ægyptians, partly of the Moabites, and Edomites or Cananeans, but simple and pure according to the true pattern shewed to Moses in the mount ; but that of England is not so, for Mr Brightman affirmeth it to be partly Romish and partly reformed, and so not the true government which Christ hath appointed in his eternall Testament : Fourthly, none of that Church were admitted unto any office but only such as were lawfully called thereto as Aaron was, but so it is not in the Church of England, for such Offices and Officers are there admitted as are unknown unto the true Church of Christ by Mr Brightmans own doctrine. Therefore it dooth necessarily follow that the estate of the Church of England is worse then was the estate of those rebels in the wilderness, and that there is nothing to be expected from Christ, by any member thereof, but a powring out of his eternall wrath upon them.

Concerning his second charge of King Henry expelling the Pope but reteyning the popish superstition ; this is that which I say, that the Pope cannot properly be said to be expelled when his doctrine & superstition is reteyned ; for as concerning the Popes own person he could not be expelled from England for he was never there. But it may be that Mr Brightman meaneth that some of the Monks & Fryars were driven out and their revenues taken away from them ; as also that their manner of worshipping of God which was in the Latin tongue, was then translated into English : but what of all this ? can this be said to be an expelling of the Pope ? No ; for indeed & properly, it is the doctrine & superstition of the Pope which dooth corrupt the harts and soules of men, which can be done eyther in a | [10 page] Kingdome or in a Province or in a parish, or in a house without the presence eyther of the Pope himself or of any of his Monks and Fryars, by their

doctrine, superstition, false manner of worship, which are spread too farre abroad in the world by their bookes and writings, and even now retheyned at this day in England, as Mr Brightman himself do write.

The Third is that the established form of the Church of England is neyther cold nor hot, and againe, that she is not hot whose outward government for the most parts is yet still Romish; and againe that this mixing of the pure doctrine and Romish government together maketh this lukewarmnes; whereby they stand between cold and hot, between the Romish and the reformed Churches, of both which they are composed: joyn with this that which wee have set for the fift charge where he sayth, that *no other cause can be brought of their lukewarmnes, the Popish government mingled with the pure doctrine, then the love of riches and honours?*

Now I beseech the reader to compare this with his first prayse of the Church of England which is in the very title of his Epistle dedicatory, where he intituled the Church of England to be a reformed Church. Is it possible that holynes and unholynes can raigne togither? Is there any cōmunion between Christ and Antichrist? between light and darknes? between Idols and the true God? Can any Kingdome, any Church, any family, any man submit unto the government of Antichrist and not be defiled therby? No God himself and his Prophets; Christ and his Apostles doo teach otherwise, therefore let all such as do so teach, remember that saying of the Prophet Isayas, *Woe unto him that calleth evil good, &c.*

Moreover in his fourth charge where he maketh the state of the poor blinde Papists farr better, then the condition of the Angel of the Church of England, and that also such as are the Angels such becōmeth the Church for the most part, I doe observe that by his own doctrine the estate of the Church of England is worse than Babylon it self; which Babylon is granted by all to be that Synagogue and Church of Antichrist devoted unto destruction in the day of the eternall wrath of the Lamb. And where are then those great prayses of all manner of blessings upon that Church rehersed in the second article, but cheifly these spiritual blessings of the word purely and syncerely taught in it? Yea in that Church of which he saith in [II page] the seventh article of his charges that *naughtynes raigneth* in it, the hād of God is heavie upon it: and again, that in her the lawes of Christ are not kept. But what is there then to be done even this, that every soule who hath any care of salvation and of escaping the eternall flames of everlasting damnation be careful to come out with speed from Babylon and not to partake any longer with her sinnes, least they partake also of her plagues: For it is impossible to be both a holy member of Christ, and worse than a Papist; Christ nor his members cannot be coupled with a harlot and her members, & whosoever coupleth

himself with a harlot, is made one body with her, as witnesseth the holy Apostle.

As concerning therefore the outward blessings of peace and prosperity in earthly things, let every godly mind that by it no Church, no man, can have any assurance to be in the favour of God ; but let every soul be sure that where there is no repentance from evil works they are but fatlings against the day of slaughter.

But because I doe see that this writing enlargeth it self beyond that which I had determined, I shall now begin to draw to an end concerning his charges against the Church of England and the Angel thereof : and therefore wil here bring the rest into a short summe, and they ar these, first, that the entrāce into the Ministry of the Church of England is such as for which the other reformed Churches may be ashamed : secondly that the names of the officers of that Church have not been heard in the Church, but onely the Bishops ; finally that the Angel of that Church, is both a persecutor of the brethren, and a deceiver of the Prince : when I doe consider these things and others also which I have both seen and heard, I cannot but lament & deplore the estate both of those most noble Princes of England as also of their poore subjects, which are thus misused by those sons of Anak though I be but a stranger unto them and under the jurisdiction of an other Prince. It is now 46 yeres agoe that indeed the reformed Churches began to be ashamed of some things which they had but heard concerning the estate of the Church of England, as namely *the plurality of benefices, licence of non-residency, licences to contract mariages, the use of meals* and the like, which things they then judged, not to be a corruption of christianity, but a manifest apostasy from Christ : for which see my countryman of famous & happy memory Theodorus Beza in his Epistle to Edmund Grindal then [12 page] | Bishop of London. *Epist.* 8. toward the end. And if these things were thus written so many yeres agoe, what may all the reformed Churches now say of the estate of that of England which they have as yet embraced as their sister hitherto, when they shall both see & know by this man even a professed freind of hers, thus to speak, concerning her estate ; But yet concerning this point I must needs say, that in deed the reformed Churches have not dealt with that Church of England so syncerely & plainly as they should have done. For what is it, if one or two of the most famous members of them have thus in a few words and as it were by the way set down some few of her corruptions ? Have they not many thousands of them both learned and unlearned, seen and heard the estate of the officers of that Ch : to be Antichristian ? & that the very offspring of every one of them is from the Archbishops, which very name may not be attributed unto any eyther man or Angel without blasphemy against Christ Jesus who is the alone head and cheif of all Bishops and Pastours ? Have they not

also seen that the manner of worshipping God in their Cathedral Churches, as they call them, with singing men, and singing boyes cloathed with white surplices, with Orgens and all manner of musique? Have they not seen and heard that all manner of wicked livers both Papists and others are compelled to partake with the rest, and of a confused multitude, to make the Church and body of Christ, and so force and compel men to take their condemnation and judgment? Have they not also heard and known that the Archbishops and Bishops and others of the officers of that Church have so many yeeres continually opposed and shewed themselves to be deadly enemies unto all godly reformation? Yea, doubtles, they doo know and have known all these things and many more: But how have they dealt in this respect? Have they at any time Christianly & soundly admonished, reproved, convinced that Church of their corruptions by the lawe and word of God as they ought to have done? not at al: but they have rather eyther held their peace or flattered them in their sinns, or so little spoken or written of them, as that they may well and justly be ashamed, of their unkindnes in this respect towards that Kingdome and people of whom they have received so many benefits in tyme of their calamities & banishments. Concerning the names of the officers of that Church, they were (sayth he) unknown unto the Church of Christ. &c. And what is [13 page] this? Shal then any soule in whome there is but a very small sparkle of the feare of God, be so bold as to dare submitt under the government and guidance of such unlawfull Ministers and Ministry? Are they not all thieves & robbers which enter not in by the doore, but climbe up another way? And will any man of wisdome commit unto the protection and keeping of thieves the least part of his worldly goods? No, none wilbe so unwise, for every one knoweth that they wil but make a pray of them and spoile and robbe them. And shall any then be so carefull for things of so small importance, and shall he not care unto whom he dooth commit the guidance of that which is the principall, namely of his soule? Let them alone therefore, for as our saviour Christ sayth, they are blind leaders of the blind: and both of them shall surely fall into the pit.

Finally, the Angel of the Church of England is both a persecutor of the brethren and a deceiver of the Prince. Marvelous; and is he still for all this, the Angel of the Church in Mr Brightmans judgement? In mine doubtlesse he is altogether otherwise, even that Angel of the bottomlesse pit, who is a King over those Locusts spoken of in the ninth of the Revelation; like unto that wicked Haman spoken of in the book of Esther who both persecuted the brethren of the Church of God, and also deceived the King: but let those take heed, for God who hath the hearts of Kings & Princes in his hands, for to turn them as the Rivers of waters, shall no doubt discover the malice of this Angel unto the

Princes of that land, and then shall they be rewarded as Haman was. Besides let every godly Reader observe, that to be a persecutor of Gods people and saints, is and hath been alwayes a sure mark of Antichrist and of his kingdome.

To conclude therefore this writing, I wil come unto that which wee have set for the fourth prayse of the Church of England, and the conclusions that he dooth infer therupon, which are these. *These things therfore proove that a double and great good thing dooth abide in the English Church, that is to say, the preaching of the word, and the lawfull administration of the sacraments: &c.* his 2. conclusion followeth therupon thus: *Therefore wicked and blasphemous is their errour, who doo so fall away from this Church, as if Christ were banished wholly from hence &c.* And so by this whatsoever sinns, errours, wickednesses abominations, he hath shewed before to be, both in the Angel and in the Church it self, all is now cured by this salve: ô most miserable dawbing with [14 page] untempered mortar! Can any preach in the office of an Angel purely and syncerely who is a theife and a robber? Shal any man administer purely, who is not lawfully called thereunto as Aaron was? Can any unlawfull minister administer lawfully the seales of Gods Covenant unto dogges and swyne purely and sincerely? O cease to doe evill & learne to doe good! God who is jealous of his honour and glory shall not long suffer this wickednes unpunished. Are the bodies of Idolatrous Papists, or abhominable whores and whoremongers, and of all manner of wicked ones, the temples of the holy Ghost? No; who soever coupleth himself with a harlot is made one body with her, as he witnesseth to the Corinthians: Therefore Christ is far from that Church in respect of any blessing or approving of their worship, howsoever Mr Brightman perswaded otherwise: And therefore the two synns whereof he accused before that Angel of the Ch: of England, are here found upon him: namely that in thus writing he hath been both a persecutor of the brethren and a deceiver of the Prince: for what greater persecution could he put upon those poore soules which have separated themselves from those evils by himselfe set down, then to accuse or charge them of blasphemy; yea it is such a persecution as that it is unto death; for by the lawe of God, a blasphemmer must dye. And how hath he also deceived the Princes, he & others of his minde by causing them to banish and keepe in banishment their most loyall and faithful subjects? And in deed although I am but a stranger unto them and one of another people, yet the truth caused me to speak thus in their behalf, that I know not any people at this day under the Sunne more loyall and faithful unto their Prince and country; and more zelous and religious toward God then they are: and these things are seen in them both privately and publikly: yea in such measure as that, I am fully perswaded that they are, and shalbe if they continue

faithfull unto the end, that people by which cheifly Antichrist the man of sin shalbe rooted out : for by that purity of doctrine which they doe teach, & by the syncere and publick administration of the glorious Kingdome of Christ publikly and before all the people ; as also by professing that glorious liberty in the Gospel, that if any sinne be shewed or manifested unto them by the word of God [*it*] is amended whatsoever opposition may be to the contrary ; by those things, I say, by them professed, practised, and taught, it is impossible that | [15 page] where they have place, Antichrist can or have any doore to come in. And for my part I doe blesse the day in which I had that grace from my God to knowe both the people & their faithfull walking in their wayes and religion of God : and *I beseech the Lord of his grace even with tears that he vouchsafe to open the eyes of their most noble and wise Prince that he may see the iustice and equily of their cause, and cause them to see his Royall face and presence agayn with ioy and gladness of heart under his dominions and jurisdictions. Amen.*

And so I doe here end, though many more things might be said touching separation from evil, and adjoyning or following that which is good : and in deed in a word, wee shall not read even from the beginning of the world to this day, that there was ever any true Church of God truely establishd but
 by separation : & therefore this peo-
 ple not to be blasphemers,
 but true worshippers
 of GOD.

The "New Conformists"

IT is well known that of nearly 2500 ministers who were either removed from their benefices or disqualified for preferment by the legislation of 1660-62, about one tenth afterwards submitted to the Act of Uniformity. These were in general somewhat severely judged by their more stedfast brethren; and in the pamphlets of the time we find harsh language about the "New Conformists." It would be interesting, if possible, to determine how far the implied sarcasm was just; how many of the 250 or 260 who "afterwards conformed" were really "Bartholomew Men," and how many on the other hand had no opportunity of retaining their benefices by conformity. Unfortunately this cannot be precisely ascertained. Altogether considerably more than 400 had no option in the matter; viz., all occupants of sequestrated benefices of which the former incumbents claimed reinstatement, all preachers and lecturers who had been "intruded" into cathedrals after the abolition of the old cathedral establishments, and all known Baptists and avowed Republicans. The researches of Dr. Nightingale shew that in the north of England several men who have been counted as "Ejected Ministers" were not really such; they were quite willing to accept the new order, but found it either necessary or desirable to remove to fresh locations; and it is all but certain that the like occurred elsewhere.

The following is a practically complete list of

the men who are said to have "afterwards conformed." The sign S/60 denotes removal from a sequestrated benefice where the former incumbent was reinstated; of these there were 35 who conformed. Figures /60 or /61 without S indicate similar removal where there was no reinstatement; these number 18. 0 denotes men who at once conformed, but removed; 5 are indicated, but no doubt there were others. To names the date of whose ejection is quite uncertain (? date) is attached; there are 38 of these, besides 14 of whom we know the county but not the actual post from which they were removed. Making these deductions from the total, we may be assured that of the actual Bartholomew men considerably less than one tenth proved recreant to their principles. Somewhere between 150 and 190 seems a reasonable estimate.

Ejected Ministers who afterwards Conformed

LONDON

Thomas Horton, D.D.; Gresham College (? date)
 — Hutchinson; St. Michael Royal S/60?
 Samuel Smith; S. Bennets Gracechurch S/60?
 Thomas Wills; S. Botolph's Gate S/60?

OXFORD UNIVERSITY

John Conant, D.D.; Rector of Exeter Col. /60

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY

Edmund Hough; Jesus Col. (? date)

BEDFORDSHIRE

Dr. Fowler; Northill. (*Aftwd. Bp. of Gloucester.*) (? date)

BERKSHIRE

— Hutchins; Benford or Boxford
 Robert Twiss; Burscott
 John Francis; East Ilsley S/60
 William Hughes; Hinton S/60
 John Bateman; Shenfield S/60
 Samuel Reynor; Sunning
 William Lee; Wantage

CAMBRIDGESHIRE

John Wye (? place & date)

CHESHIRE

Nicholas Stephenson; Alderley S/60
 — Wright; Beeston or Bidstone
 — Edwards; Christleton
 — Colley; Churton Heath

Thomas Bradshaw ; Grappenhall S/60
 Thomas Burroughs ; Harthill S/60
 — Hassall ; Haslington
 Robert Hunter ; Knutsford
 Edward Buxton ; Swettenham
 Matthew Jenkyn ; Shotwick
 Samuel Edgeley ; Thornton on the Moor

CORNWALL

William White ; Ladock S/60
 Thomas Nichols ; Liskeard S/60
 Leonard Welstead ; Penzance S/60 ?
 John Stevens ; Roche (? date)
 Philip Harris ; St. Ewe (? date)
 Richard Jago, Senr. *(? place and date)
 Richard Jago, Junr. *(? place and date)
 Nicholas Teague or Tyack *(? place and date)
 Thomas Warner *(place and date)

CUMBERLAND

George Yates ; Ainstable^o /61
 John Forward ; Bolton Mealsgate /60
 James Cragg ; Newkirk^o /60
 George Tibbold ; Skelton^o /61

DERBYSHIRE

Edward Hollingshead ; Ashford Chapel
 James Sutton ; Criche
 James Loughton ; Chapel-Dore
 — Matthews ; Edlaston
 Edward Pool ; Mugginton

DEVONSHIRE

Joshua Bowden ; Ashburton (? date)
 John Tickel ; Exeter (? date)
 Leonard Prince ; Ilfracombe

— Bubear ; Kennerley
 Richard Conant ; Otterton S/60
 — Bullhead ; Rings Ash (*doubtful*)
 Francis Collins ; St. Budock
 Edward Bine ; Upton Pine S/60

DORSET

Joseph Crabb ; Beaminster
 Richard Shute ; Stalbridge S/60

DURHAM

— Parish ; Darlington
 Daniel Bushel ; Eaglescliff
 Richard Battersby ; Haughton (? date)
 John Timson ; Helen's Auckland
 Josiah Dockwray ; Lanchester
 Thomas Bowyer ; Muggleswick
 John Kid ; Redmarshall
 John Weld ; Ryton (? date)
 John Berwick ; Stanhope S/60
 — Scott ; Whickham (? date)
 — Bickerton ; Wolsingham

ESSEX

John Chandler ; Bromley (Little)
 — Ferris ; Cold Norton
 John Harper ; Epping S/60
 Samuel Crossman ; Henney (Little) (? date)
 — Latham ; Orsett S/60
 — Holmes ; Writtle /60

GLOUCESTERSHIRE

C. Sumner ; Alverstone
 Nathaniel Hall ; Avening
 John Lee ; Barnsley
 — Hall ; Beverstone (? date)
 — Fido ; Cold Ashton
 — Barnsdale or Barksdale ; Frampton
 — Alway ; Guyting (Upper)
 — Shene or Shere ; Old Sodbury

HAMPSHIRE

- George Jones ; Kings Som-
borne *doubtful*
Faithful Teate ; Winchester
Cathedral /60
Humphrey Ellis ; Winchester
Cathedral /60

HEREFORDSHIRE

- Malden ; Upper Sapey
— Broster ; Wormbridge

HERTFORDSHIRE

- T. Owen, Braintfield /60
— Hardy ; Broxbourn
Thomas Hacket ; Datchworth
S/60
— Godwin ; Eastwick
— Stallybrass ; Essendine S/60
D. Hicks ; Hartlingfordbury
(? date)
John Ewer ; Sawbridgworth
S/60
Philip Goodwin ; Watford /60
— Thornton ; Wheathampstead
(? date)

HUNTINGDONSHIRE

- Richard Kidder ; Standground
† (*Aftwd. Bp. of Bath & Wells*)

KENT

- Osmanton ; Ivychurch
Daniel Hayes ; Preston

LANCASHIRE

- James Bocker ; Blackley
— Jackeys ; Bolton
William Aspinwell ; Formby
— Briers ; Heapey
— Fisher ; Kirkham
Bradley Hayhurst ; Leigh
— Loben ; Oldham
William Cole ; Preston
Joshua Ambrose ; West Derby
Robert Dewhirst ; Whitworth
Constantine Jessop ; Winwick

LEICESTERSHIRE

- Henry Pierce ; Claybrook
(? date)
Thomas Doughty ; Medburn
— Jenkin ; North Rillworth
(? date)
— Blake ; Saddington

LINCOLNSHIRE

- Christopher Read ; Bassingham
(? date)
Samuel Male ; "Beckby"
? Bigby
Richard Sharp ; Sedgebrook
William Lawton ; Westborough

MIDDLESEX

- (excluding London)
Ezekiel Hopkins ; Hackney
(*afterwards bishop of Derry*)
S/60
— Rolls ; Isleworth
Timothy Hall ; Norwood (*after-
wards bishop of Oxford*)

NORFOLK

- William Denham or Durlham ;
Cawston
John Benton ; Great Dunham
— Day ; Hingham
— Pool ; Reymerston
— Gooch ; Scarning
John Newton ; Scarning
Mark Lewis ; Shipdam
— Elwood ; Walcott and E.
Ruston
— Odey ; (? place and date)

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

- John Stanley ; Corby
— Trott ; Draughton
Nicholas Kenrick ; Earls Barton
— Elborough ; Geddington
Samuel Ainsworth ; Kelmarsh
(*doubtful*)
Philip Tallents ; Lilford
— Warre ; Morton Pinkney

Lionel Goodrick ; Overstone
 — Dickerson ; Paston
 Joseph Neville ; Potterspurv
 — Southwood ; Pytchley
 — Gascoyne ; Warmington
 (? date)
 — Marshall ; (? place & date)
 — Winstey ; (? place & date)

NORTHUMBERLAND

James Aird ; Ingram (? date)
 John Knightsbridge ; Newcastle
 Richard Predeaux ; Newcastle
 — Ashburnham ; Newcastle
 — Cole ; Newcastle
 Thomas Lupton ; Woodhouse

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE

— Fisher ; Blyth
 — Boole ; Clifton S/60
 — Forth or Frith ; Fledborough
 — Ormston ; Keyworth S/60
 — Horne ; Nuthall
 Charles Jackson ; Selston
 — Flower ; Staunton (? date)
 Daniel Chadwick ; Tollerton
 — Kendal ; Widmer Pool
 (? date)
 — Slater ; Winthrop

OXFORDSHIRE

Francis Wells ; Adderbury
 (? date)
 Seth Ward, D.D. ; Garsington
 (Res/60 ; *Aflwd. bishop of Exeter*)
 Thomas Hodges ; Souldern
 (? date)
 John Hartcliff ; Stadhampton

RUTLAND

John Wills ; Barrowden S/60

SALOP

— Roberts ; Morton Chapel
 — Warter ; Pontesbury /60
 — Milward ; Pulverbatch
 (? date)

Aylmer Houghton ; Prees S/60
 — Worthington ; Shawbury
 (? date)
 — Lee ; Shrewsbury
 George Berkley ; Westbury
 S/60

SOMERSET

John More ; Aller /60
 M. Tomkins ; Crewkerne
 James Strong ; Ilminster S/60
 — Oake ; Ilchester
 Jeremiah Pain ; Kingsbury S/60
 Charles Darby ; Montacute
 Cornelius Burgess, D.D. ; Wells
 /60
 John Chetwynd ; Wells S/60
 Dr. Martin ; Yeovilton S/60

STAFFORDSHIRE

Nathaniel Moll ; Abbots Brom-
 ley
 — Beckett ; Harlaston
 — Jones ; Lapley (? date)
 Thomas Bold ; (? place & date)
 — Neville ; (? place & date)

SUFFOLK

Thomas Holborough, junr ;
 Akenham (? date)
 John Catlin ; Barham
 Samuel Hudson ; Chapel
 George Havil ; Creeting West
 (? date)
 Isaac Harrison, D.D. ; Had-
 leigh
 Roger Young ; Ipswich, St.
 Nicholas
 William Sparrow ; Naughton
 — Ray ; Stansfield (? date)
 John Simson ; Trimley (? date)
 Thomas Lupton ; Waldringham
 John Fairclough, junr. ; (? place
 & date)

SUSSEX

John Walwyn ; Fittleworth /60

WARWICKSHIRE

— Wilkinson; Ansley or Anstey
 Samuel Hawes; Honiley
 Gilbert Walden; Leamington
 Hastings /60
 — Perkins; Max Stoke
 — Langley; Tamworth

WESTMORLAND

Francis Higginson; Kirkby
 Stephen
 George Fothergill; Orton
 Thomas Dodgshun; Raven-
 stonedale
 John Dalton; Shap

WILTSHIRE

Richard Franklyn; Bremhill
 S/60
 — Fosset; Churton /60
 John Norris; Collingbourn
 Kings S/60
 William Thompson; Corsham
 James Legge; Donhead St.
 Andrews /60
 Matthew Hind; Fittleton /60
 John Wilmer; Ham (? date)
 Thomas Masters; (? place &
 date)

WORCESTERSHIRE

Joseph Treffe; Church Leuch^o
 Thomas Wright; Hartlebury
 (? date)
 Thomas Soley; Mitton
 William Durham (? if not John
 Derham); Tredington^o
 Simon Potter; Wolverley
 (? date)

YORKSHIRE: East Riding

Henry Hibbert, D.D.; Hull,
 Trinity
 Ralph Cornwell; Skipsea

YORKSHIRE: North Riding

Nathaniel Lambe; Alne

John Denton; Oswaldkirk
 Alexander Medcalf; Stillington
 Anthony Proctor; Well

YORKSHIRE: West Riding

Edmund Moore; Baildon
 John Hoole; Bradfield
 Francis Bovill; Bramley
 Henry Moorhouse; Castleford
 S/60

— Scargill; Chapelthorpe
 — Lister; Giggleswick
 Obadiah Lee; Heaton
 — Buckle or Buckley; Hors-
 forth

John Hepworth; Letwell
 John Bovill; Monk Fryston
 Christopher Etherington;
 Morley (*doubtful*)

— Sampson; Rawcliff
 Roger Kennion; Ripponden
 Ralph Wood; Saddleworth
 John Hide; Slaithwaite
 James Booker or Bowker;
 Sowerby
 Timothy Root; Sowerby
 Bridge

Wales

DENBIGHSHIRE

— Jenkins; Gresford (? date)

FLINTSHIRE

Robert Fogg, junr.; Hawarden
 John Broster; Penley

MONTGOMERYSHIRE

Maurice Lloyd; Aberhavesp

CARDIGANSHIRE

Thomas Evans; "Iscard"?
 Rice Powell; Llanbedr
 Roderick Davies; Llanllwch-
 airn (? date)

CARMARTHENSHIRE

Morrice Meredith; (? place &
 date)

GLAMORGAN

— Pye ; Bishopston S/60
 Henry Nichols ; Coychurch
 (? date)
 Rees Davies ; St. Mary Hill
 — Hilliar ; Newton Nottage
 (? date)
 Evan Griffiths ; Oxwiche S/60

PEMBROKESHIRE

David Williams ; Llanfihangel
 Penbedw
 Thomas Warren ; Narberth
 (? date)
 Stephen Young ; Rhoscrowther

RADNORSHIRE

David Jenks ; Bryngwyn
 (? date)
 Thomas Evans ; Llanbister

There were *no* "New Conformists" among the ministers ejected from Buckinghamshire, Surrey, Brecknock, Carnarvon, Merioneth, or Monmouth. There were no ejections in Anglesey.

* Probably most or all of these were outed in 1660 from sequestrated benefices.

0 These were not ejected, but removed to other places, and there conformed.

† He had not seen the revised book when required to subscribe.

Early Nonconformist Academies

Warrington

Dr. Charles Owen, younger brother of James Owen of Shrewsbury, was pastor at Warrington from 1696 to 1746. "During part of this time," says Nightingale (iv. 216), "he conducted an academy with considerable success." But it seems probable that the "academy" was merely a school for boys, and that Dr. Owen had a few private divinity students, among whom were Jonathan Woodworth before 1714, Job Orton 1733-4, and Hugh Farmer.

The dissolution of the Kendal academy on the death of Rotherham in 1751, and of that at Derby on the death of Latham in 1754, rendered the foundation of a new institution desirable. The academy at Heckmondwike, founded in 1756 on a basis of the strictest Calvinistic orthodoxy, was unacceptable to congregations in which Arianism was prevalent and Socinianism not unknown. In 1747 Dr. Owen was succeeded by Rev. John Seddon, who had been educated at Kendal and Glasgow university. He soon attained popularity as a preacher, and is reputed to have been an Arian.* About 1754 he began to agitate for an institution for the education of ministers, on the principle of their being "free to follow the dictates of their own judgments in their inquiries after truth, without any undue bias imposed on their

* W. Jeremy says that in 1761 he asserted the "strictly human nature of Christ"; but Priestley wrote referring to 1761-64: "we were all Arians; the only Socinian in the neighbourhood was Seddon of Manchester"—a different person.

understandings." It was also to be open to those who were intended for the other learned professions, and for commercial life, and "to lead them to an early acquaintance with, and just concern for, the true principles of religion and liberty." Annual subscriptions having been promised to the extent of £217, chiefly from Manchester, Liverpool, Warrington, and Birmingham, proposals were circulated for a public academy wherein instruction should be given in theology, moral philosophy including logic and metaphysics, natural philosophy and mathematics, languages, and polite literature.

On 30th June, 1757, subscriptions having reached £469 annually, the first general meeting of subscribers was held and the academy constituted. Lord Willoughby of Parham was elected president, Arthur Heywood of Liverpool treasurer, and Rev. John Seddon secretary. Rev. John Taylor, D.D., of Norwich was appointed divinity tutor, Rev. John Holt of Kirkdale tutor for mathematics and natural philosophy, and Mr. Samuel Dyer from London tutor for languages and *belles lettres*. Each was to receive a salary of £100 a year, and a fee of £2 for each student attending his lectures; except divinity students on the foundation, who were exempt. As Mr. Dyer declined the appointment, his place was filled after some delay by Rev. John Aikin. Houses were engaged for the tutors, and rooms for a common hall and library; and the academy opened on 23rd October, 1757. Only three students were at first enrolled, the foremost of them gaining eminence in after years as Thomas Percival, M.D., of Manchester. The academy house is described as "a range of buildings at the north-west end of the bridge, to which was attached a considerable extent of garden ground, and a handsome terrace-walk on the banks

of the Mersey, presenting altogether a respectable collegiate appearance." A library was collected, not unworthy of the extensive plan contemplated by the founders; besides other benefactions of considerable worth, the valuable collections of the venerable B. Grosvenor, D.D., of London, and of the Rev. S. Stubbes, were presented on condition that if the academy should at any time be discontinued, the books should be transferred to some other dissenting library: a condition which was honourably observed.

It may be convenient to place here in tabular form a list of the tutors who served the institution from its foundation to its ending.

John Taylor, D.D.,	Divinity,	1757-61
John Holt,	Mathematics and Nat. Philos.,	1757-72
John Aikin, D.D.,	Classics,	1758-61
	Divinity,	1761-80
"Joseph" Priestley, LL.D., F.R.S.	Languages and <i>Belles Lettres</i> ,	1761-67
John Seddon,	Rector Academiae,	1767-70
John Reinhold Foster,	Languages and <i>Belles Lettres</i> ,	1767-69
Fantin Latour, &c.,	Languages and Nat. Hist.,	1769
William Enfield, LL.D.,	Rector: Languages and Hist.,	1770-86
George Walker,	Mathematics,	1772-74
Pendlebury Houghton,	Classics,	1778
Gilbert Wakefield, B.A.,		1779-86
Nicholas Clayton, D.D.,	Divinity,	1781-86

Dr. Taylor was born at Lancaster in 1694, studied under Dr. Dixon at Whitehaven, and settled in 1715 at Kirkstead, a small village in Lincolnshire. He there supplemented a meagre stipend by keeping a boarding school. In 1733 he removed to Norwich; and in 1740 published his *Scripture Doctrine of Original Sin*: a doctrine so unlike what was then usually accepted that it was warmly assailed by both Watts and Wesley. Other theological and controversial works followed, and in 1754 his great Hebrew Concordance, for which he received the honorary degree of D.D.

from Glasgow university. At the age of 63 he accepted a call to the divinity chair at Warrington. He was accustomed there to preface his lectures with a solemn charge to the students that they should "constantly, carefully, impartially, and conscientiously attend to evidence, as it lies in the holy scriptures, or in the nature of things and the dictates of reason"; that they should accept his teachings only "so far as they were supported and justified by proper evidence from revelation, or the reason of things"; and "that you steadily assert for yourself, and freely allow to others, the unalienable rights of judgement and conscience." Notwithstanding these counsels, however, he is said to have been somewhat dictatorial in the classroom, and "not very patient of contradiction." The substance of his lectures is understood to be embodied in his posthumous *Scheme of Scripture Divinity*, which, notwithstanding its Arian complexion, was reprinted in Bishop Watson's Collection of Theological Tracts. For some reason which cannot now be ascertained there seems to have been considerable friction between Dr. Taylor and the original promoters of the academy, in which there was probably "much misapprehension and some blame on each side." Possibly impaired health contributed to the discomfort. Dr. Taylor died in the spring of 1761.

Of Mr. Holt but little is known. He is said to have been at one time a minister at or near Lancaster, and afterwards a schoolmaster at Kirkdale, near Liverpool. He is described as a man of remarkably gentle manners, but scarcely capable of emotion. Although an accomplished mathematician, he was a less efficient teacher of that science than of Metaphysic and Natural Philosophy. It may be that his very familiarity with the former subject in its higher departments

made him unable to perceive the difficulties by which his pupils were perplexed. "Some rather impertinent hints and suggestions on the conduct of his class appear on the Minutes of the Trustees." He died in 1772.

The first classical tutor was Rev. John Aikin, D.D. He was the son of a Scottish tradesman, and was born in London 28th December, 1773. He was at first designed for trade, afterwards for the legal profession; but his taste inclining more and more to the study of sacred literature, he was sent in his nineteenth year to Dr. Doddridge's academy at Northampton, and subsequently to the university of Aberdeen. Returning from the north, he became assistant to Dr. Doddridge; and, being an acceptable preacher, was invited to the charge of a congregation at Leicester. But an injury occasioned by a fall from his horse rendered him incapable of preaching; and, having married the daughter of the Rev. John Jennings of Kibworth, he conducted for several years a successful boarding school in that village. In 1758 he accepted the classical tutorship at Warrington; where, besides interpreting the masterpieces of Greek and Roman literature, he had classes in grammar, oratory and criticism, French, logic, and history. On the death of Dr. Taylor, Mr. Aikin was induced, somewhat reluctantly, to accept the chair of divinity. A lengthy account of his methods, given in the *Monthly Repository*, 1813, makes plain the reasons of his great success in this department; his thorough scholarship, patient tuition, and genial manners gained for him the love of the students; and he "lived always in perfect harmony with his colleagues and the trustees." In 1774 Mr. Aikin received an honorary diploma of D.D. from King's College, Aberdeen; the honour was totally unexpected, and its recipient was not

easily persuaded to use the title. Four years later his health began to fail; and after two years of weakness and suffering he died on 14th December, 1780.

(It may be mentioned that Dr. Aikin's daughter, Anna Laetitia Barbauld, was the author of certain *Prose Hymns*, which had considerable popularity; and was joint author with her brother, John Aikin, M.D., of a book of stories, etc., for children entitled *Evenings at Home*, which continued to delight successive generations of juveniles for more than half a century.)

On the advancement of Mr. Aikin to the divinity chair, Rev. Joseph Priestley was appointed tutor for languages and *belles lettres*. He was born 13th March, 1733, in the neighbourhood of Leeds; studied at the academy at Daventry; settled at Needham Market, Suffolk, in 1755; and removed in 1758 to Nantwich, Cheshire. He had already given much attention to chemistry and the then incipient science of electricity; and during his six years' tutorship at Warrington he published a treatise on the latter topic which gained him a fellowship of the Royal Society and the degree of LL.D. from Edinburgh university. In 1767 he accepted a call to Mill Hill chapel, Leeds; and his subsequent career forms a part of the history of science, and of the nation. He left Leeds to become literary companion to Lord Shelburne, with whom he travelled on the continent, and about 1780 settled as a minister in Birmingham. He still pursued the study of natural science, and revolutionized chemistry by his discovery of oxygen.

"His labours in other fields of knowledge—mental philosophy, religion, and politics—were prodigious and fruitful." Latterly he abandoned Arianism for Socinianism, if not for a still more

advanced type of Unitarianism. But he must ever be held in honour, even by the most rigidly orthodox, as an uncompromising champion of civil and religious liberty. By this he excited the wrath of a Tory mob, who in 1791 burned his house and destroyed his library, etc., and his life was in serious danger. After a short residence in Hackney, therefore, he went to America, where he died in 1805.

Soon after the death of Dr. Taylor the trustees determined to remove the academy to more commodious premises. In 1762 a common hall and library were built in an eligible situation—off Butter Market Street—with two good houses for Messrs. Priestley and Holt, Dr. Aikin being accommodated with a third house in the neighbourhood. But difficulties now began, which, though bravely faced, constantly increased until the final catastrophe. An initial error had been the non-publication of an annual balance-sheet, and by this time there was a serious falling off in the subscriptions. An energetic “whip round” led to some improvement, but it was only temporary. A junior department, for boys under 14, was instituted; with Mr. Benjamin Stapp, divinity student, as “sub-tutor”; but after two or three years the experiment was abandoned as a failure. This might have been foreseen; for the discipline suited to boys and that suited to young men are by no means identical.

Next, an endeavour was made to attract lay students by the appointment of a foreign gentleman as professor of modern languages. This was Mr. John Reinhold Forster, a German scholar and naturalist. He was born at Dirschau in December, 1729, had been a minister, held some unspecified appointment in Russia, and came to England “on speculation” in 1766. “His total want of economy

made it impossible for the trustees to keep him long." He "tried various projects," obtained the degree of LL.D. at Oxford, sailed with Captain Cook as naturalist on his second voyage, quarrelled with his colleagues, became professor of Natural History at Halle, and died in 1798. After the dismissal of Mr. Reinhold, several attempts were made to obtain a satisfactory substitute, but none were permanently successful. Of those who temporarily occupied the post only two need be mentioned: M. Fantin Latour, who also sailed with Captain Cook in 1772; and one Mara or Le Maitre. The latter proved a worthless character, who was convicted of larceny at Oxford, and afterwards imprisoned for debt at Bristol. One who relieved him there, and was in Paris in 1792, believed that he identified him in the person of the infamous Jean Paul Marat; but the identity is not fully established. After his departure the trustees engaged a Mr. Hulme, who had resided in France, to teach French *and fencing* to those who desired it.

The students had, from the first, been boarded in the tutors' houses; but about 1766 or-7 the trustees resolved to build a range of apartments for their accommodation, connecting the tutors' houses with the common hall, and forming a quadrangle of a handsome collegiate appearance. In connection with this new departure, Mr. Seddon, who had been secretary to the institution from the first, was constituted *Rector Academiae*; his duty in this capacity being to superintend the discipline and morals of the students, report irregularities, and administer necessary admonitions or reprimands. He also undertook to give lectures on Grammar, Oratory, and History. But scarcely was half the building scheme completed, and a considerable debt thereby incurred, when it

became necessary to get rid of Mr. Forster. And a few months later, on 12th January, 1770, Mr. Seddon died of apoplexy.

He was succeeded, both as pastor and rector, by the Rev. Wm. Enfield, LL.D., who also gave instruction in history, languages, and *belles lettres*. He was born at Sudbury, 29th March, 1741, educated at Daventry, and ordained as pastor of the Unitarian congregation, Liverpool, in November, 1763. He had considerable learning, and as a teacher left little to be desired. But his amiable disposition and pleasing manners were an inadequate substitute for the tact and firmness that were urgently needed for the maintenance of discipline, among such a heterogeneous company as the Warrington students were at this time. There were some, says the historian in the *Monthly Repository*, "who had no particular interest in the credit and success of the institution." Among these are indicated "the profligate outcast of our great public schools, who had learned all the evil, without any of the good, of those establishments, and was sent hither as a last resort," and "the pampered petting of large fortune, who, from the treatment he had been allowed to give to his private tutor at home, had learned to consider every tutor as a sort of upper servant." Worse still, there were several young men from the West Indies who were thoroughly demoralized by their association with slavery, "whose pastime it had been to sport with human sufferings." With such elements of disorder Dr. Enfield was incompetent to deal; and we read a few years later of extravagant practical jokes played by students on the townspeople, such as must have caused them to be regarded as a public nuisance. From this time onward the decline of the academy was rapid and inevitable. On 30th

April, 1772, John Wesley preached at Warrington. He writes: "I believe all the young gentlemen of the Academy were there: to whom I stated and proved the use of reason from those words of St. Paul: 'In wickedness be ye children, but in understanding be ye men.'"

Mr. Holt died in 1772. He was succeeded as mathematical tutor by the Rev. Geo. Walker, F.R.S. He was born at Newcastle in 1735, and studied under Dr. Rotheram at Kendal, and also at the universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow. He was minister at Durham (1757-61) and Yarmouth (1761-72). He only remained at Warrington two years, when he removed to Nottingham. He died in London 27th April, 1807. On his departure the trustees found themselves "quite unequal to the offering of an adequate salary to a successor." Dr Enfield therefore, in addition to his other labours, "undertook the arduous duties of mathematical tutor," while Dr. Aikin relieved him of logic and the higher classics. Indeed, the entire management rested with them from 1774 to 1778. In the latter year Dr. Aikin's health began to fail, and the Rev. Pendlebury Houghton, who was just leaving the academy, was engaged as assistant tutor for a year. He was the son of a minister at Hyde; and after leaving Warrington held successive pastorates at Dob Lane, Shrewsbury, Norwich, Westminster, and Liverpool. He died 3rd April, 1824. The eminent classical scholar and critic, Gilbert Wakefield, B.A., who had lately receded from the Established Church on conscientious grounds—having become an advanced Unitarian—was engaged as classical tutor in 1779, and so continued till the end.

Dr. Aikin died on 14th December, 1780. By this time it would seem that the prevailing sentiment was more definitely Unitarian than in

Priestley's days. The Rev. Nicholas Clayton, D.D., "unfortunately for himself" submitted to be noninated divinity tutor in 1781. He was born at Enfield in 1733; studied under Dr. Doddridge, and (it is believed) at Daventry; and completed his training at Glasgow university. He was for some years minister at Boston, Lincolnshire, and afterwards in Liverpool. As colleague with Dr. Enfield and Mr. Wakefield he did his best; but the situation was hopeless. Dr. Enfield was weary of the incessant struggle against insubordination, and desired to be relieved of the rectorship. The Rev. Thos. Belsham of Daventry is said to have been spoken of as divinity tutor, but he had not yet advanced beyond Arianism, and deemed himself too orthodox for Warrington. And at length, at a full meeting of the trustees held 29th June, 1786, it was decided to close the academy.

Dr. Clayton returned, with broken spirits and shattered health, to Liverpool; and afterwards became colleague with his old friend and fellow student the Rev. Geo. Walker, at Nottingham; whence he retired, and died in Liverpool on 20th May, 1797. Dr. Enfield removed to Norwich, where he died on 3rd November, 1797. He was a voluminous writer on many topics, divinity, philosophy, and education. His *History of Liverpool*, and his *Abridgment of Bruker's History of Philosophy*, were long highly esteemed; and *Enfield's Speaker* was, according to temperament, a delight or a terror to several generations of school boys. Mr. Wakefield led an eventful life as scholar, controversialist, and political prisoner; and died in London, on 9th September, 1801, in his 46th year.

The Warrington library was transferred to a new institution which was within a short time founded at Manchester, and is now represented by Manchester College, Oxford.

From first to last 393 students received either the whole or part of their education at Warrington. Of these 22 either *came from* or *went to* the West Indies. Of the whole number, 21 followed the profession of medicine, 24 that of law, 18 went into the army, about 100 into trade, and 55 were divinity students, 20 of them aided from the Presbyterian Fund. Of these last the majority became ministers, mostly of Unitarian congregations, but 13 conformed to the Established Church, and one became a bishop. A complete list may be found in the *Monthly Repository* for 1814. It is therefore only necessary here to name those who were most conspicuous.

- 1757 : 1 Thomas Percival, M.D., Warrington and Manchester.
 1758 : 12 John Aikin, M.D., son of the Classical Tutor.
 " 14 Thomas Astley : Un. Minister at Chesterfield.
 1759 : 33 William Howell : Un. Minister and tutor at Swansea.
 " 34 John Palmer : Un. Min. at Macclesfield & Birmingham.
 " 35 Nathaniel Cotton : Rector of Thornby, Northants.
 1760 : 44 Isaac Cookson : Sheriff of Newcastle, 1777.
 " 47 Benjamin Stapp : Assistant tutor ; Un. Minister at Shrewsbury.
 1761 : 53 Edmund Calamy : Lawyer ; Grandson of Dr. Calamy the historian.
 " 60 John Colquitt : Lawyer ; town clerk of Liverpool.
 " 61 Thomas Potter : Merchant in Manchester.
 " 62 Philip Taylor : Un. Minister at Liverpool and Dublin.
 " 63 Edward Rigby : Surgeon at Norwich.
 " 65 Philip Keag : Abbot's Bromley : high sheriff of Staffordshire, 1780.
 1762 : 75 Thomas Whitehead : vicar of Preston.
 1763 : 81 Sir James Carnegy, Southesk.
 " 83 Sir James Ibbetson, Bt., Otley, Yorks.
 " 87 Ralph Harrison : Un. Minister at Shrewsbury and Manchester.
 1764 : 89 Thomas Barnes : Un. Minister at Cockey Moor and Manchester.
 " 93 John Milnes : Merchant at Wakefield.
 " 106 Robert Dukinfield : Surgeon to 2nd troop of Horse Guards.
 1765 : 108 Ralph Eddowes : Merchant in Chester ; afterwards leader among Unitarians in America.

- 1765 : 114 Philip Meadows Martineau : Surgeon at Norwich.
 " 116 Samuel Crompton : Banker at Derby and York.
 " 118 John Prior Estlin : Un. Minister at Bristol.
 " 122 William Hare, afterwards Lord Ennismore.
- 1766 : 137 Francis Blackburne : Vicar of Brignall, Yorks.
 " 139 Benjamin Vaughan : M.P. and diplomatist ; afterwards
 resided in America.
 " 141 Robert Gore : Un. Minister in Manchester.
 " 142 W. J. Glanville : Agent for the colony of Barbadoes.
 " 143 James Cappe : Colonel in the East India Company's
 service.
- 1767 : 149 Rochemont Barbauld : Unit. Minister in London ;
 husband of Anna Laetitia Aikin.
 " 150 Henry Beaufoy, F.R.S. ; M.P. for Minehead and
 Yarmouth.
 " 151 George Willoughby ; 17th and last Lord Willoughby
 of Parham.
 " 158 George Forster ; Son of Dr. J. R. Forster ; accom-
 panied his father with Captain Cook ; professor at
 Cassel, Wilna, and Mentz.
 " 165 Samuel Heywood ; sergeant at law and judge ; strenu-
 ous defenders of religious liberty.
- 1768 : 169 Isaac Bough : Secretary to the Supreme Court at
 Calcutta.
 " 171 Samuel Galton : Merchant in Birmingham, quaker
 and public benefactor.
 " 174 Robert Alderson : Unit. min. at Norwich ; afterwards
 conformed, became a high-churchman, and Recorder
 of Ipswich.
 " 175 Francis Pierson : Major in the 95th regiment ; killed
 in defence of Jersey, 6th January, 1781.
 " 179 James Pilkington : minister at Ipswich and Derby.
 " 180 Joseph Smith : Unit. minister at Shrewsbury and
 Liverpool.
 " 182 John Leaper, afterwards Newton ; Norton House,
 Derbyshire.
 " 186 Archibald Hamilton Rowan : Irish politician, friend
 of Napper Tandy.
- 1770 : 189 William Cookson, D.D. : rector of Fornsett, Norfolk ;
 canon of Windsor.
 " 190 — Addison ; killed in the battle of Bunker's Hill,
 1775.
 " 194 Caleb Hillier Parry, M.D. : physician at Bath.
- 1771 : 209 Sir William Strickland, Bt. ; Boynton, Yorks.
 " 210 Strickland Freeman ; Fawley Court : Spirited im-
 prover of agriculture.

- 1772 : 220 John Vaughan : Merchant in Philadelphia ; Unitarian preacher.
- " 224 William Warren : Country gentleman residing near Cork.
- " 236 John Heywood : Barrister ; active magistrate at Wakefield.
- 1773 : 239 William Adair ; served in the army ; afterwards country gentleman in Co. Durham.
- " 240 Pendlebury Houghton : assistant tutor (*see above*).
- 1774 : 246 — Bordley : pupil of B. West the historical painter.
- " 247 Newman Knowlys : Common serjeant of the City of London.
- 1774 : 253 John Doddridge Humphrey, grandson of Dr. Doddridge, attorney at Tewkesbury.
- 1775 : 257 Boyle Moody : minister at Newry.
- " 258 Robert Jackson : minister somewhere in Ireland.
- " 263 Richard Anthony Markham (afterwards Salisbury), F.L.S., Leeds and Mill Hill : eminent Botanist.
- " 272 John Ritchie : Major in the 91st regiment ; killed at St. Vincents, 1795
- 1776 : 274 George Frederick Parry : lawyer, died at Surinam.
- " 276 Adam Inglis ; son of Sir John Inglis of Cramond : Advocate.
- 1777 : 280 William Turner : Unit. minister at Newcastle.
- " 281 Sir Benjamin Dunbar, Bt., of Hempriggs, Caithness.
- " 282 Philip Holland, M.D. : physician at Hull.
- " 284 Edward Chorley, M.D. : practitioner at Doncaster.
- " 285 John Harrison : Unit. min. at Lancaster and Kendal.
- " 287 William Sneyd : Several years in the army ; afterwards farmer in Staffordshire.
- " 294 Nathaniel Alexander : Bishop of Clonfert, Ireland.
- " 298 Edward Corry ; brother to the Irish Chancellor of the Exchequer.
- " 300 Honbl. Archibald Hamilton Cathcart : rector of Kippax, Yorks.
- " 301 Joseph Cookson : went into the army ; well known on the turf.
- " 302 William Bruce, D.D. : Minister at Lisburn, Dublin, and Belfast.
- 1778 : 303 Samuel Shore ; country gentleman in Derbyshire : conspicuous Unitarian.
- " 304 Samuel Yate Benyon : Attorney General for the County of Chester.
- " 305 Sir Hugh Munro, of Foulis Castle, Rossshire.
- " 307 James Clerk : Advocate, and Sheriff of Co. Edinburgh.
- " 314 Nathaniel Hibbert : Minister at Rivington, Lanc.

- 1778 : 317 Henry Laurens ; son of a distinguished American statesman and diplomatist.
- " 322 John Goodricke ; deaf and dumb, yet became a fair classical scholar, an excellent mathematician, and made important astronomical discoveries : died 1785.
- 1779 : 330 William Hawkes : Unitarian minister in Manchester.
- " 331 Mark Anthony Whyte : barrister, and county magistrate in Staffordshire.
- " 332 Charles Joseph Harford ; barrister ; friend of Burke, with whom he seceded from the Whig Club in 1792.
- " 334 Samuel Gaskell : Merchant at Warrington.
- " 335 Bohun Shore : Major in the 4th Dragoons.
- 1780 : 353 Astley Mennley : Minister at Prescott, Smarber Hall, and Stannington.
- " 356 John Coates : Unit. minister at Birmingham and Southwark.
- " 362 Philip Humphreys : brother to No. 253, followed the same profession.
- 1781 : 378 Richard Enfield : town clerk of Nottingham.
- " 380 Peter Crompton, M.D. ; physician near Liverpool ; zealous advocate of Parliamentary Reform.
- " 381 Thomas Percival : son of No. 1 ; Conformed ; Chaplain to the British factory at St. Petersburg.
- " 382 Walter Michall Moseley : Country gentleman in Worcestershire ; wrote an elaborate *Treatise on Archery*.
- " 389 John Wedgewood ; banker : eldest son of the eminent improver of pottery.
- " 390 Thomas Robert Malthus, F.R.S. : Author of the celebrated *Essay on Population*.

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